This annotated bibliography of 72 books, journal articles, government reports, and newspaper feature stories focuses on the changing role of intellectuals in China, primarily since the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Particular attention is given to the Hundred Flowers Movement of 1957 and the Cultural Revolution. Most of the cited works are in English, but sources in Chinese, Japanese, Italian and Russian are also included. The annotations, all in English, are relatively brief and are descriptive, not evaluative. (CFR)
INTELLECTUALS IN CHINA: ANNOTATIONS

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Briessen, Fritz van. "DIE ROLLE DER GELEHRTEN IN DER CHINESISCHEN REVOLUTION" (The Role of the Learned in the Chinese Revolution). AUSSENPOLITIK, 4, 10 (October 1953), 634-45. In German.


Scholar gentry, with academic degrees obtained through the civil service exam system, were expected to exert superior leadership. "Teaching as a Source of Income" chapter explains that scholar gentry not in government service usually became teachers and earned more than nongentry teachers.


Ideological reform began, 1840-60, among provincial scholar officials influenced by Ku Yen-wu and Tseng Kuo-fan. The 1890s curriculum reform stressed Western learning. Leftists attacked and challenged the conservative Confucian world view. Ultimately, leftists inspired the May 4th (1919) movement.

INTELLECTUALS

Explores the transition period, 1890-1907, by tracing changes in the thinking of Liang (1873-1929), scholar, journalist, and intellectual reformer who studied Western learning under K'ang Yu-wei. Like K'ang, he advocated progressive reform and was a leader in the Hundred Days of Reform (1898). When the Dowager Empress revoked this program, he fled to Japan and traveled to Southeast Asia and the U.S. for Wang's monarchist society. His ideal of citizenship had enduring appeal and influenced the Communist value system.


Analyzes nineteenth century intellectual development under the impact of the West. The 1894-95 Sino-Japanese War hastened disintegration of traditional ideas and forced intellectuals to accept and spread Western ideas.


Discusses meaning of "intellectual class," wonders if they exist as a class, believes that the greatest danger is not from belligerent Communists but from intellectuals' weaknesses.


Harsh reaction against leading social scientists after the Hundred Flowers movement, among them Fei Hsiao-t'ung, who on July 13, 1957, confessed publicly at the National People's Congress.

INTELLECTUALS

During the Cultural Revolution the Party again attacked intellectuals and demanded their "re-education."


Forty percent of intellectuals are active Party supporters, 40 percent support the party but are not sufficiently political, ten percent are either non-political or oppose socialism, and ten percent are active revolutionaries. China needs intellectuals to advance science and technology and must remold those who deviate from Party policy so that they will better serve the people.


The twentieth century intellectual class, starkly different from the old literati, knew little of China's past culture and nothing of peasant problems. By the mid 1930s local government collapsed for lack of educated men in rural areas. Communists, by filling this vacuum, were ready substitutes for the lost Confucian tradition.


Papers examine Confucian ideas in China's political struggles and sociopolitical institutions, including civil service examinations (see entries 327-329, 1580, E.A. Kracke, Jr.). One theme is that the scholar-official class tried persistently to devise institutional checks upon despotic rulers.


Contents: Neo-Confucianism and the perfect Confucianist, Chu Hsi (1130-1200), whose scholarship produced an "intellectual straitjacket"; the restored importance of the examination system in the Ming period, when the Hanlin Academy topped the intellectual pyramid and 300 private academies spread learning nationwide; Ch'ing emperor K'anghs'i's winning support from the scholar class by recruiting 152
INTELLECTUALS

compilers of the MING HISTORY and authorizing a dictionary and encyclopedia; late Ch'ing emphasis on narrow bibliographical and classical activities; impact of foreign study and Protestant mission schools in the late nineteenth century; late Ch'ing reforms; post-1912 student movements and new thought at Peking National University; and Communist emphasis on schooling and on changing the "thoughts" of intellectuals.


Anthropological analysis of the social role of scholar-gentry class, the rural power structure, and relations between villages and towns. Seven essays on the gentry plus six life histories. "The Scholar: Chairman Wang" was traditionally educated in private schools, at age 22 passed the civil service examination, became a teacher, then principal in a Kunming primary school. By 1924 he headed the Bureau of Education in Kunyang Hsien. He was a respected leader who gave modern education to his own children.


Influence of the highly educated in turning China toward Marxism, which became China's new religion.


China's 1963 campaign against humanism was one aspect of Peking's opposition to Soviet moves toward peaceful coexistence with the West.

INTELLECTUALS


About Chinese perceptions of alternatives possible for their society in the Republican period. Many intellectuals, urging change, acknowledged the rigidity of China's past but were optimistic that new ideas could bring progress.


Examines conservative thought in Republican China. Chapters about the intelligentsia and culture include Charlotte Furth's "Culture and Politics in Modern Chinese Conservatism" and Laurence A. Schneider's "National Essence and the New Intelligentsia." See entry 1486.


Though 1950 legislation recognized an inventor's right to exploit his inventions, socialism limited this initiative. But modernization demands have forced a pragmatic reward system for inventions.


Surveys a century of changes in China's intelligentsia, from the Confucian scholars estranged from the masses, to recent times when intellectuals were divided because of political policy and when educational standards were lowered.

INTELLECTUALS

About intellectuals during 1959-76 and their influence in shaping recent socio-political and cultural directions. Several of the liberal intellectuals taught at Peking University or were members of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.


Communist policy toward intellectuals has alternated between demanding strict orthodoxy and using expert skills for modernizing the country. The years 1961-62 when intellectuals felt free to criticize differed from two 1950s periods because intellectuals dared to attack the Mao cult (probably encouraged by Liu Shao-chi).


The Communist 1942 Yenan campaign against the thoughts and actions of such left-wing writers as Ting Ling helps explain the recurring Party efforts to remold intellectuals.


Reviews the Party's various policies toward intellectuals, whose thoughts they have tried to reform. Young intellectuals are torn between state and personal interests, eager to study but worn by physical labor and conformity.


About China's intellectuals from mid-nineteenth century to 1949, such as liberal pragmatist Hu Shih. Includes description of John Dewey's 1919-21 visit to China and his influence on Chinese thinkers.
INTELLECTUALS


Although Christian missions took Western education to China, their impact was limited because Chinese saw them as imperialistic tools. Chinese who studied abroad usually returned with anti-religious ideas to become revolutionary leaders and spokesmen for change.


In contrast to previous diverse schools of thought, the Communist regime's tight control of intellectual and political expression will be viable only if it solves China's problems.


Mao's educational plans called for moving people back to the land and for elimination of an intellectual elite.

Johnson, Chalmers A. FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION IN CHINA: COMMUNIST POLICIES TOWARD THE INTELLECTUAL CLASS. Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1959.

Description of the ad-hoc ideological campaigns launched, 1949-59.


Intellectuals, alienated from their society's traditions, concluded in the May 4th era that political change would require a "cultural revolution."

INTELLECTUALS

Although social and economic conditions did not conform to Marxist theory, Marxism attracted early twentieth century intellectuals because it offered a way to achieve national independence.


Early twentieth century educational reformers, longing to end traditional alliance between education and politics, were unsuccessful because they and their students became politicized and could not escape pressures from arbitrary military power.


Discusses intellectuals and the problems and pressures faced by youth. Concludes that Communists will fail because of unkept promises and disaffection among intellectuals and the masses.


Ch'en Po-ta, at the conference of Peking and Shanghai intellectuals, September-October 1936, contended that traditional thought was a tool for ruling the uneducated masses.


From the eleventh century onwards, the scholar-bureaucrat intellectual, nominally Confucian, set the pattern of educated conduct and taste. Because Confucianism was a moderating force, it produced few independent, radical critics among nineteenth century intellectuals.
INTELLECTUALS


One of the first mobility studies. Analyzes lists of successful examination candidates, with data on their fathers and grandfathers, from the Sung period (960-1278) onwards. Emphasizes objectivity of examinations.


Includes Yen Fu's essays on cultural and intellectual subjects. He was major translator of Western works by Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Montesquieu, and others.


French author who interviewed Hong Kong refugees found that Communist China was a pervasive totalitarian state. "The Student Ping" and "The Schoolmistress Shuen..." describe oppression.


Despite 2,000 years of anti-intellectualism, the scholar-official tradition persists.


Modern intellectuals do not represent a perennial scholarly element in society but are instead a major source of Communist strength.

Lew, Timothy Tingfang et al. CHINA TODAY THROUGH CHINESE EYES. New York: Doran, 1923.
INTELLECTUALS

Four religious and intellectual leaders wrote of the renaissance in the early 1920s. "The Literary Revolution in China" was described by Hu Shih.

One of 12 essays examines policies toward intellectuals.

Liang (1873-1929), famed scholar and statesman, explores in 1921 a central problem in modern Chinese history: how China could maintain continuity with its past in the face of Western influence. Writes on the main intellectual trends, 1644-1911.

Appendix contains biographical sketches of 34 eminent Chinese, 618-1911 A.D. Statistical study describes their mental traits and general intelligence.

Unsuccessful search by intellectuals, 1917-21, for a new social order.

Students and other intellectuals, 1900-20, led in shaping liberalism, which called for a cultural renaissance, individualism to replace Confucian groupism, and openness to all ideas. After 1920, increasing political activism among intellectuals isolated liberals because they believed that permanent reform
INTELLECTUALS

could occur only after fundamental ideas were changed. Liberals thus became political critics after 1920.


Criticisms in the press in response to Mao's 1957 invitation, "Let a hundred flowers bloom," are arranged by type of intellectual who expressed the criticism, such as journalists, physicians, writers, professors, teachers, and students. So much bitterness erupted that after six weeks Mao ordered criticism to cease. The anti-rightist campaign followed. Gives an inside view of Communist totalitarianism.

MacNair, Harley Farnsworth. CHINA'S NEW NATIONALISM AND OTHER ESSAYS. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1926.

Essays on problems of students returned from foreign study, the modern scholar, and the scholar as gentleman.


Role of China's scholar gentry, whose privilege was based on their intellectual status: Most of their income came from public functions, not land ownership. By dividing their authority the ruling dynasty prevented the scholar class from gaining power to overthrow the dynasty.


Analyzes dissent within China's totalitarian state; references to intellectuals, youth, schools, education, and thought control.


Plight of intellectuals under the Communist regime.
INTELLECTUALS


Fung (1895-) and Hsiung (1885-1968), two leading pre-1949 philosophers, used Western ideas to fit the humanistic principle "All men are brothers" into modern Chinese philosophy.


Studies on the impact of the rigorous course of Confucian studies and their bureaucratic function on the creativity and autonomy of intellectuals.


Scholarly careers of Wan Ssu-t'ung and Wan Ssu-ta and their seventeenth century study group led by Huang Tsung-hsi in Chekiang Province which defied the Ch'ing government's control of intellectuals.


Higher education students and intellectuals generally reacted critically to the pre-1949 Nationalist government's solutions to China's many problems and were cautiously favorable to solutions suggested by the Communist Party.

"Policy Towards Intellectuals." Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation. CHINA QUARTERLY, 71 (September 1977), 658.

Statement about supporting intellectuals and scientists who served the people during the reign of the Gang of Four.
INTELLECTUALS


One of the "study associations" formed after Japan defeated China in 1895 was the "Southern Reform Club" in Hunan Province founded by T'an Ssu-t'ung and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. T'an called this movement economic, political, and social as well as intellectual in intent.


Includes chapters on the scholar-official class.


Examines twentieth-century intellectual history as a field of study. Identifies as a problem the fact that intellectuals are alienated from the masses.


Unlike the U.S.S.R., many of China's intelligentsia welcomed or accepted the 1949 Communist takeover. But the Communist rulers, highly suspicious of experts, sought psychological compliance and developed thought reform techniques aimed at achieving a monolithic internalized consensus among the intelligentsia.


Compares mid-nineteenth century Russian intelligentsia with twentieth century Chinese intelligentsia, both committed
to socialism and the image of the "new man." Of the twentieth century Chinese intelligentsia, only the May 4th (1919) student group was truly modern. Most Chinese intelligentsia either welcomed or acquiesced in the Communist rise to power. Many have since undergone "thought reform" and suffered abuse for questioning the ruling ideology.


Nineteenth century China used many Western ideas and ideologies to reject the past and promote modernization. Mao's mistrust of intellectuals embodied primitivist yearnings. A new, less passive, more critical intellectual is visible among some students.


Tradition and modernity are inadequate terms for discussing the attitudes of intellectuals, especially since the early nineteenth century.


Mao in a 1942 Yenan speech urged that literature and art serve the masses. In July 1949 writers and artists organized the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. Academic writing concentrated on histories of peasant rebellions, studies of ethnic minorities, and commentaries on Communist theory.

INTELLECTUALS

In Hubei Province, 1860-1904, a new gentry educated in Western subjects rose in status to the detriment of traditionally educated gentry who studied only the Confucian classics.


Confronted with the nineteenth century Western challenge, intellectuals remained tied to the rigid Confucian framework. Cites three intellectuals who in successive periods contributed to the reform movement, which believed the Confucian world view could be compatible with Western science and technology.

Essays on education and the intelligentsia by head of the Institute of Social Sciences of Academia Sinica.


During 500 years of recent history, the relationship of intellectuals with the state has been ambivalent. Concludes that the ultimate cost of the intellectual search for autonomy has been political estrangement.


Early attempts to shape ideology for the masses and to win over the intellectuals through media control.

Three stages in intellectual history, 1860-1949: loyalty to tradition and rejection of Western thought; attack on tradition and imitation of the West; and eventually, taking one of
two routes—becoming Western individualists with little concern for the rural masses or accepting Communist ideology with its drive to change the masses. Western educated Chinese, living as specialists in port cities, exercised little moral and political leadership, thus losing touch with the masses and lessening the chance for democracy.


Intellectuals played a central role in producing changes after 1880.


The practical approach (JINGSHI) to social, political, and economic problems of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century intellectuals, disturbed by the Western impact, strongly influenced the May 4th movement and later modernization efforts. Intellectuals' sense of responsibility was rooted in Confucian teaching.


Various cyclical changes in Communist attitudes toward intellectuals.


An Zhendong, deputy governor of Heilongjiang Province, was imprisoned and persecuted during radical Maoist periods, declared rehabilitated in 1979, and as a 1951 engineering graduate was given his present post in 1981. He and other intellectuals, formerly suspect, are needed to speed China's modernization. The 1982 census showed that .06 percent of China's population attended college while 23.5 percent were illiterate.
INTELLECTUALS


Speech by President Hu Qiaomu, Academy of Social Sciences, about the role of intellectuals and artists. Critical of Mao's "art must serve politics" slogan, Hu assured orthodox Marxists that "bourgeois liberalization" would not be allowed to replace all Maoist tenets.

Yeh, Ch'ing. "TSEN-YANG TSO 'WEN-HUA YUN-TUNG" (How to Establish a Cultural Movement). ERH-SHIH SHIH-CHI (TWENTIETH CENTURY), 1, 2 (1931), 1-11. In Chinese.

Criticizes Hu Shih's ideas about promoting China's future through a "literary revolution" and "freedom of thought." Compares China's new cultural movement with the European Renaissance and the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Concludes that China's cultural movement ought to change with the times and be guided by scientific methodology.

Yuan, Chih-shen. "HSÜEH-AN T'I TS'A! YUAN LIU CH'U T'AN" (Preliminary Study of the Evolution of Intellectual History (HSÜEH-AN as a Genre)). SHIH YUAN, 2 (1971), 57-75. In Chinese.

First example of intellectual history (called HSÜEH-AN) was 62-volume collective biography of 200 philosophers of the "Rationalism school," 1676. A somewhat similar T'ang era work was about 200 eminent monks. The most significant later HSÜEH-AN was a 208-volume work about 1,169 intellectuals of the Ch'ing period.