INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CHINA: FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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by

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Abstract

The internationalization of higher education is the most remarkable phenomenon taking place in the education system in China in the third millennium. Based on the assumption that the internationalization of higher education in China is not a current happening incurred by globalization but one that is inherent in the process of the development of higher education and the state, this paper attempts to explore the long tradition of the recent internationalization of higher education in China and its relationship with the state building and national modernization from the historical perspective. The various documentary sources, including primary sources and historical studies, are analyzed to examine the internationalization of higher education in the context of China's political, economic and cultural/social development. The study provides a holistic and general illustration of the internationalization of higher education that is observed in China, and highlights the state's leadership of the Chinese internationalization of higher education in the era of globalization.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

APEID – Asian Program of Educational Innovation for Development

CAE – Chinese Academy of Engineering

CAS – Chinese Academy of Science

CPC – Communist Party of China

CUST – Chinese University of Science and Technology

GATS – General Agreement on Trade in Services

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

HSK – Chinese Proficiency Test (*Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi*)

ICT – Information and Communication Technology

IHE – Internationalization of Higher Education

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IOSEs – Imperial Officer Selection Examinations (*keju kaoshi zhidu*)

MOE – Ministry of Education, China

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

TNE – Transnational Education

WTO – World Trade Organization

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF – United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study examines the internationalization of higher education (IHE) in the context of China's political, economic and cultural/social development. It begins with an assumption that the IHE in China is not a current happening incurred by globalization but one that is inherent in the process of the development of the state and higher education. On the basis of this assumption, the study attempts to explicate the recent IHE in China from a historical perspective in a light much broader than the theory frameworks that are being employed in the existing literature. It thus seeks to make a case that higher education in China, from its beginning in the ancient time to the present, has been exchanging with other countries while maintaining its own distinction.

1. PURPOSE

Based on the above assumption, this study poses a few important questions and explores answers. Those questions are as the following:

- How did the IHE in China emerge and evolve from ancient times to the current age of globalization?
- What is the relationship between the IHE and state building in China?
- What do today's policy makers and educators in China pursue in seeking the IHE?

2. METHOD

This study pursues these purposes by analyzing policies and programs related to the IHE extracted from the rich resources of China's history of higher education, based on the aforementioned assumption. Specifically, it focuses on the IHE taking place in the period after 1840. The latter is a time when the feudal China became gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and, meanwhile, higher education gradually acquired a modern shape upon China's having contacts with the Western world. Yet the study does not leave out the long period of higher education before 1840, which occupies a remarkable part in the history of higher education in China.

Overall, the discussion of the Chinese IHE in this study will move along the chronological line, highlighting four important eras:

(1) from the beginning of higher education in ancient times to the milestone year of 1840, when the first Opium War placed the feudal China under the control of the invasive Western countries;

(2) from 1840 to 1911, when the feudal monarchy was replaced by the Republic of China;

(3) from 1911 to 1976, when the Chinese people won a great victory in the New Democratic Revolution, founding the People's Republic of China and launching an historical campaign to construct socialism; and

(4) from 1976 to the present, when China is launching a new movement for integration into the global world, invigorating efforts for development under the epoch-making reform and open-door policy of Deng Xiaoping toward "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

Data for the study come from various documentary sources including (1) primary sources, such as historical sources, published personal accounts of scholars and students in exchange programs, recent news articles about the international activities of China's higher education gathered from various newspapers, magazines and electronic sources, and the policy papers of the People's Republic of China, and (2) historical studies conducted by both Chinese and Western scholars.

3. JUSTIFICATION

With entry into the third millennium, the whole world is becoming a "global village" in which international co-operations and exchanges take place much more extensively than ever before. Under the waves of globalization, higher education, an important instrument of a nation's drive for socio-economic and cultural development, is catching attention in most countries. Here, a notable phenomenon in the field of higher education is the attention that is being paid to the IHE on national and institutional levels. Student and scholar exchange programs are being organized; student recruitment is being pursued across national borders; and even cross-border educational delivery programs are being developed. Numerous other initiatives are also emerging in the field of higher education. As Morrow and Torres (2000) note, the IHE is indeed becoming a key factor in the contemporary educational landscape.

China is by no means an exception. Since 1978, the country has been experiencing tremendous changes and, actually, making remarkable achievements. The

gross domestic product (GDP) has been growing at an annual rate of 9% in the last decade (World Bank 2003). The task of building mass higher education has been gradually accomplished. The total enrolment of higher education institutions of various forms amounted to 19 million and the gross enrolment rate of higher education reached 17% (MOE 2004d). In the meantime, higher education underwent a number of important reforms, which addressed hot issues related to financing, amalgamation, privatization, internationalization (*guojihua*), and so on (Min 2002). Here, the IHE emerges as an increasingly important matter for Chinese educators, as well as researchers and policy makers in education, because it has been actually contributing significantly to all such developments.

As Yang (2002) points out, there exists an urgent need for China's higher education to have active, continuous and direct contact with the world community or, as he puts it, a "higher education internationalization agenda." Nevertheless, in-depth and systematic research is scarce on the issue of the Chinese IHE. Moreover, as Cheng (2002) notes, some administrators of higher education do not seem to be aware of the challenges brought up by the IHE. Although Chinese higher education is getting more actively involved in international collaboration and competition and domestic innovation, the existing studies fall far short of adequately guiding those activities.

While the reasons for this can be explained in different ways, one may note how the existing literature deals with the issues concerning the IHE. The literature tends to explain the IHE in terms of three buzzwords, globalization, the nation state and knowledge (Stromquist 2002; Stromquist and Monkman 2000; Cogburn 1998; Zhang and

Xu 2000) and between globalization and the nation state (Burbules and Torres 2000; Stromquist and Monkman 2000; Waters 2001; Stromquist 2002; Van Damme 2002).

Regarding the relationship between globalization and knowledge, the powerful argument is that globalization is a phenomenon triggered by the speedy development of the information and communication technology (ICT) which makes the production of new knowledge and the transfer of the knowledge much easier now than ever before. Since new knowledge is easily produced and disseminated, and since success in economic competition depends on acquiring more or newer knowledge than others, in this argument, all the nations that aspire economic prosperity have to widen their international connections. International transfers of knowledge through the IHE in this view become a new issue emerging from the ICT-triggered global network of knowledge trade.

Regarding the relationship between globalization and the nation state, on the other hand, the most powerful claim seems to be one that holds that globalization causes the nation state to decline. Central to the grounds given for this claim are: the emergence of a global economy with transnational capital which disrupts the national economy; the phenomena of liberalization and decentralization which undermines the central authority of a nation; the global dissemination of the culture of hegemonic nations – such as "White Love" (Spring 1998) and "Americanization" (Waters 2001, p. 196) – which turns individual nations culturally indistinct, and, finally, the overly powerful role of "supranational" organizations which very often infringe upon the sovereignty of

individual nations. In this account, thus, the role of the nation state with respect to global trends becomes minimized.

Combining these two claims, the IHE as a phenomenon is very likely to be perceived by the researchers as a matter of a new of knowledge due to the unprecedented development of the ICT and as a matter for which the declining nation state – like that of China – has not much to do. If such views are correct, or if the phenomenon is looked at solely in light of those views, then, it would be no wonder that the IHE that is observable in China appears to be a new phenomenon and the Chinese state has not many roles to play for it or against it. What is thus likely to be overlooked is that the nation state still survives and functions playing certain roles even if it is, as alleged, declining because of globalization. It is also likely to be overlooked that the nation state that still functions does so not entirely in response to the new phenomenon of globalization or the development of ICT but, importantly, because of certain reasons or backgrounds that are unique to it – historical reasons and backgrounds in particular. The researchers cannot justifiably leave out this uniquely national context.

The justification of this study is here apparent, for it seeks to expand the narrow vision of the existing literature, and thus provide a holistic and general illustration of the IHE that is observed in China. Although it is not a piece of historical study properly speaking, it takes into its purview the long history of Chinese higher education and analyzes the views of Chinese policy makers and educators in the field in relation to the modernization of their country. Thus, this study illuminates the importance of the

Chinese IHE in the context of the country's continual efforts to strengthen and modernize itself through deliberate contacts with the advanced countries in different eras.

4. THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis discusses the findings of the study in six chapters. The subsequent chapters from Chapter 2 to Chapter 5 deal with the relationship between the Chinese IHE and the state formation and modernization in the four important historical phases, as outlined in section 2. Then Chapter 6 summarizes the overall discussion of the thesis and concludes it by highlighting the state's leadership of the Chinese IHE in the globalization.

Chapter 2

Emergence of Higher Education and International Connections in Higher Education: Up Until 1840

Higher education is an advanced level of teaching and learning aiming to produce an intellectual elite of a society and promote the development of science and technology. Higher education in this sense emerged in China in ancient times. During most of its history, Chinese higher education maintained international connections if we can apply the modern term "international" to the relationships between small kingdoms (or princedoms) and between political entities based in today's China and neighbouring countries. With focus on the period covering from ancient times to 1840, this chapter discusses how higher education came to be established in China, how domestic and foreign thoughts, Confucian and Buddhist thoughts in particular, affected higher education, and how it served the political and other interests of the Chinese state.

1. THE PRE-QIN-HAN PERIOD

The earlier forms of Chinese education, which emerged since the Xia dynasty (2200 - 1750 B.C.), were characteristic in "the unity of politics and education," in which politics guided education and education, in turn, served politics. This was due to the fact

that educational institutions were established in the court for the purpose of serving the ruler's government.

During the periods of the Spring and Autumn (*chunqiu*, 770 - 476 B.C.) and the Warring States (*zhanguo*, 475 - 221 B.C.), Chinese society underwent a dramatic transformation from the slavery-based system to a feudal system due to the development of agrarian settlements. Ideology, culture and education changed greatly with the establishment of feudal political and economic systems. The impressive manifestation of such changes was the phenomenon commonly dubbed as "the Contention of a Hundred Schools of Thought" (*baijia zhengming*), including Confucian, Daoist, Mohist and Legalist schools. The teachers of those schools taught their views and values from different perspectives and, at the same time, learned from each other, thus enriching each other and contributing to the development of higher learning. Such a social and cultural transformation occurred when the vassal states of the declining Zhou dynasty (1122 - 221 B.C.) competed with each other for hegemony, thus growing into larger states such as Qin, Yan, Wu, Chu and Yue. The hegemony competition was endorsed by the wealth which the vassal states accumulated due to the development of agriculture and, particularly, commerce between the warring states and between those states and the barbarians.

In fact, the outbreak of the Hundred Schools of Thought was due to frequent traffic of goods and persons over a vast expanse of land. The First Emperor (*Qin Shihuang*) unification of the warring states into a new Qin (pronounced "chin") empire (221 - 206 B.C.) further enhanced the traffic because the new "prefectural" system of

administration completely eliminated barriers between regions formerly controlled separately.[1] Consequently, different peoples now became incorporated into the Chinese people, exchanging goods and educational thoughts and services while, at the same time, maintaining their cultural traits (Mao and Shen 1985, p. 144).

Qin's unification created favourable conditions for the development of higher education. The new administrative system consisted of thirty-six prefectures each with numerous counties below. The counties then supervised smaller administrative bodies. This system increased contact between various regions and strengthened central control of those regions. Local officials at different levels were appointed by the central government and charged with responsibilities to publicize and teach laws, regulations and moral rules as set by the central government. The maintenance of the administrative system demanded officers familiar with Qin's legal and moral doctrines at different levels of government, and this demand would be met by education at an advanced level. The Qin Empire, however, collapsed too soon to see the development of higher learning.

2. THE HAN DYNASTY PERIOD

During the subsequent Han dynasty (206 B.C. – A.D. 220), economic activities became further invigorated, and the administrative system more sophisticated. Consequently, demand for educated officers rose rapidly. In order to meet this demand, Han established, in 124 B.C., the *Taixue* (meaning "supreme learning"), the first state institution, in recorded Chinese history, of formal higher education. The *Taixue* was controlled and operated by the central government for the single purpose of recruiting

and training officers for the officialdom. Its governing policy followed the Confucian principles of government as established by Emperor Wu (*Han Wudi*). Its curriculum consisted mainly of Confucian classics, namely, the Four Books of *Daxue* (the Great Learning), *Zhongyong* (the Doctrine of the Mean), *Lunyu* (the Analects), and *Mencius*, and the Five Classics of *Yijing* (the Classic of Changes), *Shujing* (the Classic of History), *Shijing* (the Classic of Poetry), *Liji* (the Collection of Rituals) and the *Chunqiu* (the Spring and Autumn Annals).

Most of *Taixue* graduates became the officials of upper echelons and applied what they had learned to their administrative practice. In such a way, formal higher education in China was closely linked to the state from the very beginning of its history: it served the central government in the latter's effort to build a strong state with functional bureaucracy. Apparently, Han's employment of Confucianism as state ideology left deep marks on higher educational institutions that emerged later on.

Since then, indeed, Confucianism exerted great influence on China's political and social life. Confucianism remained the governing philosophy for the greater part of Chinese history. The literature was laden with tons of Confucian discourses on the relationship between education and politics. The common tenor of the discourse was what Confucius himself laid down in the book, *Daxue*, that the basic goal of education was to prepare superior men (*junzi*) and men of virtue (*daren*). Ultimately, such men would best qualify for entering into the officialdom and administering the affairs of the ordinary men according to Confucian ethical and political doctrines (Mao and Shen 1985, p. 343). For the superior and virtuous men, however, education is not to end upon leaving

the school. As Confucius said, "The officer, having discharged all his duties, should devote his leisure to learning. The student, having completed his learning, should apply himself to be an officer" (Analects, bk. XIX).

As early as during the pre-Qin-Han period, what is now central China had frequent contact with different peoples in the peripheries, the Xiongnu (the Huns) in particular. After unifying the warring states, Qin defeated the invading Xiongnu and built the Great Wall in order to protect central China and consolidate its power. Han, however, took a different policy: it tried to stabilize its relationship with the Xiongnu as well as other tribes and countries by means of diplomacy. Han's most significant international venture was the imperial envoy Zhang Qian's travel to the "West" which, in effect, opened up the now famous Silk Road. Running through the high mountains on Han's western borders, the Silk Road reached as far as the ancient Rome to the west and the ancient India to the southwest, connecting China with many countries such as Dayuan, Kangju, Dayuezhi and Daxia. The Silk Road was primarily a route of transportation and commerce traversing the Eurasian continent tying China and the "West" materially and diplomatically. Importantly, it was also a route of cultural and knowledge exchanges. Through this route some adjacent peoples, such as the Xiongnu, sent students to China to learn Chinese culture and technology. As well, Buddhism was brought in from India and, later on, it bore heavily upon literature, arts, architecture and, most notably, the indigenous philosophy of Confucianism. Such international exchanges quickly created a new demand for officials capable of dealing with foreign affairs – a demand which was also to be met by higher education.

During the eras of Wei, Jin, and North and South dynasties (A.D. 220 - 589), international cultural and educational exchanges expanded greatly. Some important books, such as *The Analects of Confucius*, *The Five Classics*, and *The Thousand-Character Essay*, as well as Chinese characters, were introduced to Japan, Korea, and some other neighboring countries. Through such books, China exercised great influences on those countries' cultural and educational development and state building.

3. THE TANG-SONG-YUAN PERIOD

The Sui and Tang dynasties (A.D. 581-907) saw an unprecedented stability of power and economic prosperity. In effect, science and technology, culture and education reached the most advanced level thus far. The Sui dynasty instituted the Imperial Officer Selection Examinations (*keju kaoshi zhidu*; IOSEs) on a belief that, in order to support the imperial reign and central bureaucracy, it was necessary to select competent officers. The IOSEs actually gathered intellectuals from all across the country. Those intellectuals took administrative positions at different levels of government and, eventually, became an integral part of the state apparatus. The IOSEs developed further during the subsequent Tang dynasty and played an impressive role in political, cultural and educational development. Based mainly on Confucian books, the IOSEs strengthened the relationship between the *Taixue* and the state authority. The uniformity of its contents served to maintain among the bureaucrats cultural unity and consensus on basic values.

Examinations were held on county, provincial and national levels, and provided opportunities not only to the Chinese people but also to foreigners residing in China. By the IOSEs, the Tang emperor drew competent officers extensively. In comparison with the hereditary aristocracy of Europe at that time, the institution of IOSEs was a very effective means of state building. During the Song dynasty (A.D. 960 - 1279), some neighboring countries such as Vietnam and Korea implemented the same institution for their own state building. Xiong (2002) observes that the modern European institution of civil service examination was also influenced by China's IOSEs.

Due to Tang's open and friendly foreign policies, international exchanges as well became much more frequent than ever before. Chang'an, Tang's capital, became the center of Asian culture and education, where students from many other regions and countries, such as Tufan, Shilla, Baekje, Goguryeo, Persia, Tianzhu and Japan, came in large numbers to acquire advanced knowledge and technology. Foreign students in Chang'an could stay as long as they liked. They were treated equally as Chinese students both in studies and in everyday life. Their number exceeded one thousand during the Zhenguan years (A.D. 627 - 649). Some of them passed the IOSEs and obtained positions in Tang's officialdom (Yu 2000). The foreigners were involved in Tang's social activities as well. Many of them returned to their country and helped spread Tang's culture and education.

During the same Tang dynasty, on the other hand, China learned a great deal from other countries via various exchanges. Roman medical skills and acrobatics were brought into China. Some foreign religions such as Islam and Manichaeism were introduced to

China. Remarkably, Buddhism quickly got absorbed by numerous Chinese scholars and students. Also, it influenced China's philosophy, literature, sculpture, painting, music, architecture, and even life styles. The most eminent contributor to this was Monk Xuan Zang (A.D. 602 - 664), a Buddhist scholar with an international reputation, who made a long journey to South Asian countries as far as to India to study Buddhism. Upon return to China, he translated a large number of Buddhist scriptures and contributed extraordinarily to the development of Buddhism in China and to the international cultural and educational exchanges between India and China.

During the Tang dynasty, the emperors took Buddhism as a ruling philosophy along with Confucianism and Daoism. Many students came to China from neighbouring countries such as Korea and Japan to study Buddhism or to acquire Buddhist scriptures. Chinese scholars as well – mostly monks – traveled to those countries to teach Buddhism. Indeed, the development of Buddhism in China triggered tremendous international educational exchanges at the level of higher education during the periods of the Tang and subsequent dynasties. By interacting with Confucianism and Daoism, Buddhism provided the Tang state with a secure ideological ground.

International exchanges during the Song period were not as remarkable as during the Tang period while higher education itself developed much more impressively. Scholarly societies emerged and local academies (*shuyuan*) sprang up. The *shuyuan* first appeared under the Five Dynasties (A.D. 907 - 960) when upheavals and battles destroyed most state institutions. They were sponsored privately and operated by local people or a group of intellectuals. As a supplementary form of the central official higher

institution of *Taixue*, the *shuyuan* academies fulfilled the needs of those who wanted to continue their studies for the IOSEs in spite of the civil wars. Distinguishably from the central institution of higher education, the *shuyuan* academies incorporated not only the Confucian classics but also texts and ideas that criticized and revised successive versions of classical orthodoxy (Hayhoe 1996, p. 11). As well, they allowed knowledgeable scholars and diligent disciples from various places to hold open and free lectures and discussions on Buddhism and Daoism. Even so, however, the *shuyuan* academies greatly contributed to the maintenance of the imperial system, for essentially their strivings were for revitalizing the classical texts that served imperial power (Ibid). Thanks to student fees amply collected due to the striking development of trade, industry, and maritime commerce, as well as to government support, the *shuyan* academies during the first half of the Song period took a definitive form as centers of teaching and research. They continued to flourish with ups and downs until their late 19th-century transformation to Western style colleges or universities (*xuetang*).

The Song Dynasty was succeeded by the Mongol-dominated Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1271 - 1368). The Mongols also maintained main governmental bureaucracy through the IOSEs in order to control the Chinese subjects. At the same time, they hired many non-Chinese individuals as well, such as the Mongols, the Arabs, the Muslims and the Uighurs from Central Asia – and even a European, Marco Polo – in order to deal with both internal and foreign relations.

Since the Yuan dynasty was a huge empire uniting the north and the south to the largest territory in the history of Chinese feudalism, it brought together different peoples

from various regions and expanded foreign relations and trades. In addition, the improved systems of road and water transportation, such as the re-established Silk Road to the west and the renovated Grand Canal,[2] engendered favourable conditions for social, cultural, and economic development and exchange across the country and with other countries.

It was during this period that Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant and traveller, traversed the whole of China and even served at the Great Khan's court. His dictation after returning home resulted in the well-known book, *The Travels of Marco Polo*. This book's accounts of the wealth, might, and exotic nature of China astounded the Westerners and drew many of them to China to learn and explore Chinese philosophy, arts, techniques, and so on. Accordingly, China's advanced science and technology were extensively introduced to Europe of the late Middle Ages. According to Temple (1986, p. 9), Europe owes to China a large portion of her modern achievements in agriculture, shipping, oil industry, and so on. Temple says the rudder, chain pump, chain-drive, only to name a few, all came from China. Undoubtedly, during the powerful Yuan dynasty, China and Europe were connected more closely than ever before.

4. THE MING-QING PERIOD

The Ming (A.D. 1368 - 1644) and early Qing dynasties continued to witness new expansions in international connections. The navigator Zheng He's seven-time voyages from 1405 to 1433 to what was then known as "the Western Ocean" spread Chinese culture and education to distant lands,[3] and promoted the Sino-foreign exchanges.

Unfortunately, however, the Ming dynasty with autocratic central authority had already passed its prime. Accordingly, its cultural and educational policies were no longer open and liberal; instead, it began to demonstrate a trend of cultural isolationism in such forms as its utterly high respect for Confucianism and employment of the IOSEs – in the form of the "eight-legged essay" (*baguwen*) – as an exclusive venue to the officialdom.[4] The emperors of Ming and Qing dynasties tried every means to consolidate their regimes by means of policies to control the cultural and educational activities not only of the elites but also of the ordinary people. At the same time, their arrogance as the rulers of the largest and most powerful empire in the world led them to closed-door policies on cultural and educational exchanges. Virtually, thus, China's persistent activities of international cultural and educational exchanges came to a halt and China became alienated from the outside world. This was the reason for the gap between China and the newly industrialised Western countries since the 19th century.

As Needham (1986, p. 7) points out, the bureaucratic organization of China in its earlier stages of historical development strongly helped science to grow; only in its later stages did it forcibly inhibit further growth and, in particular, prevented a breakthrough which has occurred in Europe. From 1840 on, thus, Chinese higher education had to explore new venues.

Higher educational institutions emerged in China through the long history largely in response to the rulers' desire for building a strong state. Their main function was to train intellectuals for the state bureaucracy in the interests of the rulers. Confucianism

was the fundamental ideology underlying Chinese higher education and state bureaucracy. The IOSEs worked as channels between the state and those higher educational institutions and contributed to the cultural uniformity of educated officers. Thanks to the development of higher education, state bureaucracy improved and state power increased.

While the influences of China's state power expanded to the peripheries and beyond, her higher education developed international connections and cultural and educational exchanges with those regions and countries. Heterogeneous thoughts were allowed to come into China. Confucianism tolerated the development of foreign values, particularly Buddhist values. Such a toleration helped strengthen the state, and, as well, fostered the spread of Chinese culture and advanced science and technology.

Nevertheless, this tradition was interrupted during the several hundred years of Ming-Qing dynasties. Then in 1840, both the state and higher educational institutions were shaken by the sudden invasion in 1840 of the now powerful Westerners.

Chapter 3

Strengthening the State through Higher Education's International Connections: 1840-1911

The world around 1840 witnessed an unprecedented expansion of the West over the East largely due to the latter's explosive development of capitalist economy. In contrast, China had been maintaining isolation policies established since the late Ming Dynasty based on her arrogance as the most powerful country in the world. The isolation policies left the China at the dawn of the 19th century very backward compared with "smaller" Western countries. The Chinese government banned the opium trade in 1839, which made up trade surplus for Western countries in the limited commercial contacts with China. The Western countries employed military might to force China into normal trade relationships. The two Opium Wars (1840 – 1842 and 1856 – 1860) thus broke out. China was defeated and a number of foreign countries entered into the largest Eastern country and extracted from her a series of unfair treaties. Since then, the ageing Qing dynasty's sovereignty was infringed upon, and its state apparatus shaken. Politically, economically, and culturally, China came under the competitive control of invasive Westerners.

Under such circumstances, Chinese leaders and educators felt it was high time to change the state and higher education. Their primary strategy was to learn from the West. In fact, the Western invasion enlightened many individuals, groups and even officials of

their *national* interests in a new era. They launched numerous activities and movements to rejuvenate their country to a strong and independent country by adopting Western knowledge and technology. For them, the reform of higher education was a burning issue. Therefore, they began to make enormous efforts to learn from and cooperate with the West.

This chapter examines Chinese higher education's reactions with focus on influential discourse of "*Xixuedongjian*" (western learning flowing east), the *Taiping* Rebellion, the *Yangwu* (westernization) Movement, the *Bairiweixin* (the hundred days' reform) Movement, and the *Xinzheng* (new policy) Movement.

1. THE *XIXUEDONGJIAN* DISCOURSE

The two Opium Wars placed feudal China in a semi-colonial state. Enlightened individuals and groups began to argue for the importance of introducing advanced knowledge and technology and, thereby, modernizing their country. They were fully aware that China's defeat was due to the lack of a modern economy, which in turn was due to the lack of advanced knowledge and technology, and a strong state power. Their activities emerged soon after the first Opium War. Their eminent leaders included such intellectuals and officials as Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan, and Gong Zizhen.

Wei Yuan is considered the first intellectual to advocate the learning of advanced Western knowledge. He brought up the famous catch phrase "*shiyi changji yi zhiyi*," which meant, "You have to take from the barbarians what makes them strong if you wish

to defeat them." In his view, the Westerners could win in the first Opium War because their science and technology allowed them to build a solid economy to support a strong military force, which was an essential component of their state apparatus. His view was shared widely by other intellectuals and officials who believed it necessary for China to learn from the reforms of Western countries in order "to reform [China's] internal politics, better economic system, enrich the country, enforce the armies, and fight against the invasion of the imperial forces" (Mao and Shen 1988, p. 1). What Wei bore in mind was principally the reform of China's outdated education system, whose function was solely the preparation for the IOSEs. Wei wanted a new education system that would focus on Western science and technology. This "X*ixuedongjian*" discourse affected greatly the reform activities especially in education during the post-Opium-War period.

In fact, "*Xixuedongjian*" was not a new concept: it was first used as early as during the late Ming dynasty with the arrival of the Italian Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci. The latter's missionary activities in southern China marked the beginning of Chinese Christianity in modern times (Mao and Shen 1988, p. 10). Like Marco Polo before him, Ricci too made China known to Europe by his travel stories and translations. Moreover, his introduction of Western scientific knowledge and technology inspired curiosity and interests among some traditional Confucian literati and officials. Unfortunately, however, the Chinese government failed to grasp the potentials of the knowledge and technology for the consolidation and enhancement of its state power and apparatus. It was after China's loss in the first Opium War that the catchword "*Xixuedongjian*" began to spread

widely, triggering the establishment of foreign missionary schools and numerous Chinese diplomats' accounts of their experiences abroad (Ibid.).

2. THE *TAIPING* REBELLION

The ideas borne by the *Xixuedongjian* discourse were put into forceful practice by the Taiping rebels. The Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) broke out between the two Opium Wars. The movement was by nature a peasant rebellion yet it quickly developed to the largest ever anti-Manchu revolution directly challenging and actually destabilizing the senile Qing dynasty.

Hong Xiuquan, the top leader of the rebellion, had some limited understanding of Christianity and admired Western knowledge, which he applied to organizing his followers and launching the rebellion. He organized the God Worshipping Community (*Baishangdihui*) to spread his Christian ideas as an alternative to traditional Chinese philosophies. In fact, however, he interpreted his supposedly Western God as if it represented the central morality and values of Confucianism, because Confucian education was still well entrenched. Therefore, his Christianity was to a large extent Confucianism without Confucius (Spence 1998, p. 19). His blended thought, however, helped make Western ideas easily acceptable to his followers, most of whom were peasants.

After establishing the *Taiping Tianguo* (Taiping Heavenly Kingdom) in Nanjing in 1853, Hong employed a series of educational and economic policies to consolidate his

regime. Most of the policies were contained in "The New Essay on Economics and Politics" (*zizheng xinpian*). The architect of this political blueprint was Hong Rengan, his cousin who had studied in Hong Kong, a boomtown under British capitalism, and this man incorporated many Western ideas into the policy document.

The Taiping leaders and policy makers wished to use Western knowledge and technology in training a group of intellectuals with practical knowledge and new ideas for the country. Their school curriculum would include such scientific subjects as astronomy, geography, mechanism, and so on. And their schools would allow any suitable foreigners to teach so long as they did not interfere with China's internal affairs. The Taiping leaders also encouraged their people to apply scientific knowledge to their daily practices and innovative technological development so that they could contribute to the new state's projects (Mao and Shen 1987, p. 157). The Taiping leaders hoped Western knowledge would strengthen the power of their regime, especially the military power, in their fight against the Qing government. In 1853, the Taiping government introduced its own IOSEs. Unlike that of the Qing government, Taiping's Examinations did not focus on Confucian classics. Instead, they asked about Taiping publications such as *Jiu Yizhao Shengshu* (Revised Old Testament) and *Xin Yizhao Shengshu* (Revised New Testament), which contained a mixture of Christian thoughts and Western knowledge (Mao and Shen 1988, pp. 60-65; Sun 1992, pp. 505-510). The graduates of Taiping schools who had passed the Examinations would be employed as government officers.

The Taiping regime also encouraged international trade. It repeatedly emphasized their free trade policy in discussions with foreign representatives. Special licenses were

issued to foreign merchants and special officers were assigned to facilitate foreign mercantile relations (Jian 1973, p. 149). This greatly stimulated the development of Taiping's economy, and thus increased the power of the regime.

Overall, even though Hong Xiuquan's mixture of Christian and Confucian ideas yielded policies wandering halfway between Western modernity and Chinese feudalism, such policies deserve a fair attention. Especially to be noted here is the emphasis on learning Western knowledge and technology and selecting officers who were competent in operating with such knowledge and technology for the purpose of reinforcing the regime by means of an efficient bureaucracy. Although the regime eventually collapsed upon being defeated by the combined forces of Qing armies and Western allies, as well as due to corruption and dissension, it bore tremendously upon the subsequent Chinese efforts for modernization and internationalization.

3. THE *YANGWU* MOVEMENT

The Qing government faced repeated crises in the wake of foreign invasion and the Taiping rebellion. Enlightened officials began to carry out their own kinds of reforms by borrowing from the West. Their efforts, which they made from the 1860s until the 1890s, are commonly referred to as the "*Yangwu* Movement." Prominent in this movement were Li Hongzhang, Zeng Guofan, Zhang Zhidong, Zuo Zongtang, and Shen Baozhen. The purpose of this movement was to improve their country' military power, economy and bureaucracy. For this, the officials advocated "wealth pursuing" (*qiufu*) and

"self-strengthening" (*ziqiang*) (Mao and Shen 1988, p. 106). Educational reforms were of their major concern and, naturally, conceived of in the context of borrowing "Western learning" (*xixue*).

Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong take major credit for the vigorous educational reforms in this period, especially for the establishment of Western-style modern schools and institutions. Li was a high-rank Qing official. From his own experience of suppressing the Taiping rebels with the help of Western weapons and even Western commanders, Li learned that the source of Western power was technology (*keji*). He recommended the Qing government to learn how to manufacture "machines that make machines" (Li 1905) in order to modernize the military. With Zeng Guofan, in 1865, Li established the Jiangnan Arsenal of Shanghai in the hope that the arsenal would eventually produce machines useful to agriculture and industry (Liu 1994a, p. 7). Li's emphasis on Western technology was also reflected in the educational reforms pursued by himself or by other officials.

Zhang Zhidong was an influential scholar-bureaucrat who most actively sought to introduce modern schools. He also believed that China must develop her defense by means of Western technology and developed an interest in Western learning as a key to China's economic prosperity and popular well-being (Ayers 1971, p. 98). This belief was summarily reflected in his famous statement, "Self-strength is born of power, power of knowledge, and knowledge, in turn, of learning" (Zhang 1898, p. 1). The famous slogan, "Chinese learning for the foundation, Western learning for practical use" (*Zhongxue weiti, Xixue weiyong*) is commonly attributed to him. The idea contained in this slogan

was that the Chinese should master and adopt Western knowledge, particularly practical skills, for specific purposes while keeping the essence of Chinese culture and moral values for directing the choice and orientation of those purposes. Although the slogan did not appear with this exact wording in Zhang's work, his ideas concerning the *ti* (foundation) and *yong* (practical use) dichotomy and a harmonious coexistence of Chinese and Western learning were widely accepted by other reformers (Ayers 1971, p. 151). Between 1886 and 1899, Zhang personally planned and founded eight modern schools blending Western learning and Chinese learning in Guangdong and Hubei (Ayers 1971, pp. 105-106; Hayhoe 1996, p. 37).

In what follows, I shall discuss some of the major educational reforms that materialized due to the *Yangwu* movement.

(1) Reform of the IOSEs

Increasingly aware of the importance of Western knowledge to enhance the state's power and bureaucracy, Li Hongzhang, in a 1874 memorandum to the throne, attacked the IOSEs that used eight-legged essay and calligraphy as the method of assessing candidates. He suggested the addition of a new category of test on Western knowledge and technology. He also proposed that a Bureau of Western Learning (*Yangxuechu*) be created in each province involved in coastal defense, where science and technology (including such subjects as chemistry, electricity and gunnery) would be taught by carefully chosen Western instructors, as well as by qualified Chinese (Liu 1994c, p. 67).

Although proposals for reforming the IOSEs in light of practicability were not unprecedented in Chinese history, Li was the first to suggest that knowledge originating from an alien people – the "barbarians" – be a criterion for the selection of government officers (Liu 1994b, p. 40). However, his proposal failed to be accepted by the government because of opposition from the conservatives.

(2) Establishment of Western-Style Modern Schools and Institutions

The most valuable fruits of the *Yangwu* movement were indisputably the creation of new Western-style modern schools. Such schools can be classified under three categories: military and technical schools, institutions of foreign languages created by imperial decrees, and some new local Western-style colleges set up by provincial landowners or scholar-officials in specific regions or locations.

Military and Technical Schools

The leaders in the *Yangwu* movement were concerned about the improvement of Qing's military power and defensive capacity. They therefore set up several Western-style military and technical schools, which focused on military skills and technical subjects. The Fuzhou Navy Yard School was established in 1866 under the leadership of Zuo Zongtang and Shen Baozheng. The school taught naval architectural engineering and navigation skills along with the electives of English or French language. The graduates took positions in the navy, and some of them were sent to England or France for further

training. The school was operated jointly by two French military officers, P. Giquel and P. d'Aiguebelle (Leibo 1985, pp. 61-99). Other schools included the Shanghai Machinery School established by Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guofan (in affiliation with the Jiangnan Arsenal); the Tianjin Navy Yard School; the Tianjin School of Telegraphy; the Guangdong Naval and Military Officers' School; and the Wuchang Military Preparatory School.

Institutions of Foreign Languages

The officials of the *Yangwu* movement believed that institutions of foreign languages were particularly necessary because they had experienced first-hand language barriers while on diplomatic duties and because they understood that learning foreign languages was the gateway to foreign knowledge. The Imperial Institution of Foreign Languages in Beijing (*Jingshi tongwen guan*), established in 1862, was the first and most prestigious. Prince Gong, the brother of Emperor Xianfeng, emphasized in his memorandum to the throne that "[i]n order to have a good knowledge of other countries" it was a must to "master their languages," and that "the acquisition of their languages would prevent oppression by foreign forces" (Yu 2000). This memorandum demonstrated the purpose of establishing the *Jingshi tongwen guan*, as well as other institutions such as the Shanghai Institution of Foreign Languages established in 1863 and the Guangzhou Institution of Foreign Languages established in 1864.

The curriculum of those institutions included a number of foreign languages. English was the foremost, and French, Russian, German, and Japanese courses were

added. At a proposal by Prince Gong and Li Hongzhang, in 1867, a Department of Astronomy and Mathematics was newly added to teach such subjects as astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, physics, geography, and so on, so as to "assure the steady growth of the power of the empire" (Teng and Fairbank 1954, p. 75). Since Chinese teachers were unfamiliar with these new subjects, professors from the West were invited to these institutions.

Historians of education take the *Jingshi tongwen guan* as the beginning of the modern form of education in China, because it was the first modern form of school taking the Western model. Also, its curriculum was predominantly Western. It was a product of cooperation between the Chinese government and foreign forces. It successfully trained many interpreters and diplomats, who later on joined the government to play important roles in promoting interaction between China and Western countries. In 1902, it joined the Imperial University (*Jingshi daxuetang*), one of China's earliest modern national universities, as the latter's College of Foreign Languages.

Local Western-style Colleges

A number of new local Western-style colleges emerged during this period through the efforts of some patriotic landowners, industrialists, and scholar-bureaucrats. Examples are the Shanghai Science College (*Gezhi shuyuan*), established in 1876 by Xu Shou; the Hangzhou Truth-Seeking College (*Qiushi shuyuan*), established in 1897 by Lin Qi; the Wuchang Hunan-Hubei College (*Lianghu shuyuan*), established in 1890; the Self-Strengthening College (*Ziqiang xuetang*), established in 1893 by Zhang Zhidong; and the

Changsha College of Current Affairs (*Shiwu xuetang*), established by Chen Baojian in 1897. All these colleges involved cooperation with foreigners to a large extent in the establishment and operation. They focused on teaching Western knowledge ranging from foreign languages and science subjects to economics and business, together with Chinese learning. For instance, the Shanghai Science College was sponsored and operated by Chinese intellectual Xu Shou and British scholar John Fryer.[1] Its students learned Western sciences and history as well as Chinese history and culture. Its administration also followed the Western style (Yu 2000).

(3) Sending Students Abroad

Increasingly aware of the importance of Western knowledge for strengthening and developing the Chinese state, the *Yangwu* advocates considered the establishment of modern schools and institutions at home to be insufficient. They were eager to send students abroad for "the secrets of Western manufacturing" and "everything that Westerners [were] skilled at" (Yu 2000). The officers – including Rong Hong,[2] Li Hongzhang, and Zeng Guofan – persuaded the Qing government to organize the first Chinese Educational Mission to the United States. Through this program, during three years from 1872 to 1875, the Qing government sent over 120 Chinese students to the United States for studying military administration, shipping administration, mathematics, manufacturing, and other subjects (Teng and Fairbank 1954, p. 91; Qian and Hu 2004).

All the expenses of their studies were paid by the government, which believed that those youths would be the hope of a stronger China.

Although the program was opposed and suspended later by the conservatives in the government who feared that the students would become too Westernized, over fifty of them made it to an American university or college. Many of them, upon returning home, contributed to their country in the fields of railway, mining, telegraphy, diplomacy and higher education. According to the statistics of LaFarge (1942, as cited in Yu 2000), those who took important positions constituted 53% of these students, and 44% of them became teachers, engineers, technicians, doctors, lawyers and other professionals.

In 1896, the Qing government sent thirty students to England and France for technical training. Missionaries and overseas Chinese also played an important role in sponsoring Chinese students studying abroad. Sun Zhongshan was one such example (Teng and Fairbank 1954, p. 91).[3]

Sending students abroad was a very important component of the educational reforms of the *Yangwu* movement and bore greatly upon the internationalization of higher education. It was a demonstration of the enlightened officers' determination to strengthen ties with Western countries and, at the same time, to acquire competent individuals for state building.

(4) Missionary Schools

Western-style modern schools and institutions were also introduced by the missionaries. The first of such schools was the American Morrison School established in 1839 in Macao. The number of missionary schools grew quickly during the last quarter of the 19th century. Thus in 1899, some 2,000 missionary schools were accommodating as many as 40,000 students (Yu 2000). In the early 20th century, many of them expanded their educational programs to the level of higher education. In their earliest years, they made efforts to do most of the teaching in Chinese; gradually, however, they adopted English as the main language of instruction especially for Western subjects (Hayhoe 1996, p. 39).

The main purposes of the missionary schools were to convert students to Christianity. The schools were independent from China's official educational system and served Western interests in colonizing China. Nevertheless, many of their graduates made significant contribution to the development of China and the Chinese state (Karen 1994). As well, their school administration and curriculum on many occasions became models for the construction of China's own modern higher educational institutions. Especially, their use of Chinese learning for Western ends provided a fascinating alternative to the utilitarianism of government schools which sought to use Western learning for state building (Hayhoe 1996, p. 39). In the 1920s, all the missionary schools and universities became integrated into the Chinese system of modern higher education as will be discussed in the next chapter.

4. THE *BAIRIWEIXIN* MOVEMENT

Especially after Japan's *Meiji* Restoration 1868, and China's loss at the first Sino-Japanese War (the *Jiawu* War), 1894-1895, progressive scholars and reformers pointed out that it was not enough for the Chinese state to try to strengthen itself with the help of Western sciences and technology. They emphasized the need for institutional and ideological changes. Prominent among such scholars and reformers were Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, who argued that China had all the resources of greatness but was held back because her "political system of today [was] not modern but old" (Liang 1896; Teng and Fairband 1954, p. 156). Initiated and advised by them, in 1898, Emperor Guangxu issued edicts aiming to transform the state system to a constitutional monarchy *à la* the Western model. This so-called the Hundred Days' Reform (*Bairiweixin*) lasted only 103 days due to opposition from the conservative elites, including the Empress Dowager Cixi. The *Bairiweixin* platform covered a broad range of education reform agendas including the abolition of the *baguwen*-focused IOSEs, the advocacy of broader Western learning, the implementation of a three-level schooling system, the reform of old *shuyuan* academies, and the establishment of *xuetang* (Mao and Wei 1988, p. 306). Most of the agendas were eventually addressed by the Qing government in the phase of the *Xinzheng* Movement (1901 – 1911).

The Hundred Days' Reform bore some immediate fruits, the most notable of which was the birth of the Imperial University (*Jingshi daxuetang*) of Beijing, the first modern university established by the Qing government. The young Emperor Guangxu was acutely aware that the *rencai* (the educated individuals) were key factors for the

building of a strong state and only modern universities could provide them. The Constitution of the Imperial University was drafted by Liang Qichao modeling on the Imperial University of Tokyo. It gave the University a leading position in the entire education system of China setting models for operating higher education and standards towards which secondary schools to prepare their students. Its curriculum covered Western subjects in various fields, as well as Chinese classics virtually in the spirit of Zhang Zhidong's slogan, "*Zhongxue weiti, Xixue weiyong*." It became the Beijing University (*Beida*) in 1912.

5. THE *XINZHENG* MOVEMENT

The *Bairiweixin* movement failed to place the Chinese state on the way of modernization. In 1900, the Chinese state was once again humiliated by the Eight Power Allied Forces (*baguo lianjun*) which invaded on the pretext of suppressing the anti-foreign Boxer Uprising. On the edge of partition by the invading countries, the Qing government, at the insistence of Zhang Zhidong and Zhang Baixi, revived the reform measures previously proposed by *Bairiweixin* officers for the purpose of saving the dynasty. Through this *Xinzheng* (new policies) movement (1901–1911), notably, the institution of IOSEs was abolished, together with the feudal educational system training intellectuals in the Confucian learning for the examinations. Major measures for higher education reform taken in this *Xinzheng* movement included the transformation of old

shuyuan academies to new *xuetang* (modern colleges or universities) and the sending of more students abroad.

(1) *Xuetang* Universities

As mentioned above, the Hundred Days' Reform gave the Imperial University (*Jingshi daxuetang*) a leading position in the entire education system. Its model was followed by numerous universities bearing "*xuetang*" in their names, including state and provincial universities and specialized universities. These *xuetang* universities all adopted the way in which the *Jingshi daxuetang* operated. Supports and influences from foreign countries were vital and apparent for those new form of universities.

Since a large number of today's national universities originate from the *xuetang* universities, one can say, many universities in today's China have a long tradition of having foreign connections and are seeking IHE basically in that tradition. Table 1 demonstrates the foreign connections of key national universities.

It should be noted that the *Jingshi daxuetang*, the *Beiyang daxuetang* and the *Shanxi daxuetang* were the first three, as well as the only three Chinese contemporary state universities proclaimed by the Qing government in this movement. Their establishment marked the termination of the old higher educational institutions (Hayhoe 1996, p. 3; Yang 2000). The *Beiyang daxuetang*, in particular, was established by the Chinese industrialist Sheng Xuanhuai with the support of the American educator Charles

D. Tenney. The *Shanxi daxuetang* was the first case in which the Boxer indemnity funds (*genzi peikuan*) were used to fund higher education.

Table 1. Foreign Connections of Some National Universities

Shuyuan **(Established)**	***Xuetang*** **(Transformed or Established)**	**Related Country**	**Current Name**
Qiushi shuyuan (1897)	*Zhejiang Qiushi xuetang* (1901)	America	Zhejiang University
Yuelu shuyuan (958 A.D.)	*Hunan gaodengxuetang* (1903)	N/A	Hunan University
	Ziqiang xuetang (1893)[4]	N/A	Wuhan University
	Jingshi daxuetang (1898)	Japan	Beijing University
	Beiyang xixuexuetang (1895)[5]	America	Tianjin University
	Shanxi daxuetang (1902)	England	Shanxi University
	Tsinghua xuetang (1911)	America	Tsinghua University
	Fudan gongxue (1902)	France	Fudan University
	Nanyang gongxue (1896)	America	Shanghai Jiao Tong University
	Sanjiang Shifan xuetang (1902)	America	Nanjing University
	Sanjiang Shifan xuetang (1902)	America	Southeast University
	Tongji Dewen yixuetang (1907)	Germany	Tongji University
	Shandong daxuetang (1901)	America	Shandong University

(Source: Data collected from the history story of each university.)

(2) Sending Students Abroad

Ever since the first Chinese Educational Mission abroad in the 1870s, sending students abroad has been an indispensable part of the Qing government's effort to

produce competent officers for the state bureaucracy. Zhang Zhidong (1903) suggested that successful overseas students be bestowed with the titles of *jinshi* and *juren* – the titles which were accorded to the successful candidates at provincial and central IOSEs – while those who held such titles from the IOSEs not appointed unless they had studied abroad. During the period of *Xinzheng* movement, the number of students sent abroad by the government increased greatly. At the same time, more and more Chinese students ventured to go abroad to study by self-support.

The countries most favoured by the students were Japan and the United States. Japan was attractive to them because it set a model case for successful modernization by absorbing Western technology and institutions. Geographic proximity and relatively low cost of study were additional reasons. Meanwhile, Japan accepted many self-supporting students and revolutionaries expelled after unsuccessful *Bairiweixin* reform movement, such as Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and their disciples. Between 1989 and 1906, Chinese students in Japan, both government-sponsored and self-supportive, reached 14,000 (Sanetô 1983, p. 36), a number greatly exceeding that for the United States or for Europe (Yu 2000). Overseas students in Japan during this period helped Sun Zhongshan's United League (*Tongmenghui*), organized in 1905 in Tokyo for a "nationalist" revolution against the Manchu-ruled Qing regime. This organization later became the Nationalist Party (*Guomindang*).

On the other hand, student migration to the United States was further stimulated by the implementation in 1909 of a scheme sponsored from the American Boxer Indemnity Funds (*genkuan liuxue jihua*). As part of the scheme, a Tsinghua *xuetang* was

established in 1911 as a language school for preparing young Chinese for study in the United States. It became today's Tsinghua University in 1928, a comprehensive university holding an equally prestigious position as Beijing University. Through the scheme, the Qing government first sent 180 students in three groups to the United States (Cao 2004). The number grew impressively after the founding of the Republic of China. According to Cao (2004), some 1,045 students went to the United States through the Qinghua *xuetang* between 1912 and 1929. Also, some students were studying in such European countries as England, France, Germany and Belgium.

A large number of reformers and progressive revolutionaries emerged from those who studied in Japan and made decisive contributions to the dramatic changes of China at the beginning of the 20th century, for example, Zou Rong, Zhang Binglin, and Lu Xun who participated in the founding of the Republic of China 1911. Jiang Jieshi and Liao Zhongkai became leaders of the Nationalist government of 1927. Some famous educators and scientists such as Mei Yiqi, Hu Shi, and Zhu Kezhen were American-educated.

After the first Opium War of 1840, which degraded the Chinese state to a semi-colonial status, many Chinese individuals and groups came to be aware of the power of Western technology. Enlightened leaders and reformers made efforts to introduce Western knowledge into Chinese higher education in order to generate competent workers for the government and society who would defend and strengthen the Chinese state. During the period from 1840 to 1911, overall, Chinese higher education became heavily influenced by foreign countries. Undoubtedly, this was predominantly due to the

invasion of Western countries with their powerful military forces and advanced sciences and technology. For this reason, the IHE in China has often been stigmatized as evidence for foreign cultural and educational colonization. True, Western countries tried to control and exploit China and educational connections for that purpose. On the other side of the coin, however, they contributed to the spreading of advanced Western ideas and to the formation of a modern system of higher education.

Chinese leaders and policy makers consistently sought to solve their educational as well as other problems through Western learning, and at the same time, tried to maintain the essence of Chinese traditions. From this perspective, they willingly accepted, rather than rejected, the enormous foreign entry into Chinese higher education. Since the inauguration of the Republic of China in 1911, the connections of higher education with foreign countries further developed in the service of China's *national* interest.

Chapter 4

Internationalization of Higher Education and Independence: 1911-1976

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Xinhai Revolution of 1911 overthrew the Qing dynasty and installed the Republic of China. The new government of Sun Zhongshan's Nationalist Party carried out a series of reforms embracing liberal democratic philosophies and rejecting Confucian doctrines. Sun's reform program was based on his doctrine of "s*anminzhuyi*" (three principles containing "min" in names), namely, *minzuzhuyi* (nationalism), *minquanzhuyi* (democracy), and *minshengzhuyi* (the livelihood of the people). This doctrine was heavily influenced by democratic thoughts from Western countries, the United States in particular. Sun applied those thoughts to China for the purpose of making it a strong, modern nation. The accomplishment of this purpose, Sun (1912) believed, required solid education because the strength of a nation depended on the quality of education. The creation and employment of intelligent individuals, Sun (1894) wrote, depended on the system of education and the appointment of competent officers, for which China could borrow amply from the West.

Sun's reforms, however, did not progress smoothly. The Republic of China was disrupted twice by two brief *coups d'état*, each attempting to restore monarchy.

Subsequently, the Republic was made substantially dysfunctional by the warlords who occupied large portions of the territory. This frustrated those intellectuals who aspired to their country's independence and modernization. Soon, however, their frustration turned positively to a growing movement of patriotic intellectuals – the New Culture Movement of 1915 under the leadership of Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Hu Shi and Lu Xun. All of these figures had studied in Japan, in the United States, or in Europe and advocated democracy and science – two fundamental conditions, in their common view, for independence and modernization.

In 1919, under the influence of the October Revolution of 1917, the May Fourth Movement erupted. Workers, students and businessmen stood up to struggle for national sovereignty against the imperialist countries and the removal of traitors at home. The Movement was a thoroughly anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolutionary movement and enlightened the people of the Chinese *nationality*. This movement, as well, received a great deal of foreign influences. Most notable was the introduction of Marxism, which attracted a large number of converts from intellectuals and resulted in the formation of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

The Nationalist Party became more organized and powerful through battles against the warlords. After Jiang Jieshi's Northern Expedition (*beifa*) of 1926 it succeeded in restoring political stability. The effective central government, in interaction with Western countries, founded modern universities and consolidated the system of higher education. At the same time, it supported programs of sending students to other countries. After the second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1945, a civil war between the

Nationalists and the Communists broke out. The war ended in 1949 with the latter's victory and the founding of the People's Republic of China. During the early years of socialist construction, 1949-1956, international connections in higher education tilted exclusively towards socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. Since the 1957 break-up of Sino-Soviet relationship, however, international connections virtually ceased to exist until the end in 1976 of the decade-long Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The rest of this chapter examines four phases of IHE associated with the nation building. (1) It will begin with the Nationalist government's early university reforms with focus on the periods of the New Culture Movement, the warlords period, and the period after 1927. (2) It will then discuss the Nationalist government's endeavours to restore national sovereignty in higher education. (3) Then it will examine the programs and regulations of sending students abroad before 1949. Finally, (4) it will discuss the Sino-Soviet relations between 1949 and 1956.

2. UNIVERSTITY REFORMS

The New Culture Movement inspired a consciousness of anti-feudalism and nationalism. At the same time, it invigorated aspirations for learning from the West for the purpose of building a modern *nation* by means of education. Some of the writers participating in the movement introduced the ideas of John Dewey and William H. Kilpatrick concerning progressive education as guidelines for reforms against the traditional Confucian education. Notably, Dewey's *Democracy and Education* was

widely read by teachers and educational researchers. However, their ideas affected mainly reforms of elementary and secondary education. Major reforms in higher education did not take place until Cai Yuanpei's takeover of Beijing University in 1917.

Cai studied in Germany and France. He was a member of the Nationalist Party and strongly supported Sun's doctrine of *sanminzhuyi*. Like Sun, he was convinced that a nation's development depended on the academic performances of educational institutions – universities in particular. Cai (1930) observed that academic strength would lead to the strengthening of the nation and, on the contrary, academic fragility and intellectual inferiority would cause the weakening of the nation. In 1912, he drafted for Sun's government a Legislation Concerning Universities (*Daxueling*), in which he stipulated that the universities should teach profound academics for the purpose of creating "erudite talents" for the nation's needs (Gan 2004). As well, Cai (1917) contended that the university was "a place to search profound knowledge" on behalf of the nation.

Cai's ideas about higher education were greatly influenced by Wilhelm von Humboldt's philosophy of liberal education as reflected in the organization of the University of Berlin, which Humboldt himself founded in 1810 as a "Mother of all modern universities." Humboldt's concept in organising the University of Berlin was a "University litterarum" aiming at a unity of teaching and research and an all-round humanist education. Cai applied this concept to Beijing University. He sought to transform his university to an institution of liberal education, which embraced extensive knowledge and various perspectives (Cai 1918). He allowed all kinds of professors to lecture at his university regardless of their specialization and political orientation so long

as they promoted academic values. Any viewpoint, provided it was based on scholarship, he allowed to be aired and discussed in the spirit of "academic freedom and tolerance" (*xueshu ziyou, jianrong bingbao*). As regards Western learning, Cai (1918) stressed that Chinese scholars should take only advanced knowledge instead of seeking an all-out Westernization. As regards Chinese learning, meanwhile, he argued for revealing the secrets of Chinese essence with scientific methods instead of merely preserving it (Cai 1918). Cai's administrative reform of Beijing University followed a "professorial rule" (*jiaoshouzhixiao*) (Cai 1927; Hayhoe 1996, p. 43). In this rule, while important decisions were to be made through a dual system consisting a senate (*pingyi hui*) of deans of faculties and a body of representatives elected by professors, academic matters related to curriculum and teaching belonged to the latter's jurisdiction. As well, Cai placed arts and sciences in the center of the university -- instead of laws and politics which have been dominant since 1898 when the university's focus was on preparing students for government position (Hayhoe 1996, p. 46).

Cai's reform turned Beijing University into a significantly democratic institution and, for that reason, a model for university reforms elsewhere in China. This was an exemplar case of a conscientious Chinese educator's applying advanced European ideas to the construction of a modern and efficient system of higher education in order therewith to contribute to nation building. More importantly, his endeavours greatly emancipated and promoted the consciousness of the Chinese people's nationality. At Cai's time, Beijing University became actually the academic center of all universities and the seminary of Marxist and other political thoughts. Not surprisingly, the anti-feudal and

anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement was initiated by Beijing University students who had imbibed "profound and advanced" knowledge.

After Cai's time, however, higher education in China came under the influence of the "pragmatist" scholars who had returned from the United States. It was largely because the number of Chinese students studying in that country increased rapidly. Between 1910 and 1924 the number increased from 600 to 2,200, and many were returning to serve in China's education system (Hayhoe 1984, p. 38). The evident American influence could be seen in the "*Renxu Xuezhi*" legislation of 1922. In this law, the definition of university embraced any institution of higher education, even those specialized in particular fields. The law also adopted a university administration system with an American-style Board of Managers, responsible for finance, planning and other policy decisions, and a credit system that led to innovative and largely unregulated approaches to the curriculum (Hayhoe 1996, p. 47). As a result, the number of American-type universities grew that offered instruction in both basic disciplines and various applied fields of study. In effect, the total enrolment of students rose.

After the instalment of the first stable government in 1927, educational policies and legislations were geared to serve nation building as guided by the doctrine of *sanminzhuyi*. The American-patterned universities gave equal importance to the pure and applied knowledge fields and included a broad range of curricular areas. A legislation passed in 1929 confirmed this pattern but laid emphasis on strengthening the pure and applied sciences vital to economic modernization (Hayhoe 1989, p. 16). However, the American-patterned structure of higher education had some drawback for the Nationalist

government, because the students who had experienced decentralization and democracy while in universities later joined those activists who opposed the government's policy to reinforce central political control of the nation. Here, the European pattern of centralization and standardization appealed to the Nationalist leaders (Hayhoe 1996, p. 53). Thus, in 1932, European experts were invited to China under a League of Nations project to study the educational system and make recommendations for reform. The Europeans emphasized the need to strengthen basic disciplines and to centralize the administration of higher education. They suggested that the aims of the university ought to be the "advancement of knowledge, the training of those who will later hold positions of leadership in the world of science and public affairs" and "the maintenance of the cultural standards of the nation as a whole." (Becker et al. 1932, p. 139). Many of their proposals were soon adopted in legislations concerning higher education between 1933 and 1936 (Hayhoe 1989, p. 16).

Generally, the higher education reforms of the Nationalist regime were sought for mainly by adopting American and/or European models. The two models were easily integrated to serve the government's purpose of building a strong nation. European-patterned universities prepared their students for the state bureaucracy, in effect, supporting the Nationalist government. Meanwhile, American-patterned universities contributed more to economic development as expected by the same government. Actually, up until 1936, China enjoyed relative social and political stability and its economy performed well (Zhang 2003).

3. RESTORATION OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SOVEREIGNTY

Most of the missionary schools that expanded quickly during the *Yangwu* movement were registered in their native countries rather than in China. For that reason, they maintained their curriculum to the norms of their native countries; therefore, the contents of their education were foreign. As well, their principals were foreigners and their administrative boards located in foreign countries. They were totally under foreign control. At beginning of the twentieth century, many of those foreign schools transformed themselves to universities or colleges (Table 2).

Table 2. The Number of Universities and Colleges Run by Foreigners (1916)

Administrating Country	Number of Colleges	Number of Universities	Number of Students
U.S.	11	3	3,776
Britain	18	1	3,767
U.S. and Britain	5	4	1,949
France	5	1	180
Total	39	9	9,672

(Source: Mao & Shen 1988, p. 431.)

In contrast, there were only three Chinese national universities at that time.[1] The number of higher educational institutions controlled by the Chinese government was overwhelmed by that of those controlled by foreigners. This meant that young Chinese individuals were mostly trained in foreign religion rather than in what could be directly in service to their own country. This was obviously jeopardizing China's national interest. The Nationalist government was concerned about this problem. To make things worse, in 1921, a North America-based Foreign Missions Conference dispatched to China a

Committee of Reference and Counsel to investigate the state of missionary education.[2] Their trip resulted in a report of 1922 which proposed that all missionary schools in China, from the elementary level to the university level, should be organized within an integrated education system. The report also recommended that an authority of education should be established independently from the Ministry of Education to administer all missionary schools in China (Liang 1987). The Nationalists of course felt offence to their educational sovereignty.

In the same 1920s, a No Christianity Movement (*Feiji Yundong*) erupted nationally. A large number of Chinese intellectuals, students, and officials demanded ban on the proliferation of Christianity. Their target was of course missionary education. In support for this movement, President Cai Yuanpei argued that religion should be separated from education.

The Nationalist government took action with a view of restoring educational sovereignty. From 1926 on, the government released a series of regulations concerning the operation of missionary schools, requiring

> that missionary schools obtain governmental licence and register with the Chinese government;
>
> that the principal of a missionary school be a Chinese;
>
> that more than a half of the school's board be filled by Chinese members; that the director of the board be a Chinese;
>
> that religious subjects not be included in compulsory courses; and

that students not be forced to attend religious rituals (Liang 1987).

Thus, the Nationalist government took control of higher education and moved to develop a system of modern higher education that could better serve its nation building efforts. However, this did not mean the termination of foreign connections. The government continued to improve the efficiency of Chinese universities by borrowing know-hows from Western countries.

4. SENDING STUDENTS OVERSEAS

The Nationalist government continued to send students to Western countries. Two remarkable developments can be isolated for our examination. One is the work-study program for France and the other a policy regarding the selection of returned overseas students for government positions.

(1) Work-Study Program in France

After the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, some educators thought that since France was a country in which a bourgeois revolution had been thoroughly carried out and from which many modern ideas had originated, it should be a better place than any other countries for Chinese students to study if they were to contribute to the modernization of

their country (Deng 1995, p. 42). In addition, lower living costs in France made it a suitable Western country for Chinese students, especially for those from poor families who would be willing to work to support themselves. In this thought, in 1912, Li Shizeng, Wu Yuzhang, and others, with support from Cai Yuanpei, organized in Beijing a Society of Work-Study in France. They also opened a preparatory school for recruiting and preparing students for that purpose. Later in 1915, they organized in Paris another Society of Work-Study which would aid the students arriving in France. Their program was an important component of the New Culture Movement. With the development of the Movement, especially in the wake of the May Fourth Movement, the program drew a national attention. The number of young people going to France via the program increased rapidly. Between 1919 and 1920, some 1,600 young people were sent to France to study working part-time (Deng 1995, p. 43). The program had to be suspended after 1921 due to the sluggish economic condition of France; nevertheless, it eventually attained a lot more than initially expected. A large number of the work-study students learned about Marxism, which was influential in France, and adopted it as an effective tool to save China. From them emerged not only many influential scientists such as Qian Sanqiang and Yan Jici but also a large number of national statesmen such as Zhou Enlai, Den Xiaoping, Chen Yi, and Nie Rongzhen. The work-study program was one of the most remarkable events in the history of China's IHE.

(2) Selection from Overseas Students for Government Positions

With the number of students studying abroad increasing, the government directed its attention to the fact that not all students were qualified enough for support from public funds. As early as in 1909, the government held in Beijing competitive examinations in order to choose the first group of students to be sent to the United States on the Boxer indemnity funds. Out of about six hundred applicants, forty-seven students were chosen (Guo 1915, p. 98). After the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, the Nationalist government established a series of strict examinations. The Ministry of Education (MOE), in 1916, issued the Regulations on Selecting Students to Study Abroad, stipulating the qualifications of students and the measures of examinations.[3] According to the Regulations, the candidates had to pass two examinations, the first at the provincial level and the second at the national level. Both examinations covered Chinese, foreign languages and oral tests on the intended fields of studies. In 1930, the MOE proclaimed that the candidates for governmental sponsorship must be strictly examined in their reading, writing, speaking and listening competence in the related foreign language (Yang 1992, p. 788). Then, in 1933, it promulgated the Outline of Selecting Tsinghua Students with Government-Sponsorship to America, which accorded Tsinghua University the responsibility for holding examinations selecting students to the United States.[4] The Tsinghua examinations were very competitive. During the ten years between 1933 and 1943, only 132 students made it to the United States through the examinations (Zhang 2003). Affected by this development, Britain and France as well returned some indemnity funds. These funds generated more opportunities for young Chinese individuals to study in Western countries.

At the same time, there was a rapid increase in the number of Chinese students who went abroad at their own expenses, and it soon far exceeded that of those sent on governmental sponsorships. Here, the government started to regulate such students as well by issuing Regulations on Self-Supported Students in 1942,[5] requiring them to be qualified before departure (Zhang 2003).

Many of those students who managed to go to Western countries through such examinations became important contributors to China's development in the fields of military, scientific technology and higher education. Examples are the rocket expert Qian Xuesen, the master of geography and meteorology Zhu Kezhen, the 1957 Nobel Prize awardees in physics Yang Zhenning and Li Zhengdao, and the famous physical scientist and professor in Tsinghua University Zhou Peiyuan.

The Nationalist government's introduction of selection examinations signalled its policies to intervene in the IHE for quality control. Such policies, however, changed greatly after the Communist takeover of 1949.

5. THE SINO-SOVIET CONNECTION AFTER 1949

The early Communist policy makers of the People's Republic of China considered their urgent task to be building an independent socialist country with an effective state in looking after the developmental needs of the nation, or "the rehabilitation and development of the whole economy" (Mao 1950). The international political alignment of that time, as well as their Marxist-Leninist ideology, was leading the policy makers

towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.[6] The policy makers sought to learn from the experiences of those countries. Higher education was their primary venue. Reforms on universities were done by heavily borrowing from the model of Soviet universities. On the other hand, the new government continued sending students to socialist countries, especially to the Soviet Union.

As early as in 1950, the first Chinese National Conference on Higher Education was held in Beijing, in which Russian educators criticized the system of higher education established by the Nationalist government borrowing heavily from the American model (Hsu 1964). They suggested that China should take advantage of the Soviet Union's educational experiences and create a single authority to regulate the training of specialists needed for the social and economic development of the country (Orleans 1987). Thus China began in 1952 to reform higher education emulating the Soviet system and reorganizing colleges and departments under Soviet guidance (Yang 1994). A large number of Soviet experts participated in the reform as advisors to various ministries and as teachers and researchers in specific institutions. As well, all universities began to use Soviet teaching materials, plans and syllabi according to an order of the MOE (Lu 2001).

The reform resulted in a highly centralized national system of higher education. The most prestigious in this system was the Soviet-styled Renmin University with the task of developing authoritative Marxist-Leninist theories for socialist construction. Soviet-styled Polytechnic universities were also introduced to train students in the combination of theory and practice (e.g., Harbin Polytechnic University). These reforms were implemented to concentrate academic resources, such as the most competent faculty

and the best equipment and research facilities, into some important universities and programs. They were expected to reinforce some specialized fields in higher education, such as engineering, so as to speed up the process of training highly qualified personnel for China's industrialization. In this way, the government tried to enhance the efficiency and quality of higher education in training specialized professionals for economic construction as well as for the consolidation of the Communist regime.

The Soviet model showed its efficacy to a great extent under the centralized planned economy in the early years of the People's Republic. It made a vital contribution to the impressive economic growth during the First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957) and to the creation of a functional state system.

The Communist government also sent numerous students to the Soviet Union in the hope that China would achieve modernization in both science and culture by learning that country's advanced sciences and technology. Between 1950 and 1958, according to MOE statistics (1959), China sent some 16,152 students to other countries. Of them 14,798 students went to the Soviet Union and the rest headed for other socialist countries. Only 64 students went to capitalist countries. Like the previous Nationalist government, the Communist government selected students strictly. The criteria included the candidate's political backgrounds, ability in the specialized field, level of fluency in the Russian language and health condition. When they returned after completing studies, they were assigned to various positions according to their disciplines. The government's centralized administration of overseas students facilitated building a strong team of experts for the new China (Hayhoe 1996, p. 84).

While American and European higher education focused on versatility, Soviet higher education emphasized speciality suitably for the highly centralized political and economic system that was being constructed at that time. However, the Soviet system of higher education had weaknesses too, such as the separation of teaching from research and inability to promote creativity and versatility. The CPC was aware of such weaknesses as Mao Zedong wrote,

> Our policy is to learn from the strong points of all nations and all countries, learn all that is genuinely good in the political, economic, scientific and technological fields and in literature and art. But we must learn with an analytical and critical eye, not blindly, and we must not copy everything indiscriminately and transplant mechanically. Naturally, we must not pick up their shortcomings and weak points. We should adopt the same attitude in learning from the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries (Mao 1956, p. 303).

Mao's statement clearly articulated the stance that China took in learning from other countries in seeking socialist construction and upcoming international connections in higher education with other countries including the Soviet Union. Then, the tension between China and the Soviet Union in the 1960s brought to a halt further cooperation in higher education between the two countries.

Between 1911 and 1976, China underwent several political and social revolutions, so did her higher education. Nevertheless, Chinese policy makers and educators continued with their endeavors to develop a good system of higher education by learning from other countries in order thereby to support the rebuilding of their nation state and the modernization of the country.

The early People's Republic's international cooperations and exchanges in higher education with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were apparently a product of the new policy makers and educators who continued to make the same endeavours. Unfortunately, the break-up of Sino-Soviet relationship in the 1960s impeded such endeavours. This impediment was further exacerbated by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 1966–1976, which practically isolated China from the outside world. It was not until the end of this Revolution that higher education in China resumed international connections.

Chapter 5

Towards a Well-Off Nation through the Internationalization of Higher Education: 1976-2004

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution eventually came to an end in 1976 with the arrest of Gang of Four. The next year, Deng Xiaoping was reinstated and all his former important positions restored -- Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, Vice Premier of the State Council, Vice Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army. Since then, he emerged as the *de facto* leader of China and the architect of the nation's development.

The turmoil over the past dozen years meant economic stagnation and slow development of education, science and technology. Meanwhile, other countries, especially those of the Western capitalist world, developed at a tremendous speed. In order to catch up with the developed countries, Deng introduced a policy strategy that China would build a socialist country under the political control of the CPC with focus on modernizing the country. This strategy was presented in 1978 to the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. Deng suggested China should pursue "four modernizations" by drawing on the experience of other countries and by resorting to their assistance (Deng 1978a 1988) while retaining China's good traditions (Deng 1978a 1980). While maintaining the socialist system, in his vision, the government would

acquire advanced technology, science and management skills from outside as long as they were useful to the improvement of productive forces and the people's living standards.

Deng's strategy had profound effects on the field of education and research (Jan-Ingvar & Zhao 2002). It addressed education as an integral component of the nation's economic development (Deng 1978b). As Deng (1983) himself wrote, "Education should be geared to the needs of modernization, of the world and of the future." In effect, higher education developed vigorously and contributed greatly to the development of science and technology and the economy in the age of globalization.

This chapter will examine six remarkable features in higher education's international relations during this period: (1) international cooperation in higher education, (2) the development of transnational education (TNE) in China, (3) cooperation with supranational organizations, (4) Chinese students in foreign countries, (5) foreign students' migration to China, and (6) recent university reforms.

1. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

After the announcement of Deng's strategy, cooperation between Chinese and foreign universities grew rapidly and broadly. More and more Chinese universities established partnerships with foreign institutions, especially those in the member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

According to Hayhoe (1989), the cooperation taking place in the late 1970s and 1980s featured several notable programs that mainly fell under four categories. The first and least common form of cooperative project attempted to develop one in a balanced and integrated range of knowledge areas, including natural and human sciences. The French center at Wuhan University was such a case. The first agreement was signed in 1980 between Wuhan University and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The project included a newly established French department, a special Sino-French mathematics program, and a research center on French civilization. A program in management science and another in construction engineering were added later. Through the project Wuhan University has become the academic center of French in China.

The second type, which focuses on natural sciences and related technology, involved the resurrection in 1978 of the long-interrupted relationship between Tongji University and Germany and the agreement of cooperation between the Chinese University of Science and Technology (CUST) and the Engineering Department of Tokyo University in 1982. Both projects pursued links in basic sciences, engineering, and management science. The Tongji-Germany agreement included provisions for intensive German language programs in Tongji for facilitating lectures by German professors and Chinese students' advanced studies in Germany.

The third and most popular type of cooperative project was in the field of management science (Deng 1980). This field was considered equally important as sciences and technology for the four modernizations. This type embraced a series of training centers created thanks to assistance from OECD countries and a chain of

cooperative projects in management education, for example, the American Management Training Center in Dalian, the European Management Training Center in Beijing, the Canada-China Enterprise Management Training Center in Chengdu, the Japanese Center in Tianjin, and the German Center in the Baoshan Industrial Complex. The main task of these centers was the dissemination of advanced Western management philosophy with a view of facilitating the development of Chinese theories and practices of management.

The last type was in the field of humanities. Cooperation in this type began in 1982 between Nanjing University and Johns Hopkins University. The project was financed more or less equally by both parties. It was administered entirely by the Chinese although teaching and research were directed by a joint Chinese-American committee. One of its crucial activities was language training, for foreign language mastery was important in Chinese students' and scholars' studying Western knowledge and culture in China and abroad. Such activities were supported by the United States, Canada, Britain, Japan, Germany, and Italy.

Holding an open-minded attitude, more and more Chinese universities sought for ways to cooperate with renowned Western universities in various fields needed for their country's socialist modernization. Although there existed more or less elements of Western cultural, political, or economic penetration, the cooperative projects provided possibilities for mutual benefits, through which the Chinese side could adopt Western knowledge and experience into the Chinese soil for the augmentation of the national economy and the consolidation of the CPC's regime. Since the 1990s, higher educational

institutions in China have been playing more active roles in their cooperation with their counterpart institutions in other countries in dealing with the new waves of globalization.

2. TRANSNATIONAL EDUCATION

As globalization advanced, particularly from 1990 on, the IHE in the world grew impressively. Globalization stimulated the emergence of a market of international higher education. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS, within WTO), a multilateral, legally enforceable agreement, covered international trade in services, including higher education (GATS 2001). The export of services in higher education from the developed countries to the developing countries, or "transnational education" (TNE), became a new form of international cooperation and exchanges in higher education.[1] China's higher education was also under the influences of this form of international cooperation and China, on its own part, actively participated in TNE activities. In 1995, the government issued Interim Provisions for Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools. In this document, the government expressed its affirmative position to TNE for the reason that "Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools is an important form of Chinese education in its international exchanges and cooperation, and serves as a complement to Chinese education." At the same time, it revealed its intention to "strengthen control of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools and promoting education in China and cooperation in the field of education with foreign countries" (MOE 1995) in China's own national interest.

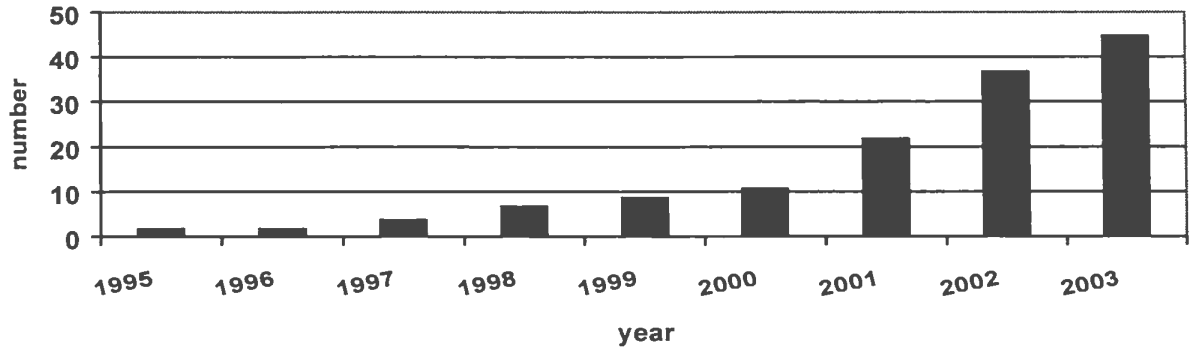
Under the control, and of course appropriate guidance, of the government TNE grew rapidly in China. In 2002, according to the statistics of the MOE (2003b), the number of TNE programs in operation was 712. Most of them were at the level of higher education and operated mainly in the areas where economic and social development was active: Shanghai, Beijing, Shandong and Jiangsu, in particular. The exporting partners were predominantly from developed countries such as the United States, Australia, Canada, Japan, and Britain. The areas of study they covered were typically business administration, foreign languages, information and communications technology, and engineering.

Many of the TNE programs offered foreign degrees subject to the examination and approval of the educational administrative department of China's State Council (MOE 2003a). This form of cooperation brought Chinese higher educational institutions much closer to foreign institutions. Chinese institutions benefited greatly from such close contacts because they could learn first-hand what to do to improve the efficiency of their own institutional operation and, furthermore, enhance their international reputation. Benefits for Chinese students were also great because they now could obtain better quality higher education without going abroad at high costs. Naturally, the number of TNE programs grew rapidly from 2 in 1995 to 164 in 2004 (see Figure 1).

As TNE was becoming increasingly popular, the Chinese government signed a series of agreements with Germany, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand, to name a few, mutually acknowledging academic accreditation (MOE 2004c).[2] While, thus, TNE was being received positively, concerns were also being brought up. Notably, the profit-

seeking motivation of the exporting countries aroused concerns that the government must develop policies to guarantee mutual benefits aptly at a time international cooperation in higher education turned into a new phase.

Figure 1: The Number of Foreign Degree-Granting Sino-Foreign Joint Higher Education Programs from 1995 to 2003



(Source: MOE 2004a)

3. COOPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WORLD BANK

Since the 1970s, China joined many international organizations and received from them large amounts of financial assistance for educational development – for example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Asian Program of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Of those "supranational" organizations – dubbed "supranational" because of their increasingly powerful influence upon individual nations – the World Bank exerted the strongest influence on the development of education in China, particularly with regard to higher education. It provided aid of financial, material and human resources far more extensively than any country or organization while, at the same time, inviting China to play greater role in the World Bank and in the projects it operated in China. In 1985 the World Bank loaned $803.4 million for eight educational projects (Hayhoe 1996, p. 135). The projects were the first and second University Development Projects, the Polytechnic/TV University Project and the Provincial University Development Project, a Rural Health and Medical Education Project, and three agricultural education and research projects (Huang 1987). These projects aimed to increase the enrolments of university students, to improve the quality and capacity of teaching and research, and to strengthen educational collaboration and exchanges between China and other developed countries. They involved approximately 183 higher educational institutions at national and local levels (Hayhoe 1989, p. 166).

The World Bank-China joint projects contributed substantially to the development of higher education. They assisted enhancing the independence of Chinese higher education system, improving Chinese universities' international reputation and research capacity, and training a large number of students to meet the manpower needs from socialist construction. This form of cooperation was attractive to the government's policy makers. In 1999, the Chinese government launched another project in cooperation with the World Bank to "achieve the overall objective of improving the quality and relevance

of undergraduate basic science and engineering programs through integrated reform activities in curriculum and teaching methodology; and to strengthen institutional and central curriculum planning and management so as to improve capacity to implement reforms in teaching and learning" (World Bank 1999). It was hoped that this attempt would promote the competitiveness of China's higher education in the globalizing world.

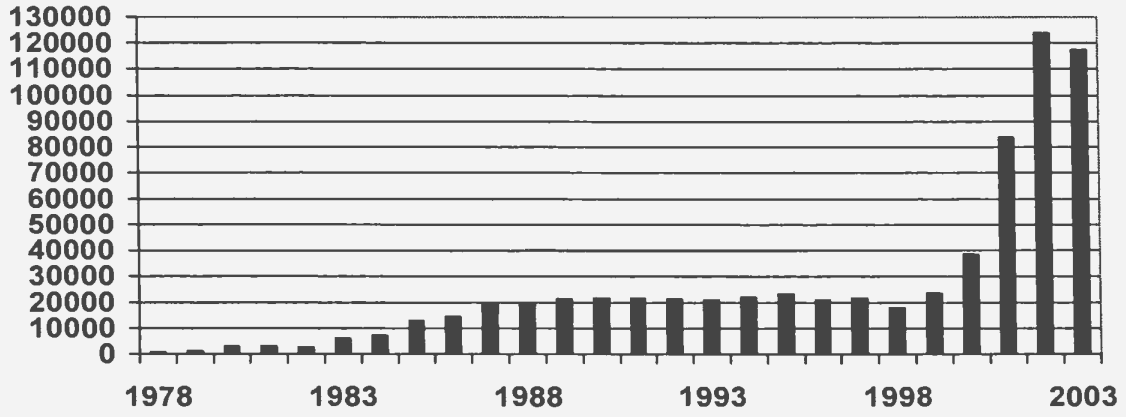
4. SENDING STUDENTS ABROAD

Since 1976, the new leaders were aware of the importance of having workers equipped with advanced knowledge for transforming China into a socialist country. In his 1978 address to Tsinghua University, Deng Xiaoping promised to dispatch hundreds of thousands of students to Western countries in every possible way. In response, the MOE promptly promulgated the Notice Concerning Increasing Selected Overseas Students.[3] Immediately thereafter, the MOE sent 52 students and scholars to the United States (Wei 2004). The government continued to increase the number. As of July 1985, there were around 30,000 government-sponsored Chinese students and scholars in dozens of foreign countries (Ibid.).

The government also encouraged students' self-supported studies and, for this, allowed in 1984 all Chinese citizens, regardless of their diploma, age, and year of employment, to go to other countries through legal ways (MOE 1984). This triggered waves of privately-supported student migration. However, it was not until 1993 that government restrictions were completely lifted by the Decisions Concerning Matters of

Constructing a New Socialist Market Economic System[4] and the subsequent guidelines for "Supporting Study Abroad, Encouraging Return Home, and Freely Going Out and Returning." [5] The effects of these decisions are demonstrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: The Number of Overseas Chinese Students from 1978 to 2003



(Source: People's Daily Online 2004.)

The contributions made by the returned overseas students to their country were significant. Among the members of the Chinese Academy of Science (CAS), for instance, eighty-one percent had experiences of studying abroad. In the case of the Chinese Academy of Engineering (CAE), fifty-four percent of the members had such experiences. So did fifty-one percent of the administrators in more than 100 Chinese universities that were surveyed by Chinese Education and Research Network (CERN 2002).

The policy makers, however, faced two key issues emerging therefrom. One issue concerned the phenomenon of "brain drain." Largely due to the strict governmental control, many government-sponsored overseas students and scholars came back home to serve their country. Between 1979 and 1984, sixty percent of them came back. The return

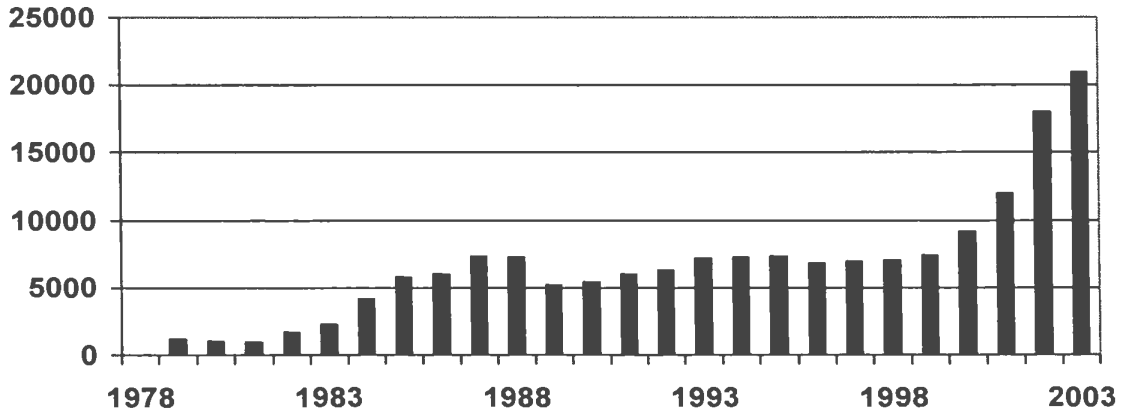
rate of those with doctoral degrees was higher, eighty percent (Wei 2004). However, many of those who were self-supported or privately supported did not. Out of the 120,000 self-supporting overseas Chinese student from 1978 to 1995, the return rate was as low as five percent (Wei 2004). The main cause of brain drain was undoubtedly the political, economic and social differences between China and their host countries.

The issue was never as conspicuous as in the era of globalization, characterized by the "knowledge economy," when the developed countries tried to retain the most excellent talents for their own national interest. Suffering from the loss of its own human resources, the Chinese government took a series of measures to attract overseas Chinese students back home. One such measure was the establishment in 1996 of the Committee of National Study-Abroad Funds Administration.[6] This committee was responsible for signing contracts with the students and scholars sent abroad on the government sponsorship, stipulating duration of the given funds, penalties upon violation of the contract, and so on (MOE 1996a). From 1996 to 2003, the committee sent out 15,056 students and scholars, and ninety-six point two five percent of them returned (CERN 2003). In 1996, the government took an additional measure by offering subsidies for flight fare, accommodation, health insurance, and so on, to those who have earned doctoral degrees if they would come back to teach at universities. This measure had some positive effect as demonstrated in Figure 3.

The other issue was related to the quality of higher education in host countries. According to MOE (1996b), the total number of students studying abroad in 2003 was 117, 300, and 109 200 of them were privately supported or self-supported. Many of such

students were not familiar with the system of higher education in foreign countries and, for this reason, they were often deceived to risk their costs by fraudulent foreign institutions.

Figure 3: The Number of Returned Overseas Chinese Students from 1978 to 2003



(Source: People's Daily Online 2004.)

In order to protect the interests of Chinese students and guarantee the quality of higher education they received abroad, the MOE, in coordination with the Ministry of Public Security and the State Administration for Industry and Commerce, enforced regulations concerning the agencies sending self-supported students abroad.[7] On the other hand, the MOE proffered Chinese students appropriate guidance by providing accurate information about higher educational institutions in foreign countries.[8] It also issued precautions about some sham institutions in Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, Japan, Denmark, Germany, and South Africa.[9]

5. FOREIGN STUDENTS IN CHINA

While many students were leaving China for study, many other students arrived from foreign countries. Between 1950 and 1978, 12,800 foreign students studied in China all on the sponsorship of the Chinese government (MOE 2004b). Between 1979 and 2000, the number jumped to 394, 000 (MOE 2001a). Then in 2003 alone, 77,715 foreign students from 175 countries were accepted by Chinese higher educational institutions, mostly (ninety-two percent) on private support.[10] Many of them were studying towards academic degrees in diverse fields. Compared with that in 2002, the number of such students in 2003 increased by seventeen percent (MOE 2004b).

The reason for the soaring number of foreign students in China was undoubtedly China's active participation in international cooperation and exchange. In order to facilitate their studies, the Chinese government took a number of measures to promote the teaching and administration of Chinese language education for foreigners. In 1992, the MOE introduced a national standardized Chinese Proficiency Test, known as *Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi* (HSK) which had been designed and developed by the Beijing Language and Culture University. At the same time, the MOE reinforced the regulations concerning the training of Chinese language teachers, requiring that all those teachers who deal with foreign students acquire a valid teaching certificate (MOE 1990). Currently, the Chinese government spends extra energy in bettering the services for foreign students, including providing more scholarship and optimizing the health insurance system for foreign students, to attract more of them to study in China.[11]

The rapid growth of the number of foreign students demonstrated that China was now becoming fully engaged in the international export and import of services in higher education.

6. RECENT UNIVERSITY REFORMS

The Soviet system of higher education, which was introduced soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China, was compatible with a centrally-planned economy which the People's Republic was seeking to build. But the rapid formation and development of China's market economy after Deng's implementation of reform policies made the system increasingly unviable because the market economy required local and institutional initiatives.

Here, in 1992 the government began to change it by tentatively transferring the control of some higher educational institutions from the central government to the provincial governments and by encouraging merger or amalgamation among those institutions (Chen 2002). Then, especially after 1998, the government began to restructure itself redefining its role as one in a mixed economy and emphasizing more macro-regulation rather than unnecessarily detailed micro-direction (Chen 2002). This was followed by large-scale university amalgamations all over China, which yielded a large number of comprehensive universities similar to those in the United States. According to Zhao (1998) and Chen (2002), the advantage of the amalgamation was that

it improved university efficiency by optimizing the existing human, teaching, research, financial, and administrative resources. Associated with university amalgamation were two important projects launched by the MOE in view of increasing the competitiveness of higher education to the level of the developed countries.

One was the "Project 211" initiated in 1995. The purpose of this project was reinforcing about 100 institutions of higher education and key disciplinary areas as a national priority for the 21st century (MOE 2001b). The other was the "985 Project" initiated in 1998, aiming to "propel a number of Chinese universities into the advanced first-class ones in the world for the fulfilment of modernization" (Jiang 1998) by means of ample funding. In implementing these projects, the policy makers and educators remained persistent in borrowing international experiences (Min 2003). Beijing University (*Beida*), for instance, introduced a tenure system and thus caused dynamite effects on other Chinese universities. The *Beida* reform plan required that in principle new professors could not be recruited from the university's graduates, and that the recruitment and promotion of all teaching staff should be conducted through an appraisal system managed by a Professor Committee (Beijing Review 2002). The goal of the reform was to guarantee the quality of teaching and, as explicated by a *Beida* officer Min Weifang to replace the old "iron rice bowl" system with what is known in the United States as "up-or-out" system.[12]

Beida's reform signalled that, in the globalizing age, the emphasis of Chinese policy makers and educators was switching from acquisition of advanced knowledge and technology to the import of *modus operandi* in university administration. In effect, the

latter became a key topic for subsequent international conferences and forums held in China.

It was not surprising that Deng's reform and open-up policy caused China's economic boom. Between 1978 and 1994, China's economy increased with an annual average GDP growth rate of 9.8% (World Bank 1999). After 1995, the annual average GDP growth rates never dropped below 7% (APEC 2003). During the last twenty years or so, China's higher education made extensive and intensive international connections for the purpose of serving the nation's economic development and construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Under the new circumstances, the IHE expanded rapidly. The Sino-foreign cooperation in higher education was resurrected with the establishment of a number of cooperative projects with the OECD countries. With the emergence of a global higher education market, TNE was becoming active. Furthermore, the World Bank's generous assistance was by all means a new premium to China's higher education. Meanwhile, a myriad of students and scholars were sent abroad, including those who were privately supported. Likewise, attracted by the increasing economic prosperity in China and the profound Chinese culture, more and more foreign students came to study in China. Thus the IHE was further promoted in the two-way international exchanges and cooperation. At last, Chinese higher education continued borrowing knowledge and experience from the West for the construction of the so-called world-class universities.

The task of the Chinese state in the new age of globalization, in the understanding of the policy makers, was to manage resources, both historic and contemporary, to enable higher education to contribute substantially to the achievement of the national goal of building a modern, independent and well-off country.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The internationalization of higher education (IHE) in China is the most remarkable phenomenon currently taking place in the education system. Its development is associated with the building and strengthening of the nation state. Meanwhile, the state continuously institutes policies and takes measures to promote the IHE for its own agendas. The relationship between higher educational institutions' international cooperation and the Chinese state has become increasingly salient and important under the impacts of globalization.

What is to be noted, however, is that the IHE in the case of China is not a phenomenon that has occurred with the outbreak of globalization. Rather, it has been a long tradition that has evolved through the development of political power and culture in the country. The policy makers and educators of different times always attempted to build and strengthen their state. International connections in higher learning always played a pivotal role for their purpose.

In ancient times when Confucianism was the fundamental culture and ruling ideology of the Chinese state, a system of higher education gradually came into existence for the purpose of training both the kind of officers and scholars who would help make the state efficiently functional. The Imperial Officer Selection Examinations (IOSEs) were the principal instrument the state implemented to select officers and also to guide

higher education. Since Confucianism is a culture of great compatibility with many different cultures, it tolerated and even absorbed many heterogeneous cultures, especially Buddhism and Daoism. For this reason, the Confucian-dominated higher educational institutions in China were very often quite open-minded to the cultures originating from the peripheral regions of China and even foreign countries. This was the main reason why higher educational institutions in China maintained numerous international exchanges with the neighboring countries and regions. In effect, those institutions' and even the government's international ties contributed greatly to the state by providing officers who could handle foreigners as well as foreign cultures and spread China's superior knowledge and technology. This in turn help the Chinese state in the latter's development of stable political relationships with other countries and regions.

Nevertheless, this tradition was tremendously shaken in the wake of the long isolation policy adopted during the Ming dynasty. Especially after the defeats in several wars with the Western forces in the mid-nineteenth century, the Chinese state fell into a semi-colonial status. This awakened the Chinese people to the power of Western technology. In response, a number of Chinese leaders, educators, and reformers launched a series of movements for learning from the West in the form of the *Taiping* Rebellion, the *Yangwu* Movement, the *Bairiweixin* Movement and the *Xinzheng* Movement. Through such movements, the leaders attempted to bring the advanced Western knowledge into higher education in order thereby to rebuild and strengthen their state.

From the first Opium War of 1840 to the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, the foreign influences on Chinese higher education originated primarily from the

invading Westerners' own interest. Nevertheless, neither the Chinese government nor the enlightened intellectual leaders took those influences merely passively. Many enlightened bureaucrats and intellectual leaders tried to turn the misfortune to a fortune by actively accommodating what was good in the invaders' culture. They did so because they saw in the invaders' culture what was vital for the restoration of their self-esteem by making their state strong and independent and making their higher education more meaningful to that effect.

After the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911, the Chinese state underwent several political and social revolutions. Through such political turmoil, the enlightened officers and intellectual leaders developed the practical concept of a Chinese *nation*, thus turning their interest from a strong and independent state to a strong and independent nation. A pivotal role in this regard was played by Sun Zhongshan who championed the "nationalist" movement aiming to make their country "a free and independent nation." His ideas of *sanminzhuyi*, in combination with the October Revolution of Russia, triggered the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement both seeking to make China strong and independent, this time, from the invading "imperialists." Here, the international connection of higher education was explored in the orientation of adopting the knowledge and technology for the purpose of building a solid national economy and securing national sovereignty. Through the efforts of the Nationalist government, indeed higher education in China restored its educational sovereignty against foreign missionary forces. As well, when the government sent students to Western countries it sought balance between Europe and North America.

The Nationalists' interest in international cooperation and exchange in higher education did not vanish in 1949 with the Communists takeover. The Communist Party of China continued to make efforts to promote higher education's interaction with other countries yet, this time, with a priority on socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, because its goal was the construction of a socialist economy taking the Soviet Union as a model.

Such an effort, unfortunately, came to an end with the breakup with the Soviet Union in the 1960s and the subsequent Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping's return in 1977 signaled a new era of the IHE. Thanks to his reform and open-up policy, China opened her door to the outside world once again and actively participated in international cooperation and exchange. And this time, higher education's international connections became even more vigorous and diverse because of the new waves of globalization. It did not only expand the traditional activities such as establishing university cooperative programs and sending students abroad, but also developed a number of new forms such as the participation in the transanational education and the cooperation with "supranational" organizations.

All of these activities have been made under the auspices of the Communist-controlled government which vigorously encouraged and supported them with a policy of fully engaging higher education in the process of globalization. What has to be noted here, however, is that the IHE that is observable in China is seeking the national interest of that country quite contrarily to those who talk about the decline of nation states due to globalization. Of paramount importance in the views of the contemporary educational

policy makers in China is building "a socialist national economy with Chinese characteristics" rather than burying their country in the nationless global world. They thus echo the voices of their predecessors in the long history of China.

Notes

Chapter 2 Emergence of Higher Education and International Connections in Higher Education: Up Until 1840

1. The name "China" comes from Qin, pronounced *chin*.

2. The Grand Canal was completely built up in the Sui dynasty. It stretches 1,794 kilometers (1115 miles) in length and links the Yellow and Yangtze River systems. The Grand Canal starts north in Beijing and ends south in Hangzhou of Zhejiang province; is the longest man-made waterway in the world.

3. "The Western Ocean" refers to the Asian and African places he explored, including Southeast Asia, Sumatra, Java, Ceylon, India, Persia, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, the Red Sea as far north as Egypt, and Africa as far south as the Mozambique Channel.

4. The "eight-legged essay" refers to an essay style, which consists of a fixed procedure of eight standard parts to write an essay. This style required the students nothing but to have a hidebound memory of Confucian classics and frequent practice. Creativity and a knowledge of current social and political problems were not necessary. It was used by the rulers in the Ming-Qing dynasties in the IOSEs to restrain and control the ideas of the intellectuals.

Chapter 3 Strengthening the State through Higher Education's International Connections: 1840-1911

1. His Chinese name is well known as Fu Lanya.

2. Foreigners usually call him Yung Wing. The earliest program of sending Chinese students to study abroad in contemporary China was organized by the American Morrison School, which sent six children to study in a middle school in the United States in 1847. Rong Hong was one of them. He, later, graduated from Yale University in 1854, and after returning home, initiated China's first government Educational Mission of sending students to study abroad.

3. In 1878, Sun Zhongshan went to Honolulu, the Untied States to receive Western education, under the sponsorship of his brother, who had been an overseas Chinese capitalist in the same place.

4. The name was changed into *Fangyan xuetang* in 1902.

5. The name was changed into *Beiyang daxuetang* in 1902.

Chapter 4 Internationalization of Higher Education and Independence: 1911-1976

1. They were *Jingshi daxuetang*, *Beiyang daxuetang*, and *Shanxi daxuetang* mentioned in the last chapter.

2. It was called "Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference".

3. The original name in Chinese was *xuanpai liuxue waiguo xuesheng zhangcheng*.

4. The original name in Chinese was *kaoxuan qinghua liumei gongfeisheng banfa dagang*.

5. The original name in Chinese was *guowai liuxue zifeisheng paiqian banfa*.

6. The relationship between China and the Soviet Union was further strengthened after Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed on February 14, 1950.

Chapter 5 Towards a Well-off Nation through the Internationalization of Higher Education: 1976-2004

1. According to the UNESCO/Council of Europe Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education (Riga, 6 June 2001), TNE includes "All types of higher education study programmes, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programmes may belong to the education system of a State different from the State in which it operates, or may operate independently of any national education system." Retrieved June 22, 2004 from http://www.cepes.ro/hed/recogn/groups/transnat/code.htm

2. The first agreement about the Sino-foreign mutually acknowledged higher education academic accreditation was signed with Sri Lanka in 1988. Since then until February 2004, the Chinese government had signed such agreements with 21 countries, including the recent agreements signed with a number of advanced Western countries. The list of the treaty countries can be retrieved from http://www.cfce.cn/verify/moe_xlxw_chengren.htm

3. The policy is in Chinese *guanyu jiada xuanpai liuxuesheng shuliang de baogao*.

4. The policy is in Chinese *guanyu jianli xin shehui zhuyi shichang jingji tizhi ruogan*

wenti de jueding.

5. It is originally uttered in Chinese as "*zhichi liuxue, guli huiguo, laiqu ziyou*".

6. The title is originally in Chinese *guojia liuxue jijing guanli weiyuanhui.*

7. The policy *Regulation on Administrating the Service of the Agencies Dealing with Self-supporting Study Abroad* (*zifei chuguo liuxue zhongjie fuwu guanli guiding*) was issued in 1999. Retrieved June 26, 2004 from http://www.jsj.edu.cn/zhengce/011.html

8. The complete list can be retrieved from http://www.jsj.edu.cn/mingdan/004.html

9. The files can be retrieved from http://www.jsj.edu.cn/yujing/index.html

10. The number declined by 9.45% compared with that of 85,829 foreign students in 2002 due to the breakout of the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2003 in China.

11. In September 2003, the MOE signed a contract with the Ping An Insurance (Group) Company of China, Ltd. to procure health insurance for the Chinese government-sponsored foreign students in the next five years. And the self-supporting foreign students are able to purchase their health insurances, including the insurances from their original countries, in any insurance company in China. Retrieved June 26, 2004 from http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/info1317.htm

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