

University Enrollment and State Admission Policy in China: The Swing between Redness and Expertness

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Abstract

This paper intends to consider the changes in the system of student recruitment in higher education in China from the viewpoint of the relation between “redness” (prominence in socialist ideology) and “expertness” (prominence in expertise). It approaches the question by a method of tracing in detail and analyzing the changes in the Regulation concerning the Student Recruitment to the Institutions of Higher Education from 1952 to 1965. In analysis, provisions for favorable treatment of workers, peasants etc. are taken as indicators of “redness” and provisions seeking for better achievement and quality of applicants as indicators of “expertness”.

The system of student recruitment throughout the period can be divided into three parts. And this paper is composed of these three major parts comparable to the division of time, i.e., the Period of the First Five-Year Plan (1953-57), the Period of the “Great Leap Forward” (1958-59) and the First Half of 1960’s.

As a conclusion, if we try to exclusively define “redness” or “expertness”, we might fall into an error of effectively splitting their dialectical relation. It is true that the two concepts can be compared to twisted red and white strings but their thickness became unequal from time to time.

Forward

In China the conflict between “redness” (prominence of socialist ideology) and “expertness” (level of expertise) has often been a subject of debate. The aim of this paper is to examine the changes in the system of student recruitment in higher education from the viewpoint of the relationship between “redness” and “expertness”.

It approaches the question by tracing in detail and analyzing the annual changes in the contents of the Regulation concerning the Student Recruitment to the Institutions of Higher Education from 1952 to 1965. This regulation is published each year to coincide with the period of student recruitment to institutions of higher education and this continuity makes it possible to carry out a detailed comparative study of the changes in the content of this regulation over time. This analysis has great significance for the study of the development of higher education in contemporary China. Research into education in contemporary China is extremely limited by the lack of available data, and this being the case, it is not uncommon to find “theories” which attempt to establish relationships based only on the evidence of isolated incidents. The only way to compensate for the shortfalls in research of this nature is to carry out

empirical research of the kind proposed in this paper.

Furthermore, there is another aim in carrying out an analysis of these documents, particularly for the period 1952 to 1965. There is a problem of “Two Evaluations” (兩個評估) as a result of the “gang of four” criticism process. These two evaluations of education during the seventeen years between the founding of the PRC to the Cultural Revolution are described below. The first evaluation states that, over this period: the leadership of the educational administration was not in the hands of the proletariat; an anti-revolutionary revisionist line was being advanced; and that fundamentally, Mao’s policy for education of the proletariat was not carried out. The second evaluation states that: the world view of the educators was essentially that of the bourgeoisie, and that they were bourgeois intellectuals.¹ The analysis in this paper should produce a viewpoint which will enable an objective judgment of these evaluations.

Although the concepts of “redness” and “expertness” are being used for this sequential analysis, they do not, properly speaking, stand in opposition to one another and there are many instances where they should be considered together as unified factors. Accordingly, in this paper, provisions for the preferential treatment of workers, peasants and soldiers², who are thought of as the embodiment of high political ideals and socialist ideology in China, are taken as indicators of “redness”, and provisions for better levels of achievement and quality of applicants as indicators of “expertness”.

I. University Recruitment during The First Five Year Plan (1953 – 57)

1. The Establishment of a National Unified Recruitment System

Over the two or three years following the founding of the People’s Republic of China a university recruitment system was gradually put into practice. 1951 saw a unified entrance examination at the provincial level, and from 1952 a unified university recruitment system was established on a truly national scale. The process which introduced the unified university entrance examination system can be summarized as follows.

In 1949, student recruitment was carried out on an institutional basis by the overwhelming majority of universities in almost all the *daxingzhengqu* (大行政区) or large administrative districts. The city of Shanghai was unique in being so far advanced regarding unification. The pattern of *lianhe zhaosheng* (聯合招生) “joint recruitment” in a sample of the universities in Northern China regarding the setting of entrance examination questions, grading, pass/fail decisions and so on, showed almost no difference from independent recruitment carried out by each institution. Its actual state was that related universities had simply offered each other some convenience regarding entrance examination procedures. The following year 1950 also saw the adoption of the pattern called “joint recruitment” in Northern China and a standardized examination question was used in this year. It would more appropriately be called *tongyi zhaosheng* (統一招生) “unified recruitment”, judging from the extent of commitment and the commitment of the central bureaucracy.

At first sight, the system of “joint recruitment” may seem to have evolved into a distinct system of “unified recruitment” in a strictly linear fashion, however in reality the two terms were not used so precisely. In 1950, the term “unified” was used in the four large administrative districts: North East; East China; South East; and North West, while the term “joint” was used in the two districts: North China and the South East. Even after 1951 the term “joint” continued to be used in the South West. However, the real differences between “joint” and “unified” recruitment are not clearly distinguishable at this point

in time.

The pattern of development from unified recruitment within individual administrative districts to unified recruitment carried out over multiple districts can only be seen in the North East and East China in 1950, but in 1951 the area over which it was carried out expands considerably. Additionally, so-called “sub- contract” style recruitment, that is recruitment carried out by one university for another, including the use of unified entrance examinations in specific districts, was expanded still further. However, the University Student Recruitment Regulation of 1951 was the most important catalyst regarding the process of unification. It stated clearly that universities carrying out independent recruitment had to delay the implementation of their own entrance examinations until both joint and unified recruitment had completed. Thus national unified entrance examinations truly began from 1952. Subsequently the student selection process carried out independently by each university gradually drifted towards unified recruitment, even though the name given to the process may have been different. At the same time, the autonomy of the regions, as seen in entrance examination curriculum and methods of denoting applicants’ preferences or school or major etc., was lost. Everything was subsumed within the systematic framework of the national unified entrance examination. This process was taking place at a time when China was solidifying its foundations as a unified nation, and the communist party was expanding its administrative power to every corner of the land as the national ruling authority. It is widely believed that Chinese education in the 1950s was built along the lines of the Soviet model, however this is certainly not the case for the student recruitment system. The national unified entrance examination system should be regarded as a typically indigenous Chinese system, strongly evocative of the civil-service examination system in imperial China.

The “Regulation concerning National Student Recruitment to Higher Education for Summer 1952” issued by the Central Ministry of Education on the 12th June 1952, opens with the words: “All institutions of higher education will report the numbers of students to be recruited to the People’s Government Ministry of Education of each large administrative district. They will receive official approval according to the national plan. Recruitment methods shall follow the regulations laid down by the central and local Ministries of Education, and independent student recruitment is forbidden”. The pattern of unified recruitment is clear.

Again in 1952, the Committee for National Student Recruitment to Higher Education Institutions was put in place centrally as an organization to facilitate the implementation of unified recruitment. It was also decided that recruitment committees made up of representatives from related administrative sections and every institution of higher education within the appropriate large administrative district, should be established under the direct control of the education administration section of each district.

Naturally, in this year the targets of recruitment were students newly graduated from senior high schools and those with a similar level of academic achievement. However, the cadre members of the People’s Liberation Army and other administrative units who were already receiving supplementary courses are also admitted. This is one of the distinctive features left which has a strong transitional flavor.⁴ They only took entrance examinations in the subjects that had been part of the supplementary courses, and if they passed they were distributed among the universities preferentially. Furthermore, it was ruled that “industrial workers, revolutionary cadres, ethnic minority students and overseas Chinese students could be shown leniency in admittance to universities”. This particular provision was introduced after 1950⁵ and it can be regarded as an prerequisite for the metamorphosis into socialist universities.

In 1953, the second year of national unified entrance examinations, the setting out of the recruitment regulations proceeded apace with detailed content, and it is from around this time that fundamental pattern of the recruitment regulation can be observed.⁷

After the application criteria preconditions of “a desire to serve the people and physical health”, the following conditions designated who could be recruited:

- ① Students who graduated from senior high school this year and students who graduated from short-term worker and peasant middle schools.⁸
- ② Top students who graduated from secondary specialized schools this year.
- ③ Top primary school teaching staff.
- ④ Those who have worked for the required period after graduating from secondary specialized school.
- ⑤ Worker and peasant youths, revolutionary cadres, and those with proof of employment by the general federation of workers’ union at county level or higher.
- ⑥ Overseas Chinese students returning from abroad.
- ⑦ Those, after graduating from senior high school (including those who at present have an equivalent record of academic ability), who have not yet entered university and who did not participate in revolutionary activities, and those who are below the age of 27 and participated in revolutionary activities but stopped due to circumstances, especially those who have a letter of introduction from the peoples’ government in their area of abode at the district level or higher.

In a further article of this regulation, students who had graduated from senior high schools in Hong Kong and Macao were included among those students who could be recruited.⁹ Fundamentally, the above admission criteria were preserved from this point onwards although a few adjustments were made from year to year.

Furthermore, in 1953, the following groups were included as the target of preferential admission: graduates from short-term worker and peasant schools; industrial, mining, workers and peasants with more than three years of experience; those with a peasant background who were members of revolutionary cadres of more than three years standing; revolutionary cadres of more than five years standing; along with minority students and overseas Chinese students. These groups were granted preferential admission “when they achieved the basic pass mark for the department to which they had applied”. Furthermore, from this year on, the entrance examination subjects were set forth in the recruitment regulations (see attached table). However, graduates of short-term worker and peasant schools, and secondary specialized schools; industrial workers; revolutionary cadres; and primary school teaching staff were exempted from the foreign languages examinations (English and Russian), except those applying to foreign language departments.

This kind of preferential treatment of workers and peasants can be viewed as stemming basically from a strong concern regarding “redness”. The recruitment regulation in the following year (1954), contains exactly the same kind of message¹⁰, and this favorable treatment appears to have become firmly established.

2. The Rise of Policy Emphasizing “Expertness”

In June 1954 the large administrative districts were abolished as administrative units, and from 1955 they were replaced by local university recruitment committees at the provincial level. However, in reality an irregular system by which large administrative districts were used as the basic geographical unit for student recruitment continued from this point until 1957.

The “preferential admissions” provision described above was even included in the recruitment regulation of 1955. Nevertheless, the proviso that “(these groups) should be admitted preferentially when their results are equivalent to, or close to those of ordinary applicants”, was added. Furthermore, the section concerning the principles behind student recruitment is conspicuous in stating that, “the tendency over the past few years to place heavy emphasis on numbers and to pay scant attention to the quality of applicants must be corrected at all costs”, and “a policy guaranteeing the quality, while paying consideration to the quantity (in the original Chinese 「保證質量、照顧數量」), will be put in place”. At that time, Zhang Jian (張健), Deputy-director of the Planning Bureau of the Ministry of Higher Education gave statistics showing the “educational waste” caused by regarding the university entrance criteria too lightly. He states on the one hand that, “this year also, workers and peasant youth cadres as well as the children of workers and peasants must be admitted in great numbers into the universities”, while adding that, “the admission criteria cannot be lowered”¹³. According to Zhang Jian, 7,478 students, equivalent to 3.53% of the total, took a leave of absence from, or left institutions of higher education due to sickness, academic underachievement and so on, in the academic year 1953–54; and consequently China had incurred losses of 7.47~11.21 million yuan. Opinion may be divided as to whether this absence/withdrawal from university ratio was too high or merely normal. Certainly Deputy-director Zhang Jian acknowledged that, “We cannot escape from drop-out rates similar to those which afflict institutions of higher education in other countries, and we cannot educate 100% of all the students we recruit”¹⁴. Nevertheless, as a developing nation China did not have the resources to ignore this problem and the general reaction was that, “this kind of wastage is clearly excessive”¹⁵. Deputy-director Zhang Jian argued that the lack of academic ability of newly admitted students was a major factor, even if 50.2% of those who withdrew from university did so on grounds of ill health. For example, in Qinghua University, a famous engineering university, the 1952 academic year entrance examination pass marks had been lowered, and as a result, over the space of a few years, 249 students (29% of those admitted in 1953) either took a leave of absence or dropped out.¹⁴

Around the same period a similar argument can be seen in the “People’s Daily” editorial, asserting that “standards should not be lowered, and students should not be admitted leniently”¹⁵. This shows that the system of students being admitted unreasonably due to preferential treatment was definitely regarded unfavorably. In this case, workers and peasants in particular were singled out for attention. These kind of arguments seen in 1955 show clearly a shift in government’s student recruitment policy towards an emphasis on “expertness”, and conversely we can infer that considerably relaxed standards had been applied to workers and peasants in the preceding period.

However, it must be pointed out regarding the favorable treatment of workers and peasants that, the admission of workers, peasants and revolutionary cadres was encouraged when the number of senior high school graduates, who constituted the main source of supply university applicants, could not fill the quotas. This was especially true in the initial period after the founding of China. As shown in Fig. 1, in the first half of the 1950s the number of new graduates from senior high school barely met, and in some cases fell below, the university admissions quota. Over the three years following the introduction of the national unified entrance examination in 1952 the ratio of university entrants to senior high school graduates was less than 1, and 1952 this ratio was exceptionally low at only 0.46. In 1955, there were 99,000 new senior high school graduates, a number slightly exceeding the 97,797 new university entrants. It appears that the advocacy of an emphasis on quality in 1955, as detailed above, was set against the background of a relative increase in the number of students going on to university.

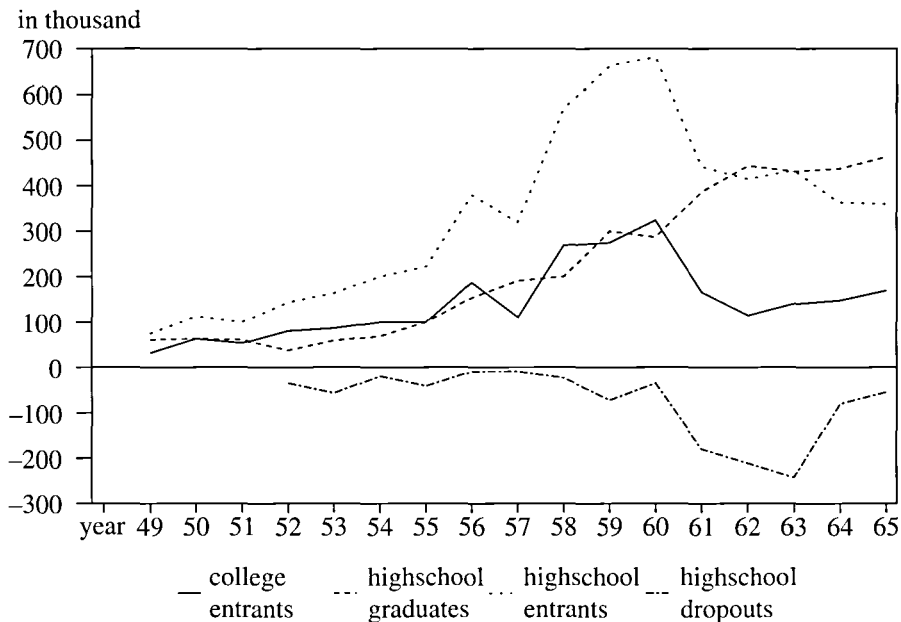


Fig. 1. Changes in the numbers of senior high school entrants/graduates and university entrants (1949 – 65)

Source: *Educational Achievement in China, 1949 – 1983*.

However, 1955 was an exception, and a broad perspective reveals an unchanged and extremely serious situation stemming from a lack of students with the necessary qualifications to enter university. In 1956, the quota for student recruitment to institutions of higher education was more than 170,000, compared to only 156,000 new graduates from senior high school. Furthermore, of these high school graduates a certain number would not go on to university, and the State Council predicted that in fact only about 140,000 would actually sit the university entrance examinations.¹⁶ It is clear that there were nowhere near enough high school graduates alone to full the recruitment quota. Accordingly, on the 3rd April 1956, it was decreed in the “Directive concerning the Guarantee of the Fulfillment of the Student Recruitment Plan for Institutions of Higher Education for This Year”, that “*in addition to inducing all of this year’s senior high school graduates to apply to institutions of higher education, cadre members holding office in government and party institutions; primary school teachers; this year’s graduates from middle school teacher training colleges; demobilized soldiers; former soldiers who have changed occupation; employees and manual laborers in joint state-private ownership enterprises; young intellectuals in industry and commerce; young intellectuals on leave of absence seeking employment; those from secondary specialized cadres who have released for other employment; and this year’s new graduates from specialized secondary schools; must be mobilized in large numbers and induced to apply to institutions of higher education*” (author’s emphasis)¹⁷. The same “directive” also states that, “these people must be positively assisted through supplementary courses in each subject at the earliest possible opportunity, and their academic standards must be raised¹⁸”. Needless to say, efforts by the authorities to try and expand the numbers of university entrants through such directives were not accepted without some

opposition. Director Ding Hua (丁華) of the General Office of the Committee for National Student Recruitment to Institutions of Higher Education, in spite of the State Council directive described above, pointed out that within institutions where cadre members wished to apply to university, those who wished to apply “were treated coldly”, “their working hours deliberately extended, and they were hindered in their examination preparations”. Furthermore, he mentioned that there was a trend towards attacking those who wished to apply on the grounds that there was much “individualism” behind the university applications, many were “not able to work calmly” due to an obsession with taking the examinations, and there were some who were “thinking only of worming their way up the ranks” through university attendance.¹⁹ Nevertheless, a look at the end result reveals that this leveraged access to university instigated by the authorities, proved to be effective in raising expectations. As can be seen in Fig. 1, the number of university entrants in 1956 rocketed when compared to the previous year, exceeding the initial plan by over 10,000, and eventually 184,632 new students were admitted to university.

The expansion in numbers was frequently in opposition to qualitative improvements. It is possible to perceive a drop in quality caused by the rapid expansion in the numbers of new students accepted by universities in 1956. The Committee for National Student Recruitment was formed on the 3rd April 1957 and it revealed the following principles behind its student recruitment plans in the same year: “we must be careful to expand continuously key areas of study, reduce ordinary areas of study appropriately, and raise quality. From this point on, improving quality is the primary responsibility for institutions of higher education²⁰”. Thus, reflection on the rapid expansion in the numbers of student in the previous year, was manifested in a considerable reduction in the student recruitment quota for 1957. It was decided to reduce the student recruitment quota to 107,000; a reduction of nearly 80,000 compared to the number actually granted approval to enter university in the previous year. Many voices were raised denouncing this reduced quota with complaints that, “it was too regressive”, and “too conservative”.²¹ Refutation of this kind of criticism stated that: “When you add the numbers of students recruited this year to the number already at university it is possible to meet the demands of the Second Five Year Plan in terms of industrial and agricultural production, and scientific research. In order to resolve the problems left by the “Great Expansion” of 1956, it is necessary to slow down the pace of expansion in 1957. In cases where there is a need to expand the supply of university students in order to meet the university quota, it may be necessary to lower the standards required of students on occasion. However, in today’s world where we must carry out scientific research that meets world-wide standards, we have to pay more attention to the quality of our trained cadres from this point on.”²²

While assertions of the need to improve quality such as this were manifest, at the same time it is also clear that measures aimed at improving the quality of candidates were being taken concerning the recruitment regulation. For example, the section of the 1957 regulation²³ concerning “preferential admissions” discussed earlier, states that, (students can be admitted preferentially) “when their results in the academic examinations are equivalent to those of ordinary candidates”; the statement in the 1955 regulation, “when their results are close to those of ordinary candidates”, having been deleted. Furthermore, an application age limit of “under 30 years old” was applied.

In conclusion it appears that, initially, unified recruitment over the period of the First Five-Year Plan was based on the principles of socialist education and the policy of preferential admission for workers, peasants, cadre members and so on, was advanced in order to deal with a situation in which there was a shortage of senior high school graduates. However this policy gradually disappeared until finally, in its place a policy emphasizing “expertness” appeared.

II. Student Recruitment during the “Great Leap Forward” (1958 – 59)

1. Decentralization of the Entrance Examinations

Having experienced the first socialist reforms of the ownership system, Rectification Movement and the Anti-Rightist Struggle based on the principle of the “homogenization” of ideology, China embarked on the Second Five-Year Plan in 1958. The guiding principle over this period was “an all-encompassing route towards building socialism” epitomized by the slogan, “Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in establishing socialism”. This five-year period, and in particular the years 1958 and 1959, was labeled the “Great Leap Forward” indicating the objective of increasing industrial and agricultural production dramatically. While interpretations are divided, many kinds of reform were carried out in rapid succession over this period, and needless to say, higher education was no exception.

Firstly, the Ministry of Higher Education and the Ministry of Education which had been separated in 1952 were again combined. Thus the educational administration organization was unified. Meanwhile, jurisdiction over institutions of higher education was transferred from the Education Ministry, as well as other Central Ministries and Commissions, to the provinces in a process of devolution. Specifically, the following large changes took place. “Of the 53 institutions of higher education under the direct control of the Ministry of Education only seven: the People’s University of China; Beijing University; Qinghua University; Sichuan University; Beijing Normal University; Beijing Russian Language College; and the Beijing Foreign Language School continued to remain under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. Control of the remaining 39 institutions was transferred to the provinces, autonomous regions, and central government controlled municipalities, leaving the other seven institutions under the control of related central ministries. Of the 47 institutions of higher education which had been under the direct control of related central ministries up to this point, twenty one were moved to a lower level of administration. After these changes, 40 of China’s existing 227 institutions of higher education were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and related central ministries, and 187 were under provincial jurisdiction.²⁴⁷” This was a period where institutions with a half-work, half-study (半工半讀) system spring up rapidly like mushrooms after the rain.

In this way a situation emerged in which the system of national unified student recruitment which had evolved since 1952, was greatly modified. Specifically, some art, foreign language, and physical education colleges carried out independent student recruitment, while the majority of universities combined with other universities in their province to carry out student recruitment jointly. Additionally, a minority of universities engaged in student recruitment ranging from a national scale to the scale of a few provinces, made use of intra-provincial joint recruitment systems to carry out preliminary examinations. The following explanation was given for these changes. “The unified entrance examinations was very good at ensuring the quality of applicants for a few years. However, it was too centralized and concentrated and as a result the identity and initiative of the provinces and individual institutions of higher education were not brought into play. Under present circumstances where we are trying to advance socialism by reforming the administration structure and devolving central authority to lower levels, it is imperative that the national unified entrance examination system is also adapted to the new situation.²⁴⁸” It is interesting to note that the 1958 recruitment regulation was announced on the 3rd July with the start of the entrance examinations imminent on the 20th. Given that the recruitment regulation was usually announced a month and a half to two months before the entrance examinations; it can be inferred that

there was a great deal of confusion regarding these changes.

It should be pointed out that, although it was rare, independent and joint recruitment was already being tried in 1957. In other words: "The unified entrance examination system was often incapable of fulfilling the aspirations of students, robbed universities of their identity and initiative, and was poor at coordinating the different areas. Accordingly, we will recognize independent and joint recruitment while at the same time maintaining unified recruitment.²⁶" In this year, seven institutions: Beijing University; Quinghua University; Harbin Polytechnic University; Jiaotong University; Beijing Agricultural University; Beijing University; and Beijing Medical College, recruited students from every region of the country. Additionally, a number of institutions of higher education concerned with the military, defense industry, and diplomacy among others, recruited a proportion of their student from other provinces due to their specialized nature. Institutions such as teacher training colleges, agricultural colleges, and medical schools, primarily concerned with the education of cadres for the provinces, recruited students from within their regions on principle. The majority of other institutions of higher education recruited students from within the relevant large administrative district on principle.²⁷

Thus, it can be seen that from 1957 to 1958, the most concrete change was simply that the scale of student recruitment for the majority of institutions of higher education moved from the large administrative districts, to provinces, autonomous regions, and central government controlled municipalities. However, in looking at the 1958 situation, attention should be drawn, not to the size of recruitment areas, but to the emphasis laid on the autonomy of the provinces, and to an even greater extent, on the initiative of each individual university, by official policy. This kind of decentralization was typical of the "Great Leap Forward" policies. An editorial in the "People's Daily" published on the day of the promulgation of the recruitment regulation on the 3rd July asserts that: "A reinstatement of the national unified recruitment system is already unnecessary", providing that new institutions of higher education are established in each province, and that the control of most institutions of higher education is devolved to the provinces, autonomous regions, and central government controlled municipalities based on the spirit of a socialist great leap forward and the devolution of central authority to lower levels. This kind of thinking was already evident in 1957, as demonstrated above, though it became more radical yet in the "Great Leap Forward" policies.

2. Opening the Gates to Workers and Peasants.

While the most striking change in 1958 was the decentralization of power to the provinces, exemplified by the reduction of the scale of student recruitment described above, a more important change was that criticism of the current process of passing or failing students purely on the basis of their examination results was rising, and assertions that the political disposition of each candidate ought to be made the primary criterion, were becoming more strident. The most symbolic expressions of this emphasis on "redness" were preferential policies towards workers and peasants. These included the recruitment age-limit being raised by 5 years to "up to 35" for them, and the ruling that workers, peasants, graduates of short-term worker and peasant middle schools, as well as worker and peasant cadres, "could be exempted from the examinations and admitted on recommendation". It should be mentioned that even in 1956, it was stated that exceptional graduates from secondary specialized schools could be exempted from the entrance examinations and admitted to university. However, the rationale behind this was that, although secondary specialized school graduates were not as advanced as senior high school graduates in terms of basic scientific knowledge, they "excelled in their area of expertise"²⁸. The 1958 ruling on the other

hand, went so far as to declare that: “Worker-peasant students and worker-peasants cadres may have inferior bookish knowledge but they have superior knowledge of class struggle, and the struggle for the means of production... The quality of candidates would not be lowered; quite the opposite, it would be raised.” Furthermore, the 1955 and 1957 regulations are not overly harsh concerning the results of these groups in the academic exams, when they state that they can be admitted when their results are, “close” or “equivalent” to those of ordinary candidates. “A system will be adopted in which, if results (for these groups) in the entrance examinations reach a decided standard (sufficient for the candidate to participate in classes after admittance), then they will be admitted preferentially ahead of the decision to pass or fail ordinary candidates.²⁹” Clearly this can be seen as an indication of an emphasis on “redness”. Again it was stated in the “People’s Daily” on the day when the recruitment regulation was made public that: “In the same way as senior high school graduates apply in a positively manner to university, they should prepare positively for work, holding no prejudice towards those engaged in manual labor.” In a situation where there was by no means an excess of senior high school graduates, this kind of appeal gives us an insight into the policy of emphasizing “redness”.

As shown above, a review of the national unified entrance examination system, in other words a movement towards the decentralization of the entrance examination, could already be seen to a certain extent over the entrance examination period in 1957. Nevertheless, the familiar assertion that workers, peasants, cadre members, soldiers and old revolutionaries should be leniently treated as regards university selection, was not yet in evidence. It was only after December 1957 that this assertion started to appear in the press. An article in the “People’s Daily” entitled, “Let’s carry through more policies which open the gates of institutions of higher education to workers and peasants³⁰”, was one of the first. The author of the article, while citing a statistic that the proportion of workers, peasants, and their children who enrolled in institutions of higher education had reached 34.1%³¹, pointed out that many problems still remained concerning the treatment of workers and peasants. Namely, that during student recruitment, for the first time “equal treatment” given to workers, peasants and their children when they achieved “equivalent results” to those of ordinary students led to “preferential admission”, and this essentially robbed the latter of chances to enter university. Furthermore, after admission, it was necessary for special classes to be set up for those from peasant and worker backgrounds, as well as for supplementary courses and other measures to be carried out. Thus, the attitude that university acceptance was the key to everything, and that success or failure for students was completely a matter of having a worker or peasant background, was mistaken. In addition, in response to those who worried that if worker and peasant students were admitted in too great numbers then the quality of students would decline, it was stated that: “As events of the past few years prove, the results of students from worker and peasant backgrounds are not good, but they are making every effort in their studies, and when they are given more than the allotted period they can catch up with the other students. Furthermore, they have abundant real-life experience, and because they excel in ordinary comprehension, their progress should be exceedingly swift, if only they are helped in earnest.³²”

In the following year, 1958, many articles were published in rapid succession concerning the promotion of university acceptance for worker and peasant students. For example, the nine institutions in Nanjing including Nanjing University, Nanjing Institute of Agriculture, and the Nanjing Institute of Engineering, were deemed to have shown insufficient consideration towards worker and peasant students since 1955. From 1958 onwards, worker and peasant students were accepted in great numbers to various disciplines, and a system came into being whereby they were subject to intensive training for a

set period of time after entering university, and subsequently introduced into the normal classes.³³ Additionally, a worker employed at an electrical goods factory sent a letter to the “People’s Daily” saying that he had “been moved deeply by the recent repeated passages in the “People’s Daily” calling for the gates to be opened to those from worker and peasant backgrounds³⁴”. This letter contained the following criticisms: “Looking at those placed in factories after leaving university we can see that most are from bourgeois backgrounds. They have bourgeois hedonistic attitudes and a craving for idle ease. They don’t work with a peaceful frame of mind, and they try to avoid the relatively strenuous jobs.”

In February of the same year, the fifth session of the First National People’s Congress was held and the following policy was clarified by Bo Yibo (薄一波) who also announced the National Economic Plan in the same year: “Institutions of higher education should increase, as much as they can, the numbers of new students admitted from worker and peasant backgrounds. After graduation from university, students must participate in common productive labor for a fixed period of time³⁵”. This episode can be thought of as authorizing the tendency towards admitting worker and peasant students etc., to university in ever greater numbers.

From this point on until the promulgation of the university student recruitment regulation of 1958, reports of actual measures and contrivances aimed at admitting worker and peasant students are not uncommon. For example, at the South China Institute of Agriculture, those who had worked in agriculture for three years after graduation from junior high school were admitted, and a system was adopted whereby the senior high school curriculum was incorporated into a five year course.³⁶ The Beijing Institute of Posts and Telecommunications took the following measures, among others, to help relieve the learning difficulties experienced by students from worker and peasant cadres:

- ① To place teachers with a wealth of teaching experience and superior teaching skills in charge of these students.
- ② To carry out group discussions and other methods to answer any doubts that these students may have.
- ③ To adapt the method whereby students are moved up or stay back in class more flexibly to the realities of life in institutions of higher education.
- ④ To grant exemptions to those applicants in particular who have a lack of prior learning in modern languages.³⁷

Furthermore, at the Zhejiang Normal College, in addition to the decision to admit superior students from peasant and worker backgrounds through the 1958 “unified student recruitment” system, worker and peasant preparatory classes were set up and one hundred of these students were admitted. After a period of six months to one year of supplementary courses, they were introduced into the regular classes.³⁸

One report on actual measures of this kind was that issued by Jiang Longji, Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party Committee at Beijing University. This self-criticism of the aforementioned university read as follows: “At Beijing University, the proportion of student admitted each year from worker and peasant backgrounds is low; no more than 19.5%. The lowest ratio of all is among physics majors with a ratio of only 5.8%. Moreover, the dropout rate for these students is high. In the three years from 1953, the percentage of students who applied to quit university due to economic hardship at home, or were ordered to leave due to poor results, was 5% (for ordinary students it was 3.4%)³⁹.” He also asserted that, “some of the teachers think little of worker and peasant students and hold them in contempt”. Deputy Secretary Jiang identified flaws in the student regulation as one of the causes of the low ratio of worker and peasant students. He pointed out the unfairness of applying the same standards for the

entrance examination results to “worker and peasant students” and “bourgeois students”, and appealed for a “reform of the existing student recruitment system”.

These newspaper reports served the function of giving direction and form to public opinion concerning reform of the university entrance examinations. Eventually, in early July, the recruitment regulation described above was made public, incorporating the policy of opening the doors of institutions of higher education to workers and peasants. Nevertheless, although there was a strong consciousness of “redness”, it must also be pointed out that measures to guarantee “expertness” were also put in place. It was asserted that, “to develop cutting edge science in our country, it is imperative that we foster our human resources in this field.⁴⁰” To this end, among all recruitment activities in every region, first priority was given to student recruitment for institutions of higher education under central authority. It was required that students with the best political and academic qualification from every region in the country be sent to institutions of higher education under central authority. Next, emphasis was laid on new students for institutions of higher education at the provincial level which recruited from other provinces. Thirdly, it was decided that least emphasis should be given to institutions of higher education which only recruited within their own province. Additionally, it is worth noticing that a foreign language examination (a choice of either English or Russian), which had not existed in the previous year, was introduced into the curriculum for all candidates, not just for foreign language majors candidates. However, students who had never studied English could apply for exemption.

3. Softening of Policy Emphasizing “Redness”

In the student recruitment regulation of 1959, the second year of Great Leap Forward policies, it was stated that, “building on the foundations constructed in 1958, we will raise class-consciousness and continue the principle of leadership by party committee.⁴¹” A cursory examination will show that this idea was fundamentally a continuation of the basic trends revealed in the recruitment regulation of 1958. However, if one looks at the details, it is clear that, apart from unusual cases which carried out independent recruitment such as arts colleges and Xinjiang University, where education was conducted in a minority language, “the majority of universities carried out unified recruitment on the provincial, autonomous region, or central government controlled municipal level⁴²”. Unlike the previous year when “some universities carried out joint recruitment in combination with other institutions in their province, autonomous region, or central government controlled municipality”, there was a trend towards unification of all institutions within these areas. The student recruitment situation in 1959 is described as follows: “A ‘method of combining unified leadership and scattered management’ was adopted, and the main regulations governing student recruitment were established in a unified fashion under guidance from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council. Political attitude investigations, physical check-ups, entrance examinations as well as the final admission decisions, were all effected at the provincial level.⁴³”

An editorial in the “People’s Daily” on the day when the recruitment regulation was announced stated that: “Quality students must be admitted to specialized fields and universities with comparatively well-organized foundations, and the quality of students admitted to key institutions in particular, must be guaranteed.⁴⁴” The same article also contained the following somewhat inarticulate statement: “After the prerequisite of a guarantee of political quality, the academic quality of all students admitted must be improved still further”.

Concerning the recruitment criteria for workers, peasants, cadre members etc., though the age limit

was set at “under 30” for ordinary candidates and, “could be subject to an appropriate flexibility in each region”, the actual figure of “up to 35” was not quoted as it had been the previous year. Furthermore, although they were admitted under a separate quota and through independent entrance examinations, the previous year’s provision permitting preferential admission by means of exemption from the entrance examinations, was scrapped. Incidentally, the Shanghai Committee for Student Recruitment to Institutions of Higher Education, which had decided to carry out registration for examination candidates between the 5th - 13th of June, published the following statement in the “Liberation Daily” on 3rd June, with the recruitment regulation not yet having been announced. “The age limit will be relaxed to 35 for workers, peasants, worker and peasant cadres, those cadre members who have been involved in revolutionary activities for 10 years or more, soldiers who took part in the revolution, primary school teachers and so on.⁴⁵⁷” This fact that the city of Shanghai released these conditions before the announcement of the Education Ministry regulations surely reveals that the provinces, autonomous regions, and central government controlled municipalities were anticipating that they would have the right to autonomous decision making as in the previous year, and that there would be no national unified recruitment.

In 1958, candidates applying for science majors could sit examinations for arts majors concurrently, and those applying for arts majors could sit examinations for science majors concurrently. These so-called “concurrent examinations” which had been adopted by science and arts departments were also discontinued in 1959. The reason given was that: “An exceedingly low number of students sat last year’s concurrent examinations which therefore had no real significance. Concurrent examinations force candidates to take examinations in many subjects and increase the burden on students⁴⁶⁷”.

Reading between the lines of these announcements and provisions, it is clear that the Great Leap Forward policies, set in motion by Mao Zhedong, would never yield favorable results under the previous year’s recruitment system, and that these policies were already making revisions necessary.

III. Student Recruitment in the First Half of the 1960s.

1. Deviations from the “Great Leap Forward” Seen in the Recruitment Regulation.

As pointed out earlier, omens portending a review of the previous academic year’s recruitment system could be observed already in 1959, but in the 1960s this trend became all the more obvious.

Although the slogan “an all-encompassing route towards building socialism” was the guiding principle of the Great Leap Forward, the content of the recruitment regulation of 1960 pushed the “unified” concept very strongly. The following passage applies to the recruitment structure. “Key universities and other institutions of higher education under the administration of the central and related ministries will adopt a system of national unified student recruitment. The recruitment structure of other institutions will be established by the provinces, autonomous regions, and central government controlled municipalities themselves. They are free to participate in national unified recruitment or to recruit students on a separate basis after national unified recruitment has been carried out.⁴⁷⁷” Here, key universities and universities under the direct control of the central ministries are distinguished from the others, and moreover the government policy of making national unified recruitment the main system is evident. The recruitment of students on an individual basis after the national unified system had been carried out would be useless in terms of recruiting quality students. Just as in the period when the national unified recruitment system was being institutionalized immediately after the establishment of modern China, the most effective measure was the creation of a situation in which all institutions of higher education had

no choice but to adopt the national unified recruitment method whether they liked it or not. However, arts, physical education, and science colleges added practical examinations, and under the direction of the provinces, autonomous regions, and central government controlled municipalities, they carried their recruitment “jointly and in advance”.

In 1961, excepting arts and physical education colleges, “all institutions of higher education adopted the national unified recruitment system⁴⁸”. In this year, more than ever before, decisions on the student recruitment plan, recruitment criteria, entrance examination subjects, even on the setting of entrance examination questions, were unified and taken by the central Ministry of Education. However, though it may have been called national unified recruitment, “adoption of the system of unified leadership and scattered management means that, fundamentally the provinces, autonomous regions, and central government controlled municipalities will manage recruitment activities”. It should come as no surprise that physical activities such as the recruitment office work, the implementation of examinations, grading and so on, remained the responsibility of the “student recruitment organization⁴⁹” at the provincial level.

In addition to this “unification” trend, the 1960 recruitment regulation was aiming towards an emphasis on “quality”. This can be inferred from the following extract: “we have to guarantee the key points” and “select the best students for admission”. Furthermore, in 1961, the rule covering preferential admissions, which had always been included up to this point, was deleted.

2. Student Recruitment in the Period of Economic Readjustment.

Afflicted by natural disasters such as floods, and drought continuously from 1959 until 1961, and with the technological and economic support from the Soviet Union ceasing suddenly, China faced a period of crisis at the start of the 1960s unprecedented since her foundation. As a result, the adoption of an “readjustment” policy aimed at tightening the economy was deemed unavoidable and this in turn had an effect on the 1962 student recruitment regulation.⁵⁰ For example, in the passage referring to the principles of recruitment it states that “a policy of readjustment, strengthening, enriching and advancement, will be implemented”. Instead of an increase in the recruitment quota, a reduction or continuation of the existing situation was sought, and the pursuit of a qualitative improvement, rather than an expansion of admission quota, was stressed as the primary objective. In conjunction with this, several extraordinary measures were brought into effect.

The recruitment structure in 1962 was the same as in the previous year, however the regulation covering relaxation of the age limit for workers, peasants, cadre members and so on, was scrapped. Furthermore, in another section of the recruitment regulation it was written that: “The pass or fail decision making system for candidates will be based on their results in the entrance examinations and their placing in the major they have chosen. Students will be admitted in order beginning with those having the highest number of points to those with the lowest.” The intention behind the specific inclusion of this extremely obvious clause should be viewed in connection with the aforementioned deletion of the regulation governing relaxation of the age limit.

Changes in the entrance examination subjects, and foreign languages in particular, also reflect an obvious shift in admission policy. In 1962, it was decreed that: “Those who have never studied a foreign language can request an exemption from the entrance examination. However, those sitting examinations for key universities throughout the nation, as well as foreign language majors cannot apply for exemption from the entrance examination.” This meant those applying to “key” or top universities, except for senior high school graduates, faced even greater difficulties in gaining admission.

A careful reading of the 1963 recruitment regulation⁵¹ regarding the various points mentioned above reveals firstly that, just as in 1962, the regulation concerning relaxation of the recruitment age limit was not included. It also remained fundamentally unchanged regarding foreign languages. However, a proviso was added stating that, “minority candidates from minority areas can apply for exemption from the foreign language entrance examinations when applying to key universities throughout the country”. This was a measure showing consideration to those from minority backgrounds who had to bear the burden of acquiring Chinese, essentially a foreign language for them, in addition to their own ethnic language.

As shown in Fig. 1, the influence of this “quality over quantity” policy was manifest in a striking reduction in student enrollment during the first half of the 1960s. At the same time, there was a drastic increase in the number of drop-outs from high school and they account for a large proportion of the difference between the number of high school entrants in a particular year and the number of graduates three years later. An emphasis on quality was a common aim at every level of education, and so it is possible to surmise that most students with insufficient grades were unable to graduate within the allotted course period, or dropped out along the way. However, particular consideration must be given to the fact that, as noted above, there were many students who were experiencing financial hardship not connected to their studies stemming from the economic crisis described above.

As a result of the economic adjustment policy, China’s national economy picked up somewhat in 1964 and 1965. Although the student recruitment regulations for both of these years⁵² were very similar to those in the early 1960s when China was facing its most extreme economic difficulties, some changes in nuance can be discerned.

At the start of the student regulation for both of these years, the principle of “enabling everyone who gets an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically, and to become cultured, socialist-minded workers”, was laid out. This principle was first revealed in a 1957 treatise by Mao Zhedong titled, “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People”. He stressed the significance of ideology, political attitude, and labor, to a greater extent, in contrast to the tide of disproportionate emphasis on intellectual training up to that point. The placing of this principle at the beginning of the regulations was symbolic of the recruitment regulations of 1964 and 1965, which although tinged on the whole with an emphasis on “expertness” typical of the early 1960s, also reveal a significant slackening of pace as far as drastic deviations from the Great Leap Forward policies were concerned. For example, in the section concerning the recruitment structure, the special distinction of “key universities” was not made. The recruitment age limit became “under 25 in normal circumstances”, and for workers, peasants, soldiers, and those who had been involved in physical labor for more than two years, it was relaxed to “under 27”. Additionally, the previous year’s regulation that, “candidates for key universities cannot apply for exemption from the entrance examinations”, was deleted as regards the foreign language examinations. In place of those with “no prior study”, those eligible for examination exemption application were, “workers, peasants and intellectual youths who have been engaged in physical labor for more than two years”. In other words, rather than the question of candidates having studied foreign languages or not, emphasis was laid upon worker experience. However, only candidates for literature and history majors were eligible for foreign language examination exemption, those candidates for science majors being excluded. This can be interpreted as showing that awareness of maintaining quality in the sciences was becoming stronger vis a vis the arts.

The “Guangming Ribao” (Enlightenment Daily) editorial, published on the day when the 1965 recruit-

ment regulation was announced, pointed out that for a portion of senior high school graduates, the idea that “participation in labor without entering university, was the most honorable, and the most revolutionary course of action”, was becoming more popular. The primary target of these high school graduates’ vociferous complaints was the entrance examination system. It is possible to see this as the start of a counter movement among the younger generation in response to the emphasis on “improving quality”, and the special treatment of key universities, which were the trend in the early 1960s.⁵³ This ideological swing became undercurrent closely connected to the mass movements of the Cultural Revolution, which began the following year.

Thus, an examination of university student recruitment in the first half of the 1960s, reveals that, though it did allow for the favorable treatment of workers, peasants and so on, government policy aimed at pursuing quality above all, together with policy aimed at “unification”, reached a peak in 1962 and 1963.

Conclusion

This paper has examined changes in the university student recruitment system primarily through an analysis of the content of the student recruitment regulation. Any definition of the terms “redness” and “expertness” such as that given at the start of this paper runs the risk of splitting their dialectical relationship. It is perhaps more helpful to compare the two concepts to red and white threads, woven together to form a cloth which represents the system as a whole. Both threads were always present, but as this paper has demonstrated, their thickness became unequal from time to time. It is also possible to identify a certain relationship between an emphasis on “redness” and an inclination towards “decentralization”, and between an emphasis on “expertness” and a trend towards “unification”. If this general relationship is represented graphically, something like Fig.2 can be drawn.

Different agendas exist within the Communist Party and within the government and it is common knowledge today that they engage in fierce mutual competition to gain the upper hand. The pendulum like swings in relative importance between the two principles of “redness” and “expertness” in the university selection system cannot be separated from this background of competing agendas. Nevertheless, the “two interpretations” described at the beginning of this paper are certainly mistaken when they argue that education in all its facets was controlled by specific forces or classes.

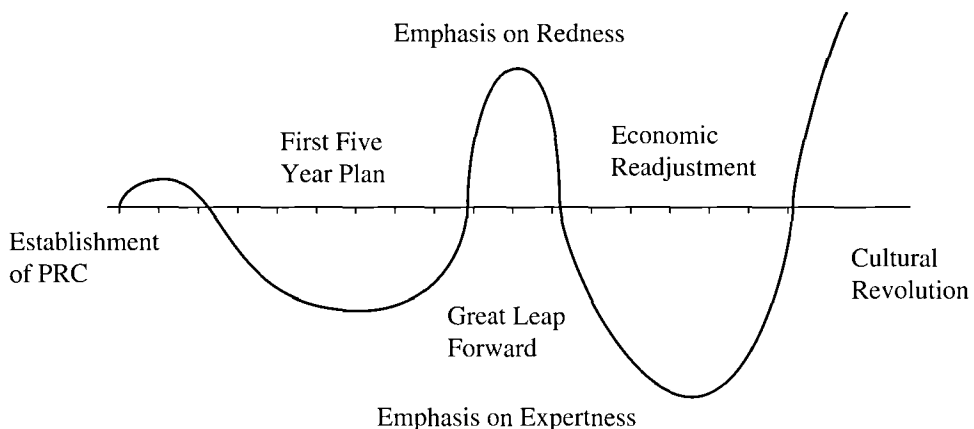


Fig. 2. The Swing between Redness and Expertness

References

- [1] These estimates were included in the Summary of the National Education Work Conference drawn up by Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan, members of “Gang of Four” at the Conference held from April 15 to July 31 in 1971 during the cultural revolution.
- [2] Workers, peasants, soldiers of the People’s Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres and martyrs were referred to by the special term “hong wu lei” (紅五類) or the five red categories.
- [3] Zhong yang jiaoyu bu (Central Ministry of Education), “Guanyu quanguo gaodeng xuexiao 1952 nian shuqi zhaokao xinsheng de guiding” (The Regulation concerning National Student Recruitment to Institutions of Higher Education for Summer 1952), Xin hua yue bao (New China Monthly Report), No.7 (1952), p.159 and p.165.
- [4] In the Decision on the Reform of the Educational System promulgated in October 1951, it is stated that, “various kinds of Institutions of Higher Education can establish an attached special training class or supplementary class”. According to Vice-minister Zeng Zhaolun of the Ministry of Education, more than ten thousand people entered universities and colleges after taking some kind of supplementary course for half a year in 1952. (Zeng Zhaolun “San nian lai gao deng jiaoyu de gaijin” (Improvement in Higher Education in Past Three Years), Shugoro Taga (ed.) Kindai Chugoku Kyoikushi Shiryo (Materials on Modern Chinese Educational History), (Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutu Sinkokai), 1976, p.472.
- [5] Zhong yang jiaoyu bu, op. cit.
- [6] Article 11 of the Interim Provision regarding Institutions of Higher Education promulgated in August 1950 advises that, “special consideration should be given” to these people.
- [7] Xiang gang xuesheng shudian (Hong Kong Students Publisher) (ed.) 1954 nian toukao daxue zhidao (Guidance for 1954 University Admission), (Hong Kong: Xiang gang xuesheng shudian), 1954, pp.9-12.
- [8] Short-term worker and peasant middle schools provided worker-peasant youth cadres with secondary level education of 3 year duration. However, they were ordered to stop admitting new entrants in 1953. The curriculum of these schools did not include foreign languages.
- [9] The Education Offices of Guangdong Province and Guangzhou City organized a committee to give guidance to high school graduates from Hong Kong as well as Macao and provided them with services such as supplementary lessons for college entrance examination, and executed applications on their behalf.
- [10] Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), May 25, 1954.
- [11] Zhang Jian “Ren zhen zhixing jingnian gaodeng xuexiao baozheng zhiliang zhaogu shuliang de zhaosheng gongzuo fangzhen” (Let’s Carry Out Conscientiously the Policy of Guaranteeing the Quality and Considering the Quantity for the University Admission of This Year), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), June 19, 1955.
- [12] Ibid.
- [13] Ibid.
- [14] Ibid.
- [15] Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), June 30, 1955.
- [16] Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), May 4, 1956.
- [17] Zhong hua renming gonghe guo guowuyuan (the State Council of People’s Republic of China), “Guanyu baozheng wancheng jinnian gaodeng xuexiao zhaosheng jihua de zhishi” (Directive regarding the Guarantee to Accomplish the Current Year’s Plan for Student Recruitment to the Institutions of Higher Education), Gaodeng Jiaoyu wenxian faling huibian (Corpus of Laws and Decrees concerning Higher

- Education), No.4, (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu bu bangongting), 1957, p.143.
- [18] Ibid. Aimed at assisting applicants other than new graduates from high schools in their preparation for entrance examination, the Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Education and the Central Committee of China New Democracy Youth League jointly dispatched a notice titled “Guanyu banzhu baokao gaodeng xuexiao de qingnian jinxing wenke beikao de tongzhi” (Assist Youths Who Will Apply for the University Entrance Examination by Reviewing Lessons and Preparing for the Test) on March 10, 1956.
- [19] Ding Hua “Baozheng wancheng jinnian gaodeng xuexiao de zhaosheng renwu” (Guarantee to Accomplish the Current Year’s Mission of Student Recruitment to Institutions of Higher Education), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), May 28, 1955.
- [20] “Quanguo gaodeng xuexiao zhaosheng weiyuanhui chengli” (The Committee for National Student Recruitment to Institutions of Higher Education Was Established), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), April 3, 1957.
- [21] Shelun “Tigao gaodeng xuexiao xinsheng zhiliang” (Editorial, Raise the Quality of New Students of Institutions of Higher Education), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), April 25, 1957.
- [22] Ibid.
- [23] Gaojiaobu, Jiaoyubu (Ministry of Higher Education and Ministry of Education), “Guanyu quanguo gaodeng xuexiao 1957 nian zhaokao xinsheng de guiding” (The Regulation concerning National Student Recruitment to Higher Education Institutions for 1957), Nanfang ribao (Southern Daily), April 25, 1957.
- [24] Jiefang ribao (Liberation Daily), August 17, 1958.
- [25] Shelun “Jiaqiang tang de lingdao zuohao gaodeng xuexiao zhaosheng gongzuo” (Editorial, Strengthen Party Leadership and Accomplish the Admission Work of Institutions of Higher Education), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), July 3, 1958.
- [26] Shelun (Editorial), “Tigao gaodeng xuexiao xinsheng zhiliang” (Raise the Quality of New Students to Institutions of Higher Education), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), April 25, 1957.
- [27] Gaojiaobu, Jiaoyubu (Ministry of Higher Education and Ministry of Education), “Guanyu quanguo gaodeng xuexiao 1957 nian zhaokao xinsheng de guiding” (The Regulation concerning the National Student Recruitment to Higher Education Institutions for 1957), Nanfang ribao (Southern Daily), April 25, 1957.
- [28] Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), April 30, 1956.
- [29] Guangming ribao (Enlightenment Daily), July 3, 1958.
- [30] Lu Ge, “Jin yi bu guanhe gaodeng xuexiao xiang gong neng kai men de fangzhen” (Further Carry Out the Principle of Opening the Door of Higher Education Institutions toward Workers and Peasants), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), December 27, 1957. Prior to this particular article, Zhao Ji, “Cong jieji shidian chufa, cong peiyang laodongzhe chufa, tan zhongdeng zhuan ye xuexiao gaibian zhaosheng duixiang” (Starting from Class Viewpoint and from Fostering Workers, Discuss the Changes in Admission Targets of Secondary Specialized Schools) appearing in Guangming ribao (Enlightenment Daily), December 14, 1957 asserted that more worker-peasant students should be accepted to secondary specialized schools.
- [31] In academic year 1951/52, the ratio of worker-peasant students was 19.08%. It increased to 27.39% in 1953, 36.39% in 1956 and reached to 44% of new students admitted to institutions of higher education in 1957 (Renmin ribao, December 27, 1957).
- [32] Lu Ge, op. cit.
- [33] Guangming ribao (Enlightenment Daily), January 12, 1958.
- [34] Gu Shengrui, Yang Zengxian “Xiang gong neng kai men de fangzhen guwuzhe women” (The Principle of Opening Doors for Workers and Peasants Is Encouraging Us), Renmin ribao (People’s Daily), January 26,

1958.

- [35] Bo Yipo, "Guanyu 1958 niandu guomin jingji jihua caoan de baogao" (The Draft Report regarding Fiscal Year 1958 National Economic Plan), *Xin hua ban yue gan* (New China Semimonthly Report), No.5 (1958), p.20.
- [36] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), March 7, 1958.
- [37] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), May 1, 1958.
- [38] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), May 6, 1958.
- [39] Jiang Longji "Xing-wu-mie-zi hong-tou-zhuan-shen wei jianshe gongchang zhuyi daxue er fendou" (Liquidate Bourgeois Ideology and Foster Proletarian Ideology, Be Thoroughly Red, Highly Specialized, and Strive to Build Socialism), *Beijing ribao* (Peking Daily), May 10, 1958.
- [40] Shelun (Editorial), "Zuohao gaodeng xuexiao de zhaosheng gongzuo" (Accomplish the Admission Work of Institutions of Higher Education), *Guangming ribao* (Enlightenment Daily), July 3, 1958.
- [41] *Guangming ribao* (Enlightenment Daily), June 11, 1959.
- [42] Jiaoyu bu renming laixin laifang bangongshi (Office Handling People's Letters and Visits, the Ministry of Education), "Guanyu 1959 nian gaodeng xuexiao zhaosheng wenti" (Regarding 1959 Admission Issues of Institutions of Higher Education), *Guangming ribao* (Enlightenment Daily), June 11, 1959.
- [43] *Guangming ribao* (Enlightenment Daily), June 11, 1959.
- [44] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), June 11, 1959.
- [45] *Jiefang ribao* (Liberation Daily), June 3, 1959.
- [46] Jiaoyu bu renming laixin laifang bangongshi, op. cit.
- [47] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), June 4, 1960.
- [48] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), May 13, 1961.
- [49] So-called student recruitment organizations, consisting of institutions of higher education in the province, were organized by the educational administrative units, together with other related administrative units under the leadership of the communist party committee and people's committee of each province.
- [50] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), June 18, 1962.
- [51] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily), May 31, 1963.
- [52] *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily) June 4, 1964 and *Guangming ribao* (Enlightenment Daily), June 11, 1965.
- [53] Such changes in the views of life and labour among youngsters should be analyzed in connection with the socialist education movement which was carried out particularly in rural areas in 1963.

Appendix: Table 1 Changes in the Entrance Examination Subjects

Year	Fields/Majors	Entrance Examination Subjects	Notes
1952		Chinese, general knowledge of politics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, Chinese & foreign history, foreign language	
1953	sc., eng., hygienics, agr., forestry	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, foreign language	
	lit., politics & law finance & econ., physical ed., art	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, history, geography, foreign language	
1954		Ditto	
1955	sc., eng., agr., forestry	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology,	Subjects were divided into three groups and foreign language was excluded.
	medicine, agr., forestry	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, physics, chemistry, basics of Darwinism	
	lit., history, politics & law, finance & econ.	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, history, geography, foreign language	
1956		Ditto	
1957	Basically same as 1956 but mathematics was added for finance & economics, economic geography and philosophy majors, and English or Russian was added in foreign language major.		
1958	sc., eng., agr., forestry medicine	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, foreign language	Foreign language was restored. "concurrent examinations" were allowed.
	medicine, agr., forestry biology, physical ed., psychology	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, physics, chemistry, basics of Darwinism foreign language	
	lit., history, politics & law, art finance & econ.	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, history, geography, foreign language	
1959	Basically same as 1958 but basics of Darwinism was replaced by biology and "concurrent examinations" were discontinued.		
1960	Basically same as 1959 but geography was eliminated for literature, history, politics & law, art and finance & economics majors.		
1961		Ditto	
1962		Ditto	
1963	Basically same as previous year but mathematics was added for medicine, agriculture and forestry majors.		
1964	sc., eng., medicine, agr.	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, foreign language	Subjects were divided into two groups and Mathematics was added finance & economics and philosophy majors.
	lit., history	Chinese, general knowledge of politics, history, foreign language	
1965		Ditto	