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PARTY CONTROLS IN NATIONAL CENTRAL UNIVERSITY AND NANJING
UNIVERSITY BEFORE AND AFTER 1949

XU ZHENDONG

MPHIL

LINGNAN UNIVERSITY

2008

PARTY CONTROLS IN NATIONAL CENTRAL UNIVERSITY AND NANJING
UNIVERSITY BEFORE AND AFTER 1949

by
XU Zhendong

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy in Social Science
(Political Science)

Lingnan University

2008

ABSTRACT

Party controls in National Central University and Nanjing University before and after 1949

by

XU Zhendong

Master of Philosophy

In 1898, with the foundation of the Metropolitan University of the Qing Dynasty (*Jingshi da xuetang*) in Beijing, the modern higher education system was established in China. After the Qing Dynasty, China has been ruled by two political parties before and after 1949: Kuomintang (KMT) dated from 1911 to 1949 and Chinese Communist Party (CCP)¹ dated from 1949 to present.

The history of Nanjing University (NJU) can be traced back to Sanjiang Normal School founded by the Qing government in 1902. The NJU witnessed the development of modern higher education in China. The Nanjing city used to be the capital of the KMT regime and National Central University (NCU) was under the control of the KMT. Nevertheless, today Nanjing is the capital of Jiangsu province and NJU is under the control of the CCP. As commonly known, the KMT and the CCP followed different political systems. The political status of the city and the university has changed a lot. It is worthwhile to do a research on the party controls of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU within a changeable century to find which political system benefit the university more.

This thesis introduces and compares the party controls of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU in chapter two (party controls over personnel) and chapter three (party controls over the whole university). Afterwards, chapter four discusses the continuum of the political controls from the Qing Dynasty, to the KMT and then to the CCP and chapter five gives a summary as the conclusion.

It is commonly known that China has a long civilized history for more than five thousand years. Within this long period of time, China formed a traditional Chinese authoritarianism with a typical Confucian orientation and three related structural aspects, hierarchical system, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern. This traditional Chinese authoritarianism was widely accepted and adopted by all dynasties and political regimes in China. All the modern universities (including NCU and NJU) and political parties (including the KMT and the CCP) in China are influenced by this type of authoritarianism while they are at the same time influenced by the Soviet Union (mainly in party constructions of the KMT and the CCP) and western values (mainly in university affairs including university settings and university administrations) in the late days. So the traditional Chinese authoritarianism, Soviet Union influence and western values are the three most important backgrounds in the party controls

¹ In academics, there are two different references: Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and Communist Party of China (CPC). The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is widely accepted by the western scholars and the Communist Party of China (CPC) is officially used in China. In this thesis, I will adopt the first name: Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU. Based on the analysis of this thesis, there is a continuum underlying the political controls of Qing Dynasty, the KMT and the CCP. It is found that the traditional Chinese authoritarianism is the dominant element in this continuum. Both the party controls of the KMT and the CCP have the characteristics of a typical Chinese Confucian orientation with its hierarchical structure, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern.

DECLARATION

I declare that this is an original work based primarily on my own research, and I warrant that all citations of previous research, published or unpublished, have been duly acknowledged.

Xu Zhendong

Date

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL OF THESIS

PARTY CONTROLS IN NATIONAL CENTRAL UNIVERSITY AND
NANJING UNIVERSITY BEFORE AND AFTER 1949

by
XU Zhendong

Master of Philosophy

Panel of Examiners:

_____	(Chairman)
(Dr. Wong Yiu-chung)	
_____	(External Member)
(Dr. Tsao King-kun)	
_____	(Internal Member)
(Dr. Chan Che-po)	
_____	(Internal Member)
(Dr. Zhang Baohui)	

Chief Supervisor:

Dr. Chan Che-po

Co-supervisor:

Dr. Chung Chien-peng

Approved for the Senate:

Chairman, Research and Postgraduate Studies Committee

Date

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ABBREVIATIONS

BUD	Board of University Directorates
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCYL	Chinese Communist Youth League
DEC	Discipline and Education Committee
KMT	Kuomintang
NCU	National Central University
NJU	Nanjing University
NSU	National Southeast University
PRC	People's Republic of China
SHAC	The Second Historical Archives of China
ROC	Republic of China

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Research Backgrounds

This is a comparative research about the party controls of the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) over higher education before and after 1949. The control mechanisms of the two Chinese political parties can be traced back to a classical dilemma of imperial China summed up in a Chinese saying: “Chinese culture for the essence, western technology for practical use” (*Zhongxue weiti, Xixue weiyong*) made by Zhang Zhidong in the 1880s. In this thesis, the author compares the party controls of the KMT and the CCP over higher education [National Central University (NCU) and Nanjing University (NJU) as a case study] with the following framework: 1) party control over personnel (student and president) 2) party control over the whole university (faculty, funding, ideological control and personnel affairs). NCU was under the control of KMT from 1914 to 1949, a total of 35 years, while NJU was under the control of CCP from 1949 to 2007, 58 years in total. Since both periods last for quite a long time while the comparison needs a time focus, the author will focus on two time-points in this thesis. One is the NCU ruling around the 1930s and the other is the NJU ruling after the implementation of the reform and open door policy since the 1980s. After the comparisons, the author will discuss the elements of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism, Soviet Union influence and western values in the party controls of the KMT and the CCP before and after 1949 and determine which is the dominant element.

After the overthrow of the Qing government in the 1911 Revolution, only two political parties consecutively have set up political regimes in China. One is the KMT lasting from 1911 to 1949 and the other one is the CCP lasting from 1949 to present. At a critical juncture in the Sino-Japanese War during 1894-1895, Sun Yat-sen, with clear perception and vision, traveled to Honolulu to appeal to the overseas Chinese there to form a revolutionary organization with the aim of rescuing their motherland. “The organization was named the Revive China Society, the predecessor of the KMT.”¹ The KMT was founded by Sun Yat-sen and Song Jiaoren in 1912 not long after the 1911 Revolution. After the death of Song and Sun, Chiang Kai-shek began to be in charge of the KMT. In 1923, the KMT and its government accepted aids from the Soviet Union after being denied for recognition by the

¹ The KMT Official Website: <http://www.kmt.org.tw/>.

western powers.² Mikhail Borodin, the Soviet Union adviser and an agent of the Comintern, arrived in China in 1923 to aid in the reorganization and consolidation of the KMT according to the structure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The KMT established a Leninist party structure that lasted till the 1990s. The CCP was under the Comintern instructions to cooperate with the KMT and its members were encouraged to join the KMT while maintaining their separate party identities. With this cooperation, the First United Front between the two Chinese political parties was established.

The Soviet advisers also helped the KMT setting up a political institution to train propagandists with mass mobilization techniques, and in 1923, Chiang Kai-shek was sent to Moscow for several months' military and political study. At the First KMT National Congress in 1924, which included non-KMT delegates such as members of the CCP, they adopted Sun's Three People's Principles as the guiding principle. "It organized the Northern Expedition Army to unify China, and undertook political tutelage. It led the nation in a long war of resistance against Japanese aggression, writing and implementing the Constitution of the Republic of China after the war."³ The KMT lost its regime in the civil war to the CCP in 1949 and then transferred to Taiwan. After long time ruling in Taiwan, the KMT lost its ruling party position in 2000. But the KMT resealed the ruling party position through democratic elections in 2008.

Marxism started to spread widely in China after the May Fourth Movement. The CCP was initially founded by Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao in Shanghai in 1921. The First CCP National Congress was held in July 1923. There were 15 attendees including 13 domestic attendees and 2 Comintern advisers. In fact, the organization of the CCP was also copied from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the early period, the CCP and the KMT were in alliance for the first time but split in 1927, followed by the outbreak of the civil war within the nation. Under the guidance of the Soviet Union, the CCP was reorganized along the Leninist lines in 1923, while party members were encouraged to join the KMT as individual members. During the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), the CCP and the KMT were

² The historical background is: during that time period, the regime was seized by the warlord powers in Beijing and Sun Yat-sen organized an anti-government movement to overthrow the Beijing government. But the Beijing government still maintained diplomatic relations between the western powers and Sun's new government in Guangzhou was not recognized by them. So the western powers ignored the request from Sun Yat-sen.

³ The KMT Official Website: <http://www.kmt.org.tw/>.

temporarily in alliance again to fight their common enemy. After 1945, the civil war resumed. The CCP succeeded in seizing the regime from the KMT in 1949 and founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949. So the CCP began to act as the ruling party in mainland China. At the beginning of the PRC ruling period, the CCP led the PRC in making a huge progress in economic and cultural areas. Nonetheless, the Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966 and ended in 1976. The mainland China encountered a ten-year disaster. After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee at the end of 1978, the country embarked on the biggest change in the history of the new China. From 1979, the CCP began to carry out the reform and open door policy initiated by Deng Xiaoping. In about three decades since the initiation of the reform and open door policy, China's economic and social developments have been crowned with remarkable success and the country has taken on a new look. This has been the best period since the foundation of the PRC in which the Chinese people have reaped most material benefits.

“Higher education in China can be traced back in its embryonic forms to about two thousand years ago during the Shang Dynasty (1523-1027 B.C.) when the foundations of Chinese culture—music, art, written language literature, the calendar, astronomy, medicine and history—had already been laid.”⁴ There was an organization of education named “*Shangxiang*” which was a higher education school within that period. Later there was a civil service examination system and its cognate institutions—the Hanlin Academy, “*Guozijian*” (the college for the sons of the emperor), “*Taixue*” (the institution of supreme learning), and the whole system of institutions at provincial, prefectural, and county levels that made possible a “ladder of success” through a series of examinations, culminating in the palace examination in the presence of the emperor himself. On the other hand, there were the “*Shuyuan*” (private schools), scholarly societies or academies which were often financially independent through bequests of land and usually headed by one great scholar who attracted disciples and colleagues through the virtuosity of his scholarship.⁵

Peiyang University, the first modern university, was set up in 1895 in China (by Sheng Xuanhuai, a general officer of Tianjin Customs). Three years later, the Metropolitan

⁴ Ruiqing Du, *Chinese Higher Education*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1992, P1.

⁵ Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict*, Garland Publishing, INC., New York and London, 1996, P10.

University of the Qing Dynasty was set up in Beijing by the central government. Sanjiang Normal School was set up later in Nanjing by the Jiangsu provincial government in 1902. In imperial China, higher education was appended under government departments. The higher education schools only served as one of the control instruments of the government. In this period, the studies of students mainly focused on the mainstream ideology proposed by the government such as Taoism and Confucianism and the higher education system was strictly controlled and influenced by the central government. At the beginning, the modern Chinese universities were all set up either by central government or local government. They were strongly influenced and controlled by the government with obvious official characteristics.

For example, “in the Metropolitan University during the Qing Dynasty, conservative political leaders in China were apparently attracted to the ways in which Japan had introduced western institutions and techniques while maintaining imperial authority and Confucian cultural supremacy, as is fairly clear in the legislation for a modern educational system patterned after Japan that was passed in 1902 and 1903.”⁶ From the analysis of Ruth Hayhoe, modern university was set up during the Qing Dynasty patterned after Japan (Germany)⁷, Britain, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the mechanism of management was still with strong traditional Chinese cultural characteristics and with typical Chinese bureaucratic identity (the traditional Chinese authoritarianism).

“Authoritarianism regimes are governed by a small group—a party, a director, or the army—with minimum popular input.”⁸ The authoritarians try to set up a society as a hierarchical organization with a chain of command under the leadership of one ruler or a small group. “Command, obedience, and order are higher values than freedom, consent, and involvement.”⁹ The most obvious difference between authoritarianism and totalitarianism is that the totalitarians try to control everything while the authoritarians do not attempt to control everything; many economic, social, religious, cultural, and familial matters are left to individuals.

⁶ Ruth Hayhoe, *ibid*, P19.

⁷ In fact, the higher education system of Japan was copied from Germany, so the Japanese mode was actually the German mode.

⁸ Michael G. Roskin, Robert L. Cord, James A. Medeiros, & Walter S. Jones, “Political Science, An Introduction”, Seventh Edition, Prentice-Hall, Inc. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey 07458.

⁹ Michael G. Roskin, *ibid*.

The above are the definitions of authoritarianism. Next a new concept will be introduced in this thesis which is the concept of traditional Chinese authoritarianism. The traditional Chinese authoritarianism is a kind of authoritarianism with a typical Chinese characteristic, which is Confucian orientation.¹⁰ In Confucianism, there were two principles emphasized by the imperial China to ensure its implementation of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism: the three cardinal guides (*San'gang*) (ruler guides subject, father guides son and husband guides wife) and the five constant virtues (*Wuchang*) [benevolence (*Ren*); righteousness (*Yi*), propriety (*Li*), wisdom (*Zhi*) and fidelity (*Xin*)] as specified in the feudal ethical code. This Confucian orientation gives rise to three structural concepts within the traditional Chinese authoritarianism: hierarchical system, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern.

The first structural concept is hierarchical system. The hierarchical system is a system which can be described for classifying plants and animals according to species, family, genus, and so on. The focus of the three cardinal guides is loyalty: the loyalty to the ruler, father and husband. Loyalty between two social groups, results in unequal social positions. The three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues are basic principles of value in Chinese traditional politics. Its theme is the unity of morality, ethics, and politics. These three cardinal guides help the imperial China to build a society under a countrywide hierarchical system. Firstly, at the country level, the subjects must be loyal to their emperors. A hierarchical system was formed between the emperor and its subjects; secondly, at the family-in-blood level, the son must be loyal to his father, a hierarchical system was formed within the kinship; thirdly, at the family-in-law level, the wife must be loyal to her husband. A hierarchical system was formed between the couples. So under these two principles, a steady hierarchical system was established and consolidated in Chinese society. The extreme stress on hierarchy and ideology meant that the Chinese political system lacked any explicitly acknowledged and legitimately accepted linkage between the realm of government and that of private interest. After this hierarchical system had been set up, the authority

¹⁰ In fact, the supervision of Confucianism does not run through the imperial China. There were a number of philosophers and schools that had flourished during the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period due to a number of separatist regimes were set up by the different warlords at the very beginning of imperial China. The famous Contention of a "Hundred Schools of Thought" (Confucianism, Taoism, Mohism, Legalism, School of Yin-yang and so on) was launched under this political background. The central value system kept on changing until the Confucianism began to be the central value system in the Emperor Wu of Han period. From then on, Confucianism began to be the central value system of the whole nation for more than two thousand years.

groups (social groups of emperor, father and husband) were formed. Under the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues, the absolute powers of these three social groups were confirmed and the social groups of subjects, sons and wives can only obey the orders of the authority groups. However, organizations or positions within the bureaucracy are organized into a hierarchical system, where some have more power than others, but the power is associated with the position, not with individuals. So the role of the social groups can be changed such as the son can change his role to be the father someday.

Paternalism is the second structural concept which usually refers to an attitude or a policy stemming from the hierarchic pattern of a family based on patriarchy. "A form of paternalism is the highest ideal of government, and everything is done to envelop transactions between government and the public in layers of diffuse human emotion."¹¹ The form of this kind of paternalism is also due to the Confucian orientation in the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. As I mentioned before, the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues made imperial China a country filled with hierarchical system and ensured the authoritative powers of the emperor, father and husband. This implies that the emperor, father and husband are always the decision makers, delegate and protector in their social levels. Depending on the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues, the term paternalism here has two important meanings: the first is the assumption that the more powerful and the better-off groups (emperor and father) have obligations towards the less powerful and the poor (subjects and son), and the second is the set of informal expectations and codes of manners held by men (husband) about how to behave towards women (wife). After a long time, people will find that the fatherly figure is wiser and acts in the best interest of its protected figures. A kind of paternalism was finally formed under the influence of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. The hierarchical system advances the development of paternalism in Chinese society. Meanwhile, paternalism also accelerates the development of the hierarchical system. Paternalism makes the powers concentrated in a small group of persons. When this small group of persons seizes the powers, there must be more people losing their powers. And then the gaps appear. With the increasing and widening gaps, the

¹¹ Lucian W. Pye, "The Spirit of Chinese Politics", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, P19.

society begins to split into different layers naturally. The society begins to form a hierarchical system then.

Bureaucratic pattern is the third structural concept which used to describe an administration of a government chiefly run by following a standardized procedure (rule-following) and a great centralized decision making procedure. This is the primary way that rational-legal authority has developed in formal organizations. The bureaucratic pattern can benefit the society while also can block the development of the society. To some extent, the dominance of bureaucratic organizations in modern society shows the effectiveness of formal rationality as a way of organizing society. In some cases, bureaucratic administration is generally capable of efficiency, precision, and fairness. The ideal type of formal bureaucracy has a continuous and hierarchical organization of official functions or offices, with rules that govern each position and relationship in the organization. So it is easy to understand that the traditional Chinese authoritarianism had accepted the bureaucratic pattern in its values system. As commonly known, China is a country with a wide land and huge population. It is hard for ancient China to carry out a democratic decision making system under a low-level science and technology. If the authorities want to make their administration being implemented smoothly and fluently, the only choice of them is the bureaucratic pattern which is making the decision for the mass. The concept of “*Minzu*” (democracy) does not mean “making decisions by the people” but “making decisions for the people” in China nowadays. “In traditional China all avenues of social and economic advancement pointed to careers in government, and those within the ranks of officialdom dominated the society.”¹² Today, lots of civil service departments are set up in China, however, they lose their civil service functions due to their typical bureaucratic pattern. As I mentioned before, the bureaucratic pattern not only can benefit the social development but also can block the social development. Today’s science and technology has been highly developed and the implement of democratic pattern is possible, so the present mainland China also need to pay attention to the selective reception and rejection of the bureaucratic pattern.

What makes the traditional Chinese authoritarianism different from the authoritarianism in

¹² Lucian W. Pye, *ibid*, P24.

other countries? The answer is the spiritual control. What's the difference between the concept of "spiritual control" and "ideological control"? Both the spiritual control and ideological control are part of the socialization processes which focus on the nation. And in these socialization processes, some political values are indoctrinated. But these two concepts are still different from each other. The spiritual control is more than an ideological control. Spiritual control is indoctrination of the national ideology and not only serves for political regimes while the ideological control serves for the political regimes and the concept of ideological control is included in spiritual control. So the spiritual control can last a longer time no matter the changes of the regimes. It is related to the nationality of a nation. The characteristic of spiritual control is the inheritance, while the ideological control is related to the political regimes. The regimes change, the focuses and mainstreams of the ideological control also change. Some value norms are part of the spiritual control. The punishment of the violation is only limited to condemnation in moral area. But the ideological control is different. The political regimes always issue some laws and regulations to restrict the activities of the mass. If violation is in the ideological control, strict punishment will be used. The effect of ideological control is efficient and rapid but may not last very long. If this ideological control is not implemented, the effect may decrease or even disappear. This is different from the spiritual control. The effect of spiritual control is slow but more penetrative and can last long. In summary, the ideological control uses some direct measures to make the mass scared and then indoctrinate some ideologies to the mass while the spiritual control uses indirect measures to make the mass follow its ideology. For example, the effect of the CCP's rectification movement is ideological control. Learnt from the fate of the intellectuals in the former rectification movements, scholars tried their best to avoid talking about politics and ideology, although there is no formal limitation. And the Confucian orientation indoctrination is spiritual control all through the three Chinese regimes. The Chinese authorities mainly use the ideological control to ensure the Chinese obey the party control automatically. Take the CCP as example. Why the scholars are so political apathetic in current mainland China? It is due to the ideological control which implemented by political movements. China's communist leaders, particularly Mao Zedong, have generally

avored mass mobilization and ideological transformation to discipline the party.¹³ From the day of establishment of the CCP, the CCP launched a series of political campaigns to unify the political idea, especially after the Yan'an Rectification Movement which is launched in 1942. The measures of the rectification movement are as follows: a) controlling the scholars' daily life b) purging the wrong thoughts c) purging the wrong organization.¹⁴

Followed are some important rectification movements from 1942 to 1989: 1) Yan'an Rectification Movement in 1942 2) Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957 3) Great Leap Forward in 1958 4) Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 5) Tiananmen Incident in 1989. In the Yan'an Rectification movement, the targets of this movement are the high-ranking cadres inside the CCP and the Yan'an intellectuals. The Anti-Rightist Movement aimed at the¹⁵ 1) intellectuals of democratic parties 2) cultural bureaucracies inside CCP who were promoted in Yan'an 3) intellectuals who survived from the Yan'an Rectification Movement 4) leftist intellectuals came from Chongqing. The Great Leap Forward targeted at the professors, famous intellectuals and common intellectuals in the universities. The Cultural Revolution focused on the intellectuals who survived in the former rectification movements. The last, the Tiananmen Incident eradicated the survivals in the Cultural Revolutions and the new intellectuals with democratic idea after 1980s. After this series of rectification movements, nearly all the authority objectors were completely rectified and purged. Also after experiencing this series of rectification movements, the mass in current China was strictly controlled by the spiritual control of the CCP, although there are no laws to force them to do that. This is just the CCP and the KMT and the Qing Dynasty were also the same.

Based on the analysis above, the traditional Chinese authoritarianism has one typical characteristic (Confucian orientation) and three structural elements (hierarchical system, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern). The spiritual control makes the traditional Chinese authoritarianism different from others. The relations among the four can be described as a triangular relationship. The Confucian orientation is on the top of the: the three structural elements are depended on this typical characteristic and they could be described as in the

¹³ Lawrence R. Sullivan, The Role of the Control Organs in the Chinese Communist Party, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 24, No. 6, June 1984, pp. 597-617.

¹⁴ Cai Zhenxiang, 20 Shiji Zhongguo Zhengzhi Yundongde Tezheng yu Guilv (The Characters and Rules of Chinese Political Campaign in 20th Century), *Modern China Studies*, Vol. 1, 2005.

¹⁵ Cai Zhenxiang, *ibid.*

bottom of the triangle. They influenced and interlocked with each other strongly. So the following analysis will be based on these four elements when the political controls of the KMT and the CCP are referred to whenever traditional Chinese authoritarianism is involved.

The Soviet Union influence will be focused on the Soviet Union governing principles such as Leninist principle and political centralism. The organizational structures of the KMT and the CCP are all copied from the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, the Politburo was on the top of the political structure. The Politburo was the policy maker and the government was only the policy executer. Its most important duties lay in the administration of the economy. The council was thoroughly under the control of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and its chairman. At the fundamental level, the Communist Party of Soviet Union set up a series of party branches which replicated the structure of the Politburo. The secretary of the party branch was the policy maker and the administrative leader was just the executer.

The western values influenced China mainly during the Republic of China (ROC) period, but it is also important in shaping the environment of universities in China today. In this research, the western values will be focused on the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy, university settings and university administrations. In NCU period, the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy were always emphasized and implemented by the university authority. Although there was some interference from the KMT authority, the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy were still reserved and inherited. The setting-up of Board of University Directorates and the university president being endowed the power of decision-making are two of the evidence. Since the foundation of the PRC, the influences of western values kept on decreasing, whereas that of the Soviet Union influence was increasing. The Cultural Revolution period was the neap of the western values influences and it was filled with Maoism throughout China. These were changed after 1978. With the implementation of open door policy, more and more Chinese were interested in the western values and some principles of the western values were accepted and adopted by universities in China, noted by the reforms in Peking University. However, the acceptance of the western values in modern China is utilitarian, and the core of the university running system still follows the mode of Soviet Union. The adoption of the western values is aimed to remedy the disadvantages of this running system.

The CCP Party Committee of NJU was established on 30 April 1953 and Sun Shuping was appointed the first party secretary on 3 May 1953. Due to few CCP members in those days, there were only a few party branches which were under the control of the CCP Party Committee of NJU. The structure was simple at that time. Meanwhile, there were a lot of problems with the party committees.¹⁶ The problems were 1) the definitions of the character, position and function of the CCP in the university were not clear 2) the working system of party committee was not complete 3) the responsibility division between party committee and university president was not clear. Due to these problems, the CCP Party Committee proposed that the CCP leadership should be strengthened. And meanwhile, the CCP Party Committee not only insisted the president responsibility system but also insisted that the party committee should take part in daily administration. The traditions which inherited from NCU before 1949 began to be abandoned. The time point was 1954 and the CCP party control began to strengthen in NJU from then on.

Carrying out the Rectification Movement¹⁷ and Anti-Rightist Movement¹⁸ were the main tasks of the CCP Party Committee in 1956. The Rectification and Anti-Rightist Movement in NJU was divided into four periods: Period 1) the furious attack of rightists 2) Anti-Rightist Movement 3) consolidation and modification 4) enhance the CCP consciousness and improve the work in a further level. After this movement, the consciousness of academic freedom was suppressed and the power of CCP party committee was strengthened.

The Cultural Revolution period is exceptional. During this period, the whole China fell into social, political and economic violence and chaos. The Cultural Revolution was

¹⁶ Some problems and advice for the Party Committee of Nanjing University, NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu (The description of centennial NJU)*, Vol. 1, Nanjing University Press, 2002, P186.

¹⁷ The Rectification Movement was originated from the Yan'an Rectification Movement. Yan'an Rectification Movement was the first ideology movement initiated by the CCP. In fact, the name is only the Rectification Movement. But the first movement is initiated in Yan'an and this movement is also the most representative, so the Rectification Movement is famous as Yan'an Rectification Movement. According to the CCP perspective, the purpose of the program was 1) to give a basic grounding in Marxist theory, and Leninist principles of party organization to the thousands of new members who had joined the CCP during its expansion since 1937; 2) equally important aspect of the movement was the elimination of blind imitation of Soviet experience and obedience to Soviet directives, Comintern and empiricism. Mao emphasized that the campaign aimed at "rectifying mistaken ideas" and not the people who held them. But in fact I think the movement aimed to strengthen the leadership of Mao in the CCP.

¹⁸ The Anti-Rightist Movement of the People's Republic of China in the 1950s and early 1960s consisted of a series of campaigns to purge alleged "rightists" within the CCP and abroad. The campaigns were instigated by the Chairman, Mao Zedong. At beginning, the Anti-Rightist Movement was a reaction against the Hundred Flowers Campaign, which had promoted pluralism of expression and criticism of the government. It includes two waves: 1) The first wave of attacks began immediately following the end of the Hundred Flowers movement in July 1957; 2) part of the campaign followed the Lushan Meeting of 2 July – 16 August 1959 and the meeting condemned General Peng Dehuai, who had criticised the Great Leap Forward.

launched by Mao Zedong, the chairman of the CCP in 1966 and ended in 1976. Mao launched the Cultural Revolution with the aim to seize the power from the “liberal bourgeoisie” under his own “class struggle” theory. Mao’s rivals such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were purged. The Cultural Revolution also deeply influenced higher education in China. Most of the university students stopped their study and devoted themselves into the countrywide revolutions by joining the red guards. Students criticized and denounced the “intellectual elitism” inside universities, while fight with the “counter-revolutionaries” and “radicals” were started off campuses. In fact, most of the victims in universities were the teachers, scholars and administrative officers. So during most of the Cultural Revolution period, both the party control organizations and university administrative system were totally abolished by the revolutionists. But the collapse of the party control organizations and university administrative system were quickly taken place by a new administrative system, the Revolutionary Committee. This Revolutionary Committee was not under direct control of the CCP, but most of the members in the Revolutionary Committee were CCP members, so this committee could also be considered as under the control of the CCP. The components of the Revolutionary Committee differ in two periods: period 1 from 1967 to 1971 and period 2 from 1971 to 1976. During period 1, the Revolutionary Committee was consisted of three social groups: revolutionary mass, revolutionary cadres and the PLA. After Lin Biao failed in his attempted military coup, Mao became aware of threats from the army. So he excluded the PLA from the Revolutionary Committee in order to ensure loyalty from his followers. The Revolutionary Committee was constituted by only the revolutionary mass and revolutionary cadres during period 2. The hierarchical administrative system remains in the structure of Chinese universities all the time, including Nanjing University. Kuang Yaming (party secretary of NJU), was overthrown by the Red Guards. On 25 October 1966, the CCP Party Committee announced that the party committee gave up the leadership in leading the Cultural Revolution and only took charge of daily administration in NJU.¹⁹ The Cultural Revolution destroyed the president responsibility system completely. In the late Cultural Revolution, even the party committee

¹⁹ The notice of Giving up the leadership in leading the Cultural Revolution in Nanjing University, In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P237.

was also abandoned. All the democracy, no matter inside or outside CCP, was also destroyed completely. But as we all know, the Red Guards only destroyed the organization system of the CCP Party Committee. The CCP leadership was even strengthened. So I can argue that in the Cultural Revolution, the party committee's power was decreased but the CCP's power had increased in the higher education area. Nowadays, in China, most of the Cultural Revolution related archives are still confidential to most people. The author has paid visit to Nanjing University Archives but he was not allowed to access the Cultural Revolution related archives as they are confidential and closed to researchers. Thus, further discussion on this sensitive period is blocked by the lack of open investigation.

The Cultural Revolution ended in 1976 and the whole China began to rebuild since that year. The destroyed NJU also redeveloped from 1976. The first huge change occurred on 1 April 1978. In that day, the Revolution Committee was abolished and the position of department head was resetting.²⁰ And then, the position of president was reset again on 11 May 1978 and Kuang Yaming became the first president of NJU after the Cultural Revolution.²¹ There is one important point I have to emphasize which Kuang was not only the president but also the party secretary. To some extent, although the power of party secretary was still powerful, it was much better than the Cultural Revolution period. NJU began to practice President-responsibility System (under Leadership of the Party Committee) on 10 October 1984.²² The party control was strengthened after the establishment of party school of NJU in 1991. Due to the Tiananmen Incident, holding Four Cardinal Principles and Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization are the cores of the CCP propaganda campaign in the early 1990s.²³

Following is a briefly conclusion graph of the changes of the party control of the CCP

²⁰ Notice of resetting the department head and teaching and researching office head, In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P286.

²¹ Notice of appointing Kuang Yaming as the president of Nanjing University, In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol.2., P287.

²² The temporary methods of practicing President-responsibility System (under Leadership of the Party Committee), In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P607.

²³ About the details of this argument, another article is needed. There is a very important book named "*Nanjing Daxue Xingzheng Guizhang Zhidu Xuanbian (The select documents of administrative regulations of NJU)*", Nanjing University Press, 1991. From this book, you will find nearly all the regulations are related to holding Four Cardinal Principles and Anti-Bourgeois Liberalization. The regulations in this book are from 1984 to 1991, which is just around the Tiananmen Incident which happened in 1989. There is another book named "*Nanjing Daxue Xingzheng Nianjian, 1990*" (Annual of Nanjing University administration, 1990), Nanjing University Press, 1992. The description in this book is also good evidence to this argument.

over Nanjing University from 1949-2008:

Graph 1: The changes of party controls of the CCP over Nanjing University from 1949-2008

The changes of party controls of the CCP over Nanjing University from 1949-2008

The last I shall introduced some situations about how the governments control their higher education in other countries briefly. In today's world, the trend of role of the government is macroeconomic control. The macroeconomic control means the governments only do some macro-adjustments and avoid in micro-controlling and running. In current world, the governments try to avoid being the governor of the higher education but try to be a supervisor. They propose a concept of "governance". "Governance" can be carried out not only by the government but also can be some civil organizations such as the AAUP (American Association of University Professors) in the USA. In the other hand, the universities are more and more open. They take more and more social responsibilities and reward the society by using the knowledge and technology. So in current world, the power of supervising the higher education is distributed. Many powers are transferred to the higher education themselves. In summary, the principles of university autonomy and academic freedom are ensured under the macroeconomic supervision of the governments.

Based on the analysis above, a clear picture of this research is formed. At the beginning, both

the KMT and the CCP got aids from the Soviet Union and the organizational mechanisms were both copied from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the two political parties share the same cultural root of traditional Chinese authoritarianism. In the long history, the KMT and the CCP were also influenced by the western values which were mainly the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy in different periods. The traditional Chinese authoritarianism influenced the spirits of the KMT and the CCP while the Soviet Union and western values influenced the structures of the two political parties.

This research focuses on the different party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP. The mainland China has been ruled and influenced by these two Chinese political parties before and after 1949. As commonly known, the KMT and the CCP adopt two different political systems. And now, China is facing many domestic and overseas challenges and has to choose which road is more suitable for its further development. The mainland China is now implementing a gradual reform under the leadership of Hu Jintao and the CCP needs to choose whether to be democratic or keep on with authoritarianism. In this research, I compared the two different party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP. Based on the advantages and disadvantages of these two different party control mechanisms, I hope I can find out which party control mechanisms can benefit the higher education more and which route is more suitable for today's mainland China. I also wish this research can benefit the current gradual reforms in today's mainland China.

Research Argument

There are both similarities and differences of the party controls over higher education between the KMT and the CCP. These similarities and differences are due to the extent of selective reception and rejection of the influences from various sources such as traditional Chinese authoritarianism, the Soviet Union influence and the western values. The party control of the KMT over NCU and that of the CCP over NJU is a continuum of the government control of the Qing government over San/Liangjiang Normal School. The traditional Chinese authoritarianism is argued as the dominant element in the party controls of both the KMT and the CCP, both of which have the characteristics of a typical Chinese Confucian orientation, hierarchical structure, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern.

Why Adopt a Case Study Method and Why Choose National Central University and Nanjing University?

As commonly known, studies of higher education in China have been centered on different areas, for example, the curriculum, school administration, university reforms, student union, academic freedom and university autonomy. However, few scholars focus on the party control over the universities in China and they are even less concern about the party control continuum from the KMT to the CCP. This thesis has three major objectives. First, it describes the party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP; second, it compares and contrasts the party controls of the two parties; third, it discusses the underlying reasons for these differences and similarities. There are about 1591 public universities in present China by the year 2007.²⁴ Since the discussion on all universities is impossible, case study is the methodology adopted in this thesis. A case study method with detailed description can provide readers with a concrete picture of the party control mechanism over the universities. National Central University used to be one of the top universities in China before 1949²⁵. Today Nanjing University is also one of the top universities in China and it is also a comprehensive university under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education of the PRC²⁶. As we all know, Nanjing was once the capital of the Kuomintang regime, but today it is the capital of Jiangsu province. The political status of the city has changed a lot. So the political controls of the two parties over National Central University and Nanjing University within this century act as a good case for research.

Fieldwork and Data

I went to Nanjing for field trip twice: from 11 June 2007 to 22 June 2007 for the first time and from 21 August 2007 to 2 September 2007 for the second time, I spent twenty- four days in total. During the field trip in Nanjing, I visited Nanjing University, Southeast University, Nanjing Normal University and the Second Historical Archives of China. These four institutions are all related to National Central University and Nanjing University. Apart from

²⁴ The website of the Ministry of Education of the PRC: <http://www.moe.gov.cn/edoas/website18/info33506.htm>.

²⁵ Wang Dezi, *Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi (The History of NJU in a Hundred Years)*, Nanjing University Press, 2002, P124 and NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu (The description of centennial NJU)*, Vol. 1, Nanjing University Press, 2002, P271.

²⁶ NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P2.

collecting data in the libraries of these three universities, I also visited the campus of Southeast University. As commonly known, the current campus of Southeast University is the campus of NCU before 1949. There are still a lot of architectures of NCU preserved nowadays like the school gate and the university hall. I also went to the History Museum of Nanjing University and the Nanjing University Archives. These two places exhibited a lot of materials and documents which are related to my research. I also went to the SHAC, the most important archives which collect, arrange, catalogue, preserve, compile, and facilitate the use of the ROC archives in mainland China. All the archives of NCU before 1949 were transferred from NJU to the SHAC and were preserved there. Besides, I also went to the SHAC to search for the documents and materials which are related to my topic. I read a lot of microfilms in order to look for important documents. I also conducted some interviews. During these two field trips, I did seven face-to-face interviews. The interviewees included students of both NCU and NJU.

Literature Review

The party controls of the KMT and the CCP over higher education can be through internal supervision²⁷ and external control²⁸. Franklin W. Houn argued that the CCP's party control in press area, only has internal supervision and not external control.²⁹ I accept his argument in the CCP's party control of press. But I argue that in the domain of higher education, there is not only internal supervision but also external control; and the internal supervision is as important as the external control.

The concept of party control in this thesis is not the same as the concept of ideological control. Ideological control is only part of party control. Party control not only includes ideological control but also include personnel control, and organizational control and others.

Articles

²⁷ The concept of "internal supervision" means the party control inside the universities such as through the party branches, party secretaries and party schools.

²⁸ The concept of "external control" means the party control over the whole university system such as through national laws and national policies.

²⁹ Franklin W. Houn, Chinese Communist Control of the Press, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Winter, 1958-1959, pp. 435-448.

I divide the articles which are related to my research into two kinds: 1) studies inside the mainland China and 2) studies outside the mainland China. This research is related to the official ideology and the scholars inside mainland China always avoid to touch on the issue of the party control of the CCP. But there are a number of research of the KMT's party control in mainland China. The research inside mainland China always focus on 1) how the university control the academic affairs³⁰ 2) university autonomy and government control³¹ 3) how the KMT influence the universities³² 4) the party inside the universities³³. On the other hand, the research outside mainland China always focus on 1) ideological control over higher education³⁴ 2) party control over other areas³⁵ 3) the control of the party³⁶. There is

³⁰ Articles on this topic like Wang Enhua, Daxue Xueshu Quanli Cuowei jiqi Kongzhi (The misplacement and control of the academic power in the university), *Research in Higher Education of Engineering*, No. 3, 2004, pp. 21-22.

³¹ Articles on this topic like Li Jianping, Bainianlai Zhongguo de Daxue Zizhi yu Shehui Ganyu (A centennial survey of the self-ruling and social interventions in China universities), Vol. 7, No. 1, January 2005, *Journal of Hebei Normal University (Educational Science Edition)*, pp. 5-11.

³² Articles on this topic like Mai Wenlan, Kangzhan Qian Shinian Guomindang zai Daxue Tuixing Dangyi Jiaoyu Shuping (A survey of the KMT Party Charter's education in the universities in the decade before anti-Japanese war), *Journal of Mudanjiang Teachers College*, No. 4, 2004, pp. 31-33.

³³ Articles on this topic like Zhang Kejun, Jiaqiang Dangjian shi Minban Gaoxiao Jiankang Fazhan de Zhengzhi Baozheng (Strengthen CCP party construction is the political insurance in private universities), *China Higher Education*, Vol. 15 and 16, P59, 2007.

³⁴ Articles on this topic such as Hu Kuo-tai, The Struggle between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party on Campus during the War of Resistance, 1937-45, *The China Quarterly*, No. 118, June 1989, pp. 300-323; Christopher Buckley, Science as Politics and Politics as Science: Fang Lizhi and Chinese Intellectuals' Uncertain Road to Dissent, *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, No. 25, January 1991, pp. 1-36; Victor C. Funnell, The Chinese Communist Youth Movement, 1949-1966, *The China Quarterly*, No. 42, April-June 1970, pp. 105-130; George T. Crane, Collective Identity, Symbolic Mobilization, and Student Protest in Nanjing, China, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 26, No. 4, July 1994, pp. 395-413; Ruth Hayhoe, China's Universities since Tiananmen: A Critical Assessment, *The China Quarterly*, No. 134, June 1993, pp. 291-309; Suzanne Pepper, China's Universities: New Experiments in Socialist Democracy and Administrative Reform- A Research Report, *Modern China*, Vol. 8, No. 2, April 1982, pp. 147-204; C. T. Hu, Communist Education: Theory and Practice, *The China Quarterly*, No. 10, April – June 1962, pp. 84-97; Stanley Rosen, The Effect of Post-4 June Re-Education Campaigns on Chinese Students, *The China Quarterly*, No. 134, June 1993, 310-334; Ruth Hayhoe, Political Texts in Chinese Universities Before and After Tiananmen, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 66, No. 1, Spring, 1993, pp. 21-43; Daniel C. Lynch, Dilemmas of "Thought Work" in Fin-de-Siècle China, *The China Quarterly*, No. 157, March 1999, pp. 173-201; Peter R. Moody, The Political Culture of Chinese Students and Intellectuals: A Historical Examination, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 11, November 1988, pp. 1140-1160; James P. Harrison, The Ideological Training of Intellectuals in Communist China, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 5, No. 10, October 1965, pp. 491-502; Sylvia Chan, Political Assessment of Intellectuals before the Cultural Revolution, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, No. 9, September 1978, pp. 891-911; Mary Sheridan, The Emulation of Heroes, *The China Quarterly*, No. 33, January –March 1968, pp. 47-72.

³⁵ Articles on this topic such as Stephen C. Averill, The New Life in Action: The Nationalist Government in South Jiangxi, 1934-37, *The China Quarterly*, No. 88, December 1981, pp. 594-628; Allen B. Linden, Politics and Education in Nationalist China: The Case of the University Council, 1927-1928, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4, August 1968, pp. 763-776; Franklin W. Houn, Chinese Communist Control of the Press, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Winter, 1958-1959, pp. 435-448; A. Doak Barnett, Mechanisms for party control in the Government Bureaucracy in China, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 6, No. 12, December 1966, pp. 659-674; Murray Scot Tanner, The Erosion of Communist party control over Lawmaking in China, *The China Quarterly*, No. 138, June 1994, pp. 381-403; Stanley Rosen, Recentralization, Decentralization, and Rationalization: Deng Xiaoping's Bifurcated Educational Policy, *Modern China*, Vol. 11, No. 3, July 1985, pp. 301-346 and others.

³⁶ Articles on this topic include Pichon P. Y. Loh, Politics of Chiang Kai-shek: A Reappraisal, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, May 1966, pp. 431-451; Frederick C. Teiwes, The Origins of Rectification: Inner-Party Purges and Education before Liberation, *The China Quarterly*, No. 65, March 1976, pp. 15-53; Lawrence R. Sullivan, The Analysis of "Despotism" in the CCP: 1978-1982, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 27, No. 7, July

no research focusing on the mechanism of how the ruling party controls the universities. This is a neglected research area. There are two articles I especially want to discuss here: 1) “Party control and defence polemics in the Chinese army, 1960-1965: the problems of managing a revolutionary army and implementing people’s war strategy”;³⁷ and 2) “The making of a Chinese university: a case study of organization and administration of a key Chinese university circa 1995”.³⁸ These two unpublished papers are close to my research topic, so it could be a special reference for this research.

First is Tam Kingchiu’s research. The purpose of Tam’s study is to examine and explain the dynamics of Lin Biao’s military leadership in the period 1959-1965, and its impact upon China’s army building and defence posture, hoping that some light could be shed on Lin Biao’s historical role and the problems probably faced by the current Beijing leadership in achieving military modernization.³⁹ Tam’s research which related to my current research is mainly in his chapter 3: “The revitalization of party control in the army, 1960-1963”.⁴⁰ In chapter 3, Tam argues that the party control of the CCP in the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), in actual practice, is a hierarchical system of political control devised to ensure the allegiances of the PLA to the CCP. The Central Military Commission (CMC) of the Party Central Committee, located at the top of the hierarchy, represented the locus of military policy-making. The Ministry of National Defence (MND), under the leadership of the State Council, was responsible for carrying out the CMC’s policy-decisions.⁴¹ This CCP’s party control system over the PLA sheds light to my current research. The party control of the CCP over the NJU is also a hierarchical system. The party secretary is located at the top of the hierarchy, representing the locus of the NJU policy-making. The president, under the leadership of the CCP Party Committee of NJU, can only carry out the party secretary’s policy decisions. In Tam’s research, the CCP also established two distinctive schools of

1987, pp. 800-821; Lawrence R. Sullivan, The Role of the Control Organs in the Chinese Communist Party, 1977-83, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 24, No. 6, June 1984, pp. 597-617 and others.

³⁷ Tam Kingchiu, *Party control and defence polemics in the Chinese army, 1960-1965: the problems of managing a revolutionary army and implementing people’s war strategy*, MPhil Thesis of Department of History, Faculty of Arts, The University of Hong Kong, October 1986.

³⁸ Juming Zhao, *The making of a Chinese university: a case study of organization and administration of a key Chinese university circa 1995*, PhD thesis in the Department of Educational Studies, Faculty of Education, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, September 1998.

³⁹ Tam, *Party control and defence polemics in the Chinese army, 1960-1965*, P1.

⁴⁰ Tam, *ibid*, pp. 56-107.

⁴¹ Tam, *ibid*, pp.56-57.

thought with respect to the question of civilian control over the armed forces in military studies. The idealistic school advocates “objective civilian control” through achieving an optimum position of equilibrium between two significant variables, namely, military imperatives on one hand and societal values on the other.⁴² The functions of this organization are similar to the party school in NJU nowadays. The means of the party control of idealistic school in the PLA are:⁴³

- 1) Constitutional restraints;
- 2) Civilian control;
- 3) Institutional re-arrangements;
- 4) Political indoctrination and education;
- 5) Resort to “terror, conspiracy, surveillance and force”.

These are some means still adopted by the CCP in the NJU such as the last 3 means. I agree with Tam’s argument: “Among these five alternatives, it is obvious that education and political indoctrination would be most favored in China because it meant a program of systematic and continuous politicization which would create military officers who were professional experts as well as politically active citizens.”⁴⁴

This paper benefits me on the party control methods which adopted by the CCP. All the institutional re-arrangement, political induction and education, and resort to “terror, conspiracy, surveillance and force” are still being used by the CCP in its party controls over the NJU. It also benefits me on the concept of hierarchical system. But the limitations are also obvious. Tam only pointed out that there was a hierarchical system existed in the party control of the CCP, but he did not elaborate this in the context of authoritarianism. Also this paper was only focused on the PLA during 1960s and the party control over the PLA was not Tam’s main research focus. Due to different area of study and different time periods, there are still a lot to be elaborated in my study.

The second thesis by Juming Zhao is a case study of organization and administration of a key Chinese University circa 1995 similar to my current study. The author of this paper specifically described the organization and administration in Huazhong University of

⁴² Tam, *ibid*, P59.

⁴³ Tam, *ibid*, P60.

⁴⁴ Tam, *ibid*, P60.

Science and Technology (HUST) in Wuhan. Both NJU and HUST are universities in mainland China nowadays, so the university running system is similar to each other. So his research which concerns about the university structure can be served as a reference for me. The chapter 11 of this thesis (The Party system: its role in management) is most helpful to me.⁴⁵ At the beginning of this chapter, Zhao pointed out an interesting phenomenon which was the HUST seems reluctant to present this fact in its image to the outside world. What's role of the CCP played in the HUST? Zhao used a word "cornerstone" to summarize. I cannot agree his argument on this issue, although the "cornerstone" has showed how important the CCP is. In my opinion, the role of the CCP in a university can be described as an ideological supervisor and policy executor. This argument is due to most of the cadres in NJU in the administrative system have CCP memberships. Although the university policies are carried out by the university administrative system, it is still under the party control of the CCP. How does the CCP ensure its control in HUST? Zhao held that: 1) through the growth in members and the party membership; 2) inner-party democracy (*dangnei minzhu*) and inner-party centralization; 3) party activities. Zhao also points out that the relations between the president system and the party system are parallel and integrating. Inside the university, the party system is higher than the president system. An example is that the president is under the leadership of CCP Party Committee of NJU (and the party secretary). Zhao touched the role of the CCP in HUST, but he did not specify clearly the characteristics of the party controls of the CCP.

Books

The books also can be divided into two kinds: published by mainland Chinese scholars and published by the scholars outside mainland China.

The books published by the mainland Chinese scholars:

First, there are a series of books which are published by the NJU or the other universities. Although these books are not directly related to the party controls over the KMT and the CCP, they offer abundant historical materials and documents which help to understand the two parties' controls. The most important and useful book is the "*Nanjing Daxue Bainian*

⁴⁵ Juming Zhao, *The making of a Chinese university*, pp. 248-276.

Shilu” (The description of centennial NJU).⁴⁶ This book is published for celebrating NJU’s centennial. Documents and materials from the book are mainly from the SHAC.⁴⁷ This book includes the richest archives of the history of NJU from its establishment in 1902 to the centennial in 2002. In this book, it sorts the historical materials and documents of Nanjing University specifically. This book offers a rough picture of the development of the governmental control over through San/Liangjiang Normal School, the NCU and the NJU. There are three other books: 1) “*Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi*” (The centennial history of NJU)⁴⁸ 2) “*Yu Shiji Tongxing: Nanjing Daxue Bainian Laoxinwen (1902-2001)*” [Go with the times: the news in centennial NJU (1902 - 2001)]⁴⁹ 3) “*Bainian Nanda*” (NJU: the centennial)⁵⁰ also published for celebrating NJU’s centennial. Another book, which is published for celebrating the centennial of Southeast University, also serves for my research. Because Southeast University used to be one part of NJU and was separated from NJU in the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952, so this book is useful. The name of this book is “*Mei’an Shihua*” (The history of Southeast University)⁵¹. Another series of books, which are related to the history of NJU, are also useful. These books include the “*Nanjing Daxue Shi: 1902-1992*” (the history of NJU: 1902 - 1992)⁵², “*Nanjing Daxue Dashiji*” (The Chronicles of NJU)⁵³, “*Nanjing Daxue*” (NJU)⁵⁴, “*Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Yilan*” (the outline of NCU)⁵⁵ and “*Nanda Yishi*” (Interesting stories of NJU)⁵⁶. These books along with the data being collected during my field trip to NJU and the SHAC are the fundamental research data in this thesis.

⁴⁶ NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*.

⁴⁷ The Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC), primarily the Records Management Office of Nanjing, preserving the original records of previous central government and their subordinate organs during 1912--1949 period, was founded in February 1951 and is located at 309 Zhongshan East Road, Nanjing. It was previously under the administration of the Research Institute of Modern History of Chinese Academy of Sciences, then the State Archives Bureau. The mission of the SHAC is to collect, preserve, arrange, catalogue, compile, and facilitate the use of the holdings of the Archives.

⁴⁸ Wang Dezi, *Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi*.

⁴⁹ Fang Yanming, *Yu Shiji Tongxing: Nanjing Daxue Bainian Laoxinwen (1902-2001)* [Go with the times: the news in centennial NJU (1902 to 2001)], Nanjing University Press, 2002.

⁵⁰ *Bainian Nanda (NJU: the centennial)*, Nanjing University Press, 2002.

⁵¹ Min Zhuo, *Mei’an Shihua (The history of Southeast University)*, Southeast University Press, 2000.

⁵² *Nanjing Daxue Shi: 1902-1992 (The history of Nanjing University from 1902 to 1992)*, Nanjing Daxue Press, 1992.

⁵³ *Nanjing Daxue Dashiji (The Chronicles of Nanjing University)*, Edited by the Institute of Higher Education of NJU, NJU, 1989.

⁵⁴ Hong Yinxing, *Nanjing Daxue (Nanjing University)*, Zhejiang University Press, 1999.

⁵⁵ *Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Yilan (The outline of National Central University)*, (Nanjing, National Central University), 1930.

⁵⁶ Gong Fang, Wang Yunlai, & Yuan Lilai, *Nanda Yishi (Interesting stories in NJU)*, Liaohai Press, 2000.

The biographies of different persons who are related to NCU and NJU also can provide information for my research. These kinds of books include: 1) “*Zhang Zhidong Quanjī*” (Collected Edition of Zhang Zhidong)⁵⁷ 2) “*Zhiping Zhishan; Hongsheng Dongnan: Dongnan Daxue Xiaozhang Guo Bingwen*” (Guo Bingwen: the president of NSU)⁵⁸ 3) “*Nanjing Daxue Xiaoyou Yinghua*” (The elites in NJU alumni)⁵⁹. Take the “Collected Edition of Zhang Zhidong” as example. This book is a description of Zhang Zhidong’s whole life. In fact, one chapter of this book is especially useful to my thesis. This chapter is the description of his activities in the Self-Strengthening Movement over the education area, especially his proposal of “*Zouding Xuetaang Zhangcheng*” (Guimao Educational System). It offers a clear picture of the government control over the higher education system during the Qing Dynasty. But these series of books share the same limitation which is a lack of analysis. They only provide historical materials and documents.

The second series of books which are related to my research are the books about the KMT. These books includes “*Zhongguo Guomindang Shi*” (A History of the KMT)⁶⁰, “*Guomindang Zhengfu Zhengzhi Zhidu Dang’an Shiliao Xuanbian*” (The archive selections of the political institution of the KMT government)⁶¹, “*Guomindang zai Dalu he Taiwan*” (The KMT in mainland China and Taiwan)⁶², “*Dangyuan; Dangquan yu Dangzheng: 1924-1949nian Zhongguo Guomindang de Zuzhi Xingtai*” (Party member, party power and party conflict: the organizational configuration of the KMT from 1902 to 1949)⁶³.

Among these second book series, the book “*Zhongguo Guomindang Shi*” (A History of the KMT) is the most important and useful. There is a complete history of the KMT from its establishment in late 1890s to its rule in Taiwan in the 1990s. This book offers me abundant materials and documents of the KMT. In the early days of the KMT, the creators of the KMT

⁵⁷ *Zhang Zhidong Quanjī (Collections of Zhang Zhidong)*, Hebei People’s Press, 1998.

⁵⁸ Mao Rong, *Zhiping Zhishan; Hongsheng Dongnan: Dongnan Daxue Xiaozhang Guo Bingwen* (Guo Bingwen: the president of National Southeast University), Shandong Education Press, 2004.

⁵⁹ Gu Shuxin, & Zhang Shilang, *Nanjing Daxue Xiaoyou Yinghua (The elites in NJU alumni)*, Nanjing University Press, 1992.

⁶⁰ Liu Jianqing, Wang Jiadian, & Xu Boliang, *Zhongguo Guomindang Shi (A History of the KMT)*, Jiangsu Ancient Books Press, 1992.

⁶¹ *Guomindang Zhengfu Zhengzhi Zhidu Dang’an Shiliao Xuanbian (The archive selections of the political institution of the KMT government)*, Edited by the SHAC, Anhui Education Press, 1994.

⁶² Zhang Xingding, Chen Yuejun, & Han Kong bi, *Guomindang zai Dalu he Taiwan (The KMT in mainland China and Taiwan)*, Sichuan People’s Publishing House, 1991.

⁶³ Wang Qisheng, *Dangyuan; Dangquan yu Dangzheng: 1924-1949nian Zhongguo Guomindang de Zuzhi Xingtai (Party member, Party power and Party conflict: the organizational configuration of the KMT from 1902 to 1949)*, Shanghai Shudian Press, 2003.

were mainly the Chinese businessmen. As commonly known, the origin of the Chinese businessmen is mainly from the bureaucracy of the Qing Dynasty. So the KMT has a typical Chinese culture characteristic since its establishment.

In this book I also notice that both the KMT and the CCP are related to one person-Henk Sneevliet, who is a delegate from the Comintern. In 1921, Henk Sneevliet was appointed to China as a delegate of the Comintern to carry out the aids. He attended the first congress of the CCP and helped the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party. And then he met Sun Yat-sen in Guilin on 23 December 1921 and introduced to sum the history of the Soviet Union and the New Economic Policy. Under the effort of Henk Sneevliet, the CCP cooperated with the KMT and its members were encouraged to join the KMT while maintaining their separate party identities. After this cooperation, the First United Front between the two Chinese political parties was established. The similarity of the two political parties' organizational system is due to the Soviet influence.

The book “*Guomindang Zhengfu Zhengzhi Zhidu Dang'an Shiliao Xuanbian*” (The archive selections of the political institution of the KMT government) is also useful. This book's documents are mostly from the archives in the SHAC. Many archives can be used for this research. Obviously, the advantages of these two books are also the disadvantages. These books are factual descriptions without analyses. Although the other books have some analyses of the KMT, they have little relation to party control.

There are two other books, “*Zhonghua Min'guo Jiaoyu Fagui Xuanbian*” (The selections of education laws and rules of the ROC)⁶⁴ and “*Zhonghua Min'guo Shi Dang'an Ziliao Huibian*” (The archive selections of the history of the ROC).⁶⁵ Although these two books talk about the ROC, it is still useful in this research. As commonly known, the ROC is ruled by the KMT; so the archives related to the ROC are also about the KMT.

These books offer me a clear picture of the KMT's history and organizational mechanism. Due to the aids from the Soviet Union and the cultural roots from the traditional Chinese authoritarianism, the KMT is a new political party for capitalism but with a distinctive

⁶⁴ Song Enrong, & Zhang Xian, *Zhonghua Min'guo Jiaoyu Fagui Xuanbian* (The selections of education laws and rules of Republic of China), Jiangsu Education Press, 2005.

⁶⁵ *Zhonghua Min'guo Shi Dang'an Ziliao Huibian* (The archive selections of the history of Republic of China), Edited by the SHAC, Jiangsu Ancient Books Press, 2000.

traditional Chinese authoritarianism identity. Based on these books, I found the organizational mechanism of the KMT is similar to the Qing government and the core of the central value system of the KMT is still the traditional Chinese authoritarianism such as Confucianism which is similar to the Qing government.

The third series is about the CCP. There are too many books about the CCP such as “*Dangwei Shuji Daquan*” (The collected edition of Party secretaries)⁶⁶ and so on. In this series of books, it offers me a clear picture of the history and the organizational mechanism of the CCP. Depending on the descriptions and arguments in these books, I found the CCP is also a Chinese political party with typical traditional Chinese authoritarianism. So whether the party control over Nanjing University is also with typical traditional Chinese authoritarianism is worth to develop in this thesis. Although communism is created in Western Europe, developed in the Soviet Union and accepted by the Chinese communists, and the organizational mechanism of the CCP is one of the communist style, the CCP organizations are still with typical traditional Chinese authoritarianism characteristics. The disadvantages of these books are also obvious. They did not mention party control over higher education but they could offer materials about the CCP control over higher education.

The books published by the scholars outside mainland China:

The books published by the scholars outside mainland China can be divided into 4 series. The first series is about NCU and NJU. This series books are as follows: “*San/Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang, 1903-1911*” (San/Liangjiang Normal School, 1903-1911: A Study of Modern Chinese Advanced Education)⁶⁷. In fact, this book is focus on San/Liangjiang Normal School which is the predecessor of Nanjing University. In this book, there are a number of descriptions of the government control over San/Liangjiang Normal School. The government control of the Qing Dynasty over San/Liangjiang Normal School has a typical Chinese traditional culture identity. The control method of the Qing government is a succession of the traditional Chinese government control. This issue is useful in my thesis. But the disadvantage of this book is also obvious. The author, Su Yunfeng in this book aims at

⁶⁶ Xue Qiliang, *Dangwei Shuji Daqua* (The collected edition of party secretaries), Hebei People's Press, 1990.

⁶⁷ Su Yunfeng, *San/Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang, 1903-1911* (Early History of Nanking University, 1903-1911: A Study of Modern Chinese Advanced Education), Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1998.

demonstrating the Japan influences over San/Liangjiang Normal School. In fact, the Japanese did play an important role in the school especially on the teaching area but we also notice that traditional Chinese authoritarianism still exerted its influence in the school.

The second series books are about the Chinese higher education. There are so many books about the Chinese higher education. So I divide this series into the following kinds: 1) the general introductions of Chinese higher education: “*Zhongguo Dalu Jiaoyu Yanjiu*” (Research of mainland China’s higher education)⁶⁸, “Chinese Higher Education”⁶⁹, “Higher Education in Post-Mao China”⁷⁰; 2) books on the Chinese universities: “China’s Universities”⁷¹, “China’s Universities 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict”⁷²; 3) books about the Chinese higher education reforms: “China Higher Education Reform”⁷³, “China’s Education Reform in the 1980s”⁷⁴ and “Radicalism and Education Reform in Twentieth-Century China”⁷⁵; 4) books about the university students: “China’s Students: The struggle for democracy”⁷⁶.

In this series of books, I want to take Ruth Hayhoe’s book “China’s Universities 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict” as an example. This book is useful in my current research. In this book, Ruth Hayhoe discusses the development of higher education in China from the 1895 to 1995. In fact, not only limited in this period, she also discusses some situations of the development in higher education in ancient imperial China. In China, a very different set of scholarly values arose over a long historical process. Given China’s culture and linguistic domination of East Asia, an understanding of some of the main values of the Chinese scholarly tradition is helpful also for interpreting the experience of other East Asian societies.

Ruth Hayhoe also argues that “it is difficult to characterize several thousand years of

⁶⁸ Yan Qingxiang, *Zhongguo Dalu Jiaoyu Yanjiu (Research of mainland China’s higher education)*, Wu-Nan Culture Enterprise, 2004.

⁶⁹ Ruiqing Du, *Chinese Higher Education*, 1992.

⁷⁰ *Higher Education in Post-Mao China*, Edited by Michael Agelasto and Bob Adamson, Hong Kong University Press, 1998.

⁷¹ Suzanne Pepper, *China’s Universities*, Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1984.

⁷² Ruth Hayhoe, *China’s Universities 1895-1995*.

⁷³ *China Higher Education Reform*, The World Bank, Washington, D. C., 1997.

⁷⁴ Suzanne Pepper, *China’s Education Reform in the 1980s*, The Regents of the University of California, University of California, Berkeley, 1990.

⁷⁵ Suzanne Pepper, *Radicalism and Education Reform in Twentieth-Century China*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁷⁶ Ruth Cherrington, *China’s Students: The struggle for democracy*, Routledge, London and New York, 1991.

Chinese scholarly institutions by reference to two or three core values. We can say with some certainty, however, that they were neither autonomy nor academic freedom, and that there were no institutions in Chinese tradition that could accurately be called a university.”⁷⁷ I agree with Ruth Hayhoe on this issue.

When we refer to the arguments of Ruth Hayhoe to the Chinese higher education from 1860 to 1966 we may notice that she always mentions the importance of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. “The Soviet patterns had reinforced the tendencies toward the centralization of knowledge and uniformity of thought that characterized the imperial examination system, with a new bureaucracy developing strong patterns of social stratification”⁷⁸. She also emphasized that the universities in China always characterized a very typical characteristic which influenced by both the western values and the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. “From the perspective of higher education and culture, it might be seen as a swing of the pendulum from the highly authoritarian academic centralism that represented a kind of melding of state Confucianism with Soviet/European academicism to an opposite extreme of populism and integration into society that ended up close to nihilism.”⁷⁹ These arguments are very useful and helpful in my thesis. But this book is focused on academic freedom, university autonomy and the geographical balance of Chinese university. It is not directly related to the party control over the Chinese universities. This book also focuses on the whole higher education system in China, although Ruth Hayhoe shares two chapters to discuss some sample universities in the Central South China and Northwest China, she does not relate to Nanjing University and the party control over the universities. So this will be my research focus.

The third series of books are about the KMT. This series of books are as follows: “*Guomindang Bainian Kankelu*” (The History of the centennial KMT)⁸⁰, “*Zhongguo Zhengdang Shi*” (The history of Chinese political parties)⁸¹, “The Kuomintang’s Party Work

⁷⁷ Ruth Hayhoe, *China’s Universities 1895-1995*, P10.

⁷⁸ Ruth Hayhoe, *ibid*, P90.

⁷⁹ Ruth Hayhoe, *ibid*, P106.

⁸⁰ Cai Jinxuan, *Guomindang Bainian Kankelu (The History of the centennial KMT)*, Zhiqing Channel Publishing House, 1995.

⁸¹ Yang Youjiong, *Zhongguo Zhengdang Shi (The history of Chinese political parties)*, The Commercial Press, Taiwan, 1979.

Development: Party History Materials Compilation Work”⁸², “The Kuomintang-Communist struggle in China, 1922-1949”⁸³, “The Kuomintang: selected historical documents”⁸⁴. In these books, the book series “The Kuomintang’s Party Work Development” are the most useful and helpful. These books are edited by the Historical Commission of Central Committee of the Kuomintang in Taipei. It offers a number of party organizational materials of the KMT for this research. It also has no analysis in the party control over higher education.

The fourth series are about the CCP. These books are as follows: “The CCP provincial party first secretary: recruitment and career, 1949-1987”⁸⁵, “The Communist Party of China: Party powers and group politics from the third Plenum to the twelfth Party Congress”⁸⁶ and others. The limitations are the same as the books about the KMT.

The fifth series are about the nature of Chinese politics such as Lucian Pye’s “The Spirit of Chinese Politics”⁸⁷. In this book, Pye talked about the spirit of Chinese politics including concepts used in my arguments (Confucian orientation, hierarchical structure, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern). These series are related to the concept of traditional Chinese authoritarianism.

Graph 2: Evolution of National Central University and Nanjing University

⁸² Chen Pengren, *The Kuomintang’s Party Work Development*, National Central Library, 2000.

⁸³ Gui Chongji, *The Kuomintang-Communist struggle in China, 1922-1949*, The Hague : M. Nijhoff, 1970.

⁸⁴ Jan-tze, Shieh, *The Kuomintang: selected historical documents*, St. John’s University Press, New York, 1970.

⁸⁵ Chiang, Chiahsung, *The CCP provincial party first secretary: recruitment and career, 1949-1987*, Michigan State University, Michigan, 1990.

⁸⁶ Tien, Hung-mao, *The Communist Party of China: Party powers and group politics from the third Plenum to the twelfth Party Congress*, University of Maryland, 1984.

⁸⁷ Lucian W. Pye, *The Spirit of Chinese Politics*.

CHAPTER TWO: COMPARISON OF PARTY CONTROLS OF THE KMT AND THE CCP OVER PERSONNEL IN THE NATIONAL CENTRAL UNIVERSITY AND THE NANJING UNIVERSITY BEFORE AND AFTER 1949

The party controls over personnel of the KMT are divided into spiritual control, ideological control and organizational control. As I mentioned before, all the spiritual control of the Chinese regimes is focused on Confucianism. The core of the KMT's ideological control is the Three People's Principles (Nationalism, *Minzu*; Democracy, *Minquan*; and People's Livelihood, *Minsheng*) and the implementation of the KMT's party control is the Three People's Principles education. The KMT also set a lot of party control organizations among different social groups. Meanwhile, the CCP's party control over personnel in higher education is also both ideological and organizational. Some measures of the ideological control are substantial and some are invisible. The substantial measures include ideological courses, seminars and talks. Ideological propaganda through channels such as the TVs, movies, newspapers and internet are also substantial ideological controls. In Nanjing University, the organizational control includes "*danwei*" institution (work unit or total institution).⁸⁸ Prior to Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms, a "*danwei*" acted as the first step of a multi-tiered hierarchy linking each individual with the central Communist Party infrastructure. "*Danwei*" were the principal method of implementing the CCP party policy. Also workers were bound to their "*danwei*" for life. Each "*danwei*" determined their members' housing, child care, schools, clinics, shops, services, post offices, etc. So due to the character of autarkic of "*danwei*" institution, the hierarchical system, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern are existed in daily running, resource distribution, etc.

The most important substantial control measure of the KMT and the CCP is the laws (such as the "University Organic Law"⁸⁹ for the KMT while "Constitution of People's Republic of China"⁹⁰, "Education Law of People's Republic of China"⁹¹ and "Higher Education Law of

⁸⁸ "*Danwei*" is the name given to a place of employment in mainland China. In English there are two translations: work unit and total institution. This research accepts the translation of total institution. While the term "*danwei*" remains in use today it is more properly used to refer to a place of employment during the period when the Chinese economy was still more heavily socialist or when used in the context of one of state-owned enterprises.

⁸⁹ *University Organic Law*, issued by Nationalist Government in July 1929 and modified in April 1934.

⁹⁰ Prologue, *Constitution of People's Republic of China (English version)*.

⁹¹ Article 3, *Education Law of People's Republic of China (English version)*.

People's Republic of China"⁹² for the CCP). In fact, these laws also influenced the party controls of the KMT and the CCP over the whole university.

Student

Fundamental ideology

NCU

The Three People's Principles was the fundamental ideology of the KMT ideological education. "Students should well understand the core spirit of the Three People's Principles. Furthermore, students should be well educated by science in order to carry out the spirit of the Three People's Principles in daily life much better."⁹³ In order to implement the Three People's Principles education, the KMT central government issued a series of measures to insure the implementation. In NCU, the Three People's Principles were part of the compulsory course and examinations, especially the university entrance examinations.⁹⁴ "The new Ministry of Education of the ROC proceeded to develop policies and legislations for education that put a strong emphasis on practical knowledge and skills, as well as setting in place patterns that would ensure strong central control and ideological conformity to Sun Yat-sen's 'Three People's Principles', a kind of nationalist credo."⁹⁵ Also in NCU, two organizations were set up to carry out the Three People's Principles education. One was the Discipline and Education Committee and the other was the Military Administration Committee.

NJU

The fundamental ideology of the CCP ideological education is Communism. The Chinese Communists established a hierarchical system which under the guidance of Maoism which is a kind of Marxism with typical Chinese characteristic. Soon after the CCP seized NJU from the KMT, a series of ideological remolding measures were implemented. In 1956, Sun Shuping, the party secretary of the CCP Party Committee of NJU, vice president of the

⁹² Article 3, *Higher Education Law of People's Republic of China (English version)*.

⁹³ Chapter 3, *Sanmin Zhuyi Jiaoyu Shishi Yuanze (Implemental Principles of the Three People's Principles)*, September 1931, Archives Vol. 648, No. 000862, the SHAC, Nanjing.

⁹⁴ National Fourth Sun Yat-sen University, Xiaobenbu Guanyu Buxing Tebie Zhuanxue Ruxue Shiyan Tonggao (The notification of additional tests of the special transfer test and entrance test in the main campus). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P257.

⁹⁵ Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities 1895-1995*, P52.

university, proposed the idea of “building Chinese characteristic of socialist higher education” and pointed out that Chinese education should have “its own system”, “its own specialized subject”, “its own teaching plan”, “its own teaching programme”, “its own textbooks” and “its own style of study”, which was really important to the development of Chinese education. To carry out this policy, Marxism Research Studio was set up in 1953 in NJU. This Marxism Research Studio focused on how to indoctrinate Marxism to the students in NJU. This policy is still followed in current NJU and mainland China. Both the Education Law of the PRC and Higher Education Law of the PRC emphasize that: “the state adheres to the development of the cause of socialist higher education with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping’s Theory as guidance following the basic principles defined by the Constitution.”⁹⁶

In NJU, the ideology and moral courses are compulsory. In mainland China, these courses go with the students all through their whole education. But the focus is different. In primary school, it focuses on the fundamental moral education; in junior high school period, the moral education is reduced and ideological education is increased gradually; in senior high school, the only focus is the ideological indoctrination. In higher education, the course focus is transferred to historical education with the emphasis on the history of China’s New-Democratic Revolution.⁹⁷ In Deng Xiaoping’s view, the education will make the students understand why the Chinese people of all nationalities in China’s New-Democratic Revolution chose the CCP leadership ultimately.⁹⁸ In NJU, both the National College Entrance Examination and the Entry Examination for post-graduate degree all need to take exams of ideology and moral courses. Even all sorts of qualification exams all over the country also need to take the test in this area. The CCP aims to use this measure to influence the students’ value system. One cannot avoid this ideological influence if one wants to be

⁹⁶ Article 3, *Education Law of People’s Republic of China (English version)* and Article 3, *Higher Education Law of People’s Republic of China (English version)*.

⁹⁷ China’s New-Democratic Revolution is a concept based on Mao Zedong’s “class struggle theory”. In Mao’s view, the revolution in China can be divided into two successive periods. The first period is the “Old-Democratic Revolution” which is led by the bourgeoisie aims to set up a republic of bourgeoisie dictatorship. This period is from 1840 to 1911. And then the second period: “New-Democratic Revolution” which is from 1911 to 1949 led by the CCP. The aim of the “New-Democratic Revolution” is to set up a People’s democratic dictatorship in China. The enemies in this period are colonialism, feudalism and capitalism.

⁹⁸ *Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Gaige Xuexiao Sixiang Pinde he Zhenzhi Lilun Kechen Jiaoxue de Tongzhi (The notification of the reforms in the ideology and moral course in school education from the CCP Central Committee)*, 1 August 1985.

educated in mainland China.

Youth league

NCU

The Three People's Principles Youth League was the most important party control organization in NCU. Three People's Principles Youth League was founded in Wuchang in July 1938. The functions of Three People's Principles Youth League are very similar to the Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL) today.⁹⁹ The Three People's Principles Youth League was incorporated into the KMT in 1947. The KMT proposed that all the Chinese youth had the responsibility to join the KMT.¹⁰⁰ The KMT also emphasized that the party branches should be set up in the higher education system.¹⁰¹ The Three People's Principles Youth League indoctrinated the KMT ideology to youths by using the ideological training and live training in NCU.¹⁰²

NJU

The CCYL is an organization under the CCP for elder youths who are aged from "14 years old to 28 years old"¹⁰³ in today's China¹⁰⁴. It provides a coherent system of indoctrinating the communist ideas to the youths. As long as the students can enter NJU, almost all of them are CCYL members, so the CCYL is a very important organ of the CCP in controlling or influencing thoughts of the Chinese youths in NJU.¹⁰⁵ The membership of the CCYL influences students all the time. If one wants to apply for something in universities, one must

⁹⁹ The CCYL, founded in 1920, was originally named as the Socialist Youth League of China, with the CCP officially established in July 1921. After the foundation of the PRC in 1949, the CCYL was renamed to "New Democratic Revolution Youth League of China". And then it changed its name to Chinese Communist Youth League in the third Congress in 1957.

¹⁰⁰ Liu Jianqing, Wang Jiadian, & Xu Boliang, *Zhongguo Guomindang Shi (A History of the KMT)*, Jiangsu Ancient Books Press, 1992, P512. In fact, this announcement was released by the Propaganda Department of KMT Central Committee during the 1930s. This is only a policy in that period and not means the KMT insisted this policy all the time.

¹⁰¹ Liu Jianqing, Wang Jiadian, & Xu Boliang, *ibid*, P514.

¹⁰² *Sanmin Zhuyi de Shishi Yuanze (The principle of the implement of the Three People's Principles)*, Archives Vol. 648, No. 000862-00925, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹⁰³ Article 1, *The Constitution of the Chinese Communist Youth League (English version)*.

¹⁰⁴ Article 49, The Communist Youth League of China is a mass organization of advanced young people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China; it is a school where a large number of young people learn about socialism with Chinese characteristics and about communism through practice; it is the Party's assistant and reserve force. The Central Committee of the Communist Youth League functions under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party. The local chapters of the Communist Youth League are under the leadership of the CCP Party Committees at the corresponding levels and of the higher organizations of the League itself.

¹⁰⁵ Please refer to Table 2 to Table 6 for further information.

fill forms first. In these forms, marking one's political identity is compulsory. The choices only include memberships in the CCYL, the CCP or without organizational membership. The CCYL set up CCYL branches and CCYL secretaries in every class. So the CCYL is a hierarchical organization: on the top of the CCYL is the CCYL committee of NJU and the CCYL branches in the class are at the bottom. The CCYL branch secretary is as important as the class monitor. In NJU, the CCP Party Committee issued that the CCYL secretary and the CCYL branch should be the core of each class; meanwhile the fundamental functions of the CCYL branch in the classes are taking up the ideological education.¹⁰⁶ The relations between the CCYL secretary and class monitor is similar to the relations between the president and party secretary at the university level. In fact, the mechanism of the CCYL secretary at the class level is a copy of the CCP party secretary mechanism which puts the students in NJU under the party organizational control. This centralized mechanism also leads to paternalism of the CCYL committee in NJU.

*Student discipline and education*¹⁰⁷

NCU

Before 1949, the KMT exercised its control over students through Discipline and Education Committee (DEC) (*Xunyu Weiyuanhui*). "The education of the ROC means educating the students based on the Three People's Principles."¹⁰⁸ The KMT central government established the DEC to carry out this assumption. The DEC was a hierarchical system which was divided into two different levels: one was at the ministry level and the other was at the school level. In NCU, the DEC was established under the guideline issued by the Ministry of Education of the ROC and the responsibilities were as follows¹⁰⁹: 1) working out the discipline and education plan 2) auditing teachers' advice 3) accessing score of students' moral behaviors 4) supervising students' extra-curricular activities 5) supervising students'

¹⁰⁶ The Fifth Party Congress of Nanjing University, Zhonggong Nanjing Daxue Diwujie Daibiao Dahui Guanyu Jianquan Xuesheng Gongzuo Tizhi de Jueyi (The decision of completing the students' working system of the 5th party congress of Nanjing University), 20 March 1979. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P595.

¹⁰⁷ The term "discipline" here in Chinese is "*Jilv*". "Discipline" here means education while restricting students from bad behaviors.

¹⁰⁸ *Xunyu Gangyao* (Compendium of discipline education), issued by the Ministry of Education of the ROC on 25 September 1939, Song Enrong, & Zhang Xian, *Zhonghua Min'guo Jiaoyu Fagui Xuanbian*, P146.

¹⁰⁹ *Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Xunyu Weiyuanhui Zuzhi Guicheng* (Organizational regulations of Discipline Committee of National Central University), Archives Vol. 648, No. 000784, the SHAC, Nanjing.

team works 6) adjudicating students' discipline cases. The ideological education plan was implemented by the DEC. The cores of the ideological education were as follows: 1) believing in Three Peoples' Principles and 2) believing in and obeying the head of state.¹¹⁰ The guideline was also carried out in NCU.

Tutorial system was another party control measure of the KMT in NCU. In fact, the tutorial system was copied from the Oxford University and Cambridge University. But this system changed a lot after it was introduced to China. In Oxford and Cambridge, the aim of the tutorial system was to educate students regarding their daily lives. In China, educating the students regarding their daily lives maintained but also ideological control was added into the tutorial system. "The tutor should be responsible for students' moralities and behaviors."¹¹¹ It means that the KMT used teachers of NCU to serve as moral supervisors on the students. Although moral supervision was not exactly political control; but it was no doubt that the KMT also wanted to control the development of students' moralities. So it could be considered that the tutorial system was one of the party controls of the KMT over the students in NCU.

NJU

The party control over the student discipline and education, to the CCP after 1949, mainly carried out by the CCYL. In NJU, the CCP Party Committee issued that the CCYL committee is in charge of the whole university student discipline and education. The students union is under its supervision and the union chairman is a member of the CCYL committee. The CCYL committee and students union usually share the same group of leadership. The responsibilities were divided between the CCYL and students union: 1) the CCYL committee is in charge of the students' ideological education and organizational constructions; 2) the students union is in charge of the student's study, daily campus life and extracurricular activities.¹¹² In other words, the functions of NJU students union are taken away by the

¹¹⁰ Qingnian Xunlian Dagang (Compendium of youth training), released by the Ministry of Education of the ROC on 23 February 1938, Song Enrong, & Zhang Xian, *Zhonghua Min'guo Jiaoyu Fagui Xuanbian*, P136.

¹¹¹ *Zhongdeng Yishang Xuexiao Daoshizhi Gangyao* (Compendium of tutorial system in medium school and above), Archives Vol. 648, No. 000862, the SHAC, Nanjing

¹¹² The Fifth Party Congress of Nanjing University, *Zhonggong Nanjing Daxue Diwujie Daibiao Dahui Guanyu Jianquan Xuesheng Gongzuo Tizhi de Jueyi* (The decision of completing the students' working system of the 5th party congress of Nanjing University), 20 March 1979. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P595.

CCYL committee and the power of the student discipline and education was seized by the CCP completely in this process.

Comparison

Source of leadership is a very important difference between the KMT's and the CCP's party control organizations. The DEC was under the leadership of university president and the CCYL committee is under the direct leadership of the CCP. The DEC was an independent party control organization in NCU and its status was higher than the registry and public affairs office.¹¹³ The CCYL committee is attached to the CCP Party Committee of NJU. Its status is equal to the registry and public affairs office.¹¹⁴ The third important difference between these two party control organizations is their relations with the students union. The DEC had no relationship with the students union. The students union was an independent students self-governing organization in NCU before 1949. But it is different in NJU. The CCYL committee is interlocked with the students union. The party control of the CCP is stricter at this point because the power of the students union is seized under its control. In the KMT period, the students could express their own political ideas and demands through the students union to the university authority. But it is blocked in the CCP's NJU nowadays. The fourth difference is related to the third difference. Because of the interlocking relationship between the CCYL committee and the students union, the students of NJU can be the member of the CCYL committee and take part in the CCP's party control. The KMT's DEC membership qualification was stricter: 1) The KMT membership was compulsory 2) used to act as a professor or a lecturer in the university or academy in the past or 3) persons with excellent academic ability and moral behavior.¹¹⁵ So students were not part of the DEC members. Although there are many differences, the basic targets, functions and fundamental structures of the CCYL committee and the KMT's DEC are similar to each other.

Student recruitment

¹¹³ *Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Xunyu Weiyuanhui Zuzhi Guicheng (The organizational regulations of the DEC of National Central University)*, Vol., 648, No. 000784, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹¹⁴ The Fifth Party Congress of Nanjing University, *Zhonggong Nanjing Daxue Diwujie Daibiao Dahui Guanyu Jianquan Xuesheng Gongzuo Tizhi de Jueyi (The decision of completing the students' working system of the 5th party congress of Nanjing University)*, 20 March 1979. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P595.

¹¹⁵ *Zhuanke Yishang Xuexiao Xundao Renyuan Zige Shencha Tiaoli (Qualification censorship regulations of the DEC members)*, 3 July 1939, Vol., 648, Serial number 000862, the SHAC, Nanjing.

In the student recruitment regulations, there are some articles which are related to the party control; the KMT period has generally fewer such regulations than the CCP period. In some recruitment regulations of NCU, the party control was implicative. In those posters, the only requirement which related to the party control was the test of Party Charter of the KMT.¹¹⁶ But most of the recruitment regulations were without this political requirement. Recruitment regulations of NJU are different. The political requirements are obvious and compulsory. Nearly almost all of the recruitment regulations of NJU have the same requirement: the CCP defenders (believe in Communism and devote themselves into the socialism movements). But these kinds of recruitment regulations only focus on the mainland students, including undergraduates¹¹⁷, masters¹¹⁸ or PhDs¹¹⁹. Not only the recruitment regulations have the party control elements, but also the party control runs through all the registration¹²⁰, study¹²¹, rewarding¹²² and graduation¹²³. But NJU do not use these political requirements over the students who come from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and foreign countries. The only political requirements: 1) for students from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan focuses on the moral areas;¹²⁴ 2) for students from foreign countries focuses on obeying the Chinese laws.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ The regulations which has these requirements are followed: 1) Year 1933, Article 6, Benxiao 22niandu Zhaosheng Jianzhang (The recruitment regulations of National Central University), NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P351 and 2) Year 1936, Article 5, Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Yanjiusuo Zhaosheng Jianzhang (The recruitment regulations of research institutes of National Central University, NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P359. except for these two years' posters, the other ones are without this requirement. The Party Charter is the charter of the KMT. The party follows the Three People's Principles and the Five-Power Constitution. It is united in its adherence to the concept of constitutional democracy and seeking a strong, united and prosperous nation. It is hoped that all members of the KMT maintain the traditional revolutionary spirit of the party in their hearts, acting and moving together. These are all contained in this charter.

¹¹⁷ Different undergraduate students' recruitment regulations in the website of NJU: <http://bkzs.nju.edu.cn/>.

¹¹⁸ *Nanjing Daxue 2008nian Shuoshi Yanjiusheng Zhaosheng Jianzhang* (2008 Master students recruitment regulations of NJU), 2008, the website of NJU: <http://gawwww.nju.edu.cn/content/zs/ssjz.htm>.

¹¹⁹ *Nanjing Daxue 2008nian Boshi Yanjiusheng Zhaosheng Jianzhang* (2008 PhD students recruitment regulations of NJU), 2008, the website of NJU: <http://gawwww.nju.edu.cn/content/zs/bsjz.htm>.

¹²⁰ *Nanjing Daxue Xuesheng Guanli Xize* (The regulations of students' record management of NJU), 1 January 1991, Chen Yi, *Nanjing Daxue Xingzheng Guizhang Zhidu Xuanbian* (The select documents of administrative regulations of NJU), Nanjing University Press, 1991, P57.

¹²¹ *Nanjing Daxue Guanyu Shixing Peiyang he Zaojiu Fuyou Chuangzao Nengli Xuesheng de Zanxing Banfa* (The temporary solutions of cultivating the students with creative abilities of NJU), 7 June 1988, Chen Yi, *ibid*, P81.

¹²² *Nanjing Daxue Guanyu Shixing Jiangxuejin Zhidu he Xuesheng Daikuan Zhidu de Tongzhi* (The notice of implementing the studentship rewarding system and students' loan system in NJU), 1 September 1987, Chen Yi, *ibid*, P313.

¹²³ *Nanjing Daxue Shuoshi Boshi Xuwei Shouyu Gongzuo Xize* (The regulations of master and PhD degree awarding in NJU), 20 May 1989, Chen Yi, *ibid*, P120.

¹²⁴ *Nanjing Daxue Zhaoshou Xianggang Aomen Taiwan Diqu Yanjiusheng Zanxing Banfa* (The temporary solutions of recruiting the students from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan in NJU), Nanjing University, 10 July 2007.

¹²⁵ *Nanjing Daxue Haiwai Zhaosheng Gaikuang* (The summary of the recruiting the students from foreign countries in NJU), Nanjing University, 2007.

Military training

In the study period, the military training was carried out by both the KMT and the CCP. Although they were both named military training and were the compulsory course for the university students, the content and importance were different.

NCU

The military training was an important party control instrument of the KMT in NCU. The military training in NCU was divided into military training and military administration. In NCU, the course on the Party Charter of the KMT, physical education and military training was the compulsory subject for each student.¹²⁶ In fact, the military training was a compulsory course and the military administration was a party control method over the students' daily life. The military training went through students' whole study period. In NCU, all the schoolboys must take the military course.¹²⁷ The schoolgirls only had to take this course during their freshmen year.

There was a Military Administration Committee in NCU. The Military Administration Committee which was taking care of the military training affairs was very powerful in the university. The position of the head of the Military Administration Committee was always taken by the university president. The missions of this committee even included the students' moral supervision and estimation.¹²⁸ In order to implement the ideological control, the Military Administration Committee used the “*Zongli Jinianzhou*” (Memorial Week for Sun Yat-sen) and “*Guoqi Shengqili*” (Ceremony of raising national flag). In the “*Zongli Jinianri*”, the ideological education was the main subject. The contents of reports in the Memory Week were divided into the KMT party affairs, international politics, internal politics and university affairs. The activities also included a famous KMT member's open talk in this Memory Week. Moreover, all the reports were reported by the KMT members except for the school affairs.¹²⁹ Table 1 shows how important the military training is.

¹²⁶ National Central University, *Zhongda ge Xueyuan Fenyuan Gongtong Bixiu Kemubiao* (List of compulsory subjects for whole National Central University). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P399.

¹²⁷ National Central University, *Zhongyang Daxue Junshi Guanli Jiaocheng* (The regulations of military administration of NCU), issued in December 1937. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P455.

¹²⁸ *Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Junshi Guanli Guicheng* (Regulations of military administrations in National Central University), October 1937, Vol., 648, No. 000852, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹²⁹ *Bendaxue Jinianzhou Banfa* (Issues of the implement the Sun Yat-sen's Week of National Central University), December 1937, Vol., 648, Serial number 000862, the SHAC, Nanjing.

Table 1: Fees of the students have to pay in National Central University in 1939¹³⁰

Sorts of the fees	Amount of <i>Yuan</i>	Ratio (%)
Tuition fee	10	17.24
Internship fee ¹³¹	2*5=10	17.24
Fee for teaching materials	2	3.45
General uniform for the physical education course	10	17.24
Fee for the military training books	2	3.45
Fee for the military training uniform	24	41.38
Total	58	100

From Table 1, the fees of military training were 26 *Yuan*, approximately 45 percents of the total. And meanwhile the tuition fee was 10 *Yuan*, only about 17 percents of the total. The fees of military training were much more than the tuition fees.

NJU

The military training was an important party control instrument of the KMT in NCU, but to the CCP it is only a discipline-training course in NJU most of the times.¹³² The military training is not as important as in NCU. In NJU, the military training is carried out in the form of regular course. There is an Armed Personnel Office in charge of the military training. The status is much lower than the Military Administration Committee in NCU. In NJU, the fee of military training uniform is only approx. ¥80 while the sum of the tuition fee and hostel fee is around ¥5000.¹³³ So the ratio of the military training fee is only around 0.016 percent in NJU. Compared to the military training fee in NCU is very low.

Holiday setting

NCU

Holiday setting is also one of the party control instruments in NCU and NJU. In the university calendar of NCU in semester 1927-1928, most of the university holidays was political in nature such as the “*Zongli Shengchen Jinianri*” (National Day of Sun Yat-sen’s birthday) on 12 November 1927 and “*Zongli Shishi Jinianri*” (National Day of Sun Yat-sen’s

¹³⁰ Data from National Central University, *Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Yaolan* (1939) (The summary of National Central University in 1939), Chapter 9: the compulsory fees of the students. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P411.

¹³¹ In fact, the fee of this item is 2 *Yuan* per subject per term. I suppose each fresh man in National Central University choose 5 subjects at his/her first term. So he/she has to pay 10 *Yuan* for this item.

¹³² Except for the military training after Tiananmen Incident in 1989: after the Tiananmen Incident, the CCP forced the freshmen and current students of the universities in Beijing to take a military training program which lasted for 1 year, in this case, the military training is used as a party control instrument by the CCP.

¹³³ The data is adapted from the BBS of NJU: <http://bbs.nju.edu.cn/>.

death). In the “*Zongli Shengchen Jinianri*”, the university took a holiday and held a memory talk about the revolutionary experiences of Sun Yat-sen and in the “*Zongli Shishi Jinianri*”, the content of the memory talk was the history of the KMT.¹³⁴

NJU

Holiday setting is also adopted by the CCP in NJU. The committee of administrative affairs adopted the memorial day of May 20 Movement¹³⁵ as its anniversary day of university foundation in June 1954.¹³⁶ In fact, the university has its own birthday. But the CCP authority in NJU tries to confuse the education and politics by adopting such a sensitive memorial day and the CCP’s party control is strengthened in this process.

Patriotic education

NCU

The “patriotic education” was called “national calamity education” (*guonan Jiaoyu*) in NCU period. As commonly known, after 1931, the ROC faced the invasion of the Japanese. Meanwhile, although the KMT unified the whole China in name, there were still a lot of warlords all over China. To the KMT, how to unify the whole China to fight with the Japanese and the CCP was more important. In 1930s, the KMT released a new concept which was the “national calamity education”. The “national calamity” had two aspects: one was the Japanese invasion in Northeast of China and the other was the CCP’s separatist movement in the southern provinces. The Japanese invasion could be called the “national calamity”, but whether the CCP’s separatist movement could be called “national calamity” is debatable. The CCP’s separatist movement only could be considered as the KMT’s own calamity at most. This national calamity education implemented all over the country, but it had yielded little effect. This concept faded in the 1940s.

NJU

Patriotic education is important in the CCP’s educational system in mainland China. This

¹³⁴ *Shiliu Niandu Xiaoli (Calendar of National Central University in the semester 1927-1928)*, December 1937, Vol., 648, Serial number 000862, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹³⁵ May 20 Movement was an anti-KMT students’ movement led by the CCP and was first launched in Nanjing around May 1947.

¹³⁶ The Eighteenth University Affairs Conference of Nanjing University, *Guanyu Queding Nanjing Daxue Xiaoshi Yuantou ji Xiaoqingri de Xiaowu Huiyi Jilu* (The conference record of the decisions of the university root and university birthday of Nanjing University). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P63.

patriotic education is widely implemented all over China. On the surface, students are asked to love their country or the PRC. But in 1994, it was the CCP Central Committee which released a compendium which called “*Aiguo Zhuyi Jiaoyu Shishi Gangyao*” (Compendium of carrying out the patriotic education). The party had made itself equivalent to the state. The CCP also uses a series of measures misleading the mass on this issue. In current China, there are a lot of patriotic education bases which are special for educating the mass to love the country. Nevertheless, most of these patriotic education bases are related to the CCP such as the revolution base, the revolution memorial sites and so on.¹³⁷ Also when the CCP mentions the country, it always emphasizes the contributions of the CCP to the country. Through using these methods, the mass always feel confused. These will offer an impression that the CCP connects to the country closely and defends the CCP also means defending the nation. This CCP oriented patriotic education is also implemented in NJU. Through the mass media of NJU, the patriotic education is indoctrinated to the students.

From the analysis of this section, both the KMT and the CCP adopt measures to confuse the concept of the “party” and the “nation”. They always release some policies or launch some movements to encourage the mass to love their motherland. The names of these policies and movements are always related to the “nation”. But in the process of implements of these policies and movements, the KMT and the CCP try their best to interlock the “nation” with the “party”. The results of these policies and movements are the confounded thoughts of the mass. At last, all the mass are the party defenders.

Students union and students’ societies

Students union is one of the official organizations in NCU and NJU which is responsible to administer students, own less important affairs while students’ societies are established by students voluntarily and university officials are not involved. In the history of NCU and NJU, the students’ political campaign always led and launched by students unions and students’ societies; so the party controls over the students union and students’ societies are fully

¹³⁷ In the first group of patriotic education bases which were released by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, 19 bases are related to the history of China, 9 bases are related to the anti-imperialism and anti-invasions of the Chinese people, 75 bases are related to the New Democratic Revolution and socialist constructions, totally 100 bases. The in favor of the CCP bases are over three quarters.

imposed by both the KMT and the CCP. In fact, university administrative authorities always serve for both the KMT and the CCP in supervising students unions and students' societies. Generally, The KMT and the CCP implement their party controls by forcing the universities issuing some administrative regulations and ordinances.

NCU

In 1929, the students union of NCU was banned after an official letter named “*Guomindang Zhongyang Xunlianbu Chajin Xueshenghui Han*” (The official letter of banning the students union issued by the Training Department of Central Executive Committee of the KMT) was issued by the Central Executive Committee of the KMT.¹³⁸ In this official letter, the reason of banning the students union was the KMT regarded the process of organizing the students union as illegal. It implied that the organizing a students union was legal. This kind of trick is similar to the CCP in NJU nowadays. After this period, most of the functions of the students union were replaced by the students' autonomous union. “The students' autonomous union cultivates the students' autonomous spirit in using the Three People's Principles.”¹³⁹ This regulation pointed out that the Three People's Principles was the foundation of the students' autonomous union. At the beginning, this organization was run by the students, but it was run by the KMT and the Three People's Principles Youth League by the order of the Ministry of Education not long after its foundation.¹⁴⁰ The students' autonomous union is similar to the students union in today's China. But there are still some differences: 1) “The students' autonomous union was the only legal organization which the students can enroll in during the extra-curriculum time.”¹⁴¹ 2) “All the students must enroll in the students' autonomous union, including boys and girls who are middle school students or above.”¹⁴² But these are all not required in NJU. The KMT membership was also required for the members of the students' autonomous union in NCU.

¹³⁸ Dai Chuanxian, & He Yingqin, *Guomindang Zhongyang Xunlianbu Chajin Xueshenghui Han* (The official letter of banning the students union issued by the Training Department of Central Executive Committee of the KMT). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P363.

¹³⁹ Article 1, *Xuesheng Zizhihui Guize* (Regulations of students' autonomous union), issued by the Ministry of Education of the ROC on 22 November 1943.

¹⁴⁰ Zhu Jiahua, Jiaoyubu Guanyu Gaizu Zhongda Xuesheng Zizhihui de Miling (The secret order of the Ministry of Education about regulating the students' autonomous union of NCU), In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P475.

¹⁴¹ Article 2, *Xuesheng Zizhihui Guize* (Regulations of students' autonomous union), issued by the Ministry of Education of the ROC on 22 November 1943.

¹⁴² Article 3, *ibid*.

The assembly and association of the students' societies were also strictly restricted by the KMT. In the “*Jiaoyubu Guanyu Jinzhi Jihui Jieshe de Xunlin*” (The mandate of banning assembly and association issued by the Ministry of Education of the ROC), the Ministry of Education ordered NCU banning all the assemblies and associations of the students at once. The reason of this banning was due to the demagoguery from the CCP.¹⁴³ Although the KMT strictly restricted the formation of students' political associations and the censorship of this kind of association was also very strict,¹⁴⁴ there were still some in NCU such as “*Yieryi Tongxuehui*” (121 Alumni Association).¹⁴⁵ The students' political associations disappear in current NJU and the formation of this kind of association is political sensitive in mainland China. Nevertheless, there is no university regulations prohibit its formation.¹⁴⁶ Another piece of official letter “*Guomindang Nanjing Tebieshi Zhiweihui Yaoqiu Fangzhi Xuesheng Yundong Han*” (the executive committee of Nanjing Special city asks for the prevention of students' movements) shows that the KMT also strictly restricted students' political movements by using administrative measures.¹⁴⁷ There were many more documents issued by the president or the president office for the purpose of the same restriction.¹⁴⁸

NJU

The measures which adopted by the CCP in NJU nowadays are similar to the KMT in NCU. Although I cannot get any materials about this issue, the same measures can be deduced from other universities in 1989. In the 1989 Tiananmen Incident, the students in Beijing

¹⁴³ Jiang Menglin, *Jiaoyubu Guanyu Jinzhi Jihui Jieshe de Xunlin* (The mandate of banning assembly and association issued by the Ministry of Education). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P364.

¹⁴⁴ *Bendaxue Xuesheng Huishe Zuzhi Guicheng* (The organization regulations of the students' association in National Central University), December 1934, Archives Vol. 648, No. 000862, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹⁴⁵ This data comes from a telephone interview which interviewed by the thesis author in NJU on 24 August 2007. In fact, this “*Yieryi Tongxuehui*” (121 alumni association) is an association which led by the CCP.

¹⁴⁶ This data comes from a face-to-face interview which interviewed by the thesis author in NJU on 31 August 2007.

¹⁴⁷ The Executive Committee of Nanjing Special City, *Guomindang Nanjing Tebieshi Zhiweihui Yaoqiu Fangzhi Xuesheng Yundong Han* (The prevention of students' campaign from the executive committee of Nanjing Special City). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P365.

¹⁴⁸ These documents include: Luo Jialun, *Xiaozhangshi Guanyu Jinzhi Xuesheng Zuzhi Huishe de Bugao* (The President Office's ordinance of banning the students organizing the associations), 29 December 1935. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P381; The President Office of National Central University, *Xiaozhangshi Guanyu Muqian Renhe Zuzhi Zhuji Tingzhi Jinxing de Bugao* (The President Office's ordinance of stopping all the functions of the current associations and organizations in National Central University), Issued between 1937 and 1939. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P470; Chen Lifu, *Jiaoyubu Yaoqiu Zhongda Michu Jinbu Xuesheng Chenmu deng Huodong de Xunling* (The Ministry of Education ordinance of ordering National Central University carry out a confidential investigation in its student Chen Mu' activities), 20 January 1939. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P471 and the Secretariat of the Ministry of Education, *Jiaoyubu Miling Zhongda Yanfang Jinbu Xuesheng Fu Shanbei Ruxue* (The Ministry of Education order National Central University strictly prohibit the students go to study in Shaanbei), 1 September 1941. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P471.

Normal University were restricted in the campus and prohibited from procession and demonstration, although the Constitution of the PRC claimed that “the citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration.”¹⁴⁹ The Tiananmen Incident influenced NJU deeply, resulting in the CCP’s increased emphasis on ideological control in the university. The strict control was reflected in the university documents which issued by the President Office of NJU before and after 1989.¹⁵⁰

In NJU, another very important party control method is awarding a few students the qualifications of being delegates in the conference of the CCP Party Committee of NJU. It seems that it can benefit the political supervision. In fact, student delegates are always the student bureaucracy such as the president and other officers of the student union. They often have the CCP memberships. It is impossible for a common student awarded such a qualification. Awarding some students the qualifications such as delegates to the People’s Congress is also a new party control measure. There are always some student representatives in the People’s Congress of the Nanjing city. The CCP pretend to be democratic by giving students representation. Actually, student delegates again are always student bureaucracy with CCP membership.

In fact, both of the administrative settings of the students unions of NCU and NJU were all the copies of the university. In this process, the hierarchical system, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern were also inherited. So the students unions were full of unequal.

The Role of the University President before and after 1949

President-responsibility system

NCU

The universities carried out a full President-responsibility System in the KMT period. The president was the top leader of the university and could decide almost everything which was related to university affairs. Unlike the university presidents today in China, the presidents

¹⁴⁹ Article 35, *Constitution of People’s Republic of China (English version)*.

¹⁵⁰ Nanjing Daxue Xingzheng Gongzuo Yaodian, 1989-1990 Xuenian Dier Xueqi (The working stress of NJU in the administrative work, academic year 1989-1990, semester 2), 19 February 1990: Yan Bonian, *Nanjing Daxue Tongji Nianjian, 1990 (The annals of NJU in 1990)*, Nanjing University Press, 1992, P11.

under the KMT rule had real powers. “The university set a president position, almost all the university affairs are dominated by the president.”¹⁵¹ “In NCU, the university set a president position and all the university affairs were dominated by the president. And the president was appointed by the Board of NCU Directorates.”¹⁵² There was no ideological leader in the universities. The president was an executive leader. Due to the huge power of the presidents in NCU, the KMT tried to control the whole university by controlling the president. This was the most important characteristic of the party control of the KMT in NCU.

NJU

In NJU, the mechanism is totally different. President-responsibility System is used as a concept to exert party control over president in NJU. In NJU, executive leader and ideological leader are separated. In the university level, the executive leader of NJU is the president (now is Chen Jun) and the ideological leader is party secretary (now is Hong Yinxing). At the college and departmental levels, the executive leaders are deans and department heads and the ideological leaders are party secretaries at the respective levels. This is a typical hierarchical organization. In NJU, it implements the President-responsibility System (under the leadership of the party committee) which is specifically elaborated in the Higher Education Law, article 39.¹⁵³ In NJU, the party secretary is the policy maker while university president is only the policy executor.

There is a difference at the college and departmental level. At that level, the dean and the department head are the policy makers and party secretaries are only responsible for the ideological supervision. But it does not mean that the CCP cannot control or influence the colleges or the departments. In most of the time, the dean has the CCP membership. And if

¹⁵¹ Article 9, *University Organic Law*, issued by Nationalist Government on 26 July 1929 and modified on 28 April 1934.

¹⁵² *Guoli Dongnan Daxue Zuzhi Dagang ji Xize (The organic outline and detail rules of NSU)*, Archives Vol. 648, No. 000310, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹⁵³ The state-run institutions of higher learning practice the president responsibility system under the leadership of the grass-roots committees of the Chinese Communist Party in institutions of higher learning. In accordance with the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, the grass-roots committees of the Chinese Communist Party in institutions of higher learning exercise unified leadership over school work and support the presidents independently and responsibly. Their responsibilities of CCP leadership are mainly as follows: to implement the line and policies of the Chinese Communist Party, adhere to the socialist orientation of running the institutions, exercise leadership over ideological and political work and work related to morality in the institutions, hold discussions and take decisions on the set-up of internal organizational structures and candidates for the persons-in-charge of internal organizational structures, hold discussions and take decisions on such major matters as the reform, development and basic administrative rules of the institutions to ensure the completion of various tasks centered round training of talents.

there are any important decisions to be made, the party committee meetings will be held. Although the dean is always a member of the party committee, he just has one vote among others in making decisions. Even worse, if the dean comes from other democratic parties and is not a member of the CCP party committee, he has no right to participate in the CCP party meetings.

Based on the analysis above, the power of decision-making is held by the CCP firmly in the NJU. The practice of this President-responsibility System (under the leadership of the party committee) creates new problem from the late 1980s which is an unclear division of power and responsibility between party secretary and president. Under this situation, it is easy for the party secretary to do something beyond his authority. This interference from the party secretary would upset the president's daily administrative running.

Appointment and promotion of president

NCU

The appointment of president in NCU was divided into two periods. The first period was from 1920 to 1925 and the second period was from 1925 to 1949. With the establishment of NSU in 1920, the Board of University Directorates (BUD) was set up. In this period, the university presidents were selected by the BUD and then approved by the Ministry of Education of the ROC.¹⁵⁴ In this period, the power of appointing the president was seized by the BUD. The Ministry of Education of the ROC only had a symbolic power and could only approve the university president candidates who were selected by the BUD. But the directorates of the BUD were selected and appointed by the Ministry of Education.¹⁵⁵ So the directorates might also stand for the views of the Ministry of Education. The power of appointment of president in this period was a balance between the BUD and the Ministry of Education. But this had changed after the abolishment of the BUD in National Southeast University (NSU). In 1925, the Ministry of Education of the ROC stopped the running of the BUD in NSU due to the melee of warlords. After 1925, both the powers of selection and

¹⁵⁴ Board of University Directorates of NSU, Guoli Dongnan Daxue Xiaodonghui Jianzhang (The regulations of Board of NSU Directorates), 25 June 1924. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P116.

¹⁵⁵ Dongnan Daxue Xiaodong You Bu Pingding (The directors of the Board of NSU Directorates are appointed by the Ministry of Education). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P116.

appointment of the presidents of NSU and NCU were seized by the KMT central government after the BUD was dismissed by the Ministry of Education of the ROC. And the presidents of NCU were selected and appointed by the KMT central government from then on. The order of appointment of the president of NCU was signed by Lin Sen (Chairman of the KMT), Sun Ke (Minister of Executive Yuan) and Zhu Jiahua (Minister of Education).¹⁵⁶ This strictly supervision from the KMT was the cause of the “The Tumult of Presidents’ Changing II”.

NJU

The CCP regime exercises its party control by enforcing the rule that the presidents of the universities should be appointed by the corresponding party committee with approval of the next higher party unit in the case of appointments made by the party committees below the national level. Thus the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee has the full power in appointing presidents of universities under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education of the PRC. A similar rigid control is also implemented by the party committees over the dismissal and promotion of presidents at the provincial level. As commonly known, NJU is a university which under the direct leadership of the Ministry of Education. So the power of appointing the president of NJU is in the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee.

In China, there are a lot of academic bureaucracies in universities. The academic bureaucracy means that the person who is both a scholar and a bureaucracy (an academic bureaucracy) and he/she may need to take up some teachings; or the person could be a bureaucrat without any teaching. A typical phenomenon was that many presidents of NCU were former government department heads in the Ministry of Education. This problem also existed in NJU. The CCP carried out a policy named “*Jiaoshou Ganbuhua*” (transforming professors into cadres). It means that the CCP government considered scholars as cadres or part of the government bureaucracy. The cadres serve the nation. So the CCP government owned the power to transform the scholars easily. On the other hand, scholars in mainland China append to the whole national education system. If a scholar is fired by one university, it means that he/she is fired by the whole university system. He/ she cannot find another similar position in other universities. This measure also reflects the CCP’s party control over

¹⁵⁶ NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P292.

scholars' lives. Disobeying the CCP, they simply could not survive in the Chinese educational system. This is the ideological control by substantial life control. In this process, the independence of the scholars has lost.

Backgrounds of the presidents

From the establishment of NCU, there were eight presidents.¹⁵⁷ Five of them were KMT party members and the other three were nonparty scholars. It was interesting that the first five presidents from 1927 to 1944 were KMT party members and the last three from 1944 to 1949 were nonparty scholars. All of the presidents of NCU had overseas study experience.¹⁵⁸ They were well educated by the western countries.

Chiang Kai-shek became the president of NCU in 1943 and resigned the next year to be permanent honorary president. This was the honor of NCU but it was also a measure of party control. As the leader of the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek taking charge of NCU was meaningful. In the inaugural of NCU president, Chiang Kai-shek proposed that the students of NCU had the responsibility to build the country under the guidance of the Three People's Principles.¹⁵⁹ It was the first time that the president talked about politics openly in NCU. Chiang Kai-shek also proposed that the students should follow the traditional Chinese values (Confucianism), well disciplined, hardworking and simplicity. In fact, these requirements had typical traditional Chinese authoritarianism characteristic. But Chiang Kai-shek was welcomed in NCU because he benefited NCU in two areas: resuming NCU magazine and giving each student an army overcoat.

Graph 3: Ratios of political backgrounds and experiences of presidents in National Central University and Nanjing University

¹⁵⁷ Zhang Naiyan (1927-1930), Zhu Jiahua (1930-1931), Luo Jialun (1932-1941), Gu Mengyu (1941-1943), Chiang Kai-shek (1943-1944), Gu Yuxiu (1944-1945), Wu Youxun (1945-1947), Zhou Hongjing (1948-1949).

¹⁵⁸ The overseas study experiences of the presidents of National Central University are as follows: Zhang Naiyan-European, Zhu Jiahua-Germany, Luo Jialun-United States, Gu Mengyu-Germany, Chiang Kai-shek-Japan/Soviet Union, Gu Yuxiu-United States, Wu Youxun-United States, Zhou Hongjing-United Kingdom.

¹⁵⁹ *Nanjing Daxue Shi (The history of NJU)*, Vol. 1, Nanjing University Press, 1992, P161.

From Graph 3, all the ratios of presidents with political backgrounds and experiences in NCU are higher than the presidents in NJU. In details, the ratio of presidents with party memberships in NCU is about 2 times more than the presidents in NJU. But there are still half of the presidents with party memberships in NJU after 1949. Memberships in the other three categories, the ratio of presidents in NCU is very high and meanwhile the ratio of presidents in NJU is very low. Especially in the category of government officials, the ratio in NJU is zero. Generally, all the ratios of the presidents with political backgrounds and experiences in NCU are higher than the ones in NJU. The political status of the presidents in NCU is higher than the presidents in NJU. The presidents of NCU were usually important leaders of the KMT. The party control over the presidents of NCU is stricter than the party control over the presidents of NJU after 1949. This difference is easy to understand. In NCU, the presidents are power holders. So the KMT tried to control the university by controlling the presidents. In NJU, the power holders are not the presidents but the party secretaries. So there is no need for the CCP to control the university by controlling the presidents. The CCP can control through the party secretaries. So in the appointment of the university presidents, the CCP is more flexible. The CCP accepts some scholars from the other democratic parties to be the university president: the incumbent chairperson of China Democratic League is Jiang Shusheng, who is also the former president of NJU.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ China Democratic League is one of the eight Non-communist Parties in China: 1) The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, 2) China Democratic League, 3) China Democratic National Construction Association, 4) China Association for Promoting Democracy, 5) The Chinese Peasants and Workers

Resistances of the party control

In fact, facing the KMT's party control over NCU, some presidents in the university tried to resist the control, especially President Wu Youxun. At his first arrival at NCU, he proposed that all the political parties should leave the university. He warned that "the benefit of the university is the most important thing in NCU. He who ruins the benefits of NCU for benefits of any political parties will be the sinner."¹⁶¹ President Zhang Naiyan also resisted the party control of the KMT over the university publications.¹⁶² In her study of the civil war in China, Suzanne Pepper used a chapter to describe the universities and its students in the KMT era. In this chapter, Suzanne Pepper argued that the wishes of establishing a coalitional government of the students and teachers of the universities aimed to express the idea of academic freedom and university autonomy. The social responsibility causes students and teachers to resist the party control over the universities.¹⁶³ Since the president is always a member of the party committee in NJU, there is no resistance of the party control in NJU.

Based on the analyses in chapter two, the party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP over personnel are clear. Both the KMT and the CCP try to set up some hierarchical control organizations such as the Discipline and Education Committee of the KMT and the Chinese Communist Youth League of the CCP to carry out their party controls. But there is a difference: the KMT carrying out an indirect control meanwhile the CCP implementing a direct control. On the students, the KMT mainly used the BUD and the DEC to ensure its party control; the CCP mainly depend on the CCYL. The BUD and the DEC are not appended to the KMT. The KMT only tried to ensure the heads of these two organizations following the KMT routes. But the CCYL is appended to the CCP in current NJU. The CCP can directly control the NJU by setting up such a party control organization. This issue will

Democratic Party, 6) China Zhi Gong Dang, 7) Jiu San Society and 8) The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. The League is mainly made up by middle-level and senior intellectuals in the fields of culture, education, science and technology. It has a membership of 175,000 and its chairman is Jiang Shusheng.

¹⁶¹ Wu Youxun, *Daxue Bushi Zhengzheng Changsuo, Nachu Liangxin Aihu Xuexiao* (The university is not the battlefield of political strife and love the university with heart and soul), 1947. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P503.

¹⁶² NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P339.

¹⁶³ Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949*, University of California Press, 1980, Chapter 3: "The Student Antiwar Movement", pp. 42-94.

be specifically elaborated in chapter four. Even more, the CCP also sets up its own party branches in NJU which will be elaborated in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE: COMPARISON OF PARTY CONTROLS OF THE KMT AND THE CCP OVER THE WHOLE UNIVERSITY OF NATIONAL CENTRAL UNIVERSITY AND NANJING UNIVERSITY BEFORE AND AFTER 1949

In terms of party control over the whole university, the most important measure of the KMT and the CCP controlling their higher educations is setting up an European higher education management pattern with greater centralization and standardization. This pattern is mainly influenced by the Soviet Union and western values actually. The KMT carried out the European higher education management pattern due to the disadvantages coming from the American-inspired patterns. "The American-inspired pattern emphasis on decentralization and democracy at the local level, had resulted in an over-activist student population and the constant disruption of schooling for political involvement. There was also concern about academic standards and the lack of clear curricular requirements in most fields. Therefore, European patterns of greater centralization and standardization appealed to Nationalist leaders, and they turned to Europe for assistance."¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the KMT also relied on the traditional Chinese authoritarianism at the same time. "Dr. Sun Yat-sen expounded his thinking on this point by saying that his doctrine is aimed at the enhancement of the traditional spirit inherent in Chinese culture, the assimilation of advanced western thoughts, plus the results of his own study and own thinking."¹⁶⁵ "A series of historical events in the past century triggered changes in the Chinese intelligentsia's mentality. Foreign invasions made Chinese intellectuals suspicious of the nation's age-old tradition."¹⁶⁶ I agree with Ying's argument about the thinking of Sun Yat-sen. So the KMT was carried out a European pattern of great centralization and standardization following the traditional Chinese authoritarianism with Confucian orientation.

On the other hand, the adoption of this kind of greater centralization and standardization by CCP can be traced back to Yan'an period. "Yan'an University was administered by the party, Anti-Japanese Resistance University (*Kangda*) by the army, and the majority of university administrators and faculty were concurrently responsible members of the

¹⁶⁴ Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities 1895-1995*, P53.

¹⁶⁵ Ying Ching-yao, The Bitter Struggle between the KMT and the CCP, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 6, June 1981, pp. 622-631.

¹⁶⁶ Ying Ching-yao, *ibid*, pp. 622-631.

border-region bureaucracy. In this sense, Yan'an institutions represented a kind of continuity with classical Chinese bureaucratic patterns of higher education as preparation for public office."¹⁶⁷ The Yan'an experience is very important to the CCP. Just like the analysis of Suzanne Pepper: "The Yan'an experience played an adaptive function between past and future. This role was developed in the course of carrying out Mao's brief for the Party's rectification movement as a whole, namely, to 'sinicification Marxism' or 'translate it into proper Chinese'."¹⁶⁸ Yan'an experience is a process of "sinicification Marxism" which helped the CCP keep a typical Chinese authoritarianism identity.

In fact, this traditional Chinese authoritarianism pattern was also adopted by the Qing government and the KMT in the histories of San/Liangjiang Normal School and NCU. Due to the war, the new PRC government needed to catch up on the years lost to war and build a strong economy and polity as rapidly as possible, the Soviet pattern of greater centralization and standardization were consolidated and strengthened. The situation nowadays is just like Ruth Hayhoe's argument in her "China's Universities 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict": "Set against this on the Chinese side was a tradition of intellectual authority and a scholarly monopoly of bureaucratic power at one pole. Balanced by the fragile autonomy and intellectual freedom associated with the *Shuyuan* and other non-formal institutions."¹⁶⁹ Law Wing-wah also pointed out this phenomenon in his research papers: "The third feature of the 'fortress' state, which is also a third cultural continuity and which runs through the social transformations in mainland China and Taiwan, is the 'emperor-oriented' sociopolitical culture."¹⁷⁰ Although the CCP receives aid from Soviet Union two times, one was during its period of establishment, the other was during the period of establishment of the PRC, the party control is still with a very typical traditional Chinese authoritarianism identity. In fact, both the party controls of the KMT and the CCP over the universities are following the traditional Chinese authoritarianism.

In actual practice, a hierarchical system of political control was devised to ensure the allegiances of NCU to the KMT and NJU to the CCP. The analysis is as the following:

¹⁶⁷ Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities 1895-1995*, P62.

¹⁶⁸ Suzanne Pepper, *China's Education Reform in the 1980s*, P35.

¹⁶⁹ Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities 1895-1995*, P74.

¹⁷⁰ Law Wing-wah, Fortress State, Cultural Continuities and Economic Change: higher education in mainland China and Taiwan, *Comparative Education*, Vol. 32, No.3, 1996, pp.377~393.

Party Branches and Party Schools

Both the KMT and the CCP set up party cells or branches in universities. In the CCP, “primary party organizations are formed in enterprises, rural areas, government departments, schools, scientific research institutes, communities, mass organizations, intermediaries, companies of the People’s Liberation Army and other basic units, where there are at least three full party members”¹⁷¹. The setting up of the CCP party branch in NJU can be traced back to the KMT period, leading the students and scholars, in overthrow of the KMT regime. Jiang Zemin used to be a member of the CCP secret party branch in NCU. After the CCP seized the regime from the KMT in 1949, the NJU party branch openly operated. The CCP Party Committee of NJU was set up in May 1953.¹⁷² Meanwhile, party cells exist in the whole university.¹⁷³ Every department or college in NJU establishes a party branch or cell. The party cells and party branches in NJU were characterized by the following main features:

- 1) The party branch committee, once restored in a department or college, is to become the centre in charge of department or college’s various activities including personnel administration, investigation and solving ideological and practical problems. It is, in essence, the agent of party control in NJU at the primary level.
- 2) The minimum requirement for building a party branch is to have fifteen party members while for building a party cell is to have three party members. But at the beginning of the establishment of the party committee in NJU, there were some departments or colleges that had less than three CCP members. Due to this situation, some departments or colleges had no party cells.
- 3) Surveillance was further reinforced with the presence of higher level cadres who were sent down from above. If an assembly of party branch is held at the department or college level, the higher level of CCP branch always arranges one delegate to attend the assembly.

The following are tables which show the situations of the CCP member developments in NJU after 1949:

¹⁷¹ Article 29, *Constitution of the Communist Party of China (Chinese-English)*, Foreign Languages Press, P83.

¹⁷² Guanyu Xuexiao Dangzuzhi Jige Wenti ji Yijian (Some suggestions about some issues of NJU Party organizations), NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P186

¹⁷³ Please refer to the *Zhongguo Gongchandang Putong Gaoxiao Jiceng Zuzhi Gongzuo Tiaoli (The Ordinance of Fundamental Organization work of the CCP)*, issued by the Central Committee of the CCP on 18 March 1996.

Table 2: Political status of Nanjing University students in 1957¹⁷⁴

	Students	Percentage (%)	Teachers	Percentage (%)
CCP member	330	8.56	114	21.80
Total	3855	100	523	100

Table 3: Political status of Nanjing University students in 1972¹⁷⁵

	Students	Percentage (%)	Teachers	Percentage (%)
CCP member	315	33.44	372	28.14
CCYL member	524	55.63	7	0.53
CCP+CCYL		89.07		28.67
Total	942	100	1322	100

Table 4: Political status of Nanjing University students in 1982¹⁷⁶

	Students	Percentage (%)	Teachers	Percentage (%)
CCP member	210	3.49	1145	30.16
CCYL member	4369	72.53	321	8.46
CCP+CCYL		76.02		38.62
Total	6024	100	3796	100

Table 5: Political status of Nanjing University students in 1992¹⁷⁷

	Undergraduate students	Percentage (%)	Postgraduate students	Percentage (%)	Teachers	Percentage (%)
CCP member	81	1.29	225	15.50	1508	32.22
CCYL member	6260	95.14	976	67.22	366	7.82
CCP+CCYL		96.43		82.72		40.04
Total	6580	100	1452	100	4680	100

Table 6: Political status of Nanjing University students in 2000¹⁷⁸

	Undergraduate students	Percentage (%)	Postgraduate students	Percentage (%)	Teachers	Percentage (%)
CCP	793	6.89	953	21.34	1485	39.92

¹⁷⁴ Source is from NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P86 and P190” and adapted by the author.

¹⁷⁵ Source is from *ibid*, P250” and adapted by the author.

¹⁷⁶ Source is from *ibid*, P297” and adapted by the author.

¹⁷⁷ Source is from *ibid*, P345” and adapted by the author.

¹⁷⁸ Source is from *ibid*, P403” and adapted by the author.

member						
CCYL member	10210	88.66	2107	47.18	120	3.23
CCP+ CCYL		95.55		68.52		43.15
Total	11516	100	4466	100	3720	100

The party cells of the CCP always organize activities to cultivate the political passion of students. In the daily life, the party cells always try to influence the students' political orientations through different propagandistic measures. In NJU, the CCP holds the power of discipline inspection and supervision: the institution of discipline inspection and institution of supervision are interlocked. Both institutions are responsible to the CCP Party Committee of NJU.¹⁷⁹ The university and its president does not have the power of supervision and inspection.

To most people in mainland China, joining the CCP is very difficult. In NJU, if someone wants to join the party, he/she will experience a series of comprehensive and complicated tests. The CCP never forces the people to join it, but the CCP always encourages and attracts some outstanding people to join such as President Pan Shu, dean of studies, Fang Guangtao, dean of Chinese Department, Chen Jia, vice dean of Foreign Languages Department, Xu Keqin, dean of Geology Department, Zhang Zhu, vice dean of Geology and Prof. Li Xueqing joined the CCP in March 1956. Attracting scholars to join the party is one of the most efficient measures of the party control in the university and ensured the cornerstone position of the CCP in NJU. Furthermore, this measure can be considered as a copy from the Yan'an Rectification Movement. In this movement, Mao Zedong asked the Yan'an scholars to join the party ideologically as well as organizationally.¹⁸⁰ The CCP membership development can be shown from Table 2 to Table 6.

These two Chinese political parties have different party control orientations. The CCP tries to implement a direct control in NJU by setting up an organizational system of the CCP while the KMT implemented its party control by controlling the university president. So the KMT did not set up systematic party branches in NCU. Thus, there is a lack of data to

¹⁷⁹ The functions of Office of Discipline supervision and inspection, the website of NJU: <http://www.nju.edu.cn/cps/site/NJU/njuc/jw/index.htm>.

¹⁸⁰ Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities 1895-1995*, P62.

elaborate the party branches of the KMT in NCU. But the KMT set up a party organization named as Party Affairs Committee in NCU. This Party Affairs Committee was one of the standing committees in NCU. But it is different from the CCP Party Committee of NJU. The Party Affairs Committee was only one of the standing committees and was under the leadership of the university president. The CCP Party Committee of NJU is the actual highest power holder. Although both Chinese political parties set up party organizations in universities, the status of Party Affairs Committee of the KMT in NCU is lower than the status of the CCP Party Committee of NJU.

With the establishment of the party branches in NJU, party school is also founded in NJU. The party school was established in 1991 inside the university.¹⁸¹ In fact, almost all universities in China have established their own party schools. Party school is a typical party control organization in today's Chinese universities. The party school in NJU is under the Department of Organization which is under the leadership of the Party Committee of NJU. Under the university-level party school, there are also college level or department level party schools which show the hierarchical characteristics. The party school in NJU is divided into two levels. No matter which level the party school is, the function is almost the same. The most important function of the party school is political indoctrination and the next are professional training which is also related to the party control, the CCP membership expansion and the cadres' cultivation and training. The political indoctrination courses include subjects such as historical materialism, dialectical materialism, the theory of the state and revolution, imperialism, political economy, history of social development, history of the CCP, the Thoughts of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, Three Representatives, Harmony Society and current affairs. NJU issued that all cadres who want to get a promotion or will get a promotion should go to the party school to take a short training course. Thus all cadres cannot avoid the ideological indoctrination if they want to get a promotion. It is easy to understand that the party control is strengthened in this process. The emphasis on cadres' political training is aimed at developing and heightening their social consciousness; so that they are expected to be unquestionably loyal to the party and capable of correctly

¹⁸¹ The CCP Party Committee of Nanjing University, Zhonggong Nanjing Daxue Weiuyuanhui Guanyu Jianli Dangxiao de Jueding (The decision of establishing the party school of the CCP Party Committee of NJU), the CCP Party Committee of NJU, 20 April 1991. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P627.

interpreting and carrying out the current party line. During the KMT period, there was no such party control organization in the NCU.

Board of University Directorates

NCU

The Board of University Directorates was a fundamental setting for universities in the KMT period before 1949, so as for the NCU. The Board of NCU Directorates was first established in NSU period in 1924. The purpose of the establishment of the BUD was to raise money for the establishment of NSU.¹⁸² But after the foundation, the BUD was given more responsibilities: “The university establishes the BUD and the authorities are as follows: 1) dominating the rough policies and guidelines of the university developments; 2) auditing the university budget and fiscal accounts; 3) recommending the president candidates to education authorities; 4) determining the departments’ settings and changes; 5) supervising private donations; 6) discussing and determining other important university affairs.”¹⁸³ The directors were approved by the Ministry of Education of the ROC.¹⁸⁴ The BUD was given much power as we can see from the list of its authorities above.¹⁸⁵

Although the Board of NSU Directorates had its power, it was under the control of the Ministry of Education of the ROC. If there was any resistance, the Ministry of Education could stop the running of the BUD. In 1925, the Ministry of Education of the ROC stopped the running of the Board of NSU Directorates because of “the tumult of president changing I” (*Yizhang Fengchao*)¹⁸⁶ in NSU.¹⁸⁷ In 1928, the ruling government thought that Guo Bingwen was not suitable to be the president of NCU; so the government appointed Hu

¹⁸² Dongnan Daxue Sheli Dongshihui (The establishment of Board of NJU Directorates). In *NJU, Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P115.

¹⁸³ *Guoli Dongnan Daxue Zuzhi Dagang ji Xize (The organic outline and detail rules of NSU)*, Archives Vol. 648, No. 000310, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹⁸⁴ Dongnan Daxue Xiaodong You Bu Pingding (The directors of the Board of NSU Directorates are appointed by the Ministry of Education). In *NJU, Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P116.

¹⁸⁵ The Board of University Directorates of NSU, Xiaodonghui Guanyu Gongke Zhi Jueyian (Resolution of the Board of Directorates of NSU about the discipline of engineering). In *NJU, Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P176.

¹⁸⁶ In fact, there are two “Tumult of President Changing” (*Yizhang Fengchao*) in the history of National Central University. The “Tumult of President Changing I” (*Yizhang Fengchao*) dates from 1924 to 1925 during NSU period due to the melee between the warlords in China. And the “Tumult of President Changing II” (*Yizhang Fengchao*) dates from 1928 to 1931 during NCU period.

¹⁸⁷ *Nanjing Daxue Shi (The history of NJU)*, Nanjing University Press, 1992, P75 and Ma Xulun, Jiaoyubu Guanyu Dongda Dongshihui Tingzhi Xingshi Zhiquan de Xunlin (The ordinance of stopping powers of the Board of University Directorates of NSU), 7 March 1925. In *NJU, Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P182.

Dunfu to be the successor. But this order was resisted strongly by the Board of NSU Directorates. The Board of NSU Directorates thought that the university president candidates should be selected by the Board of NSU Directorates and then approved by the government.¹⁸⁸ But the president Hu Dunfu was selected and appointed by the Ministry of Education of the ROC. Due to the resistance from the Board of NSU Directorates, the government stopped its running. From then on, there was no BUD in NCU.

NJU

BUD never existed in NJU before 1990s and then the BUD was established in the late 1990s. In fact, few universities in current mainland China own the BUD, the NJU is an exception. The BUD of NJU was established in 1997, after establishment of the NJU Development Council.¹⁸⁹ But the BUD of NJU is totally different from the one in NCU. The BUD in NCU was the power holder but the one in NJU is only a university service organization. In the regulations of the BUD of NJU, the BUD is only a consultative institution.¹⁹⁰ The rights of the BUD are restricted by the university. The BUD only can offer some comments and advices to the university reports and decisions. The most important responsibility of the BUD of NJU is raising funds.¹⁹¹ The status of these two BUDs are also different. The BUD in NCU is as important as the president. But in NJU, the BUD is only an appendix institution of NJU Development Council and NJU Development Council is under the leadership of the president, same status as the registry, public affairs office and other administrative organizations. Graph 3 and Graph 4 in the following shows this difference:

¹⁸⁸ *Guoli Dongnan Daxue Zuzhi Dagang ji Xize (The organic outline and detail rules of NSU)*, Archives Vol. 648, No. 000310, the SHAC, Nanjing.

¹⁸⁹ Nanjing University, Guanyu Chengli Nanjing Daxue Dongshihui de Jueding (The decision of establishing the BUD of NJU), 20 May 1997. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P370.

¹⁹⁰ *Nanjing Daxue Xiaodonghui Zhangcheng (Regulations of the BUD of NJU)*, article 2, 1995, the website of NJU: <http://fzw.nju.edu.cn/site/ndfzwyh/xd1.html>.

¹⁹¹ *Nanjing Daxue Xiaodonghui Zhangcheng (Regulations of the BUD of NJU)*, article 9 and 10, 1995, the website of NJU: <http://fzw.nju.edu.cn/site/ndfzwyh/xd1.html> and Nanjing University, Guanyu Chengli Nanjing Daxue Dongshihui de Jueding (The decision of establishing the BUD of NJU), 20 May 1997. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P370.

Graph 4: The Status of Board of University Directorates in National Central University before 1928

Graph 5: The Status of Board of University Directorates in Nanjing University since 1997

From the graphs above, the BUD in NJU is not as important as the one in NCU. The chairman of the board in NJU is Chen Jun who is also the president of NJU.¹⁹² And the party secretary of NJU is appointed as one of the two associate chairmans of the board. It is impossible that the president was appointed as the chairman of the board in NCU before 1949 because the president was selected by the BUD. It means that the power of the BUD of NJU is seized by the president and party secretary, furthermore seized by the CCP.

¹⁹² *Nanjing Daxue Disanjie Xiaodonghui Chengyuan Mingdan (The name list of the 3rd BUD of NJU)*, 18 October 2007, the website of NJU: <http://fzw.nju.edu.cn/site/ndfzwyh/xd2.html>.

Funding under the Two Different Party Control Systems

Funds of Nanjing Higher Normal School all depended on the finance support from the national government and provincial government.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, funds of NSU depended on the national government, tuition fees and donations.¹⁹⁴ The following Table 7 is the statistics of the income of NCU in 1932 and Table 8 is the statistics of the Income of NJU in 2000.

Table 7: Income of National Central University in 1932¹⁹⁵

	Amount	Ratio (%)
Funds from the ministry and province	1,920,000	94.59
Funds from the students' tuition fee	40,536	2.00
Rents and interests	13,182	0.65
Donations	4,879	0.24
Others	51,215	2.52
Total	2,029,848	100%

Table 8: Income of Nanjing University in 2000 (20 February 2000)¹⁹⁶

	Financial support	NJU functional enterprise income	NJU business enterprise income	Donations and etc.	Basic construction fee	Total	Ratio (%)
NJU	/	187,470,000	6,190,000	67,860,000	70,830,000	332,350,000	34.27
Central Govt.	367,690,000	/	/	/	2,550,000	370,240,000	38.18
Local Govt.	206,770,000	/	/	/	60,400,000	267,170,000	27.55
Total	574,460,000	187,470,000	6,190,000	67,860,000	133,780,000	969,760,000	100

From July 1919 to June 1927, the NSU got a total income for about 4,053,788 *Yuan*. There were only 214,982 *Yuan* not from the government, a ratio of 5.3 percents.¹⁹⁷ The ratio of funds from the government was nearly 95 percents. With the university budget mainly from

¹⁹³ NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P59.

¹⁹⁴ Guoli Dongnan Daxue Dagang (A general outline of NSU), Chapter 6, 16 March 1921. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P127 and Dongnan Daxue, Nangaoshi Gaikuang Yilanbiao (The general situation of NSU and Nanjing Higher Normal School). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P132.

¹⁹⁵ The data of this table is adapted from the Table 3-4 in Wang, Dezi, *Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi*, P147.

¹⁹⁶ The form is depended on the data in the NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P398.

¹⁹⁷ The data was based on the report in the book: Wang Dezi, *Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi*, P216. The figures are calculated by the writer, so it is not exact.

the central government and local government, the operation of the NCU was restricted by the government. The university suffered from insufficient funds since its foundation.¹⁹⁸

There is a difference in the pattern of funding in the current NJU. In Table 8, the structure of NJU funds from NJU itself includes NJU functional enterprise income, NJU business enterprise income, donations and basic construction fee. The difference between NJU functional enterprise and NJU business enterprise is that NJU functional enterprise are appended to NJU; it can be considered as a part of NJU. NJU business enterprise is separated from NJU and it is not part of NJU. From Table 8, the ratio of funds from the governments (both the local government and Central government) is about 66 percents, about 2/3 in total. Compared with 95 percents in NCU, there is more financial autonomy in NJU.

Spiritual Control

In China, the spiritual control is focused on the indoctrinations of Confucianism. So since the Qing Dynasty, the KMT to the CCP, all the three Chinese regimes adopts the Confucian indoctrinations to serve as their spiritual control.

NCU

“New Life Movement” was a political movement launched by Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Soong May-ling in Nanchang in 1934. The movement aimed at promoting the traditional Confucian moral value system. Also this movement was used to prohibit Communism. The contents of this movement were as the following: 1) traditional Confucian moral standards: Propriety (*Li*), righteousness (*Yi*), honesty (*Lian*), honor (*Chi*) 2) rebuild the daily life habits 3) loyalty to the head of state 4) patriotism. The KMT wanted to use this movement to control people in China, so this “New Life Movement” was implemented all over the society include NCU. In NCU, the executor was the Discipline and Education Committee (DEC). The “New Life Movement” was abolished after the Anti-Japanese War. Although the “New

¹⁹⁸ The documents are followed: in Nanjing Higher Normal School period: Guo Bingwen, Xiaozhang Guo Bingwen Guanyu Benxiao Jingfei Chengqing Jiaoyu Zongzhang Wen (The report from Guo Bingwen to the minister of the Ministry of Education in applying the university fund), 21 December 1920. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P91; in NSU period: Guo Bingwen, Guo Bingwen Zhi Wanzhegan Sansheng Dujun Shengzhang Tingzhang Gonghan (The official letter from Guo Bingwen to the military governors and department head of Anhui province, Zhejiang province and Jiangxi province), 11 March 1922. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P228 and in National Central University period: Zhang Naiyan, Zhang Naiyan Wei Xuexiao Jingfei Wuzhuo Zhi Wuzhihui Han (The letter from Zhang Naiyan to Wu Zhihui for the lack of university funds). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P288.

Life Movement” was not very effective with the resistance from scholars and students in NCU, it at least showed the KMT’s core value system. The “New Life Movement”, on surface, aimed to learn from the life style of western countries; in fact, it was promoting the traditional Chinese authoritarianism with Confucian orientation. The KMT also wanted to use this political movement to cultivate the political loyalty to the KMT.

NJU

Corresponding to the “New Life Movement” launched by the KMT in NCU, the CCP also launched two political movements which are called “Socialist Concepts on Honors” and “Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces” (*Ba rong ba chi*) in today’s China. These two political reforms actually promoted Confucianism in current China in the name of socialism. So the methods of launching the political movements from these two Chinese political parties were similar to each other and the contents promoted were all related to the traditional Chinese authoritarianism.

There is a similarity between these two political parties’ spiritual control. They all launch some political movements with Confucian orientation to promote their spiritual control. And these political movements only serve in the moral area. There are no compulsory laws and regulations which issued by the government to restrict the behavior of the mass. So whether the mass follow or not, it all depends on themselves. But we must notice that, due to the deep influence of Confucianism in China, these moral norms also have their power of control. If one does not follow the main moral norms of the society, one will be consider as the rebels and suffer a big stress. So the spiritual control is important in Chinese society and a typical characteristic in the concept of traditional Chinese authoritarianism.

Ideological Control

As mentioned before, the ideological control is compulsory, and it always uses some compulsory measures such as laws and regulations to force the mass to follow its ideology. There are only two results of ideological control which are obedience and elimination.

Political movements and mass mobilization

As commonly known, the CCP is good at launching political movements and mass mobilization (compared to the KMT) such as the famous Great Leap Forward Movement. So in this issue, I shall only focus on the CCP period. “To the CCP, launching the political movements aimed at gaining the mass support. In accordance with this mass route, the CCP positive attempts to reinforce party control and secure mass support by propagandizing different model heroes and revolutionary martyrs at various levels.”¹⁹⁹ At the national level, the most famous model hero was the Emulation of Lei Feng Movement.

Rectification movements lead to the intellectuals’ political apathy nowadays. The effect of the rectification movement is spiritual control of the CCP which is invisible. Learnt from the fate of the intellectuals in the former rectification movements, scholars tried their best to avoid talking about politics and ideology, although there is no formal limitation. Someone in NJU told me that, “although there is no distinctive formal ideological limitation in our university, the limitation is self-evident”²⁰⁰. This is the invisible party control over NJU in contemporary China. But the political movement is not the only party control measure in NJU. Scholars should be the most self-conscious group in the university. They should be the core of the university autonomy and academic freedom in the university. In NCU, some scholars still dared to express their political ideas.²⁰¹ But this is not the case in current NJU except for the discussion of “Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth” proposed by Professor Hu Fuming in 1978.²⁰² Most scholars in mainland China avoid talking about and engaging in politics. Scholars are political apathetic in mainland China nowadays.

The rectifications also were carried out in NJU after 1949. The CCP Central Committee released the document “*Guanyu Zhengfeng Yundong de Zhishi*” (the Instructions of Rectification) in April 1957. The CCP Party Committee of NJU called for all the faculties

¹⁹⁹ Tam, *Party control and defence polemics in the Chinese army, 1960-1965*, P63.

²⁰⁰ This data comes from a face-to-face interview which interviewed by the thesis author in NJU on 31 August 2007.

²⁰¹ Association of National Central University Professors, Zhongda Jiaoshou Zhenggao Guomindang Lingxiu (The National Central University professors solemnly advised the KMT leaders), 1 February 1932. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P379 and Wu Youxun, Daxue Bushi Zhengzheng Changsuo, Nachu Liangxin Aihu Xuexiao (The university is not the battlefield of political strife and love the university with heart and soul), 1947. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P503.

²⁰² The debate about whether practice is the sole criterion for testing truth was a nationwide movement that took place before the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party in December 1978. It was designed to educate the people in Marxism and to emancipate their minds. After the downfall of the Gang of Four, the Party Chairman, Hua Guofeng, who was in charge of the work of the Central Committee, clung to the erroneous notion of the “two whatevers” and reaffirmed the wrong theories, policies and slogans of the Cultural Revolution.

taking an active role in the rectification movement. In 1956, the CCP Party Committee of NJU issued that “rectify and enhance the consciousness of intellectuals actively, progressed the medial group and improve those who are behind”,²⁰³ some years not long after the foundation of NJU. In June 1957, NJU launched the Anti-Rightist Movement.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the CCP in the Anti-Rightist Movement, the CCP Party Committee of Jiangsu province issued some regulations for the administrative organizations, which was under the supervision of the CCP Central Committee in April 1958.²⁰⁴ During the Cultural Revolution, the CCP Party Committee of Jiangsu province appointed more than 50 cadres to various universities to serve as party secretaries and associate party secretaries. The strategy used was “*Canshazi*” (mix with sand).²⁰⁵ The power of NJU was seized by the CCP completely during the Cultural Revolution.

NJU emphasized on “red and expert” (*Youhongyouzhuan*) slogan²⁰⁶ during and after the Cultural Revolution.²⁰⁷ In fact, the implementation of this “red and expert” policy aimed to cultivate loyalty to the CCP. After the implementation of this policy, NJU began to get into chaos. Teaching and studying were abolished, only left the loyalty to the “emperor” figure²⁰⁸, Mao Zedong and the CCP. This is very similar to the party control of the KMT in NCU and government control of the Qing government over San/Liangjiang Normal School. After the Cultural Revolution, this “red and expert” policy began to fade in NJU. But the Tiananmen Incident in 1989 changed this. After the Tiananmen Incident, the CCP began a self-reflection

²⁰³ The CCP Party Committee of NJU, Zhonggong Nanjing Daxue Weiyanhui 1956~1957nian Guanyu Zhishi Fenzi Gongzuo Guihua –Jiexuan [The Intellectuals Working Layout of the CCP Party Committee of NJU from 1956 to 1957 (Section)], Article 3, December 1956. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P191.

²⁰⁴ Gao Hua, *Dayuejin Yundong yu Guojia Quanli de Kuozhang: Yi Jiangsusheng weili (The Great Leap Forward and the Expansion of State Administration: Take the Jiangsu province as the Example)*, Department of History in NJU, 21 century, Vol. 48, August 1998.

²⁰⁵ “Mix with sand” (*Canshazi*) is a Chinese parable. It means put something bad into the targets. It is used to describe the trouble making.

²⁰⁶ “Red and expert” is a political concept which was elaborated by the CCP during 1960s. This concept means “Political correct while excelling in one’s profession”. In fact, this education policy expresses the hope of Mao Zedong which was promoting the growth of the economic infrastructure while maintaining radical political institutions and attitudes. This correctness requested students and professors following the right ideological route (the CCP route). Scholars were expected to achieve well in their academic areas. This point is a very huge change in the CCP ideological control history in higher education. Before that, politics was separated from academics. This slogan combined politics and education. The CCP began to request academies in China engaging in political movement. The independence of education is lost in this movement.

²⁰⁷ Xiao Geweihui Zhuren zai Shoujie Gongnongbing Xueyuan Kaixue Dianli shang de Jianghua (The speech of the director of the Nanjing University Cultural Revolutionary Committee in the opening ceremony), 28 April 1972. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P245.

²⁰⁸ The concept of “emperor” figure is from Law Wing-wah’s papers: “Amongst the ruling elite members in both contemporary Chinese societies were ‘emperor’ figures, political leaders who dominated the political arenas. They include Mao Zedong (1949-1976), Deng Xiaoping (1978 to the early 1990s) and Jiang Zemin (in the post-Deng period) in mainland China and Jiang Zhongzheng (1949-1975).” Law Wing-wah, *Fortress State, Cultural Continuities and Economic Change*, pp.377~393.

on the party control over NJU and realized that strengthening the political loyalty of the students and scholars to the CCP is still very important. After this political incident, the CCP Party Committee of NJU emphasized the Four Cardinal Principles²⁰⁹ again and again.²¹⁰ Cultivating the students to be “red and expert” resurfaced to be the most important work in NJU.²¹¹ The regulations and rules of NJU changed before and after 1989 and the transition emphasized on the political loyalty to the CCP.²¹² The CCP started another round of political movement to strengthen its party control over NJU.

Regarding model hero emulation movement, on 11 July 1959, a student in NJU named Chen Wanli died in a fire accident. He lost his life in public property salvation in this fire. Five days after he died, the CCP Party Committee of NJU awarded him a CCP membership posthumous recognition on 15 July 1959.²¹³ In this incident, we can find a commonly practised party control method of the CCP. This has been used not only in the past but also in current China. If somebody died for public or collective interests, the most possible award is the CCP membership posthumous recognition. There are too many examples. It implies to the society that all the heroes are the CCP members and the CCP members are serving for the society with heart and soul. The propagation of model heroes not only cultivated a pattern of officially endorsed exemplary behavior for the people to follow but also motivated the troop to perform conscientious and extremely heroic acts.²¹⁴ This is why the CCP made so much effort to launch so many model hero emulation movements.

In current mainland China, the CCP launched a new movement which is the Emulation of Fang Yonggang Movement.²¹⁵ This sample is the best evidence to see the party influence in Chinese society especially in higher education. Why Fang can be emulated so swiftly? The

²⁰⁹ The Four Cardinal Principles is first elaborated by Deng Xiaoping. The contents of the Four Cardinal Principles are as follows: 1) Upholding the Socialist Path 2) Upholding the People’s Democratic Dictatorship 3) Upholding Marxist Leninism Mao Zedong Thought 4) Upholding the Leadership of the Communist Party.

²¹⁰ Nanjing University, *Nanjing Daxue Zonghe Gaige Gangyao* (The outline of the comprehensive reforms in NJU), October 1989. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P324.

²¹¹ Wang, Dezi, *Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi*, Chapter 12, P435.

²¹² Chen Yi, *Nanjing Daxue Xingzheng Guizhang Zhidu Xuanbian* (The select documents of administrative regulations of NJU), Nanjing University Press, 1991.

²¹³ The CCP Party Committee of Nanjing University, The decision of awarding Chen Wanli a CCP membership posthumous recognition from the CCP Party Committee of NJU. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 2, P205.

²¹⁴ Tam, *Party control and defence polemics in the Chinese army, 1960-1965*, P63.

²¹⁵ Fang is a professor in Dalian Naval Academy; he kept in teaching the history of the CCP for more than twenty years. He studies and teaches the new theories of the CCP such as Deng Xiaoping Theory, Jiang Zemin’s Three Representations and Hu Jintao’s Scientific Development Concept. After he suffered from a cancer in 2006, he kept on teaching in the academy.

reason is Fang could serve as a sample to support Hu Jintao's "harmony society" theory and the "scientific view of development". "It is not an infantile game of perceptions, but in fact goes to the heart of Hu Jintao's legacy and power."²¹⁶ The emulation movement is early fixed and why Fang has been chosen, the right person appeared on the right time point.

After the emulation movement was launched, the entire mainland China (including all schools) has to follow and promote the emulation, also in NJU. The CCP Party Committee of NJU carried out a series of activities and seminars to propagandize this ideological movement.²¹⁷ Most of the teachers and students, whether they are willing or unwilling, will be entangled into this movement. This is one of the CCP ideological control method in NJU.

This method also adopted by the KMT. But the KMT did not carry out model hero emulations; it carried out the emulation of the KMT's leaders such as the "*Zongli Jinianzhou*" (Sun Yat-sen's Memorial Week).

University mass media for propaganda

NCU

In NCU, there were kinds of university mass media for propaganda, one was NCU Magazine and the other was NCU Daily.²¹⁸ Unlike the mass media which is controlled by the CCP Party Committee in NJU, these two university mass media were edited by the President Office of NCU.²¹⁹ NCU Magazine was issued weekly and NCU Daily was issued daily. NCU Magazine focused on the academic matters while NCU Daily focused on the campus daily life. These two mass media were very important to NCU at that time. Due to the war, the publishing of NCU Magazine paused for more than one year and resumed during the

²¹⁶ Extract from the report in the website of the Journalism and Media Studies Centre, The University of Hong Kong:

<http://cmp.hku.hk/look/article.tpl?IdLanguage=1&IdPublication=1&NrIssue=1&NrSection=100&NrArticle=838>.

²¹⁷ From the 10 April 2007 to 9 May 2007, there are 11 pieces articles which related to the Fang Yonggang Emulation in the website of the Department of Organization of NJU. The articles are selected and showed as follows: *Guanyu Shenru Kaizhan Xiang Fang Yonggang Tongzhi Xuexi Huodong de Tongzhi* (The notification of implement the emulation of comrade Fang Yonggang in NJU), 17 April 2007; *Yu Zhenli Tongxing, Yu Shidai Tongbu* (Go with the truth and times), 10 April 2007; *Zhencheng Shijian Dang de Chuangxin Lilun, Yu Zhenli Tongxing Zhixing Tongyi* (carry out the CCP's theory and go with the truth), 10 April 2007; and *Lun Fang Yonggang Jingshen* (the instruction of the spirit of Fang Yonggang), 9 May 2007, The CCP Party Committee of NJU, the website of the Department of Organization of NJU.

²¹⁸ *Nanjing Daxue Shi: 1902-1992 (The history of NJU from 1902 to 1992)*, Nanjing University Press, 1992, P187.

²¹⁹ The President Office of NCU, *Xiaozhang Bangongshi Guanyu Huifu Rikan de Tongzhi* (The notice of President Office of resuming NCU Daily). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P431.

President Chiang Kai-shek period. Due to the KMT publishing censorship, no political information could be printed in these two university mass media. Apart from these two university mass media, there were other ideological propaganda methods and organizations served for the party control of the KMT. In a document named “*Sanmin Zhuyi Jiaoyu Shishi Yuanze*” (The principles of implementing the Three People’s Principles education), the KMT elaborated the measures of implementing the Three People’s Principles education specifically. The KMT issued that the KMT symbols should be laid in the students’ experiment labs and other working places.²²⁰ The KMT symbols are demonstrated in Appendix 10.

NJU

In NJU, the Department of Propaganda is appended to the Department of Organization of the CCP Party Committee of NJU. There is no propaganda organ in the school administrative system.²²¹ It means that all the powers to control information and communication are totally seized by the CCP. In mainland China today, university mass media is a tool of party ideological indoctrinations including the NJU official website, “*Nanjing Daxue Bao*” (Newspaper of NJU) and NJU TV.²²² Not only these media are used in the CCP ideological indoctrination, but the bulletin boards are also used. The bulletin boards always exhibit some model CCP members’ heroic stories or other CCP propagandistic materials and articles. When the author visited NJU in late June 2007, the bulletin boards in NJU exhibited stories of the model CCP members.²²³ In the University History Museum of NJU, most exhibition materials are related to the CCP, especially the materials after 1949.²²⁴ The CCP uses propaganda media to propagandize its ideas to the people on campus.

The mass media in NCU is supervised by the President Office meanwhile the mass media in NJU is supervised by the Department of Propaganda under the CCP Party Committee of NJU. This is the main difference between the mass media in NCU and NJU.

²²⁰ *Sanmin Zhuyi Jiaoyu Shishi Yuanze* (The principles of implementing the Three People’s Principles’ education), Archives Vol. 648, No. 000863, 00925, the SHAC, Nanjing.

²²¹ If you want to get clearer on this issue, please refer to Appendix 9.

²²² On 3 November 2007, 11 days after the close of 17th Party Congress, when I refer to the website of NJU, the main topic was still the 17th Party Congress.

²²³ If you want to get further information about this issue, please refer to Appendix 7. These photos are all taken by the author on NJU campus in the late August 2007.

²²⁴ If you want to get further information about this issue, please refer to Appendix 8. These photos are all taken by the author in the University History Museum of NJU in the late June and August 2007.

Academic faculty settings

NCU

The decision maker of the academic faculty settings was different in NCU before and after 1925. There was a BUD in NSU before 1925 and the BUD held the power of academic faculty settings. But the Ministry of Education of the ROC canceled the BUD and then this power was transferred to the Ministry of Education after 1925. So in NCU period, the power of setting the academic faculty was completely seized by the KMT government. The university only had the power to propose which faculty should be set up first and made recommendation to the Ministry of Education. After the decision made by the Ministry of Education, the new faculty would be approved by the government.²²⁵ The university lost its academic freedom and university autonomy completely in this process.

NJU

Similar to NCU, the power of setting up the academic faculty is held by the CCP government. The CCP consider that the nature of social science is capitalism. Most subjects of social science were cancelled in mainland China during 1950s. Similarly, the closing of catholic universities and private universities are also a measure of the party control of the CCP. The catholic universities and private universities were the main forces in ensuring academic independence before 1949.²²⁶

The Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952 was also a measure of the CCP's party control. This adjustment was the result of copying the Soviet Union higher education model. Most of the comprehensive universities in China were split into universities which were only specialized in a single academic area such as humanities, engineering or medical. The Adjustment of Colleges and Departments experience was from 1) the political campaign experience of Anti-Japanese Resistance University (*Kangda*) (Yan'an experience) 2) education mode of Soviet Union (Soviet Union experience). The Yan'an experience was aimed at ideological education and the Soviet Union experience was aimed at the technical

²²⁵ There are many documents related to this issue, such as the Ministry of Education of ROC, Guanyu Zhongda Xike Shezhi Tiaozheng Banfa (the resolutions of the new departments and disciplines' setting in National Central University) and Chen Lifu, Jiaoyubu Zhiling Tongyi Zhongda Zengshe Fake Yanjiusuo, Zhengzhi Jingjixubu (The Ministry of Education ordinance of National Central University adding the Institution of Law and Department of Political Economics). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P398 and P405.

²²⁶ Li Gang, Daxue de Zhongjie: 1950 Niandai Chuqi de "Yuanxi Tiaozheng" (The breakup of the universities: the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments at the beginning of 1950s), *China Reforms*, Vol. 8, pp. 36-37.

training. Depending on these experiences, it was hoped that scholars with “red and expert” characteristics could be trained in the implementation of the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952.

Another result of the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments was the disappearance of private universities and catholic universities. This is inevitable in view of the intricacy of the CCP’s theory of the nature of the Chinese state at the “people’s dictatorship” stage. According to this theory, all elements of society other than the bureaucratic capitalists, feudal landlords, and lackeys of foreign imperialism should be purged completely. Most of these social classes, in the CCP’s opinion, have strong representations in the KMT; so they should be suppressed. Depending on the analysis above, all the private universities and catholic universities were first closed and then incorporated to the public universities after the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952. The Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952 can be considered as the rehearsal of the socialist transformation campaign in the late 1950s in mainland China. “By 1955, a tightly structured national system of higher education had emerged. For each area of knowledge there was one centre that laid down orthodoxy from above, and the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory exemplifies this best.”²²⁷

In NJU, ideological control was also reflected in the cancellation of the social science subjects. The sociology department was incorporated into the political science department in the early 1950s. And then, the political science department was cancelled according to the policy of Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952. The philosophy department of NJU survived in the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952. But it was incorporated into the philosophy department of Peking University during the Anti-Rightist movement in 1957. The three most important departments in social science were completely abolished then. These three departments were not restored until 1980s after the end of Cultural Revolution. With the social science departments’ abolishment, the ideological education was totally occupied by communism. NJU is also an example of the closing of catholic universities and private universities. University of Nanking is a very famous catholic university in the ROC period. It was incorporated into NJU in 1952.

²²⁷ Ruth Hayhoe, *China’s Universities 1895-1995*, P82.

The most important character of the party control of the CCP over the universities is the institutional and organizational unification between party organizations and school administrations. It means that the party organizations, such as the Youth League and labor union are incorporated into the university administration. The form of this interlocking system may act such as: the head of the party organization may be given a deputy position in the university administrative system and meanwhile, the head of the university administrative system is also given a deputy position in the party organization. This kind of power exchange links the party organizations and the university administrative systems. As the result of this incorporation, the independence of the university administration does not exist. Even worse, in some universities, heads of the party organization and university administration are the same person. In some cases, the party leader can be the administrative leader but vice university president to be the party leader is seldom the case.

Personnel Affairs

In this area, the KMT's party control was very loose except for the appointment of president and exclusion of the CCP members. Because of the huge power of the president, the KMT seized the power of president's appointment strictly. The promotion was also a very important issue. There was no specific party control over the personnel affairs area in NCU. The only promotion criterion was the candidates' academic abilities.²²⁸ It is totally different in NJU after 1949. In NJU, the promotion criterion is political and ideological. Upholding the Four Cardinal Principles is compulsory.²²⁹

The KMT prohibited the existence of the CCP on the campus of NCU. In order to achieve this target, the KMT even used administrative measures. In 1942, a piece of official document which issued by Chen Lifu (minister of Education) ordered NCU that all the CCP members and people who expelled by the KMT should be prohibited from the university

²²⁸ *Guoli Zhongyang Daxue Jiaoyuan Xinpin ji Shengdeng Zige Shencha Banfa (The solutions of the scholars' qualifications of recruitments and promotions of National Central University)*, 13 February 1947, Archives Vol. 648, No. 000835, the SHAC, Nanjing.

²²⁹ There are many documents related to this issue such as Nanjing Daxue Guanyu Xuanba Peiyang Zhongqingnian Xueshu Gupan de Yijian (The solutions of academic cadres' selections and cultivations in NJU), 3 November 1984, Chen Yi, *Nanjing Daxue Xingzheng Guizhang Zhidu Xuanbian (The select documents of administrative regulations of NJU)*, P372; Nanjing Daxue Jiangli Shengji Banfa (The solutions of encouragement and promotion of NJU), 6 September 1989, Chen Yi, *Nanjing Daxue Xingzheng Guizhang Zhidu Xuanbian (The select documents of administrative regulations of NJU)*, P427 and so on.

campus.²³⁰ There are no public documents which are prohibiting the KMT members in NJU campus.

The most important events that showed the KMT's party control were the two tumults in the university president appointments: "the tumult of changing presidents I" (*Yizhang Fengchao*) and "the tumult of changing presidents II". The "the tumult of changing presidents I" was elaborated specifically before; so I shall talk about the "the tumult of changing presidents II" in this section. From National Fourth Sun Yat-sen University to NCU, the president of the university was Zhang Naiyan. But after the university was named as NCU, the government thought that Zhang was not suitable to be the president of NCU, which was the top university of the ROC. In order to strengthen the party control over NCU, the government finally appointed Zhu Jiahua (former president of National Sun Yat-sen University) to be the president after failed in appointing Wu Zhihui and Huang Puhuan as the president. But Zhu had to resign because of the anti-government movement in NCU. Then the government appointed Gui Chongji and Ren Hongjuan to be the new presidents successively; but they did not take their presidents' positions because of the oppositions from the students. On 28 June 1932, Executive Yuan decided to appoint Duan Xipeng as the new president. Having known Duan's experience, the students fought against him fiercely. This movement enraged Chiang Kai-shek, and he issued an order to disband NCU. After a series of struggles, Luo Jialun was appointed to be the new president at last because of his excellent performance in May Fourth Movement and owned Chiang Kai-shek's trust. The "the tumult of changing presidents II" was over with the appointment of Luo Jialun.²³¹

The students of NCU won the "the tumult of changing presidents II" at the end and the government failed in controlling NCU by appointing their own presidents. This movement kept the university from politics and the academic freedom and university autonomy was ensured. The "tumult of changing presidents II" shows that the students can influence the appointment during NCU period. Although NCU was strictly controlled by the KMT, the students used their own power to influence the authority.²³² It means that the students at least

²³⁰ *Zhongda Fengling, Guanyu Jinyong ceng Canjiaguo Gongchandang ji Beikaichu Guomindang Dangji de Renyuan (National Central University ordinance: prohibit the CCP member and persons who expelled by the KMT from the university campus)*, 1942, Archives Vol. 648, No. 1132, the SHAC, Nanjing.

²³¹ Wang, Dezi, *Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi*, P160.

²³² *Zhongda Yizhang zhi Fanying (The reactions of "the tumult of changing presidents")*, 18 February 1943. In

exerted their influence to the university, different from the NJU.

There are two personnel affairs offices in NJU. One is in the party organization system with the name Department of Organization. The other is Personnel Affairs Office under the administrative system. But the Department of Organization which is under the leadership of the CCP Party Committee of NJU is the decision maker. The Department of Organization of the CCP Party Committee of NJU is responsible for the whole university's party construction, cadres' work and scholars' work. Specifically, the Department of Organization is responsible for a) basic development of the party, the CCP members' supervision and recruitment of the CCP members b) middle-level cadres' election, appointment, education, cultivation and evaluation c) university-level cadres' team building under the supervision of the higher authorities d) scholars' work with other departments.²³³ The CCP seize the power of personnel affairs under this department.

Based on the analysis in chapter 3, the party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP over the whole university are clear. The most obvious difference is that the KMT stuck to an indirect control by controlling the university president in NCU while the CCP emphasizes on a direct control by setting up a series of party branches and party secretaries in NJU. Apart from this difference, the party control mechanism of the KMT over NCU is similar to the CCP over NJU. They all emphasize the Confucian orientation in the ideological control and also try to set up some hierarchical organizations to ensure the implementations of their party controls. Although some organizations share the same names with different functions, their aims are the same: ensuring the party controls of the KMT and the CCP.

NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P435.

²³³ Article 1, *ZuZhibu Gongzuo Zhize* (*The responsibility of the department of organization*), 2001.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CONTINUUM UNDERLYING THE GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE QING DYANSTY AND PARTY CONTROLS OF THE KMT AND THE CCP

In the last two chapters, I have analyzed the party control mechanisms of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU. I have found that there were a lot of similarities between these two Chinese political parties' controls. The traditional Chinese authoritarianism played a role in the two parties' political controls. In this chapter, I will further discuss the continuums of the control mechanism of these two Chinese political parties' controls by referring to the control mechanism of the government control of the Qing government, that is, the last imperial dynasty in China. Through the analysis of this chapter, we shall find that the control mechanism of party controls of the KMT and the CCP over universities were very similar to the government control of the Qing government. In other word, it is a continuation from the Qing government.

Actually, some scholars already noticed and touched on the topic of this continuum underlying the control mechanism of the KMT and the CCP, even the Qing Dynasty. One continuation in the control mechanism is the hierarchy system. This hierarchy system in Chinese politics means that the control mechanism is constructed layer by layer. On the top of the hierarchy system is the authority (to the KMT is the Board of University Directorates and to the CCP is the CCP Party Committee of Nanjing University) and meanwhile the mass (students and teachers) is always at the bottom. Lucian W. Pye argues that: "The tenacity with which Chinese politics has been able to resist modernizing influences stems in no small part from certain key structural characteristics, its hierarchical nature, and its heavy dependence upon formal ideologies. As though immutably decreed, Chinese politics after chaos and revolution has always returned to being elitist and hierarchical in organization, closed and monopolistic in spirit; and while the content and the goals have now been irrevocably changed, the Chinese system still steadfastly depends for integration upon an overweening sense of righteousness."²³⁴ "The combination of bureaucratic hierarchy and ideological conformity governed nearly every dimension of the traditional Chinese political

²³⁴ Lucian W. Pye, *The Spirit of Chinese Politics*, P13

culture.”²³⁵ So this hierarchical system can be considered as the most typical characteristic of these three Chinese regimes.

Based on the analysis above, there are a number of similarities and differences between these three regimes (periods). “The adoption of national belief by top political executives in mainland China can be argued as a cultural continuity, with official endorsement of the broad tradition of Confucianism as national moral and sociopolitical precepts upheld by emperors in imperial China for more than 2000 years.”²³⁶ I agree with Law’s argument in this issue. So in my opinion, the similarities and differences of the government control or party control over higher education among the Qing government, the KMT and the CCP are due to the selective reception and rejection of the influences from the traditional Chinese authoritarianism, the influences from outside world (Soviet Union influences or the western values or both), and with little relation to the ideology. The similarities are mainly due to their inherence of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism and meanwhile the differences depend on how much they had inherited the traditional Chinese authoritarianism and how much they had accepted the influences from the outside world.

We shall find that all the Qing government, the KMT and the CCP adopted the classical Chinese bureaucratic pattern with greater centralization and standardization by following the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. In other word, the control mechanism is almost the same.

As commonly known, the Qing Dynasty was an imperial dynasty, thus the adoption of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism as its fundamental ideology is easy to understand. After the Qing government was overthrown by the 1911 Revolution which was led by Sun Yat-sen, the ROC was founded. Although Sun was a democrat, he also relied on the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. From the analysis in chapters two and chapter three, the CCP also relies on this central value system. Just like Law Wing-wah argued in his paper that the continuing struggles in mainland China and Taiwan and their higher education have indicated that domestic forces have been as strong as international ones in both Chinese societies.²³⁷ I agree with this argument but there is a little difference. I suppose the domestic

²³⁵ Lucian W. Pye, *ibid*, P15

²³⁶ Law Wing-wah, *Fortress State, Cultural Continuities and Economic Change*, P380.

²³⁷ Law Wing-wah, *ibid*, P378.

forces are more important than the international ones. The “domestic forces” here means the traditional Chinese authoritarianism while the “international ones” means the influences from the Soviet Union and western values.

The focus of the party control mechanism of the KMT in NCU and the CCP in NJU is different. In NCU, the KMT controlled the whole university by controlling the president. It was an indirect control. In NCU period, the KMT accepted the western values: the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy in universities. So the NCU adopted an administrative system which was copied from the western universities and with this administrative system, the president was in charge of the whole university. Also the NCU set up a Board of University Directorates (BUD) to supervise, invigilate and restrict the power of the president. But we must notice that the BUD had not existed for a long time with the Ministry of Education of the ROC closing the BUD in 1925. The president was the only actual power holder in NCU. In order to control the whole university, the Ministry of Education of the ROC seized the power of selecting and appointing the president. Most of the presidents and candidates of the presidents of NCU were dignitaries of the KMT. Meanwhile, the CCP adopted the Soviet Union party control mechanism, which is using its own organizational system in controlling the whole university. In NJU, the CCP sets up a series of party control organizations to ensure the implementation of its party control. Firstly, the CCP sets up an organization that is the CCP Party Committee of NJU and the party secretary takes charge of the NJU. The party secretary is the actual and only power holder in NJU. In the academic departments and supporting facilities, the CCP sets up party branches while for each class a party cell is set up. In NJU, the party control system is interlocked with the administrative system. Even some functions of the organizations of administrative system are replaced by the organizations of party control system. It is a direct party control of the CCP in NJU.

The KMT carried out a clear and precise party control mechanism in NCU. This party control mechanism included: 1) adopting the Confucianism in supervising the behavior of the students, scholars and staffs in the university; 2) issuing some laws, regulations and ordinances to supervise, invigilate and limit the university activities; 3) appointing the KMT members into the university to ensure the interlocking between the university and the KMT;

4) setting up some party branches in the university to ensure the implements of the KMT's party control; 5) launching some social campaigns to influence the university; 6) using examinations to ensure the proper ideological orientations of students 7) using uncompromising measures to suppress the ideological opponents. In fact, these party control measures are also adopted by the CCP in NJU. But there are still some differences between the KMT and the CCP. The most obvious difference is the focus of the party control mechanism which I have elaborated in the last section. In NJU, the CCP set up multilayer party control organizations while the KMT only set up some party branches in NCU. The KMT implemented its party control by controlling the president of NCU while the CCP implements its party control by setting up many party organizations in NJU. It is an indirect control of the KMT versus direct control of the CCP. The party control organizational system is systematic in NJU but fragmentary in NCU.

So, the party control mechanism is a continuum from the KMT period to the CCP period, although the KMT was an indirect control and the CCP is a direct control. In the deep Chinese cultural roots, these two political parties accept the influences from traditional Chinese authoritarianism, the Soviet Union, as well as western countries. "Traditional China was one of the most remarkable and certainly the most stable and enduring of political systems in human history. For nearly two thousand years the essential ingredients of Emperor and bureaucracy, of Confucian ideology and family authority, were held together with very little basic change."²³⁸

In fact, the Qing government also adopted this control mechanism during San/Liangjiang Normal School period such as implementing its government control by controlling the presidents of the school (an indirect control). The government control of the Qing Dynasty over San/Liangjiang Normal School is under the guideline of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. The Qing Government set up a Supervisor-responsibility system in San/Liangjiang Normal School. This system adopted the European patterns of greater centralization and standardization with a very typical Chinese bureaucratic identity. In Liangjiang Normal School, the administrative system was a hierarchical system. The Supervisor was on the top of this hierarchy. In Liangjiang Normal School period, Li Ruiqing

²³⁸ Lucian W. Pye, *The Spirit of Chinese Politics*, P12

was responsible for the whole university. Under the Supervisor, the school set up three new positions which can help the Supervisor to deal with the daily school work. These three positions shared the responsibilities of academic affairs, general affairs and discipline and education affairs.²³⁹ So the Qing government carried out an indirect control over San/Liangjiang Normal School by using the supervisor of the school to control the whole school. In San/Liangjiang Normal School, the Supervisor was in charge of the whole school's organization, personnel affairs and academic affairs.

The fundamental ideology of the Qing Dynasty was Confucianism mixed with ideas from Taoism and Buddhism. The school issued a series of Confucian proprieties to implement and strengthen the ideological indoctrination. Whereas the Confucianism was not the only compulsory course, due to the influences from western countries, science and technology were also the compulsory courses. The school also issued some regulations and ordinance to restrict behaviors of the students. Before and after the registration, students in San/Liangjiang Normal School had to take a series of Confucian oriented exams to ensure their political loyalties.

Above is a simple introduction of the government control of the Qing Dynasty during the San/Liangjiang Normal School period. The specific elaborations on the school are in Appendix 12 to which please refer to it for further information. Depending on the analysis before, from the government control of the Qing government to the party control of the KMT and then to the party control of the CCP, there is a continuum

Now we shall discuss the reason of this continuum. As commonly known, the Qing government, the KMT and the CCP are all rooted in the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. They share the same social and historical background, which results in the fact that these three Chinese political powers have the typical Chinese traditional characteristics. At the same time, they were also influenced by the western values. In the Qing Dynasty, this influence was presented by the "Self-Strengthening Movement" in the late days. Setting up the modern university in China was one of the results of this movement. The core value of this "Self-Strengthening Movement" followed "Chinese culture for the essence, western technology for practical use" (*Zhongxue weiti, Xixue weiyong*). So the modern university

²³⁹ Su Yunfeng, *San/Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang, 1903-1911*, P106.

was also set up under this guideline. With the organizational settings copied from foreign countries [first Japanese mode, then British mode, followed with American mode, and eventually the Soviet Union mode], modern university in China has been run with traditional Chinese authoritarianism. These modes shaped the party control modes of the KMT and the CCP in the universities. Although the organizational settings have changed over the years, traditional Chinese authoritarianism remained as the spirit to run with universities. This is the reason why Confucianism is still accepted and used throughout the development of the modern universities in modern China. In the KMT period, the NCU accepted some of the western values for its administrative system. The KMT followed the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy. After the CCP seized the regime in 1949, the administrative system in the universities turned to copy the Soviet Union mode. The CCP completed these regulations and changes by using the Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952. After this adjustment, the entire higher education system in China began to follow the Soviet Union mode which includes: 1) a specific division with academic purpose of the universities 2) a specific division of disciplines 3) emphasizing the class struggle 4) emphasizing the party spirit.²⁴⁰ In fact, the Soviet Union influence was first accepted by the KMT in the early ROC period, but it was soon replaced by Pragmatism and Instrumentalism of John Dewey (who was an American philosopher, psychologist, and educational reformer). After China has implemented the reform and open door policy in late 1970s, mainland China also began to carry out reforms in higher education. In this transition, the Soviet Union mode in China began to mix with more and more principles from western values such as academic freedom and university autonomy. The philosophical school of Pragmatism is again accepted and adopted in mainland China.

Above is an analysis of the influences from the traditional Chinese authoritarianism, the Soviet Union influence and the western values on the university settings. We notice that influences from traditional Chinese authoritarianism and western values run through these three regimes. The Soviet Union mainly influenced the CCP on the university administration and its influence in the KMT period could be ignored. The next is the analysis of these three

²⁴⁰ Gu Ming-yuan, Influence of Soviet Union's Educational Theory on Chinese Education, *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, Vol. 1, 2004, pp. 5-13

factors on the party constructions of the KMT and the CCP.

In terms of party construction, the Soviet Union influence is the most important element. As is mentioned before, at the beginning of the establishment of the KMT and the CCP, both of these two Chinese political parties had received aid from the Soviet Union. After the observation on these two parties' organizational structure, they both adopted the Soviet Union mode. So the Soviet Union influence played the most important role on the KMT and the CCP party construction and the other two elements are not so important in this area.

Personality cult is another similarity between the party control of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU. In the KMT period, the personality cult focused on Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. The NCU ensured this kind of personality cult implemented by using the “*Zongli Jinianzhou*” (Memorial Week for Sun Yat-sen) and in other ways such as hanging the portraits of these two political leaders in the university. This kind of personality cult has been also adopted by the CCP and even developed to a further step. Focusing on the university level, personality cult has also existed. In the histories of NCU and NJU, there were some outstanding presidents such as Luo Jialun and Kuang Yaming whose tenures were long and influenced the universities deeply.²⁴¹ This kind of personality cult is a reflection of paternalism in NCU and NJU. Due to the personality cult, the prestige of these university authorities was increasing. Then, with the increasing prestige, more and more people believed that the university authorities were the symbols of justice, rightness and power. Even worse, the authority of the authority powers is consolidated in the universities in this process. The centralization of the powers makes the paternalism growing in these two universities. Although this kind of personality cult at the university level might benefits the university in some aspects, there are also many disadvantages such as restricting the diversity of academic development in the universities.

Based on the analysis above, a continuum is underlying the government control of Qing Dynasty, party controls of the KMT and the CCP. This continuum is due to the different extent of acceptance of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism, Soviet Union influence and western values.

²⁴¹ For details of these two presidents: Luo Jialun and Kuang Yaming, please refer to Appendix 1 and 2.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The party controls of the Kuomintang over National Central University and the Chinese Communist Party over Nanjing University can be divided into two aspects: party control over personnel and party control over the whole university. Table 9 below summarizes the party control mechanisms of the two parties.

Table 9: The party controls of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU

The Qing Dynasty also carried out an indirect control over San/Liangjiang Normal School under the guideline of Confucianism. The Qing government endowed the supervisor of San/Liangjiang Normal School with huge power and then strictly controlled the supervisor. The Qing government also appointed some persons to the school to help the supervisor in daily administration. The government control of the Qing Dynasty followed the traditional Chinese authoritarianism which had the characteristics of a typical Chinese Confucian orientation, hierarchical structure, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern.

Based on the analysis about the government control of the Qing Dynasty and party controls of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU, there are three influential elements: traditional Chinese authoritarianism, Soviet Union influence and western values: 1) the traditional Chinese authoritarianism is mainly rooted in the historical background of the imperial China and formed with one typical characteristic (Confucian orientation) and with three structural aspects, hierarchical system, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern; 2) The element of the Soviet Union influence mainly comes from the Soviet Union and influenced the KMT during 1920s and the CCP before the implementation of open door policy; 3) the element of western values is from Japan, Germany, Britain and the U.S..

Table 9: The party controls of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU

The party controls of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU				
			National Central University	Nanjing University
Over personnel	Students	<i>Fundamental Ideology</i>	The Three People's Principles	Communism
		<i>Youth League</i>	Three People's Principles Youth League	Chinese Communist Youth League
		<i>Student Discipline and Education</i>	Discipline and Education Committee	Chinese Communist Youth League Committee
		<i>Recruitment</i>	Implicative political criteria	Obvious and compulsory political criteria
		<i>Military Training</i>	Important	Less important
		<i>Holiday Setting</i>	Adopted	Adopted
		<i>Patriotic Education</i>	National Calamity Education	Patriotic Education
		<i>Students union and students' societies</i>	Strict control	Stricter control
	President	<i>President-responsibility System</i>	Full President-responsibility System	Under the leadership of the party committee
		<i>Appointment and promotion</i>	By the Ministry of Education	By the CCP Central Committee
		<i>Backgrounds of the Presidents</i>	With strong KMT and official backgrounds	Low ratio with the CCP and official background
		<i>Resistance of the Party Control</i>	Much	Very few
Over the whole university	Party branches and party schools		Non-existence	Existence
	Board of University Directorates		Powerful at the beginning but banned by the Ministry of Education in 1925	Symbolic organization only responsible to raise money
	Funding		Almost all from the government	About 2/3 from the government
	Ideological control	<i>Political Movements and mass mobilization</i>	Adopted	Adopted and excellent in
		<i>University Mass Media for propaganda</i>	Only limited in publishing	Comprehensive
		<i>Academic Faculty Settings</i>	By the Ministry of Education	By the Ministry of Education
	Personnel affairs		Loose except for appointment of the president and exclusion of the CCP members	Under the leadership of the CCP Party Committee of NJU and held by the CCP

The party control mechanism of the KMT over NCU and the CCP over NJU are the same to each other. Both of these two Chinese political parties adopted the classical Chinese bureaucratic pattern with greater centralization and standardization by following the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. Not only the party controls of these two political parties are the same, but the government control of the Qing government over San/Liangjiang Normal School is also the same as the party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP. So the party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP are a continuation from the government control mechanism of the Qing government.

In the long history of China, Confucianism always served as the fundamental ideology of the ruling class except for the periods before the early Han Dynasty and some periods of the Tang Dynasty. Confucianism influenced the entire China for over two thousand years. Under this background, Confucianism has formed the backbone of the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. The KMT and the CCP were all influenced by Confucianism and adopted some ideas from Confucianism such as KMT's "New Life Movement" and CCP's "Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces" (*Ba rong ba chi*).

Under this traditional Chinese authoritarianism, the whole country was under a hierarchical system, same as in higher education. There is always a leader at the top of the university hierarchy, the supervisor in the Qing Dynasty, the president in the KMT period, the party secretary in the CCP period. And under this top leader, there are always some executive organizations carrying out the will of the top leaders. Executive organizations in the KMT period like Military Administration Committee and Discipline and Education Committee, in the CCP period like the CCP Party Committee and CCYL Committee are typical examples. Students and scholars are always at the lowest level of this hierarchical system in universities.

Paternalism is also adopted by the KMT and the CCP. In NCU, the KMT carried out a personality cult with Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek as supreme leaders. While in NJU, Mao Zedong was used to serve this personality cult. Paternalism still influences NJU nowadays. In NJU, the party secretary is the only authority. As is mentioned before, the university settings in college level and department level are copied from university level. Due to this copy, this paternalism also existed in the college level and department level. The

only difference between these two levels is that the administrative leaders are replaced the party secretaries to be the authority.

Democratic idea has no place in the classical Chinese bureaucratic administrative system. Both the KMT and the CCP adopt the bureaucratic pattern in their party controls. In NCU period, most of the presidents are KMT elites. Before taking the position of president in NCU, these KMT elites always took some important party responsibilities. The CCP takes on a different approach on this issue. As the president's position is not the party control focus, few presidents in NJU are CCP elites, whereas most of them may take some responsibilities in the government like the Ministry of Education of the PRC.

In the early history of the KMT and the CCP, they both received aid from the Soviet Union and both their party structures are copied from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and their core value systems (The Three People's Principles of the KMT and communism of the CCP) are all from foreign countries, however, when compared to traditional Chinese authoritarianism, these two elements are just subsidiary.

Based on the analysis in chapter two and chapter three, the following conclusions are found: 1) the traditional Chinese authoritarianism dominates in the spirits of the party controls of the KMT and the CCP; 2) the Soviet Union influence mainly influenced the party construction of the KMT and the CCP; 3) the western values mainly influenced part of the university affairs including university settings and university administrations. Based on the analysis in chapters two, three and four, it is found that there is a continuum underlying the political controls of these three regimes. Their political controls all have characteristics of a typical Chinese Confucian orientation, hierarchical structure, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern. The Soviet Union influence only influenced the KMT in the early days and the CCP before the implementation of open door policy. Meanwhile the influences of the western values only limited in some university affairs with little influence on the party controls of the KMT and the CCP. Only the traditional Chinese authoritarianism goes through all these three Chinese regimes. So the traditional Chinese authoritarianism is the dominant element and thus can be considered as an important reason for the existence of a continuum underlying these three Chinese regimes.

Although there are many similarities between the party controls of the KMT and the CCP,

differences still need to be emphasized. In NCU and NJU, the KMT and the CCP firstly set up a position to take charge of the whole university: to the KMT is the position of the president while to the CCP is the position of party secretary. So the party control of the KMT over NCU is an indirect control and the party control of the CCP is a direct control.

There are three limitations in this research. As we all know, there were many kinds of universities in ROC period such as national universities, provincial universities, private universities and catholic universities. Among these four kinds of universities, national universities only occupied a ratio around 1/6 and more universities were the other three kinds. So NCU cannot represent the whole higher education in ROC. It only represented for the party control over the national universities. Meanwhile, NJU also cannot represent the whole higher education in current mainland China, although the public universities are the mainstream and the private universities are increasing in numbers nowadays. Moreover, NJU is a key university which under direct supervision of the Ministry of Education and this kind of key universities also occupies a small ratio among the all public universities. So this case study only focuses on two universities which cannot cover the whole party control over the whole higher education system. In the future study, I need to discuss more cases of other kinds of the universities. Second is the lack of data during the ROC period as well as data of the Cultural Revolution period. This limitation is hard to avoid. Data of these two periods are sensitive in mainland China. Much of the research related data are still confidential nowadays. The third limitation is the lack of any research in the National Central University in Taiwan. In fact, the author plans to do a research which compares the Nanjing University in mainland China and National Central University in Taiwan at the beginning. As commonly known, mainland China and Taiwan take on two different political systems, one is democracy and the other is authoritarianism. These two universities share the same origins and cultural roots but have developed within two different political systems. It will be easier for the author to compare and judge which political system will benefit the higher education more. But since the author cannot go to Taiwan due to his mainland Chinese identification, it is very difficult to access the data of National Central University in Taiwan. Thus the author only could transfer his topic from comparing the two universities with the same origin on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to comparing the two universities before and after 1949. Also,

more observations should be pay attention to the party control in the universities in foreign countries especially the Soviet Union. Even my observations can be also explored to other areas such as the party control over the army, hospital or other social units. I wish these limitations could be solved in my future study.

Civil society is a society which composed by a common acknowledgement of the totality of voluntary civic and social organizations and institutions distinct from the society and commercial institutions which are under the control or supervision of the state (no matter what the political system is). There is still a long time for the mainland China to change to a truly civil society. First, the universities in mainland China are not voluntary civic and social organizations. Most of the universities in mainland China are public universities and are all established, funded and run by the government (state). The universities only serve as a tool which adopted by the government in propagandizing the authorized ideology and serving for the social development. Also, the universities are strictly controlled and supervised by the state. Take NCU and NJU as examples, both of these two universities are separately established, funded, run, controlled and supervised by the two Chinese political parties: the KMT and the CCP. The universities have little authority in decision-making. In other word, the existence and development of these two universities cannot continue without the supporting from the state. So from the result of my research, I do not think that the civil society will be realized in mainland China very soon.

In addition, I shall mention some state-society relations between the government and higher education in current China and the world. In current mainland China, the relation between the government and higher education is a trend of development from government control to government supervision. The time point of this change is the implementation of the open door policy during 1980s. Before this time point, the higher education is strictly controlled by the Chinese government. This control is powerful and comprehensive in every area of the higher education in mainland China. But it is different in western countries. Most of the higher education system in western countries can keep an independent status and only get some supervision from the local and central government. The governments only issue some regulations to supervise the power of the university and also ensure the implementation of the principles of university autonomy and academic freedom. This supervision is aimed at

keeping a balance between the power of the universities and the government. So after the implementation of the open door policy in China, more and more western values are introduced into the mainland. The mode of government supervision is also gradually accepted and adopted by the Chinese government. But due to the tradition of government control in Chinese society, the Chinese higher education still needs a period of changing from government control to government supervision. I believe that the principle of government supervision can be carried out in mainland China in the coming years but the realization of the civil society is still an uncertain in the coming future.

Based on my research, it is found that China is actually conservative in its politics. Traditional Chinese authoritarianism has its root in the long Chinese history and fits the situation of the current China. The ideologies from outside world do not change China completely. I agree with the gradual reforms under the leadership of Hu Jintao in current China. But in these gradual reforms, the reformers should pay attention to deal with traditional Chinese authoritarianism; it can be beneficial as well as harmful to the reforms.

All in all, these two Chinese political parties, no matter the KMT or the CCP, are the successors of traditional Chinese authoritarianism. And both the party control mechanisms of the KMT and the CCP over universities in China have the characteristics of a typical Chinese Confucian orientation, hierarchical structure, paternalism and bureaucratic pattern.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Former presidents of National Central University and Nanjing University from 1902-present

Miu Quansun	Sanjiang Normal School	1902
Chen Sanli	Sanjiang Normal School	1902
Li Ruiqing	Liangjiang Normal School	1905-1911
Jiang Qian	Nanjing Higher Normal School	1914-1919
Guo Bingwen	Nanjing Higher Normal School	1919-1921
	National Southeast University	1921-1925
Jiang Weiqiao ²⁴²	National Southeast University	1925-1927
Zhang Naiyan	National No. 4 Sun Yat-sen University	1927-1930
	Jiangsu University	
	National Central University	
Zhu Jiahua	National Central University	1930-1931
Luo Jialun	National Central University	1932-1941
Gu Mengyu	National Central University	1941-1943
Jiang Zhongzheng	National Central University	1943-1944
Gu Yuxiu	National Central University	1944-1945
Wu Youxun	National Central University	1945-1947
Zhou Hongjin	National Central University	1947-1949.4
Liang Xi	National Nanjing University	1949.8-1949.11
Pan Shu	National Nanjing University	1949.11-1952.7
	Nanjing University	
Guo Yingqiu	Nanjing University	1957-1963
Kuang Yaming	Nanjing University	1978-1982
Guo Lingzhi	Nanjing University	1982-1984
Qu Qinyue	Nanjing University	1984-1997
Chen Yi	Nanjing University	1996-1997
Jiang Shusheng	Nanjing University	1997-2006
Chen Jun	Nanjing University	2006-present

Appendix 2: Former party secretary of Nanjing University from 1953-present

Sun Shuping	Nanjing University	1953-1955
Chen Yiren	Nanjing University	1955-1957
Guo Yingqiu	Nanjing University	1957-1963
Kuang Yaming ²⁴³	Nanjing University	1963-1966

²⁴² This material is from the *Zhongyang Daxue Gaikuang ji Youguan Wenjian (The general situation of National Central University and some relative files)*, 2 February 1946, Vol. 648, Serial number 000749, the SHAC, Nanjing

²⁴³ It is blank in the Website of NJU and other open publications in the period from 1963 to 1966. The writer of this thesis adds the data depend on the research in the library of NJU.

Peng Chong	Nanjing University	1966-1968
Fang Min	Nanjing University	1968-1970
Wang Yong	Nanjing University	1970-1975
Zhou Lin	Nanjing University	1975-1978
Kuang Yaming	Nanjing University	1978-1982
Zhang De	Nanjing University	1982-1984
Ling Yuxuan ²⁴⁴	Nanjing University	1984-1985
Lu Yurong ²⁴⁵	Nanjing University	1986-1989
Han Xingchen	Nanjing University	1990-2003
Hong Yinxing	Nanjing University	2003-present

Appendix 3: Political backgrounds and experiences of seven presidents in National Central University

	KMT Membership	KMT Central Committee Member	ROC government Official	Membership in Party Ideological Organizations ²⁴⁶
Zhang Naiyan	Y	Y	Y	N
Zhu Jiahua	Y	Y	Y	N
Luo Jialun	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gu Mengyu	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chiang Kai-shek	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wu Youxun	N	N	N	N
Zhou Hongjing	N	N	Y	N
Ratio (%)	71.4	71.4	85.7	42.9
(Remark: "Y" short for Yes and "N" short for No)				

²⁴⁴ It is blank in the Website of NJU and other open publications in the period from 1984 to 1985. In detail, the blank period is from 22 August 1984 to 30 November 1985. The reason of this blank was due to Zhang De (on-duty party secretary) suffered from cancer. So he retired from his leading post without leaving the party secretary position. In this period, the CCP Party Committee of NJU was managed by Ling Yuxuan. The CCP Party Committee members included: Ling Yuxuan, Lu Yurong, Han Xingchen, Wang Dezi, Yu Shaoyi, Yuan Xiangwan and Ou Lei. So the writer of this thesis accepts that the Ling Yuxuan is the deputy party secretary from 1984 to 1985.

²⁴⁵ In fact, she had been appointed on 30 November 1985

²⁴⁶ The Ideological organizations here mean the organizations which related to the ideological control such as the KMT's Central Party Affairs School and so on. Central Party Affairs School, in Chinese is "*Zhongyang Dangwu Xuexiao*", was first established in 1927 in Nanjing as the KMT's Central Party Affairs School. In 1929, it changed its name to Central Political School, after the "Northern Expedition" victory of Nationalists in Mainland China. In 1946, National Chengchi University was formally founded which was depend on the KMT's Central Party Affairs School, signifying the end of the Second Anti-Japanese War. With the KMT lost control in Mainland China in 1949, the university's activities were halted, but the university opened once again in Taipei in 1954 to meet the growing demand of ideological education and research in Taiwan.

Appendix 4: Political backgrounds and experiences of eight presidents in Nanjing University

	CCP Membership	CCP Central Committee Member	PRC Government Official	Membership in Party Ideological organizations
Pan Shu	Y	N	N	N
Guo Yingqiu	Y	Y	N	N
Kuang Yaming	Y	N	N	Y
Guo Lingzhi	N	N	N	N
Qu Qingyue	N	N	N	N
Chen Yi	N	N	N	N
Jiang Shusheng	N	N	N	N
Chen Jun	Y	N	N	N
Ratio (%)	50.0	12.5	0	12.5
(Remark: “Y” short for Yes and “N” short for No)				

Appendix 5: The statistics of the education background of the teachers in National Southeast University²⁴⁷

Subject	Overseas PhDs or double masters	Overseas Masters	Overseas Bachelors or with the experience	No-overseas study experience or unclear	Overseas teachers	Sum of teachers	The Ratio of overseas background teachers (%)
①Arts	9	8	7	43	3	70	38.6
②Science	8	13	3	4	1	29	86.2
③Education	8	7	5	11	2	33	66.7
④Technology	1	7	4	3	0	15	80.0
⑤Agriculture	10	12	7	7	6	42	83.3
⑥Business	4	9	5	11	4	33	66.7
Total	40	56	31	79	16	222	64.4
Remark	Due to lack of data, the number of overseas background teachers is more than that in this table						

²⁴⁷ Wang, Dezi, *Nanjing Daxue Bainian Shi*, P97

Appendix 6: Different versions of graduation certifications

Graduation certifications of the Qing Dynasty

Graduation certifications of the KMT Period

Graduation certifications in Japanese Colonial Districts

Graduation certifications of the PRC period

Appendix 7: The exhibitions on the bulletin boards in Nanjing University campus

Appendix 8: The exhibition materials in the University History Museum of Nanjing University

Appendix 9: The running systems of Nanjing University (2007)

The Party Committee System of Nanjing University (2007)

The administrative organization system of Nanjing University (2007)

Appendix 10: Brick during National Central University period

Appendix 11: The history and evolution of National Central University and Nanjing University

Nanjing University can be traced back to Sanjiang Normal School which was founded by the Qing government in 1902. The founders of Sanjiang Normal School were Liu Kunyi, Zhang Zhidong and Wei Guangtao. During the period of New Policy at the end of the Qing Dynasty,²⁴⁸ Liu Kunyi, General Governor of Liangjiang area (Jiangxi and Jiangsu), presented a proposal to Emperor Guang Xu about the idea of establishing modern schools, under the influence of the ideas of seeking reforms and thirsting for strength. Zhang Zhidong and Wei Guangtao, his successors, established Sanjiang Normal School, which was located at the Beijige of Jiangning Prefecture. The other reason of the foundation of Sanjiang Normal School was due to the lost of the Qing government in the First Sino-Japanese War.

In 1902, Zhang Zhidong, ardent advocate of “Chinese culture for the essence, western technology for practical use” (*Zhongxue weiti, Xixue weiyong*) submitted his memorial to the emperor to found Sanjiang Normal School, to be located at the former Academy of the Ming Dynasty, Beijige of Jiangning Prefecture.

The name of Sanjiang means the three provinces (Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui) in China. Before the foundation, Miu Quansun, Xu Naichang and Liu Yizheng²⁴⁹ were appointed by Zhang Zhidong to study the higher education system of Japan. The mode of education in Sanjiang Normal School was copied from Japan. Some teachers were also from Japan²⁵⁰. In the period of Sanjiang Normal School, it was just a regional school in Jiangsu. Only students from Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui could be admitted in this school. Sanjiang Normal School changed its name to Liangjiang Normal School in 1906 with Xu Naichang as its supervisor who was later succeeded by Li Ruiqing.²⁵¹ Li initiated the idea of “regarding education as

²⁴⁸ The New Policy was carried out in the late Qing Dynasty from 1901. Its name is a new policy but the ideas can be oriented to the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861–1894). The Self-Strengthening Movement was a period of institutional reforms initiated during the late Qing Dynasty following a series of military defeats and concessions to foreign powers. In fact, all the New Policy can be considered as the succession of Hundred Days’ Reform. Although most of the policies of Hundred Days’ Reform in political area were abolished, the policies in education area survived.

²⁴⁹ Depending on the “*Wenshi ziliao jianbao*” (*Selective historical materials*) of Nanjing Normal College in 1982, there are eight persons in this investigation group: Miu Quansun, Liu Yizheng, Xu Naichang, Wang Yingliang, Hou Jianbo, Zhang Xiaolou, Sun Xiang’ai and Shu Boqin.

²⁵⁰ There are 11 Japanese teachers in 1903 at the beginning of Sanjiang Normal University and only 70 Chinese teachers.

²⁵¹ Zhou Fu, the Viceroy of Liangjiang thought that the name of “*Liangjiang*” had already delegated the three

one's own life, the school as the home, and the students as one's children," and emphasized the academic attitude of "working in a solid manner." He spoke to students with his proverb, "The bitterness of chewing the roots makes the greatness of success".²⁵² A precedent was thus created for an honored academic style at Nanjing University. After the 1911 Revolution, Liangjiang Normal School was abolished due to the war.

Nanjing Higher Normal School was established on the basis of Liangjiang Normal School in 1914 and it developed into National Southeast University in 1920. Jiang Qian and Guo Bingwen were the two successive presidents, who both carried out reforms and changed the idea of learning Chinese as fundamental programme and western learning only for practical use into a modern multi-subjects academic programme. Nanjing Higher Normal School played an important role in the wave of Chinese nationalism following the May Fourth Movement in 1919. The period of Nanjing Higher Normal School was also very important in the history of NJU. The university motto of "Sincerity with Aspiration, Perseverance and Integrity"²⁵³ was shaped in this period.

Nanjing Higher Normal School did not enroll new students any more and it was merged with National Southeast University along with the trend of nationalization of the universities in the early 1920s. NSU had the earliest modern scientific research laboratories and groups in China. It integrated teaching and research, and was regarded as the earliest modern Chinese university. The university fundamental administrative system such as the Board of University Directorates and Professors' Committee were formed in this period.

With the foundation of Nanjing Nationalist Government, NSU was renamed National No. 4 Sun Yat-sen University by the government in 1927.²⁵⁴ In February 1928, the university

provinces. The Viceroy of Liangjiang was one of eight viceroys of the Qing Dynasty in China. The Viceroy had jurisdiction over the provinces of Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui. Because Jiangsu and Anhui were once the combined province of Jiangnan (South of the Yangtze), the province was known, along with Jiangxi (West of the Yangtze) as the two *jiangs*, hence the name "*Liangjiang*".

²⁵² *Bainian Nanda (NJU: the centennial)*, Nanjing University Press, 2002, P18

²⁵³ The Motto of NJU nowadays is: Sincerity (*Cheng*), Simplicity (*Pu*), Grand (*Xiong*), Great (*Wei*), Endeavor to Learn (*Li Xue*), Urge to Action (*Dun Xing*).

²⁵⁴ In 1927, the Educational Committee of the KMT started a reform of educational system, suggesting and trying the system of "University Division" and "University Zoning". Several university zones were divided into in accordance of different provinces, and named after the marching order of the Northern Expeditionary Army: No.1 Sun Yat-sen University (in Guangzhou), No. 2 Sun Yat-sen University (in Hubei), No. 3 Sun Yat-sen University (in Zhejiang), No. 4 Sun Yat-sen University (in Jiangsu)....National No. 4 Sun Yat-sen University was founded on the basis of Southeast University, in corporation with the other eight institutions like Hehai University, Jiangsu Law University, Jiangsu Medical University, Nanjing Industry School, Nanjing No. 1 Agriculture School, Nanjing Commercial School, Suzhou Industry School and Shanghai Medical University. Resource from *Zhongyang Daxue Gaikuang ji Youguan Wenjian (The general situation of National Central University and some*

changed its name to Jiangsu University. Not long after this change of name, it was again renamed as NCU with Zhang Naiyan as the new president in May 1928. NCU experienced the Anti-Japanese War and relocated to Shapingba, Chongqing temporarily from 1937 to 1945. NCU became the top university of China during this period.

After the CCP seized the regime in mainland China in 1949, some professors and students of NCU relocated to Taiwan with the KMT. Most professors and students remained in mainland China and NCU continued after the liberation of Nanjing city in April 1949. The CCP changed its name to National Nanjing University in August 1949 and Nanjing University (NJU) in October 1949. In the famous Adjustment of Colleges and Departments in 1952 in mainland China, the University of Nanking was incorporated into NJU. On the other hand, after the KMT moved to Taiwan, the alumni persuaded the KMT government to rebuild the university in Taiwan at Miaoli in 1962, as the Graduate Institute of Geophysics of National Central University (NCU). In 1979, NCU was officially reestablished with its original name. This is a brief introduction of NJU from its first foundation in 1902. A brief evolution draft shows the evolution of NCU and NJU as Graph 1 in chapter one.

Appendix 12: The governmental control of the Qing government over San/Liangjiang Normal School

Following the Opium War, China fell into a crisis of territory being divided by American and European powers, whose imperialist aggression was bringing in national humiliation to Qing Administration. Calls rose around the country “to discard the imperial examination system, revive education, reform the old systems and guard against alien forces.” Thus, at a time in need of change, Sanjiang Normal School, present-day Nanjing University, was born in Jinling, a city of “a crouching tiger and a curling dragon.” It was renamed Liangjiang Normal School in 1905²⁵⁵, with Xu Naichang as its Supervisor who was later then succeeded by Li Ruiqing. The government control of the Qing government inherited the traditional Chinese bureaucratic system as follows:

Student

Fundamental Ideology

The fundamental ideology of San/Liangjiang Normal School was the traditional Chinese authoritarianism, specifically, the value system was Confucianism mixed with some ideas of Taoism and Buddhism. Confucianism was the mainstream. In all the schools of the Qing Dynasty, the fundamental ideology was traditional Chinese authoritarianism, so as in San/Liangjiang Normal School. But there was also a little different in San/Liangjiang Normal School. The western science and technology was also very important. Before the establishment of the school, Zhang Zhidong, who was one of the creators, advocated that “Chinese learning at the core and western learning as a tool” should be carried out in the new schools. So in San/Liangjiang Normal School, the courses included many subjects such as moral, history, geography, gymnastics, handwork, Japanese, mathematics, arts, education and so on. Although the students had to receive some ideology indoctrination, but the ratio of the

²⁵⁵ Sanjiang Shifan Xuetang Yiming Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang (Sanjiang Normal School renamed Liangjiang Normal School). In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P18.

ideology course was decreased largely.²⁵⁶ From the curriculum schedules of San/Liangjiang Normal School, we shall notice that all the students only had to learn an ideological course per-term. Compared to the other 14 courses which related to the modern western science and technology, the ratio was low. This was similar to the experimental class in current China. In the experimental class plan, little ideology indoctrination was forced and more different disciplines were offered.

Student Discipline and Education

The student work-system in Sanjiang Normal School was copied from Japan which was the military administration system. In this student discipline and education system, the students were strictly restricted. The school issued a series of disciplines and regulations. All the students' daily life should follow this disciplines and regulations. The school proprieties were the most important ideological control of the Qing government. The school proprieties issued that the students in Sanjiang Normal School must attend three kinds of important ceremonies:

- 1) Ceremonies of Empress Cixi's Birthday, Emperor's Birthday and Confucius's Birthday;
- 2) The opening ceremony, holidays' ceremony and graduation ceremony;
- 3) Ceremony of New Year's Day and the first day of every month.

In these ceremonies, the students should be formally dressed, worship on knees and knocked head to the Confucius statue and the teachers. After finishing these ceremonies, the teacher would say something to the students which mainly focus on the patriotism.²⁵⁷ In this process, the fundamental ideology of the Qing government was indoctrinated to the students.

This was one part of the Qing government's ideological control over Sanjiang Normal School. A more important issue was the Qing government released series political and ideological restrictions over the students in Sanjiang Normal School. These restrictions were as follows:²⁵⁸

- 1) The students should only pay attention to the academic and ignore the things with no

²⁵⁶ Su Yunfeng, *San/Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang, 1903-1911*, P43.

²⁵⁷ Su Yunfeng, *ibid*, P78.

²⁵⁸ Su Yunfeng, *ibid*, P80.

relate to the academic;

- 2) Disturbing the nation's politics is forbidden;
- 3) Obeying the traditional Chinese moral standard;
- 4) Unofficial history books and other anti-Qing government books were not allowed to read in the classroom;
- 5) Prohibiting to be the editor or interviewer of the newspapers;
- 6) Rumoring was forbidden;
- 7) Associating assemblies and giving talks were not allowed in the school;
- 8) Disturbing the litigation was not allowed;
- 9) Corrupting public morals was not allowed;
- 10) Students' strike was not allowed;
- 11) Disobeying the new regulations of the school was not allowed;
- 12) Offending each above article would be punished.

From these regulations above, the students were ideologically controlled by the Qing government. In Liangjiang Normal School period, the situation was different. The academic atmosphere was loose. Although the twelve restrictions still persisted, the implementation was loose. This was due to the open mind of the Supervisor Li Ruiqing. The most important example of the loose academic atmosphere in Liangjiang Normal School was the contestation of the subsistence and abolishment of religion.²⁵⁹ So academic freedom was ensured in Liangjiang Normal School by Li Ruiqing before 1911.

Recruitment

If someone wanted to apply a position in San/Liangjiang Normal School, he²⁶⁰ had to fulfill these qualifications:²⁶¹

- 1) Born in one of these three province: Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui;
- 2) With a *Gongsheng* (tribute student: about middle school, year 5) licentiate;
- 3) Good habit, well-behaved and could devote themselves to the education.

²⁵⁹ Su Yunfeng, *ibid*, P82.

²⁶⁰ Women is excluded from the schools in the Qing Dynasty.

²⁶¹ Su Yunfeng, *San/Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang, 1903-1911*, P59 and Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang Dierci Zhaokao Shifansheng Zhaohui ge Sheng Fu Ting Zhou Xian Wen (The official document of the second recruitment of the students of Liangjiang Normal School), 1907. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P25.

4) Aged from 20 to 30 years old

If one qualified for all these four qualifications, one could get two chances to take two tests. The first test was the entrance examination and the second test was the examination after the entrance examination. If the candidates passed all the examinations, he became a student of the school. The government control existed in three periods of the students' recruitment. First was the qualification 2, in this qualification, the candidates were required to own a *Gongsheng* membership. As commonly known, the *Gongsheng* was educated in *Gongyuan* which was an ideological education organization at the provincial level. The only education in the *Gongyuan* was Confucianism. The second government control issue was the qualification 3: well behaved. The "well behaved" implies that the candidates should follow the central value system of the Qing government. So from the very beginning of this students' recruitment system, the candidates who had some anti-Qing government ideas were excluded. The third was during the entrance examination. This entrance examination was followed the traditional Chinese authoritarianism. Although the other subjects were also important, the traditional Chinese authoritarianism was the most crucial and decisive. From the analysis above, all the students who could enter the school were all Qing government defenders, or at least the followers.

Scholar

Appointment and Promotion

In San/Liangjiang Normal School, the most important group of teachers was from Japan. Japanese teachers played an important role in the school. At the beginning of Sanjiang Normal School period, Japanese teachers were all selected and appointed by Zhang Zhidong. But in later Liangjiang Normal School, Japanese teachers were selected and appointed by the Supervisor Li Ruiqing. So from the issue of appointing Japanese teachers, the powers of selecting and appointing were seized by the supervisors. It was similar to the President-responsibility system in NCU period. It can be described as Supervisor-responsibility system in San/Liangjiang Normal School.

To teachers from China, the appointment and promotion system was different from Japanese teachers. The power was seized by the Jiangsu provincial government. The candidates of teachers from China needed to take an examination which held by the “*Jiangnan Gongyuan*” (Public school of Jiangsu province) which was a public school organized and administrated by the Jiangsu Provincial Government of the Qing Dynasty. So the criteria of this qualification test were mainly depended on the central ideology of the Qing government and the censorship of this selection was Qing government oriented. After passing this censorship examination, the qualified candidates were appointed by Wei Guangtao who is the General Governor of Liangjiang area. The power of the appointment of promotion of teachers from China was seized by the Qing government.

The role of the Supervisor (i.e. president)

Supervisor-responsibility System

In Sanjiang Normal School, the personnel affairs were in disordered. But there was a great improvement in Liangjiang Normal School period. From then on, the Supervisor-responsibility system was established. So in this section, I shall focus on Liangjiang Normal School period. The Qing government also adopted the European patterns of greater centralization and standardization which with a typical Chinese bureaucratic identity. In Liangjiang Normal School, the administrative system was a hierarchical system. The Supervisor was on the top of this hierarchy. In Liangjiang Normal School period, Li Ruiqing was responsible for the whole university. Under the Supervisor, the school set up three new positions which could help the Supervisor to deal with the daily school work. These three positions shared the responsibilities of academic affairs, general affairs and discipline and education affairs.²⁶² The administrative system of Liangjiang Normal School was similar to which in NCU. The Supervisor was in charge of the whole school's organization, personnel affairs, and academic affairs.

Backgrounds of the Supervisors

²⁶² Su Yunfeng, *San/Liangjiang Shifan Xuetao, 1903-1911*, P106.

There were three Supervisors who were Miu Quansun, Chen Sanli and Li Ruiqing in the period of San/Liangjiang Normal School. The backgrounds of these three Supervisors were simple, both of them were pure famous scholars. Only Supervisor Chen Sanli devoted himself to some political struggles for a short period during Hundred Days' Reform. He was famous for one of the "*Weixin Sigongzi*" (Four Pioneers of Hundred Days' Reform). Before the Hundred Days' Reform, he established "*Hunan Shiwu Xuetao*" (Hunan Current Affairs School), "*Wubei Xuetao*" (Military School), "*Suanxue Guan*" (Arithmetic School), "*Xiang Bao*" (Hunan News) and "*Nanxuehui*" (Southern society) to launch the reform. After the fail of the reform, Chen Sanli was removed from the post by the Empress Cixi in 1898. But in most Chen's life time, he is a scholar.

Resistances of the Government Control

Among the three Supervisors of San/Liangjiang Normal School, the first two Supervisors obeyed the government control from the Qing government. But the third Supervisor Li Ruiqing carried out series of activities to resist the government control from the Qing government. After Li Ruiqing was appointed as the Supervisor of Liangjiang Normal School by the Qing government, the school began to carry out a loose academic policy. This change was due to the open mind of Li Ruiqing and there were many open minded scholars. But there were still some limitations. The open atmosphere was only limited in academic area. Although Supervisor Li Ruiqing organized some discussions about the fundamental ideology which was Confucianism and the political system, the discussion was strictly restricted in the academic area.

In fact, there was a political incident happened in 1905 in Sanjiang Normal School period. The outbreak of this political incident system was due to the influence from the other schools in Nanjing. This was scarce in San/Liangjiang Normal School period. But the scale and scope were low and the mainstream of the school was very steady.

Funding

Table 10: Funds of San/Liangjiang Normal School

Funds of Sanjiang (Liangjiang) Normal School²⁶³	
	Fund (<i>Liang</i> : tael)
1905	130541
1906	116296
1907	108591
1908	110247
1910	124474
1911	119259

All the funds in San/Liangjiang Normal School were from the Qing government, either central government or provincial government.²⁶⁴ In the central government level, the funds was from the Qing government; in the provincial government, the funds was from the Jiangsu province, either from Jiangxi province and Anhui province, but the ratio of these two provinces was low. So from Table 10, there were two decrease in the funds of San/Liangjiang Normal School from 1905 to 1911 which were 1907 and 1911. From 1906 to 1907, the funds decreased very obviously. The reason of this decrease was due to the press from Jiangsu Provincial Government. And then the funds increased from 1908 to 1910, but decreased again in 1911. The reason of this decrease was also due to the press from the Jiangsu Provincial Government. From this development of the San/Liangjiang Normal School funds, the power of the financial support was strictly seized by the Qing government. This was very different from NCU in the KMT period and NJU in the CCP period. In NCU and NJU, there were more or less some donations from the society and not all the financial supports were from the government. Due to the lost of the financial power, San/Liangjiang Normal School was strictly controlled by the Qing government.

²⁶³ Su Yunfeng, *San/Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang, 1903-1911*, P136.

²⁶⁴ Duanfang, Duanfang Zouchen Liangjiang Shifan Xuetang Jingfei Choucuo Qingxingzhe (Duanfang memorial about the raising money for Liangjiang Normal School), 9 January 1908. In NJU, *Nanda Bainian Shilu*, Vol. 1, P20.

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