



Spare-time higher education in Communist China with emphasis on higher correspondence education
by Lee Ira Bruckner

A thesis submitted to the, Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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Abstract:

The major purpose of this investigation was to examine the development and nature of spare-time higher education in Communist China with special concentration on higher correspondence education. Translations of Chinese language articles that were published for national and local consumption were the chief sources used to reveal this understanding.

Major summary findings on spare-time higher education were as follows: (1) spare-time higher education has been the most complex and diverse system of higher education in Communist China; (2) it was established as the apex of a system of education to provide college-level education for full-time workers, cadres, and peasants; (3) it was closely coordinated with productive labor so as to meet the local needs and demands; (4) it generally offered fewer and more specialized courses than full-time universities; (5) its objective was to train "a new socialist man," one who would work with both his intellect and his hands and also have the "correct" Marxist-Leninist viewpoint; (6) it was regarded as a way of extending higher education to both rural and urban areas with "greater, faster, better and more economical results;" and (7) on a longterm basis, the Communist regime viewed spare-time higher education and higher correspondence education as ways for making the transition from socialism to communism by gradually reducing and eventually eliminating the three great differences between town and country, industry and agriculture, and manual and mental labor.

The following conclusions were drawn: (1) the ideological goal of making good Communists and the political control exerted through the Party were dominating influences in the development and nature of sparetime higher education; (2) economics played a major role in determination of the nature of spare-time higher education for the masses by provision of advanced specialized training geared to the needs and demands of production; (3) fundamental social problems of a rapidly expanding population and of illiteracy determined the nature and character of spare-time higher education; (4) great diversity, flexibility, and extreme specialization and control of education by the Party characterized spare-time higher education; (5) apart from ideological considerations and Party control parallels to the development of similar education in the United States were on-the-job extension work, self-study aids, special curriculum provisions for both individuals and groups, adequacy of faculty, radio and television as media of special design and the sharing of already established facilities; (6) the creation of the three types of radio, television, and radio-television universities upgraded the quality of spare-time higher education; and (7) the name higher education as presented by the Chinese emphasized major attention at all levels of quality readiness.

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ON HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION

by

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial
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ABSTRACT

The major purpose of this investigation was to examine the development and nature of spare-time higher education in Communist China with special concentration on higher correspondence education. Translations of Chinese language articles that were published for national and local consumption were the chief sources used to reveal this understanding.

Major summary findings on spare-time higher education were as follows: (1) spare-time higher education has been the most complex and diverse system of higher education in Communist China; (2) it was established as the apex of a system of education to provide college-level education for full-time workers, cadres, and peasants; (3) it was closely coordinated with productive labor so as to meet the local needs and demands; (4) it generally offered fewer and more specialized courses than full-time universities; (5) its objective was to train "a new socialist man," one who would work with both his intellect and his hands and also have the "correct" Marxist-Leninist viewpoint; (6) it was regarded as a way of extending higher education to both rural and urban areas with "greater, faster, better and more economical results;" and (7) on a long-term basis, the Communist regime viewed spare-time higher education and higher correspondence education as ways for making the transition from socialism to communism by gradually reducing and eventually eliminating the three great differences between town and country, industry and agriculture, and manual and mental labor.

The following conclusions were drawn: (1) the ideological goal of making good Communists and the political control exerted through the Party were dominating influences in the development and nature of spare-time higher education; (2) economics played a major role in determination of the nature of spare-time higher education for the masses by provision of advanced specialized training geared to the needs and demands of production; (3) fundamental social problems of a rapidly expanding population and of illiteracy determined the nature and character of spare-time higher education; (4) great diversity, flexibility, and extreme specialization and control of education by the Party characterized spare-time higher education; (5) apart from ideological considerations and Party control parallels to the development of similar education in the United States were on-the-job extension work, self-study aids, special curriculum provisions for both individuals and groups, adequacy of faculty, radio and television as media of special design and the sharing of already established facilities; (6) the creation of the three types of radio, television, and radio-television universities upgraded the quality of spare-time higher education; and (7) the name higher education as presented by the Chinese emphasized major attention at all levels of quality readiness.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Nearly one-fourth of the world's population lives in the People's Republic of China (shortened in this study to Communist China). With a total population of between 700 and 800 million people and an annual increase in population of from 12 to 15 million additional school children to educate each year, Communist China has faced tremendous educational problems. In addition to the growth rate each year, she has had to face the difficult problem of lowering the illiteracy level, which Mao Tse-tung estimated to be 80 percent of the population in 1945.¹

The immensity of such an undertaking can be visualized when it is realized that all educational reforms had to be accomplished in the midst of vast political, economic, and social upheavals. It was a tremendous educational task to raise even a majority of this enormous population to the semi-literacy level. Since most of the workers and peasants who make up the bulk of the population could not be spared from their regular jobs to attend the full-time schools, other kinds of education were adopted to educate the masses.

Over the years, both spare-time "after-work" and part-time "work-study" education have played a dominant role in schooling the workers and peasants. In the early years of the regime, most of the effort in this respect was confined to spare-time literacy classes and spare-time primary and middle school (secondary) classes and schools. Later, the half-day "work-study" agricultural middle schools and labor universities provided on-the-job training for numerous youths from both the cities and the countryside.

As the educational level of large numbers of workers and peasants was raised, they demanded that advanced spare-time college-level classes

¹Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (New York: International Publishers, 1956), Vol. 4, p. 300.

be established to offer specialized training in numerous subject areas. Many factories, mines, and other industrial enterprises established spare-time colleges and universities not only to meet the demands of the workers for advanced training but also to meet the increasing demands of production. Since production could not be increased significantly without at the same time raising the technical level of the workers, these spare-time colleges sponsored by factories and other enterprises were widely established throughout China. Others were set up on a joint or cooperative basis by different enterprises or by factories and institutions of higher education. Many of the regular institutions of higher learning also set up evening universities to provide spare-time college-level training for workers. Correspondence, radio, and television colleges and universities likewise played an important role in the training of workers and peasants at the higher educational level.

Spare-time higher education played an increasingly important role following its early widespread development in factories, mines and other enterprises in 1956 and 1957. During the years of the Great Leap Forward (1958-60), various enterprises and institutions established numerous additional spare-time colleges and universities of many diverse types. This movement was augmented in early 1960 by the establishment of a national Spare-Time Education Committee to direct, coordinate, and supervise all levels and types of spare-time education throughout the country.

Spare-time higher education managed to survive in spite of numerous setbacks, difficulties, and problems which beset it during the last two years of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) when repeated crop failures, natural disasters, and the failure of the Great Leap Forward created great havoc in the whole spare-time education system. During this time, however, many independently sponsored spare-time colleges were either closed or forced to drastically cut their offerings. Much reorganization took place at that time in the spare-time higher educational programs. As a result of these many readjustments, stress was placed on other forms and types of spare-time higher education to take

the place of the reduced programs in many of the independently sponsored spare-time colleges. Regular and special types of higher education, including correspondence, radio, and television colleges and universities, helped to meet the need for adequate but less expensive programs geared to the local production needs.

As more stress was placed on expanding spare-time higher education in the rural areas, greater emphasis was given to the further development of spare-time higher correspondence education. As a result, great expansion occurred both in spare-time higher education and in higher education by correspondence. For example, there were more than one thousand spare-time institutions of higher learning in Communist China by early 1965 with 430,000 students enrolled.² Included in this number of spare-time higher institutions were 126 which offered higher correspondence education.³ Though these schools represented only 13 percent of the total number of spare-time institutions of higher learning, they nevertheless accounted for 34 percent of the total enrollment in spare-time institutions of education in 1965.⁴

A careful examination of published materials revealed no comprehensive studies on spare-time higher education or higher correspondence education and the important and significant role which they have been playing in Chinese higher education. It was therefore felt that a strong need existed for such a study.

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The major purpose of this study was to examine the development

²"Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," New China News Agency. Nanking Dec. 8, 1965, translated in Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 3599 (Dec. 16, 1965), p. 7.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

and nature of spare-time higher education in Communist China with special concentration on the area of higher correspondence education. But in order that the nature of spare-time higher education might be understood, it was necessary to give the background of Chinese Communist education in general. In achieving the basic purpose of the study, the problem resolved itself into two parts: (1) to develop an understanding of Chinese Communist education in general; and (2) to determine the nature of spare-time higher education.

In order to understand general education in Communist China, it was important to determine some of the emphases, achievements, weaknesses, and problems of the Chinese system. These would provide a proper background for understanding and appreciating the nature of spare-time higher education and higher correspondence education.

The major problem of this investigation was to determine the nature of spare-time higher education. This problem further resolved itself into determining the answers to the following questions:

1. How did spare-time higher education develop into a significant system of higher education?
2. What were some of the major objectives and policies of the Chinese Communist regime in developing spare-time higher education?
3. What were the major forms of spare-time higher education developed in Communist China?
4. What were the major representative and special types of higher correspondence education developed in Communist China?

II. PROCEDURES

In order to answer the questions presented under the statement of the problem, the following characteristics in approach to literature will show some of the steps taken in the investigation of the sources.

1. Extensive reading was done in the broad fields of Chinese history and culture and in the specific areas of Confucian and Republican education.

2. An examination was made of important secondary source materials on Chinese Communist education.

3. A comprehensive bibliography was prepared of available translated "primary" source materials on Chinese Communist education from Communist China publications, including books, documents, newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasts which were either published in Chinese and translated by outside sources and agencies or else published or broadcast in English by the Chinese Communist regime. Although other sources were also consulted, the principal sources for the material used in this study were the Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), Current Background, Extracts from China Mainland Magazines (Extracts . . . became Selections from China Mainland Magazines in 1962), all issued by the American (U. S.) Consulate General in Hong Kong; the Communist China Digest and Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, issued by the United States Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) of Washington, D. C.; the Union Research Service Series issued by the Union Research Institute, a division of the Union Press, in Hong Kong; and the Foreign Broadcast Information Service of Washington, D. C., the United States government monitoring service which publishes Daily Report: Far East. These Chinese sources in translation are the source materials used by many of the authorities in the field of Chinese Communist education; nevertheless, the data itself is primary source material.

4. From this extensive bibliography of translated "primary" source materials on Chinese Communist education, a selected bibliography was prepared on spare-time and spare-time higher education.

5. These translated articles on spare-time and spare-time higher education were then read in either printed publications or microfilm copies.

III. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

An increasing amount of literature on Chinese Communist education

has been published during the past decade by researchers on Communist China. Competent scholars such as Robert Barendsen, Leo Orleans, Theodore Chen, Chang-tu Hu, Munemitsu Abe, Paul Harper, Stewart Fraser, and others have written on various aspects of Chinese Communist education. Most of the studies, however, have been on the regular full-time schools while only a limited number of studies have given consideration to the two other major classifications of Chinese Communist education--the part-time "work-study" schools and the spare-time "after-work" schools.

The only significant source of information available in English on the development of spare-time education, including spare-time higher education, in the Communist occupied or so-called "liberated areas" of China before 1949 was the documentary work compiled by Michael Lindsay and others.⁵ Michael Lindsay's work, while dealing primarily with Chinese Communist educational problems in the 1940's, includes helpful background material on the 1930's when the new soviet bases were set up in Northwest China following the "Long March."

Apart from the brief but helpful summaries of spare-time education given by Barendsen, Chen, Hu, Fraser, Chang Nai-pan, and others in general articles or specialized works relating to other aspects of Chinese Communist education, three studies by Abe, Orleans, and Harper deal more specifically with spare-time education to the first decade of Communist rule in China.

Abe's survey article on spare-time education, "Spare-Time Education in Communist China,"⁶ provides a good general summary of the various types and levels of spare-time education, including spare-time higher education. Leo Orleans' Professional Manpower and Education in

⁵Michael Lindsay, Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China, 1941-1947, with supplements on 1948-1949 by Marion Menzies, William Paget, and S. B. Thomas (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950).

⁶Munemitsu Abe, "Spare-Time Education in Communist China," The China Quarterly, No. 8 (October-December, 1961), pp. 149-159.

Communist China,⁷ gives detailed consideration to the growth and development of spare-time education, including spare-time higher education, from 1949 through 1959 and compares the enrollments of the spare-time higher institutions during that decade with those of the regular full-time institutions of higher learning.

Since both Abe and Orleans concluded their studies in 1960, other references had to be consulted for the development of spare-time education in the 1960's. Though scattered references to spare-time and spare-time higher education have appeared in this decade in articles, books, and other studies on Chinese Communist education, the major work to appear on spare-time education was Paul Harper's Spare-Time Education for Workers in Communist China.⁸ His study, as the title indicates, was limited to spare-time education in factories, mines, and other industrial enterprises in China and embraced the years of 1949 through early 1963. Although the emphasis of his work was on the secondary and lower levels of spare-time education, he also included some information on the higher education of workers. In addition, much of what was said regarding workers' education at the intermediate level held true for workers' education at the higher level. This study by Harper was limited to the spare-time education for workers.

A careful examination was made of the field and revealed little information on spare-time higher education in Communist China. The writer felt that a contribution could be made by researching in this phase of Chinese Communist higher education. Since one of the most important forms of spare-time higher education is spare-time higher education by correspondence, special emphasis was devoted to this facet of study.

⁷Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China (Washington, D. C.: National Science Foundation, 1961).

⁸Paul Harper, Spare-Time Education for Workers in Communist China. Bulletin No. 30, OE-14102 (1964), Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964.

IV. LIMITATIONS

During the first decade of the Communist rule in China, great emphasis was placed on the development at all levels of three kinds of education--academic full-time schools, part-time "work-study" schools, and spare-time "after-work" schools. This study was limited to a consideration of one of these, namely, spare-time education. In order to give proper background for an understanding of the development and nature of spare-time higher education in the Chinese Communist educational system an overview of its education (1921-1966) is presented in Part I. This overview was limited to the following three main aspects:

1. An historical consideration of the development of the Chinese Communist educational system from 1921 through 1966.
2. A consideration of certain major achievements and weaknesses in the Mainland China educational program.
3. A study of certain selected social, economic, and political problems reflected in Chinese Communist education.

Part II of this investigation--Spare-Time Higher Education--was further limited to:

1. The development and nature of spare-time higher education in Communist China.
2. The three major forms of spare-time higher education--independent spare-time colleges, evening universities, and correspondence institutions of higher education.
3. Representative and special types of spare-time higher correspondence education sponsored by ministries, industries, institutions, and other enterprises between the Great Leap Forward (1958) and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966).

Another limitation was inherent in the nature of the study. Its purpose was to examine the literature to determine the nature and development of spare-time education as reported. Higher education thus was given as reported with no attempt made to interpret its quality other than to give published, official reports on quality emphasis and to report comparisons by the Chinese of the quality of spare-time with regular full-time.

PART I

AN OVERVIEW OF CHINESE COMMUNIST EDUCATION (1921-1966)

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Since its beginning in South China and later in the so-called "liberated areas" of Northwest China, the Chinese Communist educational system has been an evolving one and one that has experienced many vicissitudes over the years. At times the regime has been pragmatic in its approach toward education and at other times doctrinaire. The educational developments, emphases, and trends through the various periods have often been not only a reflection of the problems received from the Kuomintang government but also the success or failure of the new regime's own educational program. Its educational system is the result of not only what they have inherited from the previous government and what they have borrowed from the Soviet Union, but, what is more important, the educational changes that they, themselves, have instituted as a result of their own philosophy, needs, policies, and experiments. These educational changes have often been based on past experiences as well as current and future goals but have always been under the direction and oversight of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).¹

In this chapter, consideration will be given to the historical development of the Chinese Communist educational system from 1921 through 1966 with stress on the educational developments, emphases, and trends. During this almost half century of growth, many changes took place. The writer has divided the growth and development of the Chinese Communist educational system from 1921 through 1966 into six distinct phases or periods. Each phase or period had a dominating characteristic. These six phases of development were as follows: (1) the period of evolution (1921-49); (2) the period of transition (1949-52); (3) the period of development (1953-57); (4) the period of experimentation (1958-62);

¹Hereafter designated as the CCP or the Party.

(5) the period of expansion (1963-65); and (6) the period of revolution (1966--).

I. THE PERIOD OF EVOLVEMENT (1921-49)

The roots of the Chinese Communist educational system go back several decades to various CCP pronouncements on educational aims and objectives as well as to practical educational policies formulated and adopted first in the Communist occupied areas of China, called by the Communists "liberated areas." and later in all of mainland China.

In its first public statements after its founding on July 1, 1921, the CCP expressed itself on education. The First Manifesto on the Current Situation² (June 10, 1922) listed compulsory education as one of its most immediate aims.³ The following month in the Manifesto of the Second Congress⁴ it called for the improvement of the educational system.⁵ Two and a half years later in the Fourth Manifesto on the Current Scene⁶ (January, 1925), the CCP demanded among other things that women be granted complete equality in all political, economic, legal, social, and educational affairs.⁷ The Central Committee (CC)⁸ of the CCP, in its Resolutions and Spirit of the Second Plenum of the CC⁹ of

²The text of this manifesto is given in Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John F. Fairbank, A Documentary History of Chinese Communism (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 54-63.

³Ibid., p. 63.

⁴Ibid., pp. 63-65.

⁵Ibid., p. 65.

⁶Ibid., pp. 74-77.

⁷Ibid., p. 77.

⁸Hereafter designated as the CC.

⁹Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 166-179.

July 9, 1929, stated that its roots were still not strong enough among the great body of the masses and dictated fifteen tasks that must be carried out in order to win them over, including the strengthening of the CCP's propaganda and educational activities.¹⁰

In November, 1931, a Chinese Soviet Republic was established in Juichin, Kiangsi, in South China, and the First All-China Soviet Congress proclaimed the Constitution of the Soviet Republic¹¹ on November 7, 1931. It recited the basic tasks to be accomplished throughout China and called upon all workers, peasants, and toilers to work toward their realization. The Constitution called for two basic educational goals: (1) the right to education, and (2) the introduction of free universal education.¹² Little is known about the educational system set up in South China. Lindsay states that although much educational work was attempted, "there is almost no information available about the original Chinese Communist educational system in the South China areas of the Chinese Soviet Republic."¹³

When the Soviet Republic in South China succumbed to the armies of Chiang Kai-shek in October, 1934, the Communists set out on the "Long March" across China to the borderlands of the Northwest to set up new soviet bases.¹⁴ Great losses were sustained by the Red Army, but some fifty thousand men finally reached the new base in North Shensi and Kansu in 1936. These and other "liberated areas" that subsequently came

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 171, 173.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 220-224.

¹²Ibid., p. 223. The statement in the Constitution reads, "The Soviet government of China shall guarantee to all workers, peasants, and the toiling masses the right to education. The Soviet government will, as far as the conditions of internal revolutionary war allow, begin at once to introduce free universal education. . ."

¹³Michael Lindsay, Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China, 1941-1947, p. 35.

¹⁴One of the best known accounts of the Long March is found in Edgar Snow's, Red Star Over China (New York: Random House, 1938).

under Communist control became the testing ground for the Communist experiments in education. The educational experiences gained in these "liberated areas" became the basis for an evolving educational system that was later to provide educational patterns for operation in the transitional period following the defeat of the Kuomintang and the Communist occupation of the Chinese mainland in 1949.

Michael Lindsay's study provides what is perhaps the only available detailed research collection in English on the educational system of the Chinese soviets. Lindsay includes a collection of laws and regulations pertaining to education up to the end of 1945.¹⁵ His study, buttressed by first-hand observation and documentation, details some of the main features of the Communist educational programs as they developed in the "liberated areas." The educational policies and programs described by him for the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia area and the documents pertaining to educational laws and regulations in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Region--though not necessarily representative of all Communist held areas since each was locally developed--do present, at least in their broad features, what may be regarded as typical Chinese Communist education. Since all education was under the direction of the CC of the Communist Party, it tended to reflect many of the same major characteristics in the various communist held areas, though local educational patterns and programs frequently differed greatly because of local application and experimentation.

In the "liberated areas" the CC of the Party issued policy directives based on current problems as well as on the educational objectives that had been formulated by the Party since 1921; these in turn became the basis for developing local regulations and laws regarding education. Lindsay states that what comes to the fore in these various areas

. . . is not actual laws and regulations but general directives on policy from the Communist Party Central Committee which the Communist Party organizations in the different Regions then used

¹⁵Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 1-145.

as a basis for actual laws and regulations, applying the general principals to the particular local circumstances. . .16

Several significant developments, emphases, and trends mark this period of "evolution" in Chinese Communist education. The educational system was, first of all, extremely varied in its initial phase. Wide differences prevailed not only between the different regions but also within the same region. Lindsay notes that there would likely be ". . . considerable variation in conditions between areas which have been under practically continuous Communist control since 1938 and areas organized much more recently."¹⁷ A great deal of flexibility was given to the local level authorities and much experimentation in education was encouraged. The general policy of "opposing uniformity in education and adjusting education to practical needs" resulted in a vast variety of educational institutions and programs.¹⁸

Compulsory education, which had been one of the first expressed aims of the CCP after its founding, was instituted by the Communists but met so much popular resistance by the people that it had to be discontinued after only a brief trial. This objection on the part of the people raised the fundamental question, "Education was meant to help and serve the masses so why should the masses strongly reject it?" As a result of this discussion on what kind of education the masses actually wanted, there evolved the principle of "people managed, public help," which became the basis for the new "people managed" schools.¹⁹ In this type of school, the government would help find and finance a teacher and the village community could decide when classes should be held and just what was to be taught. Literacy

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

classes, arithmetic, and various practical subjects were the most common courses. So popular and successful were these schools in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia area that from 1944 on they spread and became a basic type of elementary education throughout the "liberated areas." These new "people managed" schools were generally limited to villages which did not have the regular schools. The failure of compulsory education had thus stimulated a reevaluation of education principles which had produced the "people managed" schools at the elementary level. It also led to great changes in the middle school and university levels of education by emphasizing the training of capable students for specific practical tasks.²⁰

Related to the problem of compulsory education and what kind of education the people wanted was the discussion of what sort of educational system was really suited for China. In two of the Communist documents included by Lindsay,²¹ it was argued that the kind of educational system which both the Kuomintang government (with the copying of European, American, and Japanese models) and to some extent the "liberated area" government had been trying to set up was unsuitable for China. This system was quite suitable for the economically advanced countries where the problem of adult illiteracy was negligible but did not meet the needs of China where the problem of adult literacy was so serious that a literate population could only be attained after a time lag of several decades.²² It was argued that a regular full-time school system, which begins with small children and removes them from productive work for a decade or more, was too heavy a burden on a nation with a poor economy like China; therefore, stress should be

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 38-39.

²¹ The two documents are: "The Question of the Reform of General Education," Ibid., pp. 54-57; and "System and Courses in General Education," Ibid., pp. 57-63.

²² Ibid., p. 40.

placed on cadre²³ and mass education. The full-time school system supported by the government should be primarily for the training of cadres; others, primarily adults, should attend mass schools operated and supported by the people themselves. Cadre education should have priority over mass education because cadres were in the advance guard and being trained to lead the masses. Likewise, adults should have priority over children in mass education because of the fact that more rapid social gains were achieved from adult education. In both cadre education and mass education practical knowledge and skills needed for revolution and for production should have priority over cultural education.²⁴

Much was done in the "liberated areas" to develop mass education with special emphasis upon adult education. Many different methods were used. The directives and discussions speak of experimenting with "all kinds of forms and methods."²⁵ In these, special emphasis was placed upon discussion and small mutual-help groups which sought to investigate practical problems. All students and teachers were urged to combine theory with practice and to take part in actual production in order to break down the traditional barrier between manual and mental labor.²⁶ These dual objectives were incorporated into many of the varied programs of mass education. Two types of mass schools which were

²³The term "cadre" is used by the Chinese Communists to refer to an official or a functionary.

²⁴Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 40, 59-60.

²⁵Ibid., p. 43.

²⁶Ibid., p. 41.

prominent in this period were the part-time or half-time schools²⁷ and the spare-time schools.²⁸

The half-time schools with their goal of combining work and study into an integrated program became quite popular. They included a great variety of types, including some of the "people manage, public help" village schools with various arrangements of half-day and alternateday schools and also the winter schools with their emphasis on studying several months during the slack winter season. This latter type became a very popular form of adult education in the "liberated areas."²⁹ One directive in 1943 stated that "in most villages the half-day school should be the main form" and recommended that whole-day schools in fairly large villages be converted to half-day schools to permit students to spend half of their time in production.³⁰

Besides the half-time schools there were various types of spare-time schools with their emphasis on study after regular working hours. Specific types mentioned include literacy classes during rest periods and meal times, newspaper reading groups, night schools, and a

²⁷ Basically, both terms--"part-time" schools and "half-time" schools--refer to the same type of school which has as its goal the combining of both work and study on somewhat of an equal basis. More precisely, "half-time" schools refer to those schools which combine work and study on an equal basis; however, the term is frequently used very loosely to include other "work-study" schools of the same basic type which do not combine them on an equal time basis. Since "part-time" schools include not only the "half-time" schools but also other types of "work-study" schools, it will be the basic term used in this study for this type of school. "Half-time" schools will be used in their more limited sense or when this term is exclusively used of this type of school as in the current period under consideration. All "half-time" schools are "part-time" schools, but strictly speaking, all "part-time" schools are not "half-time" schools.

²⁸ "Spare-time" schools, in contrast to "part-time" or "half-time" schools, conduct classes for workers, peasants, and cadres after their regular full day's work.

²⁹ Lindsay, op. cit., p. 43.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 83.

special home type with children teaching adults in their own families.³¹ These are all basic forms of spare-time education. How extensive spare-time education was at the different levels in the "liberated areas" during this period is not clear.³²

The emphasis of all education in the Communist held areas was primarily political. Snow pointed out in the late 1930's that this emphasis on politics was common in Chinese Communist education in the base areas. He notes that

. . . under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military, and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by the Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political. . . .³³

Lindsay was of the same opinion regarding Chinese Communist education in the first half of the 1940's. He stated that a frequent criticism of education in the "liberated areas" by outside observers was that it was "almost entirely political propaganda."³⁴ He then goes on to emphasize that the Communists considered political education of great practical importance in building up a new democratic system and regarded it as

³¹ Ibid., p. 43.

³² See Ibid., p. 64. Although it is not stated whether or not the teacher training schools and the vocational schools operated by the local productive organizations included spare-time schools, the implication is that they did. For example, it is mentioned that the best arrangement for such local productive organizations as the railway administration, the mining bureau, and industrial and agricultural organizations was for each to operate its own vocational schools. Since the later pattern in Communist China was for such local productive organizations to offer their workers extensive spare-time courses from the literacy level on up to and including college level education, it would appear that some of these vocational courses were taken after and in addition to regular work and were thus spare-time education courses. Likewise, where there were no teacher training schools, middle schools were urged to include courses in order to produce trained teachers.

³³ Snow, op. cit., pp. 254-55.

³⁴ Lindsay, op. cit., p. 42.

the basis for all education in the "liberated areas."³⁵ One of the overall goals of the soviets was to reeducate and indoctrinate the masses by a heavy concentration on politics in adult education. Although this degree of concentration on politics varied, political education in 1945-46 was estimated to be fifty percent of the education course content in the old base areas and seventy percent in the newly-recovered areas.³⁶

The organization of Party education--both political and cultural --was to a large extent through local groups and conferences. One of the most important educational movements inside the Communist Party was the so-called "cheng feng" movement which has been translated as "ideological remolding" or "reforming". This movement had considerable influence on the Party cadres in 1942 when the movement started but was also to reappear in subsequent years when remolding and rectification of Party members was necessary.

Early in this period when the educational system was first beginning to evolve, an important aim of the Party was to work for compulsory education. Later, however, compulsory education was discontinued in the "liberated areas" of Northwest China after a brief trial because of great popular resistance on the part of the people. In this initial phase of education, the educational system was extremely varied and much flexibility was given to local communities to develop their own schools. Locally operated "people managed" schools became very popular in villages which had no regular schools. Two other types of schools that developed during this time were the part-time and the spare-time schools. In all types of schools, however, political education played a very important role in Chinese Communist education and was also stressed during the transitional years after the Communist regime assumed power over all of China in 1949. Political education was particularly stressed in the spare-time adult classes both before and after.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

the occupation of the Mainland.

These basic characteristics of the Communist educational system, which first appeared as Party objectives or were the result of general directives on policy issued by the CC of the Communist Party, give the key to the basic educational goals of the Chinese Communists. Those educational characteristics which appeared first in the Chinese soviets were reproduced in the "liberated areas" and later in the evolving educational system developed in the transitional years by the new People's Republic of China.

II. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION (1949-52)

Lindsay has noted that the Chinese Communists were not unaware that they would have many transitional difficulties and problems in destroying the old educational system and outlook and in thoroughly rebuilding a completely new educational system.³⁷ However, when the CCP assumed power of the Chinese mainland in 1949, it had little in the way of either practical experience or pedagogical theory other than what it had gained in Party policy formulation and pronouncements and in practical experience in the old "liberated areas." Most of the regime's educational work had been at the primary and middle school levels and confined largely to the rural areas; it had had a very limited amount of experience in large urban centers where the majority of the colleges and universities were located.

When the Communists inherited the educational system of the Kuomintang regime in 1949, the question was asked, "Whither should the

³⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

education of new China go?"³⁸ In September, 1949, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out in the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" that "the People's Government should systematically reform the old educational system, educational contents and pedagogical methods."³⁹ When the First National Educational Work Conference convened in December, 1949, a threefold guideline for the development of the new educational system was laid down under Mao Tse-tung's firm direction. It stated that "the education of new China should use the new educational experiences of the old liberated areas as the basis for developing the new educational system, should absorb the useful experiences of the old education, and should make use of the experiences of the Soviet Union."⁴⁰ This strategy was followed in reforming the old educational system and in formulating a new one.

During these three years of transition, the new regime launched land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the ideological transformation of intellectuals, and political movements such as the "resist-America and aid-Korea" campaign.⁴¹ Some 310,000 educational

³⁸"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle on the Educational Front in the Past 17 Years," Chiao-yu Ko-ming [Educational Revolution] editorial board, Peking: No. 4, May 6, 1967, pp. 2-8, in Translations on Communist China: Political and Sociological, No. 411, pp. 5-7. Translated in Joint Publications Research Service [hereafter cited as JPRS] report No. 41,932 (July 21, 1967). A condensed version of the same Chinese language article is to be found in "Chronology of 17 Years of Two-Road Struggle in Education," in Communist China Digest, No. 191, pp. 167-186, and translated in JPRS report No. 43,204 (Oct. 31, 1967). All references to this article will be to the longer version in the JPRS report No. 41,932, pp. 5-52, and will have the title abbreviated to "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . ." This article was written in period of the Cultural Revolution by a pro-Maoist and deals mainly with the struggle between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i on educational issues and policies during the first seventeen years of the regime's history in Mainland China.

³⁹Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 6.

institutions at all levels were reported to have been taken over by the Communists.⁴² Numerous institutions were reformed, amalgamated, and reorganized. The new regime informed educators and students in many schools to continue carrying on with "socialistic consciousness" as their guideline. However, the regime reacted more quickly and harshly with foreign affiliated schools. This might well be called the Nationalistic Period because it was, as Chang-tu Hu points out, "for the 'nationalistic' purpose that all Western-sponsored institutions of education were the first to be subjected to the fury of educational reorganization, and . . . were declared hotbeds for the spread of individualism, liberalism, and bourgeois decadence . . ." ⁴³ Within three years all foreign affiliated schools had been put out of existence by a process of amalgamation and reorganization. Fraser states that "from 1949 to 1952; consolidation, reconstruction, and reorganization were paramount" and goes on to point out that already "in this initial stage of Communist control some of the harshness and dogmatism of Chinese Marxism quickly became apparent."⁴⁴

During this transitional period, the Soviet Union became Communist China's educational model and many of its higher educational institutions were reorganized on the Soviet pattern. Further changes were inaugurated when the basic outline of a new school system was announced on October 1, 1951; these included certain adjustments in educational patterns as well as in the structure of the full-day schools. Spare-time classes for adults were set up in order to implement the mass literacy program, and stress was placed on establishing technical vocational schools to produce urgently needed technicians. In order to

⁴²Ibid., p. 8.

⁴³ Chang-Tu Hu (ed.), Chinese Education under Communism. (Classics in Education No. 7, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962), p. 31.

⁴⁴ Stewart Fraser, Chinese Communist Education: Records of the First Decade (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965), pp. 12-13.

implement some of these decisions, a new separate Ministry of Higher Education was set up in 1952.

In this brief transitional period, the Communist regime sought to destroy the old educational pattern and establish a new one based on the regime's educational experiences in the "liberated areas." The useful experience of the old educational system were to be retained but the remaining elements of that system were to be eliminated. During this three-year period, large numbers of educational institutions at all levels were taken over and reformed, amalgamated, and reorganized by the Communists. All foreign affiliated schools were closed during this time. These reforms set the stage for the development of education along the established guidelines during the first five-year plan for economic development.

III. THE PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT (1953-57)

The educational program of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) for economic development was geared to the training of an exclusive elite.⁴⁵ This period was one of relative stability on the educational front.⁴⁶ During these years the Communist regime sought to further develop secondary and higher education in order to train engineers and technical specialists. Such personnel were needed to meet the needs of

⁴⁵"Educational Program of Communist China," Education in Communist China, p. 2. (Originally published as chapter three of the Japanese language document Seiji Keizai Soran [Political-Economic Handbook on China] by the Association for Asian Political-Economic Studies. Tokyo: January 1, 1962, pp. 777-788.) Translated in JPRS report No. 17,188 and reproduced by the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. [Scholarly Book Translation Series by the Research & Microfilm Publications, Inc., Annapolis, Maryland].

⁴⁶Robert D. Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey," pp. 5-6 in a Reprint from Problems of Communism, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (July-August, 1964), pp. 19-27. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, n.d.). Barendsen calls these five years the "Period of Stabilization" (p. 5).

construction and to develop heavy industry which was the major aim of the First Five-Year Plan. In addition to the efforts made to improve the technical levels of teachers at home, many promising students were sent abroad for advanced training.

The period embraced by the First Five-Year Plan for economic development was the apex of what one Chinese Communist critic called "the blind introduction of Soviet experiences."⁴⁷ Vast numbers of textbooks, teaching guides, and other materials from the Soviet Union were translated and adopted without really being adapted to the conditions of China.⁴⁸

Spare-time primary and secondary classes replaced many of the accelerated short-term courses in 1956 and 1957. Popular schools, which were usually primary schools operated and supported by the people at the local level, continued to be set up during these years although they registered a decreased enrollment in 1956.⁴⁹ The regular primary schools, however, showed a sharp increase in enrollment for that same

⁴⁷"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . .," op. cit., p. 17.

⁴⁸Li Yun-yang, "A Brief Discussion of the Struggle between the Two Paths in China's Higher Education," Education in Communist China, p. 38. (Originally published in the Chinese language publication Hsin-hua Pan-yueh-k'an [New China Semi-Monthly] Peking: No. 24, 1957, pp. 104-108.) Translated in JPRS report No. 17,188 and reproduced by the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. [Scholarly Book Translation Series by the Research & Microfilm Publications, Inc., Annapolis, Maryland].

⁴⁹I Wo-sheng, "Education in Communist China During 1962 and a Comparison with Education in the Soviet Union," Communist China 1962, Vol. I (Communist China Problem Research Series. Kowloon (Hong Kong): Union Research Institute Limited, 1963), p. 194. He says, "According to the statistics of 1956, there were over 50,000 popular schools (with an enrollment of 3,800,000), representing 9.7 percent of the total number of primary schools in mainland China at that time. In comparison with preceding years, however, this percentage implied a decline"

year as did the secondary and higher educational institutions.⁵⁰

Although this period was one of development as far as schools were concerned, it was one of unrest among the intellectuals and students. The early summer of 1957 was marked by a brief six-week period of intellectual revolt and voluminous criticism of the Communist regime on the part of the country's academic, managerial, and artistic intelligentsia. This episode, which came to be known as the "Hundred Flowers" period to the outside world, was the result of an invitation by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to criticize his regime.⁵¹ It gets its name from Mao's earlier slogan to "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend." Mao had expected only mild criticism and was quite unprepared for the over enthusiastic response on the part of his critics. The repercussions of this movement were felt throughout China and in other socialistic countries as well. This resulted in a nation-wide anti-rightist struggle on the political and ideological front. The new rectification campaign, marked by the "withering of the hundred flowers," imposed greater regimentation upon the intelligentsia and students and "reform through labor" was again stressed for those who did not take to heart Mao Tse-tung's formula of "criticism, counter-criticism, and persuasion."

⁵⁰The actual enrollment increase among primary and secondary students may not have been as high as reported since it is stated in the "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . ." that in 1956 "there emerged the new pattern in which primary schools in rural villages were 'padded' to become middle schools" and resulted in an increased enrollment of over thirty percent for secondary school students and almost a twenty percent increase among primary students (p. 20).

⁵¹For official documentary records from the Chinese Communist daily press on this brief "Hundred Flowers" period, see Roderick MacFarquhar, The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960). See also Edgar Faure, The Serpent and the Tortoise: Problems of the New China (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1958), for a discussion of the cheng feng movement and what Faure calls "the 'cluster of 1957 campaigns' (the rectification campaign, the campaign against the right-wing deviationists and the Hundred Flowers)" (p. 76).

During this period of development which coincided with the First Five-Year Plan of economic development, the educational goal of the regime was to train technical specialists and engineers in the secondary and higher institutions of education for heavy industry. Not only were many of the top students sent abroad for advanced studies, but large numbers of teaching materials of all types were translated and adopted from the Soviet Union. Since it was a period of relative stability, the primary, secondary, and higher institutions all had an opportunity to grow and all showed increased enrollments. The period closed in unrest among the intellectuals and students, and a new rectification campaign was conducted on the political and ideological front to reform recalcitrant intellectuals through participation in manual labor. This prepared the way for many new experimental institutions and educational programs which combined education with productive labor the following year.

IV. THE PERIOD OF EXPERIMENTATION (1958-62)

The period of experimentation paralleled the Second Five-Year Plan of economic development. The Chinese Communists have called 1958 the "experimental year" in education because of the many educational programs that were initiated on a trial basis at that time. In that year, the launching of the "Great Leap Forward" with the aim of making Communist China one of the great industrial nations within the following decade and the formation of the people's communes had tremendous repercussions on the educational system. New educational goals and policies were formulated, and there was a movement to decentralize the schools. Stress was placed on experimentation and specialization. The 1958 "Directive on Educational Activities" announced that the school system must be thoroughly reformed and called on all party committees and administrative levels throughout China to "undertake experimentation

along definite patterns in arriving at a new school system."⁵²

The "definite patterns" laid down under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the guidance of the Party included the simultaneous development and dual sponsorship of two main types of schools--those that were to be supported at government expense and those which were to be sponsored "by the people."⁵³ This new policy of "walking on two legs" as it was called was substituted for the previous "one-sided" and "normal" policy. Ch'en Lei'szu points out that the substitution of the "walking on two legs" policy together with the "combination of education with productive labor" was the outstanding educational feature of Chinese Communist education in 1958 and the means by which the Communists plan to eliminate the differences between mental and physical labor and provide a favorable transition from socialism to communism.⁵⁴

Of the two main types of schools--government supported and people supported--the first kind included the regular full-time schools for the training of the Communist elite from the primary on through the higher levels of education. The second kind, including the part-time and the spare-time schools, was to be locally sponsored and self-supporting. Many varieties of part-time and spare-time schools were

⁵²"Educational Program of Communist China," op. cit., p. 11. The fuller statement reads: "The present school system must be thoroughly and properly reformed. All provincial, metropolitan and autonomous district party committees and administrations will undertake experimentation along definite patterns in arriving at a new school system. These groups are authorized to report to the Ministry of Education. When an intensive experimentation program based on a specific model has been carried out, a decree announcing a new school system will be published for the entire nation."

⁵³"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . .," op. cit., p. 28.

⁵⁴Ch'en Lei-szu, "Education," Communist China 1958 (Communist China Problem Research Series. Kowloon [Hong Kong]: Union Research Service, 1959), p. 116.

inaugurated during the first half of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62).

Both the government and the people-sponsored schools were to "combine education with productive labor." In the regular full-time schools, students at the primary and secondary levels were required to perform from four to eight hours of "productive labor" per week, while students of higher education had to spend two to four months of "vacation" time each year working for the state.

The part-time "half-work, half-study" schools at this time were mainly at the junior middle school level (grades 7-9) and were operated on a part-time basis by a collective organization; students studied in class for half of the day and worked the other half. The agricultural middle schools were one of the most popular of this type of junior middle schools. The formation of the rural people's communes in 1958 greatly stimulated the development of numerous part-time schools.

The spare-time schools were operated for full-time productive laborers who attended classes after regular working hours, in the evenings, or by correspondence. These spare-time schools were usually sponsored by the communes, factories, mines, or other industrial enterprises for their workers. They took literacy as the starting point, and many of them offered classes up to and including the college level. Spare-time higher education became the means by which the régime could satisfy the demand of workers and peasants for further education, and at the same time, keep them in their regular full-time jobs in production.

Many of the experimental educational programs which had undergone vast expansion in the 1958 era were seriously affected by a series of drastic economic reverses and were either greatly curtailed or abolished by the end of this five-year period.⁵⁵ The "Great Leap

⁵⁵"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, gives evidence for this in such statements as the following, "After 1961, almost all colleges and middle schools with half work and half study launched since 1958 have been abolished and almost all factories sponsored by these schools have been suspended."

Forward" had within two and a half years proven rather to be a backward leap, almost leading the country into economic ruin. This failure was augmented by three successive years (1959-61) of continuous natural disasters and crop failures over much of China and by what the Chinese called "the sabotage of the Soviet Union"⁵⁶ in withdrawing most of her assistance, technical aid, and advisers from China in 1960. Due to these agricultural setbacks and developments, the Second Five-Year Plan of 1958-62 was less successful than the First.⁵⁷

Many experiments, changes, and reforms were tried during this five-year period. An attempt was made in the 1960 Reforms⁵⁸ to compress twelve years of school work into ten years so as to have "full manpower units" at an earlier age while at the same time maintaining or even raising the academic standards. This compression of years and acceleration of primary and secondary education was also to be accompanied by "suitable increases" in "productive labor" and by a reduction in the number of hours in class. When some of these reforms were implemented in the classroom, however, it was found that the quality of education was drastically lowered. Therefore, in 1961 and 1962 there was a continuing campaign to improve the quality of education. Also, in 1962 emphasis was placed on the importance of training postgraduate students.⁵⁹

With the launching of the Great Leap Forward and the rural people's communes in 1958, many new schools at all levels were initiated on an experimental basis. These included many types and levels of spare-time education as well as the half-work and half-study agricultural middle schools. Schools were decentralized, and experimentation and specialization were emphasized on the local level. The Party

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 34.

⁵⁷"Educational Program of Communist China," op. cit., p. 1.

⁵⁸Robert D. Barendsen, "The 1960 Educational Reforms," The China Quarterly, No. 4 (October-December, 1960), p. 58.

⁵⁹I Wo-sheng, op. cit., p. 193.

called for the simultaneous development of two main types of schools-- the regular full-time schools which would continue to be funded by the government and the people sponsored schools which would be locally and directed under the guidance of the Party. All full-time, part-time, and spare-time schools were called upon to "combine education with productive labor," though the amount of productive labor and education varied greatly with the kinds and levels of education. As a result of three successive years (1959-61) of natural disasters and crop failures coupled with the failure of the Great Leap Forward (1958-60), many of the educational programs suffered retrenchment during 1961 and 1962. After a period of reorganization and readjustment, however, plans were developed for expanding all three kinds of education for both the urban and the rural areas.

V. THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION (1963-65)

The Central Committee (CC) of the Party had advocated in 1958 that the schools be run under the policy of "walking on two legs," which meant the simultaneous and parallel development of the regular government or public schools on the one hand and the people supported schools on the other. The people supported schools included both the part-time and the spare-time schools. The development and expansion of these two basic kinds of education varied according to the funds, personnel, and students available. There is considerable doubt as to just how much expansion took place in the full-time government sponsored schools during these three years. Barendsen is of the opinion that some of the reports in 1962-63 of increased enrollment, especially at the higher education level, were exaggerated and that full-time enrollments in that school year may actually have been smaller than in 1959-60.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey," *op. cit.*, p. 10. He also points out that since the Communist regime curtailed the release of annual school enrollment statistics in 1960, it is difficult to get a comparative picture on enrollments.

Nevertheless, it appears from press reports that an expansion in regular school enrollments, at least at the primary level, did take place toward the end of this period. A New China News Agency (NCNA) dispatch for September 30, 1965, reported that the new work-study primary schools "together with the increased enrollment in full-time schools" were responsible for a fourteen percent increase of primary school pupils in China over the previous year (1964).⁶¹ The greatest expansion in this three year period, however, was not in the full-time regular schools but rather in the part-time "work-study" schools and in the spare-time "after-work" schools. One explanation why the part-time and spare-time schools underwent vast expansion while at the same time the regular schools remained relatively stable as far as enrollment was concerned is that many students, especially at the middle school level, had to discontinue regular schooling to take a job assignment in the countryside but were able to continue studying in either part-time or spare-time schools. Another reason for their growth, however, was that the regime seemed to be returning to the "Great Leap" policy of emphasizing these schools.⁶²

Part-time schools of all types, many of which had been either abolished or converted to full-time schools during the retrenchment years following the Great Leap Forward, were again stressed. The basic prototype part-time "half-work, half-study" institutions begun in 1958--the agricultural middle schools for training junior middle school students and the "Communist Labor Universities" for advanced students--were greatly expanded. Since both of these types were theoretically self-supporting and designed to reach workers and peasants who had had

⁶¹"China Adopts Work-Study System in Education," New China News Agency [hereafter cited as NCNA], Sept. 30, 1965, in Survey of China Mainland Press [hereafter cited as SCMP] (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 3551 (Oct. 5, 1965), p. 17.

⁶²"Secondary Education," China News Analysis, No. 554, March 5, 1965, p. 1.

little formal training, they were especially adaptable to the rural areas.⁶³ The experience gained since 1958 by several agricultural colleges and other schools in combining education with farm labor became the basis for the establishment in 1964 of a new work-study system in education in which study was combined with farm and factory work and was to run parallel with the established full-time schools. It was known as the work-study system of education but had a variety of names.⁶⁴

This new work-study system of schools was set up on an experimental basis in both rural and urban areas under the educational guideline of making education serve proletarian politics and combining education with productive labor. The guideline of "five years for experiment and ten for popularization" was to be strictly adhered to. Large numbers of children attended these schools during their first years of operation. A New China News Agency (NCNA) dispatch for September 30, 1965, stated that seventeen million children were studying in these work-study primary schools in China and that this was eighty percent above the enrollment for 1964 when they began.⁶⁵ According to this same report, the enrollment in work-study middle schools had increased eighty-seven percent over 1964.⁶⁶ A national conference on

⁶³For detailed information on these "half-work; half-study" institutions see Robert D. Barendsen, Half-Work, Half-Study Schools in Communist China; Recent Experiments With Self-Supporting Educational Institutions (U.S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 24. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964).

⁶⁴For example, in the urban industrial areas these schools were called "part-work, part-study" schools or "work-study" schools, while in the rural areas they became known as "part-farming, part-study" schools, "farm-study" schools, or "farming-study" schools. When both types were referred to together, they have been translated as "part-farming (part-work) part-study" schools, "part-farming (-work) part-study" schools, or "work-study and farming-study" schools.

⁶⁵"China Adopts Work-Study System in Education," op. cit., p. 17.

⁶⁶Ibid.

higher and secondary agricultural education convened by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1965 decided that this new farm-study system should be introduced in all agricultural colleges and secondary schools throughout the country.

With the gradual recovery of the national economy from natural disasters and the failure of the "Great Leap Forward," the regime again began to reemphasize the importance of spare-time education among peasants and workers. In the latter part of 1963, a movement was launched to promote spare-time education among both groups. A national conference on spare-time education was held in Peking in 1964. Great emphasis was placed on developing various levels of spare-time education. Correspondence and evening courses at the higher education level were developed for rural as well as urban areas.

Productive labor and politics received a great deal of prominence throughout these years. Both of these emphases were combined in the 1964 "Socialist Education Movement." This was "a revolutionary movement for the re-education of the people" by which the working class, including students and teachers, was organized to produce a greater degree of political consciousness. They made progress in building socialism by further developing the three important movements of class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experimentation.⁶⁷ Three hundred thousand youths were reported to have participated in this movement in 1964 alone.⁶⁸ In that same year education departments

⁶⁷"Intensify Socialist Education for the Working Masses," Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], Peking: No. 1 (January 4, 1964), in Translations from Hung-ch'i, No. 1, 1964, p. 6. Translated in JPRS report No. 23,651 (March 12, 1964).

⁶⁸Ku Hung-chang, "Educated Youth Go to the Countryside," China Reconstructs, No. 5, May, 1965, p. 36, in SCMP No. 467 (May 3, 1965), p. 36. Also, see "More Than 300 Thousand Educated Youth Head for Rural Areas and Mountains," Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Events], No. 5, March 6, 1965, p. 30, in Selections from China Mainland Magazines, No. 469 (May 17, 1965), pp. 30-31.

strengthened political ideology by having students study about and emulate Lei Feng. This was known as the "Lei Feng Movement" and likewise emphasized both politics and productive labor. Lei Feng was a Communist soldier who was selected as a model and was being glorified for being satisfied with obscure and unpretentious daily work; he obeyed the Party and was ready to do any assignment given him. Stress in the movement was laid on following his example by urging students to accept any job assignment given them by the Party--whether for advanced study or for rural reconstruction work in the frontier areas. Likewise, students were urged to be both "Red [politically correct] and expert [professionally competent]."

Throughout these years there were continuing demands for reform and for cutting down on the burdens of students. However, since there was disagreement up to the very highest levels as to whether political education, productive labor, militia training, or academic courses should be cut from the curriculum, it remained to be seen what the results of this power struggle would be and how it would affect Chinese Communist education.⁶⁹ These were determined in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

VI. THE PERIOD OF REVOLUTION (1966--)

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966 inaugurated an entirely new phase in Chinese Communist education, but it is not clear just what its results will be on the educational system because it is still in the process of change.

The roots of the struggle leading to the Cultural Revolution go back some years, but the struggle is reported to have reached an unprecedented sharp stage in 1962 at the Spring Festival Round Table Conference

⁶⁹See "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 44-50, for an account of this power struggle as it pertains to education.

convened by the CC when Mao Tse-tung criticized the revisionist line and called for the reforming of the school system, curriculum, teaching methods, and examination methods.⁷⁰ Continued disagreement and discussion on Mao Tse-tung's suggestions pertaining to educational reforms prevailed in subsequent years through 1965. On May 7, 1966, Mao Tse-tung's directive which was known as the directive of May 7 and which called for educational revolution, was published. In it Mao said, "The curriculum should be reduced and there should be educational revolution."⁷¹ After the Cultural Revolution had spread throughout the country in 1966, it was stated, "Educational revolution has since entered a broader and more intensive stage."⁷² The educational revolution, however, was only one facet of a much larger revolution that was taking place.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was officially launched in September, 1965,⁷³ but did not reach epidemic proportions until the late spring of 1966. At that time the Red Guards carried the Cultural Revolution to all parts of China. Great turmoil resulted from this massive power struggle between Mao Tse-tung and his opponents. The Cultural Revolution was directed to a large extent against Liu Shao-ch'i, the chief of state of the People's Republic of China. Liu was called "the Khrushchev of China" and "the top party person in authority

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 45.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 51.

⁷²Ibid., p. 50.

⁷³Richard Frederick James Harris, "The Chinese Cultural Revolution," Britannica Book of the Year 1968 (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1968), p. 197.

taking the capitalist road."⁷⁴ Liu, together with such other "counter-revolutionary revisionists" as Lu Ting-yi, chief of the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, and Ho Wei, Minister of Education, were accused of having seized "the power of control over the department of education, obstinately implemented a counterrevolutionary revisionist educational line, and carried out criminal activities looking to the frantic restoration of capitalism."⁷⁵ They were condemned for having "opposed Chairman Mao's great directives and the aim of placing education at the service of politics and linking together education and productive labor."⁷⁶

As a result of the turmoil attending the Cultural Revolution, the 1966-67 school year was completely disrupted. In the spring of 1966, Mao Tse-tung's agents, who were to later blossom as the Red Guards, boldly attacked various teachers and heads of universities.⁷⁷ Under Mao Tse-tung, the new small control unit known as the Party Cultural Revolution Group, issued orders which closed the schools in June, 1966, "on the plea of altering the entry system to favour proletarians and of destroying bourgeois attitudes in teaching."⁷⁸ The closing of the schools released students throughout China between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five to join the Red Guards and take part in the Cultural Revolution. About twenty million students were recruited for the Red Guards

⁷⁴"Reform of Education Asked," in Communist China Digest, No. 192, p. 76. (Originally published in Ching-kang Shan, Peking: No. 47, June 14, 1967, from an article entitled "Let the Storm of the Educational Revolution Become More Tempestuous!" and published by the Peking Normal University Revolutionary Committee and the Peking Normal University Ching-kang Shan Commune, Red Guard Congress.) Translated in JPRS report No. 43,449 (1967). See also, "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . .," op. cit., p. 52.

⁷⁵"Reform of Education Asked," op. cit., pp. 76-77.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 77.

⁷⁷This paragraph is based upon Richard Frederick James Harris's article on "The Chinese Cultural Revolution," op. cit., p. 198.

⁷⁸Ibid.

and infused with revolutionary spirit in order to create a mass movement directly under the control of Mao Tse-tung's Party Cultural Revolution Group and the Army but divorced from the power structure of the Communist Party and its related organizations. His "aim was to ensure that his ideals would survive him to a new generation, and to ensure the superiority of China's political will over its enemies, whether U. S. imperialists or Soviet revisionists."⁷⁹

The first phase of the Cultural Revolution from September, 1965, to December, 1966, was directed largely against the Communist Party cadres and intellectuals who were suspected of revisionism, while the second phase, which began in late December, 1966, and continued through much of 1967, included a purge among factory workers and peasants in industry and agriculture.⁸⁰ Rebel groups, who had been urged to seize power, were assisted in doing so by the Army. This so called "January Revolution" which engulfed the entire nation⁸¹ called for a change of leadership at all levels and resulted in great upheaval for 1967.⁸² In February, 1967, the Red Guards, who at one time numbered eleven million in Peking alone, were urged for the third time in three months to return home and continue the Cultural Revolution there.⁸³ The Government also called for the reopening of the primary and secondary schools which had been closed since June, 1966. Some colleges and technical schools resumed classes in July, 1967, while others didn't reopen until October of that same year.⁸⁴

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 197.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 197-98.

⁸¹"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . .," op. cit., p. 52.

⁸²Harris, op. cit., p. 198.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Chester C. Tan, "China," The Americana Annual 1968 (forty-sixth edition; New York: Americana Corporation, 1968), p. 153.

What the results of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will be on the Chinese Communist educational system remains to be seen. However, one of the tasks adopted for the Cultural Revolution on August 8, 1966, according to the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," was the reform of the old educational system under Mao Tse-tung's personal direction. The decision read as follows:

To reform the old educational system and the old methods and policy of teaching is an extremely important task of this great proletarian cultural revolution.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the phenomenon in which bourgeois intellectuals dominated our schools must be thoroughly changed.⁸⁵

Without doubt many reforms have been and will be made. That the old educational system will be revamped and new changes inaugurated may be predicted. In speaking of these changes, one Chinese Communist critic stated in mid-1967, "The time to thoroughly smash the old educational system and create a brand new proletarian educational system has arrived."⁸⁶ Another Chinese Communist article calling for educational reform expresses a like view and lays down the guideline for that reform. Mao's teachings form that guideline as seen from the following extended quotation:

... The educational revolution should follow the great teachings of Chairman Mao. There must be destruction before there is construction, and when there is great destruction, great construction follows. We must destroy the educational system and educational thinking, which have endured several thousand years, write the educational history of China and of other countries in the last several thousand years with Mao Tse-tung's thought as our weapon, and restore the original countenance of history. . .⁸⁷

⁸⁵Cited in "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle. . .," op. cit., p. 51.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷"Reform of Education Asked," op. cit., p. 77.

That the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has resulted in numerous reforms and changes is true. That there has been great destruction is also true. Whether or not great construction will follow remains to be seen. When the Chinese Communists took over Mainland China in 1949, they proceeded to systematically and completely reform the old educational system on the basis of three guidelines: by absorbing the useful experiences of the old educational system, by building on the successful educational experiences in the old "liberated areas," and by making use of the experiences of the Soviet Union.⁸⁸ During the more than two and a half decades after the occupation, the regime was able to make a number of significant achievements in the educational realm, including the establishment of a very flexible and broadly based educational system. It not only greatly expanded the educational opportunity of China's masses by the establishment of full-time, part-time, and spare-time schools, but it also greatly reduced illiteracy and sought to break down the traditional practice of separating mental and manual labor by incorporating physical labor in the school curriculum.

In the years from 1949 to 1966, these achievements were significant in spite of the persistent weaknesses of that educational system which included excessive specialization, an overburdening of students which resulted in low quality education, and the priority of politics in education. Though the Red Guard Movement may result in the double goal of eliminating examinations and providing for greater democratic participation in running the schools, it is doubtful whether as a result of the call issued in the Cultural Revolution for the destruction of the existing school system that any of these three weaknesses will be significantly remedied. In the next chapter, a more detailed examination will be made of these major achievements and weaknesses in the Chinese Communist educational system since they provide a background for understanding the development of spare-time higher education.

⁸⁸"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle," op. cit., p. 7.

CHAPTER III

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Communist China has had many major educational problems since she achieved control of the mainland in 1949. To a degree, the extent to which she has been able to solve these problems is the measure by which she has been successful or has achieved; on the other hand, the degree to which she has not been able to solve her problems is the measure of her failures or at least some of her weaknesses.

I. MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST EDUCATION

One outstanding achievement that may be listed for Communist China in the field of education is that she has succeeded in broadening educational opportunity in that nation by a new system of schools that includes the full-time, part-time, and spare-time types. By establishing these diverse types, she has been able to offer some kind of education to all levels of the population. Though the quality of much Chinese Communist education may be deficient in many ways, this is to a degree offset by the amount of education offered. In spite of the fact that the full-time academic schools were limited to a chosen elite, China has provided for the training of the masses through self-supporting part-time work-study vocational type schools and spare-time training at all levels from literacy classes through college courses for both the industrial workers and the rural peasants. Communist China claims that one-fourth of her population is enrolled in some type of schooling.¹

¹Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "Education in Communist China: Aims, Trends, and Problems," p. 260 in Contemporary China, ed. Ruth Adams. Chicago China Conference, 1966; New York: Pantheon, 1966.

This broadening of educational opportunity for the masses, who previously had very little chance for an education, may very well be her greatest educational achievement. Orleans and Barendsen have both given evidence of being quite impressed by this Chinese Communist educational accomplishment.²

A second achievement of the regime has been in the area of literacy. In spite of numerous setbacks and problems in her massive literacy campaign, Communist China had been able to lower the basic illiteracy level from approximately eighty percent at the time the regime gained control of the mainland in 1949 to a relatively small percentage of the population nineteen years later.

After the first completion of land reform in 1950, a national conference was called by the Communists to discuss the whole question of spare-time education for workers and peasants³ who together were reported to make up over eighty percent of Communist China's population.⁴ As a result of this conference, spare-time literacy classes had been set up throughout Mainland China by 1952. Literacy programs for workers were greatly stressed from 1952 to 1960, and a great deal of progress toward worker literacy was made during these years. About one-third of a million factory workers completed spare-time literacy classes in 1956 alone.⁵ In that same year the official Communist press stated that illiteracy would be wiped out among workers by the end of 1958 and among

²Robert D. Barendsen, Review of Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China by Leo A. Orleans, The China Quarterly, No. 8 (Oct.-Dec., 1961), p. 216.

³Chou Po, "Adult Education in the Countryside," China Reconstructs, Vol. 9, No. 7 (July, 1960), p. 29.

⁴"Education: Training Worker and Peasant Intellectuals," Peking Review, Vol. I, No. 12 (May 20, 1958), p. 16.

⁵"Factory Workers Complete Literacy Courses," New China News Agency Hereafter cited as NCNA Feb. 5, 1957, in Survey of China Mainland Press Hereafter cited as SCMP No. 1466 Feb. 8, 1957, p. 22.

illiterate peasants and other segments of the population between the ages of fourteen and fifty by 1962.⁶

By May, 1958, illiteracy among workers was said to have dropped from eighty percent in the early "post-liberation" period to forty-one percent.⁷ At the same time it was reported that except among old workers illiteracy had been practically eliminated in hundreds of Shanghai factories, in a number of other great industrial cities such as Kirin and Harbin, in the chemical industry, and in the postal and tele-communication services.⁸ Eighty-seven percent of the workers in the capital city of Peking were said to have received at least a primary school level education by mid-1959.⁹ Illiteracy among Chinese workers had further dropped to somewhat over twenty percent by 1960, and the majority of these were semi-literates, many of whom had come from rural areas to work, with very few being completely illiterate.¹⁰ A New China News Agency release for December 25, 1959, stated that 4,000,000 workers were attending spare-time literacy classes in factory schools and said, "The aim of many factories and mines is to virtually wipe out illiteracy among workers below 40 years of age before the end of the year [1959]"

⁶"Plan to Raise Education Levels," NCNA, Jan. 3, 1956, in SCMP, No. 1202 (1956), p. 13.

⁷"Education: Spare-time Education for Workers," Peking Review, Vol. I, No. 12 (May 20, 1958), p. 16.

⁸Ibid.

⁹"More Teachers for Peking Spare-time Schools," NCNA, July 1, 1959, in SCMP No. 2049 (July 7, 1959), p. 7.

¹⁰"Over 13 Million Chinese Workers Enrolled at Spare Time Schools," NCNA, Dec. 25, 1959 in SCMP No. 2167 (Dec. 31, 1959), p. 17. The statement reads: "Illiterates who comprised 80% of the Chinese workers at the time of liberation, have now dropped to 20% odd, of whom the majority are semi-illiterates [*italics added*]. Only very few are completely illiterate." It would appear from the context that the phrase ". . .the majority are semi-illiterates" should have been translated ". . .the majority are semi-literates."

or by next spring [1960]."¹¹

The Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily] for December 14, 1959, reported there still existed among the city laboring people a large number of illiterates of whom the majority were women. This article called for the elimination of illiteracy among them as soon as possible.¹²

Although the campaign for eliminating illiteracy among peasants did not develop quite as rapidly as among workers, it did make substantial progress. With the "Great Leap Forward" and the formation of the people's communes in 1958, the regime launched a final campaign to eliminate illiteracy which it termed "cultural backwardness," and great emphasis was placed upon peasant literacy.¹³ Many peasants became literate that year. For example, during 1958 in southeastern Shansi Province alone almost one-third of a million young peasants were taught to read and write. This was reported to be equal to the total number who had become literate in that same area during the preceding eight years during which time the literacy rate had increased from fourteen percent before 1949 to eighty-two percent in late 1958.¹⁴

Thus it was said that by 1959 the majority of both workers and peasants in the fourteen to forty age group in Communist China had

¹¹Ibid.

¹²"Evoke a New Upsurge in the Spare-Time Study of City Residents," Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily], Peking: Dec. 14, 1959, in SCMP No. 2264 (May 24, 1960), pp. 17-18.

¹³Chou Po, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁴Yang Chun-feng, "Combat Rightist Incline Feelings and Press Steadily Forward in the Spare-Time Education of the Peasants," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Oct. 27, 1959, in SCMP No. 2153 (Dec. 10, 1959), p. 31. Many official news releases in the first decade after 1949 put the illiteracy rate at eighty percent among China's peasants and workers though it varied. In "Millions of Chinese Peasants Attend Spare-Time Schools," NCNA, Peking: Jan. 22, 1965, in SCMP No. 3386 (Jan. 27, 1965), p. 20; it is stated: "Over 90 per cent of peasants in old China were illiterate."

become literate.¹⁵ Those in this age group who were still "letter-blind" or "semi-letter-blind" were chiefly housewives with large families and responsibilities, people with irregular work duties such as cooks, cart drivers, stockmen who couldn't attend regular classes, and "reverted letter-blind" people who had forgotten what they had learned.¹⁶ However, those in these classifications plus those outside the fourteen to forty age group still made up a sizeable group of many tens of millions.

In late 1959 an NCNA dispatch stated that a mass study movement for wiping out illiteracy and introducing spare-time education had been launched in the rural areas of China under the leadership of the Party and that in many provinces as many as two-thirds of the young peasants were enrolled in these spare-time schools while in some areas four-fifths of them were enrolled.¹⁷ It also stated that according to incomplete statistics about 50,000,000 young peasants were studying in these spare-time schools throughout the country.¹⁸ The Kuang-ming Jih-pao for October 27, 1959, reported that a people's study movement was inaugurated to eliminate illiteracy among 800,000 persons in Shansi Province during the winter and spring of 1959-60.¹⁹ The aim of these mass study movements was to wipe out illiteracy and introduce spare-time primary and middle school education as soon as possible.

In July, 1960, after a decade of literacy work among peasants, it was reported that more than half of China's 200,000,000 peasants had learned at least 1,500 characters and were therefore classified as

¹⁵Chou Po, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷"Great Leap Forward in Work of Wiping Out Illiteracy and Introducing Spare-Time Education in China's Countryside," NCNA, Nov. 5, 1959, in SCMP No. 2138 (Nov. 18, 1959), pp. 20-21.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁹"Shansi Maps Out Plan for Teaching 800,000 Illiterate Peasants To Read and Write," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Oct. 27, 1959, in SCMP No. 2153 (Dec. 10, 1959), pp. 29-30.

literate peasants.²⁰ Special efforts were continued in the 1960's to wipe out the remaining illiteracy among "letter-blind," "semi-letter-blind," and "reverted letter-blind" people among urban workers, rural peasants, and other segments of the population. As peasants have become literate, the regime has encouraged them to continued in further spare-time education. An NCNA dispatch for April 26, 1963, reported that of the millions of Chinese peasants who were taking spare-time courses during the slack 1962-63 winter season only a small percentage were taking literacy classes. Most of these peasants had already learned to read and write and were attending either spare-time primary or junior middle schools.²¹

A third achievement that may be credited to the Chinese Communist regime is that it has been able to break down the traditional Chinese practice of separating mental and manual labor. It has also succeeded to a degree in eliminating much of the disdain and prejudice behind this practice. Formerly, most educated Chinese had looked down on those who made a living by working with their hands.

In 1958 the Communists adopted an educational policy of "integrating education with productive labor" by means of which they planned to train workers with political awareness and culture who would be able to undertake both mental and physical work.²² The regime believed that by erasing this difference between manual and mental labor, it would

²⁰Chou Po, op. cit., p. 29.

²¹"Millions of Chinese Peasants Go To School," NCNA, April 26, 1963, in SCMP No. 2969 (May 1, 1963), p. 3.

²²See Yu Yu-sung, "The Relationship Between Mental and Physical Work," Peiping K'uang-yeh Hsueh-yuan Hsueh-pao [Peiping Mining College Journal], Peking: No. 1, 1959, pp. 4-11, Education in Communist China, p. 89. Translated in United States Joint Publications Research Service [hereafter cited as JPRS] report No. 17,188 and reproduced by the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. [Scholarly Book Translation Series by the Research & Microfilm Publications, Inc., Annapolis, Maryland].

be able to make the transition from socialism to communism sooner.²³ Cadres, intellectuals, students, and all other segments of society were required to take part in manual work. The Party cadres were expected to set a proper example by participation in productive labor.²⁴ Also, intellectuals were to take part in labor among the worker and peasant masses in order to have their thoughts and outlook transformed.²⁵ All teachers and students in the full-time, part-time, and spare-time schools were likewise required to take part in manual as well as mental labor.

The Party laid down the educational plans and set various ratios between the time required for education and that needed for productive labor.²⁶ The number of hours spent in productive labor was made dependent upon ". . .the basis of the individual specialization majors, the age of the students, the actual circumstances of the schools, and the special circumstances in urban and rural areas . . ." ²⁷ In the regular full-time schools, the productive labor work load outside of class hours required primary school students who were nine years of age or older to work not more than four hours a week, junior middle school students

²³Ch'en Lei-szu, "Education," Communist China 1958 (Communist China Problem Research Series. Kowloon [Hong Kong]: Union Research Service, 1959), p. 116.

²⁴See "Productive Labor for Functionaries: Lessons of Cadres' Participation in Collective Productive Labor," Nan-fan Jih-pao [Southern Daily], Dec. 28, 1963, in SCMP No. 3153 (Feb. 4, 1964), pp. 4-12; and "The Kind of Cadres the Working People Want," Shih-shih Shou-ts'è [Current Events], No. 2, Jan. 16, 1965, in SCMM No. 460 (March 15, 1965), p. 20.

²⁵Hung Yen-lin, "Theory Workers Must Go Among the Worker and Peasant Masses," Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking: Jan. 25, 1964, in SCMP No. 3161 (Feb. 8, 1964), p. 9.

²⁶This paragraph is based upon "Schools All Over the Country Further Implementing Party's Educational Policy Through Over-All Educational Plans," NCNA, Peking: March 20, 1959, in SCMP No. 1985 (April 3, 1959), p. 14.

²⁷Ibid.

(grades 7-9) to participate in six hours per week, and senior middle school students (grades 10-12) eight hours per week. College and university students, under a system of combining individual and collective labor, were required to spend from two to four months in labor annually, depending upon their specializations. Students throughout the country could participate in productive labor in one of three ways. They could set up and operate farms and/or factories within the schools, go to work in either factories or rural villages, or take part in social welfare work. In the part-time schools, which were often organized on a half-day, alternate day, or alternate week basis, students spent approximately half of their time in study and the other half in productive labor. However, in the spare-time schools the "students" usually took part in regular full-time productive labor jobs and then studied in "after-work" hours.²⁸

This policy of "integrating education with productive labor" has been relatively successful in breaking down the traditional attitude against combining mental and manual work by requiring students to take part in manual labor. However, since students were required to not only work a specific number of hours outside the school day but also take formal work courses in school, they became overburdened and the quality of education was lowered. Despite this weakness, the regime probably did achieve much in its goal of breaking down the prejudice against those who earn a living by working with their hands. These significant achievements of providing for greater education opportunity, lowering the illiteracy rate, and integrating physical labor with mental work were accompanied by certain weaknesses which will be discussed in the next section.

²⁸ See Also, "New Arrangements in China's Schools to Combine Study and Work," NCNA, March 23, 1959, in SCMP No. 1985 (April 3, 1959), pp. 15-16. For a related discussion see Liu Yan-ch'iao, "Combine Education with Productive Labor to Enhance the Quality of Teaching," Jen-min Jih-pao, March 7, 1959, in SCMP No. 1985 (April 3, 1959), pp. 9-13.

II. MAJOR WEAKNESSES OF CHINESE EDUCATION

One of the major weaknesses of Chinese Communist education has been that teachers and students have been required to include political education, productive labor, and militia training in their courses in addition to academic work. This has resulted in such overburdening of students that in many cases their health has been adversely affected and has resulted in a lowering of the quality of education.

Another major weakness in the Communist educational program has been the overemphasis on politics in education. As was previously pointed out, the priority of politics in education has been a constant feature of Chinese Communist education over the years. Under the policy of having education serve proletarian politics, the schools have served as vehicles for disseminating the political line of the Party and for indoctrination. Thus, it is not surprising that the quality of academic instruction has suffered and that students have been overburdened with activities other than their studies.

A third major weakness of the regime's education is that it has been and has continued to be very specialized.²⁹ Since many graduates have had excessively narrow training in but one area, a greater strain is placed upon the limited number of broadly qualified scholars who can guide advanced students as well as conduct important research.³⁰ Chang Nai-fan, writing from his perspective in Taiwan, suggests that one purpose for this "summit learning," as it is called, is to so structure what the students learn that ". . . they could not make a living

²⁹See "Higher Education 1962-63 (Part I): The Educational System," China News Analysis, No. 471 (June 7, 1963), pp. 4-5; and "Higher Education 1962-63 (Part II): The Students," China News Analysis, No. 476 (July 12, 1963), p. 1.

³⁰Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey," p. 11 in a Reprint from Problems of Communism, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (July-Aug., 1964), pp. 19-27.

independent of the control of Communist industrial organization."³¹

Although Communist China will probably continue to make progress in those educational areas in which she has already achieved outstanding success, it would at the same time appear likely that the areas of weakness in the Chinese Communist educational program will continue due to their inherent nature within the Communist system. Little change, therefore, may be anticipated in the near future in these three areas of weakness: the overemphasis of political and labor education in the curriculum, the priority of politics in education, and the very specialized nature of Chinese Communist education generally.

The three major achievements of broadening the education opportunity for China's masses, of greatly reducing the illiteracy rate, and of partially breaking down the traditional wall between mental and manual labor were accompanied by three major weaknesses. These weaknesses were the low quality of education in general, the overemphasis of politics in education, and the extreme specialization of many types of Chinese Communist education. These strengths or weaknesses were not characteristic of any one kind of education but were prevalent throughout the entire educational system.

Both the strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese Communist educational system represent problems which had either been partially solved or problems which had not yet been adequately overcome. In addition to the six problems represented by the major achievements and weaknesses there were also the social, economic, and political problems of the nation as a whole which were reflected in education. Some of these major social, economic, and political problems will be presented in the next chapter since they were important factors which led to the development of spare-time education in general and spare-time higher education in particular.

³¹Chang Nai-fan, "An Analysis of Universities and Colleges on the Chinese Mainland," Chinese Communist Affairs, Vol. 2, No. 3 (June, 1965), p. 53.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL PROBLEMS REFLECTED IN CHINESE COMMUNIST EDUCATION

A nation's problems are reflected in its educational system. Nowhere is this more true than in the People's Republic of China. Apart from specific educational problems, of which Communist China has her share, there are numerous social, economic, and political problems which in turn are reflected in the educational system.

I. SOCIAL PROBLEMS REFLECTED IN EDUCATION

Two major social problems which have been reflected in Communist China's educational system are her population problem and her language problem. Perhaps no other country has problems of such magnitude in these two areas as this nation does.

Communist China is the third largest nation in area and the most populous country in the world. One fourth of the world's population live within her borders.¹ The 1953 census in the People's Republic of China was reported to be 582.6 million. Even with a two percent natural increase in population as reported, the annual population growth would be about twelve million people and would double every thirty-five years.² However, Sripati Chandra-sekhar, the Indian demographer, reported as a result of his 1958-59 visit to Communist China that the annual rate of increase, which was two percent in 1953, had increased to 2.3 percent in 1957 and that the total population had increased by more than ten percent since the 1953

¹John Aird, "Population Growth: Evidence and Interpretation," The China Quarterly, No. 8 (October-November, 1961), p. 44.

²Leo A. Orleans, "Birth Control: Reversal or Postponement," The China Quarterly, No. 3 (July-September, 1960), p. 59.

census.³ He predicted that the net annual increase in China's population, which had been growing annually at the rate of 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 in recent years,⁴ would within a decade increase by about 20,000,000 per year.⁵ In addition, the rate of growth itself will continue to gradually increase over the years. In regard to Communist China's population, Chandra-sekhar says, "And at the present rate of increase, China's population in 1963--the end of her second Five-Year Plan--will be about 700,000,000. It will be 800,000,000 before 1968, the end of her third Five-Year Plan."⁶ Although population estimates for the People's Republic of China vary greatly, it would appear that her population was at least 750,000,000 by mid-1968.⁷

³Sripati Chandra-sekhar, Red China: An Asian View (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), pp. 130-131.

⁴Ibid., pp. 148, 151. According to Chandra-sekhar, Dr. Ma Yin-chu, economist and (former) president of Peking University, in his New Theory of Population, which was read before the fourth session of the First National People's Congress of China, mentioned a 13,000,000 increase in China for that year (1957).

⁵Ibid., pp. 131, 161. He also pointed out (p. 161) that "under certain conditions, after 1970 or so, China is likely to add to her population in one decade [*italics in the original*] more than the present population of the United States of America."

⁶Ibid., p. 138.

⁷The "China" article in The Americana Annual 1968, op. cit., p. 154, states that the mid-1966 UN estimate of Communist China's population was 710,000,000; Chandra-sekhar, op. cit., p. vii, points out that according to the United Nations Demographic Yearbook published in August, 1960, China had a population of 669,000,000, which would be an increase of about 41,000,000 in the six and a half years previous to the mid 1966 UN estimate, a figure that appears to be rather conservative. On the other hand, Hung-ti Chu in his article on "China" in Britannica Book of the Year 1969, op. cit., p. 195, gives the 1967 population estimate as 825,000,000!

The problem of providing education for twelve to fifteen million or more new school children each year,⁸ while at the same time endeavoring to broaden the educational opportunity for "the masses" of the general population, is indeed a staggering problem in itself. The immensity of such an undertaking can be visualized when it is realized that any educational programs must be attempted in midst of vast social, economic, and political upheavals.

Directly related to the population problem is the language problem. This problem is accentuated by the fact that in the past only a small number of people had any educational opportunity at all. The language problem is clearly reflected in the related problem of illiteracy, the problem of lapsing back into illiteracy after having become literate, and the problem of a minority population who speak other languages than Mandarin, the official dialect of Communist China.

To a nation the size of Communist China with its hundreds of millions of people, the problem of illiteracy has been no small one. Mao Tse-tung himself put the illiteracy rate of China at eighty percent of the population in 1945.⁹ Likewise, the Chinese Communist press has frequently mentioned that China was eighty percent illiterate in the early "post-liberation" period.¹⁰

⁸ I Wo-sheng in his article entitled "Education in Communist China During 1962 and a Comparison with Education in the Soviet Union," Communist China 1962, Vol. I, p. 197, estimates that there are 15,000,000 new children of school age in Communist China each year.

⁹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 4, p. 300. The statement reads, "To eliminate illiteracy among 80 per cent of the population is an important task for new China."

¹⁰ See, for instance, Chou Po, "Adult Education in the Countryside," China Reconstructs, Vol. 9, No. 7 (July, 1960), p. 29; "Education: Sparetime Education for Workers," Peking Review, Vol. I, No. 12 (May 20, 1958), p. 16; "More Teachers for Peking Spare-time Schools," NCNA, July 1, 1959, in SCMP No. 2049 (July 7, 1959), p. 7; and "Over 13 Million Workers Enrolled at Spare Time Schools," NCNA, Dec. 25, 1959, in SCMP No. 2167 (Dec. 31, 1959), p. 17.

This high illiteracy rate among Chinese workers and peasants in the first decade and a half after "liberation" was a major problem since it was directly related to and a hindrance to the plans of the regime for industrializing the nation. It also hindered communication throughout the nation as Chandra-sekhar pointed out in the following statement:

. . . the Communists are faced with the problem of language and communication: with a predominantly illiterate population speaking numerous dialects, the question of communication between the north and the south on the one hand and between the majority and minority nationalities on the other has assumed considerable national importance.¹¹

Retention of language learning has been another aspect of the language problem since many people lapse back into illiteracy by non-use. Fifteen hundred characters was the minimal number that a person had to know to be considered literate in Communist China, and those who knew less were called semi-literate.¹² After a decade of literacy work in the "new" China, it was stated in 1960 that over half of China's 200,000,000 peasants in the fourteen to forty age group had ceased to be "letter-blind", the term used to describe semi-literates who know less than the minimal 1500 characters required for reading newspapers and general literature.¹³

One difficulty which makes the problem of illiteracy greater in Communist China than in most other countries is the nature of the Chinese language itself. One of the obstacles in learning written Chinese is that it has no alphabet. The written language is made up of a series of ideographs or characters. Each word is made up of one

¹¹Chandra-sekhar, op. cit., p. 90.

¹²The literacy standard for workers, however, was increased to 2,000 characters in the mid-1950's.

¹³Chou Po, op. cit., p. 27.

or more characters which must be memorized, and many of these are very complicated. Much of the time in the early primary grades is spent memorizing characters. In 1961 it was reported that during the first four-year period of elementary instruction, half of which was devoted to the study of the Chinese language, the pupils had to memorize 2,200 different ideographs while for the regular six-year elementary period they had to master as many as 3,500 ideographs.¹⁴ Because a great deal of time and work is required to gain a mastery of the written language, the Communist regime instituted language reforms in three main areas: first, many of the ideographs were simplified; secondly, the use of p'u-t'ung'hua, the standard spoken language whose basis is the Northern or Peking dialect of the Han (Chinese) language called Mandarin, has been promulgated throughout China, and thirdly a phonetic system to both simplify language study and reduce the time required to learn it has been developed and widely used.¹⁵

The plan for simplifying Chinese characters or ideographs was adopted in January, 1956, by the State Council. These simplified or abbreviated characters were to be universally adopted throughout the country in the printing of all newspapers, magazines, and books beginning February 1, 1956.¹⁶

The purpose of popularizing p'u-t'ung'hua as the official or "national" language, which is spoken by more than half of the nation's population, according to one Communist writer, ". . . is not to

¹⁴V. Klepikov and M. Chabe, "The Preparation of School Reform in China," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 7, No. 1 (June, 1963), pp. 75-76. (Based on a Russian language article by V. Klepikov, "Podgotovka Reformy Shkoly v Kitae," in Narodnoe Obrazovanie [Public Education], May, 1961, pp. 99-102.) Translated from the Russian and annotated by Alexander M. Chabe.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁶"Plan for Simplification of Chinese Characters Promulgated," NCNA, Jan. 29, 1956, in SCMP No. 1221 (Feb. 2, 1956), p. 22.

eliminate local dialects but to require . . . all . . . to master one common language--a common spoken language."¹⁷ He then says, "Following political and economic unity, unity of language is a necessary trend."¹⁸

P'u-t'ung-hua has been the medium of instruction in the schools since 1956-57 and special stress has been placed on popularizing it in the primary schools and the teacher training institutions.¹⁹ However, its use is not being limited to the schools but is also being extended to "the field of communications and transportation, telegraph and broadcasting services, and national defense."²⁰

Romanization, the use of the Latin alphabet which provides the basis for a phonetic system for the Chinese written language, was attempted unsuccessfully in the "liberated areas" in the late 1930's and early 1940's by the Communists.²¹ However, in 1956 a

¹⁷Ch'en Lin-hu, "Speech (excerpts) Delivered at the Seventh Shang-hai Municipal Meeting on Comparing Results of Teaching P'u-t'ung-hua [Standard Spoken Language], " Wen-tzu Kai-ke [Language Reform], No. 2, Feb. 12, 1965 in Selections from China Mainland Magazines [hereafter cited as SCMM] (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 468 (May 10, 1965), p. 11.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹"Notes on the Fourth National Conference on Results of Teaching P'u-t'ung-hua," Wen-tzu Kai-ke [Language Reform], No. 10, Oct. 12, 1964, in SCMM No. 456 (Feb. 15, 1965), pp. 14-16. See also, Klepikov and Chabe, op. cit., p. 76.

²⁰"Notes on the Fourth National Conference on Results of Teaching P'u-t'ung-hua," op. cit., p. 14.

²¹Michael Lindsay, Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China 1941-1947, pp. 47-48; Lindsay pointed out that the system of Romanization called Sinwenz and/or Latinxua and used by the Communists during the Chinese Soviet Republic period was a system devised in Russia by people who were apparently more familiar with the Cyrillic alphabet than the Latin one. It was, he said, a poor system because it had numerous defects such as not having any provision for indicating tones and having complicated rules for spelling.

committee of linguists appointed by the Party developed a new phonetic system which has been used in many schools in Communist China since the fall of 1958 and has also provided the basis for written languages among many of the major national minority groups living in the country.²² Much language experimentation and development has taken place since that time. This new phonetic system, which has come to be called the Han Language Phoneticization Plan, did not aim to replace the Han characters for at least a number of years; it rather offered an auxiliary means of learning the characters by first learning pronunciation and then gradually proceeding from phoneticization to the characters.²³

The p'u-t'ung-hua was called the "Han language phoneticization" when it was put down in writing according to the Han Language Phoneticization Plan.²⁴ Since the extremely large numbers of characters make them unsatisfactory for technical application, it was considered important that the Han language phoneticization be employed in modern technology and scientific writing. Plans were to continue the use of both the Han characters and the Han language phoneticization simultaneously and employ both systems. One related problem was the design and manufacture of a type-writing machine which could interchange terms for either language phoneticization or characters.²⁵

The policy for popularizing both the phonetic alphabet

²²"Progress in Use of China's Latin Alphabet," NCNA, Feb. 17, 1964, in SCMP No. 3163 (Feb. 20, 1964), p. 10.

²³Chou Yu-kuang, "Scientific Research Related to Reform of the Han Written Language," Chung-kuo Yu-wen [Chinese Language], No. 1, Feb. 22, 1965, in SCMM No. 467 (May 3, 1965), pp. 5, 9.

²⁴Ibid., p. 5.

²⁵Ibid., p. 10.

and p'u-t'ung-hua has been that of a "vigorous promotion, introduction at key areas, and gradual universalization."²⁶ It was asserted that only after these language reforms had been introduced and promoted in key areas such as the schools, could gradual universalization of both take place.²⁷ The problem of having a high level teaching staff to teach both the phonetic alphabet and p'u-t'ung-hua in the schools was a major problem in the implementation of these language reforms.²⁸

As the use of abbreviated ideographs, p'u-t'ung-hua, and the phonetic alphabet is expanded in both formal and informal education, Communist China's language problem will be much nearer being solved. Since half of the first four years of primary school have been spent on language study, the Communist regime anticipated that as a result of language reform in these three realms it would be possible to shorten the first period of elementary education from four to two years which in turn would make it possible to reduce the duration of general education from twelve years to ten without major difficulty.²⁹ Many more students would then be available for full-time productive labor two years earlier and thus help in meeting this serious economic problem.

II. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REFLECTED IN EDUCATION

Although the Chinese Communist regime has had to deal with many economic problems related to education and its decisions have

²⁶Ch'en Lin-hu, op. cit., p. 11. See also "Notes on the Fourth National Conference on Results of Teaching P'u-t'ung-hu," op. cit., p. 17

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ch'en Lin-hu, op. cit., p. 11. See Also, "Notes on the Fourth National Conference . . .," op. cit., p. 15.

²⁹Klepikov and Chabe, op. cit., p. 76.

in turn reflected in the educational system, the most basic and crucial economic problem as far as education was concerned has been how a nation with a poor economy such as Communist China's could provide the financial support necessary to support the schools in order to furnish trained manpower for industrialization and modernization of the country. The regime's approach to this problem has been to advocate the simultaneous development of three systems of education--the full-time academic schools, the part-time "work-study" schools, and the spare-time "after-work" schools.³⁰ The regular full-time state supported schools were to be the backbone of the educational system and for the training of the government and Party elite while the spare-time and part-time schools would not only provide for an expanded educational opportunity for urban industrial workers and rural peasants but would also provide for on-the-spot job training while being self-supporting. The most common type of self-supporting part-time school was the agricultural middle school which offered a junior middle school vocational type training in agriculture for the masses of rural and other youth. Another means used to establish self-sufficient schools was to have schools launch factories in order both to help pay expenses and also to apply knowledge.³¹

³⁰"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle on the Educational Front in the Past 17 Years," Chiao-yu Ko-ming [Educational Revolution] editorial board, Peking: No. 4, May 6, 1967, pp. 2, 8, in Translations on Communist China: Political and Sociological, No. 411, p. 28. Translated in Joint Publications Research Service [hereafter cited as JPRS] report No. 41,932 (July 21, 1967). A condensed version of the same Chinese Language article is to be found in "Chronology of 17 Years of Two-Road Struggle in Education," in Communist China Digest, No. 191, pp. 167-186, and translated in JPRS report No. 43,204 (Oct. 31, 1967). All references to this article will be to the longer version in JPRS report No. 41,932, pp. 5-52, and will have the title abbreviated to "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle . . ."

³¹Ling Yang, "New Phase in Education: Schools Run Factories," Peking Review, Vol. I, No. 39 (Nov. 25, 1958), pp. 14-16.

Factories, communes, and other industrial enterprises also established schools at various levels for their employees.³²

It would appear that the policy of combining education with productive labor may have sprung as much from economic necessity as from ideological conviction. At any rate, this policy resulted in not only saving money for the state but also making it possible for almost all classes to participate in some type of education. Under this policy various "work" courses were introduced into the schools at all levels. Elementary and secondary as well as higher level school students in the regular full-time schools had to devote varying amounts of time to productive labor in workshops, factories, communes, or similar type enterprises. This "free" donated labor helped make important contributions to the national economy.

The part-time schools have been an economic necessity in Communist China because the state has been unable to afford any wide expansion of education which was not at the same time self-supporting since most of the students' parents have been unable to afford to pay the school fees.³³ Under this system students worked in the factories or fields for a half-day and then studied for the other half-day. Adjustments in study were made in the rural areas during the busy and slack seasons.

The spare-time schools made it possible for workers, peasants, and others who were already engaged in full-time productive labor to improve their production skills. In turn it was felt that this would result in increased production for the factory, commune, or other industrial enterprises.

In order to provide as much trained manpower as possible for industrialization in the urban centers and for modernization and increased production in the rural areas, the regime has often stressed quantity over quality. One of the main educational features

³²"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³³"Secondary Education," *China News Analysis*, No. 554 (March 5, 1965), p. 1.

of the first decade and the overall emphasis in Chinese Communist education has been this stress on the amount of education to be given. Even with the economic and educational problems associated with the Great Leap Forward failure when stress was placed on quality and expertness in education, there continued to be sustained pressure to not only improve quality but also to maintain quantity. Much of it, however, embraced new programs in part-time and spare-time education such as correspondence education and education by radio and television.

Other economic problems have also been reflected in education. Two further examples from the period of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) are illustrative and typical. The failure of the Great Leap (1958-60), the withdrawal of most of the Soviet technicians (1960), and three successive years of natural disasters and crop failures (1959-61) had severe economic repercussions which were reflected in the school system. One effect of these events on education was that most of the half-work and half-study middle schools and colleges which had been started since 1958 were closed in the early 1960's and with them almost all the factories sponsored by these schools.³⁴ A second result was that after the withdrawal of the Soviet technicians in 1960 and China's increasing estrangement from the Soviet Union, the campaign to emulate the Soviet Union tapered off and that nation had a diminishing influence on Chinese Communist education.

As a result of the failure of the "Great Leap" economic policy with its stress on developing industry, the regime switched to the policy of giving agriculture priority over industry; this, in turn, helped to expand rural education. Fertilizer plants were constructed, water conservation and irrigation systems were developed, and agricultural improvement techniques and programs were stressed

³⁴"Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle . . .," op. cit., pp. 42-43.

throughout the country to improve agricultural production. Vast numbers of educated youths from primary, secondary, and higher institutions of learning were also recruited and sent for permanent settlement to the rural and mountainous areas to reclaim waste land and assist in rural reconstruction.³⁵ When direct recruitment failed, youths from these institutions were conscripted for this purpose. It was reported in several Chinese Communist publications in late 1965 that forty million educated youths from the cities and those from the rural areas who had been trained and were returning to the countryside had been sent to rural areas to assist in agricultural production and become "new-type peasants." These reports indicated that a large group of educated youths would continue to be sent to rural areas each year.³⁶ Many of these were encouraged to continue their education in spare-time and part-time schools. Some of these youths sent to the countryside in this movement would also become teachers in the rural schools.

III. POLITICAL PROBLEMS REFLECTED IN EDUCATION

The problem of the intellectuals and the problem associated with the priority of politics in education are two major areas in which political problems have been mirrored in the educational system of Communist China.

The problem of the intellectuals has been basically a political as well as an educational problem for the Chinese Communists. It has been a persistent one for the regime, and the recurring use of such terms as "political education," "thought reform," "indoctrination," "anti-rightism," "rectification," and "counter-revolutionary" has pointed up various facets of this same basic problem.

³⁵Wang Hsiao-tang, "Peiping's Campaign to Send Educated Youths to Rural Areas," Chinese Communist Affairs, Vol. 3, No. 3 (June, 1965), pp. 10-16.

³⁶Ibid., p. 11.

When the Communists assumed power over Mainland China in 1949, large segments of the population and of the intelligensia were not Marxist in outlook. The problem for the regime was how it could persuade both groups to not only accept the leadership of the Communist Party but also the political doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. Both the more drastic method of force and coercion and the subtler method of persuasion through education were employed. Suppression, imprisonment, and, where necessary, extermination³⁷ were used against "counter-revolutionary" opponents of the regime and other "enemies of the people." Persuasion of "brain-washing" was to take the place of coercion when possible, and education was one of the major vehicles that was used in the political education study courses, the persistent ideological remolding campaigns, and the constant sessions of criticism and self-criticism. Indoctrination and rectification were both regarded as necessary to insure the success of socialism and the eventual transition to communism. All reactionary and rightist tendencies were to be properly dealt with through reform, reeducation and rectification.

The problem of the intellectuals was particularly acute in the mid-1950's, as MacFarquhar³⁸ has pointed out, because "thought reform" had not only stifled artistic creation but had "reduced scholarship to recitation from approved textbooks."³⁹ The general

³⁷In Mao Tse-tung's secret speech at the Supreme State Conference on February 27, 1957, he was reported to have said, "Rumor says that 30 million were killed during the political campaigns. Actually, only about 770,000 counter-revolutionaries were executed." Quoted in "Reaction of College Students During the Contending and Blooming Period in 1957 (II)," in Union Research Service [hereafter cited as URS], Vol. 29, No. 13 (Nov. 13, 1962), p. 190.

³⁸This paragraph is based upon Roderick MacFarquhar's study, The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals, pp. 7-11.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 7-8.

shortage of Chinese intellectuals was revealed by the fact that they were officially estimated to be only 3,800,000 in number in the mid-1950's. Of these, only about 100,000 were regarded as being highly competent ones. Since only forty percent of the intellectuals were regarded as progressive or active supporters of the regime at that time, it was considered important to encourage intellectuals to participate more actively in the cultural areas. The slogan "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools contend" was primarily to encourage scholarship in the literary field. Though it did achieve some results in that area, it did not result in much "contending."

From the beginning of 1956, Mao Tse-tung had been clearly examining the basic political problem of how to make totalitarian rule less oppressive. This was brought home more forcefully by the example of the Hungarian revolt, and Mao saw the utmost importance of bettering relations between the Party and the people who would not long tolerate overly oppressive Party officials. Therefore, a rectification or "cheng-feng" movement was launched in 1957 "to rectify the style of work" within the Party. It was to actually find out how Party officials had abused their power that Mao Tse-tung had encouraged the non-Communists to criticize the regime. They responded along with many other intellectuals and students, and both Mao and the Party were quite unprepared for the voluminous flow of criticisms of the regime. After these were halted six-weeks later, there ensued an intense anti-rightist campaign against the bourgeois reactionaries and the counter-revolutionaries within the Party who had dared to criticize the regime. Productive labor and concentrated political education were introduced to insure correct ideology. "Class education" and "class struggle" were stressed to generate "class consciousness."

The priority of politics in education has been one of the persistent features of Chinese Communist education from the early days in the "liberated areas" to the time of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Likewise, political problems have continued

to be reflected in education. In the early years of the regime following the occupation of the mainland, education was to be conducted under the principle of the "integration of politics, study and labor." Since that time education has continued to serve proletarian politics in Communist China. Hu has pointed out that the Party has no educational department as such and that the Ministry of Education is merely an administrative organ for effecting Party decisions;⁴⁰ the major educational decisions are made by the Party hierarchy on the basis of recommendations made by the Department of Propaganda⁴¹ with the result that education serves as an important vehicle for disseminating political propaganda and for indoctrination.⁴²

In the decade following the "Hundred Flowers" campaign (1957) there was renewed stress by the Party of the idea that education must not only continue to be combined with productive labor but that it must also continue to serve politics. Politics must have priority in Chinese Communist education as in all other areas. The term "red and expert", indicating the twin goals of being not only ideologically correct but also technically competent, points out the order of priority in the Party's thinking. Though it was stressed that a good Communist should aim to be both red in his politics and expert in his profession; yet, if a choice has to be made between them, redness was to have precedence over expertness.

⁴⁰Hu, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴¹See "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle . . .," op. cit., pp. 46-51, for an example of the struggle within the Party between Mao Tse-tung and Lu Ting-yi, the head of the Propaganda Department, and others over determining and executing educational policy. Though the charges are probably exaggerated, the article does clearly illustrate Mao's view of the subservience of education to politics as well as reflecting the great emphasis on politics in education which took place several years preceding to and during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

⁴²Hu, op. cit., p. 35.

This emphasis upon redness, which has been defined as "political maturity" by the Communists, has been stressed at various times over the years and has in turn resulted in lowering the quality of education.

This low quality of education has been to a large degree the result of an overburdened curriculum embracing political education and activities, productive labor, and militia training in addition to the regular academic courses. This heavy burden on students has frequently affected their health and has led to calls for a revision of the curriculum. However, both with regard to the problem of overburdened students and to the low quality of education problem, those in the Party have not been in agreement on what should be deleted from the curriculum and what other changes should be made to improve the quality of education.

The desire on the part of the Party to raise the quality of education has even led to a call on the part of some for the use of bourgeois and rightist intellectuals in order to make use of their academic abilities to build the cause of socialism.⁴³ This problem of using rightist teachers to improve the quality of education has been a divisive issue within the Party because it has been feared by some that the use of such "revisionists" would lead to revisionist viewpoints and bourgeois thinking on the part of the students.

⁴³For example, in "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 37, Teng Hsiao-p'ing is reported to have said at a Conference of the Secretariat in August, 1961, while discussing the "Sixty Articles on Education" that "rightist teachers can exercise guidance functions." Also, Lu Ting-yi called for a united front and said that "the bourgeoisie in China is the most cultured [educated]; if we don't study from bourgeoisie, it would be impossible to realize intellectualization among the worker and peasant masses." *Ibid.*, p. 40. Again, he was reported to have said in February, 1960, "One may be a rightist politically but understand something academically; such a man like Ch'ien Wei'ch-ang . . . would still be able to teach." *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Thus, the emphasis on the priority of politics in education has led to numerous and recurring problems, including the problem of the low quality of education, the problem of overburdening students, the problem of curriculum reforms,⁴⁴ and the problem of using rightist intellectuals to ease the teacher shortage. These problems have been prevalent in Communist China for a number of years.

Since education has been tied so closely to politics in Communist China, political problems have been quickly reflected in the educational system. Each political shift and emphasis which have affected the masses have been likewise mirrored in education. However, when educational problems such as curriculum reform and raising the quality of education are determined by politics as they have been in Chinese Communist education, they are often accompanied by massive power struggles over leadership and ideology and continued repercussions are usually felt within the educational system. These have normally not been as great as those which took place in the political upheaval known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution when one entire school year (1966-67) was completely disrupted. Since, in Mao Tse-tung's view, "political education is the center of all education,"⁴⁵ and since "education must serve proletarian politics," it is clear that political problems will be mirrored in Chinese Communist education for many years to come.

⁴⁴In "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle . . .," op. cit., p. 49, Mao Tse-tung is quoted in his "7:3" directive (July 3, 1965) as follows: "It is therefore suggested one-third be cut from the total amount of activities." However, since the top members of the Party could not agree as to what or how much should be cut from the curriculum--political education, labor education, militia training, or academic courses--few curriculum changes were made before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

⁴⁵Quoted in "Chronology of the Two-Road Struggle . . ." op. cit., p. 48, from a speech by Mao Tse-tung to the visiting Laotian educational delegation to Communist China in September, 1964.

An overview of education in Communist China has been given in Part I. It presented six significant phases in the historical development of the Chinese Communist educational system from 1921 through 1966. In these periods significant educational characteristics, emphases, and trends were stressed in order to give the necessary background for an understanding of some of the major strengths, weaknesses, and problems which led to the development of spare-time higher education.

In spite of the fact that Communist China has made notable progress in greatly extending the educational opportunity for the masses, in significantly lowering the illiteracy rate, and in combining mental and physical work, the weaknesses of the educational system offset to a degree the achievements made. The extreme specialization in education, the overburdening of both teachers and students with multitudinous responsibilities and duties, and the predominance of politics in education caused numerous problems and resulted in lowering the quality of education offered.

These specific educational problems together with many social, economic, and political problems which were reflected in education greatly accentuated the educational difficulties of Communist China. Because of these many difficulties and problems, Communist China emphasized the development of spare-time education through the college level in order to offer expanded educational opportunities for workers and peasants at a minimal cost to the state.

The understanding developed in Part I was to give a general background of Chinese Communist education along with the strengths, weaknesses, and problems of the educational system which would be helpful in developing a fuller understanding of spare-time higher education and particularly higher correspondence education given in Part II. This investigation embodies three major aspects of spare-time higher education. These are presented in the following chapters in this order: (1) the nature of spare-time higher education in Communist China, including its development out of general spare-time

education, its objectives, and its policies; (2) the three major forms of spare-time higher education--independent spare-time colleges and universities, evening universities sponsored by institutions of higher learning, and correspondence institutions of spare-time higher education; and (3) five representative types and three special types of spare-time higher correspondence education.

PART II

SPARE-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION

CHAPTER V

NATURE OF REGULAR SPARE-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION IN COMMUNIST CHINA

Regular spare-time higher education developed in Communist China as the apex of a system of education in which workers, peasants, and cadres, who had been unable to secure an advanced education, could remain on their jobs and at the same time develop their skills. It had the advantage over the other two major systems of education--full-time and part-time education--in that workers, peasants, and cadres were not removed from productive labor while they were being trained for further advancement in their trade or job. Spare-time higher education provided a means by which the Chinese Communist regime could at least partially meet the increasing demands of the middle school graduates for advanced schooling while at the same time increasing production through the further development of a reservoir of skilled manpower.

The establishment and growth of regular spare-time higher education in Communist China had a slow and small beginning in the so-called "liberated areas" before the communist occupation of the Chinese mainland and during the transitional and developmental years (1949-57) of Chinese Communist education, but during the periods of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans, it underwent several phases of rapid growth and development. There were, however, also difficulties, periods of retrenchment, and changes made in regular spare-time higher education during the time from the Great Leap Forward in 1958 to the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, when most of the educational programs were either interrupted completely or at least greatly altered.

The educational policies which the Chinese Communist regime adopted for regular spare-time higher education were formulated by the joint action of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the governmental organ of the State Council on the basis of the objectives or goals which were paramount at that time. These policies along with the guidelines and principles laid down by the various administrative levels of the Party and the

government determined where the emphasis was to be placed. When the objectives or goals were clearly determined and the policies defined, various types of regular spare-time higher education were developed by the colleges and universities, ministries, bureaus, trade unions, industries and other organizations.

Since these different institutions, ministries, and organizations were encouraged to develop their own systems of spare-time education from the elementary to the college levels and since some of these had fewer resources as well as more problems than others, there developed numerous kinds and levels of spare-time educational programs and organizational structures. Some of these sponsors were able to offer more comprehensive programs than others, including spare-time higher education. Likewise, as groups of people finished the lower levels of spare-time education and passed on to the higher ones, a demand was generated for expanded programs in spare-time education at the semi-professional and higher educational levels. Also, many urban youths, who had already graduated from junior or senior middle schools and who after graduation had been sent to the countryside to take part in productive labor, began to call for increased educational opportunity at the upper secondary and college levels. These factors led to further expansion and development for the various types of spare-time higher correspondence and evening education.

In this chapter some of the main features that are very similar in all three of the most common forms of spare-time higher education--evening, correspondence, and separate spare-time courses, colleges, and universities--will be considered. In spite of the fact that each of these types of spare-time higher education has its own individual characteristics in regard to such criteria as individual organization and mode of operation, yet each of them has almost identical objectives and goals and operates under the same basic policies, guidelines, and principles of the Party and the government. Thus, an understanding of these aspects of spare-time higher education is vital for either a broad understanding of this form of higher education in general or for a detailed consideration of but one of these three major forms of spare-time higher education.

Though the following chapters will deal primarily with spare-time higher correspondence education, the reader should keep in mind that much that is said of this form of higher education offering is likewise applicable to the offering of both spare-time colleges and universities and also to evening colleges and universities. This chapter will deal with the broader aspects of spare-time higher education as a whole and will provide the necessary understanding for the more specialized study of the three forms of spare-time higher education and especially higher correspondence education.

The following aspects of spare-time higher education will be considered in this chapter: (1) the development of spare-time higher education into a significant system of higher education in Communist China; (2) a consideration of some of the major objectives and goals of this form of higher education; and (3) an examination of certain basic policies underlying spare-time higher education and the use of guiding principles in the implementation of these policies.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPARE-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION INTO A SIGNIFICANT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Though poor quality spare-time higher educational classes, courses, and colleges oriented toward practical needs and production came into existence in the "liberated areas" of Communist domination during the two and a half decades before the occupation of Mainland China in 1949, it was not until after the educational reorganization and reforms of the transition years (1949-52) that any major expansion of spare-time higher education took place. During the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) and during the first two years of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62), great growth and development of spare-time higher education for workers took place. Spare-time higher correspondence education, evening universities, and spare-time colleges and universities expanded rapidly during those years and provided industrial workers, cadres, and city employees with a choice of various college level programs. Spare-time education in the rural

areas at that time, however, was largely confined to literacy, primary and junior middle school levels although some secondary and higher correspondence and evening courses were offered by the regular institutions of higher learning for qualified youths.

Although large numbers of spare-time colleges were established in 1956 and 1957 by factories, mines, ministries, bureaus, and other enterprises, there was no country-wide system of spare-time education until 1958, the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan. However, it was not until January, 1960, when the Central Committee (CC) of the Party and the State Council set up a national Spare-Time Education Committee to direct, supervise, and coordinate all levels of spare-time education throughout the country, that the groundwork was laid for a comprehensive and coordinated system of spare-time education which would not only provide literacy and primary training for both the urban workers and the rural peasants but would also greatly expand secondary and higher education among both groups in the future. Likewise, the amended draft of the 1956-67 National Agricultural Development Program, which laid down the future guidelines for the agricultural development of Communist China for those years, was approved by the Second National People's Congress in April of that same year. Article 31 of that Program lays down a twofold goal: that of eradicating illiteracy among the rural youth and middle-aged peasants by the end of 1967 and that of establishing a comprehensive and diverse system of spare-time education so as to extend the educational opportunity to everyone in the rural areas.

The year 1960 was thus a significant date in spare-time higher education because it marked the beginning of a complete system of planned and coordinated spare-time education through the college level for both workers and the peasants. The following discussion on the growth and development of spare-time higher education has therefore been divided into the following two periods: (1) the development of spare-time higher education from 1936 through 1959; and (2) the development of spare-time higher education from 1960 through mid-1966.

The development of spare-time higher education from 1936 through 1959. Since illiteracy among peasants and workers was a major problem in the "liberated areas" before the occupation and throughout Mainland China during much of the first decade after the 1949 take-over, the major emphasis of these years was upon spare-time education for literacy and vocational training and upon spare-time primary and middle school education rather than on spare-time higher education.

After the Long March across China, the Red Army set up new soviet bases in Kansu and North Shensi in 1936. In these and other "liberated areas," the Communists formulated educational policies and programs which became the basis for their future system of education. Since most of the educational activities in these areas were confined to the villages and to the rural sections, the majority of the programs pertained to literacy classes, technical and vocational training, and classes at the primary and middle school level. These embraced full-time, part-time, and spare-time education but were mainly confined to the lower levels of instruction rather than to the spare-time higher educational level. There were, however, exceptions. A few institutions and government organizations offered some spare-time training at the higher educational level. The emphasis of these spare-time courses which took place after regular working hours was largely vocational and based on the general Communist policy of adjusting education to practical needs which resulted in a great diversity of educational institutions.¹

Although various basic types of spare-time education were offered in the "liberated areas" during these formative years, it is not clear as to just how extensive the spare-time educational program was at the different levels.² Since Lindsay states that "the organizations for higher education in Harbin mentioned by the 'Northwestern Daily News'

¹Michael Lindsay, Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China, 1941-1947, p. 43.

²Ibid., p. 41.

include Harbin University, a Workers' University, a Railway Workers' College, a New School for Young Intelligentsia Cadres, Teachers Training College, etc.,"³ it would appear from the nature of the institutions named and the general use of spare-time education at the lower educational level in the "liberated areas" that numerous spare-time college courses--but some in name only--were offered during these years. However, though the educational standards varied greatly in the different vocational, technical, and teacher training institutions operated by the various government, industrial, and agricultural organizations, the quality of many of these college courses apparently left much to be desired and were actually closer to the middle school level than the college level standard.

As the Chinese Communists gained control over the mainland, they established their own school system based on their experiences in the "liberated areas." In those areas, especially in the rural sections, the Communists had started with various kinds of village schools and spare-time adult literacy classes and had created their own school system which included full-time, part-time, and spare-time schools. As students graduated from one level of training, more advanced educational programs were frequently offered at the next level. These courses were often given after work through various types of spare-time education. Since a large majority of the peasants and workers in the "liberated areas" were illiterate when the Communists took control; the great emphasis in the Communist educational program during this time was to provide a limited basic education at the lower levels for the masses rather than a high quality college education for only a few at the top.

Basic changes were made in the Chinese educational system in the major urban centers of China in late 1948 and 1949 as the Communists took over.⁴ These reorganizational changes continued in the transitional years from 1949 through 1952, and various conferences were held to discuss

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 181.

educational problems.

The development of spare-time higher education was directly related to the growth of higher education in the regular institutions of higher learning as well as to the progress of spare-time education in general. Since spare-time higher education was often simply added on to the existing spare-time education system already established by a factory or enterprise and since it is often quite difficult to separate the development of spare-time higher education from the general development of spare-time education at the intermediate levels, spare-time higher education will be discussed in this section against the backdrop of the development of spare-time education in general. First, however, consideration will be given to the parallel development of spare-time higher education and higher education in general.

The enrollment and growth of various levels of spare-time education during the first decade of Communist rule is seen in Table I. The relationship of these levels of spare-time education during this ten-year period to spare-time higher education is indicated in this table which was published originally in the Ten Great Years by the State Statistical Bureau in Peking.⁵ The entire enrollment in spare-time higher education, as shown in Table I, was only 100 in 1949, the year the Communist regime gained control of the China mainland. The next school year it was 400. The enrollment had increased to 1,600 in the 1951-52 school year and to 4,100 for the 1952-53 school year. During the time of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), enrollment in spare-time higher education increased from 9,700 in 1953-54 to 63,800 in 1956-57, the last year of this plan. In the first two years of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62), the enrollment in spare-time higher education had climbed from 75,900 in 1957-58 to a record high of 150,000 in the 1958-59 school year.

During the same decade from 1949 to 1959, the total enrollment at the higher education level, including the enrollment in the spare-time

⁵ See Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China, p. 49.

TABLE I*
SPARE-TIME AND ILLITERACY STUDENTS, 1949-58

[In thousands]

Year	In spare-time higher schools	In spare- time secondary vocational schools	In spare- time secondary schools	In spare- time primary schools	In anti- illiteracy classes
1949-50	0.1	0.1			657.0
1950-51	.4	.1			1,372.0
1951-52	1.6	.3			1,375.0
1952-53	4.1	.7	249.0	1,375.0	656.0
1953-54	9.7	1.1	404.0	1,523.0	2,954.0
1954-55	13.2	186.0	760.0	2,088.0	2,637.0
1955-56	15.9	195.0	1,167.0	4,538.0	3,678.0
1956-57	63.8	563.0	2,236.0	5,195.0	7,434.0
1957-58	75.9	588.0	2,714.0	6,267.0	7,208.0
1958-59	150.0		5,000.0	26,000.0	40,000.0

*Source: Ten Great Years (Peking: State Statistical Bureau, 1960). Adapted from Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China, p. 49. Blanks indicate figures are not available.

higher schools, increased from 117,000 in 1949-50 to 660,000 in the 1958-59 school year, as shown in Table II. When a comparison is made of the enrollment of the spare-time institutions of higher learning (Table I) with the total enrollment of all institutions of higher education (Table II), the steady growth and increasing role of spare-time higher education in training college-level personnel is quite apparent. Thus, the enrollment in the higher institutions of learning in 1950-51 was 137,000, including only 400 who were enrolled in the spare-time colleges; this was only 0.3 percent of the total number of students (Table III). This percentage of spare-time college students in the total college enrollment increased gradually for several years at the following rates: 1.0 percent in 1951-52, 2.1 percent in 1952-53, 4.6 percent in 1953-54, and 5.2 percent of the total in 1954-55 (Table III). In 1955-56 the percentage increase was only three-tenths of one percent (to 5.5 percent of the total), but during the 1956-57 school year it almost trebled to 15.8 percent. In the 1957-58 school year, the spare-time higher education enrollment made up 17.2 percent of the students enrolled in higher education and in the following school year (1958-59) it had jumped to 22.7 percent (Table III).

In pointing out the growth of these two parallel types of higher education--regular and spare-time higher education--during the first decade of Chinese Communist education, Orleans says, "Enrollment in higher level spare-time courses has been showing continuous growth, roughly following the trend established by the enrollment of full-time students."⁶ He likewise concluded in his study that during this decade the level of training offered through spare-time education was not as high as that given in the regular full-time classes and that the number of students completing higher education on the spare-time basis was probably less than on the full-time basis. Orleans was of the opinion that this may partly explain the fairly large discrepancy between the number of enrolled students and the number of those graduating from various institutions of

⁶Ibid., p. 66.

TABLE II*

HIGHER EDUCATION, 1948-60: ENTRANTS,
ENROLLMENT, AND GRADUATES

School Year	Entrants	Enrollment	Graduates
1948-49			¹ 21,000
1949-50		¹ 117,000	¹ 18,000
1950-51	² 35,000	¹ 137,000	¹ 19,000
1951-52	² 35,000	¹ 153,000	¹ 32,000
1952-53	² 65,900	¹ 191,000	¹ 48,000
1953-54	² 71,400	¹ 212,000	¹ 47,000
1954-55	² 94,000	¹ 253,000	¹ 55,000
1955-56	³ 96,200	¹ 288,000	¹ 63,000
1956-57	⁴ 165,600	¹ 403,000	¹ 56,000
1957-58	⁵ 107,000	¹ 441,000	⁷ 72,000
1958-59	⁶ 152,000	⁸ 660,000	⁷ 62,200
1959-60	⁸ 270,000	⁸ 810,000	

¹Ten Great Years (Peking: State Statistical Bureau, 1960).

²Survey of China Mainland Press, July 8, 1955 (Hong Kong: U. S. Consulate General).

³New China News Agency, Sept. 9, 1955.

⁴Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Mar. 17, 1956.

⁵Chinese Home Service, Mar. 16, 1957.

⁶Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien [China Youth], No. 13, July 1, 1958.

⁷Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], July 16, 1959.

⁸New China News Agency, Jan. 22, 1960.

*Source: Adapted from Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China, p. 61. Blanks indicate figures are not available.

TABLE III*

COMPARISON OF ENROLLMENT ON SPARE-TIME BASIS WITH FULL-TIME BASIS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, 1950-59

Year	Enrollment		Spare time as percent of total
	Total	Spare time	
1950-51	137,000	400	0.3
1951-52	153,000	1,600	1.0
1952-53	191,000	4,100	2.1
1953-54	212,000	9,700	4.6
1954-55	253,000	13,200	5.2
1955-56	288,000	15,900	5.5
1956-57	403,000	63,800	15.8
1957-58	441,000	75,900	17.2
1958-59	660,000	150,000	22.7

*Source: Adapted from Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China, p. 66.

higher education (Table II) since it was very unlikely that spare-time students in higher education were not included in the statistics on higher education as this would run counter to China's propaganda policies in general.⁷

The number of institutions of higher education offering spare-time college and semi-professional level courses in the transitional years immediately following the downfall of the Kuomintang government and the establishment of the Communist regime in 1949 must have been relatively few in number since six years later in 1955 there were only 49 such institutions in the country.⁸ Most of these spare-time institutions and courses had been established on an experimental basis.

Nevertheless, these experimental college-level programs provided a rudimentary framework for the future development of spare-time higher education. As early as 1949 the Wushun Mining College had offered an evening course in technical education. Likewise, the two pioneer institutions which were leaders in the development and use of correspondence education were the comprehensive Chinese People's University which set up the first such courses in 1952 and the Kirin Normal University which began offering correspondence courses in 1953. Such courses were also set up in the Northeast Teachers' University that same year. Most of these spare-time colleges were, as Abe points out, ". . . aimed at either in-service training of teachers or inculcating knowledge of finance and economics."⁹

According to a twelve-year developmental plan laid down in late December, 1955, by a national conference on spare-time education for industrial workers, spare-time evening engineering colleges to train industrial workers on a spare-time basis were to be stressed in the future

⁷ Ibid., pp. 66-67.

⁸ Chang Nai-pan, "Chinese Communist Educational System," Chinese Communist Affairs, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Feb., 1966), p. 60.

⁹ Munemitsu Abe, "Spare-Time Education in Communist China," The China Quarterly, No. 8 (October-December, 1961), p. 152.

along with correspondence courses in engineering.¹⁰ During these early transitional and developmental years when the Soviet Union was its educational model, many of the institutions of higher education were reorganized, on the Soviet pattern and many of the spare-time higher educational programs reflected this outside influence.

The stable period of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) provided a suitable environment for the further development of spare-time secondary, semi-professional, and spare-time higher education since the regime stressed the necessity of training engineers and technical specialists in order to reach the industrial targets of the Plan. Though material limitations hindered the rapid development of all types of spare-time education to a degree, yet an increase continued in both the enrollment and the number of institutions during the decade of the 1950's. In that decade the enrollments in spare-time higher institutions of learning had increased from 400 in the 1950-51 school year to 150,000 students in 1958-59 as is shown by Table III.

The number of institutions offering spare-time higher education also increased during this decade. Though no figure is available for the number of spare-time institutions of higher education in China during the 1950-51 school year, the number was evidently quite small since according to Table III there were only 400 students enrolled in higher spare-time education at that time and they made up only 0.3 percent of the 137,000 students enrolled at the college level. Whatever the number of institutions offering spare-time higher education in 1950-51, they had increased to 49 in 1955, including 29 evening universities and 26 spare-time colleges. These institutions served slightly more than 5 percent of total number of students enrolled in colleges and universities in that year (Table III). The total number of spare-time higher institutions had jumped to 180 in the fall of 1957, of which 87 were evening universities, 37 spare-time

¹⁰"Workers' Sparetime Education Planned," New China News Agency [hereafter cited as NCNA], Peking: Jan. 1, 1956; in Survey of China Mainland Press [hereafter cited as SCMP], No. 1202 (Jan. 6, 1956), p. 14.

colleges, and 56 correspondence schools.¹¹ These institutions served 75,900 students who made up 17.2 percent of the 441,000 enrolled in all institutions at the higher level (Table III). Although the number of spare-time institutions in the following year is not available, Table III would indicate that the increase must have been substantial since the spare-time college-level enrollment doubled in the 1958-59 school year.

Though numerous institutions of spare-time higher education had been established by early 1956, no comprehensive network or plan for all types and levels of spare-time education ranging from literacy training on through college had yet been set up.¹² An editorial in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily] for January 20, 1956, stated that although the work of developing spare-time education for industrial workers had been somewhat successful for a number of years, ". . . its rate of progress was so slow that the work lagged far behind the needs of . . . industrial construction, agricultural cooperation and technical reform."¹³ Not only was there a great need at that time to continue efforts against illiteracy among a large number of industrial workers, but it is also stated that all levels of spare-time education, and ". . . particularly the sparetime [sic] secondary specialization schools and sparetime institution [sic] of higher education, [had] met with very little development."¹⁴ This editorial also said, "The system of sparetime education for industrial workers

¹¹Chang Nai-pan, "Chinese Communist Education System," op. cit., p. 60.

¹²This paragraph is based upon "Overcome the Rightist Conservative Way of Thinking, Vigorously Develop Regular Sparetime Education for Industrial Workers," Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily] editorial, Peking: Jan. 20, 1956, in SCMP No. 1221 (Feb. 2, 1956), pp. 18-22; "National Work Conference on Spare Time Education of Workers and Employees Opens," NCNA, Peking: Dec. 19, 1955, in SCMP No. 1202 (Jan. 6, 1956), pp. 13-14; and "Workers' Sparetime Education Planned," op. cit., p. 14.

¹³"Overcome the Rightist Conservative Way of Thinking . . . , loc. cit., p. 18.

¹⁴Ibid.

ranging from primary school to university has not yet been set up."¹⁵

Preliminary plans for such a comprehensive system of spare-time education at all levels, including higher education, were, however, laid down in the National Work Conference on Spare-Time Education of Workers and Employees which was jointly convened by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher Education, and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) on December 19, 1955.¹⁶ This national ten-day conference on spare-time education of industrial workers, which was based on a directive of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee and the State Council had three hundred representatives from the concerned departments of the Central Government, the education departments of each province, municipality, and autonomous region, the higher and vocational schools offering spare-time education, the trade unions of each province and municipality, and from the Party propaganda departments of certain provinces and municipalities.¹⁷

This conference called for the vigorous development of a complete system of regular spare-time education from the primary level on through the university, criticized certain cadres for their "rightist conservative way of thinking," and devised measures for systematically solving major problems pertaining to all levels of spare-time education such as the curricula, regulations, enrollments, requirements, teachers, and funds.¹⁸ Representatives at this conference drew up a twelve-year plan for the future development of regular spare-time education for industrial workers on a nation-wide basis and clearly defined the policy and task of such

¹⁵Ibid. See also "National Work Conference on Spare Time Education . . .," op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁶"National Work Conference on Spare Time Education . . .," loc. cit., p. 13

¹⁷Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁸"Overcome the Rightist Conservative Way of Thinking . . .," op. cit., p. 18.

education.¹⁹ They also discussed plans for strengthening leadership in spare-time education for industrial workers and fixed various level responsibilities. It was reported that this national work conference had been successful in creating favorable conditions for the vigorous development of all levels of regular spare-time education for industrial workers throughout the country.²⁰

In reviewing the progress of education among industrial workers during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, a January 9, 1958, dispatch of the New China News Agency (NCNA) from Shanghai, China's largest industrial city, cited some statistics which provides an example of education among industrial workers in a large industrial city.²¹ It reported that out of a total industrial labor force of 970,000 in Shanghai during the five-year period of this first Plan, 330,000--or about one-third of the factory laborers--had completed literacy courses, while an additional 170,000 had completed spare-time primary and middle school courses.²² Likewise, it stated that one-fourth of the Shanghai factory workers, amounting to nearly a quarter of a million, had ". . . received education during the First Five-Year Plan period equal to that of a middle school or college student."²³ No doubt much of this was by spare-time education, since this dispatch indicated that 400,000 or somewhat less than half of Shanghai's industrial labor force, were studying in various types of spare-time secondary technical schools and spare-time colleges in January, 1958. Enrollment figures for these spare-time colleges were not given,

¹⁹"Workers' Sparetime Education Planned," op. cit., p. 14

²⁰"Overcome the Rightist Conservative Way of Thinking . . .," op. cit., p. 18.

²¹"Worker-Students in Shanghai," NCNA, Shanghai: Jan. 9, 1958, in SCMP No. 1690 (Jan. 14, 1958), pp. 30-31.

²²Ibid., p. 30.

²³Ibid.

but since the enrollment in spare-time institutions of higher education throughout China at that time (Table III) was only about 75,000, they were no doubt rather small. This is also indicated by a survey conducted by the Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau and reported in this Shanghai NCNA dispatch for January 9, 1958. According to this survey, of the 700,000 industrial workers investigated, 62 percent had acquired a primary school education and 15.5 percent a middle school education, but only 551-- out of the 700,000 surveyed--had " . . . reached the level of a college education."²⁴ Although this survey does not indicate what percentage of workers had achieved their educational level by spare-time education, it would appear that while spare-time education held an important role at the primary and middle school levels, it as yet had very few graduates at the higher education level.

During this First Five-Year Plan, not only were programs laid for the further development of spare-time education for industrial workers and employees but also for expanding it into the extensive rural areas of the country. The first National Conference on Spare-Time Education of Peasants, which was jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Education and the Work Committee for the Elimination of Illiteracy, both of which were under the Government Administrative Council, was convened in August, 1954.²⁵

Provisions for the development of spare-time education in the countryside were also included in the Draft National Program for the Development of Agriculture from 1956 to 1967 which was drawn up by the CC of the Chinese Communist Party in January, 1956.²⁶ This twelve-year program was to include the last two years of the First Five-Year Plan as well as the Second and Third Five-Year Plans. The amended draft of the 1956-67 National Agricultural Development Program was approved by the second

²⁴Ibid., p. 31.

²⁵See URS, Vol. 42, No. 4 (January 14, 1966), pp. 48-49.

²⁶Ibid., p. 49.

session of the Second National People's Congress of the Chinese People's Republic on April 10, 1960.²⁷ These "Forty Articles," as they came to be called, became the basis for the agricultural development of Communist China. Article 31 of this Program deals with the eradication of illiteracy and the development of cultural and educational undertakings in the rural areas, including spare-time education. This article states as follows:

In twelve years from 1956, dependent on the situation locally, we must virtually wipe out illiteracy among the youth and the middle-aged. An effort should be made to establish more and more spare-time schools in townships and cooperatives to raise the educational standards of our cadres and the peasants. A large variety of schools should be permitted to develop in rural areas. In addition to schools operated by the state, the masses should be energetically urged to open schools by collective efforts. Permission should be granted for private interests to open schools gradually to extend elementary school education to everyone.²⁸

These guidelines played an important role in the development of spare-time primary and middle school education in the countryside during the earlier years of this Program and later at the higher educational level when higher correspondence education and other types of spare-time college level programs were offered. However, few spare-time programs at the higher educational level were yet being offered in the rural areas during the period of the First Five-Year Plan. In 1957, the closing year of this Plan, the Ministry of Higher Education published guidelines for the revision of the curriculum of the institutions of higher education, and the educational reforms of 1958 (the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan) was conducted on this basis.²⁹ This curriculum revision at

²⁷For the amended draft of this Program see "National Agricultural Development Program (1956-1967)," NCNA, Peking: April 11, 1960, in Current Background (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 781 (Feb. 14, 1966), pp. 1-17; this issue (No. 781) was reproduced from Current Background, No. 616 (April 20, 1960).

²⁸"National Agricultural Development Program (1956-67)," loc. cit., p. 15.

²⁹Abe, op. cit., p. 153.

the higher education level was also reflected in spare-time higher education.

The first widespread development of spare-time colleges for workers took place in 1956.³⁰ For example, most of the workers' spare-time colleges in the Wuhan area in early 1963 were reported to have been started one after another in 1956.³¹ Tientsin set up its first three spare-time colleges in 1957.³² However, an article in the Kuang-ming Jih-pao for April 4, 1962, indicated that only a few spare-time higher educational institutes had been established before 1958.³³ An editorial in the Peking Chiao Shih Pao for September 24, 1957, states that the number of workers and peasants studying in spare-time higher institutions of learning throughout the country exceeded 64,000.³⁴ However, the following year saw a rapid increase in enrollment and in that year of the Great Leap Forward many spare-time higher educational institutions sponsored by various factories, mines, and other enterprises were set up throughout China.

This great expansion of spare-time higher education accompanied a related development of literacy, primary, and secondary education, though these levels had also been stressed previously. Large numbers of spare-time schools were set up at all levels. For example, the number of

³⁰"Chinese Workers Receive College Education," NCNA, Peking: Apr. 26, 1962, in SCMP No. 2729 (May 2, 1962), p. 15.

³¹"More than 200 Students Graduate from Workers' Spare-Time Higher Schools in Wuhan," NCNA, Wuhan: Mar. 8, 1963, in SCMP No. 2948 (Mar. 23, 1963), p. 12.

³²"More Spare-Time Higher Education in North China City," NCNA, Tientsin: Feb. 4, 1965, in SCMP No. 3393 (Feb. 9, 1965), p. 24.

³³Hsu Hao, "Improve the Quality of Teaching in Workers' Spare-Time Higher Educational Institutes," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Apr. 4, 1962, in SCMP No. 2726 (Apr. 27, 1962), p. 13.

³⁴"Actively Open a Way That Interferes with Neither Production Nor Study," Chiao Shih Pao editorial, Peking: Sept. 24, 1957, in SCMP No. 1937 (Oct. 24, 1957), p. 9.

spare-time schools for workers in Shanghai was reported to have increased from over 700 to 2,900 in 1958 alone and these schools had an enrollment of 700,000 worker-students.³⁵ Most of the workers' spare-time colleges in Shanghai were set up between 1958 and 1960 as was true in many other Chinese cities.³⁶ At that time many of the large factories and mines set up complete systems of spare-time education embracing primary, secondary, and college levels. Though these systems varied greatly from industry to industry and even from large factory to large factory, they had many things in common. Most of the factories and other enterprises had at first offered only literacy and primary education but gradually added secondary and college courses as the workers progressed from one level to another.

The growth of spare-time education from literacy training to the college level was similar in most of the factories, plants, and other enterprises. The experiences of the Shanghai Metallurgical Plant³⁷ and the Nanking Chemical Company³⁸ were typical. In the former, spare-time education started shortly after the Communist occupation in 1949. At first the plant ran only literacy classes and primary level spare-time education. As the workers raised their educational level and asked for higher level courses to increase their general and technical knowledge, spare-time secondary education was provided. The spare-time college was introduced by the plant in 1958. The Nanking Chemical Company, one of

³⁵"Ten Million Chinese Workers Study," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 26, 1959, in SCMP No. 1985 (Apr. 13, 1959), p. 2.

³⁶"Shanghai Holds Outstanding Record in Spare-Time Higher Education," Chung-kuo Hsin-wen, [China News], Canton: Nov. 13, 1962, p. 7, in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 55, p. 78. Translated in Joint Publications Research Service [hereafter cited as JPRS] Report No. 17,733 (Feb. 19, 1963).

³⁷See "Free Education for Shanghai Workers," NCNA, Shanghai: Apr. 28, 1961, in SCMP No. 2489 (May 4, 1961), p. 14.

³⁸See "Workers' Education in East China Factory," NCNA; Nanking: Aug. 29, 1961, in SCMP No. 2572 (Sept. 6, 1961), pp. 19-20.

the largest chemical producers in China, established a complete spare-time system of education up to the college level in 1955 along with a system of full-time education. Then in 1958 it set up the Chemical Engineering College which at that time began offering six spare-time college classes for skilled workers. Similar developments took place in spare-time education and spare-time higher education throughout China during the subsequent years.³⁹

Spare-time higher education in the rural areas before 1960 was not yet very extensive since most of the student-workers were studying at the literacy, primary, and secondary levels during that time. However, during the Great Leap Forward various courses and subjects pertaining to pedagogy, agriculture, irrigation, and forestry were offered in both the regular institutions of higher learning by means of evening and correspondence courses and also through separate spare-time colleges and universities which had been set up for the purpose of offering specialized courses in subjects related to the countryside. With the faltering of the Great Leap Forward in the latter half of 1959 and after, the national emphasis was shifted from that of stressing industry to that of supporting agriculture. At that time large numbers of factory workers and urban youths were sent to the rural areas to participate in the construction and development of irrigation projects, people's communes, and other enterprises.

Many of these workers and youths who had completed either the junior or senior middle school levels or higher were selected to serve as primary, middle school, or college level teachers, but they needed teacher training. This was largely supplied by various types of in-service spare-time educational programs offered by correspondence and evening courses through regular and special institutions of higher education. Likewise, many of the workers and urban youths who had been sent to the countryside upon graduating from senior middle school demanded--along with

³⁹Ibid.

a small number of rural middle school graduates--the opportunity to take college level courses. These were gradually offered by means of various types of spare-time higher education.

Two important conferences pertaining to mining workers and rural peasants were held during 1959. A National Conference on the Work of Miners' Education was called by the Ministry of Coal Industry in the spring of that year.⁴⁰ At this conference it was announced that half a million miners had attended the more than 1,000 spare-time schools set up for the miners between 1949 and 1958. During this decade the illiteracy rate of all the miners--with the exception of the new miners who had started work in 1958--was reported to have dropped from over ninety percent in 1949 to twenty percent in 1958. This NCNA report stated that about ten percent of the miners who had participated in spare-time study had an educational level above middle school though it was not definitely stated whether this referred to the junior middle school or to the senior middle school level. The conference likewise reported that the labor productivity of miners in 1958 had averaged 3.4 times that of 1949 and gave much of the credit of this increase to spare-time education. It urged that mines all over the country should establish further spare-time schools so that over ninety percent of the miners in the nation would be able to participate in spare-time study, including spare-time higher education.

A second important conference held in 1959 was the National Conference on the Work of Eliminating Illiteracy and Spare-Time Education in Rural Areas.⁴¹ This was a ten-day conference sponsored by the Ministry

⁴⁰This paragraph is mainly based on "Development of Miners' Education in China," NCNA, Peking: May 12, 1959, in SCMP No. 2020 (May 26, 1959), p. 8.

⁴¹This paragraph is based on the following three articles: "Ministry of Education Calls Conference on Anti-Illiteracy Work and Spare-Time Education in Rural Areas," NCNA, Peking: Nov. 5, 1959, in SCMP No. 2135 (Nov. 13, 1959), pp. 18-20; Chou Po, "Adult Education in the Countryside," China Reconstructs, Vol. 9, No. 7 (July, 1960), p. 29; and "Spare-Time Education of Chinese Peasants," in Union Research Service [hereafter cited as URS], Vol. 42, No. 4 (Jan. 14, 1966), p. 49.

of Education and held in late October and early November of 1959. This conference discussed the task of eliminating illiteracy among the rural youth within the following two or three years and formulated plans for the maximum development of spare-time schools and spare-time institutions of higher education in the rural areas during the next eight years.

The development of spare-time higher education from 1960 through mid-1966. The major period of development in spare-time higher education for both industrial workers and rural peasants in Communist China occurred between the setting up of a national Spare-Time Education Committee in January, 1960, and the beginning of the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the late spring of 1966. During this five and a half year period, considerable development and consolidation took place in all three major types of spare-time higher education--higher correspondence education, evening colleges, and separate specialized spare-time colleges and universities. Likewise, television universities, radio universities, and combined radio-television universities--all having correspondence as the main medium and supplemented by either television or radio or both--were set up in such major cities as Peking, Shanghai, Harbin, Canton, and Changchun in the first half of 1960.⁴² These set a pattern for this combined type of spare-time higher education in other major metropolitan areas.

As has already been pointed out, 1960 marks the date for the coordinated development of a complete system of all levels of spare-time education for both workers and peasants. In spite of economic reverses caused in part by the impending failure of the Great Leap Forward, natural

⁴²See, for example, the following articles: "China's Popular Radio and Television Universities," NCNA, Peking: May 3, 1960, in SCMP No. 2257 (May 13, 1960), p. 8; "Television Spreads in China," NCNA, Peking: Dec. 27, 1960, in SCMP No. 2410 (Jan. 5, 1961), p. 20; "Television Universities in China Popular and Helpful," NCNA, Peking: Oct. 29, 1961, in SCMP No. 2612 (Nov. 3, 1961), p. 20; and Hugh Howse, "The Use of Radio in China," The China Quarterly, No. 2 (April-June, 1960), pp. 59-68.

disasters, droughts, and crop failure, the regime nevertheless laid extensive plans for the coordinated development of spare-time higher education along with the lower levels of spare-time education. On January 16, 1960, the national Spare-Time Education Committee was appointed by the CC of the Party and the State Council. Lin Feng was appointed chairman of the committee, which also included representatives from all the major ministries, industries, trade unions, the military establishment, youth and women's groups, and various other enterprises and organizations so that complete coordination, supervision, and direction of all levels and types of spare-time education could be achieved.

The announced task for the Spare-Time Education Committee and the nation as a whole was that of raising the political, technical, and cultural levels of "several hundred million young and adult working people (including cadres)" by means of spare-time education.⁴³ Spare-time higher education played an important role in the future advanced training of many of these adult working people. The approval of the amended draft of the 1956-67 National Agricultural Development Program in April, 1960, further affirmed the twofold task of eradicating illiteracy and of establishing a comprehensive system of spare-time and spare-time higher education in the rural areas.⁴⁴ Also, in July, 1960, the All-China Spare-Time Congress was opened under the joint sponsorship of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) and the Ministry of Education. Besides arriving at other decisions, this Congress laid the guidelines for the further development of spare-time middle and higher education for workers.

Spare-time higher education continued to develop through 1960 in the various industries, ministries, and other enterprises in spite of various difficulties and problems. Although resources, methods, and

⁴³See, for example, "CCP. Central Committee and State Council Give Notice of Formation of a Spare-Time Education Committee," NCNA, Peking: Feb. 22, 1960, in SCMP No. 2207 (Mar. 2, 1960), p. 1.

⁴⁴"National Agricultural Development Program (1956-1967)," op. cit., p. 15.

enrollments differed greatly in the various spare-time colleges of these different enterprises, there was considerable expansion in most spare-time higher education throughout China. An NCNA dispatch for March 3, 1960, stated that no less than 100,000,000 peasants and workers were at that time participating at some level of spare-time education.⁴⁵ It also said that the enrollment in workers' spare-time colleges in January, 1960, was 170,000 and that such spare-time colleges were increasing in number.⁴⁶ An article in the Peking Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] for February 23, 1960, stated that of the 700 or more workers in the Harbin Amalgamated Meat Processing Plant, 3.5 percent had reached the junior primary school standard, 31.7 percent the junior middle standard, 29.9 percent the secondary vocational school or senior middle school standard, and 3.3 percent of the workers had joined the spare-time university connected with the meat processing plant.⁴⁷ By late December, 1961, one in every thirty-five industrial workers in Harbin was reported to be a spare-time college student.⁴⁸ At that time workers were said to have graduated from the four or five-year courses in the sixty-seven spare-time colleges since the first of its kind was founded in Harbin in 1955.⁴⁹

The 36,000 industrial workers and staff members enrolled in regular courses in the spare-time colleges and universities of Liaoning Province

⁴⁵ Chang Hua, "Spare-time Education Develops Fast in China," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 3, 1960, in SCMP No. 2212 (Mar. 9, 1960), p. 15

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ "Harbin Amalgamated Meat Processing Factory Insists on Giving Spare-Time Education to the Workers for Twelve Years," Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking: Feb. 23, 1960, p. 23, in SCMP No. 2212 (March 9, 1960), pp. 23-25.

⁴⁸ "Higher Education for Workers in Harbin," NCNA, Harbin: Dec. 28, 1961, in SCMP No. 2651 (Jan., 1962), p. 25.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

in the spring of 1960 was double the enrollment of 1956.⁵⁰ In this province which has China's largest steel center in Anshan and is one of the major coal-producing areas (including such important centers as Fuhun), a complete spare-time educational system through the college level had been developed by March, 1960. Besides the thousands of evening primary and secondary schools, almost 200 spare-time colleges and universities had been set up throughout the province by such enterprises as mines, factories, cities, and educational institutions to provide free education for workers at all levels. One such spare-time evening college in Anshan offered six specialties, including metallurgy, steel rolling, and machinery to more than 1,300 students. In the coal center of Fushun, where eighty-five percent of the workers were said to have been illiterate before the Communists took over, forty spare-time colleges and universities had been set up by March, 1960. Likewise, it was reported that over 700 workers had graduated from these spare-time institutions of higher learning and that many of them were at that time employed as technicians, engineers, and administrative workers in the factories.

Another NCNA dispatch for the same month of March, 1960, stated that seventy percent of the workers and staff members in the machine-building center of Shenyang in the same province of Liaoning were attending over 1,200 spare-time schools of various levels within the city and that this number included 100 colleges run either by factories or regular institutions of higher education.⁵¹ With the exception of three factory-run spare-time colleges which had been established before 1955, all of the remaining ones had been set up in subsequent years. However, most of these spare-time colleges were established during and after the Great Leap

⁵⁰This paragraph is based on "Sparetime College Education Flourishes in Northwest China Province," NCNA, Shenyang: Mar. 1, 1960, in SCMP No. 2211 (Mar. 8, 1960), p. 30.

⁵¹This paragraph is based on "Workers' Spare-time Education Expands in Northeast China Industrial City," NCNA, Shenyang: Mar. 10, 1960, in SCMP No. 2218 (Mar. 17, 1960), p. 20.

Forward along with a complete workers' spare-time educational system from the primary to the college levels. This spare-time educational system which had a total enrollment of "several hundred thousand," was established for the purpose of providing all workers and staff members with the opportunity of receiving a college education in their spare time. By early March, 1960, plans were also well under way to establish a broadcast or radio university and also a television university.

Twenty percent of the workers in Tientsin, Hopeh Province, which is North China's leading industrial center, had, according to a NCNA report for August 10, 1960, reached the junior middle school level through spare-time study.⁵² As a result of a technical innovations campaign, spare-time education had grown tremendously with 1,300 such spare-time schools having been set up for workers. It was reported that the number of workers enrolled in secondary technical schools and colleges during the previous year of 1959 had trebled. Likewise, many factories were said to be running their own spare-time colleges. During the Great Leap Forward, sixteen new institutions of higher education were founded in Tientsin alone. These institutions, which specialized in such fields as science, teacher training, medicine, and physical education, were characterized by "hard work, cheap running cost, and good political quality of students" and assumed "the task of fostering useful citizens with what equipment they possess[ed]."⁵³ A campaign was instituted by the Tientsin municipality to overhaul, consolidate, and improve these sixteen institutions of higher education.⁵⁴

Much planning for the expansion of spare-time higher education,

⁵²This paragraph is based on the following two articles: "Tientsin Workers Advance Through Spare-time Education," NCNA, Tientsin: Aug. 10, 1960, in SCMP No. 2318 (Aug. 16, 1960), p. 17; and "Tientsin Overhauls New Institutes of Higher Learning," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Mar. 10, 1959, in SCMP No. 1985 (Apr. 3, 1959), p. 16.

⁵³"Tientsin Overhauls New Institutes of Higher Education," loc. cit.

⁵⁴Ibid.

as well as other levels of spare-time education, for peasants as well as workers took place in 1960. An NCNA dispatch for March 31, 1960, stated that the expansion of spare-time education among both workers and peasants in Kiangsu Province was typical of the rapid growth of spare-time schools throughout China during that time.⁵⁵ A complete provincial network of spare-time education from primary through college levels was in the process of being formed in the spring of 1960. One-fourth of the population of Kiangsu Province was said to be studying at some level of spare-time study. This included "large numbers" of illiterates in literacy classes as well as 5,000,000 people attending spare-time primary schools, almost 700,000 enrolled in spare-time junior and middle schools, and 16,000 in spare-time colleges. There were also several additional thousands studying in the spare-time technical schools.

In the rural areas, spare-time education was mainly organized by and around the people's communes. In addition to many spare-time primary schools, every people's commune in Kiangsu Province organized its own spare-time middle school. Some people's communes also set up spare-time technical schools which specialized in such subjects as farm machinery, carpentry, electricity, aquatic products, veterinary sciences, medicine, and chemical industry. Since most of the peasants were still at the lower and middle school levels, there were not yet large numbers of peasants either prepared for or demanding spare-time college level courses. On the other hand, there were considerable numbers of industrial workers who had completed the senior middle school level and who wished to continue studying at the college level. The Nanking Municipal Workers' Spare-Time College doubled its enrollment to 10,000 students between January and March of 1960. This was largely done by establishing branches of the college in various districts of the country for the convenience of the workers.

⁵⁵This paragraph is based on "10,000 Workers and Peasants in East China Province Study in Spare-Time Schools," NCNA, Nanking: Mar. 31, 1960, in SCMP No. 2232 (Apr. 6, 1960), pp. 35-36.

A further illustration of the state and development of spare-time education for peasants in 1960 may be seen by considering its expansion in Hopeh Province. An NCNA report from Tientsin for April 5, 1960, indicated that a complete provincial spare-time educational system through the higher educational level was in the process of development at that time.⁵⁶ It reported that the plan of the Hopeh Provincial Communist Party Committee for 1960 was to provide opportunity for spare-time study for the estimated 6,800,000 eligible for spare-time primary school, 1,500,000 for junior middle school, and 900,000 for senior middle school levels. It likewise indicated that some hsien [counties] would also experiment in establishing spare-time higher education. The twofold aim for developing all these levels of spare-time education was to raise both the cultural and political levels of the peasants and also to train agricultural technicians from the peasant ranks.⁵⁷ In order to achieve these ends, the help of both the state farms and the factories was enlisted. Political knowledge, general education, and technical subjects were taught and special emphasis was placed on agricultural machinery. In addition, short term courses were offered as needed in irrigation, chemical fertilizers, stock-breeding, and horticulture. In subsequent years, some of these as well as other subjects were offered in spare-time colleges and universities to the numerous administrative workers, technicians, and skilled workers--including tractor drivers and machine-operators--who wished to improve their skills by taking advanced training.

In spite of numerous economic difficulties, spare-time higher education for workers continued to expand through 1960, hitting a high point that year. However, when 1961 brought a third year of natural calamities, including droughts, floods, waterlogging, typhoons, frosts, and

⁵⁶This paragraph is based on "Complete Spare-Time Educational System in North China," NCNA, Tientsin: Apr. 5, 1960, in SCMP No. 2235 (Apr. 11, 1960), pp. 31-32.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 32.

abnormal temperature changes,⁵⁸ tremendous damage was done to Communist China's agricultural production and with it the national economy. Not only were the goals of the Second Five-Year Plan not attained, but many of the educational programs were greatly curtailed. This was especially true of spare-time higher and other levels of spare-time education since production, in fact if not in theory, had priority over spare-time study. Harper observed in his study that "the nationwide crisis of 1961, reaching into all phases of life and the economy in Mainland China, halted and almost destroyed workers' education."⁵⁹ Though many of the spare-time colleges and universities operated by various industrial enterprises had their first graduating classes in 1961 and after, enrollments were greatly reduced after 1961 and many spare-time higher educational programs drastically cut in numerous large factories.

According to data presented at a national conference on workers' education in Peking, it was reported that from 1959 to 1962 9,000,000 workers in the nation had participated in literacy education and most of these had become literate during those years; also, more than 1,000,000 workers had completed primary classes in workers' spare-time schools, almost 500,000 workers had finished the junior middle school, about 100,000 workers had graduated from the senior middle classes, and over 15,000 workers had graduated from spare-time institutions of higher education.⁶⁰ Some large factories and other industrial enterprises were able to maintain their own programs of spare-time higher education after 1961, but many found that with reduced worker enrollments and loss of teaching

⁵⁸ See, for example, Lu Wu, "The Climate in China and Calamities of Drought and Flooding," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Jan. 26, 1966, in SCMP No. 3634 (Feb. 9, 1966), pp. 1-7.

⁵⁹ Paul Harper, Spare-Time Education for Workers in Communist China, p. 16.

⁶⁰ "Make a Good Job of Spare-time Education for Workers, Expand the Scientific and Technical Force," NCNA, Peking: Jan. 25, 1964, and Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Jan. 26, 1964, in SCMP No. 3161 (Feb. 18, 1964), p. 8.

personnel due to the transfer of many workers to the rural areas to participate in farming and flood control work that it was necessary to join with other factories or enterprises to run jointly operated spare-time colleges and universities.

Other spare-time colleges were operated under other sponsorship agreements. Almost all of the workers' spare-time higher educational institutions along with other levels of spare-time education underwent great disruption from 1961 to 1963. Harper, however, pointed out that skeletal programs in workers' spare-time education were maintained throughout this nadir and that workers' education was again becoming important in 1963, although it occupied a much less important role in industrial planning than it had in the period of the Great Leap Forward.⁶¹

Spare-time education in the rural areas likewise received more attention and progressed during 1963 as a result of repeated calls from the CC of the Party "to persist in running schools."⁶² Workers' spare-time higher education made further progress in 1964 although it had not yet completely overcome all of the problems and difficulties which it had encountered since 1961. Many of the factories which had had to either greatly curtail or discontinue their spare-time higher educational programs during these difficult years were again able to offer a more adequate program of spare-time college level courses. During the years after 1960, spare-time higher education had, however, become increasingly important for both the urban worker and the rural peasant.

In the urban areas, spare-time higher correspondence education was supplemented in the spring of 1960 with television universities, radio universities, and combined radio-television universities. In all of them, the main form of instruction was correspondence education with supplementary instruction given by television (especially in the natural

⁶¹Harper, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

⁶²"Current Work in Spare-Time Education in Rural Areas," URS, Vol. 34, No. 12 (Feb. 11, 1964), p. 187.

sciences) and by radio. In the rural areas, various forms of spare-time higher education, including evening colléges and higher correspondence education, assumed a greater role in providing advanced education for not only the rural peasant who had been educated in the countryside but also for the millions of workers and youths who had been sent to the rural areas⁶³ during such campaigns as the Socialist Education Movement⁶⁴ in order to assist in rural reconstruction and development.

Two national conferences were held in 1965 which had special bearing on the future development of rural spare-time higher education. The National Conference on Higher and Secondary Agricultural Education was convened in Peking by the Ministry of Agriculture in August, 1965, and the National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence was held in Nanking later that same year.

The National Conference on Higher and Secondary Agricultural Education made a number of significant decisions which were to determine the future pattern of rural and agricultural higher education, including various types of spare-time higher education.⁶⁵ The consensus of those

⁶³ See, for example, "Rural Spare Time Education Is Preparation for a Half-Farming Half-Study Educational System," Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [China Youth News], Peking: Dec. 5, 1964, in Communist China Digest, No. 142, pp. 107-109. Translated in JPRS Report No. 28,891 (Feb. 24, 1965). This article points out this trend as follows: "Educated youths of a cultural [educational] standard of a higher primary [sixth grade] school student alone who have returned to the countryside have numbered more than 30 million." (p. 107).

⁶⁴ The Socialist Education Movement used the idea of "farming the land for the sake of the revolution" as the motivating force for recruiting trained urban young people of all educational levels for the rural areas. This movement, though formulated by the Party in 1963, was not put into wide operation until the winter of 1964. During 1964 and after, large numbers of urban school graduates were sent to the rural areas each year to assist in farming operations. It had a political as well as an economic base.

⁶⁵ This paragraph is largely based on "China Holds National Conference on Agricultural Education," NCNA, Peking: Aug. 24, 1965, in SCMP No. 3527 (Aug. 27, 1965), p. 17.

attending this conference was that all levels of agricultural education should serve the development of socialist agriculture by being geared to the rural areas, to the peasants, and to agricultural production. It decided that all new agricultural colleges and schools should be located in the rural areas and that the policy should be adopted of enrolling students mainly from the rural communes, of training them for rural work, and of sending them back to work in the people's communes after graduation.

The conference decided that the new system of combining farm and study on a half-farming and half-study basis should be actively and steadily introduced into all of the agricultural colleges and secondary schools throughout China since this new part-time system not only " . . . represented a great revolutionary and constructive development in agricultural education" but also met both the needs of agriculture and the demands for further advanced education among the young people in the rural areas.⁶⁶ Furthermore, "it created the pre-requisites for gradually narrowing down the differences between mental and manual labor, between city and countryside and between industry and agriculture."⁶⁷ These conditions have been regarded by the Chinese Communist regime as essential prerequisites before a successful transition can be made from socialism to true communism.

During the previous year (from the middle of 1964 to the middle of 1965), over half of the agricultural colleges and two-thirds of the agricultural secondary schools had already introduced the new part-time farm-study system and the remaining ones at both levels were to work steadily towards that goal. It was also reported that many of the full-time colleges and schools were at that time also actively seeking to institute related reforms into their teaching work and programs which would reflect this new policy. This was likewise true of those regular full-time institutions of higher education which offered spare-time courses through either a correspondence department (division) or through an

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

attached evening college as well as of separate spare-time colleges which specialized in certain subjects. A number of these specialized spare-time colleges and universities were renamed and converted into half-farm and half-study colleges and universities.⁶⁸

Some of these half-work and half-study labor colleges and universities offered spare-time higher education through correspondence courses, evening colleges, and short-term courses. The National Conference on Agricultural Education urged all of the agricultural colleges and secondary schools to develop these three types of spare-time higher and secondary education for peasants, former servicemen, and technical and administrative functionaries (cadres) in the rural areas.⁶⁹

The new work-study system of half-work and half-study colleges and secondary schools which again became prominent in the urban and industrial areas during 1964 and 1965 paralleled the development of the new farm-study system of combining farm work and study at the college and secondary levels in the rural areas. Spare-time higher education was in some cases absorbed into the half-time college programs for both the urban industrial workers and the rural peasants.⁷⁰ This work-study system thus became both an educational system and a labor system⁷¹ in which large

⁶⁸ See, for example, "The Shanghai Municipal Spare-Time Technical University Is Renamed the Shanghai Municipal Work-Study Technical University," Wen-hui Pao, Shanghai: Sept. 5, 1965, p. 2, in URS, Vol. 41, No. 5 (Oct. 15, 1965), p. 60.

⁶⁹ "China Holds National Conference on Agricultural Education," op. cit., p. 17.

⁷⁰ See, for example, "The Shanghai Municipal Spare Time Technical University Is Renamed the Shanghai Municipal Work-Study Technical University," op. cit., p. 60, and also "Rural Spare Time Education Is Preparation for a Half-Farming Half-Study Educational System," op. cit., pp. 107-109.

⁷¹ An article called "Integration with the Workers and Peasants Is the Historical Path for the Intellectual Youth," Jen-min Jih-pao editorial, Peking: Dec. 9, 1965, in Current Background, No. 780 (Jan. 4, 1966), p. 19, points out these two kinds of labor and educational systems as follows: "Recently, the Party Central Committee has called for the enforcement of

numbers of workers and peasants were able to participate in production while taking advanced training at the secondary and higher educational levels. Though some of the specialized spare-time colleges and universities were changed into the half-work and half-study colleges and universities, it did not necessarily mean that fewer students would be enrolled in some type of spare-time education since many of these new institutions also developed higher correspondence courses, evening colleges, and short-term courses for workers and students.

The National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence, which was conducted in late 1965 in the city of Nanking by the Ministry of Higher Education, had great significance for the further development of both urban and rural higher spare-time education in general and of higher education by correspondence in particular.⁷² This conference called for the thorough implementation of the policy of "walking on two legs,"--that is, the proper operation of the regular full-time schools on the one hand, and the active introduction of and experimentation with part-work, part-study education together with the development of spare-time education on the other.

There was to be a coordinated development of the two systems of education which included the three forms of full-time education, part-work,

two kinds of labor systems and educational systems: the students are required to divide their time between study and work or farming, and the teachers, their time between teaching and work or farming. With the students studying and working and the teachers teaching and working at the same time, they are in a better position to become as one with the workers and peasants. We should implement this guideline in real earnest so that the students can quickly become one with the workers and peasants."

⁷²The discussion in this and the following two paragraphs pertaining to the National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence is based upon the following two articles: "Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," NCNA, Nanking: Dec. 8, 1965, in SCMP No. 3599 (Dec. 16, 1965), pp. 6-8; and "Turn the Main Attention to Rural Areas, Actively Develop Higher Correspondence Education," Kuang-ming Jih-pao editorial, Peking: Dec. 8, 1965, in SCMP No. 3605 (Dec. 28, 1965), pp. 12-15.

part-study education, and spare-time education. The main responsibility of the full-time schools of higher education was to carry out teaching reforms and to continuously improve the quality of teaching. Likewise, part-work, part-study and part-farming, part-study higher education was expected to continue to expand but to operate on an experimental basis. However, since the full-time schools of higher education and the part-work, part-study and part-farming, part-study colleges and universities could not meet the needs of the three major movements of class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experimentation and since these two forms of education could not fully satisfy the demands of the workers and peasants for raising their political, cultural [educational], scientific, and technical levels, the conference delegates urged that all types of spare-time higher education, and especially higher correspondence education, be promoted and developed even more extensively.

The conference concluded that higher spare-time education and higher correspondence education were important parts of the state's whole system of higher education and could " . . . play an important role in developing higher education in . . . [the] country and bringing up useful persons to carry out urban and rural revolution and construction with greater, faster, better and more economical results."⁷³ It also felt that on a long-term basis higher spare-time education and education by correspondence could create conditions for gradually reducing and eventually completely eliminating the three great differences between town and country, industry and agriculture, and manual and mental labor.

The conference reviewed the great progress and development of spare-time higher education in general and of higher education by correspondence in particular. It was pointed out that according to incomplete statistics gathered early in 1965, there were more than 1,000 spare-time institutions of higher education of various types throughout the nation

⁷³"Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," loc. cit., p. 6.

of which 126 were correspondence colleges or departments in colleges and universities. Of the more than 430,000 students enrolled in the different kinds of spare-time institutes of higher education, over 149,000 were enrolled in the correspondence colleges or departments. The importance of higher education by correspondence in the spare-time higher educational program may be seen from the fact that though the number of correspondence colleges or departments numbered only one-eighth of the total, yet they had more than one-third of the total number of the spare-time college students which numbered almost a half million.

Since it would not be possible for regular higher education to meet the further demands for advanced education in the countryside by the increasingly large number of students going from the urban centers to the rural areas to farm, the conference concluded that the matter of developing higher correspondence education in the rural areas should be regarded as a matter of vital significance and be actively promoted. It recommended that in extending higher spare-time education and education by correspondence to the rural areas that specialized courses of study which were useful to the countryside and which would meet the rural demands should be offered. These should include such courses of study as animal husbandry, veterinary science, agronomy, water conservation, mechanical and electrical engineering, architecture, civil engineering, medicine, and public health. Use should be made of correspondence universities, evening universities, radio universities, television universities, and other forms of education for further establishing spare-time education networks throughout the country in both urban and rural areas.

Though all types of spare-time education were to be implemented in this outreach to both urban and rural areas, the emphasis for higher education in the rural areas, however, was to be upon higher education by correspondence. In this respect, the conference noted, "It is necessary to develop actively both higher education by correspondence in the countryside and spare-time education and education by correspondence in

the cities."⁷⁴

Under the twelve-year developmental plan for establishing spare-time education for industrial workers, which was laid down in the National Work Conference on Spare-Time Education for Industrial Workers and Employees held in late December, 1955, it was stated that most industrial workers would be expected to complete the senior primary (sixth grade) school level by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan in 1962. It likewise stated that facilities would be provided so as to make it possible for the majority of both skilled workers and administrative personnel to become junior middle (ninth grade) school graduates and for some of them to become senior middle (twelfth grade) school graduates by the end of 1967 when the projected Third Five-Year Plan would end.⁷⁵ These projected goals, though achieved to a limited degree in some industries and enterprises, were far from being reached by the nation as a whole. Poor economic planning, the resultant failure of the Great Leap Forward, and the further economic difficulties brought on by three years (1959-61) of natural disasters and crop failures were all factors contributing to the failure to achieve the announced goals of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans.

The Second Five-Year Plan ended in 1962, but since the goals of the Plan were not realized, the actual beginning of the Third Five-Year Plan did not take place until January, 1966. This would seem to indicate that the Communist regime was actually three years behind in its overall goals previously announced. With the launching of the new Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70), new tasks or goals were laid down for all segments of the society and economy. The programs of the full-time schools, the part-time schools, and the spare-time schools at all levels were expected to contribute toward the overall goals laid down by the Party. A concise summary of these overall goals of the new Third Five-Year Plan appeared in an

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁵"Workers' Sparetime Education Planned," op. cit., p. 14.

article in the official Peking Jen-min Jih-pao for January 28, 1966, following a statement concerning the launching of this new Plan. It stated as follows:

Attending to the revolution, advancing construction, and developing construction production, especially agricultural production, with even greater, faster, better, and more economical results, are the demands of the Party, of the masses of the people, and of the times.⁷⁶

Spare-time higher education continued to advance in both the urban and the rural areas during most of the first half of 1966. The Nanking and Peking systems of spare-time education show the type of expansion that took place in the urban areas. Nanking is typical of the many industrial cities with complete systems of spare-time workers' education through the college level at that time. The comprehensive spare-time educational system in the capital city of Peking, on the other hand, being the most extensive in the country and the model city in many educational projects, provides a picture of the most advanced system of spare-time education in the country.

An NCNA report from Nanking for February 3, 1966, indicated that one-fourth of the workers in Nanking were studying in the city's ten spare-time colleges and 120 spare-time schools at the lower levels.⁷⁷ Although more than 180,000 Nanking workers had completed some level of spare-time studies since 1949, only 750 had graduated at the college level by early 1966. The spare-time colleges, which were set up in 1958, had graduated students every year since 1963. This report stated that the number of technicians trained in many of the Nanking factories by spare-time education was equivalent to one-tenth of the number of graduates

⁷⁶Chiang Wei-ch'ing, "Moving the Whole Area Forward by Means of Demonstration Farms Is a Good Way of Leading Agricultural Production," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Jan. 28, 1966, in SCMP No. 3646 (Feb. 28, 1966), p. 24.

⁷⁷This paragraph is based upon "Spare-Time Education Develops in East China City," NCNA, Nanking: Feb. 3, 1966, in SCMP No. 3633 (Feb. 8, 1966), p. 17.

from the full-time schools, although the percentage was considerably higher in some factories.

In the capital city of Peking, one-fifth of the workers in the city were reported to be attending some level of spare-time schools.⁷⁸ This most comprehensive system of spare-time education in the country included spare-time technical training courses, correspondence schools, evening schools, and a television university. These were run either by the education departments or by the local factories and other enterprises. It was reported that about 60,000 Peking workers had completed primary, secondary, or college education by means of spare-time studies. Of this number, 20,000, or one-third of the total number who had finished some level of spare-time education, had completed the spare-time college courses. In early 1966 there were 40,000 students enrolled in some type of spare-time higher education in Peking.

Spare-time higher education by correspondence has been greatly emphasized in the Peking comprehensive spare-time education system and will likely serve as the model for comprehensive systems of spare-time education in other major industrial cities as well as stimulating various other types of higher correspondence education elsewhere. In 1965, a correspondence agricultural university and a combined radio-correspondence school were set up on the outskirts of Peking to assist in training peasants for agricultural production. The correspondence agricultural university offered courses in three areas--fruit cultivation, agronomy and animal husbandry and veterinary science. Its 6,000 students were of peasant background. Another 1,000 students were enrolled on the outskirts of the city in the Peking Correspondence Institute which had added two additional sections in 1965. In addition, other students with peasant backgrounds were studying in the correspondence departments of the Peking Agricultural University and the College of Forestry.

⁷⁸This and the following paragraph are based upon "Spare-Time Education Popular in Peking," NCNA, Peking: Feb. 24, 1966, in SCMP No. 3647 (Mar. 1, 1966), pp. 24-25.

During the first half of 1965, the emphasis in both urban and rural spare-time higher education as well as other levels of spare-time education was more and more upon politics and the study of Mao Tse-tung's works. This trend escalated continuously as the months passed and as the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution gained momentum in the late spring and early summer of 1966. This dual stress upon politics in general and upon Mao Tse-tung's thinking in particular was prominently emphasized in the newspapers, magazines, and other public news media throughout China. A typical example was an editorial which appeared in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao for June 12, 1966, under the title: "Run Workers' and Staff Members' Spare-Time Schools As Positions for Propagating Mao Tse-tung's Thinking."⁷⁹ This emphasis on politics and Mao Tse-tung's thought in workers' spare-time education was discussed at the National Workers' Spare-Time Education Conference which was held in Foochow in the late spring of 1966. This conference, which was held to exchange experiences on the importance of workers' spare-time education, placed great stress " . . . on giving prominence to politics and insuring that spare-time schools help the workers to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a living way so that they can break the monopoly by bourgeois 'authorities' and 'specialists' on theory and science."⁸⁰

After discussion on the primary importance of Marxism-Leninism and the study of Mao Tse-tung's works in workers' spare-time education, the conference " . . . agreed that these [spare-time] schools should be firm bases from which Mao Tse-tung's thought . . . [might be] popularized and [that] they should train up socialist-minded, cultured working people,

⁷⁹"Run Workers' and Staff Members' Spare-Time Schools As Positions for Propagating Mao Tse-tung's Thinking," Kuang-ming Jih-pao editorial, Peking: June 12, 1966, in SCMP No. 3727 (June 28, 1966), p. 4.

⁸⁰"Importance of Workers' Spare-Time Education Discussed at National Conference," NCNA, Foochow: June 14, 1966, in SCMP No. 3721 (June 20, 1966), p. 18.

industrial workers who were proletarian, revolutionized and militant."⁸¹ It was reported at this conference that during the latter half of 1965, 600,000 workers had attended special teacher-training classes on the study of Mao Tse-tung's works, and two million other spare-time students had studied Mao's works as a selected Chinese language course. Likewise, it was pointed out at the conference that even in the teaching of such scientific and technical courses as mathematics, physics, and chemistry, it was possible for the teachers in workers' spare-time schools to find a way to introduce and apply Marxist-Leninist principles and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The conference took note of the fact that the workers' spare-time schools had made a great contribution to the revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experimentation in the past and " . . . strongly encouraged workers to take an active part in the socialist cultural revolution and bring into full play their role as the major force in this revolution."⁸² It characterized the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which was then in the beginning stages " . . . as class struggle, a struggle to build up proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology, a life-and-death struggle between the bourgeois influences for the restoration of capitalism and the proletarian forces to prevent it."⁸³

This conference on workers' spare-time education, which was held on the threshold of the announcement issued on June 13, 1966, by the CC of the Party and the State Council that it had decided to postpone the 1966 enrollment in the institutions of higher learning for six months while a new system of examinations and enrollment for these higher educational institutions was decided upon and a thorough reform of the

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., p. 19.

educational system was carried out,⁸⁴ stressed the themes of politics and Maoism which were to be emphasized in all levels of Chinese Communist education for some time to come. The almost complete disruption of spare-time higher education as well as all other types of middle and higher education took place during the 1966-67 school year and after as this education hiatus was extended following the continued struggles and upheavals resulting from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard Movement.⁸⁵

In this section consideration has been given to the development of spare-time higher education into a coordinated and significant system of higher education and some major facets of its subsequent development in the years preceding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard Movement. In the following section attention will be focused on some of the major objectives, goals, and tasks relating to spare-time higher education in Communist China.

II. MAJOR OBJECTIVES AND GOALS RELATING TO SPARE-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION

The major objectives, goals, and tasks of spare-time higher education are basically the same as for all other levels of spare-time education as well as for the other two major kinds of classifications of education, regular full-time education and part-time work-study education. The difference is largely one of degree rather than one of kind.

The educational objectives and policies of a nation affect the entire warp and woof of any society, but this has been especially true

⁸⁴ See, for example, "Notice on Reform of Enrollment for China's Institutes of Higher Learning," NCNA, Peking: June 18, 1966, in SCMP No. 3724 (June 23, 1966), pp. 2-3.

⁸⁵ It has not been the purpose of this study to consider the effects of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard Movement on spare-time higher education nor its status after the middle of 1966 when these movements gathered momentum.

of Communist China. The educational objectives and goals of Communist China have been merely a reflection of broader national objectives and goals. As such, they were not confined to any one of the three kinds of Chinese Communist education but were rather directly related to an integrated system of national education. Each of the three kinds of education has had special characteristics and emphases since these were the reasons for the specific development of that type of education. It was the duty of those directing each kind of education in Communist China to accept and understand the national educational objectives and policies and then to tailor their own specific programs accordingly. The major objectives and goals as well as the tasks discussed in this section were not unique to spare-time higher education or to any other specific kind or level of Chinese education but are discussed because of their relationship with or bearing on spare-time education in general and spare-time higher education in particular.

The spare-time higher educational objectives and policies have frequently been merely an extension of previously formulated spare-time objectives and goals drawn up earlier for the lower educational levels. The major objectives and goals referred to in this section as they relate to various levels of spare-time education, and especially spare-time higher education, had a somewhat parallel development in regular full-time and part-time work-study education as well. For example, the following quotation, which appeared in an editorial in the Peking Chiao Shih Pao for September 24, 1957, related spare-time education to the major objective and task of building socialism; however, much of what is said pertaining to this objective and task as it specifically relates to spare-time education could also be said of full-time or part-time education as well. This editorial's definition of the objective and task of spare-time education as a sacred mission in building socialism was stated as follows:

The significance of spare-time education must be understood through the great task of building Socialism. Our object is to raise the level of the material as well as cultural [educational] life of all the working people. It is the sacred mission of Socialist construction. But production--material life--is after

all the foundation, while education--cultural life--can develop only with the development of production. If production is not fully developed, the establishment of new schools in large numbers will be impossible.⁸⁶

Furthermore, the overall policies, purposes, and objectives of two kinds of education may be almost identical and yet the degree to which they are fulfilled will vary greatly, with results depending largely upon such other related factors as emphases, resources, and time given to the programs. An NCNA dispatch from Peking for March 3, 1960, provides an illustration of such usage in the Chinese Communist press when it cited the same policy, purpose, and aim for both full-time and spare-time education. The aim or objective of both the full-time and the spare-time schools was that of producing the new socialist man who would integrate mental and physical labor. In stressing this point, it said in part:

In both full-time and spare-time schools, the policy is education combined with productive labor. The purpose of education is to enable the working people to become highly educated and the intellectuals to be also working people. The aim is to train a new type of man, one who works with both his brains and his hands.⁸⁷

The objectives, goals, and tasks as they relate to spare-time higher education and the development of the new socialist man in work and thought were also applicable to full-time and part-time education and the reverse was also true. The same may also be said of Chinese Communist policies, guidelines, and principles pertaining to spare-time higher education. Both in this section and the next one, the specific purpose is to discuss these aspects as they relate to spare-time higher education though they usually pertain to all forms and levels of the Chinese Communist educational system. They are therefore of special importance.

⁸⁶"Actively Open a Way That Interferes with Neither Production Nor Study," Chiao Shih Pao editorial, Peking: Sept. 24, 1957, in SCMP No. 1637 (Oct. 24, 1957), p. 9.

⁸⁷Chang Hua, "Spare-Time Education Develops Fast in China," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 3, 1960, in SCMP No. 2212 (Mar. 9, 1960), p. 16.

After the Long March to Northwest China in 1936, the main objective of the Communists in the so-called "liberated areas" was to overthrow the Kuomintang regime and to bring all of China under Communist control. This major objective permeated all their thinking and became the basis for all of their long-range policies. The apportioned tasks in education as well as in other realms were all made to contribute toward this overshadowing goal. When the Chinese Communist goal of "liberating China" was achieved in 1949, they had the further task of consolidating the country for socialism.

One of the problems they faced was how to convert both the intellectuals and the masses who were non-Communist to the socialist viewpoint. In working toward this objective of indoctrinating these classes with socialism, the Chinese Communists made great use of both formal and informal education. In addition to the regular school system, they made extensive use of literacy and spare-time education classes. They also employed such informal means of education as drama, story telling, and puppet shows to indoctrinate the masses. The objective was to instill socialism in all levels of society by all possible means. Theodore Hsi-en Chen, after stating that to the Chinese Communists there is no line between formal and informal education nor any distinction between education and propaganda or indoctrination, pointed out that such informal types of education or "study" as drama, story telling, and puppet shows ". . . have educational functions and are governed by the same objective--molding a new socialist man with proletarian tastes, loyalties, and convictions."⁸⁸ Mao Tse-tung himself stated this basic objective of Chinese Communist education when he said, "Our educational policy should enable those being educated to develop themselves in the moral, mental and physical aspects so as to make them socialism-conscious and cultured laborers."⁸⁹

⁸⁸Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "Education in Communist China: Aims, Trends, and Problems," p. 259, in Contemporary China. Edited by Ruth Adams. Chicago China Conference, 1966; New York: Pantheon, 1966.

⁸⁹Mao Tse-tung, cited by Chang Nai-pan, op. cit., p. 32.

Thus, the overall goal of education in Communist China, as presented by Barendsen, was to produce men and women who were "both Red and expert"--that is, those who were both ideologically correct and also professionally competent. Though it has been the long-range aim of the Chinese Communist regime to raise a new generation of "working class intellectuals" composed of educated workers and peasants untainted by the bourgeois background or viewpoint, it has been temporarily expedient for the present to use the services of the old intelligentsia for the cause of socialism while at the same time endeavoring to change their ideological outlook and win them over to the socialist viewpoint.⁹⁰

To re-educate the intellectuals and to achieve extensive educational reforms were related objectives of the Communist regime. Chang Chien in an article on higher education outlined the basic goal of this educational reform as that of preparing advanced students to be both politically reliable and technically proficient. He pointed this out as follows:

The basic goal of education reform is the systematic and purposeful cultivation of specialized talents with a preliminary Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation, loyal to the nation's socialism construction enterprise, expert in the world's advanced science and technology, and sound in both body and mind; in other words, comprehensively developed worker class intellectuals of both political and technical qualifications, able to unite theory and practice, and physical and mental work, and to develop the individuality in the collective life (the unification of the generality and the individuality).⁹¹

The development of large numbers of "new socialist people" who are "both Red and expert" has remained a major objective of all forms of education throughout the three five-year economic plans though other objectives, goals, and tasks have also been enumerated at various times.

⁹⁰ Robert D. Barendsen, "Education in China: A Survey," p. 4, in a Reprint from Problems of Communism, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (July-August, 1964), pp. 19-27.

⁹¹ Chang Chien, "Our Higher Education Is Exceedingly Good," p. 220, in Education in Communist China. Translated in JPRS Report No. 17,188.

Other major objectives and goals of education--including spare-time education at all levels--from 1953 through 1967 were specified in the three Five-Year Plans. For example, during the First Five-Year Plan, when the emphasis was on the development of heavy industry, the educational objective laid down by the Party for all forms of middle higher education was the training of more technicians and engineers at those levels and in those programs. Likewise, when the regime announced its instructions on educational matters on September 19, 1958, it specified three major objectives and tasks: the elimination of illiteracy in a relatively short time, the universalization of education, and the cultivation of millions of workers who would be trained to be "both Red and expert."⁹² Mao Tse-tung, when speaking at Tientsin University that same year, laid down three other tasks or objectives for all types of colleges and universities. He said, "Schools of higher learning should grasp three things: Party commissars leadership, mass line and combination of education [,] and productional labor activities."⁹³

Since the objective, policy, or characteristic of "combining education with productive labor" has been the very heart of all levels and types of spare-time and part-time education as well as being of vital importance to the regular full-time educational system in the Communist view, it is of special importance to consider this important objective of the Communists. When the Great Leap Forward began in 1958, large numbers of spare-time institutions were established in order "to combine education with productive labor." Those that were established in the rural areas of the country were mainly at the literacy and lower educational levels, but many factories and other enterprises in the urban areas set up numerous spare-time colleges and universities. Regular institutions of higher education also established evening colleges and universities as well as correspondence divisions. The emphasis in most of these spare-time

⁹² See Chang Nai-pan, op. cit., p. 33.

⁹³ Mao Tse-tung, cited by Chang Nai-pan, ibid.

colleges for workers was upon engineering, teacher training, agriculture, and medicine. Large numbers of spare-time institutions at all levels were rapidly developed between 1958 and 1960, and many of these offered specialized courses in other fields.

In many of the rural areas, regular education was replaced by spare-time education in order that the students might better participate in manual and productive labor as well as mental labor. Even in the regular school system students at all levels were required to spend a specified amount of time in productive labor. At that time self-supporting half-work and half-study institutions, mainly at the middle school level, were also instituted so that junior middle school students could take part in agricultural production in order that they might apply what they were learning in the schools.

One of the main purposes for combining education with productive labor was to achieve the ideological objectives of breaking down the Confucian tradition of regarding those who made a living by working with their hands as inferior, of seeking to persuade intellectuals to change their attitude toward physical labor, and of breaking down the past distinctions between manual and mental labor.⁹⁴

Many spare-time colleges and universities for workers as well as other types and levels of spare-time education were set up between 1958 and 1961. An article appearing in the Sian Ssu-shiang Chan-hsien [Ideology Front] for April 1, 1960, gives a comprehensive picture of workers' spare-time education and defines the current and future objectives and tasks of making a good job of spare-time education by raising the political, educational, and technical levels of the workers. This was stated as being the strategic mission of both the Party and the people. The details of how these objectives and tasks could be achieved, was pointed out in the extended quotation as follows:

Making a good job of the spare-time education of the workers and rapidly raising the political, cultural, and technological

⁹⁴Barendsen, op. cit., p. 6.

levels of the broad masses of workers constitute a strategic mission for the entire Party and all the people. At present, making a good job of the spare-time education of the workers is an important condition for promoting technical innovation and revolution, continuously raising labor productivity, and insuring the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the state production plans. In terms of the future, making a good job of the spare-time education of the workers is an important measure for converting the masses of workers into intellectuals, gradually eliminating the difference between physical labor and mental labor, and paving the way for the transition to Communism. Thus, the large-scale organization of the spare-time education of the workers has great significance for the present and for the future.

The spare-time education of the workers is also aimed at the training of large numbers of cadres, especially technological cadres, for national construction. In order that ours may be converted into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture in not too long a period, we need to have a powerful "red and expert" army of scientists and technicians and army of theorists belonging to the working classes. Needless to say, the state full-time and half-day schools have a very big share in the task of training large numbers of cadres. But these schools alone are far from being able to take up the entire task, in which therefore the spare-time education of the workers must also have a very big share. Besides, busy as they are with production, the broad masses of workers cannot leave their posts for a long time in order to devote themselves to their studies. Production and education must be firmly combined so that they may engage in production on the one hand and study on the other. For this reason, it is necessary firmly to carry out the Party's 'walking on two legs' directive for educational work and, while devoting full-time education and half-day education, also to organize the spare-time education of the workers on a big scale.⁹⁵

Most of these objectives and goals presented by Wang Po-ch'uan were announced for the spare-time education of workers in order that the task of developing the new socialist man might be accomplished. The combining of education with productive labor was regarded as being very important if these objectives and goals were to be achieved, and this was especially

⁹⁵ Wang Po-ch'uan, "Develop Workers' Spare-Time Education," Ssu-hsiang Chan-hsien [Ideological Front], Sian: No. 4, Apr. 1, 1960, in Extracts From China Mainland Magazines (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 212 (May 23, 1960), p. 19.

true of spare-time higher education. Though the article referred specifically to the workers in the urban industrial areas, it was also regarded as being important for the peasants and workers in the rural areas as well.

With the economic crisis brought on by the faltering of the Great Leap Forward and crop failures resulting from three successive years (1959-61) of natural disasters, the educational objectives of the nation shifted from the emphasis on industrial education and preparing workers for jobs in mines, factories, and other industrial enterprises to its new educational objective of training technicians for agricultural construction and development.⁹⁶ As a result of this shift in emphasis, greater stress was placed on rural spare-time education at all levels. The twofold objective or aim of spare-time education, including spare-time higher education, in the rural areas was concisely stated in an NCNA dispatch from Tientsin for April 5, 1960. It said, "The aim [in all levels of spare-time education in the rural areas] is both to raise the political and cultural [educational] level of the peasants and to train peasant technicians for the developing mechanization of agriculture."⁹⁷

Spare-time higher education like other forms of higher education has played a vital role in both the urban and the rural areas of Communist China, but it will undoubtedly play an even greater role in the future. The continued development of higher education has been one of the objectives of the Party and the State Council. This main objective of higher education in Communist China was brought out well by Li Yun-yang when he said, "The aim in socialist education in advanced schools is to give as many people as possible an opportunity to get a good education and at

⁹⁶ See I Wo-sheng, "Education in Communist China During 1962 and a Comparison with the Soviet Union," Communist China, 1962 (Hong Kong: Union Research Service), p. 200.

⁹⁷ "Complete Spare-Time Educational System in North China," NCNA, Tientsin: Apr. 5, 1960, in SCMP No. 2235 (Apr. 11, 1960), p. 32.

the same time, give those with talent an opportunity to develop."⁹⁸ Again, he says, "Out aim in advanced education is to train proletarian intellectuals with a high level of modern scientific knowledge and sound bodies."⁹⁹

The immediate objective of spare-time higher education and higher correspondence education, according to the National Conference on Higher Education by Correspondence held in late 1965,¹⁰⁰ was that of playing an important role in developing higher education throughout China and in training useful persons to carry out both urban and rural revolution and construction "with greater, faster, better and more economical results." On a long-range basis, spare-time higher education would help to create conditions for gradually eliminating the three great differences between the cities and rural areas, between the workers and the peasants, and between manual and mental labor and thereby making possible the transition from socialism to communism. It was the objective of the regime to not only develop higher correspondence education in the rural areas for those among the 500,000,000¹⁰¹ peasants who might wish to take spare-time higher education, but also to provide an extensive system of higher correspondence education for millions of urban workers.

It was pointed out at the National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence that "spare-time higher education by correspondence . . . shoulders the task of raising the political, cultural, scientific and

⁹⁸Li Yun-yang, "A Brief Discussion of the Struggle between the Two Paths in China's Higher Education," p. 36, in Education in Communist China. Translated in JPRS Report No. 17,188.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰⁰See "Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence, op. cit., p. 6; and "Turn the Main Attention to Rural Areas, Actively Develop Higher Correspondence Education," op. cit., p. 12

¹⁰¹In the article "Students All Over China Voice Their Support for the Smashing of the Old Educational System" NCNA, Peking: July 15, 1966, SCMP No. 3742 (July 20, 1966), p. 6, it is stated that there were 500,000,000 peasants in Communist China at that time (mid-1966).

technical levels of the laboring people."¹⁰² The ultimate aim was to produce new socialist men and women who would be "Red and expert"--not only trained in technology but also correct in ideology. Since it was not sufficient to be expert without at the same time being "Red," that is, having proper "political consciousness," the ideological task assumed great importance in Communist China. Chang Chien, in an article on Chinese higher education, outlined the ideological task of higher education in Communist China as that of "helping" the teachers, students, and staff to change to the correct political ideology and viewpoint. In pointing this out, he said:

. . . the ideological education task of higher schools is to help the teachers, students, and staff, on the one hand, transfer over smoothly to the democratic revolution ideology, and, on the other, begin transferring to socialism. Be it the former or the latter, it all involves the analysis and criticism of erroneous ideas with the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint, and method.¹⁰³

This ideological task of helping teacher, students, and staff get the correct political viewpoint assumed great prominence in the mid-1960's as even greater emphasis was placed on the study of politics and the works of Mao Tse-tung. The old educational system, which was characterized by entrance examinations and enrollments based on academic competency, was discontinued for six months by decision of the CC of the Party and the State Council. A new system of examination and enrollment procedures was to be decided upon during this six month period embracing the latter half of 1966 while the middle and higher level institutions were all closed down.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²"Turn the Main Attention to Rural Areas, Actively Develop Higher Correspondence Education," loc. cit.

¹⁰³Chang Chien, "Our Higher Education Is Exceedingly Good," p. 220, in Education in Communist China. Translated in JPRS Report No. 17,188.

¹⁰⁴See, for example, "Notice on Reform of Enrollment for China's Institutes of Higher Learning," op. cit., pp. 2-3; "Students All Over China Voice Their Support for the Smashing of the Old Educational System," op. cit., pp. 5-9; and "Proposals to the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Concerning the Introduction of a Completely New Academic System of Arts Faculties in Universities," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: July 12, 1966, in SCMP No. 3742 (July 20, 1966), pp. 1-5.

It would appear that the real reason for closing the schools, however, was for the purpose of making it possible for students to join the Red Guard Movement and thus participate in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the resulting chaos, the school system, including various levels of spare-time education, suffered complete disruption, and the lacuna of six months was extended considerably before the educational system was again put back into operation.

The major objective and goal as well as the task of Chinese Communist spare-time education in general and spare-time higher education in particular, like other kinds and levels of education, was that of "building socialism." This "sacred mission" involved that of producing "new socialist people" who would both combine education with production and mental with manual labor. This new generation of "working class intellectuals" would be both "Red and expert"--that is, having the Marxist viewpoint but at the same time being technically competent. Other more immediate objectives and goals of spare-time higher education were related to the specific tasks assigned to various ministries, industries, and units which operated spare-time higher education. The objectives and goals which were established by the Party and the State Council had to be carried out in accordance with Party policies and guidelines. The following section will consider some of the basic policies and guidelines which helped to formulate and guide in the development of spare-time higher education.

III. BASIC POLICIES AND GUIDELINES RELATING TO SPARE-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION

Education, in the Communist view, must be for production, must be under the control and guidance of the Party, and must serve the proletariat as was pointed out in the previous section. Policies and guidelines laid down by the Party in consultation with the State Council have determined the direction and character of not only spare-time higher education but also of all other kinds and levels of education in China as well. The

viewpoint of the Party has always been that education was neither for its own sake nor for the specific desires or preferences of the individual but for the collective benefit of the whole society. Since, according to the Chinese Communists, education should produce individuals who were not only competent in a vocation or specialty but who were also trained in political consciousness, the Party had to determine the policies and guidelines relating to all education. Only then could the major objectives and goals laid down by the Party be reached and the tasks accomplished.

The educational theory which became the basis for the regime's educational practice was merely an extension of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism into the realm of education and its problems. The resultant educational policies, guidelines, and principles which were formulated became the basis for not only the forms of education derived but also for its mode of operation.

Marxist-Leninist educational policies and guidelines make up the basic structural framework for all three kinds of Chinese Communist education, full-time, part-time, and spare-time schools. These determine the strategy of procedure, the basis of operation, and the direction of development. Though all three kinds of education employ much the same basic policies and guidelines, the programs vary in part because of the nature of the individual emphases, the resources such as manpower, money, and materials available to each, and the variety of means used to operate them. Since this study deals with spare-time education in general and spare-time higher education in particular, the policies and guidelines mentioned, though pertinent to all three kinds of education, will be considered mainly from the point of view of spare-time higher education. However, since many of these policies and guidelines relating to spare-time higher education were first used in connection with spare-time education at the primary and secondary levels and since the vast majority of spare-time students have been enrolled at these levels rather than at the spare-time higher educational level where the enrollments have been smaller and the programs less extensive, some of the patterns considered will be those used also at either the lower and middle levels of spare-time

education or of another kind of education where the same or similar policies and guidelines were employed.

Because of the fact that many of the same factories, bureaus, communes and other enterprises which offered spare-time higher education classes had had considerable previous experience in operating spare-time education at the primary and middle school levels before they added spare-time higher education, they tended to operate the higher spare-time schools in much the same way as they had handled the lower levels. New policies and guidelines were also formulated, and they together with the previous experience became the criteria for operating the various levels of spare-time education, including spare-time higher education.

Since the variation in the use of policies and guidelines at the different levels of spare-time education was not significantly different and since many of the same ones were used consistently year after year at all levels of spare-time education, it is possible to get a general picture of how these relate to spare-time higher education. Consideration will be given to several of the major ones here and in the following sections. For example, the general policy of "opposing uniformity in education and adjusting education to practical needs," which was basic educational policy in the "pre-liberation" period, has continued to be followed through the years. This policy of diversity or variety of forms in education is reflected in the three major kinds of education, full-time, part-time, and spare-time education. These have been employed in order to achieve universal education as soon as possible. Also, the policy, guideline, and principle of "combining education with productive labor" was, in the Communist view, not only essential to the development of all levels of spare-time education, as well as to the other two forms of education, but is to be of fundamental importance in the training of new socialist men and women who will prepare the way for the society to make a transition from socialism to communism.

In this section, attention will be focused on the three following fundamental considerations: (1) the formulation of policies and guidelines;

(2) their promulgation in the "liberated areas" and later in occupied China; and (3) the implementation of such policies and guidelines in practice.

The formulation of policies and guidelines. The overall policy guidelines pursued in Communist China were those which the regime had adopted after being formulated by the joint action of the CC of the Party and the State Council. These policies together with the guidelines and principles laid down by the various levels of the Party and government determined where the emphasis was to be placed and the Party line that was to be followed. After the CC of the Party and the State Council had defined the educational objectives and goals and formulated the basic policies, the educational tasks were announced and assigned to the various ministries, provinces, bureaus, industries, communes and other organizations which operate or direct schools. When these educational tasks had been assigned, the Party, government, and school officials at all levels were responsible for their accomplishment. For example, in order that spare-time institutions of higher education might accomplish their assigned tasks, the Party policies and guidelines were studied by those responsible for their achievement, and decisions were made on the basis of principles laid down by the Party.

The same procedures were followed in all three kinds of education in connection with accomplishing the educational tasks assigned by the Party. The policies and guidelines of the Party were first studied and a decision on educational plans and procedures was arrived at on the basis of following the Marxist-Leninist principles formulated by the Party.

The Chinese Communists regarded correct ideology as the most important criterion in the development of policy guidelines which would reflect the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. As the ideological viewpoint changed, it was reflected in the policies pursued and the programs

developed.¹⁰⁵ This may be illustrated by pointing out that during the transitional years and during the first five-year economic plan many of the policies adopted by the Chinese Communist regime reflected the basic policies of the Soviet Union which exerted a great deal of influence on the Chinese regime at that time. For example, during the transitional years from 1949 through 1952, the colleges and universities were reorganized after the Soviet pattern. Likewise, the basic pattern of spare-time education was copied from the Russians. However, as the official ideological viewpoints of these two Communist giants gradually changed during the late 1950's and the early 1960's, the Chinese Communists began to more and more deemphasize Soviet policy patterns and to formulate their own basic policies and guidelines. This was reflected in the education system also.

The importance of the correct ideology in formulating policies, guidelines, and plans and how these are derived may be seen from the following extended quotation from the Canton Nan-fang Jih-pao [Southern Daily] for December 7, 1963: It first asked the basic question of how guidelines and policies as well as plans were formulated and implemented in actual practice and then answered that question as follows:

How are our lines, guidelines, policies and plans derived and realized in practical work? Obviously, they are not thought out by one behind closed door[s], nor can they be made correct and perfect after they are put into practice only for one or two times. Our lines, guidelines, policies, and plans are formulated on the basis of objective realities, of investigation and study, and of summing up the struggle experiences of the masses [all italics added]. For instance, the class line and class policy of our Party presently in force in the countryside are formulated on the basis of studying the economic situation and political orientation of the different classes in the countryside, analyzing the balance of forces among the enemies, the friends and ourselves, and determining whom we should depend on, whom we should unite with,

¹⁰⁵I Wo-sheng, in "Education in Communist China . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 199, points this out as follows: "Since ideology is the basis of policies and actions, ideological differences are bound to bring about differences in policies and actions adopted in various respects."

and whom we should oppose. They have been practiced again and again and proved to be correct.

Therefore, the taking of the actual situation as the point of departure and the carrying out of work according to the policies of the Party are united in our work. Any correct policy must come from reality and find proof in reality. The objective practical situation forms the sole basis on which the policies of our Party are formulated [all italics added]. We do not 'merely depend on enthusiasm and turn our feelings into policies.' 'We should proceed from the actual things in objective existence and draw laws from them for guiding our action.' (Reform Our Study) Policies are formulated on the basis of the practical situation and are tested, revised, and amended in reality [all italics added]. The two are united by means of practice. 'Reality - policy - reality' represents the concrete application of Marxist epistemology in the course of formulating and executing our policies (including work plans, programs, etc.) [all italics added].¹⁰⁶

After the major policies, guidelines, and principles have been formulated by this process, they are then promulgated through the various levels of the Party and government. Some of these policies and guidelines will now be discussed.

The Promulgation of policies and guidelines. Consideration will here be given to some of the basic policies, guidelines, and principles which have been announced and followed under the Communist regime, first in the so-called "liberated areas" of Northwest China which came under the control of the Communist guerrillas and later in occupied China. Though many others could be cited, those which will be discussed are some of the typical and significant ones which were followed during these years.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung has been very important in Chinese Communist educational policy. Chang Nai-pan pointed out that as far back as early January, 1934, while still in Kiangsi Province in South China, Mao Tse-tung had stated that ". . . the general policy for cultural

¹⁰⁶ Hua Ming, "Learn to Make Use of Marxist Epistemology in Practical Work," Nan-fang Jih-pao [Southern Daily], Canton: Dec. 7, 1963, p. 6, in SCMP No. 3146 (Jan. 24, 1964), p. 6.

education was to make the education serve revolutionary combat and class activities."¹⁰⁷

After the Long March in 1936, the Communists set up various types of literacy classes and spare-time schools in Northwest China. One of the basic policies of the Chinese Communists in the pre-occupation period, which was at first prevalent in the "liberation areas" and later throughout all of occupied China, was "the general policy of opposing uniformity in education and adjusting to practical needs." The basic twofold purpose of this policy was to encourage experimentation with numerous types of educational programs in the hope that some of the pragmatic educational programs which were formulated in various places might not only better serve the local concrete situation more effectively than a uniform educational program but also produce model educational programs which could be copied by other schools and areas. Lindsay¹⁰⁸ points out that a very wide variation of educational institutions was produced in these "liberated areas." In illustrating this wide diversity among higher educational institutions, he said, "The organizations for higher education in Harbin mentioned by the 'Northwestern Daily News' include Harbin University, a Workers' University, a Railway Workers' College, a New School for Young Intellentsia Cadres, Teachers' Training Colleges, etc."¹⁰⁹ Since many of those enrolled in these institutions already had regular jobs on either a part-time or a full-time basis, much of the middle and higher education which was given at that time was on a spare-time basis. The goals were not only to improve workers in their current jobs but also to train new workers for these and other jobs as well. Because of the needs of production and the unstable nature of the situation, there were few full-time schools, and the students had to attend classes on a part-time or spare-time basis.

¹⁰⁷ Mao Tse-tung, cited by Chang Nai-pan, op. cit., p. 35

¹⁰⁸ Lindsay, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

In the rural areas, the schools started from scratch since there were few existing schools on which to build an educational system. As these schools evolved and grew and as pragmatic educational policies were formulated by the Communist Party and government in the "liberated areas" in the early and middle 1940's, a Communist educational system came into being.¹¹⁰ The educational policies which were adopted in the "liberated areas," such as "the general policy of opposing uniformity and adjusting education to practical needs," in turn became the modus operandi in the newly occupied sections and the basis for establishing further educational policies in the rural areas. However, when the reorganization of the educational system took place in the major urban centers of China by the Communists in late 1948 and 1949, new problems presented themselves since the Communist regime had had only very limited experience with higher education and none in the large urban centers.¹¹¹ As a result, the old educational policies based on the regime's experience in the "liberated areas" had to be adjusted and new policies formulated on the basis of the concrete situation and reality.

During the transitional years from 1949 through 1952 when the regime was seeking to consolidate its position over the country, it pursued a policy of ideological remolding and institutional reorganization. The teachers, the students, and the masses were subjected to intense political education in order to insure correctness of political viewpoint. Likewise, the institutions of higher education underwent a complete reorganization after the Soviet pattern. Missionary and other foreign-operated institutions of higher education were closed down completely. Many of the large universities were split up into several colleges or universities which specialized in one main field of study or several related ones with the course work organized into specialties or

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 181.

¹¹¹Ibid.

specializations. Less than a score of institutions of higher education retained their status as comprehensive universities and were thus able to continue to offer extensive courses in the arts and sciences.

After the occupation of the Chinese mainland, it was two years before the Communist authorities promulgated their decisions pertaining to the reform of the school system. This October 1, 1952, announcement indicated that reforms would be made in the existing school system and that eventually a new educational system would be established.

Shortly after the occupation was completed, the First National Conference of Educational Work was held in December, 1949.¹¹² At that conference the educational policy was adopted that "the doors of schools should be open to workers and peasants and education should serve production."¹¹³ Though one aspect of this policy adopted by the First National Conference of Educational Work was that "education should serve production," it was not rapidly implemented. Nevertheless, during the transitional period of Communist control, the guiding principle of "serving productional construction" was used as a guideline in changing the curricula of the engineering schools of higher learning. When the First Five-Year Plan was inaugurated in 1953, the suggestion was made that courses in productive labor activities be established in the schools, but it was not included in the Plan. However, after it was again suggested in 1958 that education and productive labor be combined and after the instructions on educational matters were promulgated on September 19 of that year, Party policy was finally formulated which stated that "education should serve proletarian politics," and that "education and productional labor activities should be combined." At that time also the principle was implemented which called for direct Party control and guidance of the schools by appointing Party

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This paragraph is based upon Chang Nai-pan, op. cit., pp. 33-37.

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Chang Nai-pan, loc. cit., points out the fact that "the Chinese Communist urge that the door of education be open to workers and peasants is a concrete demonstration of the class nature in their educational policy."

cadres to the top positions in many colleges and universities and also by encouraging more active participation in school affairs by other Party cadres.

When Mao Tse-tung called a conference on state affairs in February, 1957, he laid down new educational policies which resulted in further reforms in the educational system. Then in May of the following year, at the second session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Party authorities announced their three red banner policy of the general line, the Great Leap Forward, and the people's communes. The Great Leap Forward and the formation of the people's communes especially had tremendous implications for the future development of spare-time education and spare-time higher education.

This inauguration of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 signified important changes in the educational policies of the Chinese Communists.¹¹⁴ This change in educational policy was apparently brought about because of both political and economic considerations. By changing the basic educational policy, the regime evidently hoped to place more emphasis upon politics and at the same time make the various educational programs more self-supporting. Barendsen pointed out that the new directives of the regime which were announced in the fall of 1958 " . . . called for an educational policy based on three main principles: (1) education must serve the political interests of the proletariat; (2) it must be under the direction and control of the Party; and (3) it must be combined with productive labor."¹⁵ The first two, Barendsen contends, are merely re-emphasized political principles which had been the basis of the Party's approach to education from the beginning, while the third was motivated by political considerations in order to achieve certain ideological objectives.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴This paragraph is based on Barendsen, op. cit., p. 6.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

Another important policy which was formulated in 1958 and which had great ramifications for the entire educational system was "the policy of walking on two legs." In the educational realm, one of the legs referred to the regular full-time school system supported by the government and the second leg referred to other private or self-supporting locally sponsored schools operated by various industries, bureaus, communes, organizations, or other enterprises. The spare-time after work schools and the part-time work-study schools at various levels were included under "the second leg" of this "policy of walking on two legs." The three principles referred to by Barendsen in connection with the overall educational policy that was formulated in late 1958 also found their fulfillment in the two-legged policy. Under the control and guidance of the Party, the three forms of education (full-time, part-time, and spare-time schools) provided the framework, variety, and flexibility that was needed to make education serve the best interests of the Party and to combine it with productive labor. This "policy of walking on two legs" has been evoked numerous times when the regime has needed to urge various factories, mines, communes, or other enterprises to experiment, evaluate, and consolidate their various spare-time educational programs.

During the closing two years of the Second Five-Year Plan, the regime pursued a policy of retrenchment in education because of the economic chaos brought on by natural disasters, crop failures, and the failure of the Great Leap Forward. This national crisis and the retrenchment policy affected all educational programs but was especially severe on spare-time higher and middle education.

In the years immediately following the Great Leap Forward, a great deal of emphasis had been placed on the development of the agricultural middle schools which were part-time junior level middle schools for youths sixteen years of age and under. Barendsen pointed out in his study of half-work and half-study schools in Communist China that from Communist press reports in mid-1960 it would appear that there would be no rapid development of these part-time work-study schools at the senior middle level because the regime's basic policy was that youths who were

above sixteen years of age should take any further education by spare-time study after working a full day.¹¹⁷

This basic policy that most of the workers and peasants take senior middle and higher education by spare-time study underwent little change until the latter part of 1964. In October of that year, the Party CC issued its instructions on two kinds of educational systems and two kinds of labor systems and meetings were held in the different provinces to study and discuss the part-farming (part-work) part-study school system.¹¹⁸ These meetings were held for the purpose of working out " . . . a set of methods for the part-farming part-study system among labor universities, farming schools, state-operated agricultural middle schools and primary schools during the period of their [third] five-year economic plan . . ."¹¹⁹ When Chou En-lai gave his work of the government report to the first session of the Third National People's Congress in late 1964, he indicated that the direction for the long-range development of socialist and Communist education was towards the part-farming (part-work) part-study schools. Chang Nai-pan concluded that "this indicates that the 'laborized' educational policy has had a further development and will become the mainstay of the Chinese Communist educational system."¹²⁰ As this emphasis increases and as the part-farming (part-work) party-study system is extended significantly at the college level, it is to be expected that spare-time higher education of various types will also continue to be further developed as an adjunct to this laborized educational system.

In 1963 and 1964, the policy shifted back to an emphasis on political indoctrination in all forms of education. This policy was continued

¹¹⁷ Robert D. Barendsen, Half-Work, Half-Study Schools in Communist China, p. 20.

¹¹⁸ The remainder of this paragraph is based on Chang Nai-pan, op. cit., p. 36.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

in 1965 and 1966 and great stress was placed on political education and the study of the works of Mao Tse-tung in both formal and informal education. Attention was focused on making various levels of spare-time education, including spare-time higher education, into bases where prominence would be given to politics and to the works of Mao Tse-tung so that workers and peasants might apply his thought into every realm of work in order to transform socialist minded working people into proletarian revolutionary individuals who would build a socialist society that could eventually make the transition to communism.¹²¹

After the educational policies and guidelines have been formulated and promulgated by the various levels of the Party and government, it is then the responsibility of the different ministries, agencies, industries, communes, and other organizations and enterprises which operate or have jurisdiction over various forms and levels of schools to implement them in the individual units or schools on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles which have also been laid down by the Party. How these policies and guidelines have been implemented in practice will now be briefly considered.

The implementation of policies and guidelines. The basic purpose for formulating and promulgating policies and guidelines was that they might be implemented at all levels of the Party and government so that the stated objectives might be realized. People at all levels and strata of the society from the Party and government cadres down to the masses were called upon to assist in carrying out specific tasks so that the stated goals might be reached. When new objectives were decided upon, new policies and guidelines were also formulated and announced. These new policies were then put into practice on the basis of the practical

¹²¹See "Run Workers' and Staff Members' Spare-Time Schools As Positions for Propagating Mao Tse-tung's Thoughts," op. cit., p. 4; and "Importance of Workers' Spare-Time Education Discussed at National Conference," op. cit., p. 18.

situation and concrete reality. They were perfected on the basis of continued experimentation, evaluation, and consolidation. After a specific program had been implemented, it was then tested, revised, and amended in accordance with the practical situation and reality. If certain policies, guidelines, and principles did not produce the desired objectives, other ones would be emphasized or new ones formulated. Theory and reality had to be united in practice, and when they were not, new policies and guidelines had to be drawn up to meet the needs of the new situation. As these were implemented and evaluated, changes were made accordingly.

The Socialist Education Movement provides an illustration of the procedures by which the Party policies and guidelines were implemented in connection with a specific aspect or problem of spare-time education. The specific matter discussed deals with deciding upon the teaching content of spare-time education for the coming winter study programs though other problems were also mentioned. How Party policies and guidelines were coordinated and implemented in this specific case of deciding on teaching content in spare-time education illustrates how they were coordinated and implemented in other decisions such as in determining the methods of study or deciding on the best time for spare-time study. Though what is said refers primarily to the middle and lower levels of spare-time education, the same implementation procedures and processes also pertained to spare-time higher education. The following quotation refers to the teaching content in a spare-time education program. Since this extended quotation reveals in detail how policies, guidelines, and principles relate to each other specifically in spare-time education and how they were implemented in determining a course of action, it is reproduced in detail as follows:

As the socialist education movement has to be launched this winter [1963-64] and as production work in winter is also very heavy, spare-time education must be arranged and developed according to plan and in accordance with the spirit of subordinating it to socialist education and to production. With respect to the contents, time and methods of study, different demands may be put forward in accordance with the concrete conditions in various localities.

With regard to the contents of spare-time education for this winter, it is necessary to continue to implement the policy [italics added] of 'triple combination' of combining politics, culture and techniques. 'Triple combination' is an integral guideline [italics added] which gives expression to the principle [italics added] of rendering service to politics and production and also reflects the demands for all-round growth of young people. However, the correct implementation of this guideline [all italics added] does not mean that the study time must be equally divided among these three kinds of studies, but means rather that greater attention must be paid to some particular things according to the conditions of the place and time in the light of the situation of central work, the original foundation of work, and the political and cultural level of the students. For instance, where the socialist education has not yet been launched, spare-time education must be arranged in more comprehensive manner. Where the socialist education is currently in progress, emphases should be placed on the study of the Party's policies and guidelines [all italics added], and on carrying on class education, and if circumstances permit, some proper arrangements may be made for cultural and technical studies. Again, in places, where a certain type of technical personnel are urgently needed for production, greater attention may be apid to technical studies; and in places where the cultural level of the young people is rather low or there are more illiterates, cultural studies may be arranged on a greater scale. . . With different contents of study, the forms of organization may also differ. Round-the-year spare-time schools deserve to be promoted, but winter schools, evening technical schools, specialized technical classes, cultural study classes, and individual teaching may also be organized on a large scale too.

In order to make a success of spare-time education, like other fields of work in the countryside, it is necessary to implement the Party's class line for the countryside [all italics added]. Spare-time education organizations of different types must insure of Party leadership.¹²²

These Party policies, guidelines, and principles provided for great diversity and flexibility in the operation of schools as long as they were within the approved structural framework and were under the control and direction of the Party. The practical situation and reality were major criteria in selecting and implementing the specific and immediate policy

¹²²"Actively Develop Rural Spare-time Education This Winter and Next Spring," Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao, Peking: Dec. 17, 1963, in SCMP No. 3140 (Jan. 16, 1964), pp. 3-4.

guidelines and principles laid down by the Party. Numerous examples could be cited of various industries, ministries, communes, and other enterprises operating schools on the basis of implementing specific policies and guidelines but only several will be pointed out here.

In order to implement the Party's policies and guidelines various industries, ministries, communes, and other enterprises and organizations stressed certain tasks. For example, the Wuhan Heavy Machine Tools Plant began offering spare-time classes shortly after it was built in 1956 in order to implement the government policy that all factories should train technical manpower while carrying on production.¹²³ Likewise, it was reported in the Jen-min Jih-pao for January 26, 1964, that during the previous several years many of the industrial and mining enterprises in the country had increasingly achieved good results in spare-time education by implementing this policy of not only producing material products but also of training technical personnel for production.¹²⁴ An editorial in the same publication earlier that month pointed out that the satisfactory operation of rural spare-time education requires " . . . first of all the implementation of the policies of letting education serve the interests of the proletarian politics and coordinating education with productive labor."¹²⁵ Also, the Shanghai Television College, in order to implement the Chinese Communist educational policy that spare-time colleges, as a supplement to both full-time and part-time colleges, should integrate the contents of its courses with production work, stressed that both laboratory

¹²³"Spare-Time Education at Central China Factory," NCNA, Wuhan: Apr. 23, 1964, in SCMP No. 3207 (Apr. 28, 1964), p. 15.

¹²⁴"Make a Good Job of Spare-Time Education for Workers, Expand for Scientific and Technical Force," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Jan. 26, 1964, p. 8, and NCNA, Peking: Jan. 25, 1964, in SCMP No. 3161 (Feb. 18, 1964), p. 8.

¹²⁵"Actively Improve Rural Spare-Time Education," Jen-min Jih-pao editorial, Peking: Jan. 6, 1964, in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 144, p. 12, in JPRS Report No. 23,016 (Jan. 31, 1964).

work and lectures should assist students in improving their practical work in solving problems connected with their daily work.¹²⁶

In this section, consideration has been given to the formulation, the promulgation, and the implementation of policies and guidelines which relate to spare-time higher education. After the Party and the State Council have formulated and promulgated the policies, guidelines, and principles to be followed, it is then the responsibility of the individual units to implement them in carrying out the tasks assigned to them. The Party policies and guidelines therefore determine the types of educational programs that will be offered. In the next chapter consideration will be given to two major forms of spare-time higher education. These are the spare-time independent and evening universities and colleges. Consideration will then be given to higher correspondence education, the third major form of spare-time higher education, in the two following chapters.

¹²⁶"Spare-Time Education Develops in East China City," NCNA, Nanking: Feb. 3, 1966, in SCMP No. 3633 (Feb. 8, 1966), p. 18.

CHAPTER VI

SPARE-TIME INDEPENDENT AND EVENING UNIVERSITIES: TWO FORMS OF SPARE-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION

Spare-time, evening, and correspondence colleges and universities have been the three main forms or kinds of spare-time higher education employed in Communist China. This threefold diversity of form has allowed for greater flexibility in scheduling and has made it possible for larger numbers of worker-students to enroll in spare-time study at the higher level. The fundamental purpose of all three forms of spare-time higher education has been to provide advanced technical training for those who were engaged in production and who were unable to attend regular colleges and universities.

These three major forms of spare-time higher education may be categorized into two groups: (1) those spare-time higher institutions of learning which are independently operated (i.e., those not directly affiliated with the ordinary colleges and universities); and (2) those which are attached to the ordinary institutions of higher education. An article in the official Peking Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] for December 16, 1957, makes this important distinction in pointing out that of the 180 spare-time institutions of higher education (including 86 evening colleges, 56 correspondence colleges, and 37 spare-time colleges) then in existence in Communist China, 88 were "independent setups" and 92 were attached to institutions of higher education.¹ Most of the institutions in the independent group were spare-time colleges set up independently by the different business establishments, large mines, factories, and other enterprises, while those in the second group were composed mainly of ". . . the evening schools and correspondence sections attached to the institutions of higher education."²

¹"China Sets Up 180 Sparetime Institutions of Higher Education to Train Technical Personnel [for] the Working Class," Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking: Dec. 16, 1957; in SCMP No. 1683 (Jan. 3, 1958), p. 15.

²Ibid.

This chapter will focus on the first two of the three major forms of spare-time higher education: (1) the spare-time colleges and universities sponsored by independent enterprises; and (2) the spare-time evening colleges and universities sponsored by institutions of higher education. Since several of the regular types of spare-time higher correspondence education--the third major form of spare-time higher education--will be discussed in the next chapter, the correspondence colleges or sections sponsored directly by institutions of higher education will be considered there rather than here.

I. SPARE-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION SPONSORED BY INDEPENDENT ENTERPRISES

The Communist regime encouraged factory workers who wished to secure an advanced education to get it through one of the three forms of spare-time higher education. To promote this policy, the regime arranged for students to attend evening, correspondence, and spare-time colleges without paying any direct fees or tuition. Within this structured framework, qualified workers were able to choose the kind of higher spare-time education that best fitted their individual jobs, schedules, situations, and interests. The workers in Peking, who participated in various kinds of spare-time higher education, provide a typical illustration of this in practice. Many of the workers in the different factories, plants, and other enterprises chose to attend the spare-time college or university set up by their own plant or factory. One-third of the workers in the reagent shop of the Peking Chemical Works, for example, were attending the works' spare-time college in the spring of 1965.³ Also, over 300 workers in the Shihching-shan Steel and Iron Company were studying chemistry, metallurgy, and other advanced subjects in the company's spare-time college. Other Peking workers attended various other kinds of spare-time higher educational programs

³The remainder of this paragraph is based on "Spare-Time Education Popular Among Peking Workers," New China News Agency [hereafter cited as NCNA], Apr. 28, 1965, in Survey of China Mainland Press [hereafter cited as SCMP] (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 3448 (May 3, 1965), p. 26.

which included evening colleges, correspondence colleges, and the television university run by the Department of Education.

Many of the spare-time colleges sponsored by independent enterprises offered only evening programs while others also offered courses at other times for workers who worked on conflicting shifts. The patterns established for spare-time higher education in such large cities as Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Wuhan were typical of--though often more extensive than--many of the spare-time higher educational programs offered in numerous other large cities throughout Communist China.

A large percentage of the spare-time colleges and universities were sponsored by the various ministries, businesses, factories, mines, trade unions, and people's communes; but many others were also established by technical and scientific associations, municipalities, and other geographic units. These were all operated independently of the regular institutions of higher education. Some were also either sponsored by the regular colleges and universities themselves or jointly sponsored by them and the factories. For example, while most of the 34 workers' spare-time colleges in the industrial city of Wuhan in early 1963 were run by factories, some were also set up jointly by factories and full-time colleges.⁴

Many of the regular institutions of higher education also assisted the factories and other enterprises in setting up spare-time colleges and universities by making recommendations and at times by sharing facilities, equipment, and faculty on a part-time basis. However, the administration of these independent spare-time colleges and universities were under the direction and control of different level Party, government, and school cadres and other officials in the ministry, factory, or enterprises sponsoring them.

The factories and mines played a very important role in the development of spare-time colleges and universities in Communist China. Both the large factories and the small factories participated. The large factories,

⁴"Workers' Spare-Time Colleges in Central China City," NCNA, Wuhan: Feb. 24, 1963, in SCMP No. 2928 (Feb. 28, 1964), p. 14.

however, were better able to set up their own spare-time college or university than the small factories because they not only had more resources but the educational level of the workers in the large modern plants was also generally higher than those in the smaller plants and more and better quality technicians were available for teaching.⁵

In Tientsin, many of the factories, including the Tientsin Tractor Plant which set up a spare-time engineering college, were able to operate spare-time colleges for their workers.⁶ Small factories, however, with less resources and fewer qualified students and faculty frequently found it necessary to jointly sponsor a spare-time college with other factories or enterprises. The different factories and industries in many Chinese cities set up numerous spare-time colleges on both an individual and a joint operation basis. For example, thirty-two spare-time colleges had already been set up for workers in the large industrial city of Harbin in Northwest China by early 1960, and most of them were operated either individually or collectively by factories.⁷ The 11,000 students in these 32 spare-time colleges were specializing in electrical, mechanical, and other engineering courses closely related to their individual trades.⁸

In Liaoning Province in North China, most of the 300 spare-time colleges for workers, including 87 spare-time colleges in the major industrial city of Dairen, were, according to an official NCNA dispatch from Shenyang for April 24, 1962, operated by either the factories or the trade

⁵See "Spare-Time Education Develops Fast in China," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 3, 1960, in SCMP No. 2212 (Mar. 9, 1960), p. 15.

⁶"Tientsin Workers Advance Through Spare-Time Education," NCNA, Tientsin: Aug. 10, 1960, in SCMP No. 2318 (Aug. 16, 1960), p. 17.

⁷See "Northeast China Trains Worker Intellectuals Through Spare-Time College," NCNA, Peking: Jan. 13, 1960, in SCMP No. 2219 (Mar. 8, 1960), p. 30.

⁸Ibid.

unions.⁹ The specialties in these 300 spare-time colleges emphasized such fields as engineering, agricultural science, medicine, foreign languages, and literature and the arts.¹⁰

The trade unions were also instrumental in establishing or helping to establish many spare-time colleges. For example, it was reported that the trade unions had helped in setting up a new spare-time college for workers among the Hui people in the Ninghsia Autonomous Region of Northwest China.¹¹ This new spare-time college was the third institution of higher learning set up in that region, the others being the regular Ninghsia University and the Yinchuan Evening College. This spare-time college was typical of many others. The teaching staff of this spare-time school was made up to a large extent of teachers from a regular university (here, the Ninghsia University) and technicians from the local enterprise sponsoring the spare-time school, in this case a building company. The lessons were given on Sundays and Wednesdays, with an alternate schedule of noon-time and evening classes offered for workers on different work shifts.

The different scientific and technical associations exerted considerable effort in 1959 and 1960 in setting up spare-time colleges throughout China in their various specialties. Many such sponsored colleges were set up in the large cities. Eight spare-time colleges, for example, were opened in March, 1960, by academic societies in the city of Shanghai alone.¹² Likewise, seven academic societies in Harbin set up spare-time colleges in cooperation with different medical and industrial enterprises, and it was

⁹"Dairen Workers Graduate from Spare-Time College," NCNA, Shenyang: Apr. 24, 1962, in SCMP No. 2728 (May 1, 1962), p. 19.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹This paragraph is based on "New Spare-Time College for Workers in Northwest China Minority Area," NCNA, Yinchuan: Nov. 5, 1964, in SCMP No. 3335 (Nov. 12, 1964), p. 9.

¹²"Scientific Associations in China Set Up Spare-Time Workers' Schools," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 14, 1960, in SCMP No. 2220 (Mar. 21, 1960), p. 11.

announced that scientific societies in Hupeh and Wuhan Provinces were also preparing to establish spare-time agricultural and industrial colleges.¹³

Other spare-time colleges were established by various government agencies and ministries, municipalities and other organized geographical areas, the people's communes, and various organizations and groups, some individually and some on a joint or cooperative basis. All were under the direction and control of the Party at the local levels and were largely sponsored by and operated with local funds.

Altogether, hundreds of spare-time colleges were set up. In general, they were all established for a twofold purpose: to train skilled technicians at the advanced level and to train teachers for the spare-time middle schools.¹⁴ More specifically, in regard to training skilled technicians, special qualities were desired by sponsoring groups for spare-time college graduates. A news dispatch from Shanghai for November 12, 1962, indicated these by pointing out that the "spare-time [college] graduates generally grasp the basic theory in their specialized field and possess specialized knowledge and practical skills."¹⁵

One of the main characteristics of the independently sponsored spare-time colleges has been that they not be operated on a unified pattern because of the varying conditions of each.¹⁶ Because of this, the programs inaugurated in these colleges have differed greatly in course offerings, educational standards, student enrollments, and in their achievements.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴"Spare-Time Education Develops Fast in China," op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁵"Shanghai Holds Outstanding Record in Spare-Time Higher Education," NCNA, Shanghai: Nov. 12, 1962; and published in Chung-kuo Hsin-wen [China News], Canton: Nov. 13, 1962, p. 7; in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 55, p. 78. Translated in U.S. Joint Publications Research Service [hereafter cited as JPRS] Report No. 17,733 (Feb. 19, 1963).

¹⁶"Workers' Spare-Time Education Must Be Maintained on a Regular Basis," Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily] editorial, Peking: May 1, 1961, in SCMP No. 2532 (July 7, 1961), p. 23.

The curricula of the different specialization courses in the various spare-time colleges and universities were determined according to the needs of production in the individual units concerned. For example, the Wuhan Heavy Lathe Plant opened specialization courses in machine building industry and cutting tools manufacturing industry in its spare-time college, while the No. 3 and No. 4 companies of the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company instituted specialization courses in civil engineering and architecture in its college. The spare-time university of the Kiamusze Textile Factory in Heilungkiang Province offered such courses as textile engineering, mechanical power, and philosophy. All of the specialization courses in the different spare-time colleges and universities in Communist China were designed to meet the practical needs of the workers and employees in the various enterprises and to raise their technical level.¹⁷ The range of courses was therefore very broad.

A survey of some of the organizations in independently sponsored spare-time colleges revealed different types with certain characteristics. Consideration will now be given to three of these different types of spare-time colleges and universities sponsored by individual enterprises: a spare-time shipbuilding college, a spare-time engineering college (both of which are in urban industrial areas), and a spare-time agricultural college in a rural area.

The Spare-Time Shipbuilding College in Shanghai, East China, was founded in 1958 and was at first jointly run by the Shanghai and Kiangnan shipyards, though after 1961 it was run jointly on a local level by seven Shanghai shipyards.¹⁸ During the six-year course in this spare-time college, the shipbuilding students studied such subjects as higher mathematics,

¹⁷This paragraph is based on "Widely Establish Spare-Time Universities, Speed Up the Training of Technical Forces," Chung-kuo Ching-nien Pao [China Youth News], Peking: Mar. 5, 1960, in SCMP No. 2264 (May 24, 1960), p. 20.

¹⁸This section on this spare-time shipbuilding college is based on "First Spare-Time Shipbuilding College Graduates in Shanghai," NCNA, Shanghai: Dec. 30, 1964, in SCMP No. 3370 (Jan. 5, 1965), p. 29.

mechanical principles, theoretical mechanics, the structural strength of ships, and electrical appliances on ships. By late December, 1964, 825 student-workers had enrolled in this spare-time shipbuilding college which offered the three specialties of shipbuilding, internal combustion engines and equipment, and electrical appliances for ships. About half of these students were of worker background, and many had over ten years of work experience. All of these students had graduated from the spare-time senior middle schools.

The stated purpose of the Spare-Time Shipbuilding College in Shanghai was to turn out graduates who were ". . . competent both politically and technically from rank-and-file workers."¹⁹ The first graduating class was composed of 29 shipbuilding workers, staff members, and technicians who had completed the six-year course in late 1964. Before graduating, they spent two and a half months in preparing their diploma designs which were closely related to production. Following this, they all had to pass an oral examination over their diploma designs. This oral examination was conducted by a special committee made up of the chief engineers of the shipyards, naval architects, and college faculty members.

The Spare-Time Engineering College of Anshan (also commonly known as the Evening University of Anshan Iron and Steel Company) provides a good example of a typical spare-time engineering college sponsored by an independent enterprise as it was not only the oldest such institution in China but was also the largest in early 1964.²⁰ It was founded on September 20, 1953, and was the first such institution run by a Chinese industrial

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ This section on the Spare-Time Engineering College of Anshan is based on the following two articles: "10th Anniversary of Spare-Time Engineering College in China's Biggest Steel Center," NCNA, Anshan: Sept. 21, 1962, in SCMP No. 3067 (Sept. 25, 1963), p. 17; and Lang Li, "A New University--Report on the Evening University of An-Shan Steel Works," Chung-kuo Hsin-wen, Canton: Jan. 18, 1964, p. 13, in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 154, pp. 15-17. Translated in JPRS Report No. 23,782.

enterprise. On the observance of its tenth year of operation it was stated that one-sixth of all the college graduate technicians and engineers in the company had studied in its spare-time college. These trained technicians were working in various sections of this major industrial center. This spare-time engineering college offered specialties in iron and steel smelting, steel rolling, metallurgical machinery, and the electrification of industrial enterprises. In addition, it had classes in engineering mathematics, automatic regulating, English, and Russian.

The Spare-Time Engineering College of Anshan was established by the Anshan Iron and Steel Company when it established a comprehensive educational network in 1953. During its first decade of operation, the company allocated large amounts of funds for school building construction, laboratory equipment, and books. The government assisted the iron and steel company in operating the spare-time engineering college by helping to provide faculty, engineers, and technicians for teaching. In 1963, this spare-time college had over 1,000 students, one-fourth of whom were company workers. The remainder of the student body at that time was composed of technicians who had graduated from intermediate technical schools and functionaries from other factories and mines. Large numbers from these groups were said to have graduated from its five-year or six-year courses during its first decade of operation after having passed strict examinations. This spare-time engineering college in Anshan became the prototype for many other independent enterprise sponsored spare-time colleges.

The Liming Spare-Time Agricultural College in Yenchi hsien (county), Kirin Province, in Northeast China provides an illustration of the program of a typical spare-time agricultural college in a rural area in 1960.²¹ This spare-time college was set up on May 1, 1958, by the Tungsheng People's Commune under the leadership of the Party committee. It was located in

²¹This section on the Liming Spare-Time Agricultural College is based on the following article by Chin Shih-lung, Chang Chin-fa, and Ts'ui Ming-he, "The Liming Spare-Time College in Yenchi Hsien, Kirin Province--A Glittering Pearl by the Heilan River," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: July 5, 1960, in SCMP No. 2309 (Aug. 3, 1960), pp. 12-14.

Yenchi hsien in the Korean Autonomous Chou of Yenpien, Kirin Province. It was established in order to raise the scientific, technical, and cultural [educational] levels of the rural masses in Yenchi hsien. Not only was it set up as a school, but it was also established as a production brigade and a research institute. As a production brigade directly under the people's commune, it was allocated 7 hectares (1 hectare equals about 2½ acres) of rice land, 11 hectares of dry land, 2 hectares of land for orchards, 6 pigs, 7 draft oxen, and 2 carts. This became the base of operations for the spare-time agricultural college which was to serve for the threefold purpose of production, scientific research, and advanced education.

The curriculum of the Liming Spare-Time Agricultural College was geared to the needs of production in coordination with politics, culture, and technology. In the political courses, stress was laid on the study of Mao Tse-tung's works. Students spent six hours a week reading the books On Practice and On Contradiction and studying the policies and programs of the Party. The basic cultural or educational courses were mainly in botany, mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Six hours a week were also set aside for the study of the Chinese language. The technical courses, which covered twelve subjects and were geared to production, included such subjects as farm machinery, soil improvement, horticulture, and animal husbandry.

The two principles of "more study during normal times, less during busy seasons; studying whenever possible during very busy seasons and striving to keep on studying" and "the spirit of obeying production and serving production" were followed in setting up the production and studying schedules. Under the method adopted of "coordinating studies at the fields with studies in the classroom" four to five hours a week were to be given to study during the busy seasons of spring cultivation, summer hoeing, and fall harvesting. During the winter the students were to spend twelve hours a week on study. The second year students were reported to have spent a total of 823 hours studying during the two years since the spare-time agricultural college had opened. This averaged out to about eight hours of study a week.

During its first two years of operation, the Liming Spare-Time Agricultural College closely followed the program of "coordinating education with productive labor" and the principles of "integrating theory with practice" and of "learning what is practical."

Various characteristics and experiences of three spare-time colleges operated each by an enterprise--a spare-time shipbuilding college, a spare-time engineering college, and a spare-time agricultural college--have been recounted. Some of the similarities and differences of these three types should be noted. All three were similar in that they looked on production as primary; and, in their view, spare-time studies should contribute to further production. They were also basically self-supporting. Each educational program was adapted to the local situation and individual production needs and therefore differed greatly with respect to types of courses. But a very important difference was the contrasting educational standards of the urban industrial spare-time colleges with their counterpart in the very rural areas of the country. The urban industrial spare-time colleges had relatively high educational standards when compared to some of the rural spare-time agricultural colleges since it is doubtful whether the educational standards of many of the courses in these rural institutions were any higher than that of many middle schools except perhaps in some of the practical agricultural subjects.

Since the separate spare-time colleges sponsored by factories, plants, and other independent enterprises were established directly by them, they were largely self-supporting and were able to offer courses directly related to production. As the educational standards of the workers were raised, production standards were also frequently raised. The independent spare-time colleges made it possible for many of the workers to unite theory with practice since they were already working and had already had in many cases considerable experience on the job.

Both the spare-time colleges and universities sponsored by independent enterprises and the evening colleges and universities sponsored by the institutions of higher education were important forms of spare-time higher

education in Communist China. Consideration will now be given to the second major form of spare-time higher education, those evening universities sponsored by the institutions of higher education.

II. SPARE-TIME HIGHER EVENING EDUCATION SPONSORED BY INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Evening colleges and universities which were sponsored by and attached to the regular colleges and universities were both an early and significant form of spare-time higher education. Other evening colleges and universities were also set up independently by mines, factories, trade unions, and other enterprises, but these were included in the previous section on the spare-time colleges and universities sponsored by independent enterprises. In this section, attention will be focused only on those evening colleges and universities which were sponsored by the regular colleges and universities.

In 1957, 92 or slightly more than half of the 180 spare-time institutions of higher education existing in Communist China were attached to the regular institutions of higher education.²² These consisted mainly of evening and correspondence colleges. Since the higher correspondence colleges will be dealt with in the next chapter, they will be referred to only in passing here; consideration will focus on the spare-time evening colleges attached to the institutions of higher education.

Many of the regular colleges and universities instituted spare-time evening classes, sections (or departments), and colleges during the years of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57). Numerous courses were offered to cadres and workers in these colleges and universities. That rapid growth took place in many of them during that time was clearly indicated by a report in early 1958 that the Evening School Section of the Tsinghua University had increased its enrollment by sevenfold since it began its operation in

²²"China Sets Up 180 Spare-Time Institutions of Higher Education to Train Technical Personnel for [the] Working Class," *op. cit.*, p. 15.

1955, and the Evening School Section of the Tientsin University had shown an increase of one and a half times since its founding in 1956.²³ Continued expansion took place in this form of spare-time higher education during and after the Great Leap Forward and the setting up of the people's communes, both in 1958. These evening colleges were reported to be well established throughout China by early 1960.²⁴

A cross section of this growth and development and some of the characteristics of the spare-time colleges and universities sponsored by the institutions of higher education may be seen by using the growth during the same period of Shanghai's evening colleges, as Shanghai was one of the leaders and most successful centers for spare-time higher education. In mid-1960 it was reported that Shanghai's universities and colleges had set up four new evening colleges and had expanded four existing ones during the previous six months in order to raise the professional level of staff members and workers in hospitals, schools, and factories. Altogether, 4,000 students were enrolled in these evening colleges, and the number of specialties was increased from 40 to 53. The four new evening colleges specialized in the study of machine building, aquatic products, and modern and traditional Chinese medicine. Students in the three-year to five-year program included nurses, technicians, and workers with from several to a dozen years of experience. It was expected that graduates from this program would be about equivalent to those from a full-time college.²⁵

The curricula of these spare-time universities were similar to those found in the regular full-time colleges. Students enrolled in these

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Chinese Workers Study in Evening Colleges," NCNA, Peking: Feb. 7, 1960, in SCMP No. 2195 (Feb. 12, 1960), p. 9.

²⁵ "Shanghai Higher Educational Institutions Set Up More Evening Colleges," NCNA, Shanghai: July 23, 1960, in SCMP No. 2306 (July 28, 1960), pp. 18-19.

spare-time evening colleges spent nine or ten hours a week studying and graduated in five or six years. The graduation designs were linked to production and usually dealt with specific production problems. The students included industrial workers, engineers, directors, technicians, and heads of workshops or administrative staff. Since these worker-students were especially busy and often had a very poor educational background, extra attention and guidance was given to those who had difficulties in their evening studies. As a result, many of the graduates from these evening colleges and universities were proficient technicians and engineers.²⁶

Many institutions of higher education sponsored and administered both evening universities and correspondence colleges. Other institutes, colleges, and universities confined their extension service to an evening university. This diversity in operation is characteristic of spare-time higher education and may be illustrated by considering four institutes of higher education in the South China city of Nanking. These four college level institutions--the Nanking Normal Institute, the Nanking Medical Institute, the Nanking Engineering Institute, and the Nanking Agricultural Institute--all had evening universities with a total combined enrollment of 700 students in the fall of 1962. In addition, the engineering and the agricultural institutes also offered correspondence courses with a total of more than 600 students enrolled in either regular collegiate courses or special courses by correspondence. During the summer vacation, the evening university of Nanking Engineering Institute enrolled 120 new students in the two specialties (special courses) or radio and machine building. Varying spare-time regular collegiate and special courses were offered in the different specialties within departments in the evening and/or correspondence universities of the four institutions of higher

²⁶"Chinese Workers Study in Evening Colleges," op. cit., p. 9.

learning in Nanking.²⁷

Since Shanghai's program of spare-time higher evening school education was so extensive and its programs so often copied by regular colleges and universities in other cities, two evening school programs sponsored by institutions of higher education in Shanghai will now be considered in more detail. The first is an evening medical college attached to a regular medical school, and the second is an evening university attached to a large comprehensive university. Both schools are typical of the kinds of evening colleges and universities sponsored by many institutions of higher learning throughout the country.

The evening medical college attached to the Shanghai No. 2 Medical College is a good example of an evening college affiliated with a regular college or university. It offered the two specialties of medical treatment and medical analysis.²⁸ The fifty graduates from this evening medical college were all in the field of medical treatment since the second specialty of medical analysis was relatively new. A large majority of the fifty medical treatment graduates were intermediate level personnel who had been working at basic level medical units in health protection centers attached to district section level hospitals, factories, and the like. Upon graduation they became medical assistants in various factory and district hospitals in Shanghai. In their five-year course, they studied both the basic theories and the technical knowledge relating to internal and surgical medicine. Before taking the graduation examinations, they were given a nine-month leave of absence from their work in order to

²⁷"Evening Universities of Institutions of Higher Learning in Nanking Reopen One After Another," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Sept. 16, 1962, in SCMP No. 2836 (Oct. 10, 1962), p. 9.

²⁸This paragraph is based on the following two articles: "Over 3,000 Workers and Cadres in Shanghai Graduated from Spare-Time Higher Educational Institutes," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Sept. 12, 1964, in SCMP No. 3311 (Oct. 5, 1964), p. 13; and "Record Number of Graduates from Shanghai Spare-Time Institutions of Higher Learning," NCNA, Shanghai: Sept. 15, 1964, in SCMP No. 3297 (Sept. 14, 1964), p. 16.

intern as medical doctors in the Central District Hospital in Shanghai. The second specialty of medical analysis was designed to train high grade chemical analysts by helping former intermediate level chemical analysts to improve their professional level so as to be able to do relatively complex analytical and examination work.

The evening school of Chiaot'ung University in Shanghai provides a good illustration of a spare-time evening college or university sponsored by a large, regular institution of higher education. Chiaot'ung University, with over half a century of educational experience, began its evening university in 1956 for the purpose of training technicians for Shanghai's industries and enterprises.²⁹ In October, 1961, there were 1,600 workers or technicians enrolled from more than 300 factories in the urban and suburban areas of Shanghai. In order to make it possible for the students to attend classes closer to their homes, Chiaot'ung University set up four branch evening schools in the new and old industrial districts of Shanghai in addition to the evening school on the university premise itself.

The number of specialties offered in the evening university of Chiaot'ung University were determined on the basis of the conditions and ability of the university and the requirements of Shanghai's industries. As a result, the evening school of Chiaot'ung University was permitted to offer six specialized courses: ship building, machine building, electric motors and appliances, the installation of power machines on ships, steel rolling, and radio telegraphy. It also offered two special classes: one on the training of mathematics and physics teachers in spare-time schools, and the other on the planning and organizing of machine building enterprises.

Special attention was focused on the fundamental theoretical and

²⁹This section on the Evening University of Chiaot'ung University is based upon "The Evening School of Chiaot'ung University, Shanghai Trains Technical Cadres for Factories," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Oct. 7, 1961, in SCMP No. 2600 (Oct. 18, 1961), pp. 6-8.

technical subjects since the students in the evening university had had considerable experience in practical areas but were deficient in fundamental theoretical knowledge. Therefore, four of the six years were concentrated on the fundamental theoretical and technical subjects in the three main courses of machine building, ship building, and electric motors and electrical appliances. The arrangement of these courses in the evening university was the same as those in the regular day university classes. Classes in political and physical education and foreign languages were optional. In the regular courses of the evening school, practical classes were arranged outside of the classroom in order to make sure that the lessons had been learned and applied.

The graduation designs and other exercises which were required for graduation by the ordinary day university were also mandatory for the evening university of Chiaot'ung University although the kind of graduation design was left up to the unit to which the graduating students would be sent to determine. The production units which sent the students to the evening school closely followed the students' progress and activities. Each year when the final examinations were given, the production units overseeing the students decreased the student social activities and gave them a period of leave for study in order that they might review their lessons. The first graduates from this evening university sponsored by the Chiaot'ung University in Shanghai were said to have done well on their examinations and to have satisfied their sponsoring production units.

In this chapter, two of the three main forms of spare-time higher education have been discussed. These were the spare-time institutions of higher education which were sponsored by independent factories, communes, and the like and those spare-time evening colleges and universities attached to the institutions of higher education. In the next chapter, attention will be given to spare-time higher correspondence education, including several of the regular types which make up this form of spare-time higher education. In the following chapter, three of the special types of higher correspondence education will be studied.

CHAPTER VII

REPRESENTATIVE TYPES OF HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION

The Chinese Communist regime placed great emphasis on the continued development of spare-time higher correspondence education during the half dozen years preceding the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because it thought that this method of education could produce plentiful, fast, good, and economical results. The higher education institutions offering correspondence education were of a diverse nature as may be seen by examining the extensive list of institutions offering correspondence courses in the latter half of 1964 (Appendix B).

These 71 colleges and universities offering correspondence education represent an extensive cross section of the higher institutions of learning in all of the major administrative areas of China and also show the broad range of the courses covered. These offerings have included such areas as engineering, agriculture, forestry, mining, postal and telecommunications areas, water conservation and hydro-electric power, teacher training, iron and steel smelting, aviation, building construction, textile manufacturing, finance and economics, surveying, and cartography. Thus, it would appear that no special stress has been laid on any major specialties in correspondence education but that all major areas have been represented.

Although the list prepared by the Union Research Institute in Hong Kong contains the names of 71 colleges and universities which gave correspondence education in 1964, it was by no means complete as the Institute itself pointed out.¹ Since an official New China News Agency (NCNA) dispatch from Nanking for December 8, 1965, indicated that there were 126

¹"Communist China Promotes Education by Correspondence," Union Research Service [hereafter cited as URS] (Hong Kong: Union News Agency), Vol. 36, No. 25 (Sept. 25, 1964), p. 367.

correspondence colleges or departments in Communist China in 1965,² this list (Appendix B) may possibly give the names of only half of the institutions which offered correspondence education in 1965. It should be pointed out, however, that not all of the correspondence courses given by institutions of higher education were college-level courses. Some institutions of higher education offered only college-level courses, other institutions provided both higher and intermediate level courses, and some institutions stressed intermediate level courses. Nevertheless, a large portion of the institutions listed were offering correspondence courses at the higher education level in 1964. Most of the institutions offering higher correspondence education which were mentioned in this study are to be found in this list unless they began offering correspondence courses or were founded after 1964.

Numerous types of spare-time higher correspondence education have been developed in Communist China. Since this form of spare-time higher education has always been very diverse in nature, many different types and sub-types could be grouped by various criteria. The emphasis in this study has been on grouping major types of spare-time higher correspondence education according to their sponsoring institutions. These representative types reveal some of the major characteristics of higher correspondence education.

In this chapter, consideration will be given to spare-time higher correspondence education sponsored by the following institutions, organizations, or groups: (1) by institutions of higher education; (2) directly by the Ministry of Education; (3) by other ministries, industries, or enterprises; (4) by scientific and technical societies, associations, and

²"Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," New China News Agency [hereafter cited as NCNA], Nanking: Dec. 8, 1965, in Survey of China Mainland Press [hereafter cited as SCMP] (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 3599 (Dec. 16, 1965), p. 7.

institutions; and (5) by regular full-day and independent institutions of higher education geared primarily to the rural areas.

I. HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION SPONSORED BY INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Through the years many of the colleges and universities making up the three forms of spare-time higher education--evening, correspondence, and spare-time colleges--have been sponsored by the regular full-time institutions of higher education. During the first decade of Communist rule, numerous correspondence courses and evening classes were offered through correspondence and/or evening divisions or departments of the regular universities, whereas most of the spare-time colleges were either independently sponsored and operated by a ministry, industrial enterprise, or trade union, or else jointly operated by these enterprises and the regular institutions of higher learning.

The regular colleges and universities were therefore generally more involved with higher spare-time education through correspondence and evening divisions than with setting up separate spare-time colleges like those established by factories and other enterprises. Of the 180 spare-time institutions of higher education in Communist China in late 1957 (including 86 evening colleges, 56 correspondence colleges, and 37 spare-time colleges), 31 percent were correspondence colleges, but it was not indicated as to how many of these institutions were attached to the regular institutions of higher learning or how many were independently operated by enterprises or large mines, factories, and other enterprises, though it was stated that 92, or slightly more than half of the total (180) number, were affiliated with the regular institutions of higher education.³

³"China Sets Up 180 Sparetime Institutions of Higher Education to Train Technical Personnel for [the] Working Class," Jen-Min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking: Dec. 16, 1957, in SCMP No. 1683 (Jan. 3, 1958), p. 15.

The regular institutions of higher learning have greatly assisted in the development of higher correspondence education throughout China. Many of the institutions of higher education which placed considerable emphasis on correspondence education have appointed a vice-president of the institution to oversee the correspondence college, division, or department. The regular colleges and universities have also helped to train teachers for the spare-time correspondence colleges established for both workers and peasants. The service of the Central China Teachers' College in Wuhan is typical of this service in the area of correspondence education. This institution has operated a correspondence department or division which had an enrollment of 14,000 in 1960 and provided correspondence education for 71 cities and hsien (counties) in Hupeh Province.⁴

The correspondence courses, departments (divisions), and colleges sponsored by the institutions of higher education were established in order to train technicians, government functionaries (cadres), and administrative personnel for teachers' colleges.⁵ They offered a variety of specialties and courses in numerous fields.

The enrollment in these correspondence programs was quite diverse. For example, the enrollment in higher correspondence courses sponsored by sixteen institutions of higher education in Peking in 1963 consisted of mining and industrial workers and employees, office workers, cadres and members of the people's communes, primary and secondary teachers, and officers in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) from more than 20 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions throughout China.⁶

⁴"Central China Colleges Help Run Workers' and Peasants' Education Courses," NCNA, Wuhan: Mar. 31, 1960, in SCMP No. 2232 (Apr. 6, 1960), p. 36.

⁵See "Chinese Universities Expand Correspondence Courses," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 16, 1959, in SCMP No. 1985 (Apr. 3, 1959), p. 21.

⁶"Correspondence Education Develops in Peking," NCNA, Peking: June 24, 1963, in SCMP No. 3009 (June 28, 1963), p. 8.

Many kinds of higher correspondence education programs have been offered by the regular institutions of higher learning in Communist China. The large comprehensive China People's University in Peking was able to offer a wide selection of both correspondence methods and correspondence courses, whereas other more specialized universities and colleges such as the Kirin Normal University and the Hupeh Chinese Medical College confined their correspondence offerings to more limited programs. Other institutions had different emphases. For example, the Amoy University developed a system of higher correspondence education that was geared toward the training of overseas Chinese and especially those in Southeast Asia.

The two pioneers in the field of higher correspondence education were the China People's University, which started offering its first correspondence courses in 1953,⁷ and the Kirin Normal University, which began its correspondence program soon after. Since the successful programs of higher correspondence education offered by these two universities were copied by numerous other universities and colleges throughout Communist China, they shall now be examined in some detail.

The China People's University. The China People's University of Peking, the leading training institution in Marxist social science, offered the first correspondence courses in Communist China and by 1961 had developed an extensive system of higher correspondence education which served not only Peking but small, medium, and large municipalities and hsien (counties) in the provinces of Hopeh, Liaoning, Inner Mongolia,

⁷"China People's University Offers Correspondence Courses in Numerous and Varied Ways," Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily], Peking: Dec. 2, 1961, in SCMP No. 2649 (Jan. 2, 1962), p. 8.

Shansi, and Shantung as well as other areas in North and Northeast China.⁸ During its first nine years of operation, the university had enrolled more than 26,000 in-service cadres in its correspondence college and had graduated over 9,000 specialists in law, finance, and economy. In the fall of 1961, there were 7,400 people enrolled in correspondence courses in the university; this was three times the enrollment in 1957.

In order to better guide its program of instruction by correspondence, the China People's University set up a correspondence division or college to be in charge of instruction. Under the correspondence college, three correspondence teaching-and-research offices were established to direct 12 teaching or tutorial teams. In late 1961, the correspondence college offered 14 specialities which included law, finance, industrial economy, agricultural economy, architectural economy, domestic trade economy, statistics, philosophy, and accountancy.

The university offered various forms of higher correspondence instruction in order to meet the needs of the different kinds of in-service cadres. Since it was a large and comprehensive university, it was able to provide a wider selection of correspondence courses than many other universities and colleges. China People's University offered six types of correspondence courses: regular university courses by correspondence, evening college courses by correspondence, specialized courses by correspondence, correspondence classes in selected specialities, correspondence classes in selected subjects of a specialty, and correspondence

⁸This article on the China People's University is based on the following articles: "China People's University Offers Correspondence Courses in Numerous and Varied Ways," *loc. cit.*, pp. 8-9; "China People's University Trains Specialists by Correspondence," NCNA, Peking: Dec. 2, 1961, in SCMP No. 2634 (Dec. 7, 1961), p. 16; "Over 9,000 Graduates from the Correspondence Course Division of the People's University," NCNA, Peking: Dec. 14, 1961, and published in *Wen-Hui Pao*, Hong Kong: Dec. 17, 1961, in URS, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Jan. 12, 1962), p. 70; and "Correspondence Colleges Popular in China," NCNA, Peking: Feb. 28, 1962, in SCMP No. 2691 (Mar. 6, 1962), p. 8.

classes in single subjects. Each of the regular university courses required five years by correspondence and mainly was offered to young cadres. The evening college and the specialized correspondence courses each required two years for completion and were generally reserved for academically qualified cadres at the section chief level in public offices and enterprises. The higher correspondence classes in selected specialties and in selected subjects in specialties were provided mainly for old cadres of peasant or worker origin and certain selected factory and mine cadres. These students were generally able to finish one or two subjects in from six months to a year. By providing these varied types of correspondence instruction, it was easier for large numbers of in-service cadres to participate in higher correspondence education.

Higher correspondence instruction in the correspondence college of the China People's University consisted of five major steps: (1) private study; (2) direct or personal instruction; (3) supplementary instruction; (4) written exercises; and (5) examinations. Of these five, private study, which emphasized the study of textbooks, was the most important. The students of each correspondence course were provided with instruction books so that they could more effectively study by themselves. These instruction books explained the purposes of the subjects, the standards that were expected of the students, the important concepts in the different subjects, the main points in the various chapters, and the best methods in learning these important points.

Direct or personal instruction was given by correspondence teachers to acquaint the students with some of the problems they would encounter in their correspondence studies and to show them how to take notes, do the required exercises, and use reference books and materials. The teachers of the different correspondence courses visited each place where the courses were being given and gave direct instruction to the students there with the number of hours in each place dependent upon the number of students in that location. They considered the difficult portions in the textbook and reviewed important points. During this time, they checked to see if

the students had been studying; also, they participated in group activities to see what the students' problems were so they could help. After determining what the problems and needs of the students were, the teachers gave supplementary instruction, either individually or collectively in groups so that they could make better progress in their correspondence studies.

Written exercises were required in all the higher correspondence courses offered by the correspondence college of the China People's University. The written exercises covered the more important chapters of the textbook, the important theories, and the like. After the students had studied the textbooks and had written the required exercises by themselves, they sent them to the correspondence college of the China People's University where they were carefully corrected by the teachers and then returned to the students.

Periodic examinations were given by the visiting correspondence teachers in the different localities to see how well the students had been studying and what their difficulties were. Final examinations were also given in these correspondence courses.

The China's people's University, in order to exercise more direct organizational leadership over the students taking higher correspondence education courses, established branches or centers for correspondence supplementary instruction in Peking, Tientsin, Tsinan, Taiyuan, and Huhehot⁹ to guide students in their studies in those areas and to give on-the-spot instruction. In these centers as well as in the correspondence college of China People's University itself, great progress and large

⁹For a detailed description of the Huhehot municipality branch of the correspondence college of the China People's University, see the following two articles: "A Batch of Students Graduate from Correspondence School--Huhehot Branch of the Correspondence Department of People's University," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Mar. 15, 1962, in SCMP No. 2708 (Mar. 29, 1962), pp. 21-22; and Lin Pao-kuan, "Their Achievements After Persistent Study by Correspondence," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Mar. 5, 1962, in SCMP No. 2708 (Mar. 29, 1962), pp. 18-20.

enrollments were achieved in the programs of higher correspondence education.

The Kirin Normal University. The Kirin Normal University, which established its correspondence department or division in 1953, was one of the first two institutions of higher education in Communist China to offer advanced courses by means of correspondence; the other pioneer in this field was the China People's University which has just been considered. Both of these institutions sponsored correspondence divisions or colleges. The Kirin Normal University began offering its correspondence courses for the purpose of training new teachers for the middle schools in the three provinces of Kirin, Heilungkiang, and Liaoning and for upgrading the quality of existing teachers. As many of the teachers were too scattered to attend regular spare-time classes and since they could not be spared from their teaching assignments to take advanced training elsewhere, the university set up a correspondence office in May, 1953, to develop a correspondence course program to satisfy this need. Correspondence courses were set up soon after in the departments of Chinese language and literature, mathematics, geography, and history. By early 1959, correspondence courses had also been set up in the departments of physics, chemistry, and biology. At that time, there were more than 10,000 students enrolled in the university's correspondence course program.¹⁰

In the early years of the correspondence program of the university, the students met during the summer and winter vacation periods of the regular university and were grouped and lectured to in the classrooms. During this time, the syllabuses for either the coming academic term or year were

¹⁰"Kirin Normal University Expands Correspondence Course," Kirin Jih-pao /Kirin Daily/, Changchun: Feb. 15, 1959, in SCMP No. 1985 (Apr. 3, 1959), pp. 21-22. See also, "How Kirin Normal University Achieved Good Results from Its Correspondence Courses," NCNA, Changchun: Nov. 3, 1961, p. 4, in URS, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Jan. 12, 1962), pp. 63-64; and "Kirin Normal University Operates Correspondence Courses with Good Results," NCNA, Changchun: Nov. 2, 1961, in SCMP No. 2617 (Nov. 13, 1961), pp. 9-10.

discussed in outline form and then taken home along with textbooks for private study. Correspondence teachers from the university then visited the various localities two or three times each academic term to assist the correspondence students with their problems.¹¹

This general policy of having all the correspondence students attend classroom sessions at the university during the vacation periods was changed for the spring term of 1958-59 school year due to the large numbers who enrolled for correspondence courses. The new system called for applying the method of "walking on both legs." One leg of this method consisted of enrolling large numbers of students who would study separately by themselves in private study. It also included making the local leadership departments overseeing correspondence education entirely responsible for solving difficult problems and for arranging supplementary instructions and self-teaching activities. The other leg of this method provided for opening "basic hardcore classes" with selected correspondence students as the "hardcores." Various groups of hardcore students were then given classroom lectures on fixed days. When these students returned to their units, they then imparted what they had learned to their fellow students who had not been able to attend the classroom lectures.¹²

During the late 1950's, many institutions of higher education in Northeast China and elsewhere set up correspondence departments, divisions, or colleges; but there was a shortage of teachers for teaching correspondence courses in these institutions of higher learning. To help meet this need, the Kirin Normal University in 1960 instituted classes to train teachers to be correspondence teachers in these universities and colleges. An official NCNA report for September 1, 1962, stated that 44 teachers had recently graduated from this two-year program in correspondence course teacher training and had gone to take up teaching work in various

¹¹Ibid, p. 22.

¹²Ibid.

institutions of higher education in the provinces of Kirin, Liaoning, and Heilungkiang in Northeast China. These teachers who had finished the two-year training course had already taught at the middle school level for two years and were all reported to be of the same educational standard as university graduates. In order to enroll in this program, they had to be recommended by the educational leadership departments in the various provinces. These teachers took two years of advanced study in their specialties within the six departments of Chinese language and literature, mathematics, history, physics, chemistry, and biology (geography had evidently been dropped from the correspondence program) with the understanding that they would be teaching correspondence courses in their speciality in the institutions to which they were assigned. In order that the teacher trainees might master the methods and characteristics of teaching by correspondence, the training classes emphasized the method of private study with some instruction and guidance being given by experienced university teachers from the various departments on the important points of the lessons.¹³

These teacher trainees for higher correspondence courses participated in various types of teaching activities associated with correspondence education. For example, they corrected the exercise and examination papers of the students of correspondence courses as well as learned how to compile instruction and reference materials. During these two years, they not only practiced teaching but they also served a portion of their time as supervising teaching and in assisting correspondence course students in solving their difficult problems. These teacher trainees also went with the university correspondence teachers to the correspondence teaching stations to see how the students' studies were conducted.¹⁴

¹³"A Group of Teachers for Correspondence Courses Finish Study in Kirin Normal University," NCNA, Changchun: Sept. 1, 1962, and published in Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Sept. 3, 1962, in SCMP No. 2827 (Sept. 27, 1962), pp. 9-10.

¹⁴Ibid.

An article in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily] for July 26, 1964, summarized some of the highlights of the correspondence education program offered by Kirin Normal University during its first ten years of operation. Since many of these features were characteristics of other correspondence departments, divisions, or colleges in numerous institutions of higher education, some of these will be pointed out here.¹⁵ On the basis of ten years' experience, the Kirin Normal University concluded that the duration of correspondence education should normally be longer than that of the same level of regular education. In determining the number of years of study, three things needed to be considered--the purposes for the training, the background and educational level of the students, and the total number of hours for all the subjects. Most of the courses in the correspondence division of the Kirin Normal University required three years. Under the three-year system of the university's correspondence education program, there was a total of 126 weeks of study. Of this number, 108 weeks were devoted to private study (also called self-study or home-study), 12 weeks were given to personal or direct instruction (including classroom lectures, time spent on experiments and practice, and in reviewing for and taking examinations), and six weeks were spent in receiving guidance or instruction in different guidance posts. It was recommended that arrangements be made for students to spend from eight to twelve hours for self-study every week.

The Kirin Normal University concluded from its ten years of experience that private or self-study was the most important factor in

¹⁵The following ten-year summary of higher correspondence education in Kirin Normal University is based on a report by Kirin Normal University called "Ten Years of Correspondence Education," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: July 26, 1964, p. 2, in URS, Vol. 36, No. 25 (Sept. 25, 1964), pp. 370-378. This article from the same Chinese source has also been reproduced under the identical title in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 202, pp. 31-38, and translated in U. S. Joint Publications Research Service [hereafter cited as JPRS] report No. 26,608 (1964).

correspondence education, but it had to be supplemented with personal instruction and guidance and answering questions on the spot if correspondence education was to be a success. Each facet had an important part to play in correspondence training, and the tasks of correspondence education could not be realized unless these all functioned properly and were well coordinated. During the early years of operating correspondence education, the university placed great emphasis on the students' private or home study and guidance by teachers but neglected on-the-spot instruction. It was assumed that the students would study the materials given them and "learn by themselves," but such was not the case. Later, on-the-spot instruction was over-emphasized to the detriment of private study. As a result, it was determined that each played an important role and all needed to be properly coordinated.

Since private study was regarded as the main factor in higher correspondence education, the correspondence division endeavored to give guidance, to organize the work properly, and to arrange for the students to have a certain number of hours a week for private study so that the students could study properly and positively. In order to accomplish this, the correspondence division of the university contacted both the educational administrative leadership departments and the schools where the students were teaching and asked them to give the students assurance of time for private study. The correspondence division also asked these departments and institutions to check up on the students' private study as well.

Guidance and answering questions, another method of carrying out higher correspondence education, was either verbal or by writing. Its purpose was to guide the correspondence students in correctly understanding the lessons and study reference materials, help them solve their difficulties in private study, and assist them in mastering correct study methods.

Collective on-the-spot instruction was also an important method in accomplishing the tasks of higher correspondence education. Each year

during the winter and summer vacations, the correspondence division of Kirin Normal University had correspondence students come to the university or go to other places for classroom lectures. It also conducted experiments, practice, review of lessons, and examinations as well as arranging for any necessary political or educational lectures.

One of the keys to the success or failure of higher correspondence education sponsored by an institutions of higher learning lay in the type and quality of the teachers in the correspondence program. Great stress was placed by the university on recruiting and training the right kind of full-time and part-time teachers in the correspondence division. The division's teaching-and-research offices representing the various specialties were responsible for training the full-time teachers in professional work, and the school administration together with the department Party branches were jointly responsible for their ideological and political training.

Correspondence training was tied in closely with the regular training program of Kirin Normal University. According to the report of the first decade in which higher correspondence education was offered there, the ideological slogan of "not only running well the regular full-day school but also our correspondence education" was followed. The regular departments of the university assisted in the task of correspondence education in addition to their regular educational work. The teaching-and-research offices representing the various academic departments, however, were responsible for the actual duties of correspondence course training in the different courses offered. The full-time correspondence teachers in the correspondence division were assigned to the various teaching-and-research offices. Thus, the different departments of the university and the teaching-and-research offices in the correspondence division worked together in planning a unified program that would take into proper consideration both regular higher education and higher correspondence education.

During the first ten years of correspondence education offered by

Kirin Normal University, 270 teachers and instructors took part in the correspondence education program. These included 150 professors, assistant professors, and lecturers, mostly on a part-time basis. The more experienced and higher quality teachers were the ones usually selected for compiling teaching materials and for giving lectures during the personal or direct instruction period when the correspondence students assembled in classrooms for special teaching during their vacation periods. Eighty percent of the 152 teachers who participated in on-the-spot guidance or instruction during the decade were professors, assistant professors, and lecturers.

In the same ten-year period, 3,700 correspondence students graduated from the correspondence division of Kirin Normal University in the basic or "proper" courses, special courses, and single subjects. In addition, over 470 others had graduated from the special teacher training class or had studied either basic courses or special courses (subjects completed in one area--such as mathematics--according to plan but not the other subjects).

The university had compiled and edited 384 series of correspondence teaching materials and had published over 800 articles in 98 issues of specialized publications on correspondence education during these years. These articles and teaching materials were compiled and published on the basis of need, and some of the materials were adopted by other institutions of higher learning for their correspondence programs.

The university laid down certain requirements for the various teaching-and-research offices in both the correspondence division and the departments of the regular university with regard to the compilation and editing of correspondence teaching materials. Not only must such materials meet the characteristics of correspondence education and adhere to the principle of "study for practical application" and "few but essential" but they must also have the correct ideological interpretation with explanation of the contents from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and method. The material also had to stress scientific points, give simple explanations to

difficult questions, use popular and easily understood language, keep in mind logical sequence, and present clear and definite concepts.

Three forms of organizational work in compiling and editing correspondence teaching materials were adopted by Kirin Normal University: individual work, collective work, and cooperative work. The writers and editors who did individual writing were required not only to be experts in their specialities and experienced in teaching but also to be able to independently compile and edit the teaching materials. The advantage of this type of work lay in the possibility of uniformity in arrangement and style. In the collective type work covering wide scope and knowledge as in history or literature, each writer was assigned the responsibility for a certain period of time. In compiling teaching materials for other courses with broad content, cooperative work between several higher institutions of education was considered the best plan.

A strict inspection system was set up by Kirin Normal University for approving the correspondence teaching materials which had been compiled. Each of the different levels of the teaching-and-research offices in the correspondence division, the departments, and the university administration had established inspection procedures in approving teaching materials. When the teaching materials had been approved at each level and published, "the masses" were then asked for their opinion. After a period of time, necessary revisions incorporating criticisms were to be made.

Two examples of correspondence education programs sponsored by institutions of higher learning have been considered in some detail and certain characteristics of correspondence education as revealed in these typical programs have been pointed out. In the next section a higher correspondence institution independent of the regular institutions of higher education but sponsored directly by the Ministry of Education will be considered.

II. HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION SPONSORED DIRECTLY BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

In addition to the various kinds of higher correspondence courses sponsored by the regular institutions of higher education, there were also correspondence colleges operated directly by the Ministry of Education. Such institutions were set up in cities like Peking, Wuhan, Shenyang, and Chanchun.¹⁶ The Peking Correspondence College¹⁷ was a good example of this type of spare-time higher correspondence institution. This college was opened in late March, 1963, for the purpose of training cadres, workers, teachers, and "young intellectuals." Simultaneous opening ceremonies were also conducted in four other municipalities where correspondence stations were set up.

Liu Ai-feng, the Vice-Minister of Education, spoke at the opening ceremony in Peking and pointed out the future possibilities, goals and tasks of correspondence education and the roles of the teachers, cadres, and students in developing it properly. According to Liu Ai-feng, the development of correspondence education in Communist China was not limited by territory, time, or location, and since it could train large numbers of construction personnel for the state and also meet the study demands of the broad masses of working personnel, it not only had great possibilities for future development but would become more and more important. His speech revealed the future direction and goals that the Communist regime had planned for higher correspondence education. Like Ai-feng stated that by

¹⁶"Communist China Promotes Education by Correspondence," op. cit., p. 367.

¹⁷This section on the Peking Correspondence College is based upon the following two articles: Ch'en Yi-ch'ao, "The Peking Correspondence College Newly Set Up by the Ministry of Education Starts Operation," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Mar. 25, 1963, p. 1, in URS, Vol. 32, No. 18 (Aug. 30, 1963, pp. 336-338); and "Peking Correspondence College Opens," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 25, 1963, and published in Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Mar. 26, 1963, in SCMP No. 2958 (Apr. 11, 1963), pp. 8-9.

setting up the Peking Correspondence College, the Ministry of Education not only showed the great importance it placed on the proper running of higher correspondence education in the urban centers but also its concern for the further penetration of this form of education into the rural areas.

Vice-Minister Liu pointed out that since education through correspondence was a relatively new enterprise, the Peking Correspondence College must be run properly and successfully on an experimental basis so that the Ministry of Education would be able to gain the proper experience necessary for expanding this type of education. The Vice-Minister called on all teachers, cadres, and students in this new enterprise to persevere and persist in overcoming difficulties and to make the operation of this new college a success. He asked the units to which the students would be assigned to include correspondence students in their cadres training plans so that study time might be assured for the students, to assist them in their difficulties and problems, and to investigate and supervise the correspondence students carefully and frequently so as to make the correspondence college a joint success.

Since the experience of the Ministry of Education with the Peking Correspondence College helped to formulate its future policy toward higher correspondence education, some of the important features of this institution will be pointed out. The Peking Correspondence College was established as a correspondence institute of higher education for senior middle school graduates or their equivalent. The college was set up with two specialties of physics and Chinese language and literature and a special lower level class of agricultural accounting and statistics. There were also plans for adding additional specialties and courses. This lower level special class in agriculture was for a period of one and a half years and included three subjects: the study of the management and operation of the rural people's commune, agricultural accounting, and agricultural statistics.

The two college-level specialized courses varied in length from four to six years, and the time devoted to spare-time study in each

speciality was 12 hours a week. The teaching of the two specialties and the special class were handled separately by three regular universities in the city--the China People's University, the Peking University, and the Peking Normal University--but future plans called for the gradual transfer of these courses from these universities to the Peking Correspondence College itself.

The two specialized college-level courses in physics and Chinese language and literature enrolled over 600 students. The specialty in physics had the six subjects of higher mathematics, general physics, experiments on general physics, theoretical physics, foundations of radio technology, and experiments in radio technology. It was hoped that correspondence students who had completed the study of these six subjects within six years would attain the same level of competence as graduates of the regular collegiate course in physics. Students who had within four years completed the first five subjects were expected to reach the same level as a graduate in the specialty of physics in other college institutions. The specialty of Chinese language and literature included rhetoric, exercises, and classical literature in its six subjects. Graduates of this five-year correspondence course would basically be about equal to graduates of a four-year course in a full-time university.

The Peking Correspondence College set up four correspondence teaching stations in Peking, Taiyuan, Tientsin, and Huhehot in order to facilitate study by correspondence. Each correspondence teaching station had its own full-time staff of teachers and cadres. They were responsible for teaching the students directly, giving the correspondence students instructions and guidance, correcting the students' exercises, and carrying out teaching, organizational, and administrative work. The correspondence teaching station in Peking was under the direct supervision of the Peking Correspondence College, but the other three stations were supervised separately by the college and the local education departments or bureaus. The routine administrative affairs of these three correspondence teaching stations were conducted in cooperation with the Hopeh, Shansi, and the Inner

Mongolia Universities.

The Peking Correspondence College operated under the Ministry of Education while the correspondence departments or divisions of the institutions of higher education operated through the sponsoring institutions of higher learning which were in turn answerable to the Ministry of Education. The latter, however, were free to experiment with their own higher correspondence programs.

In the following section, some of the higher correspondence course programs sponsored by other ministries, industries, or enterprises apart from the Ministry of Education will be considered. These differed in some respects from the types of higher correspondence education already mentioned.

III. HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION SPONSORED BY OTHER OTHER MINISTRIES, INDUSTRIES, OR ENTERPRISES

A third type of spare-time higher correspondence education was that offered through courses, departments (sections), and colleges sponsored by other ministries, industries, and enterprises. These correspondence colleges and courses were operated directly by a ministry, industry, or enterprise and had no direct connection with, or responsibility toward, the Ministry of Education. An article in the Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily] for October 29, 1961, indicated that more than a dozen industrial enterprises had experienced great success in operating correspondence courses through colleges and other schools attached to these ministries or industrial and mining enterprises. At that time there were 50,000 employees and workers in the industrial and mining enterprises who were receiving education by correspondence. For instance, in the surveying and geology departments, where the workers and employees usually moved about and were scattered, correspondence courses underwent continued development. In these two departments alone, there were more than 5,800 students enrolled in October, 1961. The content of the basic and specialized correspondence courses in these departments was reported to be the same as those offered in the

full-day colleges and schools.¹⁸

Two of the most extensive networks of this type of higher correspondence education were developed by the Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications and the Ministry of Coal Industry. Both provide good examples of correspondence colleges and courses sponsored by different ministries, industries, and other enterprises. Brief consideration will first be given to some of the salient features of the correspondence school network established by the Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications, and then the network of higher correspondence education established by the Ministry of Coal Mining will be examined in some detail. Together they give a picture of this type of spare-time higher correspondence education.

Higher correspondence education sponsored by the Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications. The Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications established correspondence course divisions in its various colleges within the districts of joint economic cooperation as well as correspondence course departments in its schools within the different provinces, cities, and autonomous districts.¹⁹ In addition, the Ministry had already established 271 correspondence teaching or guidance stations throughout the country by late 1961.

This network of correspondence courses was set up by the Ministry to extend basic and specialized knowledge to all its members throughout

¹⁸"Colleges and Schools Attached to Various Industrial Enterprises Offer Correspondence Courses," Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily], Oct. 29, 1961, p. 1, in URS, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Jan. 12, 1962), p. 62.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

China, including remote and border areas.²¹ The Peking Postal and Tele-Communications College,²² for example, set up a correspondence course department in 1958 and within a year more than 400 staff members in this ministry were enrolled in college-level correspondence courses. By mid-1962, there and a half years later, this number had increased to 3,900 teachers enrolled in the three advanced courses of telegraphic and telephone communications (divided into four specialized classes: city telephones, telegraph, telegraph lines, and long distance telegraph), wireless communications, and the economy and organization of postal and telegraphic communications.²³ The Ministry sponsored network had experienced unusual growth in this short period.

Higher correspondence education sponsored by the Ministry of Coal Industry. The Ministry of Coal Industry began setting up its system of higher correspondence education in 1956 for the purpose of meeting the needs for construction of coal mines and the further development of production in

²¹"Chinese Post and Tele-Communications Institutions Expand Correspondence Courses," NCNA, Peking: Apr. 11, 1959, in SCMP No. 1994 (Apr. 16, 1959), p. 29. See also, "This Year's Central Task for Postal and Tele-Communications Services," Ta-kung Pao editorial, Peking: Feb. 21, 1961, in SCMP No. 2459 (Mar. 20, 1961), p. 6.

²²For detailed consideration of the Peking Postal and Tele-Communications College see the following article: Chou Yüan-liang, "Further Raise the Quality of Postal and Telegraphic Correspondence," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Aug. 1, 1962, in SCMP No. 2804 (Aug. 22, 1962), pp. 7-12. This same article by Chou Yüan-liang is reproduced under the title, "Postal and Tele-Communications Correspondence School," in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 13, pp. 38-50, in JPRS report No. 15,314 (Sept. 17, 1962).

²³Chou Yüan-liang, "More Than 10,000 Take Post and Telegraph Correspondence Courses," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Aug. 1, 1962, in Communist China Digest, No. 73, pp. 37-38, in JPRS report No. 15,998 (Nov. 1, 1962).

China's coal fields. An official NCNA dispatch from Peking for September 1, 1956, indicated the early spread of spare-time higher education in the coal mining industry when it pointed out that the Ministry of Coal Industry had set up evening universities and branch correspondence schools in nine different mining fields up to that time.²⁴ An article in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao for July 19, 1964, said that a correspondence education network for the coal mining industry had been basically formed during the previous eight years and pointed out some of the significant developments and characteristics of spare-time higher correspondence education in the coal mining industry from 1956 to 1964.²⁵ Attention will now be focused on some of these as they are illustrative of the nation-wide system of spare-time higher correspondence education that was sponsored by a ministry, industry, or other enterprise or organization not directly affiliated with the Ministry of Education.

When the system of higher correspondence education was developed in the Ministry of Coal Industry in 1956, certain colleges and universities in each major geographical area were asked to sponsor and oversee higher correspondence courses for workers and employees in their areas. At that time, the Ministry of Coal Industry asked the Peking Mining College (also referred to as the Peking Mining Institute and the Peking Institute of

²⁴"New Schools for Coal Mining Students," NCNA, Peking: Sept. 1, 1956, in SCMP No. 1364 (Sept. 6, 1956), p. 14.

²⁵This section on spare-time higher correspondence education in the Ministry of Coal Industry is based on the following article by Feng Hsin-min, "Ministry of Coal Industry Brings Out Enthusiasm of Various Quarters in Operating Higher Correspondence Education Well," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: July 19, 1965, in SCMP No. 3274 (Aug. 7, 1964), pp. 9-11. This same article by Feng Hsin-min is reproduced under the title "Ministry of Coal Industry Fosters Correspondence Education," in Communist China Digest, No. 131, pp. 85-89, and translated in JPRS report No. 26,974 (Oct. 20, 1964). Also, it is reproduced under the title "Coal Ministry Encourages Improvement of Extension Education," in Translations on Communist China's Industry and Materials, No. 4, pp. 3-6, and translated in JPRS report No. 26,095 (Aug. 24, 1964).

Mining) and the Northeast Industrial College (also known as the Northeast College of Engineering) to set up separate correspondence departments. In 1957, it asked the Ho-fei Industrial University to inaugurate an East China correspondence department that would assume responsibility for the development of correspondence education for the coal mining industry in the three areas of East China, Northeast China, and North China.

Continued expansion and development took place for all types of spare-time higher education during the Great Leap Forward. But when the nation was soon after beset by a severe economic crisis brought on in part by the failure of the Great Leap Forward and three successive years of natural disasters, many of the spare-time colleges and universities which had been operated by various industrial enterprises had to either curtail their college operations drastically or cease functioning altogether. As a result, many of these spare-time college-level programs were replaced with higher correspondence education such as radio universities, television universities, and combined radio-television universities in which correspondence education was the primary media and these forms secondary ones.

Increased emphasis was placed on higher correspondence education in the early 1960's by the coal mining industry. For example, in 1961, the Ministry of Coal Industry gave the correspondence department of the Peking Mining College the responsibility of developing higher correspondence education in the Central-South and Northwest regions of the country. The Ministry also assisted the Peking Mining College and the Northeast Industrial College in operating spare-time higher correspondence education in their provinces. At that time, correspondence sections were also set up in the mining colleges in Shansi, Sian, Huai-nan, Chioa-tso, and other places and correspondence teaching stations developed in the provinces of Kirin, Liaoning, and Heilungkiang. The Ministry of Coal Industry further consolidated and developed higher correspondence education by drawing up preliminary regulations for the correspondence departments of divisions, correspondence teaching stations, and various levels of administrative

units. These regulations covered such problems as the system of organization, the scope of operations, the division of leadership, expenditures, and the hours for private study and oral instruction.

In early 1964, the Ministry of Coal Industry readjusted its spare-time higher correspondence education program and made numerous changes in order to better implement the educational policy of "walking on two legs" and to mobilize the enthusiasm of the mining colleges and of the various levels of the administrative leadership departments in running higher correspondence education. Three levels of responsibility in joint leadership were defined by the Ministry of Coal Industry. The Ministry itself was to exercise unified leadership over the whole enterprise, the administrative departments at various levels and the individual enterprises were to exercise management at the separate levels, and the coal mining colleges were to establish correspondence education on a regional basis. Under this principle of joint leadership, more emphasis was placed on the role of the administrative leadership departments.

As a result of this reorganization and readjustment of higher correspondence education on a regional basis, the coal mining bureaus in the different provinces and regions assumed an increasingly greater role in its operation. For example, when the Liaoning Provincial Mining Administrative Bureau assumed responsibility over correspondence education in Northeast areas, it supervised and assisted the Fo-hsin Mining College to improve its correspondence department, appointed teachers and cadres, and helped in the development of proper leadership. Other mining bureaus were instrumental in establishing new correspondence teaching stations in new areas.

After the mining colleges had assumed responsibility for administering higher correspondence education in their own areas, greater enthusiasm was expressed for its development and a much greater emphasis was placed on the role of the correspondence department or division in the mining colleges. As a result of this emphasis, a vice-president of each mining college was designated to assume charge of correspondence education

along with his other duties, and full-time teachers and cadres were assigned to the correspondence education departments whenever possible. The Chiao-tso Mining College, for instance, appointed a vice-president to be in charge of its correspondence education program and asked the different departments and teaching research units to stress and support higher correspondence education and to coordinate their work with it. These departments and teaching research units did much to develop higher correspondence education in this mining college in 1964 but were not able to institute correspondence courses which required oral instruction due to the fact that the full-time teaching staff was too small. Because of the limited number of full-time teachers available, the different departments and teaching research units arranged for their teachers to teach in the correspondence departments on a part-time basis.

In order to further improve higher correspondence education in the mining industry and to expand its outreach into other mining areas of China in 1964, the correspondence departments of the various mining colleges sent out work teams to carry out mobile inspection in the different correspondence teaching stations and to hold local work conferences on the problems and difficulties of higher correspondence education. Encouragement was given to the different units in the different localities to conduct higher correspondence education in a variety of ways in order that the individual correspondence programs might be better tailored to both meet the local needs of production and the study requirements of the workers and employees. In order to emphasize this approach, the individual units in the various places were urged to solve by themselves such problems related to higher correspondence education as curriculum, specialities, the management of correspondence courses, and the work of students after graduation.

A number of correspondence education departments in the mining colleges endeavored to establish specialties which were needed in their own areas and provinces. Thus, not only did the correspondence department of Fo-hsin Mining College have a five-year system of correspondence education, but it also had a two-section system with one section of the study dealing

only with the fundamental subjects and the other section related only to the learning of specialized subjects. Students could choose to study only one of the two sections. Other correspondence education departments established single subject courses in order to meet definite practical needs in production.

Over the years, the Ministry of Coal Industry had asked the Peking Mining College to experiment on its projects of higher correspondence education in order to raise the quality of correspondence education. In 1964, the Ministry asked the college to concentrate on compiling and supplying the textbooks needed by the correspondence course departments of the mining colleges in the nation-wide system of coal mines. These were requested as guides for correspondence departments on teaching, on training teachers for these departments, and on summing up and exchanging experiences in correspondence teaching work. The Peking Mining College held organized conferences for making recommendations to the correspondence departments and other groups. For example, it held a conference in February, 1965, for the correspondence education groups in descriptive geometry, higher mathematics, and physics and recommended that for these three subjects the teaching materials should be "less but finer."

Another important project of the Peking Mining College was its work in developing correspondence teaching stations²⁶ in various mining centers. Since the Ministry of Coal Industry had appointed the Peking Mining College (the Peking Institute of Mining) to develop higher correspondence education

²⁶The "correspondence teaching station" has been called by different names in the literature. It has also been designated, for example, by supervision station, guidance station, correspondence education center, correspondence education section, correspondence section, instruction station, supplementary instruction station, extension education department, and various other names in the translations. Since "correspondence teaching station" has been one of the most common designations employed in the translated literature to refer to these stations or centers to supervise correspondence education, it shall be used here but will be shortened to "correspondence station" as is common in the literature.

programs in the central-southern and northwestern areas of the country, it set up correspondence education centers or stations in Sian, Shansi, Chiaotso, Hsinan, and a number of other places. The Chiaotso Supervision Station in Correspondence Education of the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College (hereafter referred to briefly as the Chiaotso correspondence station) was especially successful in its job of supervising higher correspondence education and was commended for its outstanding achievements.

The organization and operation of the Chiaotso correspondence station was typical of numerous other correspondence stations operated by the Ministry of Coal Mining and other ministries, industries, and enterprises at the higher education level. It was also typical of the correspondence stations established by the institutions of higher education, by the scientific associations and societies, and by the regular full-day and independent institutions of higher education emphasizing the rural areas. Because of its typical nature, some of the more important aspects of the Chiaotso correspondence station will be pointed out here.

The correspondence stations were set up for the purpose of carefully administering correspondence education on the local level. They were given responsibility for properly managing correspondence students and for giving them verbal guidance in their problems.²⁷ Though some specialities did not need additional verbal instruction offered through correspondence stations, the success or failure of other specialties taken by correspondence lay in the direct or personal guidance given to the correspondence students in these stations. This was found to be especially true among the students in the mining specialty; the Chiaotso correspondence station was therefore established for the purpose of organizing the management of correspondence education in Chiaotse and giving a degree of personal class

²⁷ See, for instance, "Full-Day Institutions of Higher Education and Secondary Schools Should Steadily Develop Correspondence Education and Evening Schools," Kuang-ming Jih-pao editorial, Peking: Feb. 27, 1965, in SCMP No. 2946 (Mar. 26, 1963), p. 12.

instruction.

The Chiaotso Mining Bureau and the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College took note of some drawbacks of higher education by correspondence--that more years were spent in study on a spare-time basis, that students on active duty were required to spend less time in study for the advancement of learning, and that it was difficult for students to persist in and finish correspondence education--and took steps to help the correspondence students to study properly and to complete their subjects by setting up the Chiaotso correspondence station.²⁸ This called for the assistance of all the relevant departments, organizations, and units in both the Chiaotso Mining Bureau and the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College since the task of developing the Chiaotso correspondence station could not be accomplished by the correspondence education department of the mining college by itself.

The Chiaotso correspondence station was jointly sponsored and directed by the Chiaotso Mining Bureau and the Peking Mining College. Both the bureau and the mining institute assumed certain roles and responsibilities in setting up and successfully operating the Chiaotso correspondence station. The roles and responsibilities of the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College toward the Chiaotso correspondence station included the preparation of the correspondence education plan for the correspondence station, the teaching outlines of the different courses, and the regulations and responsibilities of those managing the station. It laid down the expected rate of progress in teaching and also evaluated the

²⁸This section on the Chiaotso correspondence station is based on the following articles: Wang Ping-jung, "The Role of the Correspondence Station in Making a Success of Correspondence Education," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Dec. 18, 1961, in SCMP No. 2657 (Jan. 12, 1962), pp. 18-20; and P'eng Ying-lu, "Chiaotso Supervision Station of [the] Peking Institute of Mining Does Outstanding Job in Supervision to Insure the Quality of Education by Correspondence," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Dec. 18, 1961, in SCMP No. 2657 (Jan. 12, 1962), pp. 16-18.

results of the program. Other duties and responsibilities of the Correspondence Department included the compilation of teaching aids for the station, private study manuals for the students, and reference materials for teachers. Not only did the Correspondence Department hold periodic training sessions for teachers assigned to the stations to assist them in mastering teaching techniques in the courses they taught, but it also sent teachers to the correspondence stations to share their teaching experiences, to give direct personal guidance to both teachers and students, and to conduct short classes for the students.

The Chiaotso Mining Bureau in turn exercised leadership in the management and administration of the correspondence station. It supplied both the material equipment and personnel, including cadres and teachers, for the correspondence station. The Chiaotso Mining Bureau also organized the Chiaotse Mining College and the Chiaotso School of Coal Mining in order to help the Chiaotso correspondence station in carrying out its teaching activities and in meeting the problems associated with teacher duties and equipment shortages. The Chiaotso Mining Bureau held the leaders of the Chiaotso School of Coal Mining responsible for operating the station successfully.

The Chiaotso Mining Bureau, in stressing the importance of the station, carefully organized the participation of technical personnel in correspondence education and supplied the station with full-time teachers and cadres. In addition, it studied in detail the plan laid down for the Chiaotso station by the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College each year and required the station to carry it out. It was also the responsibility of the Mining Bureau leadership at the different levels to maintain optimum study conditions for those taking correspondence studies. One method it recommended to the different units to make it possible for more students to enroll in correspondence education was that units fulfill work on behalf of students.

In cooperation with the Chiaotso Mining Bureau, the Chiaotso correspondence station set up classes for giving direct instruction twice a

week--every Saturday afternoon and every Sunday morning. In these classes, the teachers summarized the important points in the respective subjects and carefully explained the difficult points or sections. In these sessions, they also endeavored to answer the questions and solve the difficulties and problems which the students had encountered in their self-study during the week.

The Chiaotso station also carefully supervised the students. After the weekly class instruction, the teachers always checked to see whether the students had spent time in private study and had done the required exercises. Time was spent in supervision and guidance to make sure the students had completed their assignments. Teachers were also available at definite times and places during the week to give guidance both individually and collectively to those who needed help.

The Chiaotso correspondence station was set up to give class instruction to correspondence students and to organize the management of correspondence work so as to make a success of correspondence education. Relevant departments and units were called on to assist in the development of correspondence stations to fulfill these functions.

The first group of students to graduate from the Chiaotso correspondence station of the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College completed 24 courses in the specialty of mining. From the experiences of this class at the Chiaotso station, certain conclusions were drawn and recommendations made pertaining to its success. Both private study and direct class instruction and guidance were considered important in making it a success. The role of private study was held important because it helped the students to develop the proper attitude toward study, to exert themselves in study, and to persist until the completion of their studies. Private study by itself was not considered sufficient and thus needed to be accompanied by supervision, guidance, and a limited amount of concentrated class instruction if correspondence education were to succeed. The station was set up by the relevant departments and units of Peking Mining College to supervise and direct correspondence students in both

private study and direct class instruction.

For students who had missed private study or class sessions because of their work schedule, the station established a system of make-up regulations and methods. It also adhered closely to the regulations of the Correspondence Department in requiring every student to complete all the "test exercises" in each subject on schedule before he be allowed to take the final examinations in those subjects. As a result of the enforcement of this regulation, a large percentage of students achieved high test results in the final examinations, and the promotion rate of those students was relatively high.

The ideological education of correspondence students also received a great deal of attention by the Chiaotso station. This was accomplished in various ways. For example, leading cadres in the Chiaotso Mining Bureau were invited to deliver special reports at the beginning and end of each school term. Also, the cadres and teachers continually checked on the ideological condition of the students and reported it to the leadership of the units sponsoring the students so that they could be "helped" with any ideological problems.

An article in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao for December 18, 1961, pointed out three major advantages of the correspondence station in imparting higher education by correspondence. These conclusions were based on the work experiences of the Chiaotso station and other correspondence stations set up in the Ministry of Coal Industry. The first advantage mentioned was that the quality of higher education could be guaranteed through the correspondence stations. The reason for this was that the stations maintained a staff of full-time and part-time teachers who were not only aware of the special characteristics of production in their own local enterprises but were also able to give instruction, supervision, and guidance to the correspondence students. This helped to solve the students' difficulties

²⁹Wang Ping-jung, loc. cit., pp. 19-20.

and keep them from dropping out, It also made possible the maintenance of a high quality level of education.

The second advantage claimed was that the stations made it possible for the relevant departments of the different enterprises to exercise more direct supervision and control over students taking higher correspondence education. Since the station carried out the teaching plan laid down by the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College and arranged time with the enterprise and school for study, the students were able to persist in their education.

A third advantage given was that a more thorough ideological education was able to be achieved by students through the stations. These stations helped the students in higher education both to adopt correct study attitudes and to establish good study habits which were regarded as indispensable for the success of higher correspondence education. The correspondence stations under the Party committees at different levels were able through ideological education to at least partially achieve these ultimate goals as well as to make them "Red and expert"--ideologically correct and vocationally competent.

The Kuang-ming Jih-pao predicted in this December 18, 1961, article that the station, "as a form of schooling," would plan an important role in guaranteeing both the future quality and the further future development of spare-time higher correspondence education. The article also urged that whenever possible, the Correspondence Department of the Peking Mining College should actively endeavor to enlist different departments in the mining industry to set up stations in other places where there were more students.

This recommendation was apparently widely implemented for an official NCNA report for February 28, 1962, indicated that by that time thirty "branch schools" (evidently another name for correspondence stations) had been set up by the Correspondence College (or Department) affiliated with the Peking Mining College in the major coal mining centers throughout

China.³⁰

In mid-1964, after 8 years of higher correspondence education in the coal mining industry, there were more than 4,000 students enrolled in these courses and almost 400 who had graduated from college by correspondence. At that time there were 185 full-time correspondence course teachers in the coal mining industry's higher education program and over 300 on a part-time basis.

The spare-time higher correspondence education sponsored by a ministry, industry, or enterprise separate from the Ministry of Education has been considered in this section; and the system of spare-time higher correspondence education developed by the Ministry of Coal Industry has been carefully examined. The patterns of higher correspondence education sponsored by other ministries, industries, or enterprises developed on similar lines and had many of the same characteristics as that developed by the coal mining industry. In the next section, consideration will be given to the type of spare-time higher correspondence education sponsored by scientific and technical societies, associations, and institutions.

IV. HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION SPONSORED BY SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL SOCIETIES, ASSOCIATIONS, AND INSTITUTIONS

Correspondence colleges were also sponsored by various scientific and technical societies, associations, and institutions throughout China in the period of rapid development in education during and immediately following the Great Leap Forward. That there were many such institutions of higher education widely distributed throughout China is indicated by an official NCNA dispatch from Peking for March 14, 1960, which stated that correspondence colleges--along with spare-time technical schools, training classes, short-term courses, and other forms of spare-time workers' education--were among the 310,000 spare-time schools or classes set up

³⁰"Correspondence Colleges Popular in China," op. cit., p. 8.

throughout the country by scientific and technical associations during the previous year alone. This dispatch pointed out that these schools were established to provide technical training for 17 million factory and office workers in China. It indicated that these correspondence colleges sponsored by the scientific and technical societies specialized in electrical engineering, civil engineering, machine building, ship building, architecture, textiles, medicine, animal husbandry, advanced mathematics, physics, and other branches of science and pointed out that as a result of their studies in the correspondence colleges and other forms of spare-time education, many workers in varying types of jobs had been able to make outstanding technical innovations.³¹

Unfortunately, this official report did not indicate how many of the 310,000 spare-time schools and classes set up by the scientific and technical societies in 1959 and early 1960 were at the college level; nor did it give a breakdown in the number of correspondence colleges offering each specialty or the operation or names of any of these institutions. Although the writer has found descriptions of other types of spare-time colleges and universities sponsored by such societies and associations, he has been unable to find in the Chinese press an operational description of any of the correspondence colleges sponsored by the scientific and technical societies or associations. It would appear, however, that they may not have differed too greatly from the correspondence colleges sponsored independently by various ministries, industries, or other enterprises.

Scientific institutions also assisted in the development of correspondence courses and colleges to train agricultural workers for the rural areas. This is indicated, for example, in a press release from Chengtu in the publication called Szechwan Province for October 27, 1964. It stated that correspondence courses had been jointly provided by the regional educational departments and scientific institutions to meet the

³¹"Scientific Associations in China Set Up Spare-Time Workers' Schools," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 14, 1960, in SCMP No. 220 (Mar. 21, 1960), p. 11.

growing need for technicians in the rural people's communes in Szechwan Province, the leading rice producing province in the country.³² It is not clear in this dispatch whether the correspondence courses under discussion were limited to the middle school levels or whether college-level courses were also offered, but this program may well have been limited to the middle school levels. Nevertheless, it is indicative of the type of correspondence program that was evidently offered at the college level in many provinces.

An important function of the scientific and technical societies, associations, and institutions was that of compiling and publishing journals, reference material, magazines, and teaching material relating to correspondence education. These materials were used by many correspondence colleges and other institutions and greatly assisted in the development of higher correspondence education in both the urban and rural areas of the country. Materials such as these helped the correspondence colleges and other spare-time schools to integrate instruction in traditional farming methods with instruction in the modern methods of agricultural technology and science. For example, the publication known as Knowledge of Agricultural Science, which was jointly compiled by the Scientific and Technical Association of Szechwan Province and the Provincial Committee of the Young Communist League (YCL), was reported to have become one of the major teaching aids in the technical curriculum of the different spare-time schools, including the agricultural correspondence schools.³³

In the next section, other spare-time higher correspondence education relating especially to the rural areas will be considered. These

³²"Spare-time Technical Education in Rural Communes of Southwest China," NCNA, Chengtu: Oct. 27, 1964, in SCMP No. 3328 (Oct. 30, 1964), pp. 15-16.

³³See "Over 20,000 Returned Young Intellectuals in the Countryside of Szechwan Province Make the Most of Their Spare Time Studying Politics, Skills and Culture," NCNA, Chengtu: Nov. 15, 1963, in SCMP No. 3108 (Nov. 27, 1963), p. 10.

include higher correspondence education sponsored both by the correspondence departments or divisions of the agricultural colleges and by the independent correspondence universities and colleges which were geared almost exclusively to the rural areas.

V. HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION SPONSORED BY REGULAR AND INDEPENDENT INSTITUTIONS IN THE RURAL AREAS

The purpose of spare-time higher correspondence education in the rural areas, like other types of spare-time higher education in the countryside, was to enable poor and middle class peasants to be trained in technology and with socialist consciousness and culture at the advanced level. An editorial in the Peking Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien [China Youth] for January 16, 1965, stressed the importance of developing all levels of spare-time education in the rural areas properly in order that a transition might eventually be made to communism. In indicating this task, the editorial pointed to the decrease in the difference between the physical and mental labor and the improvement of the culture as two very important functions. The statement follows:

There is a still more farreaching [sic] significance in developing spare-time education activities. The ultimate goal of our revolution is the realization of communism, that is, the elimination of the three big differences--between the worker and the peasant, between town and countryside, and between mental and physical labor. Of these three differences, the one between mental and physical labor is the most important.

Developing spare-time education in the countryside with the aim of improving the cultural level of young people among poor and lower-middle peasants is precisely for the purpose of gradually reducing and wiping out the difference between mental and physical labor. Therefore, it is a vital political task to develop spare-time education in the rural areas.³⁴

³⁴"Do Your Share in Raising the Cultural Level of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants," Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien [China Youth] editorial, Peking: No. 2, Jan. 16, 1965, in Selections from China Mainland Magazines (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 459 (Mar. 8, 1965), p. 31.

This type of education in the countryside was regarded by the Communist regime as an important link in the complete spare-time educational system in the rural areas and an effective means of advancing college-level education for rural people.

After the Great Leap Forward, considerable emphasis was placed on setting up specialized correspondence courses through correspondence departments (divisions) in the agricultural colleges and other institutions of higher education. Most of the correspondence departments (divisions) set up in the agricultural colleges were sponsored by them but were under the Ministry of Agriculture.³⁵ Other correspondence courses, departments (divisions), and colleges were sponsored by and attached to institutions of higher education which were directly related to the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Higher Education. Many independently operated correspondence colleges and universities were also set up under the sponsorship of various bureaus, provinces, municipalities, or other regional auspices but were jointly administered by the Party and the regional education departments. These were, however, separate from the regular institutions of higher education.

Consideration will now be given to the higher correspondence programs developed in the rural areas by the correspondence departments of several full-time agricultural colleges as well as to those established by two independently operated correspondence universities. Following this, some of the evaluations, recommendations, and plans formulated by the Ministry of Higher Education in late 1965 at the National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence will be examined.

Higher correspondence education for rural areas sponsored by full-time agricultural colleges. Spare-time higher correspondence education for the rural areas was stressed by the regime from 1960 to the beginning

³⁵ See, for example, "China Holds National Conference on Agricultural Education," NCNA, Peking: Aug. 24, 1965, in SCMP No. 3527 (Aug. 27, 1965), p. 17.

of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. As a result, many of the agricultural colleges under the Ministry of Agriculture offered extensive correspondence courses embracing both regular and special courses. These programs were often similar in organization and sponsorship but differed greatly in matters pertaining to local production needs. Several such programs will now be briefly considered. They are typical of similar higher correspondence programs conducted in many other agricultural colleges as well as in some of the correspondence departments (divisions) in other regular institutions of higher education.

The Kirin Agricultural University in Northeast China first began offering correspondence courses in the fall of 1960. An article in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao for March 9, 1962, stated that the four specialized courses of agricultural science, animal husbandry, soil chemistry, and veterinary science were being offered at that time. Most of the 400 students taking correspondence courses in these four specialties were teachers of agricultural middle schools or technicians and cadres in provincial or hsien (county) agricultural departments. Due to the fact that most of the correspondence students lived widely apart, studied only during their spare time, and were usually inferior in educational background to the regular full-time students, the correspondence lessons were given by various arrangements. Some students took two or three correspondence courses at the same time while others took only one course. The university selected 13 teachers and 5 cadres to oversee its correspondence education program.³⁶

Kirin Agricultural University employed the two important methods of giving supplementary lessons and direct instruction to the students in its correspondence courses. During the busy agricultural production seasons of spring plowing, summer hoeing, and fall harvesting, teachers were sent out to supplementary instruction centers in Ch'angch'un,

³⁶"Kirin Agricultural University Continuously Improves Correspondence Course," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Mar. 9, 1962, in SCMP No. 2711 (Apr. 3, 1962), pp. 16-17.

Paich'eng, Ssup'ing, and T'unghua to give supplementary lessons to correspondence students and to help solve definite problems in production as well as academic studies. Notes giving helpful information on current agricultural production were printed and distributed to the students. This practice was reported to have enabled the correspondence course students "... to learn what they can apply immediately and thus to combine learning with application."³⁷ In the slack winter season when the correspondence students were busy, the Kirin Agricultural University assembled some of the correspondence students--90, or about one-fourth of those enrolled in correspondence courses in the 1961-62 school year--during the winter vacation for direct instruction at the university. Experienced teachers were asked to teach this group of students and to show them how to perform experiments with the laboratory apparatus of the university.³⁸

The South China Agricultural College at the other extreme of the country began offering correspondence education in 1957 in order to assist agricultural cadres in raising both their scientific and cultural knowledge.³⁹ Its first graduating class, consisting of 99 students who had completed the necessary regular collegiate and specialized courses by correspondence, finished in 1962. It was reported that the results of the final examination given to the correspondence graduates from the regular collegiate courses were almost equivalent to the standard of the graduates from the regular collegiate courses in the full-time colleges. The college, in the summer of 1957, first set up two special courses in agronomy and agricultural economics. After experimenting with this program for three years, it then gradually added other special courses and

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ This section on the South China Agricultural College is based on "South China Agricultural College Helps Agricultural Cadres on Active Duty to Raise Their Scientific and Technical Knowledge by Means of Correspondence Education," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Nov. 15, 1962, in SCMP No. 2874 (Dec. 6, 1962), p. 8.

individual subjects to its correspondence program. In the fall of 1962, it offered the four special courses of agronomy, agricultural economics, animal husbandry, and fruit trees and vegetables. At that time there were over 550 correspondence students enrolled in the South China Agricultural College.

The Central China Agricultural College in Wuhan initiated its correspondence courses in 1960. In order to conduct correspondence teaching, this college set up special organizations for teaching through correspondence and held the full-time cadres and teachers responsible for these organizations. It offered the regular courses of agronomy and fruit trees and vegetables and the specialties of veterinary science and live-stock breeding. Intensive instruction was given to the students in person once or twice a year by teachers who traveled from one administrative district and hsien to another to give instruction and guidance. Special attention was devoted to giving guidance to students in their private study. The college compiled a complete guide for private study in each course. This guide dealt in detail with such matters as the proper method of study and the contents of study. Supplementary textbooks were also compiled by the regular teachers and included material on important productive and technical problems as well as information on the new scientific and technical problems as well as information on the new scientific and technical achievements for each subject. These were then issued as reference material for the students' study.⁴⁰

The correspondence department of Anhwei Agricultural College in Hofei offered in the spring of 1962 the two major courses of agriculture and veterinary medicine and the five specialties of seed selection, crop cultivation, plant protection, veterinary medicine, and sericulture. A large majority of its 600 students were cadres and "young intellectuals" who were either engaged in scientific and technical work in the fields

⁴⁰"Central China Agricultural College Earnestly Conducts Education Through Correspondence," NCNA, Wuhan, Jan. 13, 1963, and published in Jen-min-Jih-pao, Peking: Jan. 13, 1963, in SCMP No. 2908 (Jan. 30, 1963), pp. 13-14.

or in directing farm production; a few were teachers from various types of agricultural schools.⁴¹

Spare-time higher correspondence education was also offered in many other agricultural colleges with specialties in various agricultural subjects. A change, however, was made in the latter half of 1964 and the first half of 1965 when many of the agricultural colleges were converted from the full-time system to the new half-work and half-study system of combining farm work and study. An official NCNA report from Peking for August 24, 1965, indicated that more than half of the agricultural colleges had introduced in varying degrees the new farm-study system.⁴² Since this report also indicated that the Ministry of Agriculture had decided that all new agricultural colleges should be located in rural areas and that new as well as old agricultural colleges should develop both correspondence courses and evening schools, it would appear that great emphasis will continue to be placed by the Ministry of Agriculture on both spare-time higher correspondence education and spare-time evening education for some time to come.

This trend was reemphasized in a national conference on higher correspondence education held in Nanking in late 1965 which decided to place greater stress on the further development of higher correspondence education through not only the correspondence departments (divisions) of agricultural colleges and other full-time institutions of higher education but also through independently operated correspondence universities and colleges.

Higher correspondence education for rural areas sponsored by independent correspondence colleges and universities. In addition to the correspondence courses and departments (divisions) attached to and sponsored

⁴¹"Correspondence Department of Anhwei Agricultural Department of Anhwei Agricultural College Continues to Improve Teaching," Jen-min Jih pao, Peking: May 12, 1962, in SCMP No. 2749 (May 31, 1962), pp. 22-23.

⁴²"China Holds Conference on Agricultural Education," op. cit., p. 17.

by agricultural colleges and the full-time institutions of higher learning, there were also many separate correspondence colleges and universities which were run independently of the full-time institutions. These independent agricultural correspondence colleges and universities were set up by education departments, provinces, municipalities, and other auspices. Three typical institutions of this type were the Peking Correspondence University of Agriculture,⁴³ the Hupeh Provincial Correspondence College, and the Kiangsu Correspondence University. The first two mentioned were set up in 1962 and the other one in 1964.

The Hupeh Provincial Correspondence College (known also as the Correspondence College of Hupeh Province) was established in October, 1962, with 4,100 students enrolled in its three specialties of agronomy, accounting (including agricultural and industrial accounting), and Chinese language and literature.⁴⁴ During its first three years of operation, this correspondence college gradually reoriented its program towards the countryside and accepted a greater proportion of rural students in its enrollment. For example, when the college was founded in 1962, the rural students represented only 22 percent of the total enrollment; however, the proportion of rural students had increased to 53 percent in 1964 and to 64 percent in 1965. These rural students represented many segments of agricultural production. Over 1,100 were rural educated youth, rural basic-level cadres, teachers in the farming-study middle schools, and peasant technical personnel.

⁴³The Peking Correspondence University of Agriculture was previously discussed on p. 109. See also, "Peking Correspondence University of Agriculture Opens," NCNA, Dec. 30, 1965, in SCMP No. 3615 (Dec. 30, 1965), pp. 21-22.

⁴⁴This section on the Hupeh Provincial Correspondence College is based on two articles: "Hupeh Provincial Correspondence College Gradually Extends Education to the Countryside," NCNA, Wuhan: Jan. 12, 1966, in SCMP No. 3624 (Jan. 12, 1966), pp. 11-12; and "Let Higher Correspondence Education Extend to Rural Basic Levels--Hupeh Correspondence College Gears Pedagogic Reform to Rural Needs," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Dec. 4, 1965, in SCMP No. 3600 (Dec. 17, 1965), pp. 12-14.

The Hupeh Provincial Correspondence College adopted a flexible combination system of both long-term and short-term classes in line with the conditions and needs of the rural students enrolled. The students were permitted to finish their studies by stages, take only a single course, or continuously study in only one specialty. An NCNA report stated that since many students in the rural areas were not qualified for higher correspondence education, the college had also been since 1964 running special preparatory classes and short-term classes on the intermediate technical school level to qualify more middle school students for college-level correspondence courses. This measure was adopted to take care of both the current and the long range needs of the countryside.

Since rural students engaged in higher correspondence education only in their spare-time, they studied mainly what could be applied immediately. In developing higher correspondence education for rural areas, neither the operation of the full-time schools in the rural areas nor urban programs could be copied in their entirety. Such factors as the low educational level of the rural students in general, their difficulty in private study by themselves, the scattered population in rural areas, the fairly low economic conditions, and the seasonal character of agricultural production had to be taken into consideration.

The college made a number of reforms and innovations in the content and method of teaching in accordance with the characteristics of higher correspondence education, the realities of the countryside, and the practical needs of agricultural production. In emphasizing the practical needs of the rural areas, the different specialties were simplified by cutting out unnecessary content so that only that knowledge which was of direct use to agricultural work and production could be included. For example, certain contents of the specialty of Chinese language and literature were deleted and such subjects as investigating reports, the studying of "summing-up reports," and selections in modern literature pertaining to news dispatches--all of which pertained to practical needs and production--were added. The five original subjects comprising the specialty of agronomy centering on crop cultivation were also revised to be in line

with the "eight-point charter" for agriculture and combined into three, and the teaching materials were reduced by 50 percent. The revised materials in the specialty of agronomy helped students to link theory with practice and to solve practical problems.

The "mass line" method of teaching was stressed in the Hupeh Provincial Correspondence College during the face-to-face instruction and the concentrated supplemental instruction periods. The "mass line" method of teaching as applied to the specialty of agronomy, for example, pertained to inviting various representatives of "the masses" or "the people" to talk during the personal instruction periods. Selected basic-level cadres were invited to talk on politics, technical cadres to speak on special subjects, teachers to discuss fundamental knowledge and theory, old peasants to tell personal experiences, and students to exchange personal production experiences--all relating to the specialty of agronomy. This mass line method of teaching was widely used in many specialties and courses in the independent correspondence colleges.

The Kiangsu Correspondence University, another good example of an independently operated correspondence university, was established in the spring of 1964 by the Kiangsu Provincial Education Department under the leadership of the CCP Kiangsu Provincial Committee and the Provincial People's Council.⁴⁵ It was founded to train teachers of agricultural middle schools, cadres from production teams and communes, and educated youths who had either returned to or had come from the cities in recent years. It offered the two specialties of agronomy and animal husbandry to more than 12,000 students yearly. These students were mainly from 17

⁴⁵This section on the Kiangsu Correspondence University is based on the following articles: "Kiangsu Correspondence University Established," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: June 21, 1964, in SCMP No. 3256 (July 13, 1964), pp. 16-18; Kiangsu Correspondence Academy, "Rely on the Masses and Develop Higher Correspondence Education in Rural Areas," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Dec. 8, 1965, in SCMP No. 3605 (Dec. 28, 1965), pp. 7-11; and "Kiangsu Correspondence University Turns to the Countryside," NCNA, Nanking: Dec. 10, 1965, in SCMP No. 3599 (Dec. 16, 1965), pp. 9-10.

hsien and 21 state operated farms and were graduates of senior middle schools or their equivalent.

This correspondence university was organized into three sections--the registration section, the teaching section, and the communication (correspondence) section. It also had two teaching rooms--one for the specialty of agronomy and one for animal husbandry.

The university also set up 38 personal teaching or tutorial centers in important hsien and state farms where the students were concentrated in considerable numbers. In addition to a staff of 94, including 73 teachers in the main school, the correspondence university appointed 1,200 part-time workers of which 400 were part-time teachers, to assist in the 38 personal teaching or tutorial centers. Most of the 400 part-time teachers were agricultural technicians from the various departments who had had experience in both production and teaching. These part-time teachers spent about two days every month teaching groups of students in person and helping the students conduct their scientific experiments so that they would learn to combine study with production and theory with practice.

The Kiangsu Correspondence University carefully selected and trained its own staff of teachers on the principle of requiring its teachers " . . . to be capable of explaining lessons on the platform, doing practical work on the spot, compiling texts by their own effort, and carrying out ideological work among students."⁴⁶ The university stressed certain points when educating its new teachers. It stressed that new teachers should understand the characteristics and importance of higher correspondence education in the rural areas and that they should eliminate "the wrong ideas" that education by correspondence is irregular and inferior. The university also sought to instill in its new teachers a sense of responsibility and confidence in their work. Most of the new teachers in this independent university had had experience teaching in.

⁴⁶"Kiangsu Correspondence University Turns to the Countryside," op. cit., p. 10.

the full-time colleges and universities but needed to master the characteristics of teaching by correspondence. This was done by organizing the new teachers to study the pertinent instructions and documents and participate in practical study and investigations on the farms and in the hsien so that they might know some of the definite problems of higher correspondence education. In order to be sure that the textbooks would fit the local conditions and the characteristics of correspondence teaching, the teachers were taught to compile textbooks which would take into account the production conditions within the various areas of Kiangsu.

The university had not only organized its correspondence teachers to study the works of Mao Tse-tung and learn from and follow models in the People's Liberation Army but also to go to the rural areas and take part in the Socialist Education Movement by participating in agricultural production in order that they might experience an ideological revolution.

In late 1965, the Kiangsu Correspondence University enforced what was known as the "three third" system for teachers. According to this plan, one-third of the teachers remained at the university to conduct regular teaching and write textbooks, another third traveled from one village to another so as to give personal tutoring, and the remaining third of the teachers went to stay at specific places in the rural areas. These "specific" places mentioned in the report were evidently the 38 teaching stations or tutorial centers in the 17 hsien and 21 state operated farms. This intensive personal instruction and guidance was carried on before and after the busy farming season, but the report does not indicate how often the teachers rotated in this system.⁴⁷

A second method of teaching and guidance carried on by this institution was, as might be expected, by means of correspondence through the communication (correspondence) section of the university. The students' questions were promptly answered by means of correspondence. The university also published various reading and reference materials, including

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

the Kiangsu Correspondence University Bulletin, for guiding the correspondence students in their private study. In the regular teaching conducted in the teaching section at the university other methods such as holding classroom lectures, doing field work, making on-the-spot visits, and holding small group discussions were also employed.

Not only were the teaching methods and materials adapted to the agricultural production requirements and to the actual situation in the countryside, but the academic system and curriculum at the Kiangsu Correspondence University were developed on the same basis. The full course length of study for the two specialties of agronomy and animal husbandry was five years but was divided into three stages on a "1-2-2" system. This system allowed for great flexibility and students were allowed a measure of choice. During the first year, the students attended classes in specialized subjects and learned how to apply techniques in practical situations; in the second stage period of two years they studied the specialty they had selected; and in their final two years, they continued to study courses in their specialty with emphasis on the needs of current production.

The courses in the specialties included a number of basic practical courses so that the youths from urban areas would be able to learn and apply their knowledge at the same time. For example, the "basic knowledge of agronomy" course, which was included in the specialty of agronomy, included the special basic knowledge of seed selection, soil, fertilizer, techniques for cultivating various crops, and plant protection. In the second specialty of animal husbandry, another course called the "basic knowledge of animal husbandry" was offered. It included the propagation and feeding of domestic animals and the management, feeding, and care of domestic animals and fowls. These courses in basic knowledge were compulsory subjects. They were offered under the principle of "learning what is to be done" as it pertained to the local production requirements in the rural areas.

Many similar higher correspondence education programs were offered by independently sponsored correspondence colleges and universities which

were geared primarily to the rural areas. They, together with the higher correspondence sponsored by the correspondence departments (divisions) of the agricultural colleges and other institutions of higher learning, provided both the base and the means for greatly expanding higher correspondence education in the rural areas as well as in the cities.

Plans for the expansion of higher correspondence education throughout China--but especially the rural areas--were formulated and discussed in a national conference conducted in Nanking in late 1965 by the Ministry of Higher Education. Since the growth and future development of spare-time higher correspondence education in the rural areas depended largely on the independent correspondence universities and the correspondence departments (divisions) attached to the higher institutions of learning, some of the major points discussed at this national conference on higher correspondence education were very important and will now be mentioned.

The growth and future development of spare-time higher correspondence education in the rural areas. The National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence was conducted in Nanking in late 1965 to promote and lay plans for the further development of spare-time higher correspondence education throughout the country.⁴⁸ It also reviewed the success of higher correspondence education up to that time. This conference revealed that spare-time higher education by correspondence had made tremendous progress throughout China in recent years.

According to incomplete statistics from early 1965, there were at that time more than 1,000 spare-time institutions of higher learning in the country and over 430,000 students enrolled in these institutions. Included in this number were 126 correspondence universities, colleges,

⁴⁸This section is based on "Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," op. cit., pp. 6-8; and "Turn the Main Attention to Rural Areas, Actively Develop Higher Correspondence Education," Kuang-ming Jih-pao editorial, Peking: Dec. 8, 1965, in SCMP No. 3605 (Dec. 28, 1965), pp. 12-15.

or departments (divisions) which had more than 149,000 students enrolled. The important role of higher correspondence education in spare-time higher education may be seen from the fact that though the number of spare-time correspondence universities, colleges, and departments (divisions) made up less than 13 percent of the total number of spare-time institutions of higher learning, they still accounted for 34 percent of the total enrollment in those institutions in 1965.⁴⁹ In about eight years time, the number of spare-time institutions had grown from 180 in 1957 to more than 1,000 in 1965 while the number of correspondence schools or departments (divisions) of higher learning had increased from 56 in 1957 to 126 in 1965.⁵⁰ During this same eight-year period, the total enrollment in the spare-time institutions had increased from 90,000 in 1957⁵¹ to more than 430,000 in 1965. Unfortunately, the breakdown in enrollment on how many of the 90,000 students were taking higher correspondence education in 1957 was not given so it is not possible to compare that number with the 149,000 enrolled in higher correspondence courses in 1965.

The National Conference concluded that active development of spare-time higher education by correspondence had both a practical and a far-reaching significance. It urged that as spare-time higher education and higher education by correspondence were developed in the future special attention should be given to developing spare-time education in the countryside. The conference pointed out that higher education by correspondence had many advantages over other types of spare-time higher education: it was a more flexible system, required a smaller number of teachers, and cost much less than the other types of spare-time higher education; also, correspondence education did not need special classrooms, dormitories, or

⁴⁹"Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," op. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁰See "China Sets Up 180 Sparetime Institutions of Higher Education to Train Technical Personnel for [the] Working Class," op. cit., p. 15.

⁵¹Ibid.

laboring centers and did not require a supply of commodity grain for its students. The students could likewise take part in production while they studied, thus combining learning with application.

The conference concluded that higher correspondence education must be further developed in both the urban and the rural areas and that it must produce "greater, faster, better and more economical results." In order to meet the demands of the rural students, teachers, and cadres, plans would have to be laid to gradually develop courses of study which would meet the needs of the rural areas. Such courses should include agronomy, animal husbandry, veterinary science, medicine, public health, water conservation, architecture, and civil, mechanical, and electrical engineering.

The conference also indicated that the only correct guideline for operating spare-time higher correspondence education was the thought of Mao Tse-tung. His thought was to be the guide for implementing the principle of "combining education with production, making unified arrangements, and running schools in a manner suited to local conditions and in diversified ways" and properly developing spare-time higher correspondence education. The actual conditions in the various localities must be taken into consideration as well as the requirements of production and study.

In planning for the future expansion of spare-time and correspondence education, the conference laid down certain recommendations. For example, the content of teaching should be closely related to production, there should not be too many courses, and the duration of the courses should not be too long. With regard to the teaching method for future correspondence teaching, the emphasis should be on self-study, group teaching in person should be minimized, more attention should be paid to the word "correspondence" in this type of education, more stress should be placed on guidance in writing, and the local teaching force should assume a greater role in higher correspondence education. Greater diversity was to be followed by developing different types of correspondence schools in the individual areas.

Schools in the future should be free to operate either single-departmental or multi-departmental correspondence colleges; offer only one correspondence course or several specialized courses, and confine their classes exclusively to university level classes or expand their offerings to include both university classes and coordinated intermediate technical classes. While emphasis should be placed on developing spare-time higher education and higher correspondence education in the rural areas, plans should also be made for its continued expansion in the urban areas throughout the country as well. In the future, the conference concluded, higher correspondence education must be carried on by both the independent correspondence universities and the correspondence departments (divisions) in other institutions of higher learning. In stressing this point, the national conference laid down the following recommendation and plan:

Correspondence institutions and schools which are run independently and correspondence departments of full-time schools of higher education must divide the work between them and coordinate their work in regard to the setting up of specialties, recruitment, and the areas where recruitment is to be carried out, so as to have a rational geographical distribution of students.⁵²

The focus of attention in this chapter has been on spare-time higher correspondence education, the third major form of spare-time higher education. Consideration has been given to several representative types of spare-time higher correspondence education based on sponsorship. The types studied included higher correspondence institutions sponsored by the institutions of higher education, those directly under the Ministry of Education, those sponsored by another ministry such as the Ministry of Coal Industry, and those set up by the scientific and technical societies, associations, and institutions as well as independently sponsored correspondence universities and correspondence departments (divisions) attached to institutions of higher education, both of which were geared

⁵²"Turn the Main Attention to Rural Areas, Actively Develop Higher Correspondence Education," op. cit., p. 14.

almost entirely to the needs of the rural areas. The future plans for spare-time higher correspondence education have been briefly outlined.

In the next chapter, three special types of spare-time higher correspondence education will be examined. These three--the radio university, the television university, and the combined radio-television university--were actually special types of correspondence education since the main form of instruction was by correspondence and the special media secondary. They are presented to reveal the further diversity of this form of spare-time higher education.

CHAPTER VIII

SPECIAL COOPERATIVE TYPES OF SPARE-TIME HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE INSTITUTIONS JOINTLY SPONSORED BY VARIOUS ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS

Spare-time higher correspondence education together with the other two main forms of spare-time higher education--evening universities attached to institutions of higher education and separate spare-time colleges and universities sponsored by independent enterprises--have made extensive use of cooperative or joint types of sponsorship and have also employed the special means of radio and television to vastly extend this form of spare-time higher education in Communist China. The resultant types have often been quite diverse and complex in structure and arrangement. Some of these institutions, for example, were jointly sponsored by up to a half dozen different bureaus, municipalities, enterprises, and institutions on a cooperative basis and in addition to the method of correspondence education made special use of either radio or television--or both--in varying degrees to teach the regular university courses.

Some of the cooperative types of jointly sponsored spare-time institutions of higher education came to be called "radio (or 'broadcasting') universities," "television universities," and combined "radio and television universities" in Communist China.¹ A number of the radio or broadcasting universities, including for example, the Tientsin Broadcast Correspondence College, were founded in the Great Leap Forward of 1958, but it was not until the spring of 1960 that the television universities and the combined radio-television universities made their debut. The first such television university was opened in the capital city of Peking in March, 1960, and the second one in Shanghai the following month. By early May of that same year, combined radio-television university with both broadcasting and television sections had been set up in the large

¹"China's Popular Radio and Television Universities," New China News Agency [hereafter cited as NCNA], May 3, 1960, in Survey of China Mainland Press [hereafter cited as SCMP], No. 2257 (May 13, 1960), p. 8.

cities of Shenyang and Harbin in Northeast China.² Additional television or combined radio-television universities were established soon after in a number of larger industrial cities throughout China. Radio universities were also inaugurated during this time of rapid expansion in all forms of spare-time higher education.

Correspondence education played a prominent role in all three of these special cooperative types of spare-time higher education. In fact, correspondence education was usually the primary means of instruction and the radio and television media secondary. This was brought out in an official New China News Agency (NCNA) dispatch from Peking for May 3, 1960, when it noted that "the audio and visual methods used in these [radio and television] courses supplement the correspondence material supplied to the students."³ The homework and tests for these radio and correspondence courses were also stated to have been assigned by correspondence.⁴

The students enrolled in these radio and television universities were made up of teachers, workers, government functionaries (cadres), peasants, members of urban people's communes, and officers and enlisted men of the People's Liberation Army. They spent from three to six hours every week either listening to lectures by radio or watching presentations on television in special groups at particular places and times.⁵ When the radio (broadcasting) and television universities were first inaugurated, regular college-level courses were offered as well as college preparatory courses.

Since the special cooperative types of spare-time higher

²Ibid.

³Ibid

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

correspondence education jointly sponsored by different bureaus, municipalities, organizations, and enterprises became very popular in the early 1960's and constituted an important aspect of higher correspondence education, three types of this form of jointly sponsored spare-time correspondence education will be examined in this chapter: (1) the radio (broadcasting) universities; (2) the television universities; and (3) the combined radio-television universities.

I. JOINTLY SPONSORED RADIO OR BROADCASTING UNIVERSITIES

The radio (broadcasting) universities could not, of course, be extensively developed throughout the country until a radio broadcasting network had been basically established in the different areas of China. Brief consideration will, therefore, be given in this section to the development of radio broadcasting in Communist China and its use in education. Following this, the programs of several radio (broadcasting) colleges and universities will be examined, and some of the characteristics of this special type of spare-time higher correspondence education will be pointed out along with the different curriculum emphases of several institutions.

The development of radio broadcasting in Communist China (1945-65). The Chinese People's Broadcasting Service had its beginning with the setting up of Yen-an New China Radio Station, which began operating on September 5, 1945, four years before the complete occupation of Mainland China by the Communists.⁶ By the time the Party had come into power in 1949, it had already established 49 radio stations, with 39 stations being established in that year alone.⁷ During the first half dozen years the

⁶See "Anniversary of Yen-an Radio Station Marked in Peking," NCNA, Peking: Sept. 6, 1965, in SCMP No. 3535 (Sept. 13, 1965), p. 17; and Chinese Leaders Write on Anniversary of People's Broadcasting Service," NCNA, Peking: Dec. 8, 1965, in SCMP No. 3596 (Dec. 13, 1965), p. 20.

⁷Hugh Howse, "The Use of Radio in China," The China Quarterly, No. 2, (April-June, 1960), p. 60.

regime was in power, its radio coverage was greatly extended by building many additional stations and by setting up radio networks wherever possible.⁸

Early in 1956, the Central Committee (CC) of the Party promulgated what later was adopted as the 1956-67 National Agricultural Development Program. The Party's 12-year plan was aimed primarily at extending the broadcasting network to rural areas to enable the cooperatives to listen to radio broadcasts. The Party's aim was brought out clearly in the following Article 30 of the Plan:

Starting from 1956 we shall in the next seven to twelve years, depending on local circumstances, basically extend the broadcasting network to all rural areas to enable a great majority of the cooperatives in agriculture, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry, salt production, and handicrafts to listen to broadcast programs.⁹

The development of radio (broadcasting) colleges and universities in Communist China. The expansion of this broadcasting network laid the groundwork for the future development of spare-time higher correspondence education by radio and the setting up of radio colleges and universities. Although eight-week radio courses were set up by the Ministry of Education for Chinese language teachers as early as May, 1956,¹⁰ there was apparently no widespread effort to set up radio correspondence colleges or universities until the Great Leap Forward of 1958. A number of such colleges and

⁸ See "Communist China Builds Extensive Wired-Broadcast Networks in the Countryside," Union Research Service [hereafter cited as URS] (Hong Kong: Union News Agency), Vol. 41, No. 24 (Dec. 21, 1965), p. 349.

⁹ "National Agricultural Development Program (1956-1967)," NCNA, Peking: Apr. 11, 1960, in Current Background (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 781 (Feb. 14, 1966), p. 15.

¹⁰ See "Radio Course in Standard Spoken Chinese," NCNA, Peking: May 14, 1956, in SCMP No. 1291 (May 17, 1956), p. 11.

universities were established during the next few years as the broadcasting network further blanketed China.¹¹ Great emphasis, however, was placed on their development in 1960 along with the television universities. A number of radio (broadcasting) colleges and universities were set up that year along with television and combined radio-television universities.

An official NCNA report for November 9, 1961, indicated that the extensive network of sparetime education in the iron and steel center of Anshan included radio and correspondence colleges.¹² Another report from Peking the same month indicated that seventy percent of the primary and middle school teachers in Peking had taken spare-time study during the previous two years in order to raise their professional level and that many of these teachers had studied pedagogical methods and had received scientific, literary, and historical information by means of radio and correspondence classes together with the television and other special classes.¹³

The editor of the Union Research Service in Hong Kong observed in early 1962 that it appeared that education through correspondence and over the radio was at that time ". . . going beyond the scope of spare-time

¹¹Howse, op. cit., p. 62, notes in his 1960 study of "The Use of Radio in China" (pp. 59-68) that "the Central People's Broadcasting Station's claim that radio penetrates to all parts of China [in 1960] would therefore seem to be technically substantiated, although it is unlikely that the eventual aim of bringing all within reach of the central output has yet been achieved." For a consideration of the development and extent of radio coverage in Communist China through 1965 and in three specific provinces in 1965, see the following articles: "Communist China Builds Extensive Wired-Broadcast Networks in the Countryside," op. cit., p. 350; "Rural Broadcasting Enterprise Develops Rapidly in Kwangtung," Yang-ch'eng Wan-pao, Canton: Aug. 19, 1965, in SCMP No. 3535 (Sept. 13, 1965), pp. 19-20; "Radio Rediffusion Popular in East China Province," NCNA, Foochow: Oct. 10, 1965, in SCMP No. 3596 (Dec. 13, 1965), p. 23; and "Wired Broadcast Extends to Szechwan Peasant Families," NCNA, Chengtu: Dec. 8, 1965, in SCMP No. 3596 (Dec. 13, 1965), pp. 21-22.

¹²"Anshan Steel Workers Graduate from College," NCNA, Anshan: Nov. 9, 1961, in SCMP No. 2620 (Nov. 16, 1961), p. 20.

¹³"Peking Primary and Middle School Teachers Undertake Advanced Study," NCNA, Peking: Nov. 15, 1961, in SCMP No. 2623 (Nov. 21, 1961), p. 24.

education and playing, more and more, the role of regular school education, especially that of scientific and technical schools."¹⁴ He also pointed out that though this kind of education did not have as high a quality as regular higher education, it nevertheless had the great advantage of quantity. Education through correspondence and over the radio was also found to be especially effective in training technical and scientific personnel, and, by using such methods, the regime found that it was possible to train more people in such specialized areas.¹⁵

In mid-1962, a spare-time higher education conference was held in Tientsin in order to both summarize and exchange past work experiences and plan for the future.¹⁶ These plans included the better use of spare-time higher education facilities, the addition of scientific equipment, the improvement of teaching quality, and the setting up of key spare-time higher education schools so that both the needs of production and the demands of the cadres and workers might be met. The conference concluded that the best way to assist the different spare-time higher education schools in improving the teaching quality of their work and in developing better teaching programs was to employ the radio (broadcasting) university in setting up central spare-time universities. Unfortunately, the details of how this was to be accomplished were not given in this excerpt from an article in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily] for August 11, 1962, but it was nevertheless indicative of the fact that the regime planned to further expand the role of the radio (broadcasting) university

¹⁴"Education through Correspondence and over the Radio," URS, Vol. 26, No. 4, (Jan. 12, 1962), p. 54.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶This paragraph is based on "Spare-Time Higher Education Meeting Convenes in Tientsin," Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily], Peking:, Aug. 11, 1962, p. 1, in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 16, p. 38. Translated in U. S. Joint Publications Research Service [hereafter cited as JPRS] report No. 15,527 (Oct. 2, 1962).

in the future development of spare-time higher education.

An official NCNA dispatch from Peking for September 24, 1962, pointed out that at that time extensive use was being made in China of radio and television in spare-time education and that these courses along with correspondence and evening courses were mainly for adults who could not leave their jobs to attend regular full-time education classes.¹⁷

Various types of radio (broadcasting) colleges and universities were developed in China, and these supplemented other types of spare-time higher education. For example, a radio college of arts was listed as one of the 126 spare-time colleges and technical schools existing in the Changchun network of spare-time schools and colleges which offered free spare-time education to the workers in mid-1964.¹⁸

Stress was still being placed upon the extensive use of radio and television universities throughout the country in 1965. For instance, the National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence, which convened in Nanking in late 1965, called for efforts to be made to develop spare-time education networks in both rural and urban areas which would include not only such types of spare-time higher education as correspondence universities and evening universities but also radio and television universities.¹⁹ It thus appeared that radio and television universities would continue to exercise an important role in the continuing development of spare-time higher education and higher education by correspondence.

Radio (broadcasting) universities sponsored jointly by cooperating

¹⁷"Thirteen Years of Education in New China," NCNA, Peking: Sept. 24, 1962, in SCMP No. 2828 (Sept. 28, 1962), p. 13.

¹⁸"Workers' Schools at China's Motor Industry Center," NCNA, Changchun: July 22, 1964, in SCMP No. 3266 (July 27, 1964), p. 19.

¹⁹"Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," NCNA, Nanking: Dec. 8, 1965, in SCMP No. 3599 (Dec. 16, 1965), p. 7.

enterprises and institutions. The radio (broadcasting) colleges and universities, like other types of spare-time higher education, were not only diverse in their curricula but also in the number and kinds of sponsoring enterprises and institutions. Such institutions as the Tientsin Broadcast College offered a broad spectrum of courses related to areas such as engineering and agriculture while others such as the Harbin Broadcasting Normal University gave only limited course offerings related to teacher training; others stressed other areas of training. The emphases of the course offerings frequently reflected the kinds of sponsoring institutions. The institutions described in the following paragraphs are good examples of this diversity.

The Tientsin Broadcast Correspondence College was organized in the Great Leap Forward of 1958 under the joint sponsorship of the Tientsin Municipal Education Department, three institutions of higher education, and two industrial and agricultural enterprises.²⁰ It was a spare-time college of higher learning in which the higher correspondence courses were combined with radio broadcasting and self-study with the tutorial method of instruction used in accordance with "the spirit of greater, speedier and more economical spare-time education." Although this radio (broadcasting) college had a full faculty composed of outstanding professors from various colleges in the city on a part-time basis, it had no classrooms or other facilities for its students. It was the students' responsibility to ". . . listen collectively or severally to the broadcasts and learn at their own convenience."²¹

The Tientsin Broadcast Correspondence College offered in 1960 the six courses of electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, industrial

²⁰This section on the Tientsin Broadcast Correspondence College is based on "Tientsin Broadcast College Has 11,000 Students," NCNA, Tientsin: Jan. 22, 1960, in SCMP No. 2187 (Feb. 2, 1960), pp. 17-18.

²¹Ibid., p. 17.

chemical engineering, metallurgy, Chinese language, and agriculture. In addition to the college courses, it had a senior middle school division which offered a preparatory course in engineering. With the exception of the three-year college courses in agriculture and the Chinese language, the remaining courses were of four years' duration. The Chinese language course not only included the normal classes in the curriculum but also encompassed classes for practical writing, political writing, journalistic writing, literary writing, creative writing, and revolutionary historical writing.

The student body of 11,300 in this radio correspondence college was made up of cadres from various government departments, agricultural cadres, teachers, technicians, workers, and commune members. In addition to the part-time professors from other institutions of higher learning in the city which made up the regular teaching or lecturing staff; the radio college had in 1960 more than 30 other part-time professors and lecturers as well as over 200 part-time tutors and teachers. Some of the lectures were also given by cadres from the different technical departments and leadership organizations. The faculties of the engineering and agricultural departments were not only expected to teach the basis theories in their fields but also to incorporate technical innovations with current production problems and to conduct forums to assist students in making technical innovations in both practice and research.

The study program of the Tientsin Broadcast Correspondence College was under the constant combined inspection and supervision of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Tientsin Municipal Committee, the industrial and agricultural departments, the leadership cadres, and the professors; the curriculum and future plans of the college were drafted by them. Special emphasis in instruction was placed on the union of production with reality (the actual situation), and the students were frequently asked for their suggestions on improving the college.

Radio (broadcasting) universities which stressed teacher training for primary and secondary teachers were also set up in different parts of

the country, including the racial minority areas. For example, the radio university of the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Chou in Northeast China was organized with branches in all the hsien and municipalities in the chou in order to help solve the teacher shortage for the spare-time schools in the chou.²² This radio (broadcasting) university had regular courses in Chinese, political theory, mathematics, physics, and chemistry and specialized courses in animal husbandry, agriculture, and mechanics.²³ An NCNA dispatch from Urmuchi for November 27, 1961, stated that a special department had also been established in the educational department of the autonomous region to direct the spare-time correspondence course program of teacher training and that a correspondence broadcasting teachers' training university had been set up in the fall of 1961 in the Sinkiang Nighur Antonomous Region to encourage middle and primary school teachers to take advanced work in mathematics and language by means of spare-time correspondence courses in conjunction with radio.²⁴ Thirteen nationalities were represented in this autonomous region.

The Harbin Broadcasting Normal University, another jointly sponsored type, was established in 1960 under the joint sponsorship of six different units, including the Harbin Municipal Education Bureau, the Harbin Municipal People's Broadcasting Station, the Harbin Municipal Trade Union, the Harbin Normal Institute, Heilungkiang University, and

²²Yao Hsin, "Organize Spare-Time Education on a Large Scale under the Guidance of the Educational Thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung," Min-tsu T'uan-chieh [Nationalities Unity], No. 3, Mar. 6, 1963, in Selections from China Mainland Magazines (Hong Kong: American Consulate General), No. 214 (June 20, 1960), p. 34.

²³"China's Popular Radio and Television Universities," op. cit., p. 8.

²⁴"Sparetime Correspondence Courses for Teachers in Sinkiang," NCNA, Urumchi: Nov. 27, 1961, in SCMP No. 2630 (Dec. 1, 1961), p. 24.

the Harbin University of Industries.²⁵ An NCNA dispatch from Peking for July 8, 1962, stated that the two new departments of Chinese and of Russian had been added but did not indicate what other departments this broadcasting normal university had previously established.²⁶ The course of study in the Russian Department was three years, after which a student who had completed the six Russian texts compiled by the university and had passed the graduate examination would be granted a diploma.

A flexible schedule was offered to the students taking courses in the Chinese Department. Two Chinese courses were taught every academic term, and students were able to choose to study only one course at a time or both courses simultaneously according to their desires and abilities. When a student finished studying a Chinese language course, he was given a completion of studies certificate. When a student had systematically completed all of the courses in the Chinese Department and had passed the graduation examination, he was issued a diploma.

The method of instruction for the courses in the Chinese Department of this university was one which combined the students' private or self-study of correspondence courses with the teaching of lessons by radio and the personal instruction and guidance of students.

The enrollment in this broadcasting normal university consisted of 6,000 students composed of primary and middle school teachers, "educated youths," and cadres in state offices. The lessons for each course were broadcast by the radio station every morning and evening, and the students were expected to listen to the lessons at home. This method of study provided a degree of flexibility since the students could listen to

²⁵ This section on the Harbin Broadcasting Normal University is based on "Harbin Broadcasting Normal University Sets Up Department of Russian and Department of Chinese; Over 6,000 Students in the Whole Municipality Take Part in Study," Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking: July 8, 1962, in SCMP No. 2787 (July 27, 1962), pp. 2-3.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 3.

the same broadcast lesson in the evening that was given on the radio in the morning if they had missed it or wished additional review. The university also provided an opportunity for some of the busy women in the homes and the poorer quality students to enroll. The Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] article for July 27, 1962, indicated that "this flexible and diverse method of study gives great convenience to those who are busily engaged in household affairs or not suitable for joining other spare-time study."²⁷.

The Kwangsi Broadcast and Correspondence School was established in the fall of 1960 for the in-service training of middle and primary school teachers. The school was set up under the direction of the Party Committee of the Kwangsi Chuang Nationality Antonomous Region and jointly sponsored by the Regional Education Department, the Regional Radio Broadcasting Station, Kwangsi University, and Kwangsi Normal College.²⁸ For this cooperative venture, the Kwangsi People's Radio Station built an educational radio broadcasting station, and the Regional Education Department allotted over 2,400 radio sets to all of the normal, middle and primary schools in the region so that each school could have one or more radio sets. Kwangsi University and Kwangsi Normal College assumed responsibility for assigning personnel to deliver the radio lectures and to compile teaching materials for the school.

Six courses were offered by the Kwangsi Broadcast and Correspondence School. These were Chinese language and literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, English, and Russian. The courses were divided into a total of 13 intermediate and advanced sections, and the teachers were

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ This section on the Kwangsi Broadcast and Correspondence School is based on "A Broadcast and Correspondence School for Training Teachers in Active Service Established in Kwangsi," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: May 8, 1961, in SCMP No. 2510 (June 6, 1961), pp. 16-17. This same article is reproduced under the title "Kwansi Province Runs Radio and Correspondence Courses for In-Service Teachers," in URS, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Jan. 12, 1960), pp. 55-56.

grouped into the courses and sections according to their interests, educational background, and level of competence.

Four forms of teaching methods were employed by this broadcasting and correspondence school in Kwangsi. Teaching by radio broadcasting was supplemented by correspondence courses, itinerant tutoring, and classroom teaching. Classes for each course were given twice a week, and each lecture was usually broadcast in the morning and again in the evening. The in-service teachers used teaching syllabuses similar to those employed in their regular teaching as well as the textbooks they taught from in order that they might "learn what they were teaching."

In the school's first year of operation in 1960-61, over 40,000 primary and middle school teachers--including almost all of the middle school teachers in active service in the whole region--took part in the courses offered by the school and raised the quality of their teaching.

Some of the major characteristics of several radio colleges and universities with different emphases have been examined in this section. The radio colleges or universities were, along with the television universities which shall be considered in the next section, special cooperative types of spare-time higher correspondence education sponsored by a varying number of enterprises, institutions, and/or organizations. The main form of instruction in both the radio and television universities was generally the correspondence course with the audio-visual methods secondary. Attention shall now be focused on the television university.

II. JOINTLY SPONSORED TELEVISION UNIVERSITIES

The second special cooperative type of spare-time higher correspondence institution jointly sponsored by various enterprises, institutions, and/or organizations was the television university. Free television education through the television university became popular soon after the establishment of television in Communist China's major cities. In this section, emphasis will first be given to the development of television in

China and then to the growth of television education at the higher education level. The first two institutions in Communist China to emphasize instruction by television--the Peking Television University and the Shanghai Television University--will then be considered. A study of these two institutions reveals some of the characteristics which were prevalent in this type of spare-time higher correspondence education.

The development of television in Communist China. The first experimental television station for education and scientific research was, according to an article in the Peking Jen-min Jih-pao for June 14, 1958, built by the teaching-and-research groups of the radio department of the Peking College of Posts and Tele-Communications under the guidance of Soviet experts.²⁹ This broadcasting station began test broadcasting in April, 1958, but did not begin broadcasting on a regular formal basis until September of that same year.³⁰ By September, 1960, two years after the Peking Television Station started regular broadcasting, there were 18 television stations in Communist China according to two visiting Japanese newsmen.³¹ They also reported that in 1960 there were 20,000 television sets in the whole country, 10,000 of which were in the neighborhood of Peking.³²

Television stations were also set up in a number of other major cities in China during the following year. In 1960, ten new television stations were completed, bringing the total number of stations and relay

²⁹"Our First Television Station for Education," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: June 14, 1958, in URS, Vol. 23, No. 12 (May 12, 1961), pp. 185-86.

³⁰"China Has 18 Television Stations," Ta-kung Pao, Hong Kong: Sept. 4, 1960, p. 1, in URS, Vol. 23, No. 12 (May 12, 1961), p. 189.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid, p. 190

centers all over the country to 29.³³ Sixteen of these were still in the experimental stage, but the television stations in seven cities were operating regularly at the end of 1960; the remaining six out of the total of 29 were evidently relay stations.³⁴ The television equipment used in these television stations was reported to have all been produced by China's own industries.³⁵

The development of television universities in Communist China.

Educational television developed rapidly in the seven cities of Peking, Shanghai, Harbin, Tientsin, Shenyang, Changchun, and Canton, and these all were broadcasting television programs on a regular basis by the end of 1960.³⁶ The first television university was set up in Peking in March, 1960, and one in Shanghai opened in April of that same year.³⁷ Harbin and Shenyang opened combined radio-television universities shortly after.³⁸ The Canton Television Station formally opened its station and began broadcasting on July 1, 1960, although it had been test broadcasting since October 1, 1959.³⁹ With the opening of the Canton station on July 1, the program schedule was increased from three to seven times weekly. Regular programs were telecast nightly on Tuesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays.

³³"Television Spreads in China," NCNA, Peking: Dec. 27, 1960, in SCMP No. 2410 (Jan. 5, 1961), p. 20.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷"China's Popular Radio and Television Universities," op. cit., p. 8.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹"Canton Television Station Formally Starts Operating," Wen-Hui Pao, Hong Kong: July 3, 1960, p. 3, in URS, Vol. 23, No. 12 (May 12, 1961), pp. 188-189.

and also Sunday afternoons. Wednesday and Thursday nights were reserved for the Canton Broadcasting Television University which broadcast televised lectures.⁴⁰

Other television universities, like the one in Canton, were evidently jointly planned and inaugurated along with some of the new television stations that were set up in 1960 and later. Most of these cities patterned their television universities after those that were first established in cities like Peking and Shanghai. Since the Peking Television University and the Shanghai Television University were not only prototypes of this special cooperative type of spare-time higher correspondence education but also had some of the most extensive course offerings, these two large television universities will now be examined. A few of the main characteristics of the Shanghai Television University will first be pointed out, and then the Peking Television University will be considered in detail.

The Shanghai Television University was a spare-time institution of higher learning set up in April, 1960, with a few teachers and a small quantity of equipment.⁴¹ At that time, it had only the three departments of mathematics, physics, and chemistry, each with a three-year course. A fourth department was added in Chinese literature in 1963.

The teaching staff, equipment, and classrooms of this television university in Shanghai were provided by various institutions, organizations,

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ This section on the Shanghai Television University is based on the four following articles: "'Television University' Opens in Shanghai," NCNA, Shanghai: Apr. 7, 1960, in SCMP No. 2337 (Apr. 13, 1960), p. 44; "Shanghai Gives College Courses Over Television," NCNA, Shanghai: Apr. 15, 1961, in SCMP No. 2480 (Apr. 20, 1961), pp. 18-19; "Television Universities in China Popular and Helpful," NCNA, Peking: Oct. 29, 1961, in SCMP No. 2612 (Nov. 3, 1961), p. 20; and "Experiences in Education by Television Discussed," Peking: Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Mar. 1, 1966, in Communist China Digest, No. 171, pp. 130-31; and translated in JPRS report No. 36,453 (July 13, 1966).

and enterprises. The teaching staff included noted mathematicians, professors, and teachers from such Shanghai institutions of higher education as Fudan University, East China Teachers' University, and China Chemical Engineering Institute. The student body was composed of factory workers, school teachers, shop assistants, members of the armed forces, and rural commune members. The second class was said to have been composed of students who had all passed the one-year preparatory study course offered the previous year by television. Like other spare-time education, the television courses were free of charge to the students.

The students attended television lectures three times weekly with a total of six hours a week; additional time was also required for private or self-study. Before the lectures were given over television, they were first given to student groups to get their suggestions for improvement. The Shanghai Television University compiled its own textbooks which linked theory with practice.

Graduates were reported to have been able to apply that which they had learned and to have improved the quality of their work. The first group of graduates in the three to five year regular courses numbered over 1,100 students. In the spring term of 1966, there were 5,600 students enrolled in the Shanghai Television University.

The Peking Television University was set up on March 8, 1960, under the leadership of the CCP Peking Municipal Party Committee and the joint sponsorship of the Peking Municipal Educational Bureau, the Peking Television Station, the Peking University, the Peking Normal University, and the Peking Normal College.⁴² The three sponsoring institutions of higher education assumed full responsibility for the instruction in the different

⁴²"Peking Television University Shows Its Advantages Increasingly," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Dec. 21, 1960, in SCMP No. 2455 (Mar. 14, 1961), p. 15. This same article is reproduced under the title "Peking Television University Shows Its Superiority Day by Day," in URS, Vol. 23, No. 12 (May 12, 1961), pp. 192-194.

departments and courses. They not only appointed part-time teachers for the Peking Television University from their own teaching staffs but also sent experienced teachers and administrative cadres to be concurrent heads of the various departments in the television university.

As the television university grew, experienced teachers from other institutions were obtained to assist in the television lecturing.⁴³ In mid-1962, those teaching in Peking Television University included experienced professors from Peking University, Peking Normal University, Peking Normal College, Tsinghua University, China University of Science and Technology, and Peking Industrial University.⁴⁴

The Peking Television University was established with the three departments of mathematics, physics, and chemistry and one preparatory course. Students who were senior middle school graduates or their equivalent were allowed to enroll in classes in the three departments. When they had finished the regular or proper course in one of the departments through spare-time study, they were expected to have reached the level equivalent to that of university graduates in the major subjects. Students having a deficient background were allowed to enroll in a one-year preparatory course to help them review senior middle school level mathematics, physics, and chemistry in order to prepare them either for taking future courses in the television university or for taking the entrance examinations

⁴³"Education By Means of Television and Radio Popular in Peking," NCNA, Peking: Aug. 12, 1962, in SCMP No. 2801 (Aug. 17, 1962), p. 19.

⁴⁴"Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Aug. 12, 1962, in SCMP No. 2809 (Aug. 29, 1962), p. 14. This same article is reproduced in several other sources under different titles, including the following: "Television Teaching Network in Peiping," in Translations of Political and Sociological Information on Communist China, No. 16, pp. 36-37, and translated in JPRS report No. 15,527 (Oct. 2, 1962); "Television Teaching Network in Peiping," Communist China Digest, No. 80, pp. 84-85, and translated in JPRS report No. 16,813 (1962); and "Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peiping Municipality," in Communist China Digest No. 73, pp. 36-37, and translated in JPRS report No. 15,998 (Nov. 1, 1962).

of the regular institutions of higher learning.⁴⁵

As the Peking Television University gained experience, it increased its program offerings. In the fall term of 1961, it added a fourth department in Chinese language and literature which enrolled large numbers of students, including many middle school teachers.⁴⁶ In 1965, according to an NCNA report for August 17, 1965, it added a fifth department in foreign languages, but it did not state which foreign languages were offered.⁴⁷

The students enrolled were provided with copies of the lecture texts and self-study lesson guides. The self-study lesson guides gave the main aspects of the course, an innumeration of difficult points, questions to think about, practice questions to answer, explanations to the practice questions, and recommended study methods.⁴⁸ In addition, laboratories and television facilities were provided for the students by the television university and a number of other organizations.⁴⁹ For example, it was reported in mid-1962 that 1,000 television sets had been distributed in urban and suburban districts of Peking so that students could watch the

⁴⁵This paragraph is based on the following articles: "Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," loc. cit.; and "Peking Television University Shows Its Advantages Increasingly," op. cit., pp. 15-17.

⁴⁶"Television Universities in China Popular and Helpful," op. cit., p. 20.

⁴⁷"Peking Television University Graduates over 4,000 Students," NCNA Peking: Aug. 17, 1965, in Communist China Digest, No. 162, p. 121, and translated in JPRS report No. 33,893 (1965). This same article is translated under the same title in SCMP No. 3531 (Sept. 3, 1965), p. 17.

⁴⁸"Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," op. cit., pp. 14-15.

⁴⁹"Education By Means of Television and Radio Popular in Peking," op. cit., p. 19.

television screens for the teaching lectures.⁵⁰

The chief mode of study at this television university was a private or self-study by correspondence with television teaching as a supplement.⁵¹ Half of the eight hours of study per week was in private study, and the other half of the time was spent attending television classes or lessons. The classes met twice weekly and each lesson period lasted 80 minutes. Each television lesson was broadcast an additional time on the following day for the benefit of students who had missed their classes. The television lessons also included scientific and educational films as well as scientific experiments. The homework and tests were assigned by correspondence. Post lecture notes for private study were also printed and distributed especially for students who were on special duty or taking part in labor.

In addition to private study, the students generally arranged collective study among themselves. In the collective study groups, the more advanced students acted as guides or tutors and assisted the poorer students. These guides or tutors also helped the teachers to meet the needs of the students more directly by making suggestions and passing on student criticisms.⁵²

The enrollment in this television university consisted mainly of employees from different units in the Peking area, including factories, government organizations, mines, business firms, schools, the armed forces,

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 14

⁵¹ This paragraph is based on "The Peking Television University Inaugurated," Hong Kong: Mar. 9, 1960, p. 1, in URS, Vol. 23, No. 12 (May 12, 1961), pp. 186-87; and "Peking Television University Shows Its Advantages Increasingly," op. cit., p. 16.

⁵² See "Students Welcome Peking Television University Courses," NCNA, Peking: Dec. 23, 1960, in SCMP No. 2408 (Jan. 3, 1961), p. 16.

and people's communes in the suburbs of Peking.⁵³ Although 6,000 students from more than 800 scattered units around the municipality were enrolled in the television university when it opened in March, 1960,⁵⁴ the enrollment had increased to 8,800 for the fall term of that same year.⁵⁵ By the autumn term of 1961, it had almost quadrupled its original enrollment to 23,000 regular students and 5,000 additional irregular students (auditors).⁵⁶ In the summer of 1962, 7,000 freshmen were added to the more than 27,000 students at that time;⁵⁷ this brought the total enrollment for the fall term to around 35,000.⁵⁸ The enrollment at the end of August, 1962, included more than 4,000 primary and middle school teachers from the Peking area.⁵⁹ Of the 27,000 students already enrolled in early August, 1962, 18,000 were enrolled in the Chinese Department which had

⁵³"Education By Means of Television and Radio Popular in Peking," op. cit., p. 18; and "Television Education Networks Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," op. cit., p. 14.

⁵⁴"Peking Sets up 'Television University'," NCNA, Peking: Mar. 8, 1960, in SCMP No. 2215 (Mar. 14, 1960), p. 24.

⁵⁵"Peking Television University Shows Its Superiority Day by Day," op. cit., p. 193; and "Students Welcome Peking Television University Courses," op. cit., p. 16.

⁵⁶"Peking Television University Is Given Close Attention by All Units, Enrollment of Students Is Increasing Rapidly," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Oct. 28, 1961, in SCMP No. 2617 (Nov. 13, 1961), p. 11.

⁵⁷"Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," op. cit., p. 14.

⁵⁸"Education By Means of Television and Radio Popular in Peking," op. cit., p. 18.

⁵⁹"Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," op. cit., p. 14.

been added to the television university in the fall of 1961.⁶⁰

The Peking Television University evidently limited its enrollment during the next two years as an NCNA report for September 21, 1964, stated that its enrollment at that time was only about 13,000.⁶¹ Many of the students must have been enrolled in either the preparatory one-year course or for a two-year course of study because an article in the Peking Jen-min Jih-pao for August 12, 1962, indicated that many of the 27,000 students who had been studying in the program sponsored by the television university had ". . . completed the exercise stipulated according to schedule."⁶² This article stated that over 4,000 students had completed their respective courses of study during the previous two years and that in the near future over 25,000 students would sit for graduation examination in eight subjects.⁶³ The enrollment in the spring of 1965 before the second class of 4,318 had graduated was only 12,600.⁶⁴ This was considerably larger than the first graduating class of 202 in September, 1964, when all of the graduates were in the areas of mathematics and chemistry.⁶⁵

⁶⁰"Peking Television University Sets Up Centers for Conducting Experiments in Physics and Chemistry," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Peking: Aug. 7, 1962, in SCMP No. 2808 (Aug. 28, 1962), pp. 12-13; and "Television Universities in China Popular and Helpful," op. cit., p. 20.

⁶¹"Television University of Peking Holds First Graduation Ceremony," NCNA, Peking: Sept. 21, 1964, in SCMP No. 3325 (Oct. 27, 1964), p. 16.

⁶²"Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," op. cit., p. 14.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴"Peking Television University Graduates Over 4,000 Students," NCNA, Peking: Aug. 17, 1965, in Communist China Digest, No. 162, p. 121. Translated in JPRS report No. 33,893 (1965).

⁶⁵"Television University of Peking Holds First Graduation Ceremony," op. cit., pp. 16-17.

An article in the Kuang-ming Jih-pao for December 21, 1960, pointed out three special ways in which education through television was superior to other types of spare-time higher education. First of all, this method was superior to the radio universities which provided the correspondence materials but didn't provide the visual aids of television. In education by television, the students could both see and listen to the lectures by television and also get the lecture notes by correspondence. Secondly, education through television had the advantage of saving money on equipment and teaching staff and made it possible for various units to enroll students in the television university rather than having to set up spare-time universities or evening colleges. The third advantage of televised education was in the students being able to see close-up pictures of experiments that were difficult to observe in the regular classrooms and in being able to view better production practices.⁶⁶

Over against the advantages of spare-time higher education by television, there were also expressed disadvantages and difficulties. Many problems were created by the very nature of television itself. The more prominent seemed to be the heavy enrollment of students who lived in widely scattered sections of the city, the varied nature of their occupations, and the different study-work hours of the students. Since the television university stressed the natural sciences in its television program, provision needed to be made for providing laboratory facilities for students enrolled in such courses as physics and chemistry. This was one of the major problems of the Peking Television University and may be the explanation for the enrollment decrease after 1962 and why the departments of Chinese and foreign languages, which did not require such facilities, were added.

In order to solve some of the problems of the students, the television university set up teaching centers around Peking so as to give them

⁶⁶"Peking Television University Shows Its Superiority Day by Day," op. cit., p. 193.

more direct guidance.⁶⁷ Also, the government institutions in Peking which had personnel attending televised classes were reported to have provided special classrooms with television sets and laboratories for its functionaries.⁶⁸

The characteristics of the Peking Television University were typical of the television universities located in other cities since many of them were patterned after the Peking program. Many cities, however, did not have the funds, personnel, or facilities to offer as extensive a program as the capital city of Peking. For this reason, certain large cities developed combined radio-television universities with emphasis on the radio division. In the next section, several programs of this nature shall be briefly examined.

III. JOINTLY SPONSORED RADIO-TELEVISION UNIVERSITIES

The jointly sponsored radio-television universities contained elements of both radio and television instruction in its educational program as the name implies. The two media were evidently combined for the purpose of providing a limited television instructional program in certain courses since finances, facilities, and personnel were too limited to offer a full television university program.

Two of the first combined radio and television universities which were established in Communist China were those set up in Shenyang and Harbin.⁶⁹ An official report from Peking for May 3, 1960, stated that radio and television universities had already been established in both of these cities. The radio and television university in Shenyang had a

⁶⁷"Television Universities in China Popular and Helpful," op. cit. p. 20.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹This paragraph is based on "China's Popular Radio and Television Universities," op. cit., p. 8

radio (broadcasting) section which offered courses in Chinese, Russian, political theory, and agriculture, and a television section which gave courses in mathematics and physics. The combined enrollment for both sections was 8,000 students.

The same May 3, 1960, dispatch mentioned that a similar university with a radio (broadcasting) section and a television section had been set up in Harbin, a large industrial city in Northeast China. A total of 11,000 students were enrolled in its two sections. Another brief article in the Jen-min Jih-pao for April 23, 1960, referred to a Harbin Television University and a Broadcast Normal University in Harbin with a combined enrollment of 11,000 students made up of cadres from government organs, workers from factories and other enterprises, and teachers from different schools in the Harbin municipality. This article spoke of two separate universities, one a television university and the other a radio (broadcasting) university.⁷⁰ There must, however, have been a close administrative relationship between the television and radio universities in Harbin as the Peking NCNA report for May 3, 1960, referred to above, stated ten days after the Jen-min Jih-pao article that a radio and television "university" had been set up in Harbin on a pattern similar to that of the radio and television university established in Shenyang with a radio (broadcasting) section and a television section.⁷¹ It likewise pointed out that the radio (broadcasting) section of this combined radio and television university in Harbin was mainly for the training of teachers and included the study of Chinese and foreign languages.⁷² Whether or not the Harbin radio

⁷⁰"Harbin Established Television University and Broadcast Normal University," Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking: Apr. 23, 1960, p. 5, in URS, Vol. 23, No. 12 (May 12, 1961), p. 188

⁷¹"China's Popular Radio and Television Universities," op. cit., p.8.

⁷²Ibid.

and television school was administered as two separate universities or as one university with separate radio (broadcasting) television sections, the same basic purposes were given for establishing both universities or sections and both had the same type of students enrolled.⁷³ The first purpose given for establishing both universities or sections was that of training teachers for various kinds and levels of spare-time schools established in the Harbin municipality by the different factories, enterprises, and government organs. The second purpose was that of raising the ideological, political, and technical levels of not only the cadres, technical personnel, and engineers in the government organs, factories, and other enterprises but also of the worker and peasant masses.⁷⁴ This was the general twofold purpose for which all three of these special types of cooperative institutions were founded.

The Peking Television University, although primarily a television school, either added or expanded a radio (broadcasting) section when it set up the Department of Chinese Literature in the fall of 1961.⁷⁵ Despite the fact that the Chinese Department was newly established, it had a larger enrollment during its first year of operation than any of the other three departments, according to an article in the Peking Kuang-ming Jih-pao for October 28, 1961. This article mentioned that the teaching

⁷³"Harbin Established Television University and Broadcast Normal University," op. cit., p. 188.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵The Peking People's Broadcasting Station was not listed in 1960 as one of the founding enterprises or institutions sponsoring the Peking Television University (for example, "Peking Television University Shows Its Advantages Increasingly," op. cit., p. 15), but another article in mid-1962 ("Television Education Network Taking Shape in Peking Municipality," op. cit., p. 14) listed it as one of the original 1960 sponsors. If it were one of the founding enterprises, it evidently did not assume a very important role in the television university until the fall of 1961 when the Chinese department was added and when radio began to play a very important role in this department.

in this department was conducted mainly through radio broadcasting while the teaching in the departments of mathematics, physics, and chemistry as well as the preparatory course was mainly through television. All of the courses in the different departments, whether taught primarily by radio or by television, also stressed teaching through correspondence and the giving of personal guidance and instruction.⁷⁶

Another article in the Kuang-ming Jih-pao for August 7, 1962, stated that 18,000, or two-thirds of the 27,000 enrolled at that time in the Peking Television University, were students in the Chinese Department.⁷⁷ This would seem to indicate that the Peking Television University had actually become a combined radio-television university, although this fact was seldom stressed or even mentioned. However, since it was stated that most of the teaching in the Department of Chinese Literature was conducted by radio broadcasting in 1961 and since two-thirds of the students in the university were in that department during the following year, it would seem that an effort was made at that time to make teaching by radio broadcasting an important function of the Peking Television University. It would likewise appear that by so doing, this television university was able to limit its enrollment in the other three departments of mathematics, physics, and chemistry which used the television media and thus be able to place more emphasis upon higher quality instruction in its televised teaching.

It should be noted that the emphasis of the combined radio-television university with separate sections was to divide the responsibilities of teaching the different courses. Courses in the natural sciences such as physics and chemistry were generally taught by television. Television was also usually employed as the medium of instruction for mathematics in

⁷⁶"Peking Television University Is Given Close Attention by All Units, Enrollment of Students Is Increasing Rapidly," op. cit., p. 11.

⁷⁷"Peiping Television University Sets up Student Laboratory Sites," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Aug. 7, 1962, in Communist China Digest, No. 73, p. 49, Translated in JPRS report No. 15,998 (Nov. 1, 1962).

the combined universities since utilization of television in mathematics helped overcome the difficulty of teaching by radio in the matter of presenting graphs and formulas in the different mathematics subjects.⁷⁸ In the liberal arts' courses such as Chinese language and literature and foreign languages or in other courses where the audio method was satisfactory as in agriculture, subjects were generally taught in the radio (broadcasting) section of a combined radio-television university or in a separate radio (broadcasting) college or university which specialized in these courses.

The radio (broadcasting) universities, the television universities, and the combined radio-television universities were all special cooperative types of spare-time higher education which employed correspondence courses by private or self-study as the primary form of instruction and television and/or radio as a supplementary means of instruction, varying according to the type of courses offered and the funds, facilities, and personnel available. In view of the fact that these special types of spare-time higher correspondence education were still being emphasized in late 1965 in a national planning conference for the future expansion of spare-time higher education and higher correspondence education in both rural and urban areas,⁷⁹ it would seem that these special types of higher correspondence education may also serve an important role in the future growth of spare-time higher education in Communist China in the years to come.

The nature of three special cooperative types of spare-time higher correspondence education jointly sponsored by various enterprises and institutions--the radio (broadcasting) university, the television university,

⁷⁸See, for instance, Tuan Hsueh-fu, "Congratulating the First Group Graduating from the Mathematics Department, Peking Television University," Kuang-ming Jih-pao, Sept. 22, 1964, in Communist China Digest, No. 136, pp. 65-66. Translated in JPRS report No. 27,895 (1964).

⁷⁹See "Ministry of Higher Education Calls National Conference of Higher Education by Correspondence," op. cit., p. 7.

and the combined radio-television university--had been presented in this chapter. These three special types of institutions of higher education along with the five regular types discussed in Chapter VII make up one of the three major forms of spare-time higher education--correspondence education. The other two are the regular institution sponsored type and those sponsored by independent enterprises. Reports indicate that nationally the spare-time university has had a tremendous part in making the goals of Communist education more attainable. The three special cooperative types presented in this chapter have had a re-vitalization effect on education as evidenced by their acceptance in augmenting and supplementing correspondence education.

The following summary statements should help to characterize the nature of the emphasis of these cooperative correspondence universities:

1. Course emphasis in the television and radio-television types has been on the natural sciences (physics and chemistry) and mathematics.
2. All three types of universities have assumed responsibility for an especially important role in scientific and technical offerings.
3. Engineering and agriculture for workers, cadres, and peasants have been stressed in the radio universities.
4. All three types of universities have drawn top full-time and part-time professors from the regular universities and have attracted large numbers of cadres, workers, and peasants as students.
5. Provision for flexibility in student background has been the rule through planned varied course offerings and adaptable study schedules.
6. In-service primary and secondary teacher training has been a major offering in all three types.
7. A one-year preparatory course for developing readiness of sub-standard worker-students for regular university classes is offered.
8. Special attention has been given special methods of instruction for quality especially in technical and scientific areas and quantity to enable more workers to receive advanced training in specialized areas.
9. All three types have stressed the union of theory with practice to overcome production problems, meet local needs, and provide a proper ideological outlook.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The major problem of this study was to determine the nature of spare-time higher education in general and higher correspondence education in particular. In order to do this it was first necessary to gain an understanding of some of the major developments, achievements, weaknesses, and problems of the Chinese Communist educational system out of which spare-time higher education developed. Four questions appeared pertinent to the study. These were: (1) How did spare-time higher education develop into a significant system of higher education? (2) What were the major objectives and policies of the Chinese Communist regime in developing spare-time higher education? (3) What major forms of spare-time higher education were developed? (4) What major types of higher correspondence education were developed?

I. SUMMARY

The nature of spare-time higher education in Communist China was determined largely through a study of "primary" source materials from Communist China which were mainly translations of Chinese language articles that were published for national and local consumption.

An examination of the literature revealed that though spare-time education was developed in the "liberated areas" during the 1930's and 1940's, it was not extensively employed at the higher educational level until after the occupation of the China mainland in 1949. Extensive development of spare-time education took place in the 1950's at all levels. At the higher education level, however, the number of spare-time students enrolled during that decade increased from 100 in the 1949-50 school year to 150,000 in 1958-59.

Spare-time higher education developed out of the pragmatic need of serving production and had as its major goal the preparation of "the new socialist man" who would be both "Red and expert," one not only

ideologically correct (Red) but also technically proficient (expert).

The first widespread development of spare-time colleges for workers took place in 1956 and 1957. Growth and development of spare-time higher education was greatly accentuated during the period of the Great Leap Forward (1958-60). Even greater growth occurred when the Spare-Time Education Committee was formed in early 1960 to direct, coordinate, and supervise spare-time education of all types and levels. But the committee's influence on growth was offset during the last two years of the Second Five-Year Plan (1961 and 1962) by economic reverses brought on by a combination of natural disasters, crop failures, and the failure of the Great Leap Forward. These reverses caused many college-level programs to be greatly curtailed or discontinued altogether.

In spite of these numerous difficulties and setbacks, considerable overall progress was made in the growth and development of spare-time education between the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966. The number of spare-time institutions of higher learning increased from 180 in 1957 to more than 1,000 in 1965, and the enrollment increased from less than 100,000 to more than 430,000.

The three major forms of spare-time higher education were the spare-time programs sponsored by independent enterprises, the evening courses sponsored by institutions of higher education, and higher correspondence education sponsored both by independent enterprises and colleges. Of these three major forms of spare-time higher education, higher correspondence education came to assume an increasingly important role in spare-time higher education for both the rural peasants and urban workers during the latter half of the 1950's and the first half of the 1960's because this form of spare-time higher education made it possible for larger numbers to take advanced training at less cost than the other two major forms of spare-time higher education. Though the 126 correspondence universities, colleges, and departments (divisions) made up less than 13 percent of the total number of spare-time institutions of higher learning in 1965, they accounted for one-third of the total enrollment in those institutions in that year.

The different ministries, industries, and other enterprises sponsored a great variety of types of higher correspondence education. The institutions of higher education established a large number of correspondence universities, colleges, and departments (divisions), and the Ministry of Education also set up and directly operated experimental institutions of higher correspondence education. Other ministries such as the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Coal Mining sponsored higher correspondence institutions and departments; these were situated in both the rural and industrial areas and included a variety of institutions. Other higher correspondence education was sponsored by various scientific and technical societies, associations, and institutions.

In addition to these representative types of higher correspondence education, there were also special cooperative types of spare-time higher correspondence institutions which were jointly sponsored by various enterprises and institutions. In the 1960's these were concentrated in three types of universities: the jointly sponsored radio (broadcasting) universities, television universities, and combined radio-television universities. These three types of jointly sponsored universities used correspondence as the main medium of instruction and the radio and television media as supplementary kinds of instruction. They helped to not only raise the quality of higher correspondence education but also helped to lower the cost of spare-time higher education. Since a greater number of radio and television stations and receiving sets were concentrated in the urban areas, the industrial workers and cadres ordinarily had more opportunities for these improved methods of correspondence education than their rural counterparts who depended on the extension of radio and television coverage in the countryside before they would have the same opportunities.

The following summary points indicate some of the major characteristics and highlights in the development of spare-time higher education in general and higher correspondence education in particular.

1. Spare-time higher education has been the most complex and diverse system of higher education in Communist China.
2. Spare-time higher education was established as the apex of

a system of education in which cadres, workers, and peasants, who had previously been unable to secure a college-level education, could remain on their jobs and at the same time develop their educational, political, and physical abilities to the maximum benefit of the state.

3. Spare-time higher education had the advantage over the other two major systems of full-time and part-time higher education in that the workers, cadres, and peasants were not removed from productive labor while they were receiving advanced training.

4. Spare-time higher education provided a means for at least partially meeting the increasing demands for college-level training on the part of the cadres, workers, and peasants. It thus gave the opportunity for increasing production through the further development of a reservoir of skilled manpower.

5. Spare-time higher education was closely coordinated with productive labor so as to meet the local needs and demands. This policy was fundamental in all types of spare-time higher education.

6. The objective or goal of spare-time higher education was to train "a new socialist man," one who would work with both his intellect and his hands and also have the "correct" Marxist-Leninist viewpoint.

7. One of the basic educational policies which was formulated in the pre-liberation period and which was continued through the years in connection with spare-time higher education was the policy of encouraging diversity or variety of forms in education. This policy of diversity in form was reflected in the three main classifications of education, including spare-time higher education and helped to greatly expand educational opportunity in Communist China.

8. Spare-time higher education generally offered fewer and more specialized courses than did the regular full-time colleges and universities.

9. Though significant progress has been made in spare-time higher education in Communist China, the following problems have still not been entirely resolved: (1) the inability to assure the students of time for

study; (2) the persistent shortage of qualified teachers; (3) the inferior quality of much spare-time teaching; (4) the shortage of teaching facilities, materials, and equipment; and (5) the inability to draw up satisfactory practical pedagogical plans and teaching materials to adequately meet the diverse needs of local production which the specialized courses were designed to serve.

10. Higher correspondence education provided a means for and played an important role in extending higher education to both rural and urban areas with "greater, faster, better and more economical results."

11. The characteristics of spare-time higher education by correspondence were threefold: (1) more years were spent in study than the full-time schools, though on a spare-time basis; (2) students who had a full-time job were required to spend less time in study for the advancement of learning; and (3) it was difficult for students to persist in and complete correspondence education without supervision.

12. Higher correspondence education had distinct advantages over the full-time and part-time schools. These included low financial outlay by the state for educational facilities and equipment, the smaller number and cost of teachers, and the raising of the production level through advanced training in particular specializations.

13. On a long-term basis, the Communist regime viewed higher spare-time education and higher education by correspondence as being able to create conditions for making the transition from socialism to communism by gradually reducing and eventually completely eliminating the three great differences between town and country, industry and agriculture, and manual and mental labor.

14. There was a trend in the mid-1960's to convert some spare-time institutions of higher education into part-time work-study colleges and universities.

15. The emphasis in both rural and urban spare-time higher education and higher correspondence education in the mid-1960's was upon politics and the study of Mao Tse-tung's works. This trend was evident prior to and during the Cultural Revolution with promise of permanence.

II. CONCLUSIONS

From the findings, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. The ideological goal of making good Communists and the Party political control and stimulation of growth were dominating influences in the development and nature of spare-time higher education.

2. Economics played a very major role in determination of the nature and characteristics of spare-time higher education for the masses by industrial and institutional provision of advanced specialized training geared to the needs and demands of production.

3. Fundamental social problems resulting from a rapidly expanding population and from one already largely illiterate were driving forces that helped to determine the nature and character of spare-time higher education.

4. Spare-time higher education can be characterized as an enterprise that has great diversity and flexibility under the rather autonomous varied sponsoring agencies and enterprises and yet maintains an element of extreme specialization and control by the Party.

5. Apart from ideological considerations and the directness of Party control, certain parallels can be drawn between spare-time higher education in China and similar type educational provisions in the United States. Such factors as on-the-job extension work, self-study aids, special curriculum provisions for both individuals and groups, adequacy of faculty, radio and television as media of special design, and the sharing of already established facilities characterize the programs in both countries.

6. The creation of the nationwide cooperative types of radio, television and radio-television universities to augment or supplement the training in higher correspondence education and the apparent high concentration on special staffs, flexibility in offerings and study schedules, and special methods of instruction lead naturally to the conclusion that diligence in the implementation of these reported practices would eventually lead to good quality education.

7. The name higher education was accepted as published in reports.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENTS AND SPECIAL COURSES OF THE PEKING UNIVERSITY

Source: "Departments and Special Courses of the Peking University," Kuang-ming Jih-pao [Kuang-ming Daily], May 18, 1959, in Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 2030 (June 9, 1959), pp. 26-27.

- (1) Department of Mathematics and Mechanics:
 - Special Course in Mathematics
 - Special Course in Calculation Mathematics
 - Special Course in Mechanics
- (2) Department of Physics:
 - Special Course in Physics
- (3) Department of Radio and Electronics:
 - Special Course in Radio Physics and Electronic Physics
 - Special Course in Calculation Techniques and Automatic Control
- (4) Department of Geophysics:
 - Special Course in Atmospheric Physics
 - Special Course in Climatology and Dynamic Meterology
 - Special Course in Geophysics
- (5) Department of Atomic Energy:
 - Special Course in Nuclear Physics
 - Special Course in Atomic Energy Chemistry
- (6) Department of Chemistry:
 - Special Course in Chemistry
- (7) Department of Biology:
 - Special Course in Biological Physics
 - Special Course in Biological Chemistry
 - Special Course in Physiology
 - Special Course in Botany
 - Special Course in Human and Animal Physiology
 - Special Course in Zoology
- (8) Department of Geology and Geography:
 - Special Course in Geochemistry
 - Special Course in Structural Geology
 - Special Course in Paleontological Stratigraphy
 - Special Course in Geomorphology

Special Course in Natural Geography
Special Course in Economic Geography

(9) Department of Chinese Language and Literature:

Special Course in Han Language and Literature

(10) Department of History

Special Course in History
Special Course in Archaeology

(11) Department of Philosophy:

Special Course in Philosophy
Special Course in Psychology

(12) Department of Economics:

Special Course in Political Economics

(13) Department of Law:

Special Course in Law

(14) Department of Library Science

Special Course in Library Science

(15) Department of Russian Language and Literature:

Special Course in Russian Language and Literature

(16) Department of Oriental Languages:

Special Course in Mongolian Language
Special Course in Korean Language
Special Course in Japanese Language
Special Course in Vietnamese Language
Special Course in Burmese Language
Special Course in Thai Language
Special Course in Indonesian Language
Special Course in Hindi
Special Course in Arabic

(17) Department of Occidental Languages:

Special Course in English Language
Special Course in German Language
Special Course in French Language

APPENDIX B

LIST OF 71 INSTITUTIONS IN COMMUNIST CHINA OFFERING
CORRESPONDENCE COURSES IN 1964

(Institutions listed according to locations in the various administrative areas)

Source: "Communist China Promotes Education by Correspondence," Union Research Service (Hong Kong: Union News Agency), Vol. 36, No. 25 (September 25, 1964), pp. 368-69.

Chinese [China] People's University
Peking Institute of Water Conservancy and Hydro-electric Power
Peking Geological Institute
Peking Petroleum Institute
Peking Institute of Forestry
Peking Mining Institute
Peking Iron and Steel Institute
Peking Institute of Agricultural Mechanization
Peking Institute of Post[s] and Telecommunications
Peking Institute of Aviation
Peking Correspondence Institute
Peking University
Peking Agricultural University
Peking Hydro-electric Power Correspondence Institute
Hopei Normal College
Taiyuan Engineering College
Inner Mongolia Normal College
Northeast Normal University
Changchun Geological Institute
Kirin Normal University
Northeast Engineering College
Kirin Correspondence University
Liaoning Institute of Finance and Economics

Liaoning Correspondence Institute
Shenyang Agricultural College
Sian Mining Institute
Northwest Agricultural College
Sinkiang "August 1" Agricultural College
Sian Building Construction College
Sian University of Communications
Sian Normal College
East China Water Conservancy College
East China Normal University
East China Chemical Engineering College
East China Textiles College
Nanking Agricultural College
Nanking Institute of Forestry
Nanking Engineering College
Nanking Normal College
Tung Chi University
Fu Tan University
Anhui Institute of Finance and Trade
Anhui Agricultural College
Anhui Institute of Chinese Medicine
Hofei Engineering University
Hofei Normal College
South Anhwei University
North Kiangsu Agricultural College
Fukien Agricultural College
Fukien Normal College
Amoy University
Central China Agricultural College
South China Agricultural College
Central China Normal College
South China Normal College

South China Engineering College
Central South Institute of Finance and Economics
Honan Normal College
Central South Civil Engineering and Construction College
Hupeh University
Wuhan Surveying and Cartography College
Sun Yat-sen University
Hunan Normal College
Kwangtung Normal College
Kwangtung Institute of Water Conservancy and Power
Canton Institute of Chinese Medicine
Kwangsi Normal College
Southwest Agricultural College
Southwest Normal College
Chengtu Geological Institute
Correspondence University attached to Kunming Normal College

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