A study of the political education section of the People's Republic of China's national college entrance examination, 1985 to 1990.

Renlai Yao
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A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL EDUCATION SECTION OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA'S NATIONAL COLLEGE ENTRANCE
EXAMINATION, 1985 to 1990

A Dissertation Presented
by
RENLAI YAO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fullfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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School of Education
A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL EDUCATION SECTION OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA'S NATIONAL COLLEGE ENTRANCE
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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL EDUCATION SECTION OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA'S NATIONAL COLLEGE
ENTRANCE EXAMINATION, 1985 to 1990
SEPTEMBER 1993

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Directed by: Professor Luis Fuentes

This study attempts to determine the changes in content of the Political
Education as revealed in the national entrance examinations from 1985 to 1990.
An attempt was made to analyze the content in an effort to answer the question of
whether there is a relationship between the changes in leadership, content of the
curriculum, and the examination.

The author has obtained and translated six examinations and official
answers into English which could be helpful to those who are concerned
professionally. The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter I is an introduction
briefly describing the problems, the hypothesis, sources and methods used in this
study. Chapter II analyzes examination format. Chapter III focuses on the
presence of themes that are consistent over the years, the determination of whether
or not there are changes in emphasis and if there were inherent contradictions.
Chapter IV explores the relationship between the changes of the content in the
examination, political events including the changes of the leadership. In Chapter
V, the major topic is to connect the Political Education of present day China with
its historical antecedents. The premise being that one can not understand today's
Political Education without taking into consideration China's past. Chapter VI is a summary of the major findings of the study.

The primary finding of the study is that there is a positive correlation between the Party Leadership, the Political Education content and the national college entrance examination. The content of the curriculum in secondary school only changes when the political leadership desire such a change. The national entrance examination reflects and reinforces the thinking of the Party's leadership and its philosophy. Political Education in the People's Republic of China is to insure the continuance of the Party and therefore is designed to develop conformity.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table of Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</strong></td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABSTRACT</strong></td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LIST OF TABLES</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Statement of the problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The purpose and the significance of the study</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The review of literature</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Philosophical base</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Perspective and views</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Hypothesis of the study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Definitions and delimitation of the study</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Methods and procedures of the study</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. FORMAT OF THE EXAMINATION AND ITS CHANGES</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Construction of the examination</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Exam subjects and score weighting</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The process for formulation of test questions and procedure for administration of the exam</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Examination format and revisions from 1985-1990</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Objective and subjective questions</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The problem of subjective questions with fixed answers</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Be politically right or flunk the examination</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Summary</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. TEST CONTENT ANALYSIS ............................................. 35

A. Content and its Changes ............................................. 35

1. Introduction ......................................................... 35
2. Changes in emphasis on test content ........................... 37

B. Content analysis ...................................................... 40

1. Philosophical questions .......................................... 40
2. Economic questions ............................................... 58
3. Political questions .................................................. 66
4. Legal knowledge questions ....................................... 86
5. Current event questions .......................................... 92

C. Summary ..................................................................... 98

IV. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLITICAL
EVENTS, LEADERSHIP AND THE EXAMINATION .............. 99

A. Introduction ............................................................ 99
B. The relationship between the political events and
the examinations ....................................................... 102
C. The effect of changing leadership on the school
curriculum ............................................................... 106
D. Summary ..................................................................... 115

V. THE HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR THE UNDERSTANDING
OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL EDUCATION ..................... 117

A. The political-ideological education before Qin Dynasty .... 120
B. Confucianism as the official doctrine during Qin and Han
unification ............................................................... 131
C. Song Confucianism .................................................. 138
D. Summary ..................................................................... 143

VI. CONCLUSIONS ............................................................ 145
APPENDICES

A. QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1985.........................................................150

B. QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1986.........................................................162

C. QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1987.........................................................181

D. QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1988.........................................................195

E. QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1989.........................................................211

F. QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1990.........................................................228

BIBLIOGRAPHY........................................................................................................247
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The changes of the numbers of questions and their percentage of points</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The percentage of the number of objective and subjective questions</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The number of subjective questions in objective format and its percentage</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The changes in content of tests, 1985 - 1990</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The trend of percentage changes of philosophical questions</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Percentage of changes on economic questions</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The distribution of legal questions in 1989 and 1990</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The percentage of changes in current events, 1985 - 1990</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The distributions of current event questions, 1985 - 1990</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The distribution and frequencies of key Chinese political topics revealed in the test content, 1985 - 1990</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the problem

In China, Political Education (Zhengzhi Ke) is the core of all education. It is a mandatory course within the curriculum from middle school through college. Political Education along with Chinese (Yu Wen) are the two subjects required of candidates for higher education in the liberal arts and in the sciences. Political Education has been a politically sensitive and conflicting issue in China. This is especially true in present-day China. There are signs of dissatisfaction, even a strong resentment with the current political education process at all levels of education from the middle schools to the universities. To some extent, the dissatisfaction and resentment can be discerned from a perusal of educational journals which have published polls and articles criticizing the current state of Political Education. One can easily understand the dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of students who have to deal with abstract theoretical questions and see little value in attempting to understand these abstractions when the next political struggle may bring forth new understandings.

In a published report appearing in Beijing Youth Journal (May 22, 1984) a poll of middle school students reported that almost 95% dislike most of the compulsory courses in political education.1 In another poll, it was reported that the majority of those involved in the areas of political studies in the universities of

1Beijing Youth Journal, "Why Don't Middle School Students Like to Take Politics Classes". For available translation of the article, see Chinese Education. Winter 1984-85, Vol. XVII, No.4, p. 73.
Beijing demonstrated a lack of interest and an unwillingness to continue in political studies. In Qinghua University, (similar in background to MIT) 73.3% of those polled were not willing to do political work and 20% desired immediate transfer. In Beijing Normal University, only 7.7% were willing to do the political work; 51.3% were unwilling to do political work permanently and 37.5% were unwilling to do any political work and desired to transfer.\(^2\)

In an attempt to remedy the situation and overcome the lack of enthusiasm, the authorities have launched campaigns to strengthen the political-ideological education. In 1980, Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must put ideological and political work in a position of utmost importance. We must do it earnestly, seriously, and well. We must not slacken our efforts in this field". Later he also said "To do ideological and political work well, we must improve the Party's leadership, and this means improving the Party's leadership system."\(^3\)

Political education is a mandatory curriculum from middle school through the university level. For the past thirty years, secondary school students have had to pass a political exam if they expected a college education. Recent changes mandate that all university students receive a month of political indoctrination, and the freshman classes at Beijing University will be required to take an entire year of political instruction under military supervision. Most of the students beginning graduate school in liberal arts and social science will also have to work a year in factories and villages before continuing their education.

\(^2\) Zhixiang Li et al., "The Current Condition of those Involved in Ideological and Political Education of College and University Students, and a Proposal". For the translation of this article, see Chinese Education, Fall 1989, Vol. XXII, No.3, pp. 9-33.

In 1980, the Chinese Ministry of Education undertook measures to strengthen and improve the teaching of politics at the secondary school level, stressing that political lessons were to be considered as a major subject. After a period of investigation and review, the ministry revised the previous political curriculum and established new courses for each of the five secondary school grades in the ten year full-time-secondary school system. The new textbooks for these five courses were compiled for the ministry through the cooperative efforts of three leading teacher training universities and the municipal education bureaus of Beijing and Shanghai. The new textbooks were entitled The Training of Young People (for the first year of lower secondary school, sixth grade); A General Knowledge of the Law (second year, seventh grade); A Brief History of Social Development (third year, eighth grade); A General Knowledge of Political Economy (for the first year of upper secondary school, ninth grade); and A General Knowledge of Political Dialectical Materialism (second year, tenth grade). These five textbooks are being used in schools all over the country. The objectives and goals are very clear: "To carry on the education of the students' ideological character; to instill in them the beginning of a proper moral view and revolutionary ideals and feelings; to form good moral character and habits". When the Teaching of Secondary School Political Courses was published, the head of the Political Education Department of the Ministry of Education commented: "We need to publicize on an extensive scale Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and ideological and political lines pursued since the Third

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Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, to strengthen ideological and political education in the school" 5

B. The purpose and the significance of the study

This study is designed to determine the political-ideological curriculum of the Chinese education system as revealed in the content of the political portion of the national college entrance examination. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to analyze the content of the examination over a six-year period in an effort to see the effect of the political changes on the political curriculum. The focus of the study is on the political concepts and their applications that were stressed in the secondary schools from 1985 to 1990. The research is based on the actual examinations and the expected answers that were given as the Unified Entrance Examination for Institutions of Higher Education (national college entrance examination)

Suzaane Pepper, a leading expert in the study of the national college entrance examination in China, has stated: "In a fascinating historical parallel with the imperial examination of the old, post-1949 China has elevated its national college entrance examinations to a position of far greater significance than such procedures usually enjoy in most counties".6 The examination system was suspended during the Cultural Revolution 1966 to 1976 and was restored in 1977. Because of the large population and a limited number of universities, less than ten percent of the university applicants can be admitted. For those who do get admitted, it means a permanent government job, since self employment in China is

almost impossible. Anxiety arises among the prospective candidates for higher education because there are insufficient opportunities for higher education. Due to this social phenomena, the entrance examination becomes a passport for success and places a great deal of pressure on the candidates, their parents, and the schools. The successful passing of the examination honors the students, their parents and reflects credit on the students’ teachers and schools. If the success rate for a particular school is higher, it brings recognition and financial rewards to the school from the local government.

Passing the national entrance examination is a life and death struggle for Chinese students who wish to go to college. It is reported that "as many as twenty students in Yuncheng, Shanxi Province, committed suicide in the past five years because of their failure on college entrance examinations. Every examination season, such tragedies are repeated across the country."7 The impact of the examination on students lives is as great as it is on the school curriculum. Stanley Rosen has studied the relationship between Chinese schools and the universities. In his study, he found that the relationship between higher and secondary education in China has been conditioned most strongly by the university entrance examination. The curriculum is also affected by the importance of the college entrance examination because "Those subjects not tested on the annual entrance examination have received minimal attention from students and educators" and he stated "in particular, courses not tested on the exam are ignored."8 Rosen's contention is further supported by Robert Barendsen who believes that examination questions "are the best measure currently available of the content and level of Chinese secondary school education".9 If one wants to understand what

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9Robert Barendsen, cited in Peter J. Seybolt (ed.) "1979 National Unified Entrance Examination for
political concepts are being stressed, then one unique way of ascertaining these ideas is to study the official examinations and expected answers. The years from 1985 to 1990 were selected because those years included a new era of economic reform with dramatic changes in policy and political orientation.

By examining and analyzing the national entrance examination questions and expected answers from 1985 to 1990, this study will attempt to answer the primary question of what is Political Education in the People’s Republic of China. In order to answer the primary question, one has to investigate 1) what is the content of Political Education? 2) what is the consistent unifying theme of the curriculum of Political Education? 3) what is the ultimate goal of the Political Education? Another facet of the study is to ascertain the relationship between political changes and the content of the examination.

The author has obtained copies of the Chinese National Unified Entrance Examination for Institutions of Higher Education for the years 1985 to 1990, and in addition, the official answer booklets have been obtained. To the best of the author’s knowledge, these materials have never been translated or published in the West. The translations to be found in the appendix could be helpful to those scholars who are concerned with Chinese Political Education.

The philosophical basis of Chinese Political Education has been extensively treated in the professional literature. However, the actual practical impact has not been fully evaluated and understood especially in recent times. This dissertation will seek to bridge, at least in part, the gap between theory and reality.

A study of the Political Education has its practical and theoretical significance in that it will contribute to a better understanding of the nature of Political Education in China. Moreover, it is this author's wish that this study will provide an fresh perspective for the improving of the Political Education curriculum in the future.

Furthermore, a careful study of Chinese political education will enhance the understanding of Chinese culture in the formation of political perspective, particularly when one puts political ideological education in a historic perspective. An understanding of China must include more than a cursory survey of its vast population, unique cultural traits and recent political upheavals. More than ever students and scholars need the knowledge of ancient Chinese history in their quest for an understanding of modern China. H. G. Creel, a professor of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature of the University of Chicago penetrated to the essence of the question when he observed: "one must know something about China's traditional thought even to understand Chinese communist theory, for which it is more important than some communists might like to admit". Indeed, this is insightful.

Historically, traditional Chinese political education has always been a part of the history of Chinese cultural education and is a mirror of the development of Chinese philosophy. Even though this study cannot exhaust a subject so large and complex, its approach will bring the depth of Chinese thought to a more familiar light for western scholars. Indeed, the need for understanding of Chinese culture is another reason for conducting the study.

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C. The review of literature

1. Philosophical base

From ancient times to the modern day, a relationship between education and the political system has long been acknowledged by philosophers, educators, and politicians. Convinced of the impact of schooling on the political order, Plato in his *Republic* sought to provide recommendations for modeling an educational system to support and sustain the ideal state. Similarly, Aristotle saw education as an integral part of the art of politics and necessary to the civic and moral virtue of the state. Rousseau and Dewey emphasized the role of formal education in the process of political development and integration. In China, Confucius (551-479 B.C.) believed that civic education was the beginning and the end. It was the basis and goal of one's political philosophy. Without civic education no government was conceivable. Confucius believed that men are born about the same, but that education makes them differ. Accordingly the aims of society determine the philosophy of education and through it a civic personality will be developed that will make a better society. To Confucius, "Education and politics were one and the same."\(^{11}\) In modern times, Lenin upheld that education was absolutely vital both in the making of revolution and in building socialism. He considered education to be one of the major means of political struggle. Mao Zedong, the founder of the People's Republic of China, stated clearly that education must serve the politics of proletariat. Thus, the goal of education is to train students to be both "red" and "expert" which means to be qualified morally, intellectually and physically for the new society. This study will attempt to acknowledge whether the Chinese Political Education of today is in accordance with the philosophical base of Confucius and Mao Zedong.

2. Perspective and views

Numerous books have been written about China, but not many dealing with Chinese education. Most of the latter works were focused on Chinese communist educational philosophy before and during the "Cultural Revolution" (1965 - 1975). The research on the current Political Education curriculum is rather limited and this study will contribute to the enhancement of knowledge in this field.

A study conducted by Ridley in 1971 sought the roots of Political Education in a set of elementary school grammar readers (Yu-wen) used in grade one to seven for Chinese language learning. He concluded that:

Readers reflect the basic value orientations of the Chinese leadership. The development of political attitudes in children is a learning process, and a major part of this process of political socialization occurs in a society's formal educational system. Education systems are designed, in fact, to socialize their students - to teach them the values of the society and to teach them to accept those values. Education, then is a tool of politics; in China, it is a tool of the political leadership. 12

Ralph W. Tyler headed a delegation composed of state leaders in American education on a two-week visit to the People's Republic of China. As a result of their visit, he and his fellow delegates compiled a book entitled China's Schools In Flux published in 1979. One of the delegates, Gregory R. Anrig, Commissioner of Education, Massachusetts wrote:

Politics also refers to a way of looking at the world. In this sense, politics is coterminous with ideology....
... in practice the Chinese regard willingness to follow the Party's lead and direction in all things as a primary indicator of the state of individual ideological development... Government leaders, involves loyalty to the

We learned that Chinese education also seeks to inculcate a certain world view that governs the motivation of individual and which also provides a context for the application of acquired skills. The authoritative arbiter of how this will be done is the Chinese Communist Party. Because China is committed to socialist development, education is an instrument of national policy....Education is a matter of national politics.\(^\text{13}\)

Based on his visit to China Gamberg published her book "Red and Expert -- Education in the People's Republic of China" and concluded:

Political education, in its most comprehensive sense of ideological formation and transformation, is perhaps the most important single ingredient in the education program all the way through school. It is generally undertaken as a formal course beginning in grade one, but politics seems to permeate all other courses as well, to be contained in all features of all educational undertakings, to be fundamental to just about all school practice. \(^\text{14}\)

Another perspective is gained from Hevi, an African student, who studied in China for several years. In writing about his experience and impressions, he described Chinese Political Education as:

China Political education starts with formal education: at the earliest possible age. It begins with toddlers of between two and three year of age. In the Kindergartens they are taught to sing revolutionary songs, to accept Mao-Zedong as their father and to sing his praises.... \(^\text{15}\)

Political Education in China continues through all stages of the educational system from kindergarten to the university. In the primary grades an environment is developed where political beliefs are stressed in music and art. Formal political


lessons are introduced in the secondary schools stressing the need for complete obedience to the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders. At the college level Chinese students are formally introduced to Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong thought, in a compulsory political course. Regardless of a student's major, every student must take this course. The purpose is solely to prepare the individual for service to the Party and his country.

Every year when examinations are given, some political instructors and educators usually published short articles commenting on the examination questions. These articles can be found on journals such as *The Teaching and Learning of Ideology-political Education* published by Beijing Normal University and *Secondary School Political Education References* published by Shaanxi Normal University. An assumption can be made that because of political sensitivity, almost all of the articles focus on the techniques of the questions and officials answers rather than on the content.

**D. Hypothesis of the study**

Everyone connected with the study of Chinese political education understands that Chinese political education is not a course of study designed to develop an understanding of governmental problems and for citizenship participation. Rather, it is designed for ethical, moral and political training to fit the individual into conformity with Party's goal. The term political-ideological education is preferable because the training is "In fact, to socialize students in a society's formal education system [for the purpose of] making of a model citizen."16

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China watchers tend to view such indoctrination measures as based on Marxist ideologies. This is partially true because political indoctrination has always been part of the historical development of Chinese education. It is a part of the fabric of Chinese society. The other explanation entitled Marxist by some and which perhaps deserves greater emphasis, fits into a long tradition of ideological education in Chinese culture itself. It is believed that, exploring the connections in this regard will allow a more historical and cultural perspective which hitherto has not been fully examined.

From time immemorial, Political Education has been directly controlled and monitored by the government because of the structure of school and society. From the first unification (Qin Dynasty 246,B.C.) to the founding of the People's Republic of China (1949), the structure of Chinese government has always been that of centralization. Historically, schools have been owned by the government with some exceptions. The school curriculum has been decided by the government. Both the civil-service exam in the past and the national entrance examination today are given to implement the government's political education.

Molding rather than schooling is the fundamental way of Chinese political study. In order to become a sage, or even to become a socialist new man, one will be taught what to think rather than how to think, and what to say and what not to say. The emphasis of education is placed on the end rather than the means.

Today, China relies on role models to achieve its goals. For more than twenty years, Lei Feng, a communist soldier who died in an accident at the age of twenty-two, was set as an example for people to learn because of his moral deeds. The ideal he expresses is obedience to Chairman Mao and follow the Party. Lei Feng will do whatever the Party asked.
E. Definitions and delimitation of the study

If one searches the literature on political education, a variety of definitions and meanings can be found including the problem of what constitutes education and what constitutes indoctrination. To clarify the matter, the following quotes may be helpful:

**Political Education**

Education in the problems, affairs and methods of government.


(1) Education designed to develop understanding of the governmental problems and ability to participate political life; conducted by means of informal discussion, reading materials, and political activity; (2) education involving indoctrination by the state.

-- Cart V. Good, *Dictionary of Education* (1959)

**Indoctrination**

1 Inculcation of belief in religion or politics. 2 In teaching, the forcing on the child of one point of view, to the exclusion of contrary ideas or values.


Any attempt to force a particular of view or set of beliefs on others to the exclusion of differing viewpoints; considered undesirable in the educational systems of democratic nations.

Teaching a particular doctrine or belief in such a way that the learner has no opportunity to consider it critically or compare it with alternative doctrines or beliefs.

-- Derek Rowntree, A Dictionary of Education (1981)

**Political-ideology**

Besides the problem of education verses indoctrination, another term that often is used is political-ideology -which implies what composes correct political behavior. The meaning can change if one looks at it from an individual view or the viewpoint of society or of a political party. One can see the confusion by consulting a myriad of definition:

The integrated assertions, theories, and aims constituting a political program, often with an implication of factitious propagandizing; as, Fascism was altered in Germany to fit the Nazi ideology.

--*Webster’s New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1948).

The body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture.


A body of belief or doctrine, which may be held and acted on by a social group, perhaps in ignorance or even defiance of evidence that might throw doubt on its validity - usually because it is believed to be socially or politically useful or else to be morally undeniable.


Ideology: (1) a philosophy or set of guiding principles for a social order or way of government; often a rationalized, defensive philosophy to justify and perpetuate a way of life and of government; (2) the science if
justify and perpetuate a way of life and / of government; (2) the science if ideas, concerned principally with a study of the origin of idea.


The above examples demonstrate that the meaning of ideology is diverse even if we limited our interest to political ideology. It ranges from institutional to individual. It varies from personal primitive beliefs to peripheral beliefs. It is really hard to give a definition that fits all. For the purpose of this study, political ideology simply means ideology which is politicized for governmental purposes.

One expert, Robert E. Lane, in his book *Political Ideology* states that aspects of political ideology can be garnered from the answers to the following questions:

1). Who are the rulers? How are the rulers selected? By what principles will they govern?

2). How the rulers affect the major values of life?

3). How does the ruler prepare a program for the defense, reform or abolition of an important social institution?

4). How does the ruler rationalize group interests but not necessarily the interests of all groups espousing him/her?

5). Is the ruler ethical, moral inconformity to traditional cultural?

6). How does the ruler become a part of a broader belief system, and share the structural and stylistic properties of the system?

This study is not specifically or directly a comparative study. How political study is conducted in other countries will not compared. Moreover other kinds of social forces that might have some bearing on the people's ideology such as films, literature and political campaigns will not be treated.
examination questions and their changes over the years and a discussion of the purpose and implications.

F. Methods and procedures of the study

The first basic task is the translation of the six examinations into English. This in itself is a demanding task because of the range of technical terms used in various disciplines.

The next task is to analyze the examination questions which focus on the topic of unifying themes, discernible patterns of change over time and inherent contradictions.

The procedure is first to analyze the format of the exam over the years 1985 to 1990, and then to ascertain changes. If there are changes, what are they? Are there changes in the type of questions? Are there changes in the weighting of the types of questions? If there are changes, is there a correlation between the changes in the test and the political reality?

Finally there will be an analysis of the content of the questions. The following points deserve special attention.

-- is there an underlying theme in the content? If so, what is it?

-- does the content changes reflect more or less interest in domestic affairs or international affairs over time? If so, is it because of political power struggle or changes in leadership?

-- how many questions deal with the structure of the government or constitution issue?

-- how many questions are dealing with the Party's ideology?
After an analysis of the test content, political events and topics revealed in the examination questions will be discussed. From this analysis, it is our hope to discover the rationale behind the changes and the relation between political events, political power struggles and the examination.

Conclusions drawn from this investigation will be considered in connection with the history of Chinese political education. Patterns of similarity discovered will hopefully reinforce the author's previously stated hypotheses. In short, the chapters tend to follow a more inductive process. The study moves from the specific to the more conceptual, and from the contemporary to the historical, thus deepening the proposed thesis.

Throughout the paper I have preferred to use Pinyin, the official Chinese form of romanization above Wade-Giles or other versions; for instance, Peking is written Beijing. I will footnote the exceptions if any.
CHAPTER II

FORMAT OF THE EXAMINATION AND ITS CHANGES

A. Construction of the examination

The Chinese college enrollment system is designed to recruit students from as broad a base as possible, to include young people from various fields of endeavor and to enable the largest number of promising students to have an opportunity to receive a higher education. One major aim is to improve the quality of college graduates and affect the goals of primary and secondary school education. One aspect of the enrollment system is an entrance examination which was restored in 1977 after it was discontinued during the Cultural Revolution. College admittance is mainly based on the exam results after the approval of his/her political assessment by the candidate's school or work unit and a physical examination given by authorized medical personnel. In order to reduce the overwhelming work load at the national level a more controversial restriction was introduced in 1980 requiring a preliminary examination at the provincial level. The primary test serves as a screening exam to determine which students are permitted to sit for the national entrance examination. By 1981 most provinces had adopted this screening exam.¹ The government has imposed further regulations by limiting the number of times a student can repeat the test from three times to two.

The entrance examination is administrated by the State Education Commission of the People's Republic of China, under which each province has its

¹For more information see Pepper, China’s University, p. 45.
own Committee of Entrance Examination. The State Education Commission in 1982 adopted a series of regulations for the administration of the exam and provisions for punishment of violators. This was done in order to insure the secrecy and fairness of the exam.

1. Exam subjects and score weighting

Political Education is the most important subject for all candidates and the scoring of this subject has never been changed. The number of tests taken varies according to the interests of each individual student. Candidates can be divided into two major groups: liberal art and science and engineering (including agriculture and medicine). Candidates for liberal arts, including foreign languages, are tested in six subjects: Political Education, Chinese, Mathematics, History, Geography and Foreign Language. Candidates for science, engineering, agricultural and medicine science are tested in seven subjects: Political Study, Chinese, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Foreign Language. It should be noted that all the candidates have to take Political Education, Chinese, Mathematics and Foreign Language at the present time.

In order to promote the study of certain subjects or compensate for deficiencies, the government has exercised an option to change the point values in the national examination. However, recently the variable has become fixed. For instance, both groups - liberal arts and science engineering - had a foreign language component but the scores were not used. The reason being that some students were deprived of language instruction because of the upheaval caused by the Cultural Revolution. The following year foreign language scores were used but counted only as ten percent of the total score. In ensuing years the weight of foreign language has increased from thirty to fifty percent and subsequently in 1983 to seventy percent. Other changes were instituted for different majors;
mathematics counted as ten percent for foreign language majors, and Biology for science majors was changed from thirty percent to fifty percent. One thing has remained constant and that is in the exam of Political Education the scoring and weighting of the exam has remained at one hundred percent.

2. The process for formulation of test questions and procedure for administration of the exam

The work of writing examination questions is a very secretive process and is very detailed in organization and is carefully implemented by the State Education Commission. Elaborate precautions are taken to ensure secrecy and fairness at all stages of the examination process. About six weeks prior to the exam date each year, the State Education Commission invites different teachers to participate in formulating questions. These teachers are considered to be politically reliable and have a sound professional knowledge in their field. They are drawn mainly from key middle schools, universities and other educational institutions. It is believed that more and more teachers from the secondary schools are participating in the preparation of questions.

A group of ten teachers is assigned to write the questions for one exam subject. A participating teacher is asked to write a number of questions and answers, and then they get together as a group to discuss and approve the final set of test questions. It is required that they prepare two sets of questions and answers. The second set is the backup in case of leaks or some other special occasion.

The State Education Commission has made a great effort to prevent disclosure of the examination questions and to preserve the anonymity of the teachers responsible for writing them and to maintain the secrecy of this process. Those teachers who have a relative taking the examination are disqualified from
participating in the preparation of the questions. All the participants are invited to stay in a deluxe hotel in an isolated scenic city for the entire time-frame until the examinations have been given. During this time, they are forbidden to have telephone and mail communication.

When the content of the questions has been formulated, the questions become the state's confidential document until all the examinations are given. A copy of the examination paper is delivered under the strictest secrecy to each province. The seals on the envelopes containing the examination papers may not be broken until precisely thirty minutes prior to the start of each exam.

Examinations are given each year on three consecutive days in the second week of July when schools are dismissed for the Spring semester. Since China is on the same time standard, the exams are administered in the same sequence and at the same time across the country. Each examination is two hours in length with the exception of Chinese language which is a two-and-half-hour exam. The examination is administered on a county level. Candidates have to sit at the place that is in accordance with his/her Examination Permit Number. The seats in the exam room are arranged so that there is a single desk for each examinee with sufficient spaces on four sides so that one cannot look at another candidate's paper.

The name and admission slip number appearing on the examination paper are all sealed to eliminate possibilities of fraud. To grade all the papers is an enormous task for the provinces because each of the examinations consists of more than fifty objective and subjective questions. The enormity of the task can be garnered from the number of candidates which ranged from 2,500,000 to 3,600,000 candidates. Each province has the responsibility for correcting all the papers of its candidates. The graders are all middle school and university teachers. The graders are divided into small work groups of ten or so, each responsible for grading only one item of a given exam subject or adding or rechecking the total
grade. The graders follow the answer sheet closely. If there is any question beyond the answer sheet, the grader has to consult with the group leader. If the group leader is not sure, the question has to be forwarded to the provincial examination committee. From a personal experience in grading an exam in 1981, the task is rather boring, tedious and highly robotic.

A puzzling phenomena is that in any curricula listing, Political Study always heads the list. This can be found in local curricula listing as well as in government official documents. Foreign authorities seem to follow the custom. The phenomena is that in actual practice, political education does not seem to be as important. In Chinese schools, the subject that is important is often studied in the morning hours because the Chinese believe that the best work is always done in the morning. The schools usually place Political Education in the afternoon and the placement in the national examination follows this practice.

B. Examination format and revisions from 1985 - 1990

The format has evolved into a fixed state and appears to be fair. As stated before, the focus of this study is not how to improve the examination but to study the content of political education through an analysis of the examinations. Because of the nature of the content of this study, it is quite necessary to look at the format of the national examination on Political Study. Content is important but the format demonstrates the type of answers that are being sought.

It has been fifteen years since the restoration of the national entrance examination. In the ensuing years, the examination has undergone considerable change and improvement with increasing internal and external criticism that a single examination score should not be the only criterion to measure intellectual

\[\text{2see Pepper, P.69 and Clark, p.176.}\]
ability. There is no indication of a dramatic change or discontinuation of the examination in the near future. However the format of the examination is becoming more and more formalized.

From 1985 to 1988, the format of the examination has consisted of eight or nine parts. In this format, the first part consists of filling-in-blanks. The next three sections consist of multiple choices. The rest of the parts are all either discussion, explanation or analysis. The total number of questions varies in each year. (see Table 1) The numbering of the question is not counted continuously from part one to the last part.

In terms of the format of the questions from 1989 to 1990, they are virtually the same. There were five parts each year with fifty six questions in 1989 and fifty four questions in 1990. The first three parts are either filling-in-blanks, or multiple choice. Part four and part five are all questions requiring a brief answer or questions requiring analysis and explanation. However, despite all the different parts, all the examining questions are counted continuously. This unified format make it easier for grading and may make it possible for machine grading of the objective questions in the future.

1. Objective and subjective questions

   a) The changes and ratio between objective and subjective questions

   According to the way the questions are addressed, all of the questions can be divided into either objective or subjective. Objective questions here refer to questions "containing items that are two types: (1) the constructed-response type, which requires the examinee to provide a short answer from recall, and (2) the select type (e.g., matching, truth-false, multiple choice) in which a correct or best
answer is chosen (recognized) from among those furnished by the test's creator."

The objective questions test basic factual and background knowledge. It deals with who, what, where and right or wrong and true or false and there is no need for the examinee to provide his/her personal analysis or explanation. The use of subjective interpretation is virtually eliminated. The purpose is to see whether the examinee has memorized the basic factual knowledge. Subjective questions require the examinee to analyze and solve problems with the theoretical knowledge one has learned. It often deals with why and requires personal judgment and explanations.

From 1985 to 1990, there were increasing changes in the number of objective and subjective questions from 29 and 4 to 47 and 7 respectively. An examination of the 1987 test reveals that there were 36 objective and 5 subjective questions for a total of 60 questions and 40 of total points. Moreover, in 1990, there are 47 objective questions and 7 subjective questions, which comprise 56 and 44 percent of total points. The ratio between objective and subjective questions always remain around 65 % and 35 % and the changes between years are not significant. (See Table 1)

Table 1  The changes of the numbers of questions and their percentage of points

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Obj. Questions</th>
<th>Percentage of total points</th>
<th>No. of Subj. Questions</th>
<th>Percentage of total points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued next page

Although we see an increase in the number of questions, the changes of the percentage of number of questions is not significant. The percentage of the number of objective questions remains about 88.6 percent while the percentage of subjective questions remains 11.4 percent. (see Table 2)

Table 2  The percentage of the number of objective and subjective questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Obj. Questions</th>
<th>value of Percentage</th>
<th>No. of Subj. Questions</th>
<th>value of Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>87.9%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>87.8%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>89.6%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>89.3%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>87.0%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) The use of subjective question in objective format

Depending on one's purpose, a particular question may be asked in various formats. In the political questions from 1985 to 1990, a distinct problem is that a significant number of subjective questions are raised in the objective format. For example:
Which of the following practices in capitalist democratic system can socialist counties use for reference?
A. the representative system  
B. the ruling of two part or multi-party system alternately  
C. general election  
D. legal system  
Answer: (A, C, D) (see question 25, 1989, appendix)

Clearly, this is a open discussion question. The examinee with different experience and background of knowledge should have different answers. In a recent talk, this is what Deng Xiaoping, the paramount Chinese leader has to say about this question:

In short, in order to make socialism superior to capitalism, we must boldly absorb and take as reference all achievements of civilization created by the human race and should absorb and take as reference all advanced operation modes and management methods developed by other countries, including the developed capitalist countries, because they reflect the law governing modern socialized production.  

Deng has his ideas and so do the examinees. Therefore the answers should not be limited to the listed four. There should be lot of subjective thinking regarding this question even if one sets the socialism with Chinese characteristics or according to Chinese Constitution as a premise to this question. Furthermore, the official correct answer is "A, C, D". If one chooses "B" which is that socialist countries can use as reference the system of ruling of two party or multi-party alternately, he/she would be wrong of thinking that way. One should not be limited to his/her idea and more importantly one should not be punished for what

he/she thinks by not receiving the full points to this question. The format of such a question deprives any chance for examinee to discuss, to think and to create with one's knowledge and it leads to the prejudged values and theory, principles or truth.

In 1986, one question was posed in this way:

It is a completely correct principle that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought must first of all, be adhered to and secondly be developed, because

(a) intuitive knowledge must develop into rational knowledge.
(b) quantitative changes will result in qualitative changes.
(c) truth is always developed in its conflict with fallacies and in its victory over fallacies.

Expected Answer: (d) Marxism is truth. Truth is absolute, but also relative. Because it is absolute that we have to adhere to it. Because it is relative that we have to develop it. (question Part Five, 1986 appendix)

This question should also be an open discussion question. In order to limit the possible dispute or different answers, the answer sets two premises. One is that Marxism is truth, and Truth is absolute and relative. Both premises can be debated. When the precondition is set, then the answer of this question is like doing an algebra equation X+Y=Z. Because Marxism is truth and truth is absolute and relative, so we say we must adhere to it and develop it. Once again, a theory is not introduced as a theory but as the truth. An interpretation is not treated as an interpretation but as the interpretation. Questions like this leave little room for the examinees to express their views and interpretation and leads to acceptance of the theory and the interpretation. Creative thinking and personal judgment are not encouraged. Therefore how can critical thinking and theoretical development take place? A further analysis of the content will be explored in the next chapter.
After a careful study of all the objective questions, the findings summarized in Table 3, are significant. Twenty-five percent of all the objective questions are in reality subjective. This phenomenon is widely spread over the years studied and it demonstrates a pattern of teaching and reinforcement of the official pre-set criterion, value, theory and truth.

Table 3 The number of subjective questions in objective format and its percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>years</th>
<th>No. of Obj. Questions</th>
<th>No. of Subj. Ques In Obj. Format</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The problem of subjective questions with fixed answers

It is natural to provide answers to some of the exam questions. What is not natural is that all of the subjective questions have fixed answers provided the questions clearly ask for the examinee’s own point of view, understanding or interpretations. This oddity can be discerned from the following question which asks the examinee to analyze and explain the following with the given information. It is hard to imagine that any two individuals can come to the same conclusion in answering this questions if they have not been indoctrinated.
According to the *People’s Daily* of this March and April, the General Secretary and the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wrote separately to the Chairmen of the China Democratic League and China Association for Promoting Democracy. In both replies a note of thanks was written to their suggestions of the problems concerning educational development which will be considered and adopted. On April 18, the Central committee of the C.P.C gathered democratic parties and people without party affiliations for a meeting to discuss the important issues of educational development and reforms. It was also reported in the *People’s Daily* that the procuratorial departments of our country will invite a group of democratic party members and people without party affiliations to be special supervisors at procuratorial organs at every levels and participate in administrative procuratorial works.

Please explain: a) These political phenomena reflect the relationship between the Communist Party and democratic parties. b) It also reflects necessity of the multi-party cooperation under the leadership of Communist Party of China. (10 points)

**Expected Answer:**

(1) The relationship between the Communist Party and other democratic parties is that Communist Party of China takes the lead participating governing state and social affairs and the relationship between them is equal, democratic and cooperative. (3 points) The political base for this relationship is the adherence to the socialist road. (1 point) This relationship is fundamentally different from that of a capitalist party in office and a party not in office and between the ruling party and the opposition party. (1 point)

(2) To carry out the system of multi-party cooperation under the leadership of Communist Party of China will have an important significance to strengthening the unity of the people in social strataums and patriotism; to promote our democratic political construction and to push the socialist development in the construction in every field. (3 points)

(3) This political system is in conformity with our national situation. (1 point)

It is wrong to copy western political systems without considering our national situation. (1 point)

The expected answers really stretch credibility. If it were not pre-set points or principles, one could never come to expected answers. The answer says the
relationship between Communist Party of China and some democratic parties are equal. How can it be equal when one party leads others. Since this chapter deals with format, its contents will be discussed in later chapters. What is worth noticing is that all the expected answers can be found in government work reports or government documents. The following is a comparison, point by point, between context of the expected answers and the official understanding found in the government work reports and other documents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points of answers</th>
<th>Points found in the government documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) The relationship between the Communist Party and other democratic parties is that Communist Party of China takes the lead in governing state and social affairs and the relationship between them is equal, democratic and co-operative.</td>
<td>(1) Mutually uniting and co-operation while supervising each other, the Communist Party of China and the democratic parties dedicate themselves to the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) The political base for this relationship is the adherence to the socialist road.</td>
<td>(2) to the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) This relationship is fundamentally different from that of a capitalist party in office and a party not in office and between the ruling party and the opposition party.</td>
<td>(3) It [the relationship] is fundamentally different from one party or bipartisan system in Western capitalist counties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4) To carry out the system of multi-party co-operation under the leadership of Communist Party of China will have an important significance to strengthening the unity of the people in social strata and patriotism; to promote our democratic political construction and to push the socialist development in the construction in every field.

(5) This political system is in conformity with our national situation.

(6) It is wrong to copy western political systems without considering our national situation.

(4) It is essential to consolidating and broadening the patriotic united front, promoting socialist democracy, enhancing the great unity of the people of all nationalities in the country, as well as realizing the general task of the Communist Party and the state.

(5) As a socialist system of political parties which suits China’s conditions, it turned out to be a creation.....

(6) We shall never introduce a western system of separation of the three powers.

There are two serious problems in terms of the format for these type of answers. One is that points will be given only to the examinee when they give the expected answers. The more one conforms to the expected answer, the higher the score will be. This can only lead to memorization and acceptance of the prejudged value, theory or truth. It would be fine if that was the sole purpose of this examination. It is neither the purpose of education nor the purpose of this examination. The second problem is that it certainly does not reveal how much one really understands the question and does not encourage one to state his/her own views of the question. This completely negates the purpose of the examination, if it is to choose the best, most talented students. Instead the examination singles out the people who can memorize and recall official doctrines.

An analysis of the questions on the examinations of 1985 through 1990 demonstrates that there are expected answers which must be answered correctly. However there is one exception and this occurred in question fifty-two of the 1990
examinations. This question allowed for some leeway in the expected answer. It is
the first time that such a question does not have a set answer since the resumption
of the entrance examination. It has a judgment criterion although with some
restrictions or conditions, still it gives examinee some room to organize and
express his/her idea. It tests the examinee's ability of judgment, ability of
knowledge application and ability of expression. This improves the traditional way
of marking by points as mentioned before. The following is the question and its
judgment criterion.

The following excerpts are the words of ex-Presidents and the
present President of The Unites States of America. Please discuss
your opinion applying your knowledge from "Political General
Knowledge" and by combining the current situation at home,
especially in connection with the turmoil and the counter-
revolutionary rebellion which took place in Beijing in 1989.

"Voice of America is an enormous non military force. It is a
force to spark the fire in the dark in communist society." (Regan.
1987)

"In speaking of the Soviet system, the most danger is the
contact of their ideology, people, and society with ours. Because this
kind of contact can sow the unsatisfactory seed and someday, this
seed will bear the fruit of peaceful revolution." (Nixon, 1984)

"Since World War II, the West has been attempting to force
communism into a dilemma with a policy of "constraint". I hope to
transcend this policy. The new world we are seeking is a
confederation of free countries which takes unified actions --in this
new world, more and more countries will enter an increasing circle
of freedom." (Bush, 1989) (note: the "new world order" or "circle of
freedom" on the western capitalist system)

**Judgment criterion**

(1) To see the ability of judgment. Mainly to see whether
points are correct or not.

(2) To judge your ability to apply the knowledge you have
learned. Points will be given as long as you can properly use your
knowledge either from the point of class struggle, from point of the
nature or the function of the state, from the changes of international
relations, or from some other points.
(3). To judge the ability of expression, mainly to see whether the reasoning is clear or not, whether political terms are used properly or not. (6 points in all)

More importantly this change which provides judgement criterion instead of a fixed answer helps a teacher to move away from strict memorization and might lead to more creativity in the future in the teaching and learning of Political Study. A study done by Tiancai Liu and Le Tang, on the political question found that the examinee's answers were correct in political knowledge application. However a serious weakness was revealed in the application of logic and rational thought as well as in the ability to clearly express their ideas. Only fifty percent of the examinees received full credit. Perhaps changes are in the wind and hopefully this may be an indication that more subjective questions will not have fixed answers.

3. Be politically right or flunk the test

In the judgment criterion of 1990, it states clearly that those who oppose the four cardinal principles are making serious mistakes in their political viewpoint. Therefore they will fail the test. However, all failures for this reason must have their test reviewed and approved by the group leader responsible for grading the examination paper on this subject. Once again this action repeats the above mentioned problems with the format of the exam. Together the examinee's right and chances to express his/her views, understandings and interpretations is consciously and unconsciously limited.

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C. Summary

Given the fact that only ten out of one hundred candidates can go to college, no one wants to lose his/her chance of going to college which means guaranteed assignment by the state, to the most desirable permanent jobs. It is not surprising to find that the secondary school curriculum has been arranged exactly to coordinate with the national entrance examinations. Teachers teach for the exams and students learn for exams. How the teachers teach is in accordance with how they test. How students learn is in accordance with how they will be examined. The only answer for success is to memorize all the questions that might be on the examination. It does not matter whether one understands or not. It does not matter whether one agrees or not. The changes of the format of the examinations from 1985 to 1990 were practically nil. However, the orientation of the change is on the right track but the approach has to be changed if not stopped.
CHAPTER III

TEST CONTENT ANALYSIS

A. Content and its Changes

1. Introduction

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chinese education has been subordinated to the national goals of the socialist revolution and socialist construction to the present reform and four modernizations. The essence of its education has never moved away from serving the aim that "to enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture". With the wind of political struggles within the Party, the emphasis of education has been switched from "red" (political ideological values) to "expert" (academic values) and has alternated several times. Although past practice reveals the difficulties of balancing these two it seems that the government is determined to keep the line set for its education while trying to develop students morally, intellectually and physically. Chinese political education is designed to guarantee students to be "red" in the formal educational process. The curriculum of political education is fully revealed in the national entrance exam. The preceding chapter discussed the format of the political study and its changes. The concern of this chapter is the content, the analysis of the content and its changes.

A survey of the questions in the studied years indicates that test questions cover five subjects: philosophy, economics, politics, legal knowledge and current events. In philosophy, it examines mainly the Marxist philosophical theory - materialism, dialectics, epistemology and historical materialism known as the social politics in the West. In economics, it covers the Marxist theory on political economy - capital, surplus value, commodity and currency. In politics it covers state and national government principles, policies and government structure. In the study of legal knowledge, it covers the Chinese Constitution and criminal laws. In current events, it covers major international and domestic events occurring between the test years with a focus on the important measures adopted by the Party Central Committee and the accomplishments that have been made in China.

Due to the nature of the some of questions, it is hard to classify them clearly into one category or another. For instance, it is hard to categorize a question such as "the relationship between politics and economy is....?" (see question 10, 1989, appendix) Since the question tends to lean toward politics, it is classified in politics rather than in economics. One of the current event questions in the form of filling-in-the-blank in 1985, states "The guiding principle of our government in solving the problem over Hong Kong is one country, two systems" (see question 6, Part One, appendix) and the nature of this question places it in the political group. Considering the fact this is a new government stance or policy on this issue, it is believed that the emphasis is on the new policy adopted by the Party and the government rather than a basic fundamental policy. Questions like these will be grouped into current events. The premise for grouping was a compromise between the aims of the study and the purpose of the examining committee.
2. Changes in emphasis on test content

A study of the thirty three questions of the 1985 test reveals that fifteen were dealing with philosophy, ten were economics in nature and eight are on current events. No questions dealt with politics or legal knowledge.2

A similar coverage is found in the 1986 questions. There were seventeen questions concerning philosophy, sixteen questions concerning economics and seven questions were about current events. Again none of them were about politics or legal knowledge.3

The coverage of the questions of 1987 remains the same as in previous years. A void is found in the lack of questions concerning the study of laws or the Constitution. Like the previous two years, most of the questions were concerned with philosophy, economics and current events.4

The test questions of 1988 indicate a shift of the test subjects. There were only two subjects tested. For the first time, the questions regarding political economics were totally ignored, which caused an extended coverage of both philosophy and current events. However, in the area of current events, a few question, economic in nature, were included by answering direct quotes from the

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2 Philosophy: Part Two (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9); Part Three (1, 2, 3); Part Four (1, 2); Part Five (1, 2); Part Seven and Part Nine.
Economics: Part Two (5, 6, 7); Part Three (4, 5, 6); Part Four (3, 4); Part Six and Part Eight.
Current Events: Part One (1 through eight).

3 Philosophy: Part Two (7, 8, 9, 10); Part Three (3, 4, 5, 6, 7) Part Four (3, 4, 5); Part Five (5, 6, 7) and Part Seven.
Economics: Part Two (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6); Part Three (1, 2); Part Four (1, 2); Part Five (1, 2, 3, 4); Part Six and Part Eight.
Current Events: Part One (1 through 7).

4 Philosophy: Part One (11, 12, 13); Part Two (2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19); Part Four, Part Five and Part Seven.
Economics: Part One (14, 15, 16); Part Two (1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 20); Part Three and Part Six.
Current Events: Part One (1 through 10).
government policy adopted by the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The study of legal knowledge and government institutions were totally ignored.\(^5\)

The test of 1989 is significant in that major changes can be discerned. Philosophy and economics have been replaced by the subjects of politics and legal knowledge with current events unchanged. The political system now constitutes thirty two percent of the exam and legal knowledge nine percent. The coverage of current events stayed the same.\(^6\)

The test of 1990 demonstrates the same coverage and format as in 1989. Once again questions dealing with philosophy and economics were ignored. The changes were following the same pattern for two years and may indicate permanency. The political realm is now dominate with sixty three percent and current events twenty one percent and legal knowledge approximately fifteen percent.\(^7\) The following chart (Table 4) illustrates the changes within these six years.

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\(^5\) Philosophy: Part One (1 through 10); Part Two (1 through 15); Part Six, , Part Seven and Part Eight. Current events: (1 through 18) and Part Four and Part Five.

\(^6\) Politics: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 10, 11 12; 15, 16, 18 through 31 and 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56. Legal knowledge: 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 32, 38, 42, 45. Current events: 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46 through 50

\(^7\) Politics: 1 through 9; 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20 through 30; 32, 33, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54. Legal knowledge: 16, 17, 18, 19, 34, 39, 47, 51. Current events: 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46.
Table 4  The changes in content of tests, 1985 - 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Philosophy</th>
<th>Economics</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Legal knowledge</th>
<th>Current event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. --refers to the number of questions.
% --refers to the percentage of total questions.

The above statistics reveal a dramatic change in test content. From 1985 to 1990, philosophy questions which constituted over forty percent of the exam in 1985 had dropped to zero by 1990. Questions regarding economics that constituted thirty-five percent of the exam in 1985 were virtually displaced by 1988. In the years 1985 to 1989 the exams were void of questions on state and government structure or the study of legal knowledge. However, by 1990 these subjects replaced questions regarding philosophy and economics.

The anomaly reveals the irregularity of the test subjects and the changes of emphasis of the curriculum of Political Education from 1985 to 1990. The understanding of the changes in test content require an analysis of the contents of the exam.
B. Content analysis

In the review of the test questions, a distinct pattern is revealed and that is to treat one theoretical school as the only correct one. Other theories or schools of thought are implicated as being erroneous and thus are excluded. There is only one correct thought and that thought dominates the school curriculum. Therefore, there is no room for rational thinking, and rote memorization is the process of education. This type of education precedes from subject to concept, from a concept to a principle and from principle to its application. The process of analyzing the content will proceed from the type of instruction that students receive. That is, it will begin with conceptual knowledge, principles formulation and its application, along with inherent contradictions that may appear.

1. Philosophical questions
   a) Conceptual and prejudged principles

   An analysis of the exam questions reveal that the questions dealing with philosophy are based on a preset conclusion of what constitutes philosophy. To the makers of the examination, philosophy is a science and it is based on a Marxist interpretation of philosophy. Other philosophers may debate whether it is pure Marxist or Engels interpretations of Marx or a Chinese Marxist interpretation. It is Marxist because Chinese authorities believe Marx perceived philosophy in its correct connotation and his philosophy is the general science of nature, human society and cognitive development. It is the foundation of the world outlook and the methodology by which people understand the world and change the world. (see question number 5, Part Four, 1986, appendix) Also it is in conformity with the Chinese Communist Party's principle that Marxism is the guiding principle for its revolutionary cause in building socialism. This poses a contradiction if the
guiding principles is Marxism, why were philosophy questions dealing with Marxism discontinued by 1990. Table 5 illustrates this point dramatically.

Table 5  The trend of percentage changes on philosophical questions

Through the study of each concept, students are expected to and must, in terms of passing the exam, agree to the prejudged principles for the establishment of a scientific world view for the guidance of their action in practice. The following examples drawn from the various test items revealed the general structure of moving from concept to principle and reflects the curriculum patterns in Chinese schools.

Marxist philosophy vs. other philosophies
Question:

The difference between dialectic materialism and the old philosophy is that

Answer:
its world outlook is both materialistic and dialectic.
it is highly revolutionary and vigorously scientific.

( question 8, Part Two, 1988 appendix)
Question:

The difference and relationship between Marxist philosophy and political economy is

Answer:
(a) that philosophy takes the whole world as its object of study, while political economy studies the problem in the area of social economy.
(b) that the dialectical materialism of Marxist philosophy is the general science of nature, human society and cognitive development while political economy is the science of the study of relations of production and its law of development.
(c) political economy is the proof and application of Marxist philosophy.
(d) Marxist philosophy is the foundation of the world outlook and methodology of political economy.
(e) Marxist philosophy should also develop with the development of political economy and other science. (question 5, Part Two, 1986, appendix)

Materialist dialectic

Question:

Dialectic materialism believes that the nature of a thing is primarily determined by

Answer:

the identity of opposites. (question 2, Part Two, 1985, appendix)

Questions:

Materialism and dialectics are closely related and cannot be separated. This is because

Answers:
1) the objective world itself is not only material, but also changes in accordance with its laws.
2) neither materials without motion and nor motion without materials exist. (questions 11, Part Two 1988, appendix)

Question:

The reason why dialectic materialism is a scientific world outlook and methodology is

Answer:

a) that it accomplishes a scientific system of understanding of the objective world under the guidance of practice.
b) that it inherits the excellent achievements in the history of philosophy; it is the crystallization of the new materials of natural science; and it summarizes the experience of the struggle of the proletariat. (question 2, Part Two, 1987, appendix)

Question:

According to the materialist dialectics, the relationship between motion and stillness is

Answer:

1) that there is stillness in motion, just as there is motion in stillness.

2) that without motion, there is no stillness; without stillness, there is no motion.

3) that motion is absolute, while stillness is relative.

4) stillness is also motion (question 3, Part Four, 1986. appendix)

Question:
Materialist dialectics holds that development is

Answer:

that things undergo a process of metabolism in which things change from a lower stage to a higher stage. (question 3, Part One, 1988, appendix)

Dialectic materialism vs. idealism, metaphysics and agnosticism

Questions:

Heraclitus believes that man can not step into the same river even once. His mistake is

Answer:

that he denies relativity of stillness. (See question 9, Part Two, 1985, appendix)

Question:

Denying the relative stillness in things will result in

Answer:

agnosticism. (see question 4, Part One, 1988, appendix)

Question:

The fundamental distinction between dialectical materialism and metaphysics is in

Answer:

whether or not it is recognized that the inner contradiction in things are interrelated. (see question 7, Part Two, 1986)

Question:
The belief which severs the relations between matter and motion and which favors motion devoid of matter is,  
Answer: idealism. (see question 8, Part two, 1985, appendix)

Truth vs. fallacy  
Question:  
The line of demarcation between truth and fallacy is,  
Answer:  
that truth is the accurate reflection of the objective reality and its laws but fallacy is not.

Question:  
Theorem and equation in natural sciences are truths because  
Answer:  
they were proved in practice to be in conformity with the laws of nature.  
(see question 10, Part Two, 1986, appendix)

Question:  
It is a completely correct principle that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought must "first of all, be adhered to and secondly be developed,  
because

Expected Answer:  
Marxism is truth. Truth is absolute, but also relative. Because it is absolute that we have to adhere to it. Because it is relative that we have to develop it.  
(See question 7, Part Five, 1986, appendix)
The absoluteness of truth means

Answer:

the cognition that contains undeniable content. (see question 7, Part One, 1988)

Theory vs. practice

Question:

"Theory must develop with practice, so that theory can match with the changed objective reality". This statement indicates

Answer:

theory and practice is a unity made concrete in history. (see question 9, Part Two, 1986, appendix)

The above examples show the establishment of each concept and its principles. As the examples demonstrate there is no freedom of thought but rather a rigidity of thought. For instance, is it dialectic or a different perspective? What is truth? And is truth absolute or relative? The examples also suggest that other theories are introduced only for criticism. There is very little room for students to understand and use their judgment or analysis of the principles. All the students must remember are the approved principles. It has to be noted that some of the concepts may have their special meaning based on Chinese interpretations. The West and Chinese may share the same name of each concept, but in application their meaning may mean two totally different things. For instance: metaphysics, in the West means, "the branch of philosophy that systematically investigates the nature of first principles and problems of ultimate reality, including the study of being (ontology) and, often, the study of the structure of the universe
(cosmology). However, metaphysics in China means to see things as one-sided, stillness, isolated. According to the test content on philosophical questions, the concept and approved principles can be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major philosophical concepts</th>
<th>The official Chinese understanding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marxist philosophy vs. old philosophy</td>
<td>Marxist philosophy is scientific and only correct one and should be upheld. Others should be opposed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>materialism vs. idealism</td>
<td>Materialism is right. Idealism is wrong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialectics vs. metaphysics</td>
<td>Dialectic is right; metaphysics is wrong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth vs. fallacy</td>
<td>Truth reflects an accurate objective world and it is absolute as well as relative. Fallacy does not reflect objective things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material vs. consciousness</td>
<td>Material determines consciousness and consciousness counteract on material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative change and quantitative change</td>
<td>Quantitative change is necessity for qualitative change. Qualitative change is inevitable outcome of quantitative change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Theory vs. practice

Theory comes from practice and guides practice. Practice is the only way to test theory.

Through the study of the concepts of dialectical materialism, we can conclude that students are expected to achieve an elementary comprehension of the basic principles of the physical-material qualities of the world, the relationship between substance and consciousness, the universal interrelations and development of the world, the unity of opposites, quantitative and qualitative change, dialectic negation and finally knowledge and practice. Students are expected to understand that truth is both objective and developmental and it is discovered and tested by practice. The goal of the curriculum is that students are expected to uphold dialectical materialism and oppose idealism. They should uphold the material dialectic and oppose metaphysics. The aim is to "help students synthesize his or her previous knowledge of the natural and social sciences and to cultivate the abstract and dialectical thinking ability of students and to teach them scientific methods for analyzing and solving problems."¹⁰ Analyzing the related questions can give us a clear view of how information is processed and how the Chinese government tries to achieve its goal through formal education.

All the philosophical application questions can be divided into two kinds according to the purpose of the test. Ultimately, the purpose of the test is to indoctrinate the student politically and to achieve unification of thought. This is accomplished by testing basic principles and another is the application of the

principles in a real situation to justify the government policy or Party's line and to defend their claims.

b) political indoctrination

(1) the application of the principles for the sake of principle.

Application questions are designed to reinforce the prejudged principle. For example one question asks students to explain the differences and connection between cognition, truth and fallacy. As long as one can remember the official understanding of each concept and relationship, then an explanation of the expected would be as follows.

1. Cognition, truth and fallacy are three different concepts. Cognition is the reflection of objective things which includes correct reflections as well as incorrect reflections. Truth is the correct reflection of objective things and its laws, which is in conformity with objective reality. Fallacy is the incorrect reflection of objective things which is not in conformity with objective reality.

2. Cognition, truth, and fallacy are also interrelated. They are all reflections of objective things in the human brain and their contents are all from objective reality. These three concepts should be examined by practice. Truth develops from its conflict with fallacies and human cognition will develop and be further comprehended with the advancement of truth. (see question Part Four, 1987, appendix)

The students' explanation would be the same as expected, if not word for word. This is because points are given according to the specific principles that one can recall. If a student omits one principle, then he/she loses a point. The following question serves the same purpose. The question asks "how do you understand the three unities of materialism, dialectics and epistemology in the philosophy of dialectical materialism? What is the significance of this unity on a sophisticated level to the philosophy of dialectic materialism?"
Expected Answers:

(1) The extreme unity of materialism and dialectics is an important feature of dialectic materialism. Both study the same material world from different perspectives. Materialism emphasizes the materiality and objectivity of the world while dialects emphasizes the laws of motion of the objective world.

(2) Materialism, dialectics and epistemology can't be separated. Materialism and dialectics reflect the very general laws of the objective world. The contents and laws of thought originate from the objective world of materials. Objectivity determines subjectivity, while subjectivity reflects objectivity. The two in nature are consistent with each other.

(3) It is because dialectic materialism unites materialism and dialectics and is applied to epistemology. Materialism, dialectics and epistemology are organically united so that the philosophy of dialectic materialism transcends all old philosophies in the past and becomes a complete and scientific philosophical system. (see question Part Seven, 1986, appendix)

The purpose of these questions are to test whether one has grasped the basic principles with an understanding of the relations between them. These types of questions appear consistently. In Chapter I, we have learned there are subjective questions totaling 40 percent of the score. The questions are theoretical and based on Marxist concepts and principles. In this manner, they allow for little or no interpretation and they are not designed to be problem analysis or problem solving. The effect would certainly be to reinforce the importance of the principles, which in fact does not agree with the claim that sixty percent of the test represents informational questions and the remainder application questions. Overemphasizing of theory confirms that the learning process emphasizes theory without understanding of the roots of the theory. It certainly overemphasizes memorization.
The stress of specific factual information serves three educational roles. First, some facts are important in themselves. For example, what is Marxist dialectics? and what is idealism? What is truth? Secondly, some facts are worth remembering because a cultured person is expected to possess them. "They are the medium of public discourse, the instruments through which we are able to communicate our views to one another and make decisions in a democratic way." One doesn't expect a Chinese school student not to know the Marxist general principles after a year of study. Thirdly, the role of facts is the providing of building blocks for further study and the organization of one's knowledge in a more efficient way. The primary problem is not to overemphasize theoretical memorization. In all of the questions, whether they are objective or subjective, one can discern that the Chinese curriculum as developed by the government is designed deliberately, to enforce Marxism as the only correct theory. Students have no opportunity to learn the theory critically and have no chance for comparative thinking because other views are considered to be wrong.

(2) To theorize and justify government policy for the purpose of unification of one thought

In test construction, the test makers usually ask students to demonstrate the philosophical principle by giving a conclusion, a situation or a quotation. The following example states that Chinese youth must foster a lofty communist idea in the construction of socialist modernization, then students are asked to explain why they have to do so and "speaking of your personal practice, by using the principle of the dynamism of consciousness". (see question Part Nine, 1985, appendix)

Expected Answers:

1) Material determines consciousness, and consciousness counteracts with dynamism on material and can reveal the nature, the laws and thus the world can be consciously transformed through practice. Correct consciousness plays an active role in the development of things, while incorrect consciousness hampers the development of things.

2) Communist ideology is in conformity with correct consciousness of the laws of social development, which is our spiritual strength for our construction of socialist modernization. Only by fostering communist ideology can we guarantee the right direction of our construction of socialist modernization and can we resist the corrosive and disturbing influences of incorrect ideology so as to achieve the success of the construction of our socialist modernization.

3) The youth are the future of our country and are trusted with the historic mission of building socialist modernization. They must therefore foster communist ideology and make greater contributions to realization of socialist modernizations.

The premise of this question is to foster communist ideology for the Chinese youth in their realization of socialist modernizations. All students have to do is to apply two principles they have learned in class. First of all, students have to apply the principle that a correct consciousness plays an active role in the development of things. Then Communist ideology is the correct consciousness. There is no other possibility that one can answer this question in any other way. The logic goes like this. For his action, one has to set correct consciousness. The correct consciousness in this case is to foster communist ideology because it is in conformity with the consciousness of the laws of the social development. Because it is correct, students have to act accordingly.

This example shows how one can apply the principle to a given situation. The emphasis is not on the process of understanding the theory and knowledge rather it is to justify government policy so as to ensure students get a correct
understanding which usually reinforces governmental ideology. The goal of this question, as a matter of fact, is to unify students' thinking. It is not to test whether students understand the basic principle. In 1987, question Part Five states as follows:

Question:

Why do young students not only have to study hard and to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism and scientific knowledge, but also to actively participate in social practice? Please analyze and answer the question with the application of the principle of dialectic relationship between theory and practice as well as your own ideological practice.

Expected answer:

(1) The relationship between theory and practice is dialectical unity. On one hand, practice is the base for theory and on the other hand, theory counteracts practice. Scientific theory plays a guiding role in practice.

(2) Young students must study hard the theory of Marxism-Leninism and scientific knowledge which will be used to guide them to transform the world. Theory can be only given a full play when it combines with practice but meanwhile it can be tested and developed in practice. Participating in social practice and finding out the reality and people's needs are the only way to realize the combination between theory and practice. (see question Part Five, 1987, appendix)

The same question in a different format was repeated in another test year. But they serve the same purpose.

Question:

We must not only foster a lofty communist ideal, but also at present, do a good job at our work and study. Some people believe that the communist ideal has nothing to do with their daily work. They don't study hard nor do their work conscientiously. From a philosophical point of view, the mistake of such a view is

Expected Answer:
that it violates the principle that the particularity of contradiction is inherent in the universality; and that generality is inherent in individuality. (see question 6, Part Five, 1986)

The pattern is clear which is to defend and theorize the Party's policy by apply philosophical principles. The intention is simply that everything has been considered if one listens to the Party and follows the Party's "correct" policy. The teaching of philosophy in such a way does meet the goal of training students to analyze and solve problems according to Marxist philosophy.

(3) The problem of inherent contradictions

The problem in philosophical questions is not conceptual mode but in the applications of set principles. A clarification of the problem can be discerned from analyzing the following questions.

Question:
What do you correctly view the fact that workers' material living standards have been raised in developed capitalist countries?

Expected Answer:
(1) It must be viewed in connection with their development of productive forces in society. The increase of the material living standards of a society determines the development of productive forces in society, and the changes of societal economic conditions. The relative increase of the material living standards of the workers in capitalist society has to do with the relative higher development of productive forces in these countries.

(2) It must viewed in connection with the proletariat as a whole class. One has to look at the conditions of the employed workers as well as the conditions of the unemployed workers.

(3) It must viewed in connection with a certain historical period. One has to look at the rising period of production as well as the period of economic recession and crisis.

(4) It must viewed in connection with the whole range of the capitalist world. One has to look at the workers' living conditions of developed capitalist countries, as well as at workers' living
conditions in undeveloped capitalist countries and colonial countries and dependency.

(see question Part Six, 1985 appendix)

This is an example of the application of historic dialectic materialism, which is supposed to present an historical and objective understanding. According to Chinese Marxist view, this is the only correct objective view on this simple fact but there are inherent contradictions in this view.

First of all, there is problem in logic with the argument. Supposedly, this question is an open-ended question. But the conclusion of the argument is already prejudged. That is to say, whatever one says, and whichever way one argues, the conclusion is already set. If one agrees with the conclusion, then you are right. If you don't agree with the conclusion, then you are wrong. In this case, what is the point of argument?

Secondly, the question does acknowledge the material increase in living of the workers in capitalist world. However, according to the Chinese interpretation of Marxism the material world is merely one aspect of life. The other aspect which is ignored in the supposedly correct answer is the spiritual life. The Chinese culture has always emphasized the spiritual side or quality of life as well as the quantity of life.

Thirdly, the most important one is that the expected answer argues that this simple fact does not mean or say anything. It clearly suggests that at present, the productive forces have not developed or increased a great deal. Once the superiority of socialism comes into full play, the production will start developing and increasing rapidly, then, the material living condition of the proletariat class

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will be better. So argument is totally based on the assumption of the utopian socialism. "We cannot leave the attainment of this highest goal to mere chance, nor can we hope to find it by a stroke of luck." Fact is just a fact. Sophistry would not alter fact. The argument in the expected answer itself violates the very basic Marxist materialist principle to proceed from reality.

What one can see clearly is how students have to learn to express their views with the applications of the principles. In order to have a "correct view" one has to cope with principles, with the language, and even the writing styles. They learn how to say it and say what is expected. The process of education is that students are cultivated to accept a structured package without asking for the rationale. This is the process of indoctrination not education.

No one can argue the legitimacy of trying to help students to apply certain principles in order to get an objective understanding of a problem from different perspectives. The problem in the teaching of philosophy in Political study is that Marxist philosophy is regarded as the only correct view and its principles are used for political purpose. The orthodox approach to the understanding of a phenomena or a problem initiate from "the end" or "conclusion" rather than starting with a problem. The function of the principles is to verify the "true" or "correct" conclusion. Of all the analytical or application questions, there is not even one exception. From a philosophical point of view, students have to explain why they have to study Marxism - Leninism, why they have to believe in communism; why socialism and democracy are unified and finally how they can contribute to the democratic construction according to the theory that socialist democratic construction is a gradual process. The emphasis of the whole process is to

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reinforce the Party's line that is set to be followed. As a scientific approach, philosophy has lost its independence.

Another point worthy of mentioning is the inherent contradiction between theory and practice in application. The theory of application states "our theories, ideas, our notions and beliefs, our policies, procedures and practice cannot be perfect." Viewing all the philosophical questions, it is not hard to find the principles that students are required to study. They are treated as "complete correct principles" and "complete and scientific philosophy system". (see question Part Seven, 1986 appendix) That is to say a theory of philosophy is not treated as one among equals but as the theory and it is approved as the truth which is to be accepted by the majority. The principle has been so "complete" that there is no room for improvement anymore. There should not be any other interpretation or opposing views. If we apply the principle of the dialectical point of view, the "principles" are relatively correct and absolute. Because it is absolute that we should adhere to them. The key world is relatively, because if it is relative, then, there can be room for development. This is a contradiction in terms because if a system or theory so complete how can we develop it? If different views are not allowed to be expressed, then how can a theory be developed and improved? Marxists agree that Marxist theory in its philosophical sense should not only explain the world but also help to change it. Changes can only take place through criticism. "Any individual, groups, or institution that is claims to be, immune from criticism is authoritarian. Not being criticizable, they are incapable for

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improvement." To impart knowledge by indoctrination is in itself undialectic and it is not in conformity with the principle of combining theory with practice.

2. Economic questions

Table Six illustrates that economic questions represented a substantial percentage of the test year in 1985. This remained unchanged through 1987. Beginning in 1988, there is a decline in economic substance. Moreover, there begins to be a change in both content and the approach. The change reflects theoretical emphasis on domestic economic policy and not on the theory. The discontinuation of the economic questions raises the issue of what motivated the disinterest.

Table 6  Percentage of changes on economic questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the teaching of theory of political economics, the same educational approach is used as was practiced in the teaching of philosophy. Theoretically, it is very systematic proceeding from concept to principle, from principle to application.

a) Concepts and its applications

The economic concepts that students' study in China can be ascertained from a study of multiple choice questions. An analysis of the questions show that the same concepts are being tested yearly but in a different format. The concepts being mainly tested are the exploitation of the capitalist over the workers, the theory of capital, the sources of the capitalist accumulation, and surplus value. For example:

Capital

Question:

In its essence, capital reflects

A. the relationship between materials and other materials.
B. the relationship between human and material.
C. the equal trade relationship between capitalists and workers.
D. the exploitive relationship by capitalists over workers.

Answer: (D) (see question 5, Part One, 1985 Appendix)

This is a multiple-choice question. The test questions does not specify the theory each answer implies. Apparently, that is not even a question in China in their study. The main stream of Western economics holds that capital like labor force creates value. By this understanding, capital should reflect the equal trade relationship between capitalists. However, the correct answer is (d) which means capital reflects the exploitation by capitalists over workers. Clearly it is based on a Marxist view. and the question on the test indicate remainder of the concepts are constructed in the same way.

Surplus Value:
The source of capital accumulation comes from surplus value. (see question 7, Part One, 1985 appendix)

The accurate measurement of exploitation of workers by capitalists should be the rate of surplus value. (see question 2, Part Two, 1986 appendix)

From an analysis of economic questions, it is fair to conclude that all the economic questions and answers are based on Marxist's political economic theory. The concepts and principles presented to students can be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The main political economic concepts</th>
<th>The right Chinese understanding of Principles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>Its accumulation comes from surplus value and it reflects exploitive relationship by capitalist over workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capitalists</td>
<td>One who seeks surplus value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surplus value</td>
<td>Derives from the exploitation of workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reproduction and mass production</td>
<td>creates production surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>production surplus</td>
<td>creates economic recession and crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic recession and crisis</td>
<td>means unemployed workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
more unemployed workers  means exploitation intensified by
capitalists

capitalists become richer and richer  workers becomes poorer and poorer

capitalism -- decadent, digging its own socialism--glorious, great, correct, and
tomb will replace capitalism.

The concepts establish the basic Marxist knowledge concerning political
economics. They describe a) the Marxist theory of labor value, surplus value,
mass production and economic crisis. In the end, capitalism must fail and be
replaced by socialism; b) the basic contents of Chinese national economics which
demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system even if the Chinese nation, at
present, is in the underdeveloped socialist stage. Through the process of
developing from undeveloped stage to the developed stage, socialism must
inevitably be victorious and will ultimately make the transition to communism.

b) Principle application

The teaching process remains consistent regardless of the subject and is
from concept to principles, from principles to application. The stress is on the
principles in order to help students establish a "correct" viewpoint. Once one can
remember the basic principles, the solving of problem is easy. The following
examples show what students are expected to learn about capitalism and its
principles:

Example One: Production surplus creates economic recession and crisis and
economic recession and crisis means unemployment.

Question:

During a recession in a capitalist country, a miner's child and
his mother had the following dialogue: "It's cold, why don't we start
the stove?" "We don't have the money to buy coal, because your
father lost his job." "Why has my father lost his job?" "It is because too much coal has been produced." The principle of political economics illustrated by the dialogue is

Answer:

that capitalist economic crisis is caused by relative production surplus. (see question 6, Part Two, 1986, appendix)

**Example Two: Competition will result in Monopoly**

**Question:**

According to American media, there were up to 3,000 enterprises merged in 1985, an increase of 400 over 1984. The assets in 32 mergers were over one billion dollars compared to only mergers with that value in 1984. These circumstances demonstrates

Answer:

That American concentration of production and capital coupled with a higher degree of monopoly is, at present, developing on a large scale. Competition is not over but is becoming more intense. (see question 4, Part five, 1986 appendix)

**Example Three: More surplus value means intensified exploitation of workers. Over production means recession and economic crisis.**

**Question:**

According to the statistics released by the International Labor Organization in 1973, 8,270,000 workers were unemployed in 21 major capitalist countries such as the Unite States, France, Britain, West Germany, Italian and Japan. In the peak of the economic crisis of 1975, the number of unemployed reached to 14,400,000. In America alone, 7,830,000 workers were unemployed, doubled that of 1965. Although the number declined somewhat in later years, it remained around 6,000,000. Please explain the reason for the existence of the above facts by applying the theory of surplus value and cyclical crisis of the capitalist economy.

Expected answer:
(1) In the process of continuous expanding production, capitalists, in order to gain the most surplus value possible, adopt new technologies and improve their productivity with the result that the increasing rate is out of proportion of the need of the labor force required by capital investment. Machines squeeze workers out. Meanwhile, the supply of labor in society often exceeds the need for labor by capitalists.

2. Capitalists intensify their exploitation and oppression of the employed workers by taking advantage of the large number of unemployed workers.

3. During the recession, many enterprises decrease or stop production, may even go into bankruptcy which rapidly increases the number of unemployed. During the time of recovery and upsurge, production recovers thus increasing the number of employed. (see question Part Six, 1987, appendix)

The examples cited are illustrative of the learning expectation of the students and are attempts to attest the application of socialist economic theory to an understanding of the problems of capitalism. Students are expected to believe in the superiority of socialism by these few isolated examples. Logically, the condemnation of the disadvantage of the capitalist economy can not attest to the inherent superiority of socialism. Of all the economic questions both informational or applicational in the test years, there is not one question that could demonstrate the advantage of socialism. Another fallacy in this application is that an objective understanding of capitalism can not be gained from a few isolated numbers or phenomena.

Several obvious problems exist in the study of the political economy in China. First, Marxist theory is once again treated as the only correct principle and other schools are totally excluded; secondly, there is a built-in antagonism toward the capitalist economy without recognizing the limitation of the economic structure in China and any effort to remedy it; thirdly, socialist theory by itself can neither
explain what is happening in capitalist countries nor what is happening in socialist China today.

The political and economic ideas of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels emerged as a developed system of thought in the middle of the nineteen century, which corresponded to the beginning of capitalism in western European countries. Politically, workers at that time were at the bottom of the social class system dating from feudalism. Economically, the need for capital accumulation resulted in the cruel exploitation of workers. These workers were formerly peasants who were deprived of their land and were forced into industrial labor of fourteen hours or more daily. However their income could not meet their basic necessity for food, clothes and their children's education. Marx observed these phenomena and predicted that capitalism would result in the absolute poverty of the proletariat and the proletariat would revolt against capitalist injustice. According to Marx, this revolution would put the proletariat in power and they would build a society based on the idea of "Each according to his ability, and to each according to his needs"—namely communism. This beautiful dream inspired many workers and peasants and might be compared to the Bible which inspired many to believe in Christianity. Under the leadership of the Communist International, a socialist revolution was first won in Tsarist Russia in 1917. Influenced by the Russian revolution, the Chinese Communist Party gained its power in 1949. Since then the world was divided into capitalism and socialism.

Marxist theory believed that in capitalist countries there would be the development of only two classes - the capitalist and proletariat. The proletariat would be in economic deprivation at the mercy of the capitalist. However, time has proved Marx wrong on this point because of the emergence of a prosperous middle class and the subsequent improvement in the standard of living for the workers.
The collapse of the Soviet socialist state demonstrates that Marx did not calculate the disadvantages of public ownership. An inherent problem in the system is the lack of personal initiative and the drive to gain personal material goods because of the equal distribution. It would seem that competition within a market system is the drive for a successful economic system. Within a socialist system, workers have lacked the power to control production, management and the state bureaucracy which has resulted in the workers being controlled rather than being the masters. In reality Marxist's socialism is far from being the utopia that its followers predicted. The inherent shortcomings and failures of Marxism is not allowed to be discussed in the PRC. Marxist theory is to be believed and studied in the schools of China. Disagreement is not tolerated.

A basic tenet of Chinese education practice is to combine theory with practice. This theory is useless when it cannot be used to analysis the economic structure of the PRC. Rather it is to be used to advocate and consolidate the socialist planned economy by exposing the weaknesses in the capitalist world. Chinese students are not taught self-criticism but instead are taught to idealize their system by condemning the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists.

However, when China opened its door to the outside world at the beginning of eighties, what students saw, heard and read about capitalism was quite different. They felt that they were betrayed. They are suspicious of the theory and conclusions that were previously taught to them as being correct. They questioned that if China had been engaged in promoting socialism for over forty years, how could it still be in a primary development state? They wanted an explanation that since socialism is so good why, in terms of economic development, is the mainland behind Taiwan; Eastern Germany behind Western Germany; North Korea behind South Korea. From their exam, they learned that "The GNP of our country in 1980 is only 2.5% of that of the world. While in comparison with
Japan, our GNP in 1985 is only 1/5 of that of Japan. In the same year, the GNP of the United States exceeded ours and reached 36,800 billion dollars." (see question Part Eight, 1988, appendix) They are frustrated that since their system is so good why is the government calling for economic and political reform and trying to attract foreign investment and the introduction of capitalist management. Why does China need a stock market? Abstract theory seems to be out of touch with reality. In another way, this explains why students don't want to study and teachers don't want to teach such a doctrine. This also explains the reason for the discontinuation of political economic questions in the exam.

The present leadership believes that the youth represent the future of China and are charged with continuing the drive for modernizing socialism. The inherent problem is that the youth of China have received a rigid political education and can not transform its indoctrination overnight. A new generation has to be taught to think critically and adjust the system to conform to the modern economic world. It takes time to educate a new generation.

3. Political questions

A study of the general knowledge of politics begins in the second year of middle school (sixth grade). However this subject was not included on the agenda of the national entrance examination until 1989. Apparently, the Chinese government did not realize its importance. Eventually without admitting a failure of their ideological education through the study of philosophical and political economics, they felt that it might be more constructive to emphasize the ideology through the study of politics and government structure and functions.

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16Gui, Li, Yuan, Ren and Hongliang, Yao, "An Investigative Survey of conditions Among Middle School Ideological and Political Workers in Beijing", Chinese Education, (Fall 1989 Vol. 22, No.3) pp. 91-111.
The system of instruction in political studies begins with theoretical studies dealing with general abstractions and then moving to the concrete. Followed by domestic study to international and then from concepts of political studies to principles and from principle to application. Under the general category, there are different subtopics used to transmit directly or indirectly a specific theme. Then the theme is often applied and reinforced in a given situation such as analyzing a question. In order of frequency, the following examples, best illustrates the subtopic and direct or transmitted theme.

**Subtopic: On state system**

**Question:**

The essential characteristics of a nation are

**Answer:**

A. sharing a common region, economic life, language as well as psychological factor. (See question 6, 1989, appendix)

**Question:**

The main condition to determine socialist characteristics of the state power is

**Answer:**

that the working class and its vanguard the Communist Party represents the power of the state's leadership. (see question 2, 1990, appendix)

**Question:**

To carry out the policy of "one country, two systems" will not change the socialist characteristics of our country. This is because

**Answer:**
A. that although the special administrative region enjoys high autonomous jurisdiction it does not endure independent sovereign rights.

B. that socialist system plays a dominant role with the policy of "one country, two systems".

C. the capitalist system that is practiced in a special administrative region will not play a dominant role in the whole state.

D. the premise and foundation of the policy of "one country, two systems" is one country, which is the People's Republic of China. (see question 26, 1989, appendix)

Theme summary: China is a socialist country. The Communist Party of China is the leadership of the state. The policy of "one country and two systems" over the issue of Hong Kong will not change the socialist characteristics of the state because the capitalist system in Hong Kong is practiced in a special administrative region and plays a small role compared to the rest of China.

Subtopic: on political system

Question:

Political system refers to

Answer:

an organizational form of a state. (see question 3, 1989, appendix)

Question:

The creation of a political party and its existence are based on the foundation of class division. This demonstrates

Answer:

a) that political parties mainly reflect the will and interests of the class it represents.
b) that political parties is a tool of a class struggle.
c) that any political party is sure to be the political organization of a particular class. (see question 24, 1990 appendix)

Question:

Political party is

Answer:

a) that it is the division based on social classes.

b) that it is the outcome of the relationship of modern capitalist economy and politics. (see question 22, 1989, appendix)

Theme summary: From the above test questions, we learn that political system is an organizational form of a state. However, the general understanding and interpretations of the political system are all based on class division, which is the outcome of the relationship of modern capitalist economy and politics. Proletarian workers' class is represented by the communist party. Bourgeoisie - capitalist class is represented by their capitalist parties.

Subtopic: on Chinese political system

Question:

The fundamental political system of our country is

Answer:

the system of the People's Congress. (see question 1, 1989 appendix)

Question

The main objective of the reform of the political system in our country is

Answer:

to build socialist democratic politics. (see question 18, 1989, appendix)
Question:
The key to reforming the political structure is, first of all, the separation of Party and government. The separation of Party and government refers to

Answer:
A. the separation of the functions of the Party and government.
B. that the Party must stay away from administrative work and exercise political leadership. (see question 21, 1989, appendix)

Question:
In recent years, the major step in the reformation of our electoral system has been

Answer:
a) the adoption of the practice of holding elections with more candidates than posts instead of even number of candidates for same number of posts.
b) to build a system in which nominees will meet their constituency.
c) to expand the range of holding direct elections.
d) to improve procedures for nominating candidates. (see question 24, 1989, appendix)

Question:
Chinese People's Political Consultative conference:

Answer:
a) is an united front organization of our country.
b) functions as a political consultant and supervision of democratic practice. (see question 30, 1989, appendix)
Question:

The relationship between the Communist Party and other democratic parties is not

Answer:

a). the relationship between ruling party and the party not in office.
b) the relationship of ruling alternately.
c) the relationship of struggling while uniting. (see question 31, 1990, appendix)

Theme summary: The People's Congress is the Chinese political system. This system is not a perfect one and can be made more perfect by separating the party and government and reforming the election system by having more candidates than posts. The relationship of the Chinese communist Party is the relationship between ruling party and the party not in office. It is the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation implemented under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

Subtopic: The political system of the West

Question:

The capitalist system of separation of three power bodies refers to

Answer:

the separation of the legislature, the judiciary and the administrative. (see question 4, 1989, appendix)

Question:

The two-party system in capitalist countries originates from
Answer:

Italy. (see question 5, 1989, appendix)

Question:

The capitalist two-party system is

Answer:

the political system that two main political parties in capitalist countries rule alternately. (see question 15, 1990, appendix)

Question:

The difference between the system of parliamentary democratic republic and the system of presidential democratic republic is determined on

Answer:

a) how the head of state and government are selected.

b) the status of the head of state political life.

c) the relations among the head of state, parliament and government.

Answer: (see question 23 1990, appendix)

Question:

The parliament in a capitalist country is

Answer:

the legislative body of a state. (see question 26, 1990, appendix)

Theme summary: The political systems in capitalist countries are different both in structure and function from the Chinese political system. China can adopt anything also except the two-party system to rule alternately.

Subtopic: on Chinese socialist democratic system
Question:
At present, the people's democratic dictatorship in our country is

Answer:

a) the state system of our country.

b) in fact, a dictatorship of the proletariat.

c) the dictatorship of proletariat with Chinese characteristics. (see question 19, 1989, appendix)

Question:
Which of the following practice in a capitalist democratic system can socialist countries use for reference

Choices:

A. the representative system
B. the ruling of two party or multi-party system in turn
C. general election
D. legal system

Answers: (A, C, D) (see question 25, 1989, appendix)

Question:
What are the essential differences between socialist democracy and extreme democratization and anarchy?

Answer:
It is whether to admit that there is a unity between democracy and legality and between democracy and centralism. (see question 13, 1990, appendix)

Question:
The indication of the development and perfection of the socialist democracy is

Answer:

the systematized and legalized democracy. (see question 8, 1990, appendix)

**Theme Summary:** China is a socialist democratic dictatorship state and it practices true democracy while capitalist countries such as United States and Japan practice superficial democracy. China's democratic system needs to be changed and could learn from capitalist countries in many ways such as the representative system, the general election and legal system, but not the two-party or multi-party system. China's democratic system is against extreme democratization and anarchy.

**Subtopic: On Western capitalist democratic system**

**Question:**

According to an estimate by a Japanese electoral consulting institute, each candidate had to spend three hundred million Japanese yen in the general election of the thirty ninth congress. It would take a hundred years to save that amount if the annual income is 300,000 yen. This fact demonstrates

A. that the general election in a capitalist country is the election of money.
B. that Japan has set up the system of general election.
C. that the capitalist democracy is a democracy for a small number rich people.
D. that in capitalist countries, working people do not have the right to vote or to be a candidate.

**Answer:** (A. C)

**Question:**

Statistics show that in 1983 the private and governmental organizations in America have 7,314 powerful positions, which
constitutes only 0.03% of the total population, but they possess and control 50% of industry, banking, and electric communication and transportation, two-thirds of the insurance property and almost half of all the property of the largest investment companies in the country including private funds and university and they hold the key positions in the federal government. This demonstrates
A. that the American democratic system is, in fact, an autocratic system controlled by small number of people.
B. that the American democratic system is hypocritical even to the capitalist class.
C. that the state power in America is in the hands of a capitalist monopoly class.
D. that the economic foundation of the American democratic system is the privatization of capital.

Answer: (C, D) (see question 33, 1990, appendix)

Theme summary: Facts and statistics show that western democratic system is for the rich people. As a matter of fact, it is rather hypocritical.

Subtopic: On national problem

Question:

The national problem refers to

Answer:

the contradictions between nations. (see question 5, 1990, appendix)

Question:

The national problem in a capitalist country refers to

Answer:

the exploited and oppressed nation. (See question 11, 1989, appendix)

Question:

The fundamental policy to resolve the national problem in our country is

Answer:

A. the principle of - "Unity -- Criticism -- Unity".
B. that all the nations either big or small are all equal.
C. the common prosperity of all the nations.
D. to practice regional national autonomy in the regions where minority nationalities live in a compact community.

Answer. (D)

Question:
The policy of regional national autonomy in our country is
A. the basic principle for solving our national problems.
B. to exercise regional national autonomy in the regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities.
C. that minority nationalities have the right of legislation, an independent judiciary and final judgment in the regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities.
D. to exercise regional autonomy according to the constitution and the law of regional national autonomy.
Answer: (B, D) (see question 30, 1990, appendix)

Question:
This March, the Congress and Senate of the United States passed a resolution on the so called problem of Tibet demanding America administrative officials and international organizations to participate in Tibet affairs. The Foreign Affairs Council of the National People's Congress issued a solemn statement and denounced the resolution. This is because the resolution

Answer:

a) interferes with Chinese affairs.
b) violates the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.
c) violates the five principles of peaceful coexistence. (see question 28, 1990, appendix)
Theme summary: The term national problem refers to the contradiction between nations. In China, the national problem refers to internal conflicts within a nation while in America, it represents internal conflicts between races or economic groups. The fundamental policy to solve the nation's problem in China is to practice regional national autonomy in the minority regions. While Chinese strive for peace on the national problem, the United States tries to sabotage the peace effort by passing resolutions such as the one dealing with Tibet.

Every society has a political system. Political study in a school curriculum has the function to understand the political system and its workings. In the national exam, the change in test questions from philosophy and political economics to political structural system is encouraging. As it was demonstrated, Chinese political study ideology comes first. The replaced subjects tend to make a change and initiate a new approach. The approach seems to be a shift from ideology toward a structural study of the legal institutions and may be more objective and rational. Through the establishment of subtopics on political structures illustrated previously, we can see a tendency toward a more rational approach.

The first necessity in the understanding of governmental problems and participation in political life is through a study of political institutions. The teaching of political philosophy and economics, although a part of the political science, is far from the fundamental concepts and principles of a state and political system considering that we are teaching middle school students. They are still young in age and their ability in abstract thinking is limited. More importantly, this is their first time that through formal education that students will be given an understanding of their government's structures. In this sense, it is an encouraging start.
The subject covers a wide range of basic informational knowledge from religion to international organizations and from the Chinese political system to western political systems. Beside the formal understanding, there is a new opportunity to introduce criticism and the admission that no institution is perfect. In this new criticism, a more neutral tone is evident, not outright hostility. Criticism is based on the student's ability to give specific examples.

However, the information on political systems is one-sided. The instructions reflected in the questions and answers are partial to one belief - that of the Party. The other side of the story or other views are totally excluded. Students learn the two-party or multi-party system in the capitalist countries. But they have not been told of the differences between western political parties and China's definition. Chinese politicians emphasize the weaknesses of the western political system and strenuously defend their own.

The given principle claims that the Chinese democratic system is the true process and the democratic system in capitalist countries (United States and Japan) have strayed from the true process. If a better understanding of the operation and comparison of political systems is to be designed it must move from a one-sided view. More information must be included and the information should include the following:

a) In the West, all political parties are represented in an election, but in China, the power comes not from the ballot box but from the gun barrel. Ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the party's goal becomes the state goal and the unified leadership of the communist party denies the autonomy of any other social group or party. It is the Communist Party that should be the leadership of the country. It is also the Communist Party that decides the political system of the country. The newly adopted proposal (December 30, 1989) by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China states clearly the system of
multi-party co-operation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

b) The Communist Party has a dual role. The Party controls the Congress and the Congress is for the Party. All members of the Congress, in fact, are not elected. According to the Chinese constitution, The National People's Congress (NPC) is the highest organ of state power. But any one with a little knowledge of the Chinese political system would know that the NPC functions as a rubber stamp. First of all, the NPC members are not directly elected by voters. Instead they are selected by a local Party secretary and they usually are prominent people from every sector of society such as model workers, successful film actors or actresses, athletes and engineers. Second, the practice of holding elections with the same number of candidates as posts is not a good democratic practice.

c) Western political systems are not comparable to Chinese political power. The essence of the difference have never been explained and therefore has never been included on the national examinations. For example, neither of the two major American parties requires ideological conformity as a requirement for participation. But in China, individuals are required to rigidly adhere to ideological dogma.

Besides the problem of instruction being one-sided, another consideration is that instruction is geared toward students’ acceptance and not on understanding and participation. Of sixty four questions concerning political system, there isn't one question dealing with institutional process. Questions such as how often do the NPC meet and what is the function of the Congress are never asked. How do people have access to them, and how do the elected Congress officers be responsive to the people? How often do the CPC meet and what is its function? How are the delegates of each organization are? The preceding three fundamental
questions have never appeared in any format during the test years studied, neither in informational nor analytical questions.

**Application question analysis**

The analysis of the political systems' questions seems to be based on the application of fixed principles as stated by official dogma. Students are not expected to debate or interpret but rather to demonstrate memorization mastery. There is expected to be a unification of thought and this unification is accomplished 1) by requiring students to show that they are in conformity with the Party's line and they are updating official positions; 2) by the application of the set principles. That is why all the answers are the same especially for analysis questions and often read like the "People's Daily" - the official voice of the Party.

In 1989, the Central committee of the CPC had officially adopted a proposal restating, that China is a socialist country. The CPC is the core of the leadership for the cause of socialism and the party in power. Therefore, the Chinese political system is the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of CPC.¹⁷ The proposal stated four parts of the program: a) strengthening co-operation and consultation between the CPC and the democratic parties; b) letting the members of democratic parties and people without party affiliations play a bigger role in the people's congresses; c) Recommending members of the democratic parties and people without party affiliations for leading posts in governments and procuratorial and judicial organs at all levels; d) Giving a large role to the democratic parties in the Chinese

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¹⁷ They are: The China Revolutionary Comittee of The Kuomintang, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants' and Workers's Democratic Party, the China Chih Kung Tang, the Jiu San Society and Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.
People's Political Consultative Conference. The semantics used in the statement reveal that the Party is not really lessening its overall authority.

Coincidentally, a question on the national exam reflected the spirit of the Party. In Chapter II, when discussing the problem of subjective questions with a fixed answer, this question was cited. The question described the General Secretary and the General Office of the Central Committee of CPC in recognizing the role of two democratic parties making suggestions on national educational problems. Later, principal leaders of the democratic parties were invited to a meeting to discuss the important issues they raised. According to the People's Daily, the procuratorial departments in China will invite a group of democratic party members to be special supervisors. Based on the reporting of these events, student were asked to explain: "Please explain: a) These political phenomena reflect the relationship between the Communist Party and democratic parties. b) It also reflects the necessity of multi-party cooperation under the leadership of Communist Party of China". As demonstrated before, all the answers are derived from this proposal. By now, one should have an idea why there is only one answer to this question.

Further evidence of the up-dating of Party thought concerns the economic reform that in 1989 resulted in China's worst inflation and excessive price hikes since the reform. The government has decided to cool down the overheated economic development by reducing the rate of reform and by curbing demand in an effort to bring the market under control. It outlined the principle of improvement, rectification and further reform. (see full text, April 17-23, 1989, Beijing Review) One exam question asked: "What is the relationship between improving the economic environment while rectifying the economic order and deepening the reform"? The expected answer is:
Improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order are carried on under the premise of general direction set for the adherence of reform. Many of the measures taken in our economic rectification and improvement are, in fact, the important components in deepening the reforms. (2 points)

If our economic rectification and improvement are completed competently, it could push the development of socialist planned commodity economy. (if the answer is to push the development of reform, the points will also be given. (2 points)

Such examples can be found in each test year regarding the government policy. They share the common characteristic which is the updating of the government policy on a certain issue. Through the test, students are expected to follow the government policy and should not consider any deviation from state policy. If one does have some other thought, he/she would be wrong by the given standard answer which reflects official position. Recently, Deng Xiaoping changed his mind stating that the accelerated development in those five years is credible. It was a leap to raise the economy as a whole to a higher stage. If this same question appears on next year's exam, students will have to change their position too. If this is not indoctrination, what is it?

The other side of unification of thought concerns the students' application of set principles. On the test questions concerning the political system, it was stressed that Chinese political system needs improvement. A suggested improvement would separate the function of the party and government. One improvement would have more candidates than posts in elections. But all of this should proceed from one principle set by the party that socialist democratic construction is a gradual process. So the question in the examination of 1989 asked to "Discuss how the younger generation of our country should contribute to push the democratic construction in our country according to the theory that socialist democratic construction is a gradual process". (see question 54, 1989, appendix)
It has to be remembered that this is a discussion question. The question invites creative ways and means to improve the construction of Chinese democratic system. Because of the enormous number of students studying and taking the exam, a huge variety of answers could be expected. However, from an analysis of the topic we have already found students have been taught little knowledge of the political system process. How can one expect to have some constructive ideas when students are expected to answer with political slogans. They have been taught some rigid conceptions. They don't even know how the system functions probably because they are not supposed to know in the eyes of the communist Party. Instead of giving their views and suggestions on the construction of the country's political system, students received advise and suggestions from the expected answer. They are advised to work harder and get rid of the influences of feudal autocracy. Cited is the full text of the expected answer:

**Socialist democratic construction is a gradual process.** The various conditions to guarantee and push the development of democracy can only be created step by step. (1 point)
Our younger generation must conscientiously deny and get rid of the influences of feudal autocracy; (1 point) take an active part in socialist economic construction; (1 point) work hard to enhance our scientific, cultural and political quality, increase our democratic consciousness and form a democratic habit; (2 points) and enhance the legal concept, safeguard the peaceful and stabilize the political situation. (1 point) (see question 54, 1989, appendix)

This is how students answer the question by applying the principles that Chinese political system needs reform and the reform is a gradual process. So far, one has to admire the students' memorization ability and their ability to cope with
government words. Through years of study, students are trained to recite the expected concepts without thinking. What a tragedy for education!

Many examples show principles are so important that they have become principles no more. They become political slogans—a slogan that can not be wrong, a slogan that will always win. One question asks students "What is the relationship between a state and political system? Please explain that People's Congress is the fundamental political system according to the above relationship." If one remembers the principles given, then the answer to this question should not be difficult. One does not have to think or understand. One does not have to search for reality.

According to the expected answer "state and the political system are closely related, State system determines political system while political system is the form of embodiment of state system; political system is also relatively independent." But what is the reality of the Chinese state? Who determines whom? Alan P. L. Liu answers this question in his How China is ruled "Socialism as the only way for China had been accepted by the Communist leaders as a matter of faith ever since their later adolescence, when the Communist Party was organized".18 He further states that neither socialist nor CPC' revolutionary legacy was the result of rational deliberation that took into account the social and economic conditions of China. Theoretically, the given could be right. It is far from the reality.

The second part of the official answer goes even further away from the fact. It does not seem like a description of China either in theory or reality. Here is the answer:

Ours is a state under the people's democratic dictatorship. All power in the state belongs to the people. The National People's Congress is the political system of our state, which embodies our national characteristics. The National People's Congress is the basic form in the realization that people are the masters of the state. The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power. The National People's Congress can guarantee that the majority will take part in the governing of their state.

Any Chinese would wish that the answer is true. But it is far from the reality. The word "should" needs to be added to the official answer. The power of the state should belong to the people. The National People's Congress should be the highest organ of the state power. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, few people ever got an chance to exercise their right to vote or to be a candidate for congress, provincial official or even president. If that is the case, how can people be the master of their state?

The last part of the official answer says that "Only by continuing improving this political system of National People's Congress, can we better complete the historic task of the people's democratic dictatorship." But how and who has the right to improve the political system if criticism is not allowed and all the answers are fixed?

The change from philosophical and political economics to political study on the exam is like an new bottle with an old wine. This "wine" is that the state instead of Marxist philosophical and political economic theory functions as an art of unifying and organizing human ideology and actions and directing them to a common end. Through the means of political institutions, it tends "to unify the manifold, to bring of our minds, of our desires and passions, of our political and social life into a cosmos, into order and harmony".19

19Cassirer, The Myth of the State, p. 76.
4. Legal knowledge questions

As an important part of the political system, the study of the legal knowledge has never been a part of the secondary school curriculum until 1989 when it was included with the introduction of political study. What does this phenomenon mean? Does it symbolize the beginning of the transition from ideological style of ruling to rule by the legal system? The reason for such a change can only be understood from analyzing of the content included in the test years. So the following discussion will focus on legal concepts and the analysis.

Legal knowledge constituted ten to fifteen percent of all the questions in the exams included in the study years. They covered mainly Chinese Constitution and the Punitive Regulations For Social Order. However, from Table Seven below, one can see that there is an irregular pattern in the distribution of questions. In 1989, most of the legal questions focused on punitive regulations for social order with two questions on the Constitution. But in 1990, all the questions dealt with the Constitution and none with punitive regulation or criminal laws.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of law</th>
<th>The number of question in 1989</th>
<th>The number of question in 1990</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Constitution</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punitive Regulation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a review of the questions, it would seem that questions regarding legal knowledge are designed to impart specific information. In this case, it means to spread the basic conceptual knowledge of the Constitution or laws. However,
when analyzing the content it would seem that the motivation behind the question is to enforce conformity of political thought and social behavior with the application of legal knowledge. The purpose is not on the understanding of the functions and process of legal constitutions rather it is a means to strengthen social order.

**Informational questions.** Some questions are purely informational in nature. In general, they seem to lack political consideration if not connected with political upheavals between test years. Most of them are in the form of multiple-choice. The result of this can encourage students to be more aware of specific content on laws and Constitution and of their freedom and rights protected by the laws and the Constitution. For example, one of the questions in the 1990 test asks who are citizens of the People's Republic of China.(question 16, 1990, appendix). Another question asks student to define, according to Article 40 of the Chinese Constitution, in what circumstances an organization or individual may be permitted to censor correspondence.(see question 17, 1990 appendix) Finally, students are expected to establish the concept that everybody or any political organization must make the Constitution as the basic norm of conduct.(question 32, 1989, appendix)

Using the laws and the Constitution to enforce conformity of political ideology and social behavior in particular is a common method revealed in the test questions. For example: With the development of the reform and opening to the outside, a hot debate developed among the intellectuals all over the country on how China should reform its economic structure and political system. In economic reform, some believed that public ownership should not function as the main sector in the economic structure but the private sector should be emphasized so as to create a completely market oriented economy. In political reform, they challenged the leading position of the Communist Party and argued the practice of
multi-party system and the instituting of a division of power. They debated that
the relationship of the Communist Party of China and other democratic parties
should not be one of leading and being led but one of equality. Later on, this
heated discussion resulted in large demonstrations all over China. These
demonstrations were a prelude to Tian An Men incident. The Communist Party
has been against such a political liberation (i.e.) bourgeois liberalization.
According to Deng Xiaoping, bourgeois liberalization movement is aimed "to
overthrow the Communist Party and topple the socialist system." In 1990, the
question was designed to address such an issue in order to reinforce conformity on
this matter. The question states "We oppose bourgeois liberalization, which has its
specific meanings and that is to oppose those who attempt to deny the socialist
system, reject the Party's leadership and to violate the Constitution under the flag
of freedom, democracy and human rights." Clearly this question does not tolerate
any discussion involving personal views or individual interpretation on such a
political phenomenon. Any attempt to do so would be violating the Constitution.
The relationship between question and political upheaval will be further discussed
in the next chapter.

As indicated before, most of the questions are constructed for the purpose
of recommended social behavior and good social order not for the understanding
of the legal institutions and the process. Recommended social behavior sanctioned
by the Constitution prohibits unlawful search, sanctions education for all citizens,
military service and in the exercising of an individual freedom may not infringe
upon the interests of others. The list of punitive regulations for social order
prohibits the following types of conducts:

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renzhi is head of the Propaganda Department of the Central committee of the Communist Party of China.
not to blackmail and threaten others
not to steal, commit fraud and robbery
not to disturb the social order, it is a criminal act if causes serious damage
not to make, sell, copy and spread pornographic books
not to be involved in gang fight.

Due to the irregularity of the test content on this subject and the limited test years it is hard to see a general theme occurring in legal knowledge. In 1989, there were six questions regarding the Punitive Regulations for Social Order, but strangely enough, the next year, there was not even one question. Both in 1989 and 1990, there was only one question dealing with criminal laws. The emphasis suddenly shift to the Constitution by 1990. Despite sudden changes one thing remains unchanged that is legal concept of individual freedom and rights vs. others freedom and rights. For the first time, the same question was repeated in the next year, which reveals the importance of such a legal concept. In 1989, the question asked students to fill in the blank that

According to our Constitution, "Citizen of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration", but in meantime, it also states that "the exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interest of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of (other citizens).

Next year, students were asked to discuss the same question and they were expected to conclude their discussion by stating that freedom and rights are not absolute and they cannot infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of the other citizens.

In formal education it is believed that legal knowledge is a part of political study focusing on the process of the legal institutions rather than on particular
articles of law. It should discuss how the laws functions. It should discuss how can the Constitution best protect the people's interest and how can people be protected by the laws. For China in particular, this is vitally important because of its recent history.

The Chinese legal system was the first victim of the Cultural Revolution before it matured. "In 1967, especially Leftist factions 'seized power' by invading and ransacking police stations and court buildings, and by beating, torturing and imprisoning police and legal officials who, by their training, were assumed to be on the side of the established authority and were therefore easy targets for the 'rebels'." 21 As a result of this experience, the government vowed to rebuild its legal system.

In the summer of 1979, the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress approved a series of laws to serve as a basis for a new legality. The most important of these was a new Criminal Law which came into effect on 1 January 1980. The same year the Punitive Regulation for Social Order first adopted on the October 22, 1951 was readopted. Since 1954, the PRC has had four constitutional version, the latest one adopted by the NPC in December 1982 and "Each of the four constitution represents a major phase of post-1949 political development". 22

However, none of the questions concerning legal knowledge deals with these changes nor trace the creation of the laws and the constitution. More than half of the questions are on the constitution, but not even one question deals with the major differences between the four versions. Also one can not find a question dealing with the societal function of the constitution. Instead, questions stressed the respect for law and obeying of the constitution. If one has experienced the

frequent changes of the constitution and if the majority of the people does not believe the constitution can represent their interest and if they believe it is a communist manifesto, then who will believe it? Who will respect and obey the constitution? "Written constitutions or legal charters have no real binding force, if they are not the expression of a constitution that is written in the citizens' mind."23

In this respect, questions should state why instead of what.

The most important ability in the area of social education is the ability to think critically. Critical thinking involves behaviors such as the recognition and analysis of a problem situation; interpretation of relevant information; and formulation and application of conclusions for the solution of the problem. In school, both learning and teaching should aim to help a student to build his/her ability to think critically. Each law and each article within the laws has a reason behind it. Students have the right to know the reasons. Being secondary school students, they have the ability and maturity to process such information. If they could understand the abstract Marxist philosophical theory and political economics, there is no reason to be concerned of their lack of understanding.

The study of the legal knowledge related in the test years was not aimed at the understanding of the legal institutions of China. On the contrary, it was a similarity in terms of the format and content to the political campaign launched by the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee and Judicial Department of the People's Republic of China in 1985. They jointly adopted a Five-Year proposal to spread legal knowledge for its citizens. The main purpose of the political campaign was to extend the legal literacy with more knowledge about the laws and the constitution and to be aware of and abide by the laws in order to be a good citizen.

5. Current event questions

Of all the test subjects, current events is the only subject that has not been changed over the studied years. The higher percentage in 1988 is caused by the limitation of the political economic questions. (see Table 8 below) The average coverage constitutes around twenty to twenty five percent of the total questions and comprised ten to twelve percent of the total score.

Table 8  The percentage of changes in current events, 1985 - 1990

A survey of the questions concerning current events shows questions can be classified into domestic and international groups. By the content within the domestic group, they can be classified into two categories. One is current events on the new adopted party and government policy and programs. The other is current events on national and individual achievements. The distribution of these questions over the studied test years tend to be stabilized. Most of the current event questions are dealing with domestic events with a large focus on the Party and government policies between test years. International events comprise one
fifth of current events questions constituting about three percent of total score. (see Table 9 for the questions distribution)

Table 9  The distributions of current event questions, 1985 - 1990

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newly adopted Party and government policy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National and individual achievements</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International events</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number of news</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to one expert, "China places high priority on political education"\(^{24}\). This statement can be reconfirmed by one of questions on current events in 1990 when stated that "Recently, both the Party and government once again stressed that school of all kinds at all level must not only build a complete system to impart knowledge but also must put moral education in first place and establish a correct political direction" (question 43, 1990, appendix) In China, education functions as a special political tool, the student receives information designed to focus his/her attention on specific attributes of his environment. The information on current events taught to students is designed to transmit stimuli to modify students' attitude and social behavior in order to fit the goals and expectations of political leadership.

An analysis of the content of all the questions regarding current events demonstrates that questions on this subject are designed to train students to: (1) follow the Party and to be in conformity with the Party 's policy; (2) to value and practice communist morality, namely, loving our country, loving the people, loving labor, loving science and loving socialism. (see question 47, 1989, appendix)

A substantial coverage of all current events is on new measures adopted by the Party and government. This type of questions appears in the form of fill-in-the-blank seeking direct quotes. The intent of the questions is not on the news but on the content of the event designed to transfer the authority of something respected in order to make it more acceptable and unquestioned. The current event questions of 1985 illustrate this transference technique:

Question (fill in the blank):

The guiding principle of our government to solve the problem over Hong Kong is (one country, two systems) (see question 6, Part One, 1985 appendix)

Question:

This March, Primer Zhao Zhiyang delivered his report on government work at the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth National People's Congress stating that the principle guiding our current reform is to be steadfast, to be prudent in fighting first battle and be sure to win. (see question 7, Part One, 1985, appendix)

There were eight current event questions in 1985. Five out of them were Party or government policy related. Two of them were designed to exam students on Chinese authority's statements on a given situation. For instance:

One question states "The Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party approved "The Decision of Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on (Reform of Economic System)". Comrade Deng Xiaoping stated the "Decision" which consists of ten points. The
most important was the ninth, which could be summarized in eight Chinese characters as follows ("Respect knowledge and talent").

The above is intended to test a student's knowledge of ten points. Thus, the question wants to know which point is the most important one according to Deng Xiaoping.

The next example also demonstrates authoritarian nature. The question wants to know what are the four prime things needed to be done according to the Party Secretary General, Hu Yaobang.

In a symposium held on October Nineteenth of last year, Hu Yaobang, the Secretary General of Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party stated that in the of year 1985, the four prime things needed to be done are: to carry out an all-round reform of economic system focusing on urban reform; (to formulate the Seventh-Five Year Plan; to continue the campaign of the Party consolidation and Party building) and to further the adjustment of the leadership at all levels.

Throughout the studied test years, questions of this kind demonstrates the repeated format. The pattern of examining the new policy has never changed from 1985 to 1990. What had changed were the introduction of new authorities such as Li Peng, or the new theory replaced by the old one such as primary stage of socialism replaced by socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Another characteristic revealed in the current events is that news is used to boost socialist morality. This is done through an appreciation of the contributions made by the Communist Party to the development of the nation. There are usually two levels. One is the national achievement and the other is individual achievement on the national level. Following is a list of questions of each level.
National achievement --the love for the country and socialism, love science

(a) This January, a Chinese scientific expedition team sailed for Antarctica and set up a permanent scientific station on King George Island. (see question 3, Part One, 1985 appendix)

(b) The iron and steel output of China in 1986 reached 52 million tons, which made China fourth in the world production next to Russian, Japan and the United States. (question 6, Part One, 1987, appendix)

(c) The first test tube child in PRC was born in Beijing On March 10, 1988. (question 16, Part Three, 1988, appendix)

(d) The national major construction of a multiple track railway between Hongyang and Huangzhou was officially open to traffic. (see question 40, 1989 appendix)

(e) The iron and steel output of China in 1989 reached 60 million tons, which made China fourth in the world production being surpassed only by the United States, Russian and Japan.

Individual achievement.

(a) Xu Haifeng, a Chinese athlete made a breakthrough by winning China's first Olympic gold medal and it also happened to be the first gold medal at the Olympic Games. (see questions 5, Part one, 1985, appendix)

(b) The Athletes of China struggled heroically and won 94 gold medals at the Eleventh Olympic Games held in Seoul Korea in September 1986.

(c) A Chinese scientist named Zhao Zhongxian has made a major contribution to the theory of superconductivity by his research.

(d) A sixteen year old girl named Yang Wenyi in April of 1988 broke a world record and won the gold medal in women's 50-meter-free-style swimming contest.
News items dealing with personal and national achievements are used to advocate the general theme of superiority of socialism and mobilize students to accept the communist morality to love the country and respect constituted authority. In the meantime, for reaching the same goal, news items are used to demoralize the enemy -capitalism, or to preserve the friendship of allies -the third world countries. It is not surprising that the news about the leading capitalist countries are all negative. For example:

(a) On January 28, 1986, the American space shuttle (Challenger) exploded upon launching with seven of its crew members dying in the mishap. (see question 5, Part One, 1986, appendix)

(b) On February 25, 1986, the family of (Marco) the ex-President of Philippines left their country for the U. S. A. as result of a military coup and under strong public pressure. (see question 6, 1986, 1986)

(c) On April 15, the United States launched a sudden air raid on (Libya) on the pretext of counter-attacking (terrorism). (question 7, Part One 1986 appendix)

(d) Last November, the newspaper exposed (Iran-contra affairs), -- the event of secret arms trade between the (United States) and Iran. (see question 9 Part One, 1987, appendix)

(e) (Namibia) is the last colony on the continent of African to declare its independence on March 21, 1990. (question 46, 1990, appendix)

Test formulation on current events is designed to prove the superiority of Chinese socialism, and media reports are used as the basis. This illustrates how the media is used as political tool in the hands of Communist Party. News reports of party policy, program, speeches by party leaders, and superior deeds of communists and world news are all slanted to favor the current party leadership. Reports of crime, accidents and events concerning social or human interest are
noticeably lacking. But when reports of crime, drugs, alcoholism, rape, civil uprisings take in another country, it is used to show the degradation of capitalism. It is clear that the management of current events is a part of the ideological indoctrination in the national educational curriculum.

C. Summary

It is quite clear that the test subjects have changed significantly over the studied years. The emphasis on philosophy and political economics was shifted to political study and legal knowledge. What has remained unchanged is the Marxist theory on philosophy, political economics and political study that is regarded as the only correct thought and any other thought is considered wrong and thus excluded. The curriculum as revealed in the exams for middle schools is designed to pose these prejudged principles to students through a formal education for the unification of thought. The major problem with this indoctrination is the separation of theory and Chinese reality. The correct understanding and interpretations with Chinese reality comes only from the top. Ample examples indictate that Chinese politicians have made a great effort to justify and defend their position even though the theory is out of touch with the reality.
CHAPTER IV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLITICAL EVENTS, LEADERSHIP AND THE EXAMINATION

Chapter III analyzed the content of each test subject and the changes over the studied years. This chapter will investigate the consequences and the relationship between the political power struggle and the examination in order to be able to explain some anomalies and irregular phenomena which occurred in the examination as well as the curriculum of Political Education.

A. Introduction

The senseless and brutal ten-year Cultural Revolution ended after the death of Mao Zedong and with the 'Gang of Four' in prison. The death of ex-Premier Zhou Enlai was followed by a massive demonstration of mourning in Beijing on April 5, 1976. A subsequent riot occurred in Tiananmen sparked by crude attempts of the 'Gang of Four' to suppress the mourning demonstration. All of this resulted in numerous arrests of demonstrators. Subsequently, when the 'Gang of Four' were arrested and charged, the demonstrators were released and praised for their patriotic actions. Tens of thousands of intellectuals and former students condemned earlier as "the rightists," were released from prison in camps. This was of great symbolic importance for it implied that the masses had the right to make their views known and to criticize their leaders.

The new leadership in the celebrated 1978 meeting of the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Central Committee, launched a campaign aimed at economic and political reform. "The party pragmatists were finally able to lead China in the
direction of 'less politics, more economics.' The old national priority of class struggle and a continuing proletarian revolution was replaced with the goal of building socialist modernizations. People's communes were dismantled and peasants were allowed to farm on a family basis. The Chinese industrial system was revised by importing western science and technology.

Further economic reform necessitated the urgency of political reform because the old political system could not match up with the need of the economic reform. The calling for political reform was both from the top and from the masses. The debate of political issue was not as restricted as previously and even was encouraged by the People's Daily. The paper commented that "In the old society, it was not strange for the people to be warned against 'talking state affairs', as they had no power. In socialist new China, the people have been the master of the country and there is no reason to prohibit them from studying, discussing and debating political issues that have much to do with their own interest". The tension between economic reform and political stagnation was beginning to build up with the primary success of economic reform for the peasants and the demand for stepping up in industrial reform.

However, the conflict between the Party and people become explosive when "individualism and responsibility were encouraged in the workplace, but denied in society. Western technology and expertise were imported wholesale, but Western values and aspirations were denounced." This conflict resulted in more than a thousand students of the Chinese National University of Science and

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1Liu, *How China is ruled*, p.54.
Technology of Hefei, Anhui province holding a demonstration on December 5, 1986, calling for the right to hold a democratic election for congress officials instead of party appointed candidates. This demonstration quickly spread into other cities including Xi'an, and Beijing. By the official account, "only a little more than one percent of China's two million college students took part in the recent demonstration and none of them has been arrested." Consequently, the whole nation was affected, the central government shaken and a power struggle was ignited. An enlarged meeting of the Politburo accepted Hu Yaobang's resignation as the secretary-general of the Central Committee of the party and he was accused of violating the party's principle of collective leadership. According to Yang Zhongmei, this should be considered as a coup d'état. Zhao Zhiyang replaced Hu as Acting Party Secretary-general and followed this action, Fang Lizhi, former vice-president of the Chinese Science and Technology University in Hefei, was expelled from the Party because the students from his university started the demonstration. The official charge for his opposition was that he stated his belief that Marxism-Leninism was out of date and could not serve as a guiding role for socialist China. Wang Ruowang, a council member of the Chinese Writers' Association and of the Shanghai Writers' Association, was also expelled from the Party since he "opposed Party leadership over literature and art and tried to do away with it by saying 'you (the Party) have nothing left to do now that people have freedom to write and pick whatever theatrical performances they like'.

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The 1989 Tiananmen demonstration by pro-democracy students was in fact a continuation of the one of 1986 and it was sparked off by the sudden death of ousted party general Hu Yaobang. Compared to the 1986 demonstration, the 1989 one was more intensive and had a large number of participants including a non-student faction and the result was more tragic. The Incident caused the downfall of the General Secretary of the CPC who was blamed for being soft in his treatment of demonstrators. Both demonstrations tended to express a deep and urgent desire for political reform and change as well as a strong desire for participation in political life for the future of their country, a condemnation of government corruption, and most importantly, the desire to have freedom of speech.

Chinese officials acknowledged that students wanted democracy and freedom and were willing to devote themselves to the country's modernization drive and their hope to speed up the present restructuring of the political system. They also made it clear that the building of democracy in China should be carried out under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party through proper procedures. They believed that a very small number of people were trying to take advantage of student demonstrations and committed acts which run counter to the country's Constitution. Subsequently both events will leave a clear mark on the examinations and cause some irregularity in the development of the middle school curriculum.

B. The relationship between the political events and the examinations

An analysis of test questions indicates that political demonstrations and the content of exams are closely related. The test exams are the indicator of the

7The same as above.
Chinese political struggles and reflect political motivation of the new party leaders and the effect that the demonstration had on them. The analysis of the questions of examinations proves that political struggles had a direct effect on making the changes in the test questions. That is to say that the bigger the political struggle is, the more and directly it influenced the test questions. In the exam of 1987, there were three questions directly related to 1986 student demonstration which constitutes twelve percent of the total score. In the exam of 1990, there were five questions related to the Tiananmen crackdown which constitutes thirty four percent of the total score. The questions are structured in such a way as to make the students go beyond testing the acknowledgment of political incidents. The focus is on the official doctrinal explanation. The purpose is to profess the rightness of the party line.

To carry out the mandate of the rightness of the party line, students received a propaganda education by using name calling, that is to give an event a bad label for students to reject and condemn the event without examining the complexity of the situation or the evidence. The test makers echoed the government position on the 1986 students' demonstration by labeling it "bourgeois liberalization", Tiananmen demonstration of 1989 would be labeled as a premeditated counter-revolutionary rebellion movement.

One of the current events questions of 1987 in the form of filling-in-the-blank stated that the "Government Work Report" at the Sixth Plenary Session of the National People's Congress proclaimed that the disturbance caused by a small number of students which was spread to some other cities at the end of last year, was the result of the overflow of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. (question four, Part One, 1987, appendix), the treatment for the 1989 Tiananmen demonstration was the same. One of multiple-choice questions of 1990 was designed to seek the reasons for strengthening the functions of the
state and social management by saying "During the late spring and early summer of 1989, The turmoil in our country and the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing demonstrated that we must not weaken the function of state dictatorship while strengthening the social managerial function of the state and promoting the construction of socialist modernization. (question 29, 1990, appendix)

The questions regarding political struggle did not end with objective or informational questions. A few questions with a large percentage score were constructed in an analytic format to further implement the party positions on these events and to make sure students were in ideological conformity with the party. One application question in 1987 weighing ten percent of the total score asked the student to comment why they must carry out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC. The expected answer from students certainly would be the version of the official newspaper or speeches since the demonstration was labeled as bourgeois liberalization. This is how People's Daily commented for the students demonstration: "To advocate bourgeois liberalization is to negate the socialism; its main purpose is to negate the Party's leadership. If unchecked, it will lead more people, especially young people, astray and bring disorder to our society, so that reform and construction would be out of the question."\(^8\) The following is the expected answer:

Bourgeois liberalization is completely opposed to the Party's line consisting of the two basic points since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC. In essence, bourgeois liberalization is against the four cardinal principles. It is an attempt to break away from the leadership of Communist Party of China; to

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deny the socialist system and to advocate capitalism, so as to make
the reform lose its direction. The main purpose of anti-bourgeois
liberalization is to unite the people from all nationalities in the
country and to carry out the reform and openness under the four
cardinal principles and to be highly efficient in building a socialism
with Chinese features.

The treatment of the Tiananmen demonstration of 1989 goes even farther.
Most of the application questions were designed for the students to accept the
official explanation of the events. The questions were to illustrate both
international and domestic aspects because Chinese officials believed that the
Tiananmen caused by the domestic and western anti-China or communist forces
and this had to be counteracted. In international aspect, student were asked to
discuss some excerpts from ex-Presidents and the present President of the United
States from the point of view of the class struggle, from the point of the nature or
the function of the state and from international evolution. In the end, students
were expected to agree that class struggle will continue to exist within certain limit
for a long time because of the intention of international capitalist class to destroy
communist China is still alive. In the domestic aspect, questions focused on the
reform under the leadership of the party while opposing any attempt or idea that
aims to divert to capitalism; patriotic spirit and the principles of self independence
were re-emphasized and advocated while opposing sanctions on China by western
countries.

It is known that student demonstrations of 1986 and 1989 gained wide
support at home and abroad. According to a survey conducted by Sun Jun and
Zhang Rui, more than thirty percent of the young teachers have an understanding
of the bourgeois liberalization which differs from the official version.\textsuperscript{9} They feel there is no need to launch such a vague political movement. Students protests merely reflect that there are people who are angry about the party practice and the bureaucracy which may results in the abuse of power for private gains. Also they are concerned about price inflation in the economy. During the period of the student protests, individual young teachers have been known to say to their student "I'll give higher marks to whomever among you would go to parade and demonstrate in the street."\textsuperscript{10} Another report says even miners were sympathetic and one of them said "If a student leader escaped here and stayed with us, I am sure he would come to no harm."\textsuperscript{11} Despite the wide support of all the people, and the different opinions on the method that the government used to quell the demonstration, the government through the examinations made students accept the official doctrine. Students were not expected to debate or interpret the designated Party writings but rather to demonstrate memorization mastery and their political positions along with the government. The only purpose was to ask for superficial loyalty to the party. This is political ideological indoctrination rather than education.

C. The effect of changing leadership on the school curriculum

A careful study of the relationship between the changes in the leadership and the changes in school curriculum for political education indicates that there is a close relationship. That is to say, the school curriculum is very much determined


by the party leaders and their political motivation. As a result of student demonstrations, the Party secretary-general changed three times from 1985 to 1990. These frequent changes greatly affected the school's curriculum. These changes can be analyzed through political topics with specific titles such as "reform and opening to the outside", "class struggle" and "primary stage of socialism". A study of the type of political terms, their distribution and frequency of appearance reveal the goals and political emphases of the various leaders. Through this type of study, an explanation of why changes occurred in the school political education curriculum. An examination of the eleven political terms used in the national test reveal the following.

1) Reform and Opening to the outside. This term was pioneered by Deng Xiaoping in a national program. In economics, it is to reform the over-centralized economic system into market-oriented economic system in order to bring Chinese economy into the orbit of sustained, proportionate and high-speed growth. In the political system, it is to separate the party and government function and reform the election system by having more candidates than posts. (see question 21, 1989, appendix)

2) Socialist Modernizations or Four Modernizations. Socialist modernization is the new version of the four modernizations which is the ultimate purpose of reform. Four modernization means modernization in industry, agriculture, defense and technology.

3) Communist ideology. "Communist ideology is in conformity with correct consciousness of the laws of social development which is our spiritual strength for our construction of socialist modernization". (see expected answer of question Part Nine, 1985)

4) Four principles. It is to adhere to the four cardinal principles means to adhere to the leadership by the Communist Party; Marxism-Leninism and Mao
Zedong Thought; the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist road. (see question 31, 1989, appendix)

5) **One country and two systems.** The premise and foundation of the policy of "one country, two systems" is one country, which is the People's Republic of China, in which socialist system plays a dominant role and the capitalist system that is practiced in a special administrative region will not play a dominant role in the whole state. (see question 26, 1989, appendix)

6) **The primary stage of socialism.** "The primary stage of socialism means that our country [China] is already a socialist country and our socialist society is still in its primary stage" (see question Part four, 1988)

7) **To proceed from reality and emancipate one's mind.** "Dialectic materialism requires us to be realistic" "To be realistic means to emancipate our minds. The ossified concepts, abstract principles and empty models and so on will hamper our thinking. If we can not change these, it is hard for us to be realistic." (see expected answer of question Part Seven, 1988. appendix)

8) **Bourgeois Liberalization.** "We oppose bourgeois liberalization, which has its specific meanings and that is to oppose those who attempt to deny the socialist system, reject the Party's leadership and to violate the Constitution under the flag of freedom, democracy and human rights." (see question 39, 1990, appendix)

9) **Moral education.** "Moral education for middle and primary schools must be based on the principle of loving our country, loving the people, loving labor, loving science, and loving socialism" (see question 47, 1989)

10) **Class struggle.** A term refers to the struggle between proletarian and capitalist class. According to Mao Zedong, "in class society every one lives as a member of particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class"(Mao, P.5)
11) **Learn from Lei Feng.** A name everybody knows in China. Born of a peasant family and orphaned at seven, Lei Feng joined the People's Liberation Army in 1960 and was killed in a motor accident two years later. The ideal he expressed is obedience to Chairman Mao and follow the Party. Mao honored him in 1963, by writing the inscription "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng". Since then, Lei Feng has been a national hero, a role model set by the government for his selfless and tireless service for every one to emulate learn specially during and after the cultural revolution, periodically Lei Feng has been used to achieve government goals.

The statistics from Table 9 on page 110 concerning the distribution and frequencies on political topics indicate consistency in some of the political themes and irregularity of others. Most of the changes occurred during the period of 1987 to 1989 with Zhao Ziyang being the Secretary-general and in the year of 1990 with Jiang Zemin being the Secretary-general.

What is consistent is the principle that education must serve for the national policy of socialist modernizations. The terms of reform and opening to the outside and socialist modernizations has never been changed. It seems that the principle of "One country, and two systems" for the national unification has been persistent. There is a clear trend toward the abandonment of the communist ideology. Instead, there is a trend in ideological education through moral and model education emphasizing love of the country, love of the people, love of labor, love of science, and love of socialism by the new leaders after the Tiananmen massive student demonstrations in 1989.
Table 10 The distribution and frequencies of key Chinese political topics revealed in the test content 1985 -90

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political topics</th>
<th>Secretary-general</th>
<th>Secretary-general</th>
<th>Secretary-general</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reform and open to the outside</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist modernization</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist ideology</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uphold four principles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One country and two systems</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary stage of socialism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceed from reality and emancipate one's mind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeois Liberalization</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral education</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class struggle</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn from Lei Feng</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

--Jiang Zemin, Secretary-general of CPC, July 1989 to present.

Chapter III which concerned test content analysis revealed that both political economics and Marxist philosophy were discontinued in 1988 and 1989. What was the rationale behind the discontinuation? Since China still claims to be
on the road to socialism with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, the reason behind the discontinuation of both subjects is mysterious. By admitting that both theories were out of touch with Chinese reality is an admission of the failure of socialism. So test subjects were changed but the official reasons can not be found. When one studies the main political topics of the same period, one should have a clear understanding of this phenomena. That is the merging of the theory of "primary stage of socialism" and the advocating of "proceed from reality and emancipate our mind" engineered by Zhao Ziyang during his administration. Both political terms appeared more than six times in 1988. The term suggests that China is socialist but still in a primary stage of socialism. This is a great innovation for rightists who believe that China can not take the socialist road without going through the stage of fully developed capitalism and leftists who believe that it is possible to jump over the capitalist stage. Both believe that socialism is the transitional stage from capitalism to communism as stated by Marx and Lenin. In this theory, it admits that with the productive forces lagging far behind those of developed capitalist countries, China is destined to go through a very long primary stage. In essence, it is this theory that buried Chinese socialist utopianism without losing face. In his work report, Zhao states: "

The country [China] has a huge population and poor foundation to start with, and its pre-capita GNP still ranks among the lowest in the world. The picture is clear: Out of a population of more than one billion, 800 million people live in rural areas and, for the most part, still use hand tools to make a living. A certain number of modern industries coexist with many industries that are several decades or even a century behind present-day standards. Some areas that are fairly developed economically coexist with vast areas that are underdeveloped and impoverished." 12

This attitude of pragmatism with ensuring political force and momentum made it possible to discontinue the study of Marxist political economics and political philosophy. The sudden disappearance of the subject on political economics in 1988 resulted in two test subjects only and Marxist philosophy was discontinued in the following year. The changes in the secondary schools curriculum during Zhao's administration can also be supported by the criticism that "Zhao had the unshirkable responsibility for shaping up and development of the turmoil". And he was accused as the political force that attempted to make a socialist country give up the socialist road.

In line with pragmatic realism, subtle changes occur in the test questions. For example, one question asks students to give the reason why some natural scientists have never studied dialectic materialism, but they have still made great achievements in science. (see question 6, Part One, 1988, appendix ) One sees virtually no criticism politically, socially or economically toward western countries but a realization of the backwardness of China. "The GNP of our country in 1980 is only 2.5% of that of the world. while in comparison with Japan, our GNP in 1985 is only 1/5 of that of Japan. In the same year, the GNP of the United States exceeded ours and reached 36,8000 billion dollars." (see Part Eight, 1988, appendix) An emphasis was placed on the urgency of reform and attack on the ossified concepts, abstract principles and empty models.

Other changes may be discerned such as in 1987, when there was an overemphasis on the term of bourgeois liberalization. However, in the next two years, there is not even one mention of the term. In the examination of 1990 after the Tiananmen demonstration, it reappeared. This phenomenon is not strange if one understands where Zhao stood on the issue of bourgeois liberalization. The

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anti-bourgeois liberalization was purely for political need once Zhao replaced Hu Yaobang as the Secretary-general. He then downplayed the necessities of the movement. He said that the current work of opposing bourgeois liberalization "will be strictly limited within the Chinese Communist Party and will be mainly carried out in the political ideological fields. Nothing of the sort will be conducted in rural areas while in enterprises and institutions the task will be handled in the form of study and self-education."14 So it is reasonable to believe that it is because of him that anti-bourgeois liberalization is excluded in the text content since such a problem is so important for Communist China. It was included in the test content only after the downfall of Zhao Ziyang.

The term "class struggle" appears in the test content of 1987 and 1990. But the emphasis in the use of the term has different political intentions and even is contradictory. A question in 1987 states: "After the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production in our country, class contradiction is no longer the major contradiction since the exploiting class is dying out. The function of the laws of class struggle has also changed. (see question 6, Part two, appendix) However, by the 1990 exam the question is stated "During the late spring and early summer of 1989, The turmoil in our country and the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing demonstrated that we must not weaken the function of state dictatorship while strengthening the social managerial function of the state and promoting the construction of socialist modernization. This is because

Answer: a) that class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come.

b) the intention of international monopolistic capitalist class to destroy us is still alive. (see question 29, 1990, appendix)

The use of the term class struggle in the two questions is not in line with common usage of the term. To the Chinese, class struggle is a horror-stricken phrase. This is because that "It is in the name of class struggle that Mao carried out one mass campaign after another, which culminated in the Cultural Revolution. Tens of millions of Chinese were made the objects of Mao's class struggle."\(^\text{15}\) In contrast to Mao's version of the class struggle, the emphasis of the new version in 1987 was that class struggle was almost over. However, after the Tiananmen demonstration, with the downfall of Zhao, the emphasis is on continuation of class struggle for a long time. This case in point demonstrates that correct understanding of a theory totally depends on government need. Students are expected to accept and follow without questioning.

Even though moral education has been on the national educational agenda since 1986, it has not been emphasized. Perhaps this is because Li Peng, then vice-premier and minister in charge of the State Education Commission did not have the political clout to implement his desire for moral education. He stressed that in the education of all primary and secondary schools and kindergartens, attention should be paid to communist ideology and issues of ethics, as well as intellectual development. He stated: "this is the fundamental task of the socialist education."\(^\text{16}\) But the test from 1986 to 1988 did not have any items dealing with moral education. After Tiananmen student demonstration and when Zhao was replaced by Jiang Zemin with Li Peng being the Premier, moral education was included in the national agenda and in the national examination.

\(^\text{15}\) Liu, *How China is ruled*, p. 228.

As part of moral education, the introduction of the political topic of "learning from Lei Feng" was not without its political reason. The question stated "At the twenty seventh anniversary of Mao Zedong's pronouncement of "Learn from Lei Feng", the leaders of our party and government once again called on us to keep up Lei Feng's spirit. The essence of the Lei Feng's spirit is to serve the people wholeheartedly. (see question 35, 1990, appendix) As the question stated, this is not the first time that Lei Feng will be used as a role model.

Lei Feng had been the national example for every one to learn since the call of Mao Zedong in 1953. During the ten-year Cultural Revolution, this moral model has been utilized to an extreme for his spirit of serving the people and the party wholeheartedly. His words such as do whatever the party asks and his belief that every word and phrase that Chairman Mao said would give him strength without limit. The tragedy of Cultural Revolution cannot be blamed on Lei Feng personally. However exhortation of Lei Feng' spirit, that was utilized to bring support for the Party, did have the effect of pushing the Cultural Revolution along its way. A serious discussion of the role of Lei Feng was carried on in the middle of 1980's. There were criticisms about his slavish mentality of an obedient, and docile tool; about the modern superstition of a personality cult; a moral view that talks only of duties and not rights and a nihilistic view of human life that speaks only of devotion and sacrifice. These discussion revealed a resentment toward the use of Lei Feng as a moral force for training good citizens. But with the downfall of Zhao Ziyang, a movement of learning from Lei Feng was re-instituted and was included in the national entrance examination.

D. Summary

Political Education has been subordinated to the political movements. The national entrance examination regarding political education has been used to
profess political rightness. The curriculum of political education is determined by those who are in power. Subjects can change, political leaders can change but its purpose of education has never been changed. The purpose is to train citizens to behave the way the leadership desires.
CHAPTER V

THE HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL EDUCATION

As Creel stated, "To understand China, one must start at least as early as Confucius, for the past is intimately interwoven with the present. One must consider the great thinkers because they have played a principal part in making China what she is..... One must know something about China's traditional thought even to understand Chinese communist theory, for which it is more important than some Communists might like to admit".¹ Fairbank, who devoted his life to the study of Chinese history, concluded in his book *China: Tradition and Transformation* that "Only as one looks at the long flow of Chinese history can one perceive the direction of motion and have some understanding of what is happening in China now".² The writer of this paper with years of experience as a student and educator in China agrees with both Creel and Fairbank. The more one becomes involved in the study of the Chinese educational system, the more one feels the need to look back at the history of the Chinese educational system and especially the aspect of political ideology in order to gain a fair, systematic and comprehensive understanding because to understand the problem fully is more important than providing a hasty solution. Also, it is impossible to study Chinese


political-ideology without looking at its history, for the present and past always intertwines.

China watchers tend to view political ideological indoctrination measures as based on Marxist ideologies. In spite of the fact that political indoctrination is also a part of the historical development of Chinese education, it is a part of the fabric of Chinese society. The other explanation which perhaps deserves greater emphasis, entitled Marxist by some, fits into a long tradition of ideological education in the Chinese culture itself. It is believed that, exploring the connections in this regard will allow a more historical and cultural perspective which hitherto has not been fully examined.

When viewing the development of ideology education, one finds many similarities between present and past political education in the name of virtue and moral education. First of all, it has been directly controlled and monitored by the government because of the structure of school and society. From the first unification (Qin 246-210 B.C.) to the founding of the People's Republic of China (1949), the structure of Chinese government was always that of centralization. Historically, schools have been owned by the government but with some exceptions. Always, the school curriculum has been decided by the government. Both the civil-service exam in the past and the national entrance examination today were given to implement the government's political education. Molding rather than schooling is the fundamental way of Chinese political-ideological education. In order to become a SHI - humanity, benevolence, or prefect virtue, and even to become a "socialist new man", one will be taught what to think rather than how to think, and what to say and what not to say. The emphasis of education is placed on the end rather than the means. The difference is merely a modern version. From the time of the emperors, the Chinese government has always used formal education to inculcate correct thinking and behavior.
Chinese education is of ancient origin and therefore has a long development. Central to this development is the role that Confucius, the father of Chinese education, played in shaping Chinese ideology. Besides Confucianism, the other main schools are the Daoist School which focuses on nature; the Mozi School emphasizing brotherly love; the Legalist School stressing law, Mao Zedong's thought advocating communism. However the Confucian School stands above them all as the recognized guiding principle of the code of conduct for the Chinese people.

The distinguishing feature of Confucianism is to teach people how to become human, in modern terminology it means the characteristics or the qualities of humanism. Confucianism has given the rationale, the criterion, and the method of becoming a human being as well as the guidelines of the enjoyment once you become human. Its theory differs from Christianity and Buddhism because it is optimistic rather than pessimistic. It emphasizes a process of education by enjoyment rather than by punishment for sin. It promotes facing reality rather than escape from reality. It is relative rather than absolute thinking in social and human terms. It seeks the middle path and compromise rather than extremes. That is why it was and is widely accepted, even by Mao.

Confucian ethic and moral value has been politicized and dominates the content of political-ideology in the formal educational process. Elements of Confucianism had been used by various groups throughout Chinese history to consolidate their power:

"We cannot fail to recognize also that Confucian moral values have often been politicized to serve an oppressive authoritarian regime. Although the Confucian moralization of politics has become a distinctive feature of Chinese culture, the politicization of Confucian
symbols in the form of an authoritarian ideology of control has been a dominant tradition in Chinese political history.\(^3\)

A. The political-ideology education before Qin Dynasty

Chronologically, the logical starting point is the period before the Qin Dynasty which is paramount to the era of Confucius, commonly known as the "Golden Age of Chinese Thought".

The uncovering of Banpo Village in Xi'an, Shaanxi province provides conclusive evidence that Chinese history began coincidentally with the Yellow River, yellow earth, yellow face, and Yellow Emperor some 6,000-7,000 years ago. Relics showing how primitive people lived in gens communes have been also found in other parts of China along the Yellow River. These people were skilful in the art of transforming stone and bone into tools through grinding. They manufactured bows and arrows as well as pottery. They first lived in matriarchal and then in patriarchal communes of a gens society. Our knowledge pertaining to this group relies on archaeological evidence.

Chinese history records its first dynasty as the Xia Dynasty starting in the 21st century BC; the second was the Shang dynasty (1766-1120 BC.); the third was Western and Eastern Zhou (1121-221 BC.). This latter period of time saw the division of labor into classes, the beginning of the barter economy and the development of the institution of private property. Accordingly, Chinese Marxist historians characterize the period from the 2100 BC. to 221 BC as the slave society, later in the Zhou Dynasty or Warring States period (475-221 B.C.) was a transitional period with the demise of the slave system and the beginning of feudalism. Non-Marxists call this period of time the pre-Imperial History.

Fortunately, for clarification, all historians agree on the time frame. With the introduction of iron, particularly the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, technology and the economy grew rapidly. Iron replaced bronze for weapons, and iron was used to make axes, ploughs and other tools. These new farming tools along with the ox-drawn plow introduced an agricultural revolution. The growth of production was accompanied by a rapid development of trade and a tremendous increase in wealth. As a consequence, military struggles over expansion and annexation became much larger in scale and more ruthless.

The power and prestige of the aristocrats gradually declined. Into the political vacuum, a new political unit began to develop. The seven states (Qin, Chu, Yan, Han. Zhao, Wei, and Qi) survived the Warring States Period (475-221). They checked and balanced one another, thus creating a relatively stable social pattern.

However, this period of relative stability between the seven surviving states would not last. But the period of warfare brought in a philosophical quest for answers as to why there had to be this continual strife and ensuing dislocations. A philosophical system had to be devised to explain how the mechanisms that integrated the heavens could be applied to earthly matters. There was a need for seeking the meaning and purpose of life, the best way to govern and the solving of new problems posed by the current instability. A solution had to be found to minimize the fighting and to stabilize the political situation.

The answers were sought in reasoned argument and in the gathering of information based on observation and experiment. According to Fairbank, "Men's mind could wander at will and did range more freely than ever again in East Asian history". During this time, many schools of philosophy flourished, such as

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Confucianism, Mohism, Daoism, and Legalism. According to its beliefs, each presented their own writings and advocated their own theory while criticizing the theory of others. Together they created a situation in which "a hundred schools contended" known as the Golden Age of Chinese Thought. This era witnessed the rise of great philosophers and educators.

Out of this cultural milieu, two points are worthy of further clarification. First, the development of a social expectation and the institution of a government better able to fulfill the demands for the improvement of life. Secondly, there was the creation of a freer intellectual climate which will lead to the development of the hundred schools of thought. It is interesting to note that while this is occurring in China, there is a parallel intellectual outburst outside China such as Homer, and Sophocles in Greece; Alexander the Great; the rise of Roman Empire; and the founding of Buddhism in India.

One of the "hundred schools" is Confucianism. The real name of Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was Kong Qiu or Kong Zhouchi. Confucius is Latini for Kong Fuzi. Kong was his family name. Fuzi meaning Master or Scholar is a polite suffix added to names of the most philosophers of the Zhou Dynasty, such as Mengzi, Zhuangzi, and Laozi. He was born in 551 B.C. in the state of Lu, in the southern part of present Shandong province in eastern China. His ancestors were members of the lesser aristocracy who had, however, sunk to a position of poverty and insignificance by the time of his birth. When he was three years old his father died and he took the responsibility of taking care of his mother by doing odd jobs. When he grew older he worked as an accountant for a store as well as being in charge of the cows and sheep. However, he was able to study in spite of being in humble circumstances and was largely self-taught. He began to teach at the age of thirty. At first he took only three or four students at a time who would like to learn. Once he said "From the poorest upwards -beginning even with the man who
could bring no better present than a bundle of dried flesh - none has ever come to me without receiving instruction".  

Although the number of students was small, the idea of taking private students was new. He "took four subjects for his teaching: culture, conduct of affairs, loyalty to superiors and the keeping of promises". His manner was "affable yet firm, commanding but not harsh, polite but easy". When he lectured, he spoke "readily, though always choosing his words with care". During his leisure hours, his manner was very free-and-easy, and his expression alert and cheerful. Gradually he was well-known for his outstanding teaching and attracted more and more students. His influence was spreading. With great ambition and great ideas, Confucius was determined to apply his theory to bring order and peace to his age. By the age of fifty, he was appointed to a fairly high position in his native state of Lu. Unfortunately because of the turbulent political situation his success was short lived. When he left his native state of Lu, he toured Song, Wei, Chun, and Qi. This lecture tour lasted for about fourteen years with the hope of finding an opportunity to realize his idea of political and social reform. At the age of sixty eight, he returned to his home state and devoted the rest of his life to lecturing and compilation. He died in 479 B.C. It was reported that altogether he had 3,000 students of whom seventy-two became famous.

There is a large body of Chinese literature with varying degrees of reliability, on the life and teaching of Confucius. The most important one is The Analects of Confucius compiled by his students extolling his words and deeds, which form the basis for the school of Confucianism.

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6 Analects of Confucius, p. 128.
7 Analects of Confucius, p. 131.
8 Analects of Confucius, p. 146.
One tenet of Confucianism is the relationship between morality and politics. Confucius was also intrigued by the process of governing a society. Confucius said: "Lead the people by laws and regulate them by penalties, and the people will try to keep out of jail, but will have no sense of shame. Lead the people by virtue and restrain them by the rules of decorum, and the people will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good". How does society develop the morality of the people? Confucius believed that education was the answer. Education is even more powerful than laws and social regulation and it can do what law and regulation can not do. To him education is an important tool for the government to rule. "Someone, when talking to Confucius, said: 'How is it that you are not in the public service'? The Master said, The Book (of history) says: 'Be filial, only be filial and friendly toward your brothers, and when you will be contributing to government.' There are other sorts of service quite different from what you mean by being an official in politics." 

According to him, there is not much difference between education and politics. Confucius also said: "He who rules by moral force is like the pole-star, which remains in its place while all the lesser stars do homage to it". This again emphasizes the decisive role of education in politics by the application of the ruling principle of moralization.

The firm belief of Confucianism is that a good people are the foundation of a good government. Therefore, it seeks to inculcate political capacity, political habits and political morality in man. This is both the end and the means of political thinking. Ethics can stop an act before it happens and law exercises restraint after

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10 Analects of Confucius, p. 21.
11 Analects of Confucius, p.88.
an act is done. In other words, if one wants success at governing, one has to master the mind and heart of all thinkers.

His theory was influential both in the feudal and communist period. Ever since Confucius, the rulers, generation after generation, accentuated education and used moral education to control peoples' thoughts.

To accomplish his moral education, Confucius developed a set of theories. His goal was to cultivate the "Goodman or gentleman" for the foundation of good government. To be a gentleman one has to be 'Renyi', which implies humanism and proper conduct in relationships and 'Daode' which means virtuous and moral. The root of all Confucian ethical and political thought is Ren. In Chinese Ren means good, kind, gentle, humane, tender-hearted, altruistic, or benevolent. It could mean all of the words mentioned. As explained by his student, Zi Gong, who asked: "Is there any one word that can serve as a principle for the conduct of life?" Confucius said: 'Perhaps the word reciprocity. Do not do to others what you would not want others to do to you'. Confucius said: "Perfect indeed is the virtue which is according to the Mean. For long people have seldom had the capacity for it."12 From the above one can conclude that his theory is the criteria for responsible social conduct.

In general, the contribution of Confucius' emphasis on education should be recognized. Confucius proposed "In education, there are no class distinctions."13 Perhaps it is the first time in history that it is made clear that education is not the privilege of the upper class. It is the right of all. He in fact, stressed the importance of strengthening whatever knowledge one already had. As for the attitude towards the learning process, he advocated honesty and candidness.

12Confucius, XV:23 eds by WM. Theodore de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, p. 25.
"When you know, say you know, when you don't know, say you don't know. That is knowledge."

14 Today we can benefit from his teaching. He believed that "To govern (zheng) is to set things right. If you begin by setting yourself right, who will dare to deviate from the right." Leaders and governors should obey the laws and government regulation. Only by doing this can they have the respect and the trust from the people.

As Confucianism developed, opposition to his belief also developed. The first important offshoot of Confucianism came from Mo Zi (468? - 376?) whose real name was Mo Di. In ancient time, his fame was as great as that of Confucius and his teaching was no less influential. Like Confucius, Mo Zi loved teaching very much and was eager to advocate his ideas even when he at first had some trouble persuading pupils to join his group. It is said that he promised a young man that if he would study with him, he would secure for him an official post. At the end of a year, when the student asked for the promised position, Mo Zi blandly told him that he had made the promise only to get him to study for his own good. (Creel, P. 75) He lectured from the North to the South and gathered one hundred and eighty good students. Historians are uncertain about his birth date, his state and some even doubt his real name. The main source for the study of his thought is the book bearing his name, *The Mo Zi*, which contains fifty three chapters and is a collection of writings by his followers as well as by himself.

Like Confucius, Mozi also saw the importance of education. He compared educator and students to the dye worker and the threads. When you dye the threads blue, they turn blue, when you dye yellow, they turn yellow. The colour will change whenever you dye. Through this parable, he advanced the Confucius idea

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that people were creatures of education and their environment. Both of them stressed ethical or moral education for the purpose of training of "gentlemen" to rule the country. But their approaches were not the same. Confucius laid emphasis on oneself, self-improvement and self-rectification. Mo Zi, on the other hand, believed in others and the love for others. He believed one's love for oneself should extend to love for others. Love for one's own home should extend to love for the home of others. Love for one's own country should extend to love for the countries of others. There should be no discrimination between self and others. "Love only exists when it has reached everybody; Love has disappeared the moment it fails to include all."16 According to him when love is not pervasive it cannot be called love.

Another school is Daoism and the representatives of this school are Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi. Lao Zi's philosophy is contained in Dao De Jing - the Book of Virtue classics. Facing great changes in contemporary society, Lao Zi injected uncertainty into things with which man was most concerned, such as honor and disgrace, and the concepts of certainty and changeability. To answer these uncertainties, he developed an elementary dialectic. He believed that there was nothing man could do regarding the change of events which was controlled by the "way of heaven". His ideal society was one small in size and sparse in population, where people had no desire or inspiration in their lives. The other proponent was Zhuang Zhou (369 - 286 B.C.) He was even more pessimistic than Lao Zi.

The fundamental difference between Daoist and Confucian philosophies is that Confucian thinking centers around man, and Daoist thinking around nature. Both schools use the word 'Dao', but with different meaning. Confucianism,

believing in the ultimate value of human effort, uses the word 'Dao' to indicate the achievement of the incessant effort of mankind. Confucius says, "man can develop 'dao', 'dao' doesn't develop men". On the other hand, the Daoists believe that the laws of nature are all-powerful, and the 'Dao' which precedes men is eternal and unalterable. So in government, the Daoists agree with the Confucianists that the ideal state is one which has a sage as its head. It is the sage who can and should rule. The difference between the two schools, however, is that according to the Confucianists when a sage becomes the ruler, he should do many things for the people, whereas according to the Daoists, the duty of the sage ruler is not to do things but to let the nature take its course. According to Lao Zi, the troubles of the world come, not because there are many things not yet done, but because too many things are done. He said: "The more restrictions and prohibitions, the more impoverished will the people be. The more weapons there are, the more the state will be in confusion. The more people are artful and cunning, the more abnormal things will occur. The more laws and orders are issued, the more thieves and robbers will abound."  

Another philosophical school is called Legalism. The Legalist school is the result of the merging of the schools which preceded it. From the Confucian school comes the idea of 'Li', which is the idea that law comes from the Emperor and the standards of his rule. In this sense, 'Li' comes very close to the Legalist conception of law. Represented by Han Fei (c.280-233) the legalist school opposed such concepts as heaven's mandate (the law of nature) and questioned the existence of ghost and spirits. He opposed "returning to the old", and the idea of the retrogression as a matter of principle. He advocated the concentration of all power in the hands of the sovereign and rule by law.

17Liang, History of Chinese Thought, p. 78.
In short, the Confucian school based its view on a vital, energetic, living, and idealistic conception of life whose conclusion in political thinking is government by virtue, dependent upon men. On the other hand the Legalist school based its view on a static, mechanistic, and materialistic conception of life, influenced by Daoism, whose conclusion in political thinking is government by law.

Historically, schools were first started to train officials for government positions. Schools were maintained by the emperors to enforce their beliefs and for the training of the bureaucracy. Among the subjects taught were rites (ritual and rules), music (ceremonial music and ritual dance), archery, chariot-riding, history and mathematics. Although we have difficulty in understanding the content of the rites taught before Qin, it may be inferred that they consisted of political-ideological education. Confucius gives strength to this belief when he stated: "I am a transmitter and not creator. I believe in and have a passion for the ancients"\(^\text{18}\) It is fair to say that Confucius inherited, edited and transmitted the cultural ideology. His works are the only sources we can rely on to find out the content of ritual teaching before and at his time.

The teaching of the ritual and rules is the process of moral training. The content of moral training or teaching is the rectification of names and filia piety of the five family relationships.

Regarding society, Confucius held that in order to have a well-ordered one, the most important thing is to carry out what he called the rectification of names. That is, things in actual fact be made to agree with the implication attached to them by names. Once a disciple asked him what he would do first if he were to rule a state, whereupon Confucius replied: "The thing needed first is the

\(^{18}\)de Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, p. 23.
rectification of names." by which he meant "Let the ruler be ruler, the minister, be minister the father be father, and the son be son". In other words, every name contains a certain implication which constitutes the essence of that class of things to which this name applies. Such things, therefore, should agree with this ideal essence. The essence of a ruler is what the ruler ideally ought to be or in Chinese, is called "the way of the ruler". People were instructed that every man has a social relationship with implied responsibility and duties. Ruler, minister, father and son are all the names of such relationships and the individuals bearing these names must fulfill their responsibilities and duties accordingly. Such is the implication of ritual and rules of the rectification of names.

The family system was the social system of China. Economic conditions prepared its base because in an agricultural society, farmers had to live on their land, which was immovable, and the same was true of the scholar landlord. One had to live where one's father or grandfather lived and where one's children would continue to live. That is to say, for economic reasons they had to live together, thus there developed the Chinese family system which was one of the most complex and well-organized in the world. Today, more than seventy percent of the population are peasants. This kind of social family system still exists. A great deal of Confucianism is concerned with the rational justification or theoretical expression of the social system and is an expression of its ethical significance. Out of the five traditional social relationships, sovereign and subject, father and son, elder and younger husband and wife, and friend and friend, three were direct family relationships. The remaining two, though not family relationships, can be extended because both the ancient and today's people regarded society as one "big family". The relationship between sovereign and subject can be conceived in terms

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19de Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, p. 33.
of that between father and son. The inferior ones should always respect and show filial piety to the superior ones according to Confucius ritual literature. Society in daily manners practiced this pattern of subservience to one's superiors. For the same reason, ancestor worship developed. The ancestor who had established himself and his descendants were usually worshipped. To the Chinese, both the system and its theoretical expression were very natural. Because of this, Confucianism naturally became the orthodox philosophy and remained so until the invasion of western industrialization.

It is important to understand this very unique social phenomenon. Also it helps us to see how the rulers used and transformed family relationships to a certain class or Party to carry out their political purpose in the process of formal education.

**B. Confucianism as the official doctrine during Qin and Han unification**

During the Warring States Period (770 - 221 B.C.), unification was made possible through wars of annexation. With the application of Legalist principles of political and military organization, the King of the state of Qin annexed and conquered the remaining six states. In 221 B.C., Ying Zheng (246 - 210 B.C.) successfully unified China and was crowned Emperor inaugurating the Qin Dynasty.

The unification of China established a centralized feudal regime, the first of its kind in Chinese history. To elevate his own position, Ying Zheng awarded himself a new title "Huangdi" meaning "emperor". Previously, the two words had been used for deities and mythological rulers. He called himself "First Emperor", to be followed, by "Second Emperor", "Third Emperor", etc, until eternity. Having concentrated all power in his hands, the First Emperor of Qin proceeded with the
establishment of a huge bureaucracy headed by himself. One lingering result of the long historical division of China was that each state had its own style of writing. Upon the unification of China, the Qin government promoted first the Small Script (Xiao Zhuang), and then clerical style (Li shu) which was simple and had fewer strokes than others and this became standard for the official writing throughout China. To strengthen his own rule, the First Emperor ordered the burning of books other than those approved by the Qin government, and the burying alive of dissident scholars. Standardization of the monetary system and the system of weights and measures was implemented. To prevent the Hun, the potential enemies from the North, from invading China, the First Emperor ordered his general to mobilize manpower to link all the walls which stretched for thousands of kilometers, thus creating the Great Wall.

Although the First Emperor thought that he had established a dynasty which would endure for "ten thousand generations", it survived his own death in 210 B.C. by only four years. His success had been too sudden and his rule too severe. The brutal oppression and the ruthless exploitation made people want to resist.

The first peasant uprising started with Chen Sheng and Wu Guang in the year of 209 B.C.. It happened coincidentally when they, together with 900 other peasants, were drafted and sent North to perform military duties. A sudden downpour delayed the troops and made them arrive late. This late arrival was a violation of Qin law and punishable by death. Already faced with death, they decided to rebel. With the support from the peasants, they revolted and succeeded. A new regime was established with Chen Sheng as the King and Wu Guang as the military commander. After the death of Chen Sheng and Wu Guang, one of the peasant leaders, Liu Bang (256-195 B.C.) eventually unified the country and established the Han regime known as the Western Han (206 B.C. - A.D. 24)
Dynasty. With the establishment of the Han Dynasty, the political, social and economic unification that had started under Qin was intensified.

The First Emperor of Qin Dynasty established a system of political organization with centralized power. Once this centralization process was begun, there was no going back. Subsequent emperors would increase the process. Governmental structure was organized with a bureaucracy centered around Three Dukes and Nine Secretaries of State. The country was divided into prefectures and subdivided into counties.

The governmental structure determined the structure of the schools. As for the government structure, the new regime followed the example of its predecessor Qin by adopting the system of "Three Dukes and Nine Secretaries of States" for the central government and the system of prefectures and counties for the country as a whole.

School structure followed the pattern set up for the governmental organization. Public school were those established by governments at different levels. There were central schools and local schools administrated by local authorities. Emperor Wu Di (141-87 B. C.) of the Han Dynasty established an Imperial College in the capital as the highest institution of learning for the proposal of Confucius classics. With schools known as xue provincial-school, xiao -county school, yang -town school, and xu -village school, a network of education was set up across the country. To a great extent, succeeding dynasties did the same. All education policy would be determined by the officials in the capital who would report to the Duke in charge of internal affairs. Schools would be established for villages and towns and monitored by county officials who in turn were supervised by provincial authorities.

A uniform policy was established but schools varied because of the differences in the caliber of district officials. If the officials were scholarly and
interested in public education, they would tend to promote school learning vigorously and effectively. If the official was of the opposite type, the schools were neglected.

Although it seemed that there was a complete educational system, the number of people who received formal education was very limited because of the large population and paucity of funds. A system of informal education was established to educate the masses by having periodic lectures on the Confucius classics in an informal setting. This kind of teaching didn't require a regular time or fixed place, or even a textbook. The emperor's officials appointed local rural officials to instruct and guide the people in his community. Together with both public and private formal education this made it possible to socialize all elements of society into a homogeneous whole.

The reign of Emperor Wu is noted for the promotion of education. After the fall of Qin, the Legalist was blamed and became the scapegoat Emperor Wu persuaded scholars to work for the reestablishment of Confucianism in the schools. Confucianism had been destroyed during Qin's time with the execution of Confucius' scholars. He ordered:

I have accordingly invited to the court famous scholars from the whole realm. The master of rituals should advocate school education, discuss and investigation learning, promote neglected scholars and revive rituals, giving these first place in the realm. The Grand Secretary (Tai Chang) should consider these matters, appoint students of doctors (Bo Shi), emphasize culture in the rural districts to encourage of talent.\(^\text{20}\)

His edict laid the foundation for the educational system in terms of purpose, organization and curriculum.

One scholar, Dong Chunshu, responded to the Emperor's edict by eliminating from the curriculum all Confucian interpretations except his own. His version of Confucianism was recognized and adopted as the official program for the schools. From an organizational point of view Dong believed that:

For the education of the officials there is nothing as good as the university. The university is the central source of competent scholars and the fundamental source of culture as well. As it is now in no one of the states of provinces can be found a scholar who can respond to the Emperor's demands. In such conditions there is danger that kingly rule will disappear. Your minister proposes that your majesty revive the university and appoint brilliant teachers for the purpose of educating the scholars of the realm. Frequent examinations should be held to stimulate the highest talent, after which able and cultured men can be obtained.\(^{21}\)

What culture did Dong Chongshu refer to? He was referring to the study of Confucianism with his own interpretations. He explained Confucian ethics with the application of some Daoist theory.

Emperor Wu approved Dong Chungshu's recommendation that "All not within the field of the Liu Yi (Six Classics) should be cut short and not allowed to progress further".\(^ {22}\) He announced that Confucianism, in which these Six Classics held a dominant place, was to be the official state teaching. As a result there will be only one line of thought with no deviation possible. One can image the effectiveness of the emperor's order in a highly centralized system. The


consequence of disobeying or misinterpretation would be death. Even the foremost representative scholar like Dong himself could not escape from the punishment and almost lost his life. When he tried to approve his Heaven, Nature and Man theory by taking the example of the lightening striking the temple, he explained that the destruction of the temple was a warning from Heaven for Imperial errors. When the emperor heard of it, he was upset and ordered Dong arrested and executed. A group of scholars pleaded with the Emperor to rescind his order. The Emperor relented and released Dong.

In spite of his arrest, Dong's theory that Heaven and Man are related would prevail in the school curriculum. Confucianism was now made the orthodox belief, its moral and ethical education was the course content. The only reason was that Dong Chungshu theorized it in favor of the political regime. His political intention and purpose was now even more direct and obvious.

He professed that humans follow nature and nature follows heaven. His belief in the law of nature was that:

In all the things there must be correlates. Thus there is the upper, there must be lower. If there is the left, there must be the right.... If there is cold, there must be heat. If there is day, there must be night. The Yin is the correlate of Yang, the wife of the husband, the subject of the sovereign. Thus the relationship between sovereign and subjects, father and son, and husband are all derived from the principles of the Yin and Yang. The sovereign is the Yang, and the subject is the Yin. The father is the Yang, the son is the Yin; the husband is Yang, the wife is Yin. The three key link (Gang) of the Way of the true King may be sought in Heaven.23

23Fung, p. 197.
As previously stated there were five major relationships in the society according to the Confucianists before this period. From the five major Confucian relationships, Dong selected three and called them Gang. The literal meaning of Gang is a major cord in a net, to which all the other strings are attached. Thus the sovereign is the Gang of his subjects, that is he is their master. Likewise the husband is the Gang of the wife, and the father is the Gang of the son. These three Gang were the ethics of society, which combined the morality or moral laws in general.

Dong also reinterpreted the five constant virtues of Confucianism, namely Ren - human-heartiness, Yi - righteousness, Li - propriety, Zhi - wisdom and Xin - good faith. Han scholars emphasized that five virtues had their correlations in the five Elements. Thus human-heartiness is correlated with Wood in the east; righteousness with Metal in the west; propriety with Fire in the south; wisdom with Water in the north, and good faith with Soil in the center. This was known as the Five Chang meaning the five norms or constants. The Five Chang were the virtues of an individual. The Five Change and Three Gang were essentials of the culture of Han Confucianism. Their political purpose was even more direct, and open. Dong wrote "Heaven has produced men with natures that contain the 'basic stuff' of goodness but are not able to be good in themselves. Therefore Heaven has established for them (the institution of) the king to make them good"24 His basic point is that it was the function of government to help the people in their development.

The government will utilize Dong's theory by making it a mandate from heaven. His interpretation of Yang as superior and Ying as inferior theorized the relationship between the sovereign and the subject; the father and son; the husband

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24Fung, pp. 197-8.
and wife and he also legalized the superior authority of the emperor, of the father and of the son. and the opposite, the subject, the wife, and son had the the duty to abide blindly.

The famed government examination was another creation of this time. It was the only way for the government to recruit candidates with the proper attitude of obedience. They insisted upon the Han Confucian classics as the source for test questions.

During this period the numerous schools of thoughts that flourished were reduced to only one school. Therefore Confucius was codified, legalized and made the official doctrine with no contradictions allowed. The highly centralized school and examination system permitted no deviation. Teaching and learning was completely controlled. Education was to be used for the enhancement and solidification of the political regime. If the Qin Dynasty is noted for the geographic and political unification of China, then the Han Dynasty unified Chinese thought. There shall be one political thought.

C. Song Confucianism

A pattern in Chinese history has developed which causes unrest in society. Inevitably over a period of time, corruption develops in government, and the cost of corruption results in a heavy taxation of farmers. To pay the taxes, the gentry must raise rents which creates a feeling of resentment in society. This unrest eventually leads to rebellions and the overthrowing of dynasties. After the fall of a dynasty, there is usually a period of crisis in which prospective leaders fight for control and a new dynastic rule emerges. In spite of the changes of the names of the emperors and the names of the dynasties, two things remain constant. One was that the governmental structure remained based on the Qin Dynasty model. And the other was the social order would be based on the acceptance of the social and
political beliefs of Han Confucianism. An example of this influence is when the Emperor of Northern Wei in 494 carried out a program of learning based on the Han model. He even ordered the members of the Xianbei nobility to adopt Han surnames, costumes, language and to intermarry with the Han. In addition, his political system was patterned after the Han model.

Later the Sui and Tang Dynasty (581 - 907) saw the second unification of China. It was characterized by political unification, social stability, growing economy and a flourishing culture. Buddhism was very popular despite the anti-Buddhist movement which appeared towards the end of the Tang Dynasty. During this time, the development of literature reached a high point. Tang poetry, reflecting the life of the period became a treasure of the literary world. The fine arts were another field where great progress was made. There were large numbers of distinguished painters, who specialized in the painting of human figures, landscapes, flowers, birds, beasts and fowl.

Both Sui and Tang Dynasty shared a common organizational structure. They adopted a system of "Three Administrators and Six Ministries". The three administrators were the imperial secretariat, the privy council, and the cabinet, the heads of which were all referred to as prime ministers. They constituted the highest administrative organs of the nation. This system could be traced back to the "Three Dukes and Nine Secretaries of the State" of the Qin-Han period. Later, it had three levels, national, provincial, (or prefecture) and county. As the power of appointment and dismissal of local officials was once again taken over by the Ministry of Personnel, the central government was further strengthened.

Both Sui and Tang rulers restored the old Han emphasis on Confucian tradition as being the most suitable ideological basis for a centralized government. Tang continued and expanded the governmental schools and furthered the civil-service examination system that had its beginning during the Sui Dynasty.
The Guozijian, a national institute was created to be responsible for promoting Confucian learning throughout the empire. There were a series of specialized national schools at the capital and in the provinces such as schools of law, schools of mathematics, and schools of calligraphy. Schools were run mostly by famous scholars emphasizing the method of free discussion to study the classics. Some of the schools were privately operated by independent scholars.

The civil service examination had a great impact on education, and Han Confucian Classics held a pre-eminent position. In 628, Emperor Taizong (627 - 649) ordered that a Confucian temple be established in the Imperial University and in 630 he ordered the scholars there to prepare an official edition of the Confucian Classics. By the order of the Emperor, the resulting Classical texts, with their official commentaries and subcommentaries, were to be the standard texts for the Imperial University. In this way Confucianism was reaffirmed as the official teaching of the state.

The catagories of the examination increased to a dozen or more, including Xiu Cai - "Flowering Talents" for current problems, Jin Shi - "Advanced Scholarship" and Ming Jing - "Expertise in classics", and Ming Fa - "Expertise in Laws". Thus the examination become the most obvious way to political and financial success. All wishing to participate in national leadership had to seek the same classical, literary type of education. This examination system seems equal for all classes, however, financial restraints made it impossible for those in lower classes to receive the requisite education needed to pass the exams. The content of the exams was based on the Confucian idea of firm ethical behavior and absolute loyalty to existing authority. A great civil service system was created by the examination system lasting until 1905.

Profound political changes took place after the Tang. The new Song Dynasty (960 - 720), struggling against great odds to bring back all the lands once
held by Tang, was under constant threat from the outside. However the Song Dynasty was not known for its military power and social stability compared with the Han and Tang Dynasties. Its strength laid in its cultural achievement, especially its Confucian education, which theoretically differed from Han Confucianism and is known today as neo-Confucianism. Zhu xi (1130-1200) was the chief proponent of this school.

China's growing economic prosperity, cultural advancement and the trade on the Silk Road helped the economic and cultural exchange between China and many other countries. All of these developments were laying the groundwork for a revival of Confucianism. The spread of Buddhism from India had a great impact on the society. China was changing rapidly. As Creel stated: "This meant far more than the mere coming of a religion. For some Chinese, it meant a new way of life. For all Chinese whether they accepted Buddhism or rejected it, it meant that henceforward the world would be looked at in new ways, and the universe conceived to be quite a different things from what it had been."25 Facing a new societal and political situation, change was inevitable for China. There was a need for a new philosophy and Zhu Xi would provide the theory.

Zhu Xi was known for his "Li Xue", rationalism, the theory of Li, or Principle of Law of Nature. He believed that everything that exists must have a Li, a principle. Without it nothing exists. Everything has its own Li, or principle. The Li is always there and it is eternal. How does Li's theory apply to political thought? Since every kind of thing in this world has its own Li, or an organization has its own Li. If the state is organized and governed with this Li, it will be stable and prosperous. If not it will collapse and fall into disorder.

25Creel, Chinese Thought From Confucius to Mao Tse-tung, p. 197-8.
According to Zhu Xi, the Li is the same principle of Confucianism as was taught and practiced by the former sages. The Song Dynasty adopted Zhu Xi’s interpretation. Later the Yuan, the Mongol Dynasty approved that the Four Books (The Analects of Confucius, Mencius, the Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean) as the main texts to be used in the state examinations. Only Zhu’s commentaries were approved as the official interpretation. Students who wanted and hoped for success in the exam had to interpret Confucius' works in accordance with Zhu's commentaries. Exams were held regularly every three years with three successive levels of exams. First came the examination held by the individual prefectures or governmental schools. Those who passed went to the capital for a second exam. After passing the second, they were now subjected to a palace examination. This practice was continued throughout the Ming and Qing, (the last two dynasties), until the abolition of the civil service examination system in 1905, when the government tried to introduce a modern Western educational system.

The purpose of education, to Zhu Xi was to become a sage - a learned man. He criticized rote learning for the examination. Instead, he advocated that education should proceed toward the goal of learning for the sake of oneself and to become a sage. In order to become a sage, educators should explain the reasoning behind the principle. Speaking of the principles, Zhu Xi meant the the Five relationships, which he reinterpreted in his own words. He wrote: "There is a kinship between father and son. There is a rightness between sovereign and subject. There is a difference between husband and wife. There is an order between old and young and trust between friends. These five relationships are the
purpose of learning. This is the Li, the principle that he thinks one should master in order to become a sage.

Compared to Han Confucianism, Zhu's interpretation is more moderate and realistic. He advocated learning for itself rather than memorization for the examination. He emphasized the method of learning by doing rather than as an imposed dogma. His approach to learning is to become a sage by following the four steps of questioning, thinking, debating and practicing. Han Confucianism emphasized the end but neo-Confucianism emphasized the means.

D. Summary

A study of the roots of political-ideological education in China can not be understood without including Confucianism. Over the long span of the history of China, Confucianism was changed by various interpretations. However, its roots were deep and the basic essence of its teaching would prevail. Perhaps this is because the principle of Confucianism had deep roots and could not easily be eradicated.

Whenever there were changes in government, whether these changes were due to invasion, internal revolts or death of ruler, Confucianism would be reinterpreted to fit the needs of the new government. Therefore Confucianism became a basis for moral education and political ideology.

This can be seen very clearly when one explores the intricacies of Chinese history. For example, the Qin Dynasty made use of the authoritarian roots of Confucianism to consolidate its rule and force obedience to its dictates.

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It would seem that there is a cyclical flow of the ideas of Confucius. On the surface, there might be some superficial changes but still the principles of Confucianism will ultimately be used to legitimize the prevailing government. Therefore the ideas must be continued and this continuation would be the function of the educational system. Education would be controlled and centralized under the auspices of the central authorities, no matter whom they may be.

A good example of this need for continuity can be found in the institutionalization of the examination system. The ideas of Confucius were the basis for the system and became formalized. If you wanted to pass the exam, you could not deviate from the established theory. Therefore in Chinese culture spontaneity is not valued but maturity is valued. This stifled any innovations such as changes in art, methods of learning, or the discovery of new principles.

Throughout Chinese history, the aims of education were narrowly defined to achieve the end --the will of the government.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Every society has a political and governmental system. For the purpose of understanding and for the improvement of the working of a political system, an educational enterprise is organized to instruct and indoctrinate the citizenry. Political Education in secondary schools is usually designed to provide each learner with a knowledge and understanding of the political and governmental system; to educate students into the problems, affairs and methods of government; to advance their ability to participate in political life as citizens; and to foster an individual commitment to exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to protect the rights of others. However, one of the findings of this study is that Chinese Political Education in secondary schools has a different function and purpose which is enhanced through the unified national entrance examinations.

The function and purpose of Chinese Political Education in the secondary schools is centered on the themes of socialism and the revolutionary legacy of the Communist Party of China. These themes dominate the political curriculum of the secondary schools and constitute the basic and fundamental values which the government stresses for its citizens. A knowledge of these values is necessary in order to pass the national examination and thus gain entrance to college. Students must learn a particular doctrine, belief and values which is taught in a style so that the learner has no opportunity to consider it critically or to compare it with alternative doctrines or beliefs since no other school of thought or understanding of the problems, affairs and methods of government is regarded as correct. Based on the analysis and statistics in this study, one can conclude that in China, Political Education is political-ideological indoctrination. In line with the thought of the
themes of the ideal of Chinese Communist Party, this indoctrination is conducted through very specific ideological content.

The ideals of the Chinese Communist Party are derived from Marxist philosophy and economics. This philosophy dominates the content of Political Education, and is transmitted to the school curriculum encompassing the study of general knowledge of politics and governmental system and legal knowledge. As national political currents change, then the curriculum must adapt to the changes.

Marxist philosophy, as interpreted by Chinese authorities, is the basis for the general principles of nature, society and thought. From the study's analysis of the national examination, students must uphold the theory of knowledge of dialectic materialism. It is believed that by upholding these principles, students will have mastered a scientific world outlook. And that world outlook will conclude that a communist society is the most ideal society and ultimately the goal of all human development.

A study of Marxist economics begins with the correct understanding of the Marxist theory of capital, surplus value, mass production, economic crisis and imperialism. With this mastery, students will reach the conclusion that capitalism is decadent, digging its own tomb and that socialism is glorious, great, correct and eventually will replace capitalism.

The development of the correct ideology has its roots in the founding of the Communist Party of China. When after a protracted armed struggle, the Party gained power in 1949, it could implement its goal of building a socialist China. This national goal will be implemented by making it the goal of educational policy in China. Since socialism was accepted by the Party as a matter of faith, the rational discussion of the suitability of socialism for China has never been questioned or debated. Socialism as proposed by Marx, was taken not only as a
theory but the theory. In order to support the theory, facts must be made to conform to the ideology, and the attempt to make the confirmation initiated both conceptual and application problems for the teaching of Political Education.

The major problem for the teaching of the Political Education is in the derivation of the official interpretation of Marxist thought. There can be only one understanding and that comes from official party pronouncements. There cannot be a deviation from that interpretation even though another process of thought might reach a different conclusion.

Another problem is that in studying the theory as an abstraction one does not see how the theory works in reality. It is the study of theory merely as theory. To be realistic, one must combine theory with the reality of Chinese society. Throughout the period of the People's Republic of China, this has been a consistent problem in that the theory does not conform to the reality or society. Chinese people are forced to accept the belief that socialism is superior over capitalism and to the idea that Chinese socialist democracy is the only real democracy and capitalist democracy is false and hypocritical. In the national examination one can find questions formulated to support the supposed superiority.

This kind of political-ideological indoctrination has its obvious strategies. One strategy is to use propaganda in attacking others in order to defend one's own. Obviously this strategy defies logic because in attacking others, can not prove their own legitimacy or superiority. Chinese socialism is to be defended by attacking opposing philosophies such as the doctrine of capitalism and western democracy, and western society by exposing their weaknesses through a study of current events. The antagonism toward capitalism remains consistent but there maybe exceptions when it is beneficial to the leadership.
The study reveals changes in emphasis when it benefits the current leadership. The analysis of the content of the national examination during the years of the study reveal rather significant changes. One change is that the subjects of political economics and Marxist philosophy have been replaced by question dealing with the topics of legal knowledge, general knowledge of politics and the operation of government. This seems to be a sign of a more realistic understanding of the political and governmental structure. Unfortunately, political-ideological indoctrination still continues with the forced acceptance of the prejudged principles and political themes being taught to students.

Another finding is that there is a correlation between changes in test questions on national politics with changes in national leadership. In the examinations the questions that dealt with national politics were closely related to Party Politics and leadership changes. An example of this type of change is the advocating of reform with better relations and communication with the west and emphasis on moral education in 1990. Both the general changes and subtle changes in the national entrance examination are correlated with the current political events and change in leadership.

Regardless of the changes in emphasis or the de-emphasizing of a certain topic the national examinations have been consistent in its purpose of Political Education. Historically, the national examination parallels the old imperial examination. Both were designed to choose the most talented candidate for further education. The tests were designed to insure that only properly indoctrinated candidates would pass. In order to assure conformity, subjective questions on the national examinations appeared in objective format and subjective questions with fixed answers point by point assure that students will not deviate from the established principles and formulas. Rote memorization and blind acceptance was
the only way to pass the old imperial examination. This is also true of the present national examination.

The current political-ideological indoctrination is deeply rooted in Chinese history. In the past, education was designed to build loyalty and obedience to the emperor and his order. Today, an attempt is being made to build a new order with the same obedience. To quote one authority "The Communist revolution is a total revolution aiming to establish a new society and a new way of life". However, the approach to the new life and new society is a continuation of the old. To some extent, it is more unrealistic and more hypocritical. The name of the state may change and the emperor may die but the desired virtue remains unchanged. That desired virtue is obedience and loyalty, which was expressed as the love of the emperor and the state in the past and today is love of the Party and socialism.

The basic understanding that comes from the analysis of the national examinations in the area of Political Education is that the political education curriculum in the schools only changes when the political leadership desires such a change. The national examination reflects the thinking of the Party's leadership and its philosophy. In many ways it may be compared to the "trickle down" theory of economics. Party leadership determines a new line of thought which is then transmitted to the schools which have to teach it and then it is reflected in the national examinations. In this way, the efficacy of the teaching of the doctrine can be determined in order to assure that Party policy is being carried out.

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Part One: Fill in each of the following blanks with proper answers. (12 points)

1. The Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party approved "The Decision of Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on (Reform of Economic System)". Comrade Deng Xiaoping stated that the "Decision" consisting of ten points. The most important was the ninth, which could be summarized in eight Chinese characters as follows ( "Respect knowledge and talent" ).

2. In a symposium held on October Nineteenth of last year, Hu Yaobang, the Secretary General of Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party stated that in the of year 1985, the four prime things needed to be done are: to carry out an all-round reform of economic system focusing on urban reform; (to formulate the Seventh-Five Year Plan; to continue the campaign of the Party consolidation and Party building ) and to further the adjustment of the leadership at all levels.

3. This January, the scientific expedition team of our country sailed for Antarctica and set up a permanent scientific station on ( King George Island ). This base is called ( Great Wall South Polar Station of China.)

4. (Xu Haifeng) who is an athlete of our country made a breakthrough by winning China's first Olympic gold medal, and it also happened to be the first gold medal at the Olympic Games.
5. The Ninth Plenary Session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress approved the State Council's proposal that (September Tenth) be the National Teachers' Day.

6. The guiding principle of our government to solve the problem over Hong Kong is (one country, two systems).

7. This March, Primer Zhao Zhiyang delivered his report on government work at the Third Plenary Session of the Sixth National People's Congress stating that the principle guiding our current reform is to be steadfast, (to be prudent in fighting first battle and be sure to win.)

8. This April, delegates from over eighty countries gathered and warmly celebrated the Thirtieth Anniversary of the (Asian - African Meeting) held in Bandum, in the Republic of Indonesia.

Part Two: Each of the following questions has four answers. Please Mark "✓" in the blank that you think is the right answer and mark only one of them.

(18 points)

1. The objectivity of law of nature refers to
   A. that it exists and functions without any conditions...........( )
   B. that it is independent of man's will...........(✓)
   C. that it can be directly perceived through people's sensory organ........( )
   D. that humans are powerless before the laws of nature...........( )

2. Dialectic materialism believes that the nature of a thing is primarily determined by
   A. the objective conditions......( )
   B. the major aspect of contradictions......( )
   C. the identity of opposites......(✓)
D. the universality of contradictions......( )

3. According to recorded document, there have been several cases about female wolves taking away a human child then grew up among wolves in India. Some of the "wolf children" could neither speak nor think, although they were seven or eight, or even over ten years old. These cases demonstrate,

A. that their brains are stupid and not clever from birth......( )
B. that these brains are not human......( )
C. that their brains are human, but their thinking does not necessarily have function of human brains......( )
D. that they can not think because they have had no social practice......( √)

4. The difference between philosophy and the other specific scientific disciplines lies in,

A. that philosophy concerns the world outlook, while other specific disciplines are about methodologies......( )
B. that philosophy is the science concerning the development of the general laws of nature, society and thinking, while other specific disciplines are the science concerning the particular laws of nature and some specific subjects in society......( √)
C. that philosophy is divided into materialism and idealism while other specific disciplines are not divided along these lines......( )
D. that the truth of philosophy is absolute, whereas the truth of specific disciplines are relative.

5. In its essence, capital reflects
A. the relationship between materials and other materials......( )
B. the relationship between human and material......( )
C. the equal trade relationship between capitalists and workers......( )
D. the exploitive relationship by capitalists over workers. (✓)

6. The value of commodity is the concentration of the human labor without any qualitative difference as embodied in commodity. This labor without any qualitative difference refers to
   A. concrete labor. ( )
   B. abstract labor. (✓)
   C. private labor. ( )
   D. social labor. ( )

7. The source of capital accumulation comes from
   A. the frugality of capitalists. ( )
   B. surplus value. (✓)
   C. the new value gained from the expanded reproduction. ( )
   D. the labor force that becomes commodity. ( )

8. The belief which severs the relations between matter and motion and which favors motion devoid of matter is,
   A. mechanical materialism. ( )
   B. idealism. (✓)
   C. native materialism. ( )
   D. agnosticism. ( )

9. Heraclitus believes that man cannot step into the same river even once.
   His mistake is
   A. that he denies the initiative of consciousness. ( )
   B. that he denies the absoluteness of motion. ( )
   C. that he denies relativity of stillness. (✓)
   D. that he exaggerates relativity of stillness. ( )
Part Three: Please choose the proper answer(s) according to each question. Choose one if there is but one, or choose as many as necessary and mark (√) in the blank afterwards. (18 points)

1. The line of demarcation between truth and fallacy is,
   A. that truth can well be accepted by majority but fallacy can not......( )
   B. that truth can govern actions but fallacy can not......( )
   C. that truth is the accurate reflection of the objective reality and its laws but fallacy is not...... (√)
   D. that truth can function for an extended period of time, but fallacy can not......( )
   E. that truth needs to be tested in practice, but fallacy does not......( )

2. "Try to help the shoots grow by pulling them upward -[spoil things by excessive enthusiasm]" The philosophical significance demonstrated in this Chinese proverb is,
   A. that we have to respect the objective reality while bringing our subjective conscious initiative into play...... (√)
   B. that the relations between things are objective...... (√)
   C. that internal causes are the basis for change while external causes are conditions for change; external causes become operative through internal causes...... (√)
   D. that dialectic negation is the link of development.............( )

3. Dialectic materialism holds that intuitive knowledge is yet to be developed into rational knowledge. This is because
   A. Intuitive knowledge is fractional, one-sided, unreliable, while rational knowledge is systematic, comprehensive and reliable............. (√)
B. Intuitive knowledge only reflects the surface of things, while rational knowledge reveals the nature and its laws of things, which is more profound, more comprehensive and more reliable. ...................(√)

C. That intuitive knowledge hampers the understanding of the nature of things while rational knowledge can lead to the knowledge of truth, which guides people's actions............(√)

D. None of the above............( )

4. The exploitive ratio by capitalists over workers is determined by,

A. The ratio of constant capital and variable capital \( \left( \frac{c}{v} \right) \) ............( )

B. The ratio of variable capital and surplus value \( \left( \frac{v}{m} \right) \) ............( )

C. The ratio of surplus value and constant capital \( \left( \frac{m}{c} \right) \) ............( )

D. The ratio of surplus value and total capital \( \left( \frac{m}{c + v} \right) \) ............( )

E. None of the above...........(√)

5. For labor forces to become commodity, the conditions must be,

A. That currency becomes capital......( )

B. That laborers are deprived of their means of production......(√)

C. That laborer have the right to allocate their labor .....(√)

D. That there is a social need for labor forces......( )

6. Imperialist countries practice export of capital due to the following reason(s):

A. That there are enormous "surplus of capital" in a imperialist society.....(√)
B. that there are no ideal domestic places for investment in imperialist countries......(√)

C. Imperialist countries want to help other country to develop economy......( )

D. The undeveloped countries and regions have certain conditions to attract these "surplus capital" from imperialist countries......(√)

E. The above answers are all right.....( )

Part four: Each of the next four questions has three answers. Please judge them right or wrong and mark "-√" for the correct one(s) and "X" for the incorrect one(s) in the blank afterwards. If you think none of the three answers given are right, please write down your answer after the letter (D) in addition to make all the marks "X". (12 points)

1. The identity of opposites refers to the following circumstance,

A. the identity of different kinds of contradictions......(X)

B. the interconnection between the universality and particularity of contradiction......(X)

C. the universality and particularity of contradiction changes under different circumstances......(X)

Expected Answers: D. The identity of opposite refers the following two circumstances: First, both sides of a contradiction are interdependent, The existence of one side is the precondition for the other. Both sides exist in a unity. Secondly, they transform in the opposite direction of their own depending on each other's condition.

2. "Fight, and fail, and fight again and fail again. Then fight again till victory comes" -- this is the logic for people". This quotation is in conformity with the following principles of dialectics:
A. The development of things is a unity of progression and tortuorsity...(✓)
B. New born things are invincible......(✓)
C. Quantitative accumulations will eventual result in some qualitative change in some degree......(✓)
D. 

3. For the same work and amount of time, the higher the social productivity is, the total value should be
   A. more......(X)
   B. less......(X)
   C. the same......(✓)
   D. 

4. Whether capitalists can expand their reproduction successively depends on the following condition(s):
   A. whether or not capitalist competitions are intense......(X)
   B. whether or not inflation occurs......(X)
   C. whether first social division has provided enough means of production......(X)

Expected Answer: D. It depends on whether or not capitalists must have capital accumulation. It also depends on whether the ratio between society and production and among each department develops in proportion.

Part Five. The following two cartoons reveal certain philosophical implications. Please make your own judgment. There are five answers after each cartoon. Which of them is in accordance with the implication? Please mark (√) for the right answer you choose in the blank afterwards. (8 points)

Cartoon (1)   Cartoon (2)
XX instructs: Combat drought
without exception

The girl: The rain is wonderful!
The boy: The rain is bad indeed!

Cartoon (1)

The philosophic implication revealed in this cartoon is

A. that the particularity of contradictions is separate from the universality......( )

B. that we must not only respect objective laws but also bring the people's initiative into full play......( )

C. that we must be realistic in our thinking and actions ......(√)

D. that a general call of action must be adjusted to specific guidance in cases......(√)

E. that materialism and dialectics should be a unity......(√)

Cartoon (2)

The philosophic implication reveals in this cartoon is

A. that whether rain is good or bad is relative and conditional......(√)

B. that speaking of raining, both of their understanding are intuitive., which is yet to be elevated to rational knowledge......( )

C. that scientific theory can function as a guidance for practice......( )
D. that things are related, which is not only objective and universal but also concrete and conditional......(√)

E. that although the boy and the girl have different views about the rain, they are all right. So truth is not only absolute but also relative......(√)

Part Six: The following is a brief newspaper excerpt on international marketing. What political economic principle does it demonstrate? Please analyze and explain briefly. (5 points)

It is reported that last May, the price of paper pulp increased from $400 up to $515 and $540 per ton due to the ever-increasing demands and decrease of paper pulp in stock in those production countries. Later on, because some countries in North America, West Europe and South Africa expanded their production, the demand for paper pulp in international market decreased, the price then dropped sharply.

Expected Answers: 1) This demonstrates that the exchange of commodities is controlled by the law of value and that the law of value requires the exchange commodities to trade equally base on the magnitude of value.
2. The ups and downs in the pricing of the paper pulp, on one hand, show the influence of demands and supplies and on the other are precisely the manifestations of the law of value.

Part Seven: "Do not avoid a good deed because you think it is trivial, and do not take on an evil deed because you think it is small." Please analyze and explain the philosophical implication in this quotation. (7 points)

Expected Answers: 1) This quotation demonstrates the principle that quantitative change will causes qualitative change.

2) Materialist dialectics holds that quantitative and qualitative changes are two stages of the development of things. Quantitative change
are changes in quantity while qualitative changes change the basic nature of things. Quantitative changes prepare for qualitative changes while qualitative changes are the results of the former.

3) This quotation means that should not think a trivial good deed is not worth doing, and that an little evil deed will not matter if you do. Quantitative changes will eventually result in qualitative changes, so that we should do good things even when they are small and check erroneous ideas from the outset.

Part Eight: If the increase of productivity can decrease the value of commodities, why do capitalists try to compete to improve technology in order to increase productivity? What can capitalists benefit from the general increase of social productivity in capitalist society? (8 points)

Expected Answers: 1) In order to gain more surplus value, capitalists compete to improve their technology and equipment to increase their productivity.

2) The magnitude of value of commodity is inversely proportional to labor productivity. The exchange of commodities is in accordance with the value determined by the time needed for social labor. The capitalist who is the first to improve his technology and equipment to improve labor productivity will benefit most because the individual labor time of his commodity production will be less than that needed for social labor.

3) In a capitalist society, the magnitude of value is generally low due to its increased labor productivity. So the value of labor forces has to be lower and time needed for labor has to be shorter and extra time is relatively longer, thus capitalist will certainly get relative surplus value.
Part Nine: Using the principle of the dynamism of consciousness and speaking of your personal practice, explain why Chinese, especially Chinese youth must foster a lofty communist idea in our construction of socialist modernization.

(10 points)

Expected Answers: 1) Material determines consciousness. and consciousness counter-acts with dynamism on material, can reveal the nature, the laws and thus the world can be consciously transformed through practice. Correct consciousness plays an active role in the development of things, while incorrect consciousness hampers the development of things.

2) Communist ideology is in conformity with correct consciousness of the laws of social development, which is our spiritual strength for our construction of socialist modernization. Only by fostering communist ideology can we guarantee the right direction of our construction of socialist modernization and can we resist the corrosive and disturbing influences of incorrect ideology so as to achieve the success of the construction of our socialist modernization.

3) The youth are the future of our country and are trusted with the historic mission of building socialist modernization. They must therefore foster communist ideology and make greater contributions to realization of socialist modernizations.
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS
ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1986

Part One: Fill in each of the following blanks with proper answers. (10 points)

1. In September 1985, at National Congress of The Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that we must always adhere to two basic principles during our reform: one is the principle of (socialist public ownership playing the dominant role) and the other is the principle of (common prosperity).

2. According to the Seventh Five-Year Plan, (the Reform) should be the first priority in the next five years or in a period longer than that time, so that we can strive to lay a basic foundation of a socialist economic system with Chinese characteristics and which has vitality and a promise of growth.

3. This April, the State Education Commission proposed "A Suggestion on Strengthening and Development of Teachers Education" which requires the building of an adequate number of qualified teachers so as to meet the needs of a (nine-year public education) and of improving basic education.

4. In November 1985, the National Congress of Chinese Communist League proclaimed that its glorious task for the country's younger generation is as follows: To uphold the flag of reform; (to pioneer the great cause of the four modernization); (to become a new youth with four emphasized qualities) and to strive for the fulfillment of the "Seventh Five-year Plan".
5. On January 28, 1986, the American space shuttle (Challenger) exploded upon launching with seven of its crew members dying in the mishap.

6. On February 25, 1986, the family of (Marco) the ex-President of Philippines left their country for the U. S. A. as result of a military coup and under strong public pressure.

7. On April 15, the United States launched a sudden air raid on (Libya) on the pretext of counter-attacking (terrorism).

Part two: Each of the following question has four choices, but only one of them is correct. Please choose the letter you think is the right answer and fill in the blank. (10 points)

1. The foundation for the existence and development of human society is:
   (a) that nature provides abundant natural resources
   (b) the production of material goods
   (c) productivity
   (d) relations of production

2. The accurate measurement of exploitation of workers by capitalists should be:
   (a) the rate of surplus value
   (b) the amount of surplus value
   (c) the amount of workers' salary
   (d) the length of working hours of workers.

3. When there is inflation in a given country, various explanations for its causes can be offered. In your thinking, the correct explanation is
   (a) The demand for commercial goods is larger than supply, which causes higher price and the value of paper currency to devalue.
(b) The supply of commercial goods is larger than demand, making it necessary to issue more paper currency.

(c) The amount of paper currency issued exceeds the amount of metal currency needed for circulation.

(D) The amount of paper currency issued does not meet the amount of the metal currency needed for circulation.

4. On what basis is the differentiation between fixed capital and variable capital determined?

(a) Fixed capital itself does not change but variable capital changes by itself.

(b) Fixed capital is a means of production and variable capital is currency.

(c) Fixed capital is controlled by the capitalist and variable capital is controlled by the workers

(d) Fixed capital can not create surplus value but variable capital can.

5. According to an article in *The People's Daily* (April 24, 1986), some countries increased their raw material production to earn more income from exports. As a result, the supply of raw material in the world market increased by a substantial percentage. (e.g. the world production of cocoa increased in 1985 by more than 15% over 1980.) At the same time, due to innovation of new technology, the need for raw materials has decreased (e.g. due to the result of a change in the composition of chocolate, worldwide demand for cocoa decreased by thirteen thousand tons annually.) The phenomenon directly results in:

(a) surplus of production and an economic crisis

(b) reduction in production and economic recession
(c) supply exceeds demand and a decrease for raw material.
(d) abundant supply of raw material which stimulates the production of semi-raw materials. (like chocolate)

6. During a recession in a capitalist country, a miner's child and his mother had the following dialogue: "It's cold, why don't we start the stove?" "We don't have the money to buy coal, because your father lost his job." "Why has my father lost his job?" "It is because too much coal has been produced."
The principle of political economics illustrated by the dialogue is
(a) that the purchasing power of workers in a capitalist country has decreased.
(b) that capitalist economic crisis is the crisis of absolute production surplus.
(c) that capitalist economic crisis is the crisis of relative production surplus.
(d) the state of anarchy in production in a capitalist society.

7. The fundamental distinction between dialectical materialism and metaphysics is in
(a) whether or not it is recognized that the inner contradiction in things are interrelated.
(b) whether or not it is recognized that things undergo changes.
(d) whether or not it is recognized that things develop according to laws.

8. The implication that there are positive and negative aspects of the inherent aspects of material things is
(a) that the positive aspect refers to the correct side of a thing; while the negative aspect refers to the incorrect side.
(b) that the positive aspect refers to the good side of a thing; while the negative respect refers to the bad side.

(c) that the positive aspect refers to the retrogressive side of a thing and; while the negative aspect refers to the progressive side.

(d) that the positive aspect is consistent with nature and the existence of a thing; while the negative aspect refers to that which impels that death of a thing and its change into something else.

9. "Theory must develop with practice, so that theory can match with the changed objective reality". This statement indicates

(a) that intuitive knowledge needs to develop to rational knowledge.

(b) that truth is not absolute but it is relative.

(c) that the cognitive ability of humans is limited.

(d) theory and practice is a unity made concrete in history.

10. Theorem and equation in natural sciences are truths because

(a) they are written in scientific books.

(b) they are formulated by famous scientists.

(c) they were proved in practice to be in conformity with the laws of nature.

(d) they are generally acknowledged by scientists to be correct.

( Expected Answers: 1. (b) 2. (a) 3. (c) 4. (d) 5. (c) 6. (c) 7. (a) 8. (d) 9. (d) 10. (c) ]

Part Three: Each of the following questions has four different answers that meet the requirement of the question to a certain degree. But only one of them is the best and the most appropriate to the question. Please choose one and put the letter in front of each question in the blank. (14 points)
1. People like lean pork but there are some obstacles to the production of lean-pork pigs. The most crucial reason is

(a) the cost of a lean-pork piglet is higher than that of a normal type.
(b) it costs more labor to raise a lean-pork pig.
(c) the government's purchasing price for a lean-pork pig tends to be too low.
(d) the pig feed for a lean-pork pig has to be of a higher quality and is more expensive.

2. In the stage of imperialism, most competition takes the following form:

(a) the control of a skilled labor force and technology through monopoly so that improved technology can raise productivity.
(b) the lowering of costs through monopoly over supply of raw materials and energy resources, over the production and sale of commodities and over access to loans.
(c) to engage in a life or death struggle with other monopoly or non-monopoly groups much like the bigger fish swallowing the smaller fish.
(d) the actual strength and status of monopoly of various monopoly groups

3. Da Qiu Zhuang, Jinhai county, in Tanjin, in its production management placed major emphasis on industrial development, while the proper relationship between industry and agriculture was maintained; when agriculture was subsided by industrial profits, soil was improved through the lowering of the alkaline content and farming was mechanized. In turn, the mechanization of agriculture liberated more labor force from farming so that it could be utilized in industry, thus aiding the development of industry. From the point of dialectical materialism, the case in point demonstrates
(a) that the resolution of major contradictions helps to solve the minor contradictions, while the resolution of minor contradictions create more favorable contradictions for major contradictions.

(b) major and minor contradictions are interrelated and are in conflict with each other.

(c) the development of contradictions is not even and various contradiction have different status.

(d) given a certain condition, major and minor contradictions are interchangeable.

4. In Jakarta, on May fourth of this year, in the final Tums badminton team title competition, the Chinese men's team and Indonesia men's team matched each other in strength. The Chinese team had an surprising adjustment in the structure of its team according to the fact that the opponent team's average age is higher, and therefore their stamina is lower. The Chinese team presented all its young and physically stronger players. They won and regained the championship. From dialectical materialism point of view, this demonstrates

(a) the principle that major and minor contradictions are interrelated.

(b) the principle that quantitative change can bring about qualitative change.

(c) the principle that a newly born force are irresistible

(D) the principle that the development of contradictions has its own law.

5. After liberation, our country, following LI Siguang's theory on exploitation for oil, found abundant oil deposits, thus disproving the claim that China is "poor in oil'. On the other hand, for a long time, little attention was given to Ma Yianchu's theory on the control of population and the population grew too
rapidly causing great difficulties in our socialist construction. These examples demonstrates

(a) that truth is objective and independent of man's will.
(b) that practice is the only source of knowledge.
(c) that ideas actively affect material conditions.
(d) only when theory guides practice can a positive development of things be achieved.

6. The fundamental difference between intuitive knowledge and rational knowledge is

(a) that intuitive knowledge reflects the nature of things by a sensual perception of appearances, while rational knowledge reflects the nature of things by conception, judgment, and reasoning.
(b) that intuitive knowledge is direct and concrete, while rational knowledge is indirect and abstract.
(c) that intuitive knowledge reflects the phenomenon, while rational knowledge reflects essence and laws of things.
(d) that intuitive knowledge is a lower form of knowledge while rational knowledge represents a higher form.

7. Many mountainous areas having water shortage, poor soil conditions and extreme cold weather were used to grow grain crops only. But after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh National Party's Congress, farming strategy was changed and a more diversified economy was developed helping to lift them out of poverty. This case proves that each area has its own superior natural strength according to their situation. Those mountainous areas that are not suited for growing grain crops can plant fruit trees or some other products with economic value. In this way, the past disadvantage of growing grain crops can be changed into productive superiority. This case in point demonstrates
(a) that inferiority and superiority are the unity of opposites. They are different but related.

(b) that inferiority and superiority are relative but not absolute.

(c) that inferiority and superiority are the premise of their existence but they are interchangeable.

(d) as long as one proceeds from the actual condition, the inferiority can be changed into superiority.

{Expected Answer: 1.(c) 2. (d) 3. (A) 4. (B) 5. (D) 6. (c) 7. (D)}

Part Four: Each of the following have five answers, please choose the answers you think are correct. Choose one if there is but one answer, or choose as many as necessary and fill the chosen answer in the blank afterwards. If you choose all the correct answers, points will be given. Points will not be given if the wrong one(s) is chosen or correct one(s) is left out. (15 points)

1. The relationship between use value and value is:

(a) that which has value must have use value

(b) that which has use value must have a value

(c) that which doesn't have use value doesn't have a value

(d) that which has a value doesn't necessarily have use value.

(e) that which doesn't have value doesn't necessarily have a use value.

2. This March, the first computer composition color news paper "Today" was published in London. Due to this new technology, the work force was reduced, costs cut, and more surplus value was gained over other newspapers. This part of surplus value was gained through

(a) advanced production machinery.

(b) scientific management by the capitalists.
(c) the individual labor time which had been reduced is relatively less than that of required social labor time.

(d) a reduction in the required labor time and relatively increasing surplus labor time.

(e) raising the productivity of labor for the propose of increasing surplus value.

3. According to the materialist dialectics, the relationship between motion and stillness is

(A) that motion always moves, while stillness is always still.

(b) that there is stillness in motion, just as there is motion in stillness.

(c) that without motion, there is no stillness; without stillness, there is no motion.

(d) that motion is absolute, while stillness is relative.

(e) stillness is also motion

4. It was reported that about ten teachers from Hebei Agriculture University went to the Tai Hong mountainous area to promote over ten technical programs and train twenty thousand peasant technicians. This program benefited the Tai Hong Mountain area economically. In their efforts to develop the mountainous areas, these teachers have been fruitful in twenty six scientific research programs and the results enriched their teaching materials and promoted teaching and reforms in their university. Everybody says: "Peasants need science, and science needs peasants." This case in point demonstrates

(A) that scientific theory is a necessary guidance to correct practice.

(b) that practice is the source of scientific theory and a motivating force of development
(c) that only through practice in everything can real knowledge be gained.
(d) that truth develops in its struggle with fallacies.
(e) that scientific theories also must: "Come from the masses and be returned to the masses."

5. The difference and relationship between Marxist philosophy and political economy is

(a) that philosophy takes the whole world as its object of study, while political economy studies the problem in the area of social economy.
(b) that the dialectical materialism of Marxist philosophy is the general science of nature, human society and cognitive development while political economy is the science of the study of relations of production and its law of development.
(c) political economy is the proof and application of Marxist philosophy.
(d) Marxist philosophy is the foundation of the world outlook and methodology of political economy.
(e) Marxist philosophy should also develop with the development of political economy and other science.

{Expected Answer: 1. (A, C) 2. (C, D, E) 3. (B, C, D, E) 4.(A, B, E) 5. (A, B, C, D, E)}

Part Five: Each of the following has three answers, please judge them right or wrong, and mark a (√) for the correct and (X) for the incorrect ones. If you think none of the three answers is correct, please write your answer after the letter (d), in addition to making all the marks. Points will not be given if answers are not given as instructed. (21 points)
1. Generally speaking, sunlight and air are not commodities, but because of air pollution in some countries, fresh air can be marketed in a specially designed container. The reason why air becomes a commodity is

   (a) that it can meet people's need for fresh air .......(x)
   (b) that people cannot willfully get fresh air that has been polluted.....(x)
   (c) that retailers of fresh air have come into being .....(x)

**Expected Answer:** (d) that fresh air not only can meet the people's need, but also the products of this specially contained purified air has been processed by labor, which has value. Therefore the fresh air has become the products of exchange, which is a commodity.

2. Although profit margin is the transformation of surplus value, capitalists admit only how much profit has been gained, not how much surplus value is gained. The reason is

   (a) that although profit margin in fact is the same with the margin of surplus value, profit margin is smaller than that of surplus values. Transforming the margin of surplus value into profit margin may cover the volume of exploitation by the capitalist.....(x)
   (b) that surplus value is the product of variable capital but profit is the product of fixed capital. Transforming surplus into profit may cover the factual exploitation by the capitalist.....(x)
   (c) that surplus is the product of overall prepaid capital, but profit is the product of variable capital. Because profit margin is smaller than that of surplus value. When profit margin is smaller than that of surplus value, by transforming surplus into profit, it may cover the factual degree of the exploitation by the capitalist......(x)
Expected Answer: (d) that capitalists always regard the increased volume on the top of prepaid capital as the product of overall prepaid capital. So when surplus value was regarded as the profit of overall prepaid capital, it was taken as profit. This denies the differentiation of fixed and variable capitals and thus covering the real source of surplus value.

3. It is sometimes said: "In a capitalist society, all those who have money are capitalists." There are people who are for and against such a statement. Is it right or wrong? In your opinion, the correct answer should be

(a) that those who have money gained it by exploitation. Capitalists are exploiters, so those who have money are all capitalists......(x)

(b) that capital is, first of all, the expression of currency. Possessing a great deal of currency is the premise of being a capitalist, so those who have money are all capitalists......(x)

(c) that capital is always manifested as certain materials, including currency, but machines and factory houses must be included; therefore those who have money only are not necessary capitalists......(x)

Expected Answer: (d) that the premise of currency being turned into capital is labor force turned into commodity. Only when those who have money turn their currency into a means of exploitation of surplus value from workers, can currency becomes capital. These kind of people with money are capitalists.

4. According to American media, there were up to 3,000 enterprises merged in 1985, an increase of 400 over 1984. The trading volume of these mergers above one billion were more than 32 cases while in 1984 there were only 18. These circumstances demonstrates
(a) that laissez-faire competition of capitalists in America is getting more and more intense and is developing towards monopoly....(x)

(b) that merging of enterprises in American is rapidly growing, laissez-faire competition is replaced by monopoly....(x)

(c) that American concentration of production and capital coupled with a higher degree of monopoly is, at present, developing on a large scale. Competition is not over but is becoming more intense. (√)

5. The significance of having a better understanding of the difference between the form and the nature of motion of matter is

(a) that all forms of motion of matter are the expression of the motion of matter, so one form of motion of matter may explain another form of motion of matter......(x)

(b) that there is a very strict definition of each form of motion of matter; they can not be mutually contained......(x)

(c) that the definition of all kinds of forms of motion of matter is based on scientific classification......(x)

Expected Answer: (d) that it not only helps us understand the basic principle of scientific category, but also understand its variety, its permanence and absoluteness.

6. We must not only foster a lofty communist ideal, but also at present, do a good job at our work and study. Some people believe that the communist ideal has nothing to do with their daily work. They don't study hard nor do their work conscientiously. From a philosophical point of view, the mistake of such a view is (4 points)
(a) that it doesn't conform to the principle of concrete problem with a concrete solution.....(x)

(b) that it violates the principle that the particularity of contradictions is inherent within the universality......(x)

(c) that it denies the difference between particularity and universality, generality and individuality of contradictions......(x)

Expected Answer: (d) that it violates the principle that the particularity of contradiction is inherent in the universality; and that generality is inherent in individuality.

7. It is a completely correct principle that Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought must "first of all, be adhered to and secondly be developed, because

(a) intuitive knowledge must develop into rational knowledge.....(x)

(b) quantitative changes will result in qualitative changes.....(x)

(c) truth is always developed in its conflict with fallacies and in its victory over fallacies......(x)

Expected Answer: (d) Marxism is truth. Truth is absolute, but also relative. Because it is absolute that we have to adhere to it. Because it is relative that we have to develop it.

Part Six. Answer briefly: what is a correct view of the fact that workers' material living standards have been raised in developed capitalist countries. (4 points)

Expected Answers (1) It must be viewed in connection with their development of productive forces in society. The increase of the material living standards of a society determines the development of productive forces in society. and
the changes of societal economic conditions. The relative increase of the material living standards of the workers in capitalist society has to do with the relative higher development of productive forces in these countries.

(2) It must viewed in connection with the proletariat as a whole class. One has to look at the conditions of the employed workers as well as the conditions of the unemployed workers.

(3) It must viewed in connection with a certain historical period. One has to look at the rising period of production as well as the period of economic recession and crisis.

(4) It must viewed in connection with the whole range of the capitalist world. One has to look at the workers' living conditions of developed capitalist countries, as well as at workers' living conditions in undeveloped capitalist countries and colonial countries and dependency.

Part Seven. How do you understand the unity of materialism, dialectics and epistemology in the philosophy of dialectical materialism? What is the significance of this unity at a high level to the philosophy of dialectic materialism? (6 points)

Expected Answers: (1) The extreme unity of materialism and dialectics is an important feature of dialectic materialism. Both study the same material world from different perspectives. Materialism emphasizes the materiality and objectivity of the world while dialects emphasizes the laws of motion of the objective world.

(2) Materialism, dialectics and epistemology can't be separated. Materialism and dialectics reflect the very general laws of the objective world. The contents and laws of thought originate from the objective world.
of materials. Objectivity determines subjectivity, while subjectivity reflects objectivity. The two in nature are consistent with each other.

(3) It is because dialectic materialism unites materialism and dialectics and is applied to epistemology. Materialism, dialectics and epistemology are organically united so that the philosophy of dialectic materialism transcends all old philosophies in the past and becomes a complete and scientific philosophical system.

Part Eight: Since it is said "Monopoly hinders the development of productive force and the advancement of technology. It tends to stagnate production and technology". Why is it also said that "In the era of imperialism, generally speaking, capitalism develops much quicker than ever before"? Please write your explanation with the knowledge of political economy you have learned. (8 points)

Expected Answer: (1) In the era of imperialism, there existed a tendency toward stagnation in production and technology and the tendency of rapid development. These two tendencies coexist. It doesn't mean that production and technology are at standstill.

(2) Productive forces are the most active and revolutionary factor. The relations of production of monopoly capitalism can only hinder the full realization of the tendency of the rapid development of productivities but cannot demolish this kind of tendency itself. Forced by the development of productivities, the concrete forms of the relations of production of monopoly capitalism can be partially adjusted. Monopoly doesn't demolish competitions. In competitions, those monopoly groups which first adopt advanced technology would always occupy a more favorable positions.
(3) Even if in the era of rapid development of capitalist economy, the tendency of stagnation and decadence caused by monopoly obviously exist. The enormous potential provided by modern technological advancement and modern mass production are not brought out into full play.

Part Nine: In his report *On the Seventh-Five Year Planning Report*, Premier Zhao Zhiyang asked the cadres and the masses to fully understand the hardships and complexity of the transformation of the old system into the new. He said: "Reform is inevitably a gradual advancing process. During this process, two systems coexist, and interact. The factors of the new system increase daily in economic operation, but cannot completely replace the old system. A great deal of the old system cannot be replaced but has to continue to exist and function in a certain period of time. This determines that there inevitably will be all kinds of problems and contradictions." Please analyze and explain with the application of the principle of dialectic negation. (12 points)

Expected Answers: (1) Reform is a gradual advancing process. The transformation of old into a new system cannot be completed overnight. In this process, the new and old systems coexist, and in a contradiction with each other. There is a process in which a fraction of the new system matures and a fraction of the old system still continues to exist. Both systems gradually will inevitably interact in a zigzag way, thus determining the complexity of reform.

(2) Reform is a process during which the new system will replace the old one and this is a process of dialectic negation. Dialectic negation is not only the link of development but also the link of connection. Without the negation of the old system by the new system, there will be no reform and
no development of socialist construction. But this negation is a "canceling out" rather than a complete rejection of the old system.

(3) The reform process of the new system replacing the old one is the unity of complications and advancements. The co-existence of both the old and new systems creates a complex situation in reform; but with the increase of factors of the new system in economic operation, the new system will eventually replace the old one. Therefore, we should not only take account of the enormity and complexity of transforming the old into new but should feel confident that reform is full of vitality and will succeed.
APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS
ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1987

Part One: Fill in each of the following blank with proper answers. (20 points)

1. On the sixth Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Zhiyang delivered "the Governmental Work Report", stating: "We must concentrate our energy to do two important things between this and the next Congress, one is that, in the field of economy, to adhere to the correct policy of construction, to launch a campaign for (increasing production and practicing economy and increasing income and practice budget (or "double increase and double practice"); to deepen the form of our system and expand opening to the outside so as to make sure that the national economy develop steadily and continuously. The other task is, in the field of political ideology, to carry out a thorough campaign of education in the four cardinal principles; to strongly resist bourgeois liberalization; and to strengthen the (construction of socialist spiritual civilization) so as to further consolidate and develop the political state of sand unity."

2. Recently, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that in evaluating a system, its government structure and its foreign policy of a given country, one must look at three key factors: first, whether or not its (political situation) is stable; secondly, whether or not it has promoted the people's unity and whether or not it has raised the people's living standard; and the third, whether or not the (productive forces) have been developed steadily.
3. The Joint Communiqué on Macao was signed on April 13, 1985 by the People's Republic of China and the Portuguese Republic, stating that the People's Republic of China will again practice its right of sovereignty over Macao on December 20, 1999. This is another successful example of the solution to unify our country with the application of the principle of (one country, two systems.)

4. The "Government Work Report" at the Sixth Plenary Session of the National People's Congress proclaimed that the disturbance caused by a small number of students which was spread to some other cities at the end of last year, was the result of the (overflow of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization.)

5. The foreign minister of our country delivered a speech on foreign policy in the Federal Republic of Germany on March 24, restating that China will pursue an independent and peaceful policy in foreign affairs. China will take as its cardinal principle to be against (hegemonies;) to (maintain world peace;) and to develop a friendly cooperation with every country, and to promote common economic prosperity.

6. The iron and steel output of our country in 1986 reached (52 million tons,) which made us fourth in the world production next to Russian, Japan and the United States.

7. The athletes of our country struggled heroically and won (94 )gold medals at the Eleventh Olympic Games held in Seoul, South Korean in September 1986.

8. Recently, the judicial department of Japanese government flagrantly accepted the case of China's national property "Guang Hua Liao" real estates presented by the Taiwan regime in the name of "Republic of China". The essence of this case is that Japanese court attempts to create a situation of ("two Chinas" or "one China & one Taiwan") in the form of legal arbitration. This course of action is their trampling on treaties between China & Japan and on the norms of
international laws. Our government is currently in negotiation on this case with the Japanese government.

9. Last November, the newspaper exposed Iran-contra affair, -- the event of secret arms trade between (the United States) and Iran.

10. At present, the research of superconductivity in our country has advanced to the (leading rank) of the world. In order to speed up the development of this technology, our government has drawn up a plan endorsing the National Planning Committee and National Science and Research Committee to be in the direct charge of this research nationwide.

11. The basic criterion to tell a new born thing from an old is whether or not it conforms to (objective reality;) and whether or not it has a strong vitality and promise of growth.

12. Rational knowledge reliance on intuitive knowledge while intuitive knowledge has yet to (be developed into rational knowledge.)

13. One who admits the objectivity of truth is bound to admit its (absoluteness.)

14. The salary of workers a in capitalist society is, in essence, (the manifestation of product value of labor forces.)

15. (State monopolistic capitalism) is capitalism combined with capital monopoly and state power.

16. Currency as the medium of exchange of commodities is called (means of circulation.)

Part Two: Each of the following questions has one or more correct answers. Please choose the proper answer(s) and put the letter in the blank. Points will be given to those who choose all the correct answers without making incorrect choices. (40 points)
1. The distinction between concrete and abstract labor is
   A. that concrete and abstract labor are two different processes of labor.
   B. that concrete labor is physical labor and abstract labor is mental labor.
   C. that concrete labor creates use value while abstract labor becomes value.
   D. that concrete labor is the work in a concrete condition, while abstract labor is the work that doesn't have qualitative difference over concrete labor.

2. The reason why dialectic materialism is a scientific world outlook and methodology is
   A. that it reveals the general laws of nature, of human society and the development of things.
   B. that it views the world in the view of materialism as well as dialectics.
   C. that it accomplishes a scientific system of understanding of the objective world under the guidance of practice.
   D. that it inherits the excellent achievements in the history of philosophy; it is the crystallization of the new materials of natural science; and it summarizes the experience of the struggle of the proletariat.

3. The relationship between consciousness and human brain is
   A. that consciousness is the function of brain, while the brain is the bearer of conscious activity.
   B. that consciousness is the reflection of an object in the brain but the content of consciousness is not determined by the brain.
C. that consciousness reliance on the brain, while the brain is the resource of consciousness.

D. that consciousness is the product of the brain but the brain can produce consciousness by itself.

4. "Natural gold and silver are not currency, but currency naturally is gold and silver." This saying demonstrates

A. that there must be a process to make currency.

B. that gold and silver have the proper character for its exchange of the same amount of value.

C. that gold and silver, as currency, is also a type of commodity.

D. that paper currency is only a symbol of money.

5. It is because a commodity is the product for exchange that

A. if there exists material goods, there will be production of commodities.

B. if there exists division of social labor, there will be production of commodities.

C. if there exists private ownership of material goods, there will be production of commodities.

D. if there exist a division of social labor and material goods and labor product belonging to different owners, there will be production of commodities.

6. After the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production in our country, class contradiction is no longer the major contradiction since the exploiting class is dying out. The function of the laws of class struggle has also changed. This demonstrates

A. that laws can also change.
B. that laws reveal different characters at different stages over its development.
C. that existence and function of laws have its conditions.
D. that the existence and function of laws are independent of man's will.

7. The basic premise that currency becomes capital is
   A. that capitalists must possess a huge sum of currency.
   B. that a commodity economy must exist.
   C. that capitalists must have the capability of organizing and managing production.
   D. that there must be a group of laborers in the society who want to sell their work as a commodity.

8. The value of commodity of labor forces should include
   A. the value of the consumption of the means of production needed for work.
   B. the value of means of livelihood needed for the laborers and their families.
   C. the new value created by laborers during their work.
   D. the value of cost for their needed education and training.

9. The unity of "the theory that everything has two aspects" and "focal theory" conforms to
   A. the principle of the relationship of universality and particularity of contradiction.
   B. the uneven principle of contradiction over its development.
   C. the interrelated principle between major and minor contradictions.
   D. the interrelated principle of the major and minor aspects of contradictions.
10. The distinction of qualitative and quantitative change is
   A. that quantitative change occurs within the range of the same of quality, while qualitative change leaps from one state quality to another state of quality.
   B. that quantitative change appears to be small and not obvious, while qualitative change appears to be obvious.
   C. that quantitative change increases in numbers, while qualitative change refers to the change in situations and the structure of things.
   D. that quantitative change appears to be in a stage of unity, equilibrium, and stillness, while qualitative change appears to dissolve the unity, equilibrium and stillness.

11. The features of capitalist reproduction is reproduction on an large scale because
   A. that there will be no social development without extended reproduction.
   B. of the objective request by the advanced technology.
   C. that capitalists wants more surplus value.
   D. of the intense competition among capitalists.

12. The manifestation of socialized mass production developed on the foundation of the large machinery industrialization is
   A. that the competition among enterprises intensifies and both medium-sized or small enterprises are either swallowed or become affiliated organizations of those big ones.
   B. that the production of enterprises becomes mass production based on many people's common work.
   C. the interdependent unity of production among various enterprises and departments.
D. the production for the daily expanded market and the scattered local market that develops into a domestic market, and further into a world market.

13. "Be vigilant in peace time" The philosophical principle demonstrate in this statement

A. that both sides of contradiction in things are mutually exclusive.
B. that both sides of contradiction in things are interrelated and interchangeable.
C. that dialectic negation is the link of the development and connection of things.
D. that the general trend of the development of things is the victory of new born things over old things.

14. Lenin regarded imperialism as a special stage of capitalism. This special stage means

A. that imperialism is advanced, parasitic and dying capitalism.
B. that imperialism is monopolistic and advanced financial capitalism.
C. that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic, or decadent and moribund capitalism.
D. that imperialism is developed, moribund and state monopolistic capitalism.

15. Which of the following points are in conformity with the principle of dialectic negation?

A. Proletariat culture should be based the whole knowledge created under the oppression of capitalistic, landlord, and bureaucratic society; this culture is in conformity with development of laws.
B. A Proletariat culture should encompass the entity of all mankind's culture, so it has not only what the world cultures have, but also has what the world cultures don't have.

C. China needs "an Enlightenment", and it must completely destroy all of its past policies and cultures in order to build a brand new politics, economy and culture.

D. One can become a communist only by learning all the useful knowledge, both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, and to be armed with all the spiritual wealth and knowledge that mankind has created.

16. What is the relationship between monopoly domination and competition in the stage of imperialism?

A. Competition promotes monopoly, while monopoly weakens competition.

B. Laissez-faire competition results in monopoly, while monopoly demolishes laissez-faire competition.

C. Competition only exist among monopoly groups since non-monopoly groups are weak in economic strength and has no way to compete with monopoly groups.

D. Monopoly domination intensifies competition.

17. The concrete and historic unity of theory and practice refers to

A. that theory must reflect the colorful individuality of things and must be in conformity with the character of concrete thing.

B. that theory must reflect all kinds of concrete forms of practice to reveal their concrete and historic character.

C. that theory must advance with the development of practice and must be in conformity with the changed reality.
D. that theory must reflect the nature and laws of things and guide practice according to reality.

18. "Concept" as a mode of thinking, is

A. a general image constructed from a comprehensive view of human perception.

B. the preservation and reappearance of the an overall perception.

C. a reflection of the natural character of the same type of things.

D. the crystallization and abstraction of common nature of different things.

19. In the process of cognition, the second leap is more important than the first leap. This is because

A. that rational knowledge can only be examined and developed when it is returned to practice.

B. a correct cognition of a concrete thing can only be accomplished when the second leap is reached.

C. that only when rational knowledge returns to practice can the goal of transforming the world be reached.

D. human dynamic role is revealed only in the second leap.

20. Which of the following is correct? If the exchange formula is one sack of rice equals two 2 sheep, then

A. If the rice labor productivity doubles, the formula is
   1 sack of rice = 1 sheep

B. if the sheep labor productivity doubles, the formula is
   1 sack of rice = 4 sheep

C. if both rice and sheep labor productivity double, the formula is
   1 sack of rice = 2 sheep
D. if the rice labor productivity doubles and the sheep labor productivity triples, the formula is

1 sack of rice = 6 sheep

Part Three: In order for capitalists to set up factories, they have to make investments in building factory workshops, purchasing machines and raw materials. Also they have to pay electricity, water and workers. Of all these investments, which are fixed capital? Which are variable capital? On what principle do you distinguish them? And what is the significance? (6 points)

1. The capital that pays for workers is variable capital. The rest are all fixed capital.

2. The principle to distinguish them is that they each plays a different role in the creation of surplus values: The capital that pays for salary not only creates surplus value, but also can be reproduced; the rest of the capital will be transformed into new products in once or a number of times. They cannot create new value.

3. This principle will reveal the real meaning of surplus value, and furthermore expose the secret of the exploitation by capitalists.

Part Four: Please explain the differences and connections among cognition, truth and fallacy. (6 points)

1. Cognition, truth and fallacy are three different concepts. Cognition is the reflection of objective things which includes correct reflections as well as incorrect reflections. Truth is the correct reflection of objective things and its laws, which is in conformity with objective reality. Fallacy is the incorrect reflection of objective things which is not in conformity with objective reality.
2. Cognition, truth, and fallacy are also interrelated. They are all reflections of objective things in the human brain and their contents are all from objective reality. These three concepts should be examined by practice. Truth develops from its conflict with fallacies and human cognition will develop and be further comprehended with the advancement of truth.

Part Five: Why do young students not only have to study hard and to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism and scientific knowledge, but also to actively participate in social practice? Please analyze and answer the question with the application of the principle of dialectic relationship between theory and practice as well as your own ideological practice (8 points)

1. The relationship between theory and practice is dialectical unity. On one hand, practice is the base for theory and on the other hand, theory counteracts practice. Scientific theory plays a guiding role in practice.
2. Young students must study hard the theory of Marxism-Leninism and scientific knowledge which will be used to guide them to transform the world. Theory can be only given a full play when it combines with practice but meanwhile it can be tested and developed in practice. Participating in social practice and finding out the reality and people's needs are the only way to realize the combination between theory and practice.
3. Please write down your understanding, relating to your personal practice.

Part Six: According to the statistics released by the International Labor Organization in 1973, 8,270,000 workers were unemployed in 21 major capitalist countries such as the United States, France, Britain, West Germany, Italian and Japan. In the peak of the economic crisis of 1975, the number of unemployed reached to 14,400,000. In America alone, 7,830,000 workers were
unemployed, which doubled that of 1965. Although the number declined somewhat in later years, it remained around 6,000,000. Please explain the reason for the existence of the above facts with the application of the theory of surplus value and cyclical crisis of the capitalist economy. (10 points)

1. In the process of continuously expanding production, capitalists, in order to gain the most possible surplus value, adopt new technologies and improve their productivity with the results that the increasing rate is out of proportion of the need of labor forces required by that of capitals investment. Machines squeeze workers out. Meanwhile, the supply of labor in society often exceeds the need for labor by capitalists.

2. Capitalists intensify their exploitation and oppression of the employed workers by taking advantage of the large number of unemployed workers.

3. During the recession, many enterprises decrease or stop production, may even go into bankruptcy which rapidly increases the number of the unemployed. During the time of recovery and upsurge, the production recovers thus increasing the number of employed.

Part Seven: According to "the Government Work Report" delivered on the Fifth Plenary Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, our party's line, since the Third Plenary Session of the eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, consists of two basic points. One point is to adhere to the four cardinal principles, the other is to adhere to the policy of reform; to be open to the outside; and to be flexible. Please analysis and explain the relationship of the two basic points with the application of the principle of the universal relationship of dialectic materialism and comment on why we must carry out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC. (10 points)
1. Materialist dialectics holds that everything in the world are universally related. As for the relationship, it refers to that of interplay and intereffluence among inner factors and between things.

2. The two basic points in the Party's line since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC are related. One cannot do without the other. If we don't adhere to the four cardinal principles, the political situation of stability and unity will be destroyed and we will lose a fundamental guaranty to carry out the reform and openness, and possibly go astray. Without the reform and openness, socialism will be stagnated and rigid. It will be impossible to fully promote the development of social production forces and to effectively adhere to the four cardinal basic principles in practice. The two basic points of our Party's line supplement and complement each other and mutually embodied. They both compose a whole unity.

3. Bourgeois liberalization is completely opposed to the Party's line consisting of the two basic points since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC. In essence, bourgeois liberalization is against the four cardinal principles. It is an attempt to break away from the leadership of Communist Party of China; to deny the socialist system and to advocate capitalism, so as to make the reform lose its direction. The main purpose of anti-bourgeois liberalization is to unite the people from all nationalities in the country and to carry our the reform and openness under the four cardinal principles and to be highly efficient building a socialism with Chinese features.
APPENDIX D

QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS
ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1988

Part One: Each of the following questions has one correct answer. Please choose the correct one and fill it in the blank. (10 points)

1. The two basic attributes of contradiction are
   A. contradictoriness and non-contradictoriness.
   B. universality and particularity.
   C. absoluteness and relativity.
   D. identity and nature of struggle.
   Answer: (d)

2. Different things have different qualities. This is because
   A. that different inherence in things have different aspects of negation.
   B. that different things follow different laws of development.
   C. that different things exist special relations among things.
   D. that different inherence in things have particular contradictions.
   Answer: (D)

3. Materialist dialectics holds that development is
   A. that things move and change constantly.
   B. that things undergo a process from past to present and then to future.
C. that things undergo a process of metabolism in which things change from a lower stage to a higher stage.

D. that things undergo a process from small to big and from less to more.

Answer: (c)

4. Denying the relative stillness in things will result in

A. mechanism.

B. agnosticism.

C. native dialectics.

D. fatalism

Answer: (b)

5. Emperor Weiwu led his army on a march. Their water supply was exhausted and all the soldiers were thirsty. He issued an order saying "Ahead of us, there is a large orchard of ripe plums. Its sweet and sour taste is perfect for quenching our thirst." Upon hearing it, the soldiers felt their mouths water. According to the soldiers' responses described in the story, their cognitive form should be

A. feeling.

B. perception.

C. representation.

D. concept.

Answer: (C)

6. Some natural scientists have never studied dialectic materialism, but they have made great achievements in science. This fact indicates

A. that there is not necessarily an inevitable connection between scientific research and materialism as well as dialectics.
B. that sometimes, there is a connection between scientific research and materialism as well as dialectics.

C. that scientific research by its nature inclines to materialism and dialectics.

D. that scientific research runs through materialism and dialectics.

Answer: (c)

7. The absoluteness of truth means

A. the cognition that contains undeniable content.

B. the cognition that creates enormous influence over life.

C. the cognition that has a universality that fits all.

D. the cognition that has a profound significance at any time.

Answer: (A)

8. The difference between cognition and perception is

A. that cognition is direct, while perception is indirect.

B. that cognition is partial, while perception is whole.

C. that cognition is temporary, while perception is enduring.

D. that cognition is external, while perception is internal.

Answer: (B)

9. The difference between substance and consciousness is

A. that substance exists by itself but consciousness cannot.

B. that substance has a shape but consciousness does not.

C. that substance moves but consciousness does not.

D. that substance is a concrete thing while consciousness is derived from concrete things.

Answer: (A)

10. People's ideas have changed with the accelerated economic and political reforms in our country. This demonstrates
A. that perception knowledge reliance on rational knowledge.
B. that the change of concepts depends on the change of reality.
C. that the original concept is subjective and self productive, which is wrong.
D. that a new concept is truth. An old concept is fallacy. Truth will win over fallacy eventually.

Answer: (B)

Part Two: Each of the following questions has one or more correct answers. Please choose the proper answer(s) and put the letter in the blank. Points will be given to those who choose all the correct answers without making incorrect choices. (30 points)

1. In economic development, we must pay attention to economic benefits and try to improve a product's quality. From a philosophical point of view, this statement explains that

   A. quality and quantity are a unity, so that the improvement of quality means the increase in quantity.
   B. quality and quantity are a unity, so that quality can be improved only by increasing the output.
   C. quality and quantity are a unity, so that quantity without quality is false quantity.
   D. quality and quantity are a unity, so that quantity must be based on quality.

Answer: (A, C, D)

2. The objectivity of truth refers to

   A. that the contents and forms of truth are objective.
   B. that truth accurately reflects objective things and its laws.
C. that truth as a guidance for practice is objective.
D. that truth is independent of men's will, which is the objective reality.

3. The positive and negative sides of dialectics refers to
   A. that the positive side refers to the correct side of a thing, while the negative side refers to the wrong side.
   B. that the positive side refers to the definitive property in quality, while negative side refers to the definitive property in quantity.
   C. that the positive side refers to the conservative side while negative side refers to the side newly emerged.
   D. that the positive side refers to the side of its own while the negative side refers to the side that causes the thing to cease to exist or transform into another thing.

   Answer: (C, D)

4. This year is the year of the dragon. Although there is no dragon in reality, its image and concept exist. This phenomenon demonstrates
   A. that consciousness in turn influence material conditions and under a given condition it takes the initiative to create materials.
   B. that some consciousness do not reflect of materiality.
   C. that consciousness can create a new image and a new concept through processing the actual material condition.
   D. the key distinguishing characteristics of consciousness which has its initiative to reflect the outside world.

   Answer: (C, D)

5. The connection between intuitive and rational knowledge lies in
   A. that rational knowledge reliance on intuitive knowledge.
B. that intuitive knowledge is yet to be developed into rational knowledge.
C. that both are in the processing stage of cognition.
D. that both come from practice.
Answer: (A, B, C, D)

6. The firefighters in combating the forest fire in the Great Hingan Mountains spread a catalytic agent with artificial rain machines, and launched artificial rain bullets to seed the cloud causing artificial rain. This fact explains
A. that in order to understand and remake the world, people have to understand and transform the laws of nature.
B. as long as people understand the conditions in which these laws function, they can create new laws.
C. that people have to abide by the laws of nature honestly.
D. that people will have the initiative to utilize laws.
Answer: (C, D)

7. A healthy human brain can think normally, but a seriously damaged brain can not. This shows
A. that consciousness reliance on the brain.
B. that consciousness reliance on the external world.
C. that consciousness can only come from a healthy brain.
D. that consciousness does not necessarily have to connect to its reflecting target, but it must not deviate from the brain.
Answer: (A, B)

8. The difference between dialectic materialism and the old philosophy is that
A. the former is a systematic, theoretic world outlook.
B. the world outlook of dialectic materialism is both materialistic and dialectic.

C. dialectic materialism is highly revolutionary and vigorously scientific.

D. dialectic materialism is the summation and conclusion of natural knowledge and social knowledge.

Answer: (B, C)

9. The integration of Marxism with the practice in China has been going on for more than sixty years. During this time there have been two major historic leaps. The first leap is that, Chinese Communist, after repeated experimentation and learning by trial and error found a way to make a revolution based on China's particular conditions. The second leap is that Chinese Communists, having analyzed both the positive and negative experience of more than thirty years since the founding of the People's Republic of China and studied the experience of other countries and the world situation, found a way to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This statement demonstrates fully

A. that correct understanding comes from the practice in transforming the objective world.

B. that the first leap over the course of sixty years is the leap from intuitive knowledge to rational knowledge, and the second leap is from rational knowledge to practice.

C. The integration of theory with practice is concrete and historical.

D. that a correct understanding can only be achieved through a repeated process from practice to cognition, and from cognition to practice.

Answer: (A, C, D)

10. In our construction of the four modernization, the unified principle of the progression and tortuousity of the development of things require us
A. not only to be brave so as to create and explore but also to be good at enhancement of our strong points and elimination of our weakness.

B. not only to adhere to Marxism but also to develop Marxism.

C. not only to have firm confidence and with steady stride but also to fully anticipate the difficulties and setbacks ahead of us.

D. not only to adhere to the principle to be of self-reliance but also to carry out the policy of opening to the outside.

Answer: (C)

11. Materialism and dialectics are closely related and cannot be separated. This is because

A. from different angles, they demonstrate the materiality of the world.

B. the objective world itself is not only material, but also changes in accordance with its laws.

C. neither materials without motion and nor motion without materials exist.

D. both Marx and Engles creatively achieved the organic integration of materialism and dialectics.

Answer: (B, C)

12. On March 18 of this year, a CAAC domestic flight from Beijing to Urumqi saw a UFO above the Hami area. The UFO radiated strong light like a searchlight. It flew towards the airplane. Eyewitnesses were puzzled and thought it was a space visitor because of its flying dish. Later on scientists ascertained, according to their experiment, that it was not a space visitor. It was a plasma fireball spinning and flying in the sky. This explains

A. that the world is not mysterious, and scientists can disclose its mystery.
B. that perceptual knowledge can only understand the natural phenomenon but scientists can discover its nature.

C. that the knowledge gained from a sensory organ is not reliable but the knowledge gained from scientific experiments is.

D. that cognition is a process from not knowing to knowing, and then to completely knowledge.

Answer: (A, B)

13. The well known Chinese mathematician Hua Luo-gen once said: "Achievements in science come from accumulating drips and drops. Only accumulation over a long period of time can gather drips and drops and make an ocean." The philosophy indicated in his statement is

A. that the quality in things is equal to the whole quantity of each.

B. that without qualitative change, there will be no quantitative change.

C. that the process of quantitative change is, as a matter of fact, the process of qualitative changes.

D. that qualitative change is the result of quantitative changes.

Answer: (B, D)

14. "Of three traveling partners, there must be someone who can be my teachers. His strengths I follow, and his weakness I correct." This quotation from Confucius indicates

A. that everything can be divided into two.

B. that dialectics negation is to sublate.

C. that the masses are the subject of practice.

D. that we must acquire indirect experience.

Answer: (A, B, D)
15. "We must not only strive to improve the standard of people's living, but also to work hard." There are several interpretations of this statement. Which of the following do you think is correct?

A. The statement not only recognizes the decisive role of material conditions but also emphasizes on the spiritual counter-reaction.
B. The statement is a rigid, metaphysical view that entrenches in certain traditional ideas.
C. The statement compromises two opposites that contradicts.
D. The statement reflects comprehensive and related view to look at things.

Answer: (A, D)

Part Three: Fill in the blanks with proper answers. (20 points)

1. As its central task to accelerate the reform and deepen the opening to the outside, the Thirteenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party made a great contribution to the advancement in theory, which is the theory of (Primary stage of socialism.)

2. In his "Government Work Report" delivered at the Seventh National People's Congress, Comrade Li Peng stated that we must be independent from any major countries and also, (not to form alliances) and strategic relations with them.

3. Both leaders of the United States and Soviet Union signed an treaty on eliminating their intermediate and short range nuclear missiles. Under the agreement, 2400 nuclear warheads will be scrapped before (1991.)

4. At the invitation of Chancellor (Helmut Kohl), of the Federal Republic of Germany, (Honecker) of the German Democratic Republic visited the F.R. of Germany from September 7-11,1987. This was his first visit to that country since the founding of the two Germanies.
5. In the British general election held on June 11, the Conservative Party gained the victory. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher was elected to a third consecutive term, thus becoming British Prime Minister who has served longest since the world war II.


7. The ceremony for the completion of the (Memorial Hall of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese War) situated by the Lugou [Marco Polo] Bridge was held on July Seventh, the fifty anniversary of the Logou Bridge Incident. Comrade Deng Xiaoping provides his calligraphy for the name of the Memorial Hall.

8. A scientist of our country named Zhao Zhongxian who has made prime achievement in his research of superconductivity, won the physics award of the Third World Science Awards and was also elected an academician of Academy of Sciences of the Third World.

9. Six natural and cultural heritages of our country have been selected and put on its protection lists of the world's natural and cultural heritage by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The natural heritage is the Eastern Mountain Tai; the cultural heritages are, (the Great Wall,) the Imperial Palace, the relics of Peking Man at Zhao Kou Dian, Emperor Qing Si Huang’s Tomb and its pottery soldiers and Dunhuang Caves.

10. Approved by the First Plenary Session of the Seventh National People's Congress, (Hanna Island) becomes the thirty-first province of our country.

11. It was emphasized at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference that we must uphold the flags of (socialism) and patriotism; we must develop and consolidate the patriotic united fronts to strengthen the unity of the people of the whole country and must promote contacts and exchanges of the
people from both coasts and to strive to achieve a peaceful national unification in accordance with the principle of "one country, two systems."

12. In 1987, a Soviet astronaut (Yuri V. Romanenko) stayed in orbit for 326 days, which is the longest record in man's space flight.

13. The election of the delegates to the Seventh National People's Congress and its standing committee members proceeded by (having more candidates than posts) for the first time. The practice shows the progress of a democratic system in our country.

14. Basically, our country's (international communication network) has taken its shape consisting of various types of satellite in the orbit, microwaves in the air, and cables on the ground by 1987. We have set up direct electronic communication lines with forty four regions and countries.

15. Our country has established diplomatic relations with the Oriental Republic of Uruguay in South America on February 3, 1988, making (135) countries that we have established diplomatic relations.

16. The first (test tube child) in PRC was born in Beijing on March 10, 1988. This is a great breakthrough in modern medical technology in our country.

17. At present, the biggest joint project with foreign countries is the An Tai Bao open pit coal mine in (Ping Shao) which went into production last September. This is one of the biggest open pit coal mines in the world.

18. At the Third World Asian Swimming Championship Contest held in April of this year in Guangzhou, a sixteen year old Chinese girl named (Yang Wenyi) broke a world record and won the gold medal in woman's 50-meter-free-style contest. This is the first time that a swimming athlete of our country broke the world record in twenty-eight years.
Part Four: "China is now in the primary stage of socialism." Explain briefly the implication of the statement and on what basis it is proposed? (5 point)

Answers:

1) The primary stage of socialism means that our country has already been a socialist country and our socialist society is still in its primary stage.

2) The primary stage of socialism is based on the idea that the productive forces are lagging far behind those of the developed capitalist countries; the socialist economy system of our country is not yet to be perfected; a number of conditions to promote a high degree of socialist democracy are far from ripe; and the old ideology and habit of thought are still very influential.

Part Five: According to the "Government Work Report" delivered at the Seventh National People's Congress, what are the objectives of our social construction and reform in the next five years? What is the most imperative guarantee to attain these objectives? (5 points)

Answers: 1) The objectives in the next five years are

   a. to accelerate and deepen reforms; to promote the development of productive forces; to realize the Seventh Five-Year Plan; and to make and carry out the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

   b. By the year of 1992, the GNP should reach 1550 billion yuan, at an average annual growth of 7.5%.

2) the most imperative guarantee is

   a. to carry out the Party's basic line set for the primary stage of socialism; to adhere to the four cardinal principles and to accelerate the reform and opening to the outside, focusing on economic construction.
Part Six: Francis Bacon said "To command the nature, one must obey the nature." Please analyze the philosophical implication of this statement. (6 points)

Answers: 1) This quotation explains the principle that one must respect the laws of nature in order to transform the objective world.

2) Dialectic materialism believes that laws and regulations are the necessary connection inherent in the motion of matter. Laws are objective and are independent of man’s will. However, man is not powerless before the laws of nature. Man can understand and utilize them.

3) In order to remake nature and benefit mankind we must, first of all, understand and master the objective laws of the natural world and honestly abide by the laws. Those who do not respect the objective laws and act by their own wish, will be punished by laws of nature.

Part Seven: Please analyze and explain, with the application of some relevant principles of dialectic materialism, why we must be realistic and must emancipate our mind and respect practice. (10 Points)

Answers: 1) Dialectic materialism requires us to be realistic. It believes that the world exists outside of human consciousness. Consciousness is the product and reflection of material condition. The existence of material condition determines consciousness. This makes us be realistic in our thinking and acting. So our work in construction and reform should not be an exception.

2) To proceed from reality means to emancipate our minds. The ossified concepts, abstract principles and empty models and so on will hamper our thinking. If we can not change these, it is hard for us to be realistic.
3) Practice is the basic principle of epistemology. Cognition comes from practice and advances with the development of practice. Meanwhile it will be tested in practice. Only practice can prove whether or not we are realistic in our construction work and reforms and whether or not our minds are free.

Part Eight: Since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, the socialist construction in our country have developed at an unprecedented speed. Profound changes have taken place in our country. But due to the poor conditions to start with, our country is lagging far behind developed countries. The GNP of our country in 1980 is only 2.5% of that of the world. while in comparison with Japan, our GNP in 1985 is only 1/5 of that of Japan. In the same year, the GNP of the United States exceeded ours and reached 36,800 billion dollars. This demonstrates that, the Chinese nation, facing national crisis because of foreign invasions in last hundred years, now has yielded to development and competition in peaceful and friendly environment. This is, in other words, life and death struggle. Once again, Chinese Communists firmly uphold the flag to lead this struggle. The Thirteenth National Congress of Chinese Communist Party proclaimed that: "The Party and the people have always placed their greatest hopes on the vigorous young people who represent the future. The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, the building of a magnificent future and the success of socialist modernization depend on all the people, but, in the final analysis, on the young people who will carry forward our cause with perseverance and hard work". (14 points)
1. Please explain the right attitudes to the reality of our country according to the principles of dialectic materialism and also discuss the relationship between backwardness and advancement.

a) Only to proceed from reality and admitting our backwardness and disparity with developed countries, can we have a sense of urgency to change the reality.

b) Backwardness and advancement contradict. Both are opposites, expulsive to each other, but they are of one unity and may interchange.

c) There are conditions for transformation of contradictions in things. In order to realize the transform after backwardness to advancement in our country, we must adhere to the principle of all-round reforms and opening to the outside by utilizing the endeavor of all the people.

2) Please discuss: How do you understand the new development in competition? What are the historic duties of the younger generation in this competition?

a. Development in competition is a struggle under new conditions. Only by working hard and making amends while there is yet time, can we gain victory over the competition and stand up right among all the nationalities. Otherwise we will lose in competition.

b. To win the victory over competition requires the continuous hard work of the next few generations of Chinese people. The youth represent the future of our country and should have the sense of pressing to transform reality. We can live up to the country’s truth by studying and working hard. If we forget our duty and slacken to demand us in our devotion, we will be guilty to our country and to our people.
APPENDIX E

QUESTIONS AND EXPECTED ANSWERS
ON THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATION
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, VERSION OF 1989

Part One: Each of the following questions has one correct answer. Please choose the proper one and fill it in the blanks. (one point for one question, 18 points total)

1. The most essential characteristic of a political party is
   A. that it is revolutionary.
   B. that it is presentitative of masses.
   C. that it is progressive.
   D. that it has class identification.
   Answer: (D)

2. Beside the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, and France, which of the following countries is also a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council?
   A. India
   B. Poland
   C. China
   D. Japan
   Answer: China

3. The major religions in the world are
   A. Buddhism, Taoism and Christianity.
B. Christianity, the orthodox Eastern Church and Islami.
C. Buddhism, Taoism and Islami.
D. Christianity, Islami and Buddhism.
Answer: (D)

4. The capitalist system of separation of three power bodies refers to
   A. the separation of legislative assembly, diplomacy and court.
   B. the separation of the legislature, the judiciary and the administrative.
   C. the separation of the House of Representatives, Senate and Court.
   D. the separation of the President, government and court.
   Answer: (B)

5. The two-party system in capitalist countries originates from
   A. America.
   B. Italy.
   C. Britain.
   D. France.
   Answer: (b)

6. The essential characteristics of a nation are
   A. sharing a common region, economic life, language as well as psychological factor.
   B. sharing a common economic and political life, language as well as a living habit.
   C. sharing a common language, the same color of skin, economic life and religion belief.
   D. sharing the same color of skin, a common language, region and ideology.
   Answer: (A)
7. In the primary stage of socialism of our country, the relationship between government function of rule and society is

A. that the rule takes a dominant role while society take a passive role.

B. that society can guarantee the realization of the rule of government.

C. that the rule still exists but the function of society becomes predominant.

D. that the rule of government will be replaced by that of society.

Answer: (c)

8. According to the punitive regulations for social order, if you are blackmailed and threatened in writing or in some other ways, or you normal life has been disturbed, this action

A. violates public and private property.

B. infringes on another human right.

C. disturbs social order.

D. impairs public safety.

Answer: (B)

9. According to the punitive regulations for social order, stealing, fraud, and robbery of small amount of public and private property,

A. disturbs public order.

B. disrupts social order.

C. infringes on another human right.

D. violates public and private property.

Answer: (D)

10. The relationship between politics and economy is

A. that politics embodies economy while economy serves politics.
B. that economy determines politics while, in turn, politics determines economy.

C. that economy is the base for politics while politics is the centralized embodiment of economy.

D. that a particular economic system reveals and protects a given particular political system.

Answer: (C)

11. The national problem in a capitalist country refers to

A. the contradiction between a big and small nations.
B. the contradiction of an advanced and backward nations.
C. the unequal treatment among nations.
D. the exploited and oppressed nation.

Answer: (D)

12. Which of the following organizations belongs to a political international organization?

A. Association of Southeast Asian Nations
B. North Atlantic Treaty Organizations
C. The Red Cross and The Red Crescent
D. United States Educational, scientific and Cultural Organization

Answer: (A)

13. According to the punitive regulations for social order, the action is not yet criminal, any action which disturbs social order by means of feudal superstitions

A. disturbs public order.
B. impairs public safety.
C. disrupts social managerial order.
D. infringes on another human right.
14. According to punitive regulations for social order in our country, an action which is not yet criminal but involves gang fights, and creates a disturbance, is
A. disturbing public order.
B. violating public and private property.
C. infringing on other's human right.
D. impairing public safety.
Answer: (A)

15. The basic principle to develop the relationship between nations and to settle international disputes is
A. the principle of non alignment.
B. the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
C. the five principles of peaceful coexistence.*
D. the principle of self reliance.
Answer: (A)

16. At Secondary Plenary Session of the Seventh People's Congress, the delegates had extensive discussion on the problems of the price, clean government, and education and so on that were proposed in the report on the government work. This activity by its nature belongs to
A. an activity of exchange of ideological understanding.
B. the participation in governing and social affairs.
C. an academic discussion.
D. a social organization discussing state affairs.
Answer: (b)

17. Which of the followings is a criminal act?

* Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non aggression, non interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.
A. Stealing and driving a vehicle.

B. Illegally making and wearing a dagger or restricted knife equipment.

C. Being against the regulation and destroying the lawns, flowers and trees.

D. The case of disturbing social order is so serious that it causes the suspension of work, production, business, teaching and research and does serious damage to the state and society.

Answer: (D)

18. The main objective of the reform of the political system in our country is

A. to build socialist democratic politics.

B. to amplify the socialist legal system.

C. to effectively prevent and overcome bureaucrats.

D. to build a system of leadership which helps improve efficiency, and strengthens the vitality and brings every positive factor into play.

Answer: (A)

Part Two: Each of the following questions has one or more correct answers. Please choose the proper answer(s) and put the letter in the blank. Points will be given to whose who choose all the correct answers without making incorrect choices. (2 points for question, 24 total)

19. The people's democratic dictatorship in the current stage of our country is

A. the state system of our country.

B. that it exercises democracy for the people and dictatorship for exploiting class.
C. in fact, dictatorship of proletariat.

D. the dictatorship of proletariat with Chinese characteristics.

Answer: (A, C, D)

20. Which of the following socialist countries has adopted a federal system?

A. The German Democratic Republic
B. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic
C. The People's Republic of Albania
D. The Socialist Republic of Romania

Answer: (B)

21. The key to reforming the political structure is, first of all, the separation of Party and government. The separation of Party and government refers to

A. the separation of the functions of the Party and government.
B. that the Party must stay away from administrative work and exercise political leadership.
C. that the Party will no longer take charge of state affairs and only take care of its own affairs.
D. that the Party will play a supervisory and guarantee a role in state affairs.

Answer: (A, B)

22. Political party is

A. that it emerges with emergence of classes and state.
B. that it emerges under the democratic system in slave society.
C. that it is the division based on social classes.
D. that it is the outcome of the relationship of modern capitalist economy and politics.

Answer: (C, D)
23. All of the cease fire between Iran and Iraq, the treaty on eliminating their intermediate nuclear missiles between the United States and Soviet Union and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan demonstrate

A. that the world is transforming from conflicts to dialogues and from a strained to a relaxed atmosphere.

B. that the factors of war no longer exist.

C. that all of the people from all over the world, including the people from the United States and the Soviet Union are demanding peace and are against war.

D. that relaxation is totally determined on the efforts of both super power countries.

Answer: (A, C)

24. In the recent years, the major step in the reformation of our electoral system has been

A. the adopting of the practice of holding elections with more candidates than posts instead of same candidates for same posts.

B. to build a system in which nominees will meet their constituency.

C. to expand the range of holding direct elections.

D. to improve procedures for nominating candidates.

Answer: (A, B, C, D)

25. Which of the following practice in capitalist democratic system can socialist countries use for reference

A. the representative system

B. the ruling of two party or multi-party system in turn

C. general election

D. legal system

Answers: (A, C, D)
26. To carry out the policy of "one country, two systems" will not change the socialist characteristics of our country. This is because

A. that although the special administrative region enjoys high autonomous jurisdiction it does not endure independent sovereign rights.

B. that socialist system plays a dominant role with the policy of "one country, two systems".

C. the capitalist system that is practiced in a special administrative region will not play a dominant role in the whole state.

D. the premise and foundation of the policy of "one country, two systems" is one country, which is the People's Republic of China.

Answer: (A, B, C, D)

27. This March, the Congress and Senate of the United States passed a resolution on the so-called problem of Tibet demanding America administrative officials and international organizations to participate in Tibet affairs. The Foreign Affairs Council of the National People's Congress issued a solemn statement and denounced the resolution. This is because the resolution

A. interferes with Chinese affairs.

B. violates the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.

C. violates the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

D. violates the principle of equality and mutual benefit in the international contacts.

Answer: (A, B, C)

28. The correct understanding of religious policies are

A. that citizens enjoy freedom to believe in different religions.

B. that citizens enjoy freedom not to believe in religion.

C. that religious activity is free from the constitutional restriction.

D. that religion is free from interference of politics and education.
Answer: (A, B)

29. Our country has carried on the diplomatic policy of self reliance and peace, which is

A. determined by our socialist economic base.
B. determined by tasks of our reform of the economic system.
C. determined by national characteristics of people's democratic dictatorship.
D. determined by the tendency of advancing world diversity.

Answer: (A, C)

30. Chinese People's Political Consultative conference:

A. is an united front organization of our country.
B. is one of the major legislative organs
C. discusses and determines the national policy and principles.
D. functions as political consultant and democratic supervision.

Answer: (A, D)

Part Three: Fill in the proper answer in the following banks. (one point for a blank, 20 points total)

31. To adhere to the four cardinal principles means to adhere to the leadership by the Communist Party; Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; the people's democratic dictatorship and (the socialist road.)

32. According to our constitution, "the State upholds the uniformity and dignity of the socialist legal system." "The people of all nationalities, all state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings in the country must take (the constitution) as the basic norm of conduct,..."
33. The Third Plenary of the Communist Party of China pointed out that we must bring the democratic supervision into full play and carry out comprehensive adjustment by the means of laws, the regulations, disciplines and education in order to overcome (corruptive) phenomenon and keep the party and governmental organizations a clean and incorruptive.

34. The domestic and international situation at present favors for our constructions and reforms. We have encountered some difficulties in our domestic economic constructions, but, by their nature, they are the problems that have occurred in (advancing) and developing.

35. The key to solve the Kampuchea conflict is that (Vietnam) must withdraw its military troops truly and completely.

36. This April 14, the population in mainland reached (one point one billion), which represents twenty two precent of the world population. The population in beyond the capacity of our economic and reasonable resources.

37. November of 1988 saw the declaration of the birth of an independent (Palestinian) state with its capital in Jerusalem.

38. According to our Constitution, "Citizen of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration", but in meantime, it also states that "the exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interest of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of (other citizens).

39. This February, both the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union agreed that the supreme leader of the Soviet Union (Mikhail Gorbachev) would visit P. R. of China in May. This would be a great step for the normalization for the Sino-Soviet relationship.
40. The national key construction of the multiple track railway between (Hongyang and Huangzhou) was officially open to traffic on December 16, 1988. This would ease to a great extent the busy transportation situation in the southern part of the line between Beijing and Guangzhou.

41. In 1988, the People's Liberation Army realized three systematical reforms with regard to nonmilitary officials, active officers and (military rank for officers) (if the answer is military rank, point will be given) which would strengthen to a great extent the construction of military modernization and standardization.

42. According to Punitive Regulations Article 32, those who make, copy, sell, and spread pornographic books, pictures and videotapes and other pornographic materials, if found guilty, will be looked into his (criminal) responsibilities.

43. On December 24, 1988 the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Commitee Party of China held a meeting discussing international situations and the foreign policies of our country. It was emphasized at the meeting to actively advocate the building a new international political order based on the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence and new international economic order based on equal and mutual benefit.

44. Indian Prime Minister (Rojiv Gandhi) paid his friendly visit to our country from December 19-23 of 1988, and became the first India Prime Minister to do so in thirty four years.

45. According to the punitive regulation for social order from Article Nineteen to Twenty Five, the punishment for the violating social order are the following three kinds: detention, warning, and (fine).

46. The two large organizations - The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and (European Economic Community), in East and West Europe sighed
47. In its "Notice on Reforming and strengthening moral education for middle and primary schools", the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China emphasized that the moral education for middle and primary schools must be based on the principle of loving our country, loving the people, (loving labor), loving science, and loving socialism.

48. In December, 1988, the domestically designed and built nuclear submarine, in its test, delivered a carrier rocket under (water) and it was great success. This is another great achievement of our high technology and the construction of national defense.

49. According to the report on government work delivered at the Secondary Plenary Session of the Seventh National People's Congress, the focal point of our economic rectification and improvement is certainly to (curb) total social demand. (point will be given if the answer is similar to it such as "check", "control", and "shrink".)

50. In our economic rectification and improvement, we must, according to the weak point of national economy, earnestly adjust our economic structure and make sure to strengthen (agriculture) as the foundation our national economy.

Part Four: Answer the following questions briefly (4 points)

51. What are the basic principle and policy of our country to resolve our national problems.

Expected Answer: To keep national equality, unity and common prosperity is the basic principle to resolve our national problems. (3 points) Regional national autonomy is the basic policy to resolve our national problems. (1 point)
52. What is the relationship between improving the economic environment, while rectifying the economic order and deepening the reform? (4 points)

Expected Answer:

Improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order are carried on under the premise of general direction set for the adherence of reform. Many of the measures taken in our economic rectification and improvement are, in fact, the important components in deepening the reforms. (2 points)

If our economic rectification and improvement are completed competently, it could push the development of socialist planned commodity economy. (if the answer is to push the development of reform, the points will also be given. (2 points)

53. What are the two major problems and their relationship in the world today?

Expected Answer:

Peace and development are the two problems in the world today. (1 point) Peace and development are closely related and each is the condition for the other. (1 point) Peace is the premise of development. Without peace, there will be no development. (1 point) Development is the foundation for peace, and peace will not last if emphasis is placed only on peace while neglecting development. (1 points)

54. Discuss how the younger generation of our country should contribute to push the democratic construction in our country according to the theory that socialist democratic construction is a gradual process. (6 points)

Expected Answer:

Socialist democratic construction is a gradual process. The various conditions to guarantee and push the development of democracy can only
be created step by step. (1 point) Our younger generation must conscientiously deny and get rid of the influences of feudal autocracy; (1 point) take an active part in socialist economic construction; (1 point) work hard to enhance our scientific, cultural and political quality, increase our democratic consciousness and form a democratic habit; (2 points) and enhance the legal concept, safeguard the peaceful and stabilize the political situation. (1 point)

Part Five: Analyze and explain (20 points)

55. What is the relationship between a state and political system? Please explain that People's Congress is the fundamental political system according to the above relationship. (10 points)

**Expected Answer:**

(1) State and the political system are closely related, State system determines political system while political system is the form of embodiment of state system; political system is also relative independent. (3 points)

(2) Ours is a state under the people's democratic dictatorship. All power in the state belongs to the people. (1 point) The National People's Congress is the political system of our state, which embodies our national characteristics. (2 points) The national People's Congress is the basic form in the realization that people are the masters of the state. The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power. (2 points) The National People's Congress can guarantee that the majority will take part in the governing of their state. (1 points)
(3) Only by continuing improving this political system of National People's Congress, can we better complete the historic task of the people's democratic dictatorship. (point)

56. According to the People's Daily of this march and April, the General Secretary and the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wrote separately to the Chairmen of the China Democratic League and China Association for promoting Democracy. In both replies a note of thanks was written to their suggestions of the problems concerning educational development which will be considered and adopted. On April 18, the Central committee of the C.P.C gathered democratic parties and nonparty personages for a meeting to discuss the important issues of educational development and reforms. It was also reported in the People's daily that the procuratorial departments of our country will invite a group of democratic party members and nonparty personages to be special supervisors at procuratorial organs at every level and participate in administrative procuratorial works.

Please explain: a) These political phenomenons reflect the relationship between the Communist Party and democratic parties. b) It also reflects necessity of the multi-party corporation under the leadership of Communist Party of China. (10 points)

Expected Answer:

(1) The relationship between the Communist Party and other democratic parties is that Communist Party of China takes the lead participating governing state and social affairs and the relationship between them is equal, democratic and cooperatorative. (3 points) The political base for this relationship is the adherence to the socialist road. (1 point) This relationship is fundamentally different from that of a capitalist party in
office and a party not in office and between the ruling party and the opposition party. (1 point)

(2) To carry out the system of multi-party coorperations under the leadership of Communist Party of China will have an important significance to strengthening the unity of the people in social stratum s and patriotism; to promote our democratic political construction and to push the socialist development in the construction in every field. (3 points)

(3) This political system is conformity with our national situation. (1 point) It is wrong to copy western political systems without considering our national situation. (1 point)
Part One: Each of the following questions has one answer. Choose the proper answer and fill it in the blanks.

1. The fundamental political system of our country is,
   A. the equal general election.
   B. the political consultative system.
   C. the system of people's congress.
   D. the democratic supervision system that reflects citizenship participation in state governing.

   Answer: (c)

2. The main condition to determine socialist characteristics of the state power is
   A. that the workers and peasants' alliance is the class foundation of state power.
   B. the equal cooperative relationship among people.
   C. that it exercises the principle of distribution according to one's work.
   D. that the working class and its vanguard of the Communist Party are the leadership of the state power.

   Answer: (D)
3. Political system refers to
   A. the way that a ruler exercises its power.
   B. the political system of a state.
   C. the structural form of a state.
   D. an organizational form of a state.
   Answer: (D)

4. The fundamental policy to resolve the national problem in our country is
   A. the principle of - "Unity -- Criticism -- Unity".
   B. that all the nations either big or small are all equal.
   C. the common prosperity of all the nations.
   D. to practice regional national autonomy in the regions where minority nationalities live in a compact community.
   Answer. (D)

5. The national problem refers to
   A. the class exploitation and oppression within nations.
   B. the contradictions between nations.
   C. the contradictions among people.
   D. the class contradiction and class struggle.
   Answer: (B)

6. The three chief contemporary religions
   A. emerged after the existence of classes in society.
   B. emerged at the end of primitive society.
   C. developed over the struggles between the oppressed class and oppressing class.
   D. emerged during the transitional period from slave to feudal society.
   Answer: (A)
7. Which of the following is a special international agency?
   A. The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance
   B. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
   C. The Organization of Africa Unity
   D. Warsaw Pact Organization
   Answer: (B)

8. The indication of the development and perfection of the socialist democracy is
   A. a complete system of grass roots democratic life.
   B. to clear up the autocratic and decadent bourgeois ideology.
   C. the systematized and legalized democracy.
   D. that the consciousness of citizen participation in governing has been raised highly.
   Answer: (C)

9. The basic objective of the foreign policy of our country is
   A. to safeguard national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.
   B. to safeguard the world peace and to develop cooperation with all other countries.
   C. to strengthen the unity and cooperation within developing countries.
   D. to safeguard our national dignity and extend our influence in international affairs.
   Answer: (B)

10. Which of the following choices are the main religions in our country?
    A. Buddhism, Taoism, Islami, Catholicism and Christianity.
B. Buddhism, Taoism, Islami, the Orthodox Eastern Church and Christianity.

C. Buddhism, Taoism, Islami, Catholicism and Lamaism.

D. Buddhism, Taoism, Catholicism and Christianity, and the Orthodox Eastern church.

Answer: (A)

11. The South - South cooperation refers to

A. the cooperation between developing countries.

B. the cooperation between developing and developed countries

C. the cooperation between South America and South African countries.

D. the cooperation between countries in the Southern Hemisphere.

Answer: (A)

12. Which of the following choices refers to a single administrative system?

A. France and Australia

B. Japan and Italy

C. Britain and the Soviet Union

D. Norway and Yugoslavia

Answer: (B)

13. What are the essential differences between socialist democracy and extreme democratization and anarchy?

A. It is whether to admit that democracy has a class identification.

B. It is whether to admit that democracy has a historical inheritance.

C. It is whether to admit that there is a unity between democracy and legality and between democracy and centralism.

D. It is whether to admit that the development of a democracy is a gradual process.
14. The advancing progress of the proletariat depends fundamentally on
   A. the status of its ruling party.
   B. the advancing progress of the proletariat itself.
   C. a mature leadership group.
   D. a strict organizational discipline.
   Answer: (B)

15. The capitalist two-party system is
   A. the basic form of a capitalist political system.
   B. the political system in developed capitalist countries.
   C. the democratic system that different political parties of classes may rule alternately.
   D. the political system that two main political parties in capitalist countries rule alternately.
   Answer: (D)

16. "Citizens of the People's Republic of China" refers to
   A. citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of eighteen.
   B. citizens of the People's Republic of China who have the right to vote and be candidates.
   C. citizens of the People's Republic of China who have lived a given number of years.
   D. citizens of the People's Republic of China who hold the nationality of the People's Republic of China.
   Answer: (D)
17. According to Article 40 of our Constitution, no organization or individual may, on any grounds, infringe upon the freedom and privacy of citizens' correspondence except in cases

A. that the administration of the working unit checks correspondence to learn its workers' ideological situation.

B. that the security officers in the local unit censor correspondence of an suspected person in the consideration of safety.

C. where, to meet the needs of state security or investigation into criminal offenses, public security or procuratorial organs are permitted to censor correspondence in accordance with procedures prescribed by law.

D. that friends and relatives may open the each others' correspondence for their concern.

Answer: (C)

18. According to Article 37 of our Constitution, which of the following choices violate the freedom of citizens?

A. Humiliation and slander citizens.

B. Retaliation citizens who file charges or report an offender.

C. Lodge false accusations and frame citizens.

D. Unlawful search of citizens.

Answer: (D)

19. Which of the following choices indicate the basic duty of citizens?

A. To raise criticism and forward suggestion to the state organizations and state officers.

B. To receive an education.

C. All citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law.

D. To discuss academic research.

233
20. Recently, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council restated that to realize our strategic objectives in the economic construction of our socialist modernization, which will be attained in three steps, the first strategic priority in our development is

A. agriculture.
B. education.
C. transportation.
D. energy.
Answer: (B).

21. The primary task in our economic rectification and improvement is

A. to strictly control the increase of prices.
B. to work hard to eliminate the deficit.
C. to resolutely control the total social demand.
D. to work hard to realize the steady development of our agriculture.
Answer: (C)

22. According to the Fifth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth National Congress Of the Communist Party of China, our economic development depends on the adherence to a principle which is:

A. continuous, steady and coordinated.
B. consolidation replenishment and improvement.
C. improvement, rectification, and deepening reform.
D. adjustment, transformation and improvement.
Answer: (A)
Part Two: In each of the following four choices, at least one of them is the proper answer. Please fill in the proper answer(s) in the blank. Points will not be given, if the answer is not exact. (two points for each question, 22 total)

23. The difference between the system of parliamentary democratic republic and the system of presidential democratic republic is determined on
   A. how the head of state and government are selected.
   B. the status of the head of state political life.
   C. whether three power bodies are separated.
   D. the relations among the head of state, parliament and government.
Answer: (A, B, D)

24. The creation of a political party and its existence are based on the foundation of class division. This demonstrates
   A. that political parties emerged when class were first formed in mankind's history -- slave society.
   B. that political parties mainly reflect the will and interests of the class it represents.
   C. that political parties is a tool of a class struggle.
   D. that any political party is sure to be the political organization of a particular class.
Answer: (B, C, D)

25. The reason why religion still exists and will exist for a long time to come in our country is
   A. religion as ideology has its relative independence.
   B. the nature of religion has changed.
   C. the influential power of international religion.
   D. that in our country people enjoy freedom of religious belief.
Answers(A, C)
26. The parliament in a capitalist country is
   A. the highest organ of state power.
   B. the representative institution of the people.
   C. the center of all the activities of a state.
   D. the legislative body of a state.

   Answer: (D)

27. On December 20, 1990, over 20,000 US troops launched a large scale invasion of Panama City. The US soldiers killed Panamanian people and searched and arrested the government officials. According to the United Nations Charter, this invasion violated
   A. the principle of mutual sovereignty of all the nations.
   B. the principle of resolving international dispute by peaceful means without harming peace, safety and justice.
   C. the principle of not using military threats to other nations in international affairs.
   D. the principle of non-interference with other nation's internal affairs.

   Answer: (A, B, C, D)

28. The United States State Department's report issued on December 20, 1989 made groundless charges against the Chinese government of having a "human right problem" based on rumors and lies. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has lodged a strong protest to the American government. This "human report" violates
   A. the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty
   B. the principle of peaceful coexistence.
   C. the principle of non-interference in another's internal affairs.
   D. the principle of mutual benefit.
29. During the late spring and early summer of 1989, the turmoil in our country and the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing demonstrated that we must not weaken the function of state dictatorship while strengthening the social managerial function of the state and promoting the construction of socialist modernization. This is because

A. that the backwardness of the economy and culture in our country cannot be changed over a short period of time.
B. that class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come.
C. the ideology of class exploitation will exist for a long time.
D. the intention of international monopolistic capitalist class to destroy us is still alive.

Answer: (B D)

30. The policy of regional national autonomy in our country is

A. the basic principle for solving our national problems.
B. to exercise regional national autonomy in the regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities.
C. that minority nationalities have the right of legislation, an independent judiciary of judiciary and final judgment in the regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities.
D. to exercise regional autonomy according to the constitution and the law of regional national autonomy.

Answer: (B, D)

31. The relationship between the Communist Party and other democratic parties is not

A. the relationship between ruling party and the party not in office.
B. the relationship of ruling alternately.
C. the relationship of mutual independence in their organization.
D. the relationship of struggling while uniting.

Answer: (A, B, D)

32. According to estimation by a Japanese electoral consulting institute, each candidate had to spend three hundred million Japanese yen in the general election of the thirty-ninth congress. It would take a hundred years to save that amount if the annual income of regular profession is 300,000 yen. This fact demonstrates

A. that the general election in a capitalist country is the election of money.
B. that Japan has not set up the system of general election.
C. that the capitalist democracy is a democracy for a small number of rich people.
D. that in capitalist countries, working people do not have the right to vote and to be voted.

Answer: (A, C)

33. Statistics show that in 1983 the private and governmental organizations in America have 7,314 powerful positions, which constitutes only 0.03% of the total population, but they possess and control 50% of the total properties of industry, bank, electric communication and transportation and two-thirds the insurance property and almost a half of all the property of the largest investment companies in the country and private fund and universities and they hold the key positions in federal government, legislature, judiciary and supreme military command positions. This demonstrates

A. that the American democratic system is, in fact, an autocratic system controlled by small number of people.
B. that the American democratic system is hypocritical even to the capitalist class.

C. that the state power in America is in the hands of a capitalist monopoly class.

D. that the economic foundation of the American democratic system is the privatization of capital.

Answer: (C, D)

34. According to our constitution, which of the following choices is not in agreement with the religious policy of our country?

A. Citizens enjoy freedom of religious or non religious belief.
B. The state protects all religious activities.
C. Citizens have the freedom to propagate religious belief, but also have the freedom to propagate atheism.
D. Both religious belief and feudal superstitions are idealistic and therefore nor scientific and must be criticized.

Answer: (B, C, D)

Part Three: Fill the following blanks with the proper answer. (1 point for a blank, 13 point total)

35. At the twenty seventh anniversary of Mao Zedong's pronouncement of "Learn from Lei Feng", the leaders of our party and government once again called on us to keep up Lei Feng's spirit. The essence of the Lei Feng's spirit is (to serve the people whole heartedly).

36. "Unity, Friendship and Progress" is the sole purpose set by the people of our country to welcome the opening of the Eleventh Asian Games that will be held in Beijing.
37. On February 8 of 1990, the People's Daily published "The Suggestion of The CPC Central Committee the Communist Party of China on the Adherence and Improvement of the System of (Multi-Party Co-operation) and Political Consulting led by the Chinese Communist Party", which further stated and explained the basic political system of our country.

38. On April 4, 1990, The Seventh Plenary Session of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China passed and adopted "the basic law of Hong Kong (Special Administrative Region) of the People's Republic of China", which embodies the great thought of "one country, two systems"

39. We oppose bourgeois liberalization, which has its specific meanings and that is to oppose those who attempt to deny the socialist system, reject the Party's leadership and to violate (the Constitution) under the flag of freedom, democracy and human rights.

40. The iron and steel output of our country in 1989 had reached (60 million tons,) which ranks us as number fourth in the world being surpassed only by the United States, Russian, Japan.

41. After the completion of the diversion project of Luan River to Tianjin, another huge cross valley diversion project of (Huang He River to Qinhai) was put into use on December 25, 1989,

42. On April 7, 1990, our country used its own designed Long March III carrier rocket to successfully put into orbit the (AsianSat-I) for a foreign trader. This signaled the entry of Chinese space technology into the international commercial market.

43. Recently, both the Party and government once again stressed that schools of all kinds at all levels must not only build a complete system to impart knowledge but also must put (Political Education) in first place and establish a correct political direction.
44. The United Nations have designated 1990 as the international (Year of Literacy).

45. On February 11, 1990, the famous black leader of South Africa (Nelson Mandela) was unconditionally released by the South African authorities after twenty-seven years of imprisonment. This is the victory of the long and unremitting struggle of the South African people with the support from most countries in South Africa and international society.

46. (Namibia) is the last colony on the continent of Africa to declare its independence on March 21, 1990.

47. According to Article 55 of the Constitution, it is the honorable duty of citizens of the People's Republic of China to (perform military service) and join the militia in accordance with the law.

Part Four: Answer briefly (22 points)

48. How do you understand that to resolutely maintain the state and social stability is overwhelmingly our first priority? (4 points)

   Expected Answer: State and social stability is necessary condition for our construction of socialist modernization. The political turmoil in 1989 taught us that when the state was in turmoil, we could neither build our economic construction and continue our reforms and open to the outside nor guarantee the people's normal life and their lives and property. Maintaining stability is the cherished desire of the people and it is for their fundamental interest and benefit and it is an irresistible trend.

   At present, it is indeed necessary for us to maintain the state and social stability because of the pressure from abroad and difficulties at home. We must not permit anyone to cause turmoil.
49. What is the significance of adherence of the principle of equality and unity and common prosperity of each nation? How can we realize the equality, unity and the common prosperity of each nation? (5 points)

**Expected Answer:** Ours is a unitary multi-national state and the equality, unity and common prosperity of each nation are of great significance for maintaining the stability and unity of our country for consolidating our national defense and promoting the socialist construction of our country.

In order to realize the equality, unity and common prosperity of each nation, we must, through all-round development of socialist cause, gradually eliminate the factual inequality inherited from history; oppose nationalistic division and combat uvinism and local-national chauvinism; and vigorously develop our productive forces and earnestly help minority regions to develop their economy and culture.

50. How do you understand that socialism and democracy are inseparable?

**Expected Answer:** (1) Socialism is based on public ownership which certainly determines that socialism will practice democratic system. Socialist democracy is the essential political embodiment of the socialist relations of production.

(2) Socialist society is a society in which the people are the masters of the state. The masters of the state mean socialist democracy. Socialist democracy is a very important characteristic of our socialist society.

(3) Only by taking socialist democracy as one of our fundamental objectives in the socialist construction, can we promote our all-round socialist development.

51. According Article 51 of our Constitution, "the exercise by citizens of the People's Republic of China of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the
interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens." Please discuss your understanding. (3 points)

**Expected Answer:**

1. Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy the freedom and rights given by the constitution and laws.

2. The freedom and rights are not absolute, and they are limited for not infringing upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens.

3. If one infringes upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens, in the end, he also infringes upon his lawful freedoms and rights.

52. The following excerpts are the words of ex-Presidents and the present President of The Unites States of America. Please discuss your opinion applying your knowledge from "Political General Knowledge" and by combining the current situation at home, especially in connection with the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion which took place in Beijing in 1989.

"Voice of America is an enormous non military force. It is a force to spark the fire in the dark in communist society." (Regan. 1987)

"In speaking of the Soviet system, the most danger is the contact of their ideology, people, and society with ours. Because this kind of contact can sow the unsatisfactory seed and someday, this seed will bear the fruit of peaceful revolution." (Nixon, 1984)

"Since World War II, the West has been attempting to force communism into a dilemma with a policy of "constraint". I hope to transcend this policy. The new world we are seeking is a confederation of free countries which takes unified actions --in this new world, more and more countries will enter an increasing circle of freedom." (Bush, 1989) (note: the "new world order" or "circle of freedom" he talked about is Western capitalist system)
[judgment criterion]

(1) To judge the ability of the political points is to see whether your points are right or wrong.

(2) To judge your ability to apply the knowledge you have learned. Points will be given as long as you can properly use your knowledge either from the point of class struggle, from the point of the nature or the function of the state, from international evolution, or from some other points.

(3) To judge the ability of expression. mainly to see whether the reasoning is clear or not, whether political terms are used properly or not. (6 points in all)

Part Five: Analyze and explain. (20 points)

53. In the last forty years, our country constantly has faced outside pressures. At founding of the People's Republic of China, America sent its troops to Korea enslaving our territory and invading our Taiwan Province. In the meantime, they tried to isolate, constrain, block and embargo in the attempt to strangle the new China in the cradle. During the late fifties and early sixties, the Soviet tore up agreements, withdrew their experts, pressed for payment of their debts, even deployed troops along our border and conducted military actions threatening to us. Led by the Communist Party of China, the people of all nationalities of our country not only resisted the military invasion from outside but also withstood economic, diplomatic and political pressures, which embodied the high patriotic enthusiasm and the spirit of self independence and self reliance. The Daqing workers overcoming three harsh three winters and miserable springs with their "iron man spirit" known all over the world and successfully drilled the first oil field in our country, thus ending the history of dependence of "foreign oil". Relying on their own efforts, Scientist conducted high technology research. Within a short time, they succeeded in making our first atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb
and manufactured our carrier rocket. At present, we not only rank as the number five in world crude oil production but also we are one of the few countries that can, on their own, launch satellites (including synchronous satellite) and master the high technology of satellite recovery and "multi-satellite rocketry". We have established diplomatic and economic trade relations with over one hundred countries worldwide, which fives us more influence in world development. But, the reactionary activities by the international reactionary forces against our country have never stopped. After the "June fourth" 1989 turmoil, they imposed sanctions on our country and continue to bring pressure on us.

Please explain, in connection with the above text, why we must carry on the patriotic spirit and adhere to the principle of self independence and self reliance in our socialist construction of four modernizations?

**Expected Answer:**

(1) The objective of the struggle of the Chinese people is to build a wealthy, democratic and civilized socialist modernized state. For that purpose, we must strengthen the unity of the people of all the nationalities and vindicate national honor and defend the state's independence. It is because we carried on the patriotic spirit; safeguarded our Chinese national honor and withstood the outside pressure that we have made those enormous achievements.

(2) Only by holding on the principle of self independence and self reliance, can we integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the reality of our country and can we find the constructional road applicable for our characteristics. Only by relying on our people's strength to build and develop our own country, can our socialist cause be fundamentally guaranteed.
(3) To be self-reliance does not mean we do not want foreign aid. We must try to get more foreign aid through the opening to the outside world. But to work for the foreign aid is also for the purpose to strengthen the ability of self reliance. Chinese socialist modernization will rely on Chinese efforts for the realization in the end.

54. With the application of the "Political General Knowledge" about the state and political a government and in the connection with two totally different points of view in the reforms and opening to the outside world, analyze and explain why we must adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party while we adhere to the socialist road?

Expected Answer:

(1) Certainly any political party is the political organization of a particular class. Through a political party, a particular class controls the state's power and decides the developmental direction of the state.

(2) China is a state of people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class. The leadership is exercised through its vanguard - the Communist Party of China. The party's leadership is the fundamental guarantee of the success of the whole socialist cause.

(3) On the issue of the reforms of our country, there are two totally different propositions, which is the reform and opening to the outside; one aims to improve and perfect socialism itself and the other aims to divert to capitalism. Only by adherence to the Party's leadership, can we mobilize all the enthusiasm, coordinate social relations, solve all the social contradictions and ensure for the success of the reforms and opening to the outside world.
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