

The Transformations of PRC Academic Philosophy: Maoist Features and Their Use under Xi Jinping

Yvonne SCHULZ ZINDA*

Abstract

To mark a period of transformation in China, Xi Jinping has been drawing on elements of the Maoist legacy, not only in the political arena but also in academia. In 2014, *New Philosophy of the Masses* was published, an updated and expanded version of Ai Siqi's *Philosophy of the Masses*. In May 2016, Xi Jinping (2016) delivered his "Talk at the Forum Discussing the Work in Philosophy and Social Sciences," a title which is reminiscent of Mao Zedong's (1980) "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" of 1942. Drawing on the background of China's 1950s academic philosophy, a comparison will be drawn to Xi Jinping's effect on China's academic landscape.

Keywords: philosophy of the masses, academic philosophy, Xi Jinping, Chinese characteristics, socialist ritual communication

Transformacija akademske filozofije Ljudske republike Kitajske: Maoistične značilnosti in njihova uporaba pod vlado Xi Jinpinga

Izvleček

Pri označevanju obdobja transformacije na Kitajskem se Xi Jinping naslanja na elemente Maoistične zapuščine, ne samo na političnem, ampak tudi na akademskem prizorišču. Leta 2014 so objavili *Novo filozofijo množice*, posodobljeno in razširjeno različico Ai Siqinove *Novo filozofijo množice*. Maja 2016 je imel Xi Jinping (2016) govor z naslovom »Govor na forumu debat o filozofiji in družboslovju«, ki spominja na Mao Zedongov govor iz leta 1942 z naslovom »Yan'anski govori o književnosti in umetnosti« (1980). Preko raziskave okoliščin kitajske akademske filozofije iz 50. let 20. stoletja bo podana primerjava z Xi Jinpingovim vplivom na kitajsko akademsko pokrajino.

Ključne besede: filozofija množice, akademska filozofija, Xi Jinping, kitajske karakteristike, socialistična ritualna komunikacija

* Yvonne SCHULZ ZINDA, Universität Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Abteilung für Sprache und Kultur Chinas, Arbeitsbereich Koreanistik, Hamburg, Germany.
Email address: yvonne.schulz.zinda[at]uni-hamburg.de



Introduction

In the first half of the twentieth century, China's academic landscape was transformed by two great waves of Western influx. The first occurred during the 1920s, when the first group of overseas students returned to China from universities in the United States (US) and Europe. These students established Western-style curricula in academic philosophy. Major figures were Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 and Jin Yuelin 金岳霖 at Qinghua University; and Hu Shi 胡適, Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛, and Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 at Beijing University. All these scholars were transferred to the Southwestern University in Kunming after the second Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937. At this university, they taught a generation of People's Republic of China (PRC) scholars such as Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, who became mediators between the old Western scholarship of the Republican era and the new Marxist scholarship in the Mao era modelled after the Soviet Union. The second, and more far-reaching, phase was in the 1950s, when academics and academic philosophy in China underwent a major socialist transformation after the establishment of the PRC. In this project of socialist transformation, the 1950s were crucial for introducing the Marxist paradigm into PRC academic philosophy.

When Xi Jinping came to power, he declared that China would neither be treading on old paths of Maoism nor totally following the path of a Western-style market, but would be looking instead for a unique way (Barmé 2015). However, despite Xi Jinping's move away from incorrect Maoism, he has been drawing on elements of the Maoist legacy intended to block Western ideas and to enforce Marxist orthodoxy. Still, even in academia, at least two events are reminiscent of the Mao era. First, in 2014, the seven volumes of *New Philosophy of the Masses* (*Xin Dazhong zhhexue* [XDZZX]) were rereleased. These are an updated and expanded version of Ai Siqu's small booklet *Philosophy of the Masses* (*Dazhong zhhexue* [DZZX]) that had served as the introductory text book to Marxist philosophy, particularly for the generation of Western-trained Chinese scholars in the 1930s to 1950s. Second, on 17 May 2016 in a forum discussing China's work in philosophy and social sciences, Xi Jinping delivered a speech emphasizing that Marxism would remain the guiding theory in philosophy and the social sciences, which must be people-centred. The title of Xi Jinping's (2016) "Talk at the Forum Discussing the Work in Philosophy and Social Sciences" is reminiscent of Mao Zedong's (1980) programmatic "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" given in 1942, which initiated the Yan'an Rectification

Campaign and became part of the academic canon for Chinese literature and art in the 1950s.¹

Based on these two events, a comparison will be drawn between the Maoist features of the transformative period in the 1950s and the transformative period occurring under Xi Jinping.² While some studies emphasise the political realm (Zeng 2016; Zhao 2016a, 2016b), a recent study was published on the role of Chinese intellectuals in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries focuses on the effect of ideology on academia (Cheek 2015). Maoism is understood here as a depersonalised process beginning in the Mao era whose features are specific forms as well as values.

The present study will consider two issues. First, the study will consider the similarities in the values expressed in the DZZX and the recent XDZZX. In analysing the content of these publications, the historiography of Chinese philosophy will be considered, as will the crucial discussion of this philosophy in 1957, because it bears similarities to the ideas expressed in XDZZX. The 1957 debate has been considered from the perspective of the general context of the 1950s and 1960s (Kam 1986), and has been merely summarised in the literature (Chan Wing-tsit 1964; Zhang Yixing 2007). Second, a mode of ritual communication established in the 1950s campaigns will be presented. To date, only a few studies have focused on this campaign, and most of these concentrate on the political effect, neglecting the effect of this campaign on academic writing. Chan Lien's (1968) early study on the criticism of Hu Shi's philosophy in the 1950s examines the similarities between Hu Shi's pragmatism and Mao's pragmatic views. Vittinghoff (1993) treats the anti-Hu Shi campaign merely as a political top-down process. In her important research on campaigns in the 1950s, Goldman (1989) states that the aim of these campaigns was to impose political views on Chinese scholarship and discredit Western scholarship in the humanities as well as in the social sciences. However, Goldman's (1989) study does not go into detail on these issues. Yu Fengzheng (2001) considers the effectiveness of the campaigns. In the following discussion, the mobilisation model of Wang Shaoguang (2008) will be complemented by the model of the religious *rite de passage* by Michaels (2001), thereby

1 For example, at Beijing University and at Fudan University, the interview with Yue Daiyun 樂黛雲 (1931–), the director of the Institute for Comparative Literature at Beida (conducted 1 January 2008), and the interview with Zhang Peiheng 章培恒 (1934–2011), member of the Fudan University Department for Chinese Literature at the time (conducted 9 January) (Wang Weijiang, Shu Qin Yufeng forthcoming).

2 The research results for 1950s philosophy are part of my current research project titled "Institutionalising the Humanities in the PRC: The 1950s Funded by the German Research Foundation (2006–2010)."

highlighting the ritualised form of group behaviour in China's transformative period. Given that XDZZX and Xi Jinping's speech are also part of the transformative period, and symbolically refer to the Maoist era, the reaction of academic philosophy to China's new political directions will be considered in relation to the transitions of the 1950s.

Transformation of Academic Philosophy

In the 1950s, the three major institutions in terms of China's academic philosophy were the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS), Beijing University, and later, the People's University of China. In 1949, immediately after the foundation of the PRC, CAS was established under the administration of the State Council as a government institution for the management of China's scientific research. CAS evolved from the pre-1949 Central Academy of Sciences, which was partly re-established as the Academia Sinica in Taiwan and the Beijing Academy (Hu Mingrong 2005).

On 29 September 1951, Zhou Enlai gave a speech titled "On Problems in Reforming the Thought of Intellectuals" (Chen 1960), thus beginning the first phase of the process of streamlining PRC academia. The Thought Reform was conducted among personnel at 20 higher education institutions in Beijing, Tianjin and other Chinese cities. In the course of the Rectification Campaign, teachers of schools and higher education were required to write a self-criticism. Some of these self-criticisms were published in the newspapers *Renmin ribao* and *Guangming ribao*. In 1952, five volumes of selected self-criticisms were published, among which were self-criticisms from professors, particularly those in executive academic positions from different universities and schools in China (*Guangming Ribao* 1952).

Intellectuals were summoned to reflect openly on their pre-1949 personal histories. These self-critical statements were about family backgrounds, private and professional associations, and political leanings. The idea behind the self-criticisms was that breaking with one's "incorrect past" was the basis for creating "new men." The main targets were the "old" intellectuals educated under the pre-1949 Westernised university system in China and abroad (Huang 2005; Chen 1960). For example, Jin Yuelin (1952) wrote a self-criticism in which he signalled himself as responsible for "intoxicating" his students with his "play of concepts," leading them on to reactionary thought, accusing Yin Fusheng 殷福生, who went to stay in Taiwan, and particularly the logician Wang Hao 王浩, who remained at Harvard (where he had received his PhD in 1948) of "serving the US imperialism." (Jin 1952, 56)

In October 1951, the State Administrative Council announced a reform in education institutions (*Zhengwuyuan guanyu gaizao xuezhide jue ding* 1951). Then, in 1952 under the Reconstruction of the Educational Institutions (*yuanxi diaozheng* 院系調整), all departments of academic philosophy were at Beijing University. Until 1956, Beijing University had the only department of philosophy in China. Selected intellectuals received special training in Marxist studies at the People's University, where in 1952 the first class for research on Marxism–Leninism was established. The special training comprised courses in Stalin's *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, political economy, Marxism, and the history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which Soviet experts and Ai Siqi taught. The process of translating and transmitting from the Soviet material was a strenuous one.³

In 1952, Jin Yuelin was appointed head of the department of philosophy at Beijing University, taking over from Zheng Xin, who had held the office from 1949. However, Wang Zisong 汪子嵩 was secretary of the Party cell, and in reality was responsible for the department. In fact, he and others had written up his criticism during the Hu Shi criticism.⁴ It seems that some of the old Western-trained scholars who received prestigious positions only served as figureheads of the newly established socialist academic institutions, and were in practice marginalised (Wang 2009).

In 1954, the Hu Shi criticism campaign (Pi Hu Shi yundong 批胡適運動) was part of a restructuring process of the humanities following a five-year plan in 1953. On the 27 October 1954, the Ministry of Propaganda made an announcement to the CCP Central Committee that criticism should not only be restricted to Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 and classical literature, but should also be extended to Hu Shi's works on philosophy, history, and pedagogy, as well as to Hu Shi's bourgeois idealistic thought (Wei 2004, 100). This campaign served to narrow down the academics working in these fields, and resulted in the tightening of control over intellectuals (Goldman 1989, 236–37). In May 1955, the Ministry of Propaganda summarised the anti-Hu Shi campaign as “the first nationwide ideological battle against bourgeois idealism” (*Zhongyang* ... 1985, 563). By March, over 200 articles (not including the reprints in various newspapers) expressing criticism of Hu Shi had been published. Over 16 discussions were held in Beijing criticising Hu Shi's thought, not including those on

3 Refer to the interview with Gao Fang 高放 (1927–) (conducted 25 July 2009), who at the time was lecturer at the Institute for the Study of the Foundation of Marxism at Renda (Wang and Shu Qin forthcoming).

4 According to Zhang Shiyong 張世英, he and others assisted the older scholar Jin Yuelin in writing up their criticisms during the anti-Hu Shi campaign (Wang and Shu Qin forthcoming). For the article, refer to Jin, Wang, Zhang, and Huang (1955).

Hongloumeng. Universities nationwide, their humanities departments, and seminars staged these discussions.⁵ Officially, five million intellectuals were to be educated during this campaign (Guo 1955a, 3–5; “Zhonggong” 1955, 459).

During the Mao era, criticism was often connected to negative examples to better illustrate and define correct thought and behaviour. Hu Shi was an ideal negative model for the streamlining of the humanities according to Marxist-Leninist thought, because he had published on history, literature, and philosophy. In contrast to other negative examples, such as Yu Pingbo, Liang Shuming, and Hu Feng, Hu Shi’s extensive academic work allowed for an illustration of the difference between old pre-1949 and new post-1949 scholarship on a wide scale. Around the time when the Hu Shi criticism campaign was conducted, most of the core academic journals in humanities were established, including *Zhexue yanjiu* 哲學研究 (January 1955).⁶ The editorial board of the newly established journal consisted of a mixed group of cadres, Marxist scholars as well as the scholars of the old system.⁷

In 1956, one year after the Hu Shi criticism campaign, many old scholars such as Jin Yuelin had entered the CCP. The departments of philosophy at several universities were then established or re-established. At Fudan University, Hu Qu Yuan 胡曲園 became the head of the Department of Philosophy, which had a research institute on dialectical materialism and historical materialism (Yu 1994, 81). In 1956, the Philosophy Research Institute at CAS was established in cooperation with Beijing University. Feng Youlan became head of a section history of Chinese philosophy. (“Fung Yu-lan, Part Two” (1958)). In 1956, departments of philosophy were established at other universities (e.g., Wuhan University, Fudan University, and the People’s University), and later at the Zhongshan University (1960) and Nankai University (1962).

Some events in the twenty-first century indicate partly or at least symbolically a return to features of the Mao era while enforcing Marxist values.⁸ In 2003, Hu

5 Discussions were also held in Shanghai, Changchun, Guangxi, Lanzhou, Tianjin, Qingnan and elsewhere (*Zhongguo* 1985, 563).

6 歷史研究 *Lishi yanjiu* (February 1954), 考古 *Kaogu* and 哲學研究 *Zhexue Yanjiu*. *Minjian wenxue* 民間文學 was established in April 1955 (Wang and Zhang 1988, 157). *Wenxue yanjiu* 文學研究 followed later in March 1957, and was renamed *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論 in 1959 (Wang and Zhang 1988, 175).

7 In the impressum of *Zhexue yanjiu* the following editors are listed: Pan Zinian 潘梓年, Jin Yuelin 金岳霖, Yu Guangyuan 於光遠, 艾思奇, 胡繩, and Hu Sheng 楊獻珍, Yang Xianzhen had studied in Moscow, Peng Xuanwu 彭桓武, Li Da 李達, Ma Te 馬特, Feng Ding 馮定, Zhou Jianren 周建人, Sun Dingguo 孫定國, Feng Youlan 馮友蘭, Su Qian 蕭前.

8 For an analysis of the Maoist features in Hu Jintao’s and Xi Jinping’s cultural policy, see Motoh (2018).

Jintao (2003) made his first speech after being elected general secretary at the symbolic location of Xibaipo in Hebei, where Mao Zedong lived in 1948 and which was the headquarters of the People's Liberation Army. Like Hu Jintao, in July 2013, Xi Jinping also went to Xibaipo and emphasised that the “red country will never change its colour” (Xi Jinping 2018). In April 2013, Document 9 “號文件” had already been issued. This important directive was intended to make officials take action against the seven “do nots,” for example, against criticism of China's human-rights record and the nihilism of the Party's traumatic past (Zhao 2016a, 1172). From December 2013 to June 2014, Xi Jinping launched a campaign to ideologically train CASS Party cadres. In July 2014, an article appeared in *RMRB* summing up the training of over 1220 people. After praising the work of over 4000 CASS academics, the article emphasises the correct attitude of “conducting research for the people” (Zhang 2014),⁹ indicating the use of academia as a political tool. In January 2015, Document 30 (another directive) was issued. This document announced the strengthening of ideological education to “persist in using the theoretical system of Socialism with Chinese characteristics to arm teachers' and students' minds from beginning to end [and] guarantee Socialist orientation in education” (Zhao 2016a, 1184). The article also demanded joint control, among other things (*ibid.*).¹⁰

The National Planning Office for Philosophy and Social Sciences (NPOPSS), which is directly subordinate to the Central Leading Group for Propaganda and Ideological Work (*Zhongyang xuanchuan sixiang gongzuo lingdao xiaozu*) (see Heike 2014, 18), announces different project lines in social sciences and philosophy. Apart from the grand project, it issues lists of possible topics for the application of annual projects. Despite the fact that there are separate sections for Marxism, scientific socialism, and Party history, in the section of philosophy, propaganda and Marxism cover the largest group of topics. From 2012 to 2014, the number of these topics increased from 22 to more than 30.¹¹ In addition to Marxist theory, the PRC leaders' thoughts on policy and their nationalist cultural essentialism¹² are emphasised in other the

9 July 10, 2014, *RMRB* Zoujin Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan: Gaoyang Makesizhuyi wei renmin fuwu. For a partial translation see Fei (2015).

10 Document 30 (*Guanyu jin yibu jiaqiang ge gaijin xin shixingxia gaoxiao xuanchuan sixiang gongzuode yijian* 2015) has not been published openly, but Xinhua issued a summary (see *Guanyu jin yibu jiaqiang ge gaijin xin shixingxia gaoxiao xuanchuan sixiang gongzuode yijian* 2015). See also the translation of this summary (Creemers 2015).

11 In 2014 and 2015, there were 37 topics; in 2016, there were 32; and in 2017, there were 36. The annual projects are enlisted on the homepage of NPOPSS.

12 Thoughts on nationalist cultural essentialism include topics such as “The great Chinese tradition and its relation to the road of socialism” (2015) and “The philosophy of the Chinese way” (2016).

fields of philosophy, such as ethics, through topics such as family, professional, and individual ethics. This clearly reflects the use of the teaching of philosophy as a political tool.

From *Dazhong zhexue* to *Xin Dazhong zhexue*

In 2014, Wang Weiguang, president of CASS, edited an update of Ai Siqi's original one-volume booklet, in an expanded work of seven volumes titled the *New Philosophy of the Masses* (XDZZX). Originally, Ai Siqi's work served as the introductory text book in China to Marxist views on philosophy, particularly for the generation of Western-trained Chinese scholars of the Republican era. As early as July 2007 until January 2014, 81 meetings of the editors of XDZZX were held to discuss various issues relating to the preparation of the manuscript.¹³ This demonstrates that publication of the work had already been planned under Hu Jintao. During this period (in March 2008), Xi Jinping became vice president.

Both Ai Siqi's DZZX and its revised edition (XDZZX) were published in times of radical change in China. The 1930s saw major activities in laying the foundation for Marxist discourse in China. The bulk of the Marxist canon, with works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, were translated into Chinese, with Ai Siqi and Li Da leading the way (Fogel 1987; Knight 2005). In 1938, the Yan'an New Philosophy Association (*Yan'an Xin Zhexueshe* 延安新哲學社) was created (Lu 2006, 233). The DZZX was also part of the study material for Western-trained intellectuals in Yan'an.¹⁴

The revised edition of Ai Siqi's work appeared after the establishment of the PRC. Ai Siqi then worked for the Ministry of Higher Education, and was a key figure in training scholars in academia through additional courses on the principles of Marxism, thus inspiring more academics to read DZZX as an introduction.¹⁵ It

13 XDZZX is accompanied by a volume of material (Meihua zikuhan lai: "Xin Dazhong Zhexue" bianxie ziliaoji 梅花香自苦寒來: "新大眾哲學"編寫資料集) that contains the outcome of the 81 meetings held from July 2007.

14 See the interview conducted 7 June 2008 with He Fang 何方 (1922–2017), who in 1938 came to Yan'an to study foreign languages at the Military and Political University of Resistance against Japan 抗日軍政大學 and entered the Foreign Ministry in the 1950s (Wang and Schulz Zinda forthcoming).

15 See the interview conducted 5 January 2007 with Qian Gurong 錢谷融 (1919–2017), who entered the National Central University in Chongqing in 1938 to study national literature; see also the interview conducted 24 July 2009 with Zhang Shiyong (1921–) (Wang Weijiang, Schulz Zinda forthcoming).

seems that school students also read the DZZX because the Marxist content of this work was easy to grasp.¹⁶

Even in structure, the 2014 XDZZX follows the DZZX. The DZZX (1938) had four parts (Ai 1938), the 1950 edition had five parts (Ai 1950), and the latest edition, the XDZZX, is expanded to seven parts and has over 1000 pages. After an introductory part, which explains the basics of philosophy and Marxist philosophy, the second part treats the dichotomy of idealism versus materialism, the third part treats dialectics, the fourth part treats epistemology, the fifth part treats the conception of history, the sixth part treats the value system, and the seventh part treats the view of life. Like Ai Siqu, the editors of the XDZZX (2014) are connected to the Party, and most of them are employed at the Central Party School. However, these editors have professional academic backgrounds, having studied philosophy at Beijing University, the Central Party School, Renmin University, or at CASS.¹⁷ Among a second group of referees are older-generation and prestigious scholars of Marxism. There are also prestigious people closely associated with Ai Siqu such as Wang Danyi 王丹一, the compiler of Ai Siqu's works, and Lu Guoying 盧國英, Ai Siqu's former secretary. This second group also includes Huang Nansen 黃楠森 (=黃柎森), who was employed for the Institute of Marxism–Leninism Studies at Beijing University in 1952, Ru Xin 汝信 (*1931) from CASS, and Yang Chungui 楊春貴 (*1936) from the Central Party School. Both Ru Xin and Yang Chungui were selected members of the newly established Marxism Theory Institute (XDZZX 2014, 1055).

In the foreword to XDZZX, Wang states that XDZZX is neither a philosophical textbook nor an academic study. He states that XDZZX focuses on questions derived from reality and attempts to find answers to these (XDZZX 2014, 6). Wang states that the XDZZX is in line with Ai Siqu's work and Han Shuying's *Tongsu zhexue* 通俗哲學, which was published in 1981 (XDZZX 2014, 1057). He continues that due to the transformations in the world and in China, a new edition was necessary to address new issues such as globalisation, the environment, and the capitalist influx after the reforms in China. Like Ai Siqu's in his work, Wang writes that the Marxist philosophy "talks the language of the Chinese common people" (*laobaixing de hua* 老百姓的話) (XDZZX 2014, 6).

16 See the interview conducted 5 December 2011 with Zheng Zhong 鄭重 (1935–) who entered Fudan University to study journalism in 1956, and worked as journalist for *Wenhuibao* from 1961 to 1996 (Wang and Schulz Zinda forthcoming).

17 Beijing University (Li Xiaobing 李曉兵); the Central Party School (Mao Weiping 毛衛平); Renmin University (Wang Weiguang, Pang Yuanzheng 龐元正, Li Jingyuan 李景源); CASS (Sun Weiping 孫偉平).

Like Ai Siqi's work, XDZZX includes many examples from everyday life to explain the correct world outlook. However, it is more all-encompassing, including contemporary socio-political and global issues. It addresses questions of the modern information society and the environment (e.g., discussing the Copenhagen Summit on Climate Change in 2009). It also discusses socialist worker heroes coming from the past and present masses, such as Lei Feng 雷鋒 (1940–1962) (XDZZX 2014, 984ff.), Jiao Yulu 焦裕祿 (1922–1964) (XDZZX 2014, 1015 ff.) or the police officer Ren Changxia 任長霞 (XDZZX 2014, 1021ff.), who are introduced in the context of discussing the Marxist ethics of professionals. The final chapter of the seventh volume is titled “To Sacrifice Oneself for the Bliss of Human Beings,” thus indicating that this work claims validity not only for China, but for all of humanity.

The quotations used to support the prescriptions are almost exclusively taken from the Marxist canonical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao Zedong, and Deng Xiaoping. Despite Wang Weiguang's emphasis on the use of simple language, the chapters on philosophy are not easily accessible because they refer to names and quotations from Chinese and world philosophy from antiquity (e.g., the pre-Socratics and the Hundred Schools), as well as to contemporary philosophers such as Heidegger. However, the work might also have been directed to academics to emphasise the “Call for Scholarly Work in Marxism in the Service of the People.” (Zhang 2014)

The 1950 revised edition of Ai Siqi's DZZX differs from the edition published in 1938 by more specifically referring to relevant terms in philosophy, such as “*Weltanschauung*,” which might not have been widely used in the 1930s.¹⁸ In 1938, Ai Siqi stated that “philosophy is the basic attitude and knowledge of human beings regarding the world” (DZZX 1938, 12). In 1950, he provided more detail, stating that “philosophical thought is basic knowledge and perspective regarding the entire world. It is also *Weltanschauung* (DZZX 1950, 10).” Thus, for Ai Siqi, philosophy is simultaneously the comprehensive knowledge of the world and world outlook. Ai Siqi explains that philosophy provides answers to every problem concerning the entire world, while different kinds of thought deal with material problems (DZZX 1950, 10–11).

18 For example, Ai Siqi employed the term “heaven knows” (*tian xiaode* 天曉得) to indicate the falsely presumed limits of human knowledge. In the 1950 revised version, Ai Siqi used this phrase interchangeably with the technical term “agnosticism” (*bukezhibilun* 不可知論)—a term indicating the adversarial position in Marxist discourse, which is frequently used by Lenin in his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* in relation to Haeckel and Mach (e.g. DZZX, Ch. 6.4). This indicates that in 1938 the Marxist terms were either not fully translated, or not yet in widespread use.

Under the explicit premise that “Marxist modern philosophy is the correct and scientific philosophy” (XDZZX 2014, 13), the editors of XDZZX follow Ai Siqi, stating that “Philosophy is defined as a theoretical, systematic world outlook [and] is based on theoretical argument and logical analysis to systematically answer the most universal questions of the world (XDZZX 2014, 3).” Marxist philosophy is connected strictly to reality and defined as “the essence of thought in the productive practice of human society and the research practice of science (XDZZX 2014, 3).” It underlies all economical and scientific processes. In this way, philosophy is not only conceived as an outlook, but also as offering the correct methodology in dealing with problems.

In addition, in XDZZX, philosophy is not strictly connected to reality in research only, and is afforded a more active part in society because it is presented as transforming reality (XDZZX 2014, 16). It is based on the main principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism adapted to the Chinese needs (XDZZX 2014, 75). Given that philosophy is based on practical experience, the editors consider the process of Sinicisation of Marxist philosophy infinite (XDZZX 2014, 100–1).

Although the above definition of philosophy confirms the older values of the Maoist era, it does not entirely tread on old paths of Maoism because it allows the existence and necessity of other philosophies outside Marxism, stating that Marxist philosophy developed through the criticism of non-Marxist and anti-Marxist thought (XDZZX 2014, 4). In XDZZX, old, pre-1945 non-Marxist scholars such as Feng Youlan are not as heavily criticised as they were during the Mao era. The XDZZX editors go so far as to state that the “charm of philosophy” lies in the fact that it allows “for different viewpoints” that might have the same meaning or value (XDZZX 2014, 75).

In relation to the historiography of Chinese philosophy, in the 1950s, the guiding principle of evaluating the Chinese philosophical heritage was Zhdanov’s model of the history of philosophy as a struggle between idealism and materialism. This principle was reinforced after the rather liberal debate on the historiography of Chinese philosophy in 1957. The XDZZX implicitly reasserts the same model (without naming Zhdanov) in considering the history of philosophy—Eastern philosophy such as Indian and Chinese as well as Western philosophy—as a struggle between materialism versus idealism and between dialectics versus metaphysics. However, it allows Chinese and Western traditional philosophies to employ different terms and logical systems (XDZZX 2014, 28).

Given it was an introductory textbook the DZZX did not treat questions of historiography, and the present study will discuss two major issues relating to the role of

idealism in the Chinese heritage discussed in the debate of 1957, and these arguments will be compared with those expressed in XDZZX because there are interesting similarities. The first issue debated in 1957 was the value of idealism in the historiography of philosophy and the relationship of idealism to materialism. In 1957, Feng Youlan defined the relationship between idealism and materialism as “the two sides to one thing (philosophy). They exclude each other but they also influence each other, permeate each other. This is the contradiction of both sides as well as its unity (Feng 1957, 18).” Similarly, He Lin (He 1957, 189) also stated the relationship between idealism to materialism as interdependent, mutually beneficial, and absorbing. He Lin and Feng Youlan were heavily criticised for their views on idealism. However, in 2014, in XDZZX, the perspective of both scholars has officially been adopted, and it is asserted that the opposition between idealism and materialism is not absolute, but is permeating, in that they rely on each other (XDZZX 2014, 118).

The second issue debated in 1957 concerns the quality of idealism. A commonly employed argument for a more open-minded treatment of idealism is an attributed “rational kernel” (*heli hexin* 合理核心) (He 1957, 191–92; Zhang 1957, 218).¹⁹ Indeed, these open-minded scholars were also heavily criticised for this more positive view of idealism in the historiography of philosophy. Again, XDZZX does not follow the old orthodox path, but takes the argument of the reform-minded scholars of 1957. The XDZZX (2014, 118) states that idealism contained some “rational elements.” In XDZZX, the quality of idealism is further differentiated through the subdivision of subjective and objective idealism (XDZZX 2014, 115). For example, while the XDZZX (2014, 116–17) categorises neo-Confucianism as idealism, it refers to the school of principle as “objective idealism” and the school of mind as “subjective idealism.”

In 1957, the advocates of a more liberal approach to idealism and in 2014, the editors of XDZZX employed the same quotation from Lenin’s *Philosophical Notebooks* (Lenin 1915) to legitimise their perspective (XDZZX 2014, 118–19).²⁰ In the *Philosophical Notebooks*, Lenin (1915) granted idealism a place in the history of philosophy by remarking that intelligent idealism “is closer to intelligent materialism than stupid materialism (Lenin 1915).” Despite acknowledging the accomplishment of idealism and following the 1957 open-minded scholars, the

19 He Lin’s student Zhang Shiyong (1957, 218) more carefully stated that idealism had several rational aspects that were in opposition to idealism.

20 See Feng Youlan (1957, 283), who argues for an abstract meaning in the general content of ideas that can in the history of thought, take on different forms, both idealistic and materialistic, so that at times, contradiction between the two occurs. See also Wen Gongyi’s 溫公頤 (1957, 499) argument for the continuous existence of idealism. In addition, Yan Mingxuan (1957, 389), who, supporting Feng Youlan, argues with Lenin that the natural laws completely reflect nature in spite of their abstraction.

editors of XDZZX emphasise that idealism is not able to reflect reality (XDZZX 2014, 119), which is the principal function of philosophy. In particular, they brand subjective idealism as the “big enemy” of the Marxist party (XDZZX 2014, 133).

Despite the proclaimed importance, XDZZX has received very little public response in academic philosophy journals.²¹

Ritualised Communication

While the first organised mass public confession involving many Chinese academics through the Thought Reform focused on personal history and working background before 1949, it had not yet specifically stressed Marxism–Leninism as part of the future academic work. The criticism of Hu Shi can be considered the first campaign of its kind in the field of humanities. Similar to criticism against the philosophy historian Aleksandrov under Stalin, Hu Shi served as a negative example during the Hu Shi criticism campaign in 1955. However, different to the Soviet discussion on philosophy, the criticism of Hu Shi was planned (Pollock 2006, 28–29). The texts of self-criticism and criticism not only appeared in academic journals, but also in newspapers and the journal of ideology, *Xuexi*.

Wang Shaoguang (2008) suggests a mobilisation model that was applied in setting all major and strategic agendas in the Mao era. Wang Shaoguang (2008, 62) divides this model into five phases: 1) instructions through an official document from the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, or an editorial or commentator’s essay in *Renmin ribao* (RMRB); 2) dissemination of the instructions to all levels following a set order and an imposing propaganda campaign; 3) study of the instruction; 4) grasping typical cases, negative or positive, and disseminating the experience gained by the selected unit; 5) forming a consensus among the people. While Wang Shaoguang’s (2008) model clearly indicates the ways in which dissemination of the political guidelines should be achieved, the ritual aspects of this process will be suggested in the following accounting for the group behaviour during the campaigns, including the adoption the socialist writing style that was established in academia. As part of a streamlining process, the Hu Shi criticism campaign aimed to set new socialist standards in form and values through a ritualised form of communication between Party intellectuals and academics. Thus,

21 The CrossAsia database lists only 17 articles in core philosophy, literature, and history journals that refer to the full text of the XDZZX.

the campaign can be considered part of a transformation, a *rite de passage*. The Indologist Michaels (2001) indicates five elements that characterise a religious *rite de passage* of a wedding celebration, and these can be applied to the Hu Shi criticism campaign.

The first element of the *rite de passage* is transition. That is, the transition itself is the very condition for the “ritual transition.” In the case of the Hu Shi criticism campaign, it was marking the transition from a Western-style scientific method to academic discourse grounded on Marxism–Leninism. In a letter to Li Da, Mao wrote that the Hu Shi criticism campaign was an opportunity to introduce the philosophical terms among and outside the cadres (Knight 1996, 263).

The second element of the *rite de passage* (Michaels 2001) or ritual transition is a formally made decision. A sign of intention must be communicated for the time of transition to begin. Mao demonstrated his intention to begin a major criticism campaign against Hu Shi in October 1954 in a letter he sent to the editor of *RMRB* and members of the Politburo (Wei 2004, 99; Yuan Ying 2007, 87). Attached to this seemed to be a critical essay on the New *Honglouloumeng* School, of which Hu Shi, Yu Pingbo and others were the main representatives, written by the young students Li Xifan 李希凡 and Lan Ling 藍領, and published in *Wenyi bao*.²² The Hu Shi criticism campaign began in November 1954, when at a conference on *Honglouloumeng* held at Fudan University from 15 to 20 November it was indicated that Hu Shi should not only be criticised through literary criticism, but also through academic fields such as history, pedagogy, and philosophy.²³ Several other writings by Party institutions and intellectuals appeared in major newspapers and magazines, reflecting the formally made decision within the Party to streamline humanities academics and providing instructions. In an interview and speech given by the president of CAS, Guo Moruo, in 1954, Mao’s aims are confirmed. Guo Moruo encouraged young people to criticise the old generation headed by Hu Shi, and embedded the campaign into a greater process of rectification. Both Guo Moruo’s (1955b) speech in 1955 and an article by the Director of the

22 Li Xifan 李希凡 and Lan Ling’s 藍領 “Guanyu Honglouloumeng jianlun ji qita 關於紅樓夢簡論與其他” (Short Introduction to *Honglouloumeng* and Other Things) was published in *Wenyi bao* 文藝報 on 30 September 1954 (Kau and Leung 1986, 483–84).

23 *Shanghai wenyijie liangtiao douzheng da shiji* 1949.3–1966.8 (*chugao*) 上海文藝兩條鬥爭大事記 (初稿) (internal manuscript, date unknown), 14.

Philosophical Institute at CAS, Pan Zinian (1955),²⁴ emphasise the importance of this criticism.²⁵

However, after an initial guideline was provided, the standard was specified further in an official announcement on the “organization of speeches to promote materialism and criticise bourgeois idealistic thought” that targeted people such as Hu Shi, Yu Pingbo, and Hu Feng. (*Zhonggong Zhongyang* 459) It also imposes standard questions and guidelines highlighting eight aspects that should be emphasised in speeches. Four of these aspects can be divided into two general groups: 1) “Why do we have to criticise idealism? Why do we have to study materialistic *Weltanschauung*?”; 2) “What is materialism? What is idealism?” (ibid.). Hu Shi is specifically referred to in an additional four aspects (ibid., 460):

- 1) What is the point in criticising Hu Shi’s, Yu Pingbo’s, Hu Feng’s, etc. thought?;
- 2) criticism of Hu Shi as representative of bourgeois idealistic philosophical thought;
- 3) criticism of Hu Shi as representative of reactionary political thought;
- and 4) criticism of Hu Shi as representative of the bourgeois idealistic historical point of view. (ibid.)

Further, certain articles from Beijing journals and newspapers were cited by the State Council as good examples articles of criticism. These announcements and instructions for group behaviour signify the starting point for the following group behaviour considered in the third element.²⁶

The third element of the *rite de passage* (Michaels 2001) or ritual transition is the formalisation of ritual action. It is thus characterised by formal, repetitive, stereotyped, and irrevocable action in public. This corresponds to the various articles the academics produced to criticise Hu Shi. By writing articles that criticised Hu Shi, reflecting their loyalty to Marxist–Leninist philosophy, the authors demonstrated their intention—disregarding whether it was of their own free will—to participate in the transition. The articles can be characterised as formal, repetitive, stereotyped, and irrevocable public actions, and thus mark a *rite de passage*. Ritual

24 After 1949, Pan Zinian held various positions: 1950–1953: director of the Ministry of Education, vice-chairman of the Cultural and Educational Committee; July 1954: council member of the China Philosophical Society; June 1955: member of the Standing Committee in the CAS Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences; 1955–1967 director of the Philosophical Institute (*Who is Who in Communist China* 1966, 539).

25 *Zhongguo kexueyuan Guo Moruo yuanzhang guanyu wenhua xueshujie ying kaizhan fandui zichanjieji cuowu sixiang de mendou dui Guangming ribao jizhe de tanhua* and Guo Moruo (1955a); Guo Moruo’s opening speech at a seminar (see also Guo Moruo 1955b and Pan Zinian 1955).

26 Examples in the following section drawn from texts about the Hu Shi criticism campaign merely present representative examples.

communication consists of verbal signs. That is, terms, names, events, and quotations that described Hu Shi's personality and thought became negative symbols and symbols of the enemy through reiteration. Concurrently, terms from Marxist–Leninist ideology, names of leading representatives of materialism, and crucial events in Marxist historiography became positive symbols. As will be discussed, some of these elements appear in the fourth element of modality.

Michaels (2001) divides the fourth element of the *rite de passage* into two aspects: the social and religious. This first is the social aspects. In these there is pressure coming from above, particularly students and colleagues of Hu Shi, as well as scholars trained in the West, who were asked to write criticisms of Hu Shi. The community was polarised into opposing camps—“us” and “them”—on the basis of political, practical, and ideological issues flowing from the Party line.²⁷ Dichotomies in terms of Marxist versus bourgeois thought were frequently cited in the Hu Shi criticism campaign. To create a new sense of community, friends were distinguished from the enemy, who was linked to values and networks in the “old Chinese system” that existed before 1949.

To create a sense of community facing the enemy, expressions such as “we all know” (*dajia dou zhidao* 大家都知道) were frequently used (Jin et al. 1955, 3). The “us and the enemy” dichotomy was further emphasised through rhetorical and polemic questions; for example, “we only want to ask one question: Do you [the pragmatist] acknowledge objective truth?” (Zhang 1955, 164).

Hu Shi was attacked as an enemy to strengthen the sense of community. As a servant of the political enemy, Hu Shi was frequently referred to as a “hatchet man” (*zougou* 走狗) for various opponents, including Jiang Kai-shek or as a US imperialist (Huang 1955, 164). Many types of images presenting Hu Shi as an enemy were used, as demonstrated in Ma Qingjian's and Lu Wanqing's (1955, 52) article: “loyal slave to US imperialism, Jiang Kai-shek's hatchet man, evil enemy of Marxism–Leninism, the deadly enemy of the Chinese people.” Hu Shi was often accused of “admiring and being close to the US” (*chongmei qinmei* 崇美親美) (Wang 1955, 30), a negative quality that had already been employed to identify wrong thought during the Thought Reform criticisms.²⁸ Demonstrating the academic character of the campaign, Hu Shi was referred to as a “deadly enemy of science” (Xia 1955, 72) or a “deadly enemy of objective truth” (Zhang 1955, 36), which is implicitly equated to being an enemy of the people. After connecting Hu

27 This was also observed by Nikolai Kremontsov in the context of the Soviet discourse (Kremontsov 1997, 53). It can also be applied to the PRC campaigns in the 1950s.

28 Huang Ping (2005, 410) calls for the elimination of “admiring and being close to the US” as part of the aim to abolish all non-proletarian terms such as “individualism” and “liberalism.”

Shi to John Dewey and US imperialism, Feng Youlan also states at the beginning that in the “battle of criticising Hu Shi, this is a ‘fortress,’ only by tearing down this fortress, our battle can be victorious.” (Feng and Zhu 1955, 93) Following this, he demonstrates credo by denouncing definition the wrong way. The Hu Shi criticism campaign represents a process of repeated affirmation of Marxist–Leninist ideology that enables the social dimension by creating the social groups of “us” and “them.”

The second aspect of the fourth element is the religious one (Michaels 2001). This aspect is reflected in practices reminiscent of religious rituals such as pronouncing repentance and citing credos and vows that are directed toward a vision of a bright future. Such “rituals” can be seen in many of the published articles.

In the Soviet Union, the ritualised form of criticism was borrowed from Party group behaviour: public confession, self-criticism, and repentance (Krementsov 1997, 52). In China, the same ritual was first employed during the Yan’an campaign in 1942, which served as a model for the 1950s campaigns. The editorial that appeared in the first issue of the leading journal for academic philosophy, *Zhexue yanjiu*, directly refers to the Rectification Campaign of 1942.²⁹ The model consisted of the steps of declaration of “one’s position—criticism—self-criticism and probation” (*biaotai*表態—*piping*批評—*ziwo piping* 自我批評—*guoguan* 過關) (Dittmer 1973). Self-criticism was necessary to progress, and the promise of reform functioned as an additional asset for the transition for scholars of the old system such as Feng Youlan (1955, 98), who proclaimed the following:

It is for people doing research into classical literature, especially like me who with Hu Shi “reached the same goal by different routes” so that I have to be extremely watchful regarding myself.

Another common feature of the Hu Shi criticism campaign is the affirmation of being part of a greater historical process, which is greatly reminiscent of belonging to a religion in that one’s religious beliefs are said to mean that one is a part of a mission that is greater than oneself. The authors of the Hu Shi criticism texts embed the campaign, as well as their own development and that of the PRC, into the process of the socialist revolution, which first unfolded with the Soviet October Revolution. For example:

[T]he Soviet socialist October Revolution and China’s New Democratic Movement brought a big crisis to US, British, Japanese, French etc. imperialism (Yin 1955, 57).

29 Wei Makeshuyi *zhexuede shengli er douzheng* (1955, 1).

After the Soviet socialist October Revolution, Marxism began to be spread extensively in China. As soon as the Chinese communist movement began it met all kinds of enemies. (Xu 1955, 79)

At the end of each article, the authors insert some sort of vow concerning the future. For example, the vow might be in the form of a battle cry, as in the following example:

Today there are still poisonous leftovers of this [Hu Shi's] thought taking all kinds of forms in each scientific section. We workers in philosophy should uncover them in time to strike a ruthless blow against it. To shoulder this kind of task is completely necessary. (Ge 1955, 147)

The vow might also be expressed as a vision of a glorious future, as in the following example:

[U]nder the leadership of the CCP and Chairman Mao taking the constitution of the Chinese People's Republic as standard for thought and action then we can lead our people to the road of real freedom and make China a rich, prosperous and lucky socialist state. (Zheng 1955, 129)

The vow might could also be an admonishment, as in the following example:

We seriously have to study the method of concrete analysis of Marxism-Leninism to emerge victorious over imperialist sophistry (He 1955, 17).

The fifth element of the *rite de passage* (Michaels 2001) or ritual transition is political content being inscribed into academic philosophy. In the campaign, the negative symbols, the new value system, the combative glossary, and the new academic style were inscribed into academic philosophy. This is evident in the more liberal debate of 1957 on the Chinese philosophical heritage.

As for the first element, Xi Jinping gave a sign of major transformation in his concept of the Chinese Dream expressed in November 2012, when he announced a rejuvenation of China (Ho 2018, 66). Since this speech, several guidelines for higher education have been produced, such as Document 9. Leading on to the more specific Document 30 and the CASS training campaign, the opinion of students is exploited to criticise the behaviour of academics, as occurred in the Hu Shi criticism campaign. In November 2014, the provincial Party paper *Liaoning ribao* published an open letter from the perspective of university students, which is presented as reflecting the opinion of many others across the country. In the open letter, the students criticise their teachers for disregarding Marxist ideology,

praising the West, and criticising the CCP. (*Laosbi* 2014)³⁰ In January 2015, in response to the article and to some controversial discussions online, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council issued Document 30.

While the wording of the open letter is not as harsh and polemic as the wording used in the 1950s campaign, it draws on some elements of the ritual communication of the Mao era. For example, it refers to the guidelines of the CCP Central Committee of the same year. Although the teachers are referred to with some respect because of their “expert knowledge, serious scholarly attitude and sense of responsibility,” (*ibid.*)³¹ the open letter clearly indicates a dichotomy between “us” (representing the students allying with the common people) and “them” (the negative examples of university teachers). Quoting Deng Xiaoping, the open letter emphasises the following belief:

University education is about seeking and examining the methods and paths by which China can modernise, about building a system of culture that is suited to the world’s most advanced trends. It is about bearing up the future of the Chinese people through the transfer of knowledge. (*ibid.*)

In an emotional manner, the open letter describes the predicament of the morally aloof students, who are forced to criticise their revered teachers. In addition, rhetorical questions are used. For example, a student named Kiko asks the following:

If China is truly as dark as our teachers make it out to be, with what sort of attitude are we to face this society once we’ve graduated? Who will give us the confidence and strength to build this society of ours? (*ibid.*)

At the end there are even some admonishments, for example:

China in the university classroom should clear antecedents. Historical development is continuous, and no period is an isolated scene. Contemporary China’s political forms, social organisations, habitual concepts have all been influenced by thousands of years of cultural tradition—and so, of necessity, it is imprinted with definite “Chinese characteristics.” In assessing China, we can’t look just at the surface, but must look even more at the lines of its history. (*ibid.*)

30 See also the translation by David Bandurski (2015).

31 Translation by Bandurski (2015).

However, despite some similarities to the style of 1950s socialist writing in the article considered above, what is most surprising is the lack of the public group behaviour outlined earlier in the third and fourth elements of *the rite de passage* in response to the guidelines set out in Document 30 during the training campaign at CASS, which merely included Party cadres and not all academics, as in the 1950s. In contrast to Mao's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art," which became the standard in studies on literature and art in the 1950s, Xi Jinping's "Talk at the Forum Discussing the Work in Philosophy and Social Sciences" is rarely referred to in academic journals. Apart from the occasional response in articles in core philosophy journals that are either discussing or simply quoting Xi Jinping's words, the speech does not seem to have influenced academic philosophy.³² An examination of the articles published in *Zhexue yanjiu* at the time Xi Jinping made his speech indicates that neither the ideological training in general nor the idealism versus materialism opposition in the historiography of Chinese philosophy (as suggested in XDZZX) seem to have been influential. This also indicates that the *rite de passage* suggested by the employment of Maoist symbolism is incomplete because the new ideological content has not yet been inscribed into philosophical research.

Conclusion and Outlook

While Xi Jinping draws on symbols of the Mao legacy in transforming academic social sciences and philosophy, this use of symbolism from the Mao era has not created the public group behaviour seen in Chinese academics during the campaigns of the 1950s. In addition, the training is restricted to the Party and the guidelines are not disseminated among all academics. That is, this training is not carried out publicly. In contrast to the 1950s, core journals such as *Zhexue yanjiu* do not clearly and openly reflect the ideology expressed as in Xi Jinping's "Talk at the Forum Discussing the Work in Philosophy and Social Sciences" or the transformation of academia as part of the Chinese Dream. However, the use of such symbolism might recreate among the older generations of Chinese people the mood of that time (who through their own or their teachers' and relatives' accounts directly or indirectly experienced the Mao era), creating a feeling of alertness to what might follow these symbols or possibly the mood of awakening and departure to a new era that transfers the charismatic aura of Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping as part of mood management. In sum, the ideological

32 On the CrossAsia database, only 285 articles in core philosophy journals (e.g., *Zhexue Yanjiu*), journals of the nationwide academies of science, and university journals were found that quote or refer to Xi Jinping's talks.

transformation of present-day academia in China superficially has the look and feel of the Mao era, but it has not so far created such a profound and visible effect as in the 1950s.

References

- Ai, Siqi 艾思奇. 1938. “Dazhong zhexue 大眾哲學 (Philosophy for the Masses).” *Minguo Congshu* 1: 1.
- . 1950. *Dazhong zhexue 大眾哲學 (Philosophy for the Masses, (rev. ed.))*. Beijing: Xinhua shuju.
- Bandurski, David. 2015. “College Teachers Must Be More Positive.” Accessed August 30, 2018. <http://chinamediaproject.org/2014/11/15/paper-says-college-teachers-must-respect-china/>.
- Barmé, Geremie R. 2015. “Public Lecture at the Australian National University.” 26 October.
- Chan, Lien. 1968. “Chinese Communism Versus Pragmatism: The Criticism of Hu Shi’s Philosophy, 1950–1958.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 27 (May): 551–70.
- Cheek, Timothy. 2015. *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, Theodore Hsi-en. 1960. *Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chan, Wing-tsit. 1964. “Chinese Philosophy in Mainland China.” *Philosophy East and West* 14 (1): 25–38.
- Creemers, Rogier, ed. 2015. “Opinions Concerning Further Strengthening and Improving Propaganda and Ideology Work in Higher Education Under New Circumstance.” Accessed August 30, 2018. <https://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com/2015/01/19/opinions-concerning-further-strengthening-and-improving-propaganda-and-ideology-work-in-higher-education-under-new-circumstances/>.
- Dittmer, Lowell. 1973. “The Structural Evolution of Criticism and Self-Criticism.” *The China Quarterly* 56 (October–December): 708–29.
- Fei, Chang Dao. 2015. “A Chronicle of China’s Campaign to Rectify Political Ideology at Universities: 2014–2015.” Accessed 30 August 2018. <http://blog.feichangdao.com/search?q=Wang+Weiguang>.
- Feng, Youlan 馮友蘭. 1955. “Zhhexueshi yu zhengzhi 哲學與政治 (*Philosophy and Politics*).” In *Hu Shi sixiang* 6: 81–98. Previously published as 1955. *Zhexue yanjiu* 1.
- . 1957. “Guanyu ‘liangge wenti’ de buchong yijian 關於兩個問題的補充意見’ (Supplementary View on ‘Two Questions’).” *Zhexue Yanjiu Bianjibu*, 24–28.
- “Fung Yu-lan, Part Two.” 1958. *China News Analysis* 244 (September, 12): 1–7: 3.

- Feng, Youlan 馮友蘭, and Zhu, Bokun 朱伯昆. 1955. "Pipan Hu Shi 'Zhongguo zhexueshi dagang' di shiyongzhuyi 批判胡適中國哲學史大綱" 底實用主義 (Criticism on the Pragmatism in Hu Shi's "Outline to Chinese Philosophy)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 7: 93–118.
- Fogel, Joshua A. 1987. *Ai Ssu-ch'i's Contribution to the Development of Chinese Marxism*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press.
- Ge, Li 葛力. 1955. "Pipan Hu Shi shiyongzhuyi sixiang fangfa diwei kexuexing 批判胡適實用主義思想方法低位科學性 (Criticism on the Pseudo-scientific Character of Hu Shi's Pragmatist Method of Thought)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 4: 118–47.
- Goldman, Merle. 1989. "The Party and the Intellectuals." In *Cambridge History of China*, edited by Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, 14, (1): 218–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guangming, Ribaoshe 光明日報社. 1952. *Sixiang gaizao wenxuan 思想改造文選 (Selection Rectification Texts)*, vols. 1–5. Beijing: Guangming Ribaoshe.
- Guanyu jin yibu jiaqiang ge gaijin xin shixingxia gaoxiao xuanchuan sixiang gongzuode yijian 關於進一步加強和改進新形勢下高校宣傳思想工作的意見 (*Opinion Concerning Further Strengthening and Improving Propaganda and Ideology Work in Higher Education Under New Circumstances*). Accessed August 30, 2018. http://www.xinhuanet.com/2015-01/19/c_1114051345.htm.
- Guo, Moruo 郭沫若. 1955a. "Sandian jianyi 三點建議 (Three Suggestions)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 1: 7–19. Previously published as 1954. *RMRB*, 12 September.
- . 1955b. "Xuexi bianzheng weiwuzhuyi he lishi weiwuzhuyi 學習辯證唯物主義和歷史唯物主義 (On the Study of Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 4: 3–5.
- He, Lin 賀麟. 1957. "Duiyu zhexueshi yanjiuzhong liangge zhenglun wenti yijian 對於哲學史研究中兩個問題意見 (Two Views on the Question of the Transmission of Chinese Philosophical Heritage)." *Zhexue Yanjiu Bianjibu*, 186–95.
- He, Sijing 何思敬. 1955. "Shiyongzhuyi de 'kexue' fangfa shi chetou chewei de guibian 實用主義的"科學"方法是徹頭徹尾的詭辯 (Pragmatist 'Scientific' Method Is Sophistry from Head to Toe)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 5: 3–17. Previously published as 1955. *Xin jianshe* 4, and revised.
- Ho, Wai-Chung. 2018. *Culture, Music Education, and the Chinese Dream in Mainland China*. Singapore: Springer.
- Holbig, Heike. 2014. "Shifting Ideologies of Research Funding: The CPC's National Planning Office for Philosophy and Social Sciences." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 43 (2):13–32.

- Hu, Jintao. 2003. "Jianchi fayang jiankufendou de youliang zuofeng, nuli shixian quanmian jianshe xiaokang shehui de hongwei mubiao 堅持發揚艱苦奮鬥的優良作風努力實現全面建設小康社會的宏偉目標 (Insist on a Hardworking Spirit; Struggle to Realize the Grand Goals of Constructing a Well-off Society)." *RMRB* (January 2). Accessed September 3, 2018. <http://www.chinanews.com/2003-01-02/26/259668.html>.
- Hu, Mingrong. 2005. "Chinese Academy of Sciences." In *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Chinese Culture*, edited by Edward L. Davis, 135. London: Routledge.
- Hu, Shi. 1955. *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 胡適思想批判 (*Criticism on Hu Shi's Thought*). 8 vols. Beijing: Sanlian Shudian Chubanshe.
- Huang, Ping 黃平. 2005. "You mudi zhi xingdong yu weilai yuqi zhi jieguo: Zhongguo zhishifenzi zai 50 niandaide jingli tanyuan 有目的之行動與未來預期之結果：中國知識份子在50年代的經歷探源 (Determined Action and Unforeseen Results: Investigating Chinese intellectuals in 1950s Experience)." In *20 shiji Zhongguo zhishifenzi shilun* 20世紀中國知識份子 (*Chinese Intellectuals in the 20th Century*), edited by Xu Jilin 許紀霖, 407–25. Beijing: Xinxing Chubanshe.
- Huang, Zhansen 黃枏森. 1955. "Hu Shi—zhenli de diren 胡適 - 真理的敵人 (Hu Shi—The Real Enemy)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 4: 164–69.
- Jin, Yuelin 金岳霖. 1952. "Piping wo weixinlunde zichan jieji 批判我的唯心論的資產階級. (Criticizing my Idealism of the Capitalist Class)." *Sixiang gaizao wenxuan* 4: 55–65.
- Jin, Yuelin 金岳霖, Wang Zisong 汪子嵩, Zhang Shiyong 張世英, and Huang Zhansen 黃枏森. 1955. "Pipan Hu Shi shiyongzhuyi zhexue 批判胡適實用主義哲學 (Criticizing Hu Shi's Pragmatist Philosophy)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 7: 3–25. Previously published as 1955. *Beijing daxue xuebao* 1.
- Kam, Louie. 1986. *Interpretations of the Classical Philosophers in Communist China, 1949–1966*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Kau, Michael, and John K. Leung, eds. 1986. *The Writings of Mao Zedong, 1949–1976: September 1945–December 1955*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe.
- Knight, Nick. 1996. *Li Da and the Marxist Philosophy in China*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- . 2005. *Marxist Philosophy in China: From Qu Qiubai to Mao Zedong, 1923–1945*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Krementsov, Nikolai. 1997. *Stalinist Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- "Laoshi qing buyaozheyang jiang Zhongguo 老師 請不要這樣講中國：致高校哲學社會科學老師的一封公開信 (Teachers, Please Don't Talk About China Like That: An Open Letter to Teachers of Philosophy and Social Sciences)." *Liaoning ribao*, November 13, 2014. Accessed August 30, 2018. http://www.xinhuanet.com/zgjjx/2015-06/11/c_134316914_2.htm.

- Lenin, Wladimir Iljitsch. 1915. *Conspectus of Hegel's Book Lectures On the History of Philosophy*, *Marxists Internet Archive*. Accessed August 14, 2018. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1915/cons-lect/ch03.htm>.
- Lu, Guoying 盧國英. 2006. *Zhibui zhi Lu: Yidai Zheren Ai Siqi 智慧之路一代哲人艾思奇 (The Road of Wisdom: Philosopher of a Generation Ai Siqi)*. Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社.
- Ma, Qingjian 馬清健, and Lu Wanqing 盧碗清. 1955. "Hu Shi fandong sixiang de shizhi 胡適反動思想的實質 (The Essence of Hu Shi's Reactionary Thought)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 2: 51–62. Previously published as 1955. *Wenyi Xuexi* 1, and revised.
- Mao, Zedong. 1980. *Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art: A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary by Bonnie S. McDougall*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies.
- Michaels, Axel. 2001. "(Le rituel pour le rituel)" oder wie sinnlos sind Rituale?" In *Rituale Heute. Theorie, Kontroversen, Entwürfe*, edited by C. Caduff and J. Pfaff-Czarnecka, 23–47. J. Berlin: Reimer.
- Motoh, Helena. 2018. "Culturalist Elements in the 'Chinese Characteristics' Model." Paper presented at 5th International STCS Conference: From Hegel to Mao and Beyond, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 20–22 April 2018.
- Pan, Zinian 潘梓年. 1955. "Fandui zichan jieji weixinzhuyi de zhongda yiyi 反對資產階級唯心主義的重大意義 (The Important Meaning in Opposing Bourgeois Idealism)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 4: 6–14. Previously published as 1955. *Zhongguo qingnian* 5.
- National Office for Philosophy and Social Science. 2018. Accessed July 20, 2018. <http://www.npopss-cn.gov.cn/n1/2016/1216/c220863-28956126.html>.
- Pollock, Ethan. 2006. *Stalin and the Soviet Science Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vittinghoff, Helmolt. 1993. "Der Gelehrte als Staatsfeind: Die Anti-Hu-Shi-Kampagne in der Aufbauphase der VR China." In *Chinesische Intellektuelle im 20. Jahrhundert: Zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, edited by Karl-Heinz Pohl and Gudrun Wacker, 333–54. Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde.
- Wang, Shaoguang. 2008. "Changing Models of China's Policy Agenda Setting." *Modern China* 34 (1): 56–87.
- Wang, Weijiang 王維江. 2009. "Wushi niandai shixuejia de mingyun 五十年代歷史學家的命運 (The Fate of the Historians in the 1950s)." *Yan Huang Chunqiu* 6: 40–45.
- Wang, Weijiang 王維江, Shuqin, Yufeng 舒秦玉鳳, and Yvonne Schulz Zinda. Forthcoming. *Renwen kexue: wushiniandai fangtanlu 人文科學: 五十年代訪談錄 (Humanities: Interviews About the 1950s)*.

- Wang, Yafu 王亞夫, and Zhang Hengzhong 章恒忠, eds. *Zhongguo xueshujie dashiji (1919–1985) 中國學術界大事記 (1919–1985) (Great Events in Chinese Academia (1919–1985))*. Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Chubanshe.
- Wang, Zisong 汪子嵩. 1955. “Pipan Hu Shi de fandong zhengzhi sixiang 批判胡適的反動政治思想 (Criticizing Hu Shi’s Reactionary Political Thought).” *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 1: 20–35. Previously published as 1954 in *RMRB*, 5 November, and revised.
- Wei, Chengsi 魏承思. 2004. *Zhongguo zhishifenzi de fanwei 中國知識份子的浮沉 (The Ups and Downs of Chinese Intellectuals)*. Xianggang: Oxford University Press.
- “Wei Makeshuyi zhexuede shengli er douzheng 為馬克思主義哲學的勝利而鬥爭 (Struggle for the Victory of Marxist Philosophy).” 1955. *Zhexue Yanjiu* 1: 1–4.
- Wen, Gongyi 溫公頤. 1957. “Duiyu Zhongguo zhexueshide yixie yijian 對於中國哲學史的一些意見 (Some Views Regarding the History of Chinese Philosophy).” *Zhexue Yanjiu Bianjibu*, 498–503.
- Who is Who in Communist China*, vol. 2. 1966. Hong Kong: Union Research Institute.
- Xi, Jinping 習近平. 2013. *Yao Shi hongse shanshui yongyuan bu bian se 要使紅色江山永遠不變色 (The Red Country Will Never Change Its Colour)*. Accessed August 30, 2018. <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2013-07-12/193327653764.shtml>.
- . 2016. “Zai zhexue shehuikexue gongzuo zuotan shangde jiang hua 在哲學社會科學工作座談會上的講話 (Talk at the Forum Discussing the Work in Philosophy and Social Sciences).” *RMRB*, May 19, 2016.
- Xia, Zhentao 夏甄奎. 1955. “Makeshuyi weiwulun he shiyongzhuyi weixinlun de genben duili 馬克思主義唯物論和實用主義唯心論的根本對立 (The Fundamental Opposites of Marxist Materialism and Pragmatist Idealism).” *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 5: 70–78. Previously published as 1955. *Guangming Ribao*, 4 January, and revised.
- Xu, Shihua 許世華. 1955. “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli qianhou Makeshuyizhe ruhe he Hu Shi defandong zhengzhi zhuzhang zuo douzheng 中國工廠當成立前後馬克思主義如何和胡適的反動政治主張做鬥爭 (How Marxist Fought Against Hu Shi’s Reactionary Political Stance Before and After the Establishment of the CCP).” *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 5: 79–84. Previously published as 1955. *Beijing ribao*, 13 March.
- Yan, Mingxuan 燕鳴軒. 1957. “Duiyu ‘Zhongguo zhexue yichande chengji wenti’ de yidian yijian 對於中國哲學遺產的承繼問題的一點意見 (Some Views on the Question of the Transmission of the Chinese Philosophical Heritage).” *Zhexue Yanjiu Bianjibu*, 383–90.

- Yin, Falu 陰法魯. 1955. "Hu Shi, Duwei, Luosu shi zenyang kaishi pohuai Zhongguo de xinwenhua yundongde? 胡適, 杜威, 羅素是怎樣開始破壞中國的新文化運動的 (How Did Hu Shi, Dewey and Russell Begin to Damage the Chinese New Culture Movement)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 4: 57–67. Previously published as 1955. *Guangming ribao*, 3 March, and revised.
- Yu, Fengzheng 於風政. 2001. *Gaizao 改造 (Reform)*. Zhengzhou: Henan Renmin Chubanshe.
- Yu, Yuanpei 餘源培. 1994. "Daonian Hu Quyuan jiaoshou 悼念胡曲園教授 (Mourning Professor Hu Quyuan)." *Zhexue yanjiu* 4: 81.
- Yuan, Ying 袁鷹. 2007. *Fengyun ceji. Wo zai Renmin ribao fukande suiyue 風雲側記: 我在人民日報副刊歲月 (Highlights of Wind and Shadows: My Time at the Renmin Ribao Supplement)*. Hong Kong: Mingbao Chubanshe.
- Zeng, Jinghan. 2016. "Changing Manners of Displaying Loyalties Through Ideological Campaigns in Post-Deng China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 25 (3). Accessed August 30, 2018. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10670564.2015.1132779?journalCode=cjcc20>.
- Zhang, He 張賀. 2014. "Zoujin Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan: Gaoyang Makeshizhuyi wei renmin fuwu 走近中國社科院: 高揚馬克思主義 為人民做學 (Approach to the Chinese Academy of Sciences: A Call for Scholarly Work in Marxism in the Service of the People)." *RMRB* July 10, 2014. Accessed August 30, 2018. <http://theory.people.com.cn/n/2014/0710/c40531-25263444.html>.
- Zhang, Shihong 章世鴻. 1955. "Shiyongzhuyi—keguan zhenlilun de sidi 實用主義—客觀真理論的死敵 (Pragmatism—The Deadly Enemy of Truth)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 5: 36–47. Previously published as 1955. *Changjiang ribao*, 30 March.
- Zhang, Shiyong 張世英. 1957. "Lüetan dui weixinzhuyide pingjia wenti 略談對唯心主義的評價問題 (Talking about the Assessment of Idealism)." *Zhexue Yanjiu Bianjibu*, 216–24.
- Zhang, Yixing 張翼星. 2007. "50nian qiande nachang zhexue zhengming: 'Zhongguo zhexueshi' zuotanhui' de huigu yu fansi 50年前的那場哲學爭鳴: 中國哲學史座談的回顧與反思 (This Debate 50 Years Ago: Remembering and Reflecting the Forum on the Historiography of Chinese philosophy)." *Zhongguo zhexue* 1: 56–61.
- Zhao, Suisheng. 2016a. "The Ideological Campaign in Xi's China: Rebuilding the Regime's Legacy." *Asian Survey* 56 (6): 1168–93.
- . 2016b. "Xi Jinping's Maoist Road of Revival." *Journal of Democracy* 27 (3): 83–97.
- Zheng, Hesheng 鄭鶴聲. 1955. "Hu Shi sishi nianlai fandong zhengzhi sixiang de pipan 胡適四十年來反動政治思想的批判 (Criticism on Hu Shi's 40 Years of Reactionary Thought)." *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 6: 99–129. Previously published as 1955. *Wenshibizhe* 5.

- Zhengwuyuan guanyu gaizao xuezhide jue ding* 政務院關於改革學制的決定 (*State Council's Decision on the Reform of the Educational System*). 1951. Accessed August 30, 2018. <http://www.51wf.com/print-law?id=1172321>.
- Zhexue yanjiu bianjibu 哲學研究編輯部, ed. 1957. *Zhongguo zhhexueshi wenti taolun zhuanji* 中國哲學史問題討論專輯 (*Anthology of the Discussion on the Question of the Historiography of Chinese Philosophy*). Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe.
- “Zhonggong Zhongyang guanyu zai ganbu zhishifenzizhong zizhi xuanchuan weiwuzhuyi sixiang ji weixinzhuyi sixiangde yanjiang gongzuo tongzhi 中共中央關於在幹部和知識份子中組織宣傳唯物主義思想批判資產階級唯心論思想的演講工作的通知 (Announcement Regarding the Organization of Speeches Among the Cadres and Intellectuals to Promote Materialistic Thought and Criticize Bourgeois Idealistic Thought).” *Zhonggongdangshi* 20: 459–60.
- “Zhongguo kexueyuan Guo Moruo yuanzhang guanyu wenhua xueshujie ying kaizhan fandui zichanjieji cuowu sixiang de mendou dui Guangming ribao jizhe de tanhua 中國科學院郭沫若院長關於文化學術界應開展反對資產階級錯誤思想的門門對光明日報記者的談話 (Director of CAS Guo Moruo Talks to Journalists of Guangming Ribao on the Necessity of the Cultural World to Start the Struggle Against False Capitalist Thought).” *Hu Shi sixiang pipan* 1: 3–6. Previously published as 1954. *Guangming Ribao*, 8 November.
- “Zhongyang xuanchuanbu guanyu Hu Shi sixiang pipan yundongde qingkuang he jinhou gongzuode baogao 中央宣傳部關於胡適思想批判運動的情況和今後工作報告 (Report by the Ministry of Propaganda on the Situation of the Hu Shi Criticism Campaign and the Work from Now On).” 1985. In *Zhongguo Renmin Jiefangjun Guofang Daxue Dangshi Jianzheng Gongjiao Yanjiushi* 中國人民解放軍國防大學黨史黨建政工教研室.
- Zhonggongdangshi jiaoxue cankao ziliao* 中共黨史教學參考資料 (*Teaching Reference Material on the History of the CCP*). 1985. 20: 562–65. Beijing: Guofang daxue chubanshe.
- “Zhongyang xuanchuanbu guanyu Hu Shi sixiang pipan yundongde qingkuang he jinhou gongzuode baogao 中央宣傳部關於胡適思想批判運動的情況和今後工作報告 (Report by the Ministry of Propaganda on the Situation of the Hu Shi Criticism Campaign and the Work from Now On).” 1985. In *Zhongguo Renmin Jiefangjun Guofang Daxue Dangshi Jianzheng Gongjiao Yanjiushi*.