

THE HISTORY OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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Western Materials on Chinese Psychology

The original Chinese sources on psychology are not readily available in Western countries. The two psychology journals *Xinli Xuebao* (*Acta Psychologica Sinica*) and *Xinli Kexue Tongxun* (*Informations on Psychological Science*) are only stocked in a few Western libraries. For my own research, I also used the U.S.-series Joint Publications Research Services (JPRS) which abstracts and translates Chinese scientific articles including psychology. Moreover, in the course of my research some more translations of Chinese articles in psychology have been made, some of them in German,¹ some of them in English.²

Based on these sources and some more as yet unpublished translations as well as original Chinese research reports a comprehensive study of the history of Chinese psychology is in progress. The results of the historical survey were taken as the framework for a qualitative content analysis of the broad Chinese research area of Developmental Psychology.³

The first monography on the history of psychology in the People's Republic of China was written by a Sino-American couple on behalf of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from the viewpoint of a cold war china-watcher.⁴ The authors analyse Western and Soviet roots and give a summing up of the three main fields of Chinese psychology until 1966. However, they pay no attention to traditional philosophical roots but deal with China only from their Western perspective. It is especially a pity that they do not evaluate Chinese research in psychology within the framework of the international research scene in psychology but only pick out some research in order to show the effect of political influences.

Apart from this monography there is a very informative new book⁵ by an Australian who visited China and summarizes new materials on the current state of Chinese psychology. However, this book is not an analytic study but rather a reader containing several translations of Chinese articles. In order to let the Chinese speak for themselves the editor has chosen more general articles on theo-

retical and political issues and hardly any which give details of the Chinese progress in psychological research.

Besides this, there are only a few smaller articles in journals and handbooks, most of them based on the above mentioned monography.⁶ During the last years more and more visitors to China laid down their experiences in minor articles.⁷ From among these visitors the delegation headed by William Kessen wrote the most detailed and outstanding report on their observations of Chinese child care and education.⁸

Chinese Psychology: From the beginning to the Foundation of the People's Republic

The roots of psychology as an independent discipline go back to the first years of this century, e.g. the translation of Höffding's "Psychologie in Umrissen auf der Grundlage der Erfahrung" in 1907.⁹ But in these years Chinese researchers only copied Western studies and "the issue of basic theory was out of question"¹⁰.

The first turning point was the May Fourth Movement with its call for science and democracy. A first laboratory was founded then at the Beijing University (known as "Beida") in 1917, a first independent department of psychology was established in Nanjing.¹¹ The scientific psychology journal was started by Zhang Yaoxiang who was also the first President of the Psychological Society founded in 1921. Chin & Chin go wrong in this point dating the foundation of the Chinese Psychological Society in 1937.¹² The research institute of psychology was founded at the Academia Sinica in 1928.

Most of the leading Chinese psychologists of these years had graduated in Western countries, mainly the U.S., with eleven at Chicago University and another eleven at Columbia University New York, the centres of functionalism and behaviorism. They initiated translations of many Western psychology textbooks and set up new psychological laboratories in Chinese universities.¹³

Psychological research was stopped by the Japanese invasion and many psychologists joined the United Front (e.g. the Jiu-San-Society, formed against the Japanese aggression, with the famous psychologists Pan Shu and Chen Li as leading members).

Initial obstacles in the People's Republic

The founding of the People's Republic brought new horizons for the development of science in China, and many psychologists who had stayed abroad returned home (e.g. Cao Richang from England via Hong Kong, Liu Jinghe from New York).

The new start was not easy especially for psychologists. Most of the new books allowed for publication in the field of psychology were translations from Russian.¹⁴ The Chinese science was bound to the Soviet model and especially the Western-trained Chinese psychologists - although they were patriotic and had returned to their country - did not appreciate the Stalinist dogmatic version of Marxism and mechanistic Pavlovianism.¹⁵ The Soviet advisors tried to re-adjust Chinese psychology to their Pavlovianism, but many Chinese psychologists remained very reserved or even made open criticisms as a Soviet advisor reported home.¹⁶

From 1950 on, Chinese psychologists tried to reestablish their institute at the reopened Academia Sinica in Beijing. Cao Richang managed to organize a small laboratory and in 1956, the first year of a loosening from the Soviet model, Pan Shu and Cao Richang succeeded in reestablishing their institute at the Academia Sinica.¹⁷ It should be noted that - because of these political conditions - this institute was integrated into the Department of Biology of Academia Sinica and not - as Chin & Chin and following sources claim - into the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences.¹⁸ Only in the universities did psychology stay in the Department of Education or Philosophy until recently when psychology was given an own department.

The Chinese Psychological Society was refounded in 1955 with Pan Shu as its President. He was also Director of the Institute at the Academia Sinica. One year later, the psychology journal *Xinli Xuebao* appeared with its first volume 1956/57.

The tasks of psychology were discussed in the first Twelve-Year-Plan for the development of the Chinese sciences in 1956 to 1958. Here, psychology was seen as a basic science given five main areas of inquiry:

- "1. Origin and development of the mind;
2. basic stages of the mind;
3. psychology of individuality;
4. basic theories and history of psychology, and
5. special branches in education, medicine, art and literature, and physical culture."¹⁹

The unfolding of these research areas was interrupted by the so-called Criticism-Movement in 1958 which will be discussed separately.

Blossoming and New Descent in the 'Sixties'

After the political reassessment of the Criticism-Movement the Second Conference of the Chinese Psychological Society was held in January 1960. This conference opened the doors for psychological research into many fields throwing off the trammels of the Soviet advisors.

Developmental and educational psychology flourished most and became the largest subdiscipline within Chinese psychology. Topics investigated included the child's development of perception and number conception as well as language development with the view on the reform of primary school curriculum.²⁰ The primary importance given to this field of child psychology in a broad sense was as well obvious at the First Annual Meeting of the Chinese Psychological Society in 1963. Among the 203 papers delivered more than 75% dealt with educational and developmental psychology. Further fields reported on were: labor psychology, clinical psychology, basic research in perception and physiology.²¹

However, starting in 1964 psychology had to suffer the first ultra-leftist attacks of the Cultural Revolution. The implications of this campaign will be discussed later. Here, only one detailed view of the disastrous consequences of the disruption of psychology in the spring of 1966 shall be given:

"In effect, there has been a lost generation of psychologists, since no new students were trained for more than a decade. Most psychologists now holding junior appointments in the Institute or in the universities are 40 years of age or more, and they were trained before 1966. The current postgraduate students completed their undergraduate training in this same period, and they are mostly in their middle thirties. It will not be until the 1980s that the new generation of psychologists graduate."²²

The Present Situation of Chinese Psychology

After the fall of the so-called Gang-of-Four a first conference of psychologists was able to plan to reestablish their discipline in 1977. In 1978, a conference followed

which resolved to reintroduce teaching and research at the universities. The first official congress of the Psychological Society was then held in Beijing in December 1978, re-electing Pan Shu as its President who holds this position up to now.

Psychology is officially seen as an important science and the tasks of psychologists have been integrated into the modernization programme. Therefore, psychology is of primary importance for the reform of education, the meliorization of the health services, and for increasing labor efficiency. Furthermore, psychology seems to be relevant in sports, juvenile delinquency, linguistic research etc.²³ In addition, there is a campaign to popularize knowledge in psychology through public lectures.

In order to cope with such a broad spectrum of tasks, the thing to do is the modernization of psychology itself as many leading Chinese psychologists point out.²⁴ In connection with this programme Peng Fei demands the independence of scientific research from political doctrines and a legal and democratic system within the Chinese socialism.²⁵

Academic training in psychology is conducted at only four universities, but almost all Normal Universities offer psychology courses for student teachers and education students. Until now, each of the four universities offering a full graduate curriculum in psychology can only accept twenty full-time students a year. Another obstacle is the small number of qualified lecturers.

The universities have some research facilities of their own but the central research institution is the Institute of psychology at the Academia Sinica in Beijing with about ninety to hundred scientific and fifty non-scientific members in its six sections:

- Developmental Psychology;
- Sensation and Perception Studies;
- Physiological and Medical Psychology (including psychotherapy);
- Basic Theories and History of Psychology;
- Ergonomics and Labor Psychology;
- Information and Publication.

The institute's library contains about 40,000 volumes and subscribes to 300 psychological periodicals from all over the world.

The Chinese Society of Psychology was refounded in 1977 and has about 1000 members. Its main purpose is the promotion and organization of scientific exchange within the vast country China as well as with colleagues abroad. The Society has regional branches in almost all parts of China

and is a member of the All-China Scientific and Technological Association. In July 1980, the Chinese Society was admitted to the International Union of Psychological Science as its 44th member. The organ of the Society is the *Xinli Xuebao* (*Acta Psychologica Sinica*) which has a very high circulation (30,000 copies in 1980, whereas only 8,000 copies in 1965).²⁶ A second psychology journal is the *Xinli Kexue Tongxun* (*Informations on Psychological Science*) which is published in Shanghai. A third journal, edited in Hangzhou, contains translations from Western sources in psychology.

In April 1982, a new association was founded: The Chinese Society for Social Psychology. It was established at the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing and worked out a demanding programme in the study of social customs, juvenile delinquency, family planning, and the education of the only child. This society is going to publish its own organ, the *Chinese Journal of Social Psychology*.

In recent years, the following new research projects emerged which could be seen as the most challenging ones: In developmental and educational psychology (which is by far the biggest research area) aside from the ongoing interest in cognitive processes (number conception and language learning) new research was started on discipline in school and juvenile delinquency.²⁷ Following the governments demand for the "one-child-family" psychologists participated with studies on how to educate single children.²⁸ Besides this, Chinese psychologists still follow up classical psychological problems on perception and relate results of these studies to an application in labor psychology.²⁹

Comparative Science Policy Conclusions

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the character of Chinese psychology, one has to take into account the different ideological and political influences within Chinese society which contributed in shaping Chinese psychology. Chin & Chin show the roots of Chinese psychology in American and Soviet traditions but do not mention the influences of traditional Chinese culture and philosophy. Their analysis of the political influences is of limited use because of their restricted standpoint as cold war china-watchers.³⁰ There are, however, some general studies on Chinese politics and ideology which are helpful for our questions.³¹

The analysis of my own research on Chinese psychology was based on the assumption that there are five major

aspects of ideology and politics which influenced the historical development of Chinese psychology. Here, they can only be summarized briefly.³²

(1) Traditional Chinese philosophy and culture

Donald Munro examined the traditional ideological influences which work on in the People's Republic.³³ Regarding our subject of the history of psychology the following seems to be especially relevant:

- Whereas Western philosophy strictly separates between "knowing" and "acting" such a distinction is not known in China. This might be a reason why Chinese psychology pays so much attention to consciousness and cognitive development and rejects theories such as psychoanalysis.
- The Marxist debate on the social essence of the human mind has had so much political importance (and could not be discussed scientifically in terms of psychology) because of the Confucian assumption of human innate traits which still had its influence.
- Confucianism put great emphasis on education and therefore promoted the establishment of educational psychology research.
- The principle of dialectic has a long tradition in Chinese thought and could be found again in today's discussion on theoretical systems of psychology.³⁴

(2) Western ideology and psychological science

Most of the leading Chinese psychologists have studied in Western countries. Functionalism and behaviorism have been taken up in China enthusiastically as a means for the modernization of the country. This produced the following trends:

- While Confucianism had a more holistic concept of man, functionalism and behaviorism introduced a more mechanistic determinist concept which was only carried on in Stalinist Pavlovianism.
- The functionalist emphasis on testing and educational reform furthered Chinese interests in educational psychology.
- Within this framework psychology is seen as a basic science concentrating on the analysis of cognition.

(3) Marxist philosophy and Soviet psychology

After the foundation of the People's Republic some Chinese psychologists were sent to the U.S.S.R. Although the Pavlov Movement introduced to China did not generate many psychological studies, it had some more general influences:

- It introduced the Marxist materialistic viewpoint of the principle identity of mind and matter.
- Consciousness has therefore been to be explained as a function of the brain physiology.
- The Leninist theory of reflection was adopted and promoted a view on the ecological conditions of development.
- Because of some reductionist views from Stalinism the social nature of human development was not analyzed in its complexity.

(4) Political conditions in Chinese socialism

Politically there are two main characteristics which make China differ from any Western country: its specific socialism and the socio-economic conditions of a Third World country. The first point concerns the attitude the political organs take with regard to science and intellectuals. Principally, there have been two attitudes on science and the scientists in the P.R. of China. Zhou Enlai represented the position of giving science some independence and self-responsibility.³⁵ A contrary attitude was taken by the ultra-leftists who claimed that science needs Marxist leadership and science should not be run by intellectuals but only by the broad masses. This position neglected psychology fundamentally.

(5) The problem of Chinese psychology's relevance

Western psychology developed against the background of the philosophy of enlightenment and the industrial revolution. Within this development the category of the individual became the primary one. Such a category of individualism and self-responsibility has not been developed within the Chinese tradition but has been imported from the West. Hand in hand with this the science of psychology was brought to China and psychologists had to show of what use they are there. There have been three main standpoints regarding the relevance of psychology:

- Western trained psychologists interpreted psychology as a basic science within the natural sciences which - as a basic science - has not itself social relevance.
- Called out by the political leaders to contribute to the modernization programme psychologists engaged themselves in many experiments on improvements in industry and education.
- The ultra-leftists, however, ignored any possible relevance of psychology to society and labelled it as a bourgeois ideology with no use to Chinese socialism.

Some consequences of the outlined ideological and political conditions will now be explained using examples of the political movements against Chinese psychology.

Political Campaigns Against Psychology

Of all the sciences in the P.R. of China psychology suffered hardest under the changing political influence. In explaining this fact Ridley believes "that such influences are most noticeable in psychological research further suggests the greater sensitivity of the human sciences to the political sector"³⁶. The political situation of the P.R. of China has developed very strong influences on the sciences.

(1) The Criticism-Movement in 1958

In 1956 China has begun to loosen itself from the Soviet model and experimented with some liberalization, thus hoping to avoid such political upheavals as in Hungary and Poland. In China, intellectuals were given some freedom and economically the government tried to launch a "Big Leap" in industrial development. These liberalizations were, however, withdrawn a few months later in the "Campaign against the Rightists" and it was during this campaign that the so-called Criticism-Movement in psychology was started at Beijing Normal University in August 1958. Only a few of these criticisms have been published, but the main arguments brought forth by ultra-leftist party officials, students, and some lecturers have been the following:

- The "biological and physiological trend in psychology",
- "negation of the class character of psychology", and
- "bourgeois academism" were criticized.³⁷

After the failure of the Big Leap in 1959 more realism entered into official policy and the Criticism-Movement was stopped and psychologists had the opportunity for open-hearted discussions on their fundamental viewpoints. Thus three positions on the nature of psychology emerged:

- Some psychologists defined psychology as a natural science which therefore could not have any "class nature"³⁸.
- Social science oriented researchers and especially teachers and students from Pedagogical Universities and Colleges made the point that human beings are of social nature (in Marxist terminology "class nature") and thus psychology is a social science analyzing "the origin and development of mind in society"³⁹.
- The leading psychologists Pan Shu and Cao Richang created a dialectical approach stating that man is both

natural and social, and thus psychology should use both, social science and natural science methods.⁴⁰

This third position has, in general, always been the main official position of Chinese psychology and it is still put forward today and elaborated in more detail.⁴¹

(2) Theoretical discussions in the sixties

Challenged by the newly emerged left critics psychologists laid down their theoretical positions in 1965.

Cheng Yuanhui reviewed Western Social Psychology since its beginning in order to introduce this field to China.⁴² Jing Qicheng reported on Watson's behaviorism and added some criticism on its determinism whereby he also meant determinist Pavlovianism although not mentioning it directly.⁴³ Cao Richang more thoroughly explained his dialectic viewpoint that psychology is both a natural and a social science and rejected the ultra-left demand that everything should be seen as class-determined.⁴⁴ This political postulate was also refuted by Zhu Zuxiang who explained that some personality traits are influenced by "class character" but others are not at all, and some only partly or indirectly.⁴⁵

For a new translation of Woodworth & Schlosberg's Textbook of Experimental Psychology Cao Richang resolutely defended the use of the experimental method in psychology although not reducing psychology to the experimental method, as behaviorism did.⁴⁶ In another more comprehensive article Cao Richang appreciated the development of the experimental method in psychology and its use in China but he also complained about a too narrow viewpoint concentrating in experimental methods in Chinese psychology.⁴⁷

At the same time psychologists in China took up many interests in Western psychology, which can be seen in many review articles on Western research and new methods in the journal *Xinli Kexue Tongxun* in 1965. But all these fruitful beginnings were curtailed by the so-called Cultural Revolution.

(3) The Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution could be interpreted as an experiment by Mao Zedong to avoid the failures of the Soviet model. For this purpose he made use of ultra-left and anarchist tendencies especially among Chinese youth. Concerning psychology, the first ultra-left criticism was brought forth in autumn 1964.⁴⁸ On the eve of the Cultural Revolution the critics concentrated on two issues:

- Psyche and consciousness should be seen as class determined, and therefore no psychology is necessary.

Instead, Mao-Zedong-Thought was called the best psychology.

- All laboratory and experimental work was denounced as bourgeois metaphysics.

The first major attack was launched in summer 1965 on several psychology meetings after the publication of a programmatic article on the use of the principle of class analysis in psychology.⁴⁹ With the beginning of university courses in autumn 1965 criticism was spread there as well.

The decisive act was the attack by the Communist Party's chief for propaganda, Yao Wenyuan (well-known as one of the "Gang of Four"), who launched a frontal attack on Chen Li's and Wang Ansheng's studies on color and form preferences. Yao Wenyuan used the pseudonym "Ge Mingren" (The Revolutionary) and qualified psychology as bourgeois metaphysical nonsense. His criticism was based on three arguments:

- Psychological experimental work abstracts from concreteness (e.g. colors could only be judged in concrete things);
- the studies are based on an abstraction from social coherence;
- individual traits do not exist.⁵⁰

Although Yao Wenyuan's arguments were not at all scientific he thereby managed - using his political top position in the Cultural Revolution - to issue an official prohibition on psychology as a science. The consequences were:

- journals stopped publication in spring 1966;
- psychology as a university subject was banned;
- the Institute of Psychology at the Academia Sinica was closed;
- scientists, professors, and lecturers were sent to work camps and/or put under house arrest.

This prohibition lasted until 1976 although there were some attempts in 1973 to reestablish psychology as a discipline.

International Comparisons

Chinese psychologists have taken up many threads from Western and Soviet psychology and the question now is, how far this research can be explained within one of the different paradigms of Western and Soviet psychology.

(1) American and Chinese psychology

Behaviorism and functionalism have had a strong impact on the emergence of psychology as a discipline in China, es-

pecially John Dewey himself has been called the midwife of Chinese psychology.⁵¹ Leading Chinese psychologists have had their academic training in the centers of functionalism in Chicago and New York. Behaviorism gave birth to the most radical behaviorist - a Chinese, Zing-yang Kuo (= Guo Renyang).⁵² The experimental paradigm of functionalism and behaviorism was taken up in many sections of psychology in the People's Republic. However, all in all, one cannot speak of the characteristic paradigmatic influence of functionalism and behaviorism on Chinese psychology.

(2) Soviet psychology in China

During the years after 1949 China followed the Soviet model and thus took the Soviet paradigm of Stalinist Pavlovianism current in Russia. This only had a general influence on the natural scientific approach in Chinese psychology. One cannot conclude that this was or even is the prevailing paradigm of Chinese psychology. After Pavlovianism had been overcome in Russia and different approaches flourished, there was some interest in China in that development. This is especially evident in Chinese labor psychology⁵³ and also very much in Chinese educational psychology.⁵⁴ Regarding fundamental theoretical viewpoints S.L. Rubinstein might have the biggest influence of all Soviet theories.

(3) European structuralist psychology in China

Whereas Chin & Chin only see American psychology in the beginning of Chinese psychology, we could show that even in the first days of Chinese psychology there was some - but slight - interest in European approaches.⁵⁵ Today, Chinese psychologists emphasize their relationship to Wilhelm Wundt.⁵⁶ But more important is that Gestalt psychology found its way to China - mainly via the U.S.A. It had a strong impact on Chinese research on perception and cognition. Psychoanalysis, however, has not become an integrated part of Chinese academic psychology but was and is still again in discussion within psychiatry and medicine. In recent years, Piaget's results on child development have been discussed and have been rejected in part in a lot of research projects on cognitive abilities of pre-school and primary school children.⁵⁷

(4) Is there a specific Chinese paradigm for psychology?

There have been many difficulties and obstacles in the history of Chinese psychology. Nevertheless, there are some special contributions in the area of cognitive and social development of children.⁵⁸ As to the basic theoretical questions there have been many discussions among Chinese

psychologists. One result of these discussions is the characterization of psychology as a science which has to combine social science and natural science methods.⁵⁹ However, these contributions do not provide a sufficient basis for a fundamental paradigm. Chinese psychology cannot be characterized by one paradigm alone but different influences have been taken up and altered in Chinese research.

Therefore, Chinese psychology is neither a pure derivative of any Western or Soviet school, nor has it found its own paradigm yet. For a thoroughly understanding of this situation of Chinese psychology one has to keep in mind the various influences from Chinese society, a socialist country of the Third World. Chinese psychologists try to learn from all the different approaches in psychology. Their attitude aims to build up a special Chinese psychology for the distinct use according to the needs of the country.

Summary

The evolution of psychology in China has rarely been recognized in the West. The article reviews the Western literature on Chinese psychology and outlines the history of psychology in China since 1907. As a discipline, psychology was established in the twenties. It was subsequently stopped by the Japanese invasion. In the People's Republic psychology was reestablished in 1955 and the following years but again interrupted by the Cultural Revolution. At present, psychology in the P.R. of China is being promoted as never before. The political campaigns which had interfered with the development of Chinese psychology as well as Western and Soviet influences are analyzed separately.

Notes

- ¹ Three of these translations are published in *Psychologische Forschung in China*, ed. Matthias Petzold (Köln: Bundesinstitut für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien, 1981), pp.A4-A34.
- ² Eleven translations are published in two special issues of the journal *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 12, No.3 (1980) and 13, No.2 (1980/1981).
- ³ Matthias Petzold, *Entwicklungspsychologie in der VR China*, Saarbrücken & Fort Lauderdale 1983.
- ⁴ Robert Chin & Ai-li S. Chin, *Psychological Research in*

- Communist China 1949-1966, Cambridge, MA, 1969.
- 5 Lawrence B. Brown, *Psychology in Contemporary China*, Oxford 1981.
 - 6 See Chin & Chin, *Psychological Research in China*, pp.8.
 - 7 A detailed discussion of previous articles and reports can be found in Petzold, *Entwicklungspsychologie in der VR China*, l.c. pp.9-16.
 - 8 William Kessen, ed., *Childhood in China*, New Haven 1975.
 - 9 See Jing Qicheng (Ching Chi-cheng), "Psychology in the People's Republic of China", *American Psychologist* 35 (1980), pp.1084-1085.
 - 10 Pan Shu, "On the investigation of the basic theoretical problems of psychology", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 12 (1980), pp.1-8.
 - 11 See Siegen K. Chou, "The present status of psychology in China", *American Journal of Psychology* 38 (1927), pp.664-666.
 - 12 Chin & Chin, *Psychological Research in China*, p.5. See however the report by Siegen K. Chou, "The present status ..." and Chinese sources.
 - 13 See Siegen K. Chou, "Psychological laboratories in China", *American Journal of Psychology* 44 (1932), pp.372-374; and G. Schramm, "A psychological laboratory for child study in China", *Child Development* 4 (1933), pp.279-280.
 - 14 See Xu Liancang, Jing Qicheng, & Ray Over, "Recent Developments in psychology within the People's Republic of China", *International Journal of Psychology* 15 (1980), pp.131-144.
 - 15 See Pan Shu, "On the investigation of basic theoretical problems ...", l.c.; and Jing Qicheng, "Psychology in the P.R. of China", l.c.
 - 16 See S.A. Petruševkij, "The status of psychological science in China and the development of the scientific contacts with Chinese psychologists" (in Russian), *Voprosy Psichologii* 2 (1956), pp.102-108.
 - 17 See Pan Shu, "China's recent research work on psychology", *Psychologia* 2 (1959), pp.193-201.
 - 18 See Chin & Chin, *Psychological Research in China*, p.20; compare, however, with Chinese sources such as (Anonym), *Ten Great Years. Statistics of the economic and cultural achievements of the P.R. of China*, Peking 1960, p.203.
 - 19 Pan Shu, "A general review of psychology in China", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 2 (1958), pp.3-8.
 - 20 See Petzold, *Entwicklungspsychologie in der VR China*, pp.97.

- 21 See Chin & Chin, *Psychological Research in China*, p.43.
- 22 Xu Liancang et al., "Recent developments ...", pp.135.
- 23 See Petzold, *Psychologische Forschung in China*, l.c., pp.40.
- 24 See Pan Shu, "Our nation's psychology in the face of a new stage", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 11 (1979), pp.1-9.
- 25 Peng Fei, "Keep in mind the lessons from history!", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 11 (1979), pp.17-21.
- 26 Personal information from Xu Liancang (Secretary General of the Chinese Society of Psychology) in July 1980.
- 27 See e.g. The Cooperative Study Group of Moral Judgement of Children, "An investigation on the development of moral judgement in children", *Xinli Kexue Tongxun* 5 (1982, No.1), pp.22-26.
- 28 Jing Qicheng (C.C. Ching), "The One-child-family in China: The need for psychological studies", *Studies in Family Planning* 13 (1982, No.6/7), pp.208-212.
- 29 Jing Qicheng (C.C. Ching), "Sensory and perceptual studies in the P.R. of China", *Psychologia* 24 (1981), pp.133-145.
- 30 See Chin & Chin, *Psychological Research in China*, l.c.
- 31 See especially Richard P. Suttmeier, *Research and Revolution*, Lexington, MA, 1974; R.P. Suttmeier, *Science, technology and China's drive for modernization*, Stanford, Ca., 1980; R.P. Suttmeier, "Politics, modernization, and the science in China", *Problems of Communism* 30 (1981, No.1), pp.22-36; and Leo A. Orleans, ed., *Science in contemporary China*, Stanford, Ca., 1980.
- 32 A detailed analysis is given in Petzold, *Entwicklungspsychologie in der VR China*, l.c., pp.257-308.
- 33 Donald J. Munro, *The concept of man in contemporary China* (Ann Arbor, Mi.: Univ. of Michigan Pr., 1977), pp.15.
- 34 See Chen Darou, "The rise of dialectical approaches to psychological theories in the world: a concise view", *Xinli Kexue Tongxun* 5 (1982, No.4), pp.15-19.
- 35 See Zhou Enlai, *Report on the question of the intellectuals*, Peking, 1956.
- 36 Charles P. Ridley, *China's scientific policies*, Stanford, Ca. 1976, p.61.
- 37 See Ladislao LaDany, "Psychology, Psychiatry", *China News Analysis* No.260 (16 January 1959), pp.1-7.
- 38 See Tang Yue, "On objects of study in psychology", *Guangming Ribao* (13 July 1969), pp.3.
- 39 See Guo Yichen (Kuo Itzen) in (Anonym), "Old and young psychologists in the Capital discuss academic problems together", *Renmin Ribao* (10 June 1959).
- 40 See (Anonym), "Old and young psychologists ...", l.c.

- 41 See Pan Shu, "On the investigation of the basic theoretical problems ...", l.c.
- 42 See Chen Yuanhui, "Critique on modern bourgeois social psychology", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 9 (1965), pp.106-113.
- 43 See Jing Qicheng, "The behaviorism of J.B. Watson", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 9 (1965), pp.361-374.
- 44 See Cao Richang (Tsao Jih-chang), "The basic principles of psychology", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 9 (1965), pp. 101-105.
- 45 See Zhu Zuxiang, "On the problem of class character of psychological phenomena and psychology", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 9 (1965), pp.185-189.
- 46 See Cao Richang, "Preface to Experimental Psychology" in *Experimental Psychology*, ed. Woodworth & Schlosberg (Peking, Science Pre. 1965). Engl. translation in "Preface to experimental psychology", ed. Terry Tang, *Psychologia* 18 (1975), pp.30-34.
- 47 See Cao Richang, "On the methodology of psychological research", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 9 (1965), pp.273-289.
- 48 See Ren Ming, "Class theory or theory of human nature?", *Guangming Ribao* (10 November 1964), p.3.
- 49 Si Mafeng (Ssu-ma Feng), "The principle of class analysis must be applied in the research on psychology of moral education ...", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 9 (1965), pp.114-120.
- 50 See Ge Mingren (= Ko Ming-jen, pseudonym of Yao Wen-yuan), "Is this a scientific method and correct direction for studying psychology? A question for psychologists.", *Guangming Ribao* (28 October 1965), p.3; engl. translation in *Survey of Chinese Mainland Press No.3587* (1965), pp.9-18.
- 51 See Chin & Chin, *Psychological Research in China*, l.c., p.7.
- 52 See G. Gottlieb, "Zing-yang Kuo - Radical philosopher and innovational experimentalist (1898-1970)", *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology* 80 (1972) pp. 1-10.
- 53 See Xu Liancang, Yang Dezhuang, Wang Cezhi, "Stimulus-response compatibility and efficiency of information transmission", *Scientia Sinica* 12 (1964) pp.1015-1017; and Xu Liancang, Yang Dezhuang, Wang Cezhi, "Substitution of verbal reaction for motor reaction in signal identification tasks", *Scientia Sinica* 13 (1965) pp.150-151.
- 54 See Petzold, *Entwicklungspsychologie in der VR China*, pp.128 and 195.
- 55 See Petzold, *Psychologische Forschung in China*, l.c. p.6.

- ⁵⁶ See Pan Shu, Chen Li, Wang Jinghe, & Chen Darou, "Wilhelm Wundt and Chinese psychology", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 12 (1980), pp.367-376.
- ⁵⁷ See Petzold, *Entwicklungspsychologie in der VR China*, pp.248.
- ⁵⁸ See Liu Fan, "Developmental Psychology in China", *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 5 (1982), pp.391-411.
- ⁵⁹ See Wang Jisheng, "Fundamental theory and methodology of our nation's psychology", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 12 (1980), pp.30-36.