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**THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN UNESCO AND CHINA
WITH A FOCUS ON THE MUTUAL
IMPACTS, 1945-1950**

**BY
YARONG CHEN**

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2020



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DISSERTATION SUBMITTED 2020

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CV

My name is Yarong Chen, my academic background is within the field of history in general. I obtained my bachelor's degree of museology in 2010 and obtained my master's degree of art history in 2014. I have been enrolled at Aalborg University PhD school from 2016 to present. My doctoral dissertation is a sub-project of the Routes of Knowledge: Global History of UNESCO coordinated by my supervisor Professor Poul Duedahl. My dissertation will investigate the historical relations between UNESCO and China from 1945 to 1950 with a focus on the mutual impacts. During the past years, I have conducted archival research at UNESCO Archives, Needham Research Institute, Institute of Modern History Archives at Academia Sinica and Chinese Second National Archives and other local archives in China. I have attended a number of PhD courses and workshops in Denmark and beyond, which are very helpful for my PhD studies. As a monograph-based PhD project, I have devoted myself to writing the dissertation, but the list below represents my research outputs on the theme of my dissertation, UNESCO-China relations and mutual impacts in education, science and culture.

Conference Papers

1. Interaction between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism: "One World" and UNESCO in China in Post-World War II Period, presented at the 20th International Conference on Conceptual History, Concepts in the World: Politics, Knowledge and Time, held by University of Oslo, Norway, 2017.9.21-2017.09.23
2. In Search for Rebuilding a Healthy China: Chinese Intellectuals' Engagement in UNESCO Fundamental Education, Confronting Predicament: Mentality and Patterns of Behavior of Chinese Intellectuals in the Second Millennium, workshop held by Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2018.05.25-2018.05.26
3. Inventing Scientific Internationalism: On Joseph Needham, UNESCO and China, 1945-1950, Research Talk at Needham Research Institute, 2019.12.13

The Historical Relations between UNESCO and China

with a Focus on the Mutual Impacts, 1945-1950

This doctoral dissertation, being part of the project Routes of Knowledge: Global History of UNESCO and sponsored by the Chinese Scholarship Council, will investigate the historical relations between UNESCO and China from 1945 to 1950 with a focus on the mutual impacts. The research design is to resolve the challenges of the efficacy attribution faced by impact studies of international organization (IO) and the accusation of Western Centrism of “impact-response” in China studies. This dissertation mainly draws upon French Sinologist François Jullien’s treatise on Shi (勢), French thinker Bruno Latour’s Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and German Sinologist Rudolf Wagner’s reflection upon transcultural conceptual history. It will sort out the conceptual translation and accommodation of UNESCO’s key concepts and initiatives between UNESCO and China and trace the actor-network that was already in existence and constantly mobilized in UNESCO-China relations. This dissertation attempts to offer a case study of IO’s impacts in member state in the post-WWII era by tracing the processual formation of UNESCO–China relations, the negotiation and diffusion of their mutual impacts in the process of translating, acting and networking. Instead of seemingly one-direction relations, casting UNESCO as an external agent exerting impacts and China being passive, rather the dissertation will map out the dialectic interactive relations between UNESCO and China and the mutual impacts in three main aspects - culture, science and education. The dissertation, taking as its point of departure an examination of UNESCO’s impacts in China, concludes by writing a short history of how China participated in the communicating over cultural internationalism, the making of global science and the experimenting of global education via UNESCO during period 1945-1950, which has much resonance for understanding China’s place in global system and for studying how the interaction between IO and member states has diffused impacts in a connected world.

UNESCO og Kinas indbyrdes forhold i historisk perspektiv med særlig fokus på fælles indvirkninger, 1945-1950

Denne afhandling, som er en del af projektet Routes of Knowledge: Global History of UNESCO og sponsoreret af det Kinesiske Stipendieråd (The Chinese Scholarship Council), undersøger de historiske bånd mellem UNESCO og Kina i perioden 1945-1950 med specifik fokus på indbyrdes påvirkning. Den søger at blottlægge de historiske udfordringer forbundet med såkaldte *impact studies* af internationale organisationer og beskyldninger om en eurocentrisk, eller vestercentrisk, tilgang til Kina-studier.

Afhandlingen tager sit udgangspunkt i den franske sinolog François Julliens tese om Shi (勢), den franske tænker Bruno Latours aktør-netværksteori og den tyske sinolog Rudolf Wagners refleksioner over tværkulturel konceptuel historie. Den analyserer den konceptuelle oversættelse og efterlevelse af UNESCOs nøglepunkter og initiativer i Kina med udgangspunkt i en aktør-netværksanalyse af det netværk, som allerede eksisterede og som blev konstant mobiliseret i UNESCO og Kinas relationer gennem perioden. Gennem en dybdegående undersøgelse af processerne, som dannede rammerne for Kinas og UNESCOs forhold, samt af deres forståelse for udøvelse og netværksdannelse, udgør afhandlingen et casestudie af en international organisations indflydelse på et medlemsland i tiden efter Anden Verdenskrig. I stedet for at koncentrere opmærksomheden på et tilsyneladende ensporet forhold, med UNESCO i rollen som ekstern agent, der influerer og indvirker på et passivt medlemsland, her Kina, kortlægges det dialektiske interaktive forhold mellem UNESCO og Kina i denne afhandling med særlig fokus på tre centrale aspekter: kultur, videnskab og uddannelse.

Med udgangspunkt i en undersøgelse af UNESCOs indvirkning på, og indflydelse i, Kina konkluderer denne afhandling, at Kina deltog aktivt i formidlingen af kulturel internationalisme, skabelsen af et globalt videnssamfund og i forsøg med global uddannelse igennem deres engagement med UNESCO i perioden 1945-1950. Dette skaber en forståelse af Kinas rolle i det globale system i dag og baner vejen for fremtidige studier af, hvorledes forholdet mellem internationale organisationer og medlemsstater hjælper til at sprede multilaterale indvirkningsprocesser i en verden, som er mere forbundet end nogensinde før.

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Note on Names and Romanization

This thesis adopts the pinyin romanization system, with two exceptions. First, the personal names and institutes that have been familiar in the West are identified accordingly, such as Chiang Kaishek rather than Jiang Jieshi; James Yen instead of Yan Yangchu; Sun Yatsen rather than Sun Zhongshan; T. V. Soong instead of Song Ziwen; H.H. Kong instead of Kong Xiangxi; Wellington Koo (V. K. Koo) rather than Gu Weijun; Alfred Saoko Sze instead of Shi Zhaoji; Xavier Francis Hsu (L. K. Hsu) instead of Xu Langguang; Franklin Ho instead of He Lian; and institutes such as Yenching University instead of Yanjing University, Peking University rather than Beijing University, Tsinghua University instead of Qinghua University. Second, some rare names found in archives are kept in case future scholars may find the spelling important to retrieve the archives, including Kuo Yushou rather than Guo Youshou, Futting Cheng instead of Zheng Tianxi, Li Anche instead of Li anzhai; Pehpei, Huang Ke Chen and Shi Tze Hsiang etc.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Locating UNESCO in the Global History of the Post-WWII Era

The Second World War was disastrous for the entire world. But the long-term impact of WWII lies in the fact that it developed a sense of “universality”, an awareness of the indissoluble link between the fate of an individual and the fate of all mankind. Motivated by the awareness of global interconnectedness stimulated during wartime, the world was calling for the remaking of institutions and activities that could police global peace. Also, as the wartime experience of cooperation indicates, it became crucially important to devise international institutions for the efficient channeling of the exchange of resources, personnel, information, techniques, etc. to guarantee their success. Thus, even though internationalism has a long history, the historian of international relations Glenda Sluga argues that the end of World War II was the apogee of twentieth-century internationalism¹. Inspired by this internationalism, the post-WWII period witnessed a boom in international organizations. As argued by American-Japanese scholar Akira Iriye, in order to comprehend the contemporary world, it is essentially important to pay attention to international organizations since it is obvious that international organizations (IO) have steadily grown in number and in scope and variety of their activities².

The involvement and influence of IOs, both nongovernmental and intergovernmental, in global governance have led to IO Studies becoming a research field in Political Science and International Relations (IR). After the first boom in IOs in the post-World War II period, several scholars started to pay attention to IO Studies, for example the decision-making mechanism of IOs, IO theories, institutions of IOs and IOs’ role in global political system etc.³ As the number increased and the scope

¹ Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), P.79

² Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002)

³ Robert W. Cox and Harold K. Jacobson, *The Anatomy of Influence: Decision Making in International Organization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979); J. Samuel Barkin, *International Organization: Theories and Institutions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

of IO expanded into various fields such as security, economic development, humanitarian relief, social welfare and human rights, the work of some organizations was scrutinized and they were accused of being unwieldy in their bureaucracy and ineffective in their operations. American scholars Barnett and Finnemore (2004) have proposed a theoretical framework in order to understand the legitimacy, the authority and the autonomy of IOs; how IOs exercise their power in global governance; and how the bureaucratic nature of IOs results in their evolution, dysfunction and pathologies⁴. There has been considerable debate between scholars in recent years regarding the reform of major IOs, such as those within the UN system, including the United Nations Security Council, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)⁵.

Much of the academic work carried out by political scientists or IR scholars is often non-historical as they are more interested in recent or current phenomena⁶. On the other hand, the academic interests of many historians of international relations usually focus on traditional themes such as diplomatic, military and economic issues etc. However, as Iriye argues, globalization contains many elements, not only “hard power” issues such as economic or military concerns but also institutional, intellectual, technological and even artistic and psychological aspects, and political scientists and IR scholars have begun to embark on research on the social, ideological and cultural aspects of international relations⁷. As its name indicates, the mandate of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) relates to “soft power” issues, such as education, science or culture⁸. Drawing upon constructivism, Finnemore takes the example of UNESCO and argues that IOs are basically the teachers of norms in the international systems⁹.

⁴ Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004)

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Aikra Iriye (2002), P.4

⁷ Ibid, P.12

⁸ Xie Zheping, Zhang Xiaojin, Chuanshou yu Xuexi: Zhongguo Canyu Lianheguo Jiaokewen Zuzhi de Jingyan Yanjiu, *Waijiao Pinglun*, 2011, No. 1, pp.48-59

⁹ Martha Finnemore, International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy, *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Autumn, 1993), pp. 565-597

Historical contextualization is necessary in any discussion about international organizations that formulates theories in the disciplines of IR or Political Science. As a specialized agency of the UN, UNESCO was born after World War II with the humanitarian mission to build peace in the mindset of people. UNESCO was an ideational-oriented international organization from the outset, as the Constitution claims: “That since wars begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be construed”¹⁰. UNESCO is well known for promoting many substantial initiatives that have had profound impacts on the mindsets of people after WWII, such as life-long learning, sustainable development and world heritage. In fact, the ideas and initiatives of UNESCO are intended to cross national boundaries, and flow into remote places far from the organization’s headquarters, providing an excellent field of study for historians who have adopted a global perspective to examine modern history in the post-WWII era. The opening up of the rich archives that were once inaccessible and neglected has begun to drive historians to discover and reveal details about the formation, development and impacts of UNESCO.

Like its predecessor the League of Nations, which held a functionalist belief in the role of expertise in solving mundane problems for the pursuance of international peace, the United Nations also set up several specialized agencies dealing with problems by using expert knowledge. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is concerned with resolving hunger, the World Health Organization (WHO) with disease and hygiene, while UNESCO was established to solve intellectual problems such as illiteracy and cultural prejudice. The founders of UNESCO saw that post-war aid involved more than the repair of war damage through relief and rehabilitation. The war-devastated world required a thorough reconstruction in the fields of education, science and culture, which the founders of UNESCO believed would guarantee intellectual solidarity by promoting exchange and cooperation among different peoples, thus keeping peace in the mindset of humankind across boundaries. Being a populous, “backward” country, even weaker after its invasion by Japan, China’s prevailing severe problems such as illiteracy, poverty, disease and the terrible living conditions of the majority

¹⁰ UNESCO, *Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Adopted in London on 16 November 1945* (London: Preparatory Commission of the UNESCO, 1945)

population deeply resonated with UNESCO's concerns regarding the post-war reconstruction agenda¹¹.

1.2 Conceptualizing and Network Tracing the Historical Relations between UNESCO and China, 1945-1950

This PhD project, being part of the project Routes of Knowledge: Global History of UNESCO and sponsored by the Chinese Scholarship Council, will investigate the historical relations between UNESCO and China from 1945 to 1950 with a focus on the mutual impacts. The states of art in the historical studies of UNESCO have moved from probing its origins to assessing the historical impacts of UNESCO. The impact studies of UNESCO have followed the same logic as the operation of IOs, which is deeply rooted in the European tradition of “model-making”, beginning with an ideal, framed in a plan of action to be projected into the world, followed by the effects. Informed by this means–end perspective of investigating UNESCO's impacts on member states, historians of ideas, concepts and Foucauldians of discourse often find it challenging to trace the full causal link from the ideas or initiatives of UNESCO to its impacts—the attribution of efficacy¹². Another challenge to conducting impact studies of UNESCO in China comes from the clichéd accusation, i.e. “impact” has been an over-laden notion that refers to Western centrism, and even Imperialism, in the historiographic writing of 20th century China in the USA. Impact-response is an interpretive framework used by American Sinologist John King Fairbank and his students in their understanding of and writing about China's modern history, which generally regards China's modern history as a series of responses to the impacts of the West¹³. Hence, this PhD dissertation attempts to address these two methodological challenges arising in the studies of the historical impacts of UNESCO in modern China.

¹¹ James Yen, A Chinese Pioneer: Dr. Yen Describes Work of Mass Education in China, *UNESCO Courier*, March 1948, P.7

¹² Poul Duedahl, Introduction, Out of the House: On the Global History of UNESCO, 1945-2015, in Poul Duedahl ed. *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp.3-23

¹³ Teng Ssuyu, John King Fairbank, *China's response to the West: a documentary survey: 1839-1923* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, the 1st edition in 1954, then 1975, 1994)

In opening up the black box of causality tracing in impact studies, this dissertation is inspired by French Sinologist François Jullien's treatise on Shi (勢) – a Chinese perspective that considers efficacy as something resulting from the propension or propensity inherent in the course of things in the specific configuration/situation of interacting actors¹⁴. The Chinese concept of Shi diverts the attention from attributing efficacy to examining how the effects are diffused and dissolved within the evolving configuration of factors. Drawing upon the similar arguments of French philosopher Bruno Latour that efficacy results from an arrangement of multiple actors/actants, from networks that were created in advance, the analysis of this dissertation mainly draws upon Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to resolve the difficulty in attributing causal efficacy¹⁵. The dissertation will, then, explore how an actor-network of ideas, expertise, knowledge, institutions, personnel and funds etc. was translated and communicated at global-national-local levels, paving the way for the formation and evolution of UNESCO–China relations in the fields of culture, science and education.

As an intergovernmental organization, UNESCO has its own wheels-within-wheels bureaucratic system and also seeks to mobilize national government, civil communities and local activists in the global mission of mental engineering. Hence, translation and communication in the actor-network involving the global-national-local scales are often constantly contested, negotiated and mediated, paving the way for tracing the diffusion of the impacts as designed by an ideal goal-oriented action plan. Modern China, as Chinese American historian Hao Chang argues, had been through a major intellectual transformation when China encountered heterogeneous foreign science, technology and culture in the modern era¹⁶. Hence, this dissertation also adopts transcultural conceptual history analysis as a supplementary analytical lens with a focus on the agency of appropriation in translingual interactions that has been an essential part of the conceptual transformation in modern China due to

¹⁴ François Jullien, translated by Janet Lloyd, *The Propensity of Things: Toward a History of Efficacy in China* (New York: Zone Books, 1995); François Jullien, translated by Janet Lloyd, *A Treatise on Efficacy: Between Western and Chinese Thinking* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2004)

¹⁵ Bruno Latour, translated by Alan Sheridan, *The Pasteurization of France* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988)

¹⁶ Hao Chang, *Zhongguo Jindai Sixiangshi de Zhuanxing Shidai*, *Ershiyi Shiji Shuangyuekan*, 1999, April, pp.29-39 (《二十一世纪双月刊》1999年4月)

the transcultural translation and accommodation of European-derived concepts¹⁷. This dissertation also expands the concepts to include metaphor. For the medical metaphor of the “Sick Man of East Asia”, and all the efforts to resolve this predicament, would have a long-lasting, far-ranging and profound influence over the development of modern China, and the interactions between China and the outside world, including its relations with the international organization of UNESCO. In this dissertation, this metaphor runs through UNESCO–China relations all the way from the general discussion of culture, to the efforts of acting-networking science, through to the devising of a UNESCO Fundamental Education pilot project on the public health and hygiene.

Either scientific cooperation or educational cooperation, the intellectual internationalism that UNESCO sought to promote in its member states would have to be carried out in the working frame determined by UNESCO’s double identity of being both a truly global intellectual agency and an intergovernmental organization. The global conception of UNESCO, inspired by scientific humanism, involves the long-term objectives of advancing common humanity for the purposes of peace and strives for its autonomy from the UN and any other ideological influences; while the intergovernmental conception of UNESCO, inspired by functionalism, aims at short-term objectives and establishing a minimum common ground for diverse appeals of national interests¹⁸. This dual identity of UNESCO shapes the practice of the relationship between UNESCO and its member states such as China, the mode of interaction between UNESCO and China, and the working frame of the cooperation between UNESCO and China. The intergovernmental nature of UNESCO means that it would inevitably encounter the network of domestic politics in its member states, which often interweaves with the network of international politics. And the ideas and programs that UNESCO would implement in post-war reconstruction did not start from scratch. Rather, the formulation and implementation of its programs would rely on a global actor-network of scientists, scholars,

¹⁷ Chang Hao (1999), pp.29-31; Rudolf G. Wagner (2003), *The Concept of Work/Labor/Arbeit in the Chinese World*, in Manfred Bierwisch ed., *Die Rolle der Arbeit in verschiedenen Epochen und Kulturen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003), pp.103-136; Rudolf G. Wagner, “China Asleep” and “Awakening.” A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It, *Transcultural Studies*, 1 (2011), pp. 4-139; Rudolf G. Wagner, “Dividing up the Chinese Melon, guafen 瓜分”: The Fate of a Transcultural Metaphor in the Formation of National Myth, *Transcultural Studies*, 1 (2017), pp.9-122

¹⁸ Vincenzo Pavone, *From the Labyrinth of the World to the Paradise of the Heart: Science and Humanism in UNESCO’s Approach to Globalization* (Lexington Books, 2008), pp.88-92

educationists and politicians that was already in existence in an uneasy practice of various forms of internationalism in the fields of culture, science and education dating back to wartime, the interwar period, and an even earlier historical period. The dynamics of this would unfold in a contingent manner in the historical transition from the immediate post-war period to the Cold War and Civil War atmosphere that would deeply shape the interaction between China and UNESCO, and the activities of UNESCO in China.

1.3 UNESCO–China Relations in the Making: Translating between UNESCO and Nationalist China 1945-1950

The disastrous impact of WWII in Asia was largely due to the misleading interpretation of Social Darwinism that has significantly shaped not only China's but also Japan's sense of victimization in conceiving their position in the Euro-American dominated international system¹⁹. When it comes to pan-Asianism, modern Japan had tried to overcome colonial modernity with militarist colonial modernity. China, having assumed itself to be the "center" of "All Under Heaven", seemed to be so sluggish towards the imperial invasion that China – the Sick Man of East Asia – had gone through a "century of humiliation"²⁰. In coping with Social Darwinian expansionist internationalism, China had struggled to strive for national wealth and national salvation largely by learning from the West, while attempting to search for an idealist Chinese version of international order in which China would resume its lost international status.

The League of Nations was once warmly welcomed as an institution of world commonwealth by many Chinese intellectuals, including reformists Kang Youwei (1858-1927), Liang Qichao (1873-1929), even communist Li Dazhao (1889-1927) ; however, the handover of sovereignty of Shandong from Germany to Japan during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 led to China's disappointment in the

¹⁹ Rana Mitter, *An Uneasy Engagement: Chinese ideas of Global Order and Justice*, in Rosemary Foot, John Gaddis, Andrew Hurrell ed., *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2003), pp. 207-235

²⁰ Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014)

League of Nations ²¹. The League of Nations failed to prevent Japan's military operations in China. Nevertheless, the warfare that China underwent had changed the power relations and this seemed to compensate China for what it had been deprived of and returned it to the center of the international community. China was one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR)'s "Four Policemen", although Churchill and Stalin had various degrees of different opinions. With the support of the USA, China was about to participate actively in post-war world affairs. China sent delegates to attend international conferences such as the San Francisco Conference and Dumbarton Oak Conference in 1945 and was one of the founding states of the UN, with a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. China was involved in the establishment the UN specialized agencies such as UNESCO. The UN system and UNESCO in particular served and as an excellent international platform for China to interact with the international community in the "equal" way that China had sought.

Compared to its relative weakness in national strength and international influence in the modern era, China had a big pool, in other words, a huge actor-network of intellectuals in various modern scientific disciplines with high reputations at home and abroad from which the Chinese government could recruit a national delegation and national commission to UNESCO. Chinese intellectual elites were involved in the preparatory work and the initial development of UNESCO. UNESCO, on the other hand, was devised to facilitate and promote intellectual cooperation in the field of education, science and culture. UNESCO was shrouded in Scientific Humanism, as laid down by the first Director-General Julian Huxley, believing in progress by conserving and benefiting from a multi-cultural pool of humanity with increased human control²². The organization aimed at being truly global through projecting a global perspective rather than Western-centric ones. To develop a real-world ideal, cultures from different areas of the world were to be taken into account so that some of their values could have an opportunity to complement, counterpoint and to a degree negate and cancel out the

²¹ Luo Zhitian, Disillusion of Six Months' Optimism: The Mentalities of Intellectuals and Politics in the Eve of May Fourth Movement, *Historical Studies*, 2006, volume 4, pp.105-112

²² Julian Huxley, *Memories II* (Allen & Unwin, 1973), P.15

dominant motifs of Occidental civilization²³. As an “Oriental” country that had been the “Sick Man” in East Asia, whose long history and culture was once regarded by Chinese elites as deficient and as an obstacle for modernization, China now enjoyed an unprecedented opportunity to restore its cultural dignity through the platform of UNESCO.

UNESCO was greatly welcomed in China, and China sent national delegations to attend UNESCO conferences and meetings and approved the UNESCO Constitution, setting up a national commission to UNESCO as a cooperation body, and began a series of top-down propaganda activities to promote UNESCO in China. But, despite embracing this cosmopolitan organ, there was a strong nationalist tone in disseminating, communicating and engaging with UNESCO, with China being spoken by Chinese politicians and intellectuals of as a nation of peace lovers within the tradition of Confucian Datong (大同). The political and intellectual elites of Nationalist China appreciated the cosmopolitan ideas that UNESCO promoted, but they also tried to bridge UNESCO with Confucian concepts in particular, such as Datong–Great Community or Great Commonwealth, which has been a persistent rhetoric of the Nationalist Government’s ideology. By tying in the revival of Neo-Confucianism in China’s leading party Kuomintang (KMT)’s official ideology with UNESCO – a widely recognized intellectual organ – the relations between UNESCO and China were cast as connecting UNESCO with Nationalist China, further enforcing the ideological legitimacy and international support of the Nationalist Government, which was challenged by Chinese Communist Party (CCP)’s ideology and its ability to mobilize the mass population.

The historical relations between UNESCO and China during 1945-1950 have often been defined by IR scholars as an insignificant period²⁴. However, the historical relations between UNESCO and China in this short period were decisive for the later development of cooperation between UNESCO and China and had profound impacts on the contemporary international relations of China. The establishment of

²³ UNESCO, *Fundamental Education: Common Ground of All Peoples, Report of a Special Committee to the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation* (UNESCO Preparatory Commission, Education Section, Paris, 1947)

²⁴ Xie Zheping, *China and UNESCO: An Empirical Study of International Organizations’ Impact on Member States* (Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House, 2010)

the UN was partially due to the Allies', and especially the Big Three's, concern with maintaining the emerging power balances, although its mandate is universalist in tone²⁵. The engagement of China in UNESCO is a typical case of China's involvement in the UN system established to police and govern world affairs in the post-WWII era. But China's foreign relations, including its relations with the UN and its specialized agency – UNESCO, were confined by the global actor-network of power politics, particularly those of the Big Three after WWII and the bipolarities of the Cold War. The controversial issue around China's legal seat in the UNESCO and the UN system is a typical case of the seeming inability of the post-war global institutions to deal with conflicts that have historical roots in "unfinished business" dating back to the post-war era.

1.4 UNESCO–China Relations in Science: Acting-Networking “Mr. Science” through the platform of UNESCO

As demonstrated by the functionalism embedded in these IOs, UNESCO's belief in expert knowledge leads to its general interest in “elaborating how science could be mobilized as an instrument of progressive global reform”²⁶. UNESCO has a concern in promoting science to cultivate the intellectual solidarity of mankind for fostering global peace. According to UNESCO, the role of science in building world peace has two potential avenues: technologically improving the material conditions of humankind by guiding the development of natural resources; and intellectually changing the way people think, i.e. providing a universal epistemology that enables diverse peoples to collaborate in order to build a world community²⁷. Science together with democracy, had been introduced and promoted in China with the nicknames of “Mr. Science” and “Mr. Democracy” during the New Culture Movement, through which Chinese intellectuals sought to create a new culture for China. UNESCO–China relations in the field of Science were largely built upon a major aspect in the intellectual history

²⁵ Phillip W. Jones, *International Policies for the Third World Education: UNESCO, Literacy and Development* (London: Routledge, 1988), P.7

²⁶ Perrin Selcer, *Patterns of Science: Developing Knowledge for a World Community at UNESCO* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2011), P.3

²⁷ Ibid

of modern China, the emergence of Scientism, i.e. the authority of modern Science in modern China and an actor-network of knowledge, personnel and institutions etc. mobilized by Scientism²⁸.

In its poignant encounter with advanced industrialized imperial powers, the metaphor of the Sick Man of East Asia developed into a medicalized perspective on China's general backwardness. In its search for a resolution, the rulers and intellectual elites of China had addressed Science in programs devised for national salvation and national rejuvenation²⁹. Science was heavily loaded with nationalism in modern China. The question why pre-modern China could not develop modern science like Western Europe, later would be formulated as "Needham Question", had shamed and confused many Chinese intellectuals before it perplexed the historians of science and technology of East Asia. The belief that China had severe deficiencies in factual scientific knowledge leading to the country's defeat in its encounter with the West the modern era had driven many enlightened Chinese intellectuals to admire "Mr. Science"³⁰. Many of these scholars received their higher education in Europe and the USA and they played an important role in introducing Mr. Science, typically represented by the pragmatist John Dewey, to China.

The role of Mr. Science in national salvation and national rejuvenation has several layers of significance for Chinese intellectual elites: to foster a scientific epistemology in China, to apply scientific methodology to cultural production and political life, to apply scientific solutions to the problems that the country was facing. Being convinced that only science could save the nation, Chinese scientists and scientific community had dedicated to scientific research even during tough wartime period. British internationalist scientist Joseph Needham (1900-1995) helped to assist scientific life in China via the Sino-British Scientific Cooperation Office (SBSCO) and later UNESCO. To fully embrace science, China became very interested in the relations and cooperation with UNESCO and welcomed scientific organs with UNESCO affiliation to locate in China.

²⁸ D. W.Y. Kwok, *Scientism in Chinese Thought 1900-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965)

²⁹ Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006)

³⁰ Lam Tong, *A Passion for Facts, Social Survey and the Construction of the Chinese Nation-State, 1900-1949* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2011)

The destructive power of nuclear weapons indicated the necessity of harnessing science for peaceful use for global security's sake. To avoid the dangerous dualism between science and other dimensions of life, such as culture, British biologist Joseph Needham maintained that science-the natural science should become an intrinsic part of a humanist outlook³¹. But what is more remarkable is that Needham drew upon his experience of scientific internationalism in leading SBSCO in wartime China and sought to propose a more efficient mode of scientific cooperation for a rational reconstruction in the post-war era, which finally shaped the earlier work of UNESCO in the field of science.

Needham's connections with actor-networks of science in China greatly paved the way for bridging the historical relations between UNESCO and China, and in particular in the field of Science, from the very moment when the organ was negotiated and prepared for its initial development. Chinese scientists and scientific community had exerted a great deal of agency in helping to make "Science" in the acronym of UNESCO. Needham's wartime experience of scientific cooperation had a big impact on the initial development of UNESCO, the Field Science Cooperation Offices (FSCO) system and the story of UNESCO East Asia Scientific Cooperation Office in China. Although this was short-lived, it presented a vivid example of a highly interactive and efficient actor-network of scientific liaison at global-regional-national-local levels as envisioned by Needham and UNESCO.

1.5 UNESCO-China Relations in Education: Experimenting with a Healthy Village in West China

Since UNESCO was mainly born out of CAME (Conference of Ministers of Education of the Allied Governments), educational reconstruction captured much of the attention of UNESCO in its early period. The logics of scientific humanism implied the perfection of the human condition and the myth of the unlimited advancement of scientific knowledge through a free and unrestrained flow of ideas,

³¹ Elena. A. Aronova, *Studies of Science before "Science Studies": Cold War and the Politics of Science in the U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R., 1950s-1970s* (Doctoral dissertation, UC San Diego, 2012), Chapter UNESCO, "Scientific Humanism" and the Transformations of the Agenda for History of Science in the Aftermath of WWII and Beyond, 1940s-1960s, pp. 31-79

which would be carried out by a universal system of education³². This laid down the intellectual framework for UNESCO's first educational flagship program "Fundamental Education". Through implementing Fundamental Education, the founding fathers of UNESCO aimed at more than just eradicating illiteracy, rather a fully-fledged rational reconstruction plan to improve living standards in the undeveloped areas. To render "conscious and considered assistance of evolution by educated intelligent men", the founding fathers of UNESCO had a belief in the potency of science and expertise brought about by education, in the efficacy of a systematic scientific approach to matters of public administration guided by social science³³.

Looking at the history of UNESCO's Fundamental Education program, a global actor-network shared similar beliefs in the efficacy of the modern science of education. The loosely connected global network engaged in formulating and promoting this UNESCO initiative, including educational groups in the UK, the New Educational Fellowship (NEF),³⁴ and the Progressive Education Association (PEA) in the USA³⁵. The fact is that this global actor-network ranged from governmental officials and educationalists in China to university professors at home and abroad, from Chinese intellectuals to foreign missionaries etc. The Chinese National Association of Mass Education Movement (MEM), American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA) and Rockefeller Foundation were also part of the global story of the post-WWII reconstruction project in China. The role that they played were significant and they competed as well as cooperated with UNESCO's efforts in promoting fundamental education. This global actor-network of concepts, ideas, personnel and institutes of experimental social engineering via systematic educational programs with the goal of societal reconstruction had a diverse ideational spectrum, encompassing liberalism, Christian evangelism, Confucianism and even radical Communism.

³² Vincenzo Pavone (2008), pp.57-59

³³ Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane Penguin Books, 2012), P. 99

³⁴ Celia M. Jenkins, *The Professional Middle Class and the Social Origins of Progressivism: A Case Study of the New Education Fellowship, 1920-1950* (Doctoral dissertation, University of London, 1989); Joseph Watras, The New Education Fellowship and UNESCO's Programme of fundamental education, *Paedagogical Historica*, 47:1-2, pp.191-205

³⁵ Joseph Watras, Was Fundamental Education Another Form of Colonialism? *International Review of Education*, Vol.53, No.1 (Jan 2007), pp.55-72

In particular, a huge actor-network had applied an experimental approach in mass education and rural reconstruction movements that mostly began with literacy education then expanded into a public health campaign and economic cooperatives etc.³⁶. Largely because of this, China was presented in American renown author Pearl S. Buck's book, *Tell The People*, and the *Reader's Digest*, *Time* magazine and other American media as the pioneer country in experimenting with fundamental education, an experience that had been synthesized and would be applicable in other countries beyond China. This historical background made China a significant and exemplary case for UNESCO for experimenting with a globalist, education-driven development program in the form of a pilot project that was then replicated in other undeveloped areas. Hence, this actor-network paved the way for China's involvement in a post-war Fundamental Education initiative under the auspices of UNESCO and further acted as a bridge for UNESCO–China relations in the field of Fundamental Education as expressed in a UNESCO Regional Study Conference and a UNESCO pilot project located in China.

The grand design that drew on the historical legacy of this global actor-network was as much imbued with idealism as it was loaded with real politics, leading to the channeling of UNESCO–China cooperation into a single audio-visual pilot project with the subject of “Healthy Village”. The UNESCO Audio-Visual Project (UNESCO AVP) aimed to experiment by teaching Chinese villagers health and hygiene knowledge using audio-visual aids. However, the implementation, the financial resources, the organization of personnel, the production of the audio-visual materials and the application of these materials in local health campaigns were then confronted with the multiple challenges generated by the civil war between KMT and CCP and the dynamics within the network, ranging from politicians, local Chinese educationists, such as James Yen, to missionary educationists such as Hugh Hubbard etc. The results of the conflicts between the Communists and Nationalists led to Communist victory, resulting the eventual termination of the international project.

Like UNESCO's East Asian Field Science Cooperation Office (EAFSCO), UNESCO Audio-Visual Project (AVP) in West China was also short-lived and therefore could not achieve the long-term all-inclusive

³⁶ Kate Merkel-Hess, *The Rural Modern: Reconstructing the Self and the State in Republican China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016)

goals that UNESCO expected as laid down at the "UNESCO Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in Far East" in Nanjing. However, the impacts of the prominent educationists, the methodology and techniques discussed at the Nanjing Conference, managed to survive outside mainland China and continued to exert influence over the international rural reconstruction movement and UNESCO's Fundamental Education program until the 1960s. As an international cooperation program, UNESCO AVP – with only a limited budget – had recruited experienced experts and drawn upon cross-cultural conversations and negotiations over a longer period of cultural exchange dating back to 19th Century China to achieve a hybrid visual idiom that could exert certain visual impacts for Chinese audiences. UNESCO AVP fulfilled the mission of a "Pilot Project", demonstrating how an international organ could cooperate with grassroots activists in public health education in the framework of a rural community and managed to produce some visual and direct impacts.

As a subproject of the Global History of UNESCO project, this dissertation undertakes the research task of examining UNESCO's impacts in China. This dissertation aims to explore the mutual impacts of the UNESCO–China relationship by mapping out the relations between UNESCO and China during the often-neglected historical period of 1945-1950 in three major aspects: cultural internationalism, global scientific liaison and global education. By locating this study in the context of modern China, this dissertation will attempt to identify how the globalist-oriented intellectual organ has relied upon and mobilized an existing actor-network in its mission of global peace-making via intellectual cooperation. By studying UNESCO's presence in post-war and civil war period in China, this dissertation will try to explain how UNESCO's idealized formulation, mobilization and implementation has been largely shaped and confined by real politics in member states and geopolitics in international relations. By focusing on the interaction between UNESCO and China in the historical period identified above, this dissertation aims to provide some "lost" links in the current narrative of UNESCO, in particular UNESCO's FSCO and Fundamental Education, while providing the historical trajectory for Beijing's relations with UNESCO at the present time.

Chapter 2 Clarification of Concepts

2.1 UNESCO

2.1.1 UNESCO as an International Organization (IO): Authority and Autonomy

UNESCO is one of the present-day cohort of 38,000 international organizations, which include an enormous variety of both international governmental organizations (IGO) as well as international nongovernmental organizations (INGO)¹. From the first international organization founded in 1815 and in the following 100 years most IOs had technical standardization agendas, while World War I and the creation of the League of Nations and, not the least, World War II and the creation of the United Nations gave weight to IOs with a focus on peacekeeping agendas.² An IGO is a formal entity formed by an internationally recognized treaty between member states and possesses a permanent secretariat and/or permanent staff³. INGOs are associations that are set up by private individuals and groups. Generally, IGOs tend to carry more weight in the global political system because their decisions are based on the authority of the nation states' political systems and vice-versa and have the authority to make recommendations with an impact on national legislation⁴.

From a realist IR perspective, nation states are the most prominent actors in the international community. Influenced by this state-centrism, IR studies in the 1970s and 1980s mainly concerned states and states' actions and tended to see IOs and especially IGOs as byproducts of state actions. However, constructivist IR scholars such as Martha Finnemore and Michael Barnett look beyond the state-centrism and argue that international organizations have an independent ontological status drawing upon the theories of organizations and bureaucracies in sociology; hence, IOs are, to a certain degree,

¹ The Union of International Associations (ed.): *Yearbook of International Organizations. Guide to a Global Civil Society Networks*, 51. ed., vol. 5, 2014-2015 (Leiden: Brill 2015), p. 25, and Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p.4

² Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations. From 1815 to the Present Day* (New York: Routledge, 2009) and Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane Penguin Books, 2012), pp. 65-115

³ Jon Pevehouse, Timothy Nordstrom and Kevn Warnke, Chapter International Governmental Organizations, in Paul F. Diehl ed. *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2005), 3rd edition, pp.9-24

⁴ Harold K. Jacobson (1979), p.5

independent actors whose autonomy derives from the authorities⁵. They argue that there are four types of authority that undergird IOs: the rational-legal authority in their domain of action; the delegated authority deriving from member states; the moral authority generated by their impersonal and neutral claims about their pursuit of certain sets of shared if not all universal values; and the expert authority in deploying professional and specialized knowledge in an impartial and technocratic way⁶.

UNESCO, a specialized agency for intellectual cooperation within the UN system, as an IGO, has four types of authority: the rational-legal and delegated authority as originally set up; its Constitutions signed by 44 member states in 1945 in the ashes of WWII; the moral authority as claimed in its Constitution to foster peace in the mindset of mankind; and expert authority in the field of science, education and culture. It is the *rational-legal* and *delegated authority* that put UNESCO “in authority” that is recognized by international society as legitimizing it to take actions. It is its *moral* and *expert authority* that make UNESCO an authority, which again makes UNESCO–China relations meaningful for Chinese intellectuals who sought dignity for China through the platform of UNESCO, as well as the allocation of material resources and technical assistance to China to benefit the wider Chinese population.

2.1.2 UNESCO as Intellectual Spearhead of the UN

As an IO, UNESCO possesses four types of authority, as mentioned above, but as an IGO often enjoys a compromised autonomy because it is situated in the system of its parent organ – the UN. The UN was born out of the founding conference at San Francisco in April 1945, with 46 countries signing up to the Charter of the United Nations. When it comes to the formation of UNESCO, many scholars refer to the international institutions dating back to the interwar period such as the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), the International Bureau of Education (IBE) or wartime CAME as its predecessor. The inception of UNESCO was a result of the negotiation and cooperation between several parties, mainly the British-led CAME, with the USA taking a leading role in the formation of

⁵ Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004)

⁶ *Ibid*, pp.16-44

the new UN and France providing intellectual leadership in ICIC's executive organ - the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC)⁷. The draft constitution was proposed and submitted by CAME and approved at the London conference, and signed by 44 national delegates on 16 November 1945. The constitution took effect after it was ratified by 20 UN member states in 1946.

UNESCO deals with the soft issues for the UN and the former director of IIIC, the French diplomat Henri Bonnet (1888-1978) has called it as the intellectual "spearhead of the United Nations"⁸. The Constitution states that the general purpose of UNESCO is to "contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations" (Article I)⁹. The functionalist design of the organ is manifested in that the mission UNESCO bore was regarded as the yardstick for measuring its work, i.e. the various activities of UNESCO were deliberately designed as a means to a goal not ends in themselves, as a medium through which science, culture and education could be applied to the problem of maintaining peace and improving the welfare of mankind represented by the UN¹⁰.

The Agreement resulting from the negotiation between the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the agencies in 1946 was approved by the UN General Assembly in December 1946¹¹. The Preparatory Commission of UNESCO had signed it even before the UN General Assembly and the agreement was formally approved by the UNESCO First General Conference in November 1946, which provided the legal basis for the relationship and practical collaboration between the UN and UNESCO¹².

⁷ H. H. Krill De Capello, *The Creation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Organization*, 1970, Vol.24(1), pp.1-30

⁸ Henri Bonnet, UNESCO, *Spearhead of the United Nations*, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors (1915-1955)*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Winter, 1946), pp.605-620

⁹ UNESCO, *Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Adopted in London on 16 November 1945* (London: Preparatory Commission of the UNESCO, 1945)

¹⁰ Byron Dexter, *Yardstick for UNESCO*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 28, No.1 (Oct. 1949), pp.56-67

¹¹ Walter R. Sharp (1947), *The Specialized and the United Nations: Progress Report I*, *International Organization*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Sep. 1947), pp.460-474

¹² *Ibid*

The authority of UNESCO is thereby enhanced, as UNESCO is a specialized agency in the UN. The UN is the only universal, general-purpose IGO, which bestows on it a symbolic importance for many member states especially postcolonial countries, such that they are reluctant to withdraw from it¹³. This further makes membership of UNESCO important for China, especially when Chinese government needs the international recognition.

2.1.3 UNESCO as an IGO: Bureaucracy of “wheels within wheels”

In the year of 1947, the family of UN specialized agencies had embraced 10 permanent organizations concerned with international trade and finance, communication and transport, health and welfare, which included UNESCO for scientific, educational and cultural cooperation¹⁴. Technically, each agency has its own “sovereign” policymaking assembly or conference, its own executive board or council, and its own administrative and technical staff¹⁵. UNESCO’s goal of achieving world community aligned idealism with bureaucratic calculation¹⁶. The structure of UNESCO was laid out in the proposal presented by the French Government at the founding conference in November 1945 in London and drew on the tradition of ICIC¹⁷. UNESCO’s bodies today still include the General Conference, an Executive Board, Secretariat and National Commissions, the involvement of leading representatives from literature, human and natural sciences, social sciences, the arts and the mass media in addition to governmental delegations.

The General Conference is the highest authority and takes place every other year, which the national delegations of all member states will attend. The Executive Board’s role is to manage the administration and it is made up of delegates elected by the General Conference, who usually meet twice a year. The General Conference makes decisions on programs drawn up by the Executive Board, with the latter being charged with proposing its agenda and program of work. Then it has a Secretariat, which is structured according to subject matter and consist of international civil servants, experts and general staff under the

¹³ Paul F. Diehl (2005), P.4

¹⁴ Walter R. Sharp (1947)

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Perrin Selcer, *The Postwar Origins of the Global Environment: How the United Nations Built Spaceship Earth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), P. 15

¹⁷ H. H. Krill De Capello (1970)

leadership of the Director-General as the chief administrative officer, whose role is to implement the program approved by the General Conference. The responsibilities of the Director-General increased after 1952 from of budget estimation to include both program planning and budget-making, leaving the Executive Board the responsibility of making observations on the Director-General's proposals¹⁸.

Aside from its General Conference and Executive Board, UNESCO also fosters a bunch of international research institutes located in different cities charged with fulfilling the plans laid out by UNESCO and a bunch of INGOs of a professional character such as the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), the International Political Science Association (IPSA), International Council of Philosophy and the Humanistic Sciences (ICPHS), and the International Council of Museums (ICOM) etc. which perform some duties that the Secretariat would otherwise bear¹⁹. Member states are also interested in participating in these organs.

American historian of international relations Perrin Selcer has conceptualized the UN specialized agencies such as UNESCO as a tripartite structures, involving the first UN-the general conference; the second UN-the executive board and the third UN which includes affiliated NGOs, independent experts and activists etc.²⁰ This bureaucratic logic is very helpful in understanding UNESCO and UNESCO–China relations as it is mainly through this “wheels within wheels” system that member states like China officially interact with UNESCO. Although international experts and civil servants passionately embrace the cosmopolitan values of UNESCO, the operation of UNESCO and the implementation of UNESCO's projects often cross the boundary between bureaucratic and political borders, which also characterizes the relations between UNESCO and China.

¹⁸ Luther H. Evans, Some Management Problems of UNESCO, *International Organization*, Vol. 17, No.1 (Winter, 1963), pp.76-90

¹⁹ Ibid, P. 84

²⁰ Perrin Selcer (2018), P. 16

2.2 China

2.2.1 China as a State

China as a state is a vague concept and often has multiple references, which often overfold and intertwine with each other. As Chinese intellectual historian Ge Zhaoguang argues, there are three directions from which to understand the nation-state of “China”, i.e. China is a space with a relatively stable central region and mobile borders from a historical perspective; China has a clear and stable core cultural community; and China often refers to a dynasty or government which claims the legitimacy of its rule in terms of political system²¹. For the UN, the universal intergovernmental organization, which is based on sovereign nation-states, China as a member state, with its territories and population and political institutions, is officially represented by its government. China as a modern nation-state is often regarded as a very recent creation, obliged by her own weakness to join in the international system on the terms of the dominant European powers²². But China as a state cannot be simply equated with its government and vice versa.

China had been waning and transforming in many aspects, in particular its political organization, since the late Qing. After a series of reforms, movements, and even a revolution, China was put into the new experimental regime of the Republic of China after 1911 with Sun Yatsen as the founding father. China’s aims of trying to build up a modern electoral republic were only partially realized due to the restoration of the monarchy by Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) in 1915, and China was not truly a unity at any point between 1916 and 1949. Very rapidly, the Republic of China became trapped in military warlordism under the Beijing Government. China was then symbolically unified under the Nationalist Government of ROC, set up in Nanjing in 1928, which was controlled by KMT under the leadership of Chiang Kaishek (1887-1975). But the Nationalist Government only managed to control the major coastal provinces, the Yangtze Delta, and central provinces. Many provinces in the North, Manchuria in the Northeast, Xinjiang in the Northwest and Sichuan in the Southwest etc., were still controlled by local warlords, which created a great deal of trouble for Chiang’s government in collecting

²¹ Ge Zhaoguang, translated by Jesse Field and Qin Fang, *Here in China I Dwell: Reconstructing Historical Discourses of China for our Time* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), P.27

²² Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), P.245

taxes and recruiting soldiers regardless of the symbolic claim²³. It also caused the split and triparty envisioning of China's future during the second Sino-Japanese war 1931-1945, during most of which there were three governments located in different capitals claiming the legitimacy of China²⁴.

At the conclusion of World War II, the discussion of making a new China involved many political groups in China including KMT, CCP and other parties. But it was Nationalist Government, dominated by KMT that represented China in the negotiation of post-war international institutions and sent national delegations to the founding conferences of UN and its specialized agency UNESCO. Nationalist Government kept the legal seats of China in the UN and UNESCO from 1949-1971. Communist Government (the People's Republic of China, PRC) did not take the legal seats until 1971. China's membership of the UN and its relations with the UN's specialized agency, UNESCO, offers an opportunity to explore how China saw itself as a nation-state and engaged in the protocols of a nation-state²⁵.

2.2.2 China as Cultural Identity

China existed as a recognizable and continuing entity and polity long before China became a modern state in the international law. As American Sinologist Lucian Pye observes, China is a civilization pretending to be a nation-state²⁶. British scholar Martin Jacques also argues that compared to the national identity in Western countries, which is shaped by their history as nation-states, Chinese identity derives overwhelmingly from civilizational history; thus, Chinese civilization is like a "very old geological formation, its multitudinous layers comprising the civilization-state, with the nation-state as the top soil"²⁷.

China as a civilization, embraces several civilizational elements, such as languages (Chinese language, standard writing regardless of various dialects), values and norms (Confucianism), the structure of social relationships (guanxi, filial piety, lineage) etc. It is this cultural identity of Chinese civilization (华夏文明) that China as a state must preserve, obliged by the

²³ Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984)

²⁴ Rana Mitter, *Forgotten Ally: China's WWII 1937-1945* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013)

²⁵ Martin Jacques (2012), P.296

²⁶ Lucian W. Pye, *Erratic State, Frustrated Society*, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.69, No.4 (Fall, 1990), pp.56-74

²⁷ Martin Jacques (2012), pp.244-252

Mandate of Heaven (天命)²⁸. Ge Zhaoguang elucidates that there are several important aspects of Han Chinese culture in general: the use of Chinese characters to read and write, as well as modes of thought and expression that are derived from Chinese characters; the orthodox set of Confucian ideals; the fusion of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism; the whole set of knowledge, ideas and technologies that are based on the pursuit of “the unity of Heaven and man” (天人合一), such as the dialectic relationship between Yin and Yang and among the five elements (阴阳五行), which are presented in Chinese medicine, fengshui and aesthetics etc.²⁹. According to American anthropologist Myron L. Cohen, being Chinese means full participation in the total political, religious, cultural and social arrangements of the Chinese state and Chinese civilization, which is firstly incarnated in the symbols, rituals and lore of local culture embedded and reinforced by a total cosmic plan that embraces the natural, supernatural, the family, society, the state and the universe³⁰.

Consequently, although China has a continental size, a large population, diverse ethnic groups, many dialects and local customs etc., what binds the Chinese together is the sense of belonging to China’s civilizational past. China is depicted by Jacques as having a double identity as a nation-state and, furthermore, as a civilization-state, which adds an interesting dimension to understanding the formation of the entangled nature of UNESCO–China relations. It is these civilizational elements as an important aspect of the Oriental civilizations that Chinese intellectual Lin Yutang (1895-1976) who enjoyed great fame as an intellectual bridging the East and the West and worked in UNESCO for a while, sought to promote through the platform of UNESCO³¹.

But the collective identity of civilizational China requires closer examination to better understand the details of UNESCO–China relations. This raises the question of what counts as Chinese culture. Chinese culture has evolved constantly throughout history, a topic which is beyond the research realm of this dissertation. However, it is reasonable to point out that the national identity, state ideology and cultural orientations of Han “China” grew out of the diversity of the Hundred Schools (Confucianism, Taoism, Moism, Legalism etc.) during the

²⁸ Martin Jacques (2012), P.251

²⁹ Ge Zhaoguang (2018), pp.96-98

³⁰ Myron L. Cohen, Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity, in Tu Weiming ed. *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp.88-108

³¹ Lin Yutang, Orient-Occident Cultural Cooperation Stressed, *UNESCO Courier*, September 1948, P. 3 and P.6

Axis period—Warring states period and took shape during the unification under the Qin and Han dynasties³². More and more historical evidence indicates that China has had either close or distant relationships of exchange with foreign cultures since ancient times, such as Tungusic, ancient Persian or Indian culture, which have generated rich academic outputs either in China or abroad³³. Undoubtedly, many of these foreign elements were integrated into Chinese culture, for instance Neo-Confucianism emerged partially due to the intellectual challenge posed by Buddhism imported from India and became the orthodox ideology all the way to the end of the Qing dynasty. Chinese identity is complicated by the turbulent modern history of China since 1840, which saw the overwhelming presence of Western and Japanese powers, resulting in a crisis of identity, particularly among the elites³⁴. Chinese experience in modern history would greatly affect how China viewed UNESCO and interacted with UNESCO during the course of UNESCO–China relations.

As the American Chinese scholar Tu Weiming points out, “Chineseness” is always intertwined with and often inseparable from the Han race – the descendants of Yellow Emperor, the divine land (神州), language and faith etc.³⁵. However, a definition of Chineseness that focuses on the Han race, speaking Mandarin or practicing Confucian code of ethics etc., will be an oversimplification and is unsatisfactory in terms of analyzing UNESCO–China relations. Because being Chinese often entangles the idea of China as a geopolitical concept and Chinese culture as a living reality and dynamic landscape³⁶, the complexity of which makes the UNESCO–China relationship an interesting topic. Tu Weiming proposes that cultural China could be examined as the continuous interaction between three symbolic universes, which include: societies populated predominantly by cultural and ethnic Chinese such as mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong and Singapore; the overseas

³² Ge Zhaoguang (2018), pp.99-103

³³ Many scholars dedicate in this field. Just briefly mentioned a few names here. Lin Meicun, as a Chinese archaeologist, has contributed much in this field, a list of his publications could be found in this website: <http://archaeology.pku.edu.cn/Faculty/a/a/c/2015/11/9/1448939989784.shtml>. Foreign scholars such as Edward H. Shafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of Tang's Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963). Recently, Lucas Nickel's research on the Terracotta Warriors is impressive in connecting China with Hellenistic Culture, The First Emperor and Sculpture in China, *Bulletin of SOAS*, 76, 3 (2013), pp. 413-447

³⁴ Tu Weiming, *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), Preface

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Tu Weiming (2005), Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center, *Daedalus*, Vol. 134, No.4, 50 years (Fall, 2005), pp.145-167

Chinese communities throughout the world, quite often referred to as the Chinese “diaspora”; and the intellectuals (journalists, writers, scholars, teachers etc.), traders, entrepreneurs etc. who try to understand China intellectually and bring their conceptions of China to their own linguistic communities³⁷. Since UNESCO is an intellectual IO, the third categorization of China offers an inspiring analytical dimension for this dissertation because quite a few overseas Chinese intellectuals were involved in UNESCO as well as foreign intellectuals who would help to promote understanding about China through UNESCO, such as Joseph Needham³⁸.

Inspired by this framework, geographically this dissertation will focus on mainland China, the “proper” China, and will not include Singapore and Hong Kong because both were under British colonial governance during the period 1945-1950. Taiwan will capture more attention after the Nationalist Government fled to Taiwan in 1949, since it was the Taipei government that represented China in the UN and UNESCO till 1971. However, Taiwan will be mentioned in only a few cases between 1945 and 1950 since the Nationalist Government still exerted its governance in mainland China and acted on behalf of China in the international community.

Geographically, most activities encompassed in UNESCO–China relations during the period 1945-1950 took place at the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris and in the territories of mainland China, which will be the focus of the dissertation. But, since the preparatory work of UNESCO was mostly done in other places, such as London, and some of UNESCO’s activities such as international conferences that China participated in occurred in other countries, a few other places will be also included in the dissertation.

2.3 Impact and Relationship

2.3.1 Impact

On the one hand, IOs possess autonomy and exhibit their autonomy in their actions. Given that they have the four types of authority, embodied in the necessary bureaucratic bodies, IOs are in a position to maneuver resources so that they can exercise their behavior and

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Simon Winchester, *Bomb, Book and Compass: Joseph Needham and the Great Secrets of China*, first published in USA as *The Man who Loved China* by Harper Collins 2008, first published in the UK by Viking 2008

exert influence or effects in the international community. Finnemore and Barnett describe this as “Power”, i.e. to produce regulative and constitutive effects in the world that could shape the capacities and behavior of actors by the deployment of authority, expertise knowledge and rules³⁹. This definition works well in describing UNESCO, since UNESCO aims to produce mental engineering through intellectual cooperation in science, education and culture. According to Barnett, there are four types of power: compulsory power is the direct control of an actor over another actor institutive power refers to the indirect control of one actor over a socially distant other; structural power means the direct and mutual constitution of the capacities of actors; and productive power is the production of subjects through diffuse social relations⁴⁰. The power of IOs usually falls into all four categories. Drawing upon Max Weber’s definition that the heart of power is social control based on knowledge, be it steering, guiding, regulating or even imposing, IOs could regulate and constitute the world through the classification of problems, actors and action, fixing meanings in the social world and by articulating and diffusing new norms and rules. ⁴¹ The UN peace-keeping mission is a typical example of the compulsory power that IOs exhibit. UNESCO is a typical IO in that it has institutive and productive power, and as a teacher of norms and rules⁴².

“Power” may seem a little bit hegemonic for a humanitarian IO that aims at fostering peace among mankind such as UNESCO; and tends to overestimate the role of IOs, since IOs are neither omnipotent nor obsequious. There is another similar concept to describe the results and effects that IOs generate – “impact”. Impact could be defined as results (whether desirable or undesirable, transient or permanent, immediate or delayed) attained by some activity (whether a program, or part of a program, a drug or therapy, long-range or a short-range) designed to accomplish some valued goal or objective (whether ultimate, immediate or intermediate, effort or performance, long or short-term)⁴³. Impact is often referred to as

³⁹ Michael Barnett, Martha Finnemore (2004), P.29

⁴⁰ Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, Power in International Politics, *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No.1 (Winter, 2005), pp.39-75

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Martha Finnemore, International Organization as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy, *International Organization*, Vol. 47 (Autumn, 1993), pp.565-597

⁴³ Francis W. Hoole, Evaluating the Impact of International Organization, *International Organization*, Vol. 31, No.3 (Summer, 1977), pp.541-563

quantifiable results or outputs, and especially in the field of international development, impact evaluation is principally concerned with the final results of interventions (programs, projects, policy measures, reforms) on the welfare of communities, households and individuals⁴⁴. For instance, the Network of Networks on Impact Evaluation (NONIE), involving the impact evaluation network of the OECD and the UN, adopts the definition of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). For NONIE, impacts are the positive and negative, primary and secondary long-term effects produced by a development intervention, directly or indirectly, intended or unintended⁴⁵. It is a reasonable measure for IOs, since they are keen to know what difference they have made, especially when they are undergoing a crisis in relation to their effectiveness and capability to perform their tasks.

2.3.2 Relationship

From a sociological perspective, “relationship” denotes the behavior of a plurality of actors, which means that the action of each actor takes account of that of the others and is oriented in these terms, thus consists entirely and exclusively of a probability that there will be a course of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects.⁴⁶ “Action” is included in all human behavior when/as the acting individual/individuals attach a subjective meaning to it, be the meaning either overt or inward, rational or irrational, positive intervention or passive acquiescence in a situation or deliberately refraining from a situation. Action is social and relevant to relationship, in the sense that it takes account of the behavior of others and orients its course accordingly. There must be a minimum of mutual orientation of the action of each to that of others. But the meanings imputed to the parties in a given concrete case can be subjective. Hence, they need not necessarily be the same for all the parties who are mutually oriented in a given social relationship, not to mention that one party may often partly or wholly erroneously presume a particular attitude towards himself on the part of the other and orient his action to this wrong expectation. In this sense, there need not be “reciprocity” in a relationship. It

⁴⁴ Frans Leeuw, Jos Vaessen, *Impact Evaluations and Development: NONIE Guidance on Impact Evaluation* (NONIE—The Network of Networks on Impact Evaluation, 2009)

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964)

is all too common that parties associate different meaning with their actions, and the relationship is therefore asymmetrical from the point of view of the two parties. According to Weber, a relationship is communal if the orientation of social action is based on a subjective feeling of belonging between the parties; and a relationship is associative if the orientation of social action rests on a rational motivated adjustment of interests or rational judgement regarding absolute values.

Relations are nothing new for IR scholars since they are the inquiry object of IR. But relations do not gain the ontological status of basic analytical entity, neither in sociology nor in the IR discipline⁴⁷. The majority of IR theories presume entities such as states to be the substantialist starting point, and that relations are conceived as those between states⁴⁸. The “relational turn” in recent IR studies, represented by “processual-relationalism” in Anglophone academia and “processual constructivism” in Sinophone academia, has begun to focus on relations and proposes treating configurations of ties or relations as the building blocks of social analysis⁴⁹. Finnish IR scholar Emilian Kavalski argues that, Guanxi (关系) which means relations, or relationship “illuminates that the complex patterns of global life resonate with fragility, fluidity and mutuality of global interactions”⁵⁰. According to the relationists, international society is a “relational web” whose dynamics are embedded within relations and emerge from the contingent figurations of interaction; and global life is considered as the complex networks of flowing relations in which each line or knot or relational network moves generating dynamics for the process⁵¹. Process, defined by Chinese IR scholar Qin Yaqing as relations in motion, plays a key and irreplaceable role in social life and possesses ontological significance; thus, to maintain a process is to maintain and allow room for relationships to flow, which activates the interaction⁵². This dissertation about the historical relations between UNESCO and China is inspired by the “relational turn”

⁴⁷ Mustafa Emirbayer, Manifesto for a Relational Sociology, *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1997, Vol.103(2), pp.281-317

⁴⁸ Patrick Thaddeus Jackson and Daniel H. Nexon, Relations before States: Substance, Process and the Study of World Politics, *European Journal of International Relations*, September 1999, Vol.5(3), pp.291-332

⁴⁹ Patrick Thaddeus Jackson and Daniel H. Nexon (1999); Qin Yaqing, Relationality and processual construction: Bringing Chinese Ideas into International Relations Theory, *Social Sciences in China*, 2009, Vol 30, No.3, pp.5-20; Emilian Kavalski, *The Guanxi of Relational International Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018)

⁵⁰ Emilian Kavalski (2018)

⁵¹ Qin Yaqing (2009)

⁵² Ibid

in IR studies and it will revisit the analytical dimension of member states regardless of claims for the Autonomy of IOs.

2.3.3 The Impacts of IOs in the Web of Relational Actors

Both “Power” and “Impact” connote relations although they seem to have a different emphasis. Power is produced in and through social relations, either through interaction or constitution, where the generation of power is either direct or indirect⁵³. The etymology of the word “impact” implies a process of pressing into something or coming into contact with something⁵⁴. Hence, whereas IOs such as UNESCO have complicated relationships of autonomy and interdependence, they are unavoidably related to a variety of other actors including states to generate impacts⁵⁵.

Among the actors, the member state is one of the most important building blocks of the international community through which IOs such as UNESCO exhibit their autonomy deriving from their authority, as well as the interdependence to produce certain impacts. First of all, as delegated by member states, the support of states is a crucial component of UNESCO’s authority; mandated by states, UNESCO should take the demands of states into consideration when they formulate policy⁵⁶. IOs do not merely do what certain states tell them to do; IOs represent the collective will of their members, while the members may have different interpretations of the mandates, missions and future initiatives that are designed to fulfill the various missions. It is a paradox that applies to all international bodies, and the tension between sovereignty and internationalism is inherent, persistent and unavoidable from the outset⁵⁷. Although the seemingly universal and often cosmopolitan moral claims of IOs often contrast with the self-serving claims of states, the interpretation and communication of these ideals could benefit states like China if they are steered in the direction of nationalist interests. IOs might promote state interests or may act against state interests; or IOs may fail to act and fail to carry out state demands; IOs may act where states

⁵³ Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (2005)

⁵⁴ Ivan Lind Christensen, Christian Ydesen, Routes of Knowledge: Toward a Methodological Framework for Tracing the Historical Impact of International Organizations, *European Education*, 03 July 2015, Vol.47(3), pp.274-288

⁵⁵ Michael Barnett, Martha Finnemore (2004), P. 11

⁵⁶ Ibid, P. 12

⁵⁷ Paul Kennedy (2006)

are indifferent, or IOs may change the broader environment and states' perceptions so that they are persuaded⁵⁸. Thus, the interactive relationship between an IO and its member states is of importance in understanding how IOs exert autonomy and produce impacts.⁵⁹

The dissertation will focus on UNESCO as an IGO. But, as illustrated above, UNESCO is just one agency of the UN family; and UNESCO also has its own "wheels within wheels". UNESCO is deeply embedded within a global network of IGOs and INGOs. Apart from the UN and UNESCO, the dissertation will also consider INGOs such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) into account when necessary⁶⁰. In addition, the role of transnational organizations such as religious bodies and business enterprises will also be touched on. Like IOs, transnational organizations also develop beyond one state⁶¹. They are different from IOs in the sense that the common interests that IOs claim to represent are mediated and shared among the member states and, equally, IOs are often seen as the arena for states to realize their national interests and enhance their power, while transnational organizations have their own interests, be it commercial or cultural, secular or religious⁶². Transnational organizations not only play a part in the global political system but are also actively engaged in international educational and cultural activities. The existing IGOs, INGOs and transnational organizations, built up a close partnership during the post-WWII period that would cover the globe with networks of shared interests and concerns⁶³. Thus, with a focus on UNESCO as a specialized agency of the universal IGO (the UN), this dissertation will also consider transnational organizations such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the Rockefeller Foundation etc. in its case analysis.

⁵⁸ Michael Barnett, Martha Finnemore (2004), P. 28

⁵⁹ Paul F. Diehl (2005), P.5

⁶⁰ Harold K. Jacobson (1979), pp.425-439

⁶¹ Ibid, pp.11-12

⁶² Samuel Huntington, Transnational Organizations in World Politics, *World Politics*, Apr 1, 1973, Vol.25(3), pp.333-368

⁶³ Akira Iriye (2002), P.43

Chapter 3 Research Discussion

3.1 Research about UNESCO

3.1.1 Overall Review

Both optimistic praise and critical assessments were heaped upon UNESCO and its activities as soon as UNESCO began to take effect¹. Journals such as *International Organization*, that was founded in 1947, two years after UNESCO was set up, immediately began to publish either reports or articles on UNESCO². In the 1950s and 1960s, the theory and practice of UNESCO was studied, and the evaluation of the role and impacts of UNESCO was conducted by scholars, even experts who were involved in UNESCO activities³. The American librarian and political scientist Luther Evans, who served as the Director-General of UNESCO between 1953 and 1958, reflected on the management problems of functions, organization and administration etc. within UNESCO from the perspective of an insider⁴. There has also been some serious research on the nature of UNESCO aid in member states since the 1960s⁵. UNESCO as a specialized agency of the UN is often mentioned in general IO studies, although these were fairly low-profile in the 1970s⁶. There are a couple of articles in the 1970s and 1980s that study the politicization of UNESCO and UNESCO's role in scientific

¹ C. H.D., Co-operation in Education, Science and Culture: The Work of U.E.S.C.O., *The World Today*, Vol. 2, No.7 (July. 1946), pp.339-348; Byron Dexter, UNESCO Faces Two Worlds, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 25, No.3, (April. 1947), pp.388-407; Byron Dexter, Yardstick for UNESCO, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Oct. 1949), pp.56-67

² <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization>

³ Reinhold Niebuhr, The Theory and Practice of UNESCO, *International Organization*, 1950, Vol.4(1), pp.3-11; Walter R. Sharp (1951), The Role of UNESCO: A Critical Evaluation, *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 1 January 1951, Vol.24(2), pp.101-114, pp.101-114; Charles S. Ascher, The Development of UNESCO's Program, *International Organization*, Vol.4, No.1 (Feb, 1950), pp.12-26; Walter H.C. Laves and Charles A. Thomson, *UNESCO: Purpose, Progress, Prospects* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957); T. V. Sathyamurthy, Twenty Years of UNESCO: Interpretation, *International Organization*, 1967, Vol.21(3), pp.614-633 For education, please see: C. H. Dobinson, Fundamental Education, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 1, No.2 (May, 1953), pp.121-130; Kent Pillsbury, *UNESCO Education in Action: A Field Study of the UNESCO Department of Education* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1963); Robert W. Cox, Education for Development, *International Organization*, 1968, Vol.22(1), pp.310-331

⁴ Luther H. Evans, Some Management Problems of UNESCO, *International Organization*, Vol. 17, No.1 (Winter, 1963), pp.76-90

⁵ Ronald C. Nairn, *International Aid to Thailand: The New Colonialism?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); Phillip W. Jones, *International Policies for Third World Education: UNESCO, Literacy and Development* (New York: Routledge, 1988)

⁶ Robert W. Cox and Harold K. Jacobson, *The Anatomy of Influence: Decision Making in International Organization*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979)

communication⁷. In the 1990s, UNESCO became the research focus of studies about the role of IOs in educational multilateralism in the global community⁸. More generally, as the major IGO concerned with the jurisdiction of science, education and culture, it is often mentioned in IO studies⁹. Since the start of the 21st century, much academic work has been done regarding the UNESCO World Heritage initiative and Intangible Cultural Heritage¹⁰.

Most of the studies on UNESCO before the 21st century were mostly conducted by independent scholars, most of whom come from IR or Political Science. A seriously organized historiography of UNESCO only began to flourish in the first decade of 21st century. UNESCO itself began to systematically reflect upon its past activities over the years and began to involve more scholars from outside before its 60th anniversary in 2005. It was the former Director-General Koichiro Matsuura who, leading up to the event, initiated the so-called “UNESCO History Project” in an administrative letter to UNESCO’s national commissions and delegations¹¹. The aim of the project was to examine UNESCO’s role in international relations in the past and to provoke a wider range of “decentralized” studies on the actions and impacts of UNESCO. It was an organic part of a bigger research program launched by the United Nations in 2001, “The United Nations Intellectual History Project”¹². Later in 2005, the “UNESCO History Project” was officially launched when UNESCO celebrated its 60th anniversary with an international symposium on “60 Years of UNESCO

⁷ Saville R. Davis, Documentary Study of the Politicization of UNESCO, *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 29, No.3 (Dec, 1975), pp.6-20; Jacques Tocatian, The Role of UNESCO in International Scientific Communication, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1988, Vol.495(1), pp.84-94

⁸ Connie L. McNeely, Prescribing National Education Policies: The Role of International Organizations, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 39, No.4 (Nov 1995), pp.483-507; Karen Mundy, Educational Multilateralism and World (Dis)Order, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (Nov 1998), pp.448-478,

⁹ Martha Finnemore, International Organization as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy, *International Organization*, Vol. 47 (Autumn, 1993), pp.565-597; Paul F. Diehl ed. *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2005)

¹⁰ J.A. Nafziger, Ann M. Nicgorski, *Cultural Heritage Issues: The Legacy of Conquest, Colonization and Commerce* (Leiden : Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2009); Silvia Borelli and Federico Lenzerini ed., *Cultural Heritage, Cultural Rights, Cultural Diversity: New Developments in International Law* (Leiden, Boston : Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2012); Irena Kozymka, *The Diplomacy of Culture: The Role of UNESCO in Sustaining Cultural Diversity* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

¹¹ UNESCO Archives, CL/3710, 30/04/2004, Director-General, Koichiro Matsuura, Subject: “UNESCO History Project”

¹² The United Nations Intellectual History Project (UNIHP) was launched in 1999 as an independent research effort based in the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. See Richard Jolly, Louis Emmerij, Dharam Ghai, and Frédéric Lapeyre, *UN Contributions to Development Thinking and Practice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004)

History” at its headquarters in Paris¹³. Many research outputs were produced, as UNESCO published a book on the general overview of the intellectual history of UNESCO and a book on its 60 years of work in the field of science.¹⁴

Consequently, a number of seminars stimulated by the UNESCO initiative were organized by UNESCO in collaboration with several universities, such as the seminar “Towards the Transnational History of International Organizations: Methodology/Epistemology” (King’s College, University of Cambridge, 6-7 April 2009), and the seminar “UNESCO and the Cold War” (Heidelberg Center for American Studies, Heidelberg University, 4-5 March 2010)¹⁵. All these factors inspired the launch of “The Route of Knowledge: Global History of UNESCO 1945-1975” project, sponsored by the Danish Council of Independent Research and housed at the Department of Culture and Global Studies at Aalborg University in Denmark. It is probably, scientifically and financially, the largest initiative for the investigation of UNESCO’s history that has ever been undertaken. Drawing on the roots of UNESCO, the Global History of UNESCO project is dedicated to assessing the exact impacts of UNESCO on its member states around the world and to figuring out how UNESCO, as an important part of post-WW II globalization, worked in practice¹⁶.

3.1.2 States of the Art and Challenge of Writing the History of UNESCO

The more organized and institutional historiography of writing about UNESCO at the beginning of the 21st century could be considered as a concentrated initiative for investigating UNESCO’s 70-year history. The research agenda has shifted from tracing the origins of certain initiatives at UNESCO House in Paris to exploring its initiatives outside the House across the globe. The Global History of UNESCO project has generated fruitful academic results, which have directly or indirectly contributed to two recent publications about UNESCO in which some of the contributors of the two projects overlap. Some of the results have been published under the title of *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and*

¹³ <http://www.unesco.org/archives/multimedia/?pg=54&pattern=UNESCO+History+Project>

¹⁴ Roger Pol Droit, *Humanity in the Making: Overview of the Intellectual History of UNESCO* (Paris: UNESCO, 2005); Petitjen, P., Zharov, V., Glaser, G. Richardson, J., de Padirac, B. and Archibald, G. ed., *Sixty Years of Science at UNESCO 1945-2005*(Paris: UNESCO, 2006).

¹⁵ https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/presse/news2010/pm20100225_unesco_en.html

¹⁶ <http://www.en.cgs.aau.dk/research/research-groups/unesco>

Impacts, edited by Poul Duedahl, the head of the project¹⁷. Scholars who contribute in the *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* have examined the impacts of UNESCO in facilitating the diffusion of knowledge and circulation of books; the impacts of UNESCO's post-war reconstruction; the impacts of UNESCO's field projects; the impacts of UNESCO's initiative in respect of heritage etc.¹⁸. A sub-project on UNESCO's educational policies and their implications around the globe has been conducted under the auspices of the Global History of UNESCO project and the results have been published under the title of *UNESCO without Borders: Educational Campaigns for International Understanding*, edited by Aigul Kulnazarova and Christen Ydesen¹⁹. The studies in this publication have a relatively narrow subject of investigating UNESCO's impacts in the field of educational policies on certain member states, such as its initiatives for textbook revision in the USA, Mexico and Japan etc., reconciliation education in Germany and Japan etc.²⁰. Both publications represent remarkable achievements, especially in an institutional way, in the stream of recent studies about UNESCO. More results of this project will follow in the years to come.

IOs themselves are keen to know the immediate impacts of their initiatives and interventions; while historians tend to trace the intangible impacts of UNESCO on the institutional and individual norms, international and national discourses, or the mentality and mindsets of groups and communities, i.e. the ideological dimension of impact²¹. As historian Poul Duedahl explains, historical impact studies are often "easy to begin with but

¹⁷ Poul Duedahl ed., *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)

¹⁸ Edgardo C. Krebs, *Popularizing Anthropology, Combating Racism: Alfred Métraux at the UNESCO Courier*, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp.29-48; Céline Giton (2016), *Weapons of Mass Distribution: UNESCO and the Impact of Books*, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp. 49-72; Miriam Intrator (2016), *UNESCO, Reconstruction, and Pursuing Peace through a "Library-Minded" World, 1945-1950*, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp.131-152; Jens Boel (2016), *UNESCO's Fundamental Education Program, 1946-1958: Vision, Actions and Impact*, pp.153-167. Just list a few of the contributions of the book, please see for more in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016)

¹⁹ Aigul Kulnazarova and Christen Ydesen, *UNESCO without Borders: Educational Campaigns for International Understanding* (London: Routledge, 2016)

²⁰ For instance Aigul Kulnazarova, Poul Duedahl, *UNESCO's Re-education Activities in Postwar Japan and Germany: Changing Minds and Shifting Attitudes towards Peace and International Understanding*, in Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen ed. (2016), pp.52-74; Eva Schandevyl, *History at the Intersection of Human Rights, International Understanding, and Past Memories: UNESCO and Textbook Revision in Belgium, 1944-1956*, in Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen ed. (2016), pp.127-145; Ivan Lind Christensen, *The Role of Science Education in the Nuclear Age: UNESCO's Promotion of "Atoms for Peace" in 1946-1968*, in Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen ed. (2016), pp.75-92. Just list a few of the contributions of the book, please see for more in Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen ed. (2016)

²¹ Ivan Lind Christensen, Christian Ydesen, *Routes of Knowledge: Toward a Methodological Framework for Tracing the Historical Impact of International Organizations*, *European Education*, 03 July 2015, Vol.47(3), pp.274-288

rather difficult to complete in a fully satisfactory way” due to the question of what kind of impact scholars are looking for, especially when it comes to the ideational dimension of UNESCO’s mission to change the mindsets of people²². Many historians apply conceptual history and discourse analysis to examine the changes that occur to certain concepts or discourses in the wake of statements made by IOs such as UNESCO. But the weakness of tracing discursive and conceptual change lies in the fact that they often fail to establish certain causal links from the ideas or initiatives of UNESCO to the discursive formations or conceptual architecture; furthermore, this raises the question of whether UNESCO is at the origins of the discursive formation²³.

The approach of impact studies has the hypothesis of identifying “the close relationship between ideas, initiatives, interventions and impacts, leaving it to the research to determine the exact results (impact) attained by an activity (intervention) designed to accomplish a valued goal or objective of a program (initiative) based on the reflections of its inventers (ideas)”²⁴. However, many important agents rather than just UNESCO in the causal link and the relationships between them deserve more attention to allow us to get a more complete picture of the reactions catalyzed by UNESCO. As an IGO, UNESCO enjoys what Michael Barnett calls “autonomy” though, the autonomy that UNESCO enjoys is often compromising and has a complicated relationship of autonomy and interdependence²⁵. Because, as chapter 2 illustrates, UNESCO is unavoidably situated in a web of a variety of other actors to generate impacts, which is confined by the constantly changing natural or social environments at the international, national and local levels etc. ²⁶.

The member state stands out as an important agent in the causal link through which the impacts of UNESCO are generated. Regardless of its ideal of transcending the limitations of nationalism, the intergovernmental nature of UNESCO leads to its policies being affected by if not completely vested in the hands of national representatives taking national points of view²⁷. CAME had already realized that a National Commission or National Co-operating

²² Poul Duedahl (2016), P.4

²³ Ivan Lind Christensen & Christian Ydesen (2015)

²⁴ Poul Duedahl (2016), P.8

²⁵ Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), P.11; Walter R. Sharp (1951)

²⁶ Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2004), P. 11

²⁷ T.V. Sathyamurthy (1967), P. 72

Body should be set up to ensure the roots of UNESCO descended into fertile soil in each country²⁸. Both policy makers and the policy executors of UNESCO, such as the first, second and third Director-Generals, Julian Huxley, Jaime Torres Bodet and Luther Evans, attributed utmost importance to collaboration between member states. Although the member state is not the sole channel through which UNESCO could reach people, the implementation and progress of UNESCO's activities firstly requires the willingness of national governments to support it with cooperation in their territories and provision of an adequate budget²⁹. Hence, this dissertation proposes to re-bring in the analytical dimension of member states to meet the challenges of impact studies of UNESCO.

There have been studies regarding the relations between UNESCO and member states such as USSR, USA and Canada etc.³⁰. Many studies in both of the recent publications featuring UNESCO have also brought member states in their analysis about the impacts of UNESCO, for instance UNESCO's role was an excellent international platform for post-war Japan to return to the international community³¹. UNESCO has been interested in including countries like China that have long and very different cultures from European countries as the organization aims at being truly global through projecting a global perspective and implementing global projects rather than Western-centric ones. As has already been noted by the American-Indian scholar T.V. Sathyamurthy in the 1960s, China's entry in UNESCO and the UN system would bring with it the weight of the influence of a nearly a third of humanity, not only in terms of the political orientation of the great assembly but also in terms of its cultural orientation³². Thus, this dissertation seeks to map out the historical relations between UNESCO and China from 1945 to 1950 to better understand the historical impacts of UNESCO in post-WWII globalization.

²⁸ C. H. D. (1946)

²⁹ T.V. Sathyamurthy (1967), P.280

³⁰ Linda A. Goldthorp, *Reluctant Internationalism: Canadian Approaches to UNESCO, 1946-1987* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1991); Anthony Q. Hazard, *Postwar Anti-Racism: the United States, UNESCO and "Race", 1945-1968* (Doctoral Dissertation, Temple University, 2007); Louis H. Porter, *Cola War Internationalism: The USSR in UNESCO, 1945-1967* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2018)

³¹ Takashi Saikawa, *Returning to the International Community: UNESCO and Post-war Japan, 1945-1951*, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp.116-130

³² T. V. Sathyamurthy (1967), P.533

3.2 States of the Art Regarding UNESCO-China Relations

3.2.1 Overall Review

In studies of the historical impacts of UNESCO in China, many scholars have looked into the topic of heritage after China signed the Convention of World Heritage in 1985. For instance, Swedish scholar Maria Svenson has studied how UNESCO and its work on World Heritage Sites and Intangible Cultural Heritage have affected the heritage discourse in China since 1980s by adopting and fulfilling the criteria and management schemes laid down by UNESCO, leading to the establishment of new institutions and a new rhetoric surrounding cultural heritage³³. A contributor of *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (2016) also deals with the topic of UNESCO World Heritage in China³⁴. Apart from in heritage studies, there has been little specific attention focused on UNESCO-China relations in the recent literature about UNESCO in academia outside China. This is reasonable given that mainland China, which hosts the majority of the world's Chinese population, was absent from the UN system till 1971. The issue regarding the representative government of China is a typical case of the politicization of UNESCO, which is a relevant topic in studies about UNESCO during the Cold War³⁵.

Nevertheless, China is referred to in studies about UNESCO's Fundamental Education program because a Chinese educationist Kuo Yushou (1901-1978) worked in the UNESCO committee on Fundamental Education and there was a pilot project in China³⁶. China is also mentioned in studies on book circulation program that UNESCO launched for post-war reconstruction³⁷. More often, China was inevitably referred to when looking into the role of Joseph Needham in the scientific cooperation activities and the project of writing the scientific and cultural history of humankind under the auspices of UNESCO because his interests and his inquiries into the history of Chinese science and civilization shaped his

³³ Marina Svensson, *Evolving and Contested Cultural Heritage in China: the Rural Heritagescape*, in Akira Matsuda, Luisa Elena Mengoni ed., *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia* (London: Ubiquity Press, 2016), pp.31-46

³⁴ Celine Lai (2016), *UNESCO and Chinese Heritage: An Ongoing Campaign to Achieve World-Class Standards*, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp.313-324

³⁵ Saville R. Davis (1975); Louis H. Porter (2018)

³⁶ C.H. Dobinson (1953), pp.121-130; Jens Boel (2016)

³⁷ Miriam Intrator, *Books Across Borders and Between Libraries: UNESCO and the Politics of Postwar Cultural Reconstruction, 1945-1951* (Doctoral Dissertation, The City University of New York, 2013)

influence in UNESCO over certain projects³⁸. Japanese scholar Takashi Saikawa's studies on UNESCO and post-war Japan indicate that Chinese educationists became involved in UNESCO's efforts and activities regarding post-war reconstruction and international understanding in Japan³⁹. The fact that China is often mentioned in the few case studies of UNESCO's impacts in the post-WWII era indicates that China deserves more academic attention. Hence, being part of the bigger research project: The Route of Knowledge: Global History of UNESCO 1945-1975, this PhD dissertation is dedicated to look into UNESCO—China relations right from the beginning of UNESCO's history in 1945-1950.

UNESCO has not been seriously studied in Chinese academia for a long period either. Some scholars write history of the Chinese people involved or employed as international civil servants in the UN but rarely mention the UN's specialized agency, UNESCO⁴⁰. It is only since the 1990s that several of UNESCO's publications were translated and published in Chinese⁴¹. For example, a chronological history of UNESCO by Michel Conil-Lacoste was translated into Chinese⁴². Aside from general introduction of UNESCO, some doctoral dissertations have studied UNESCO at a deeper level. Chinese scholar Xie Zheping has conducted an impressive study about the general relationship between UNESCO and China, other dissertations focus on special aspects of UNESCO, mainly in the fields of education, cultural diversity and world heritage⁴³. Basically, they represent the largest number of academic research studies about UNESCO in China.

³⁸ Poul Duedahl, *Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945-1976*, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 22, No.1 (March 2011), pp.101-133; Elena Aronova, *Studies of Science Before "Science Studies": Cold War and the Politics of Science in the U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R., 1950s-1970s* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California San Diego, 2012);

³⁹ Takashi Saikawa (2016), in Poul Duedahl. (ed.) (2016), pp. 116-130.

⁴⁰ Zhang Shude, *Zhongguo Chongfan Lianheguo Jishi* 中国重返联合国纪实 (Haerbin: Heilongjiang Renmin Chubanshe, 1999); Li Tiecheng, *Lianheguo li de Zhongguoren, 1945-2003* 联合国里的中国人 1945-2003 (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2004); Wang Dechun, *Lianheguo Shanhou Jiuji Zongshu zai Zhongguo* 联合国善后救济总署与中国 (1945-1947) (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2004)

⁴¹ Institute of International and Comparative study at East China Normal University, *Learning to Be: the World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House & UNESCO, 1996); *Learning the Treasure within* (Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House, 1996)

⁴² Michel Conil-Lacoste, *The Story of a Grand Design: UNESCO 1946-1993 People, Event and Achievements* (Paris: UNESCO, 1995), the Chinese translation is *Hong Tu Da Ye, Lian He Guo Jiao Yu Ke Xue Wen Hua Zu Zhi Bian Nian Shi* 宏图大业：联合国教育科学文化组织编年史, 1946-1993 (Beijing: China Translation Publishing Corporation, 1996)

⁴³ Xie Zheping, *China and UNESCO: An Empirical Study of International Organizations' Impact on Member States* (Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House, 2010); Xie Zheping, Zhang Xiaojin, Chuanshou yu Xuexi: *Zhongguo Canyu Lianheguo Jiaokewen Zuzhi de Jingyan Yanjiu, Waijiao Pinglun*, 2011, No. 1, pp.48-59; Shen Jun-qiang, *Research on the Relations between China and UNESCO in Education Cooperation: In the Perspective*

The monograph by Xie Zheping, to date the only title about Sino-UNESCO historical relations more broadly, is adapted from her doctoral dissertation⁴⁴. It is a typical IR research project, with a theoretical hypothesis and empirical verification. Based on empirical studies on various cases, she explores UNESCO's impacts on China under the theoretical framework of constructivism and international relations. It aims to examine, verify or revise American political scientist Martha Fennimore's theories about the construction of and division between international systems and the domestic system, and theories about the routes as well as the dialogue back and forth between the national and international spheres. Xie Zheping mainly focuses on the policies and to a much lesser degree on their subsequent implementation or impacts. The doctoral dissertation by Shen Junqiang in 2009, focusing on Lifelong Education in the cooperation programs between China and UNESCO, introduces the framework of Sino-UNESCO cooperation and the institutions through which UNESCO's educational ideas could be put into practice in China⁴⁵. Notably, this is the first piece of research to study UNESCO using the method of discourse analysis in China, trying to propose solutions for the bottleneck in Sino-UNESCO cooperation and appeal for enhancing China's involvement in universal educational discourses via UNESCO. Teng Jun's doctoral dissertation also applies discursive analysis and goes even further by including the evolution of UNESCO's educational policy discourse⁴⁶. This dissertation was produced under guidance from Gu Mingyuan, one of the first representatives of the PRC after Beijing took the legal representative of China seat at UNESCO. The study offers an insightful view into the subject of UNESCO discourses on education.

The current literature as demonstrated above offer a great deal of knowledge about UNESCO and China. But they basically are more concerned about recent or contemporary issues rather than providing a historical reflection and seek to formulate practical advice on China's interaction with UNESCO as a means of building up "soft power". Xie Zheping offers a general review of UNESCO—China relations since the birth of UNESCO, but hardly spends

of Lifelong Education for All (Doctoral Dissertation, East China Normal University, 2009); Teng Jun, *In-between Liberalism and Conservatism: Evolution of UNESCO's Education Policy Discourse* (Doctoral Dissertation, Beijing Normal University, 2010); Xu Zhilan, *World Heritage and the UNESCO Concept of Cultural Diversity* (Doctoral Dissertation, Tsinghua University, 2012); Lai, C. (2016), in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp. 313-324.

⁴⁴ Xie Zheping (2010)

⁴⁵ Shen Jun-qiang (2009), p.48.

⁴⁶ Teng Jun (2010)

any time on the initial period from 1946-1949 and skips 1949-1971, apart from a brief introduction, with the very reasonable explanation that Beijing did not have a legal seat in the UN, thus did not send any delegates to UN's specialized agency, UNESCO, during that period. There have been some historical studies about the relations between China and other IOs, especially the predecessor of the UN, i.e. the League of Nations. Taiwan historian Li Chang's work has provided rich details on the activities of the League of Nations in China in the Republican period⁴⁷. American historian Margherita Zanasi has worked specifically on the economic cooperation between the League of Nations and Republican China⁴⁸. There is currently a PhD project in progress by Li Kaiyi on the educational cooperation between the League of Nations and Republican China⁴⁹. There is another PhD project that is looking at the interaction between China and the WHO in eradicating smallpox⁵⁰. The fact that there is an existing historiography concerning China's interaction with the League of Nation and WHO and that relations with UNESCO in the immediate post-war period are not specifically studied in the current historiography of modern China provides the dissertation with both a broader perspective and the imperative for selecting UNESCO as the IO of choice that China interacted with in the post-war era.

3.2.2 Surmounting Cold War Politics in Writing about China–UNESCO Historical Relations 1945-1950

The lack of research attention on Nationalist China's interactions with UNESCO in the immediate post-war period results partially from the influence of Cold War politics over the mainland as well as overseas historiography on modern China. The foreign policy of "leaning to one side" during the Mao era had isolated PRC from the West and after the PRC-Soviet relationship turned to sour in 1960s, Beijing was pretty much separated from either bloc and absent from these post-war IOs, especially the UN system, where Taipei presented itself as the legal representative of China with the supports of the United States. A Marxist

⁴⁷ Chang Li, *International Cooperation in China: A Study of the Role of the League of Nations, 1919-1946*(Taipei: Institute of Modern History Monography Series No.83, Academia Sinica, 1999)

⁴⁸ Margherita Zanasi, Exporting Development: The League of Nations and Republican China, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 49, No.1 (Jan, 2007), pp.143-169

⁴⁹ <http://www.gei.de/en/mitarbeiter/kaiyi-li.html>

⁵⁰ <https://wellcome.ac.uk/funding/people-and-projects/grants-awarded/china-worldwide-eradication-smallpox-19491980>; <https://www.york.ac.uk/history/research/research-students/lu-chen/#tab-2>

historical narrative in mainland China has for a long time dismissed the performance of the Nationalist Government in both wartime resistance and post-war reconstruction for the sake of its own legitimacy of governance⁵¹. Meanwhile, in the United States, where overseas modern Chinese history writing was more or less reinvented, being informed by the question “Who lost China”, historians’ efforts in searching for a satisfactory explanation for the fall of the Nationalist Government to the Communists carried on during the entire Cold War period⁵².

But as Beijing began its Reform and Open policy and the Cold War hostility thawed in the 1980s, it also began to rehabilitate the memory of the Nationalist China with an inexplicit strategic goal of reunification along the Taiwan Strait⁵³. With access to previously unavailable archives in mainland China, overseas historians working on modern China also began to cautiously reassess the Nationalist Government’s efforts of modernization and state building⁵⁴. Informed by the notion that warfare itself is a vehicle of sociocultural change in modern China, historians in the UK, such as Hans van de Ven and Rana Mitter, have already begun to write the history of WWII in China in its own right and the impacts of warfare in modern China⁵⁵. Meanwhile, in the first decade of the 21st century, a rising China has profoundly changed its understanding of its memories of the WWII during which China was the first country to make huge sacrifices in hindering Japan’s rapid expansion in the Asia-Pacific area; and Beijing began publicly recognized the significant Nationalist wartime

⁵¹ Rana Mitter, Aaron William Moore, China in World War II: Experience, Memory and Legacy, *Modern Asian Studies*, 2011, Vol.45(2), pp.225-240

⁵² Typical example can be found in Lloyd E. Eastman’s writing on Nationalist China such as Lloyd E. Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution: China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); Lloyd E. Eastman, Who Lost China? Chiang Kai-shek Testifies, *The China Quarterly*, 1981, Vol.88, pp. 658-668; Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984)

⁵³ Rana Mitter, Modernity, Internationalization and War in the History of Modern China, *The Historical Journal*, 2005, Vol.48(2), pp.523-543

⁵⁴ Julia Strass, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); William C. Kirby, Engineering China: Birth of the Developmental State, 1928-1937, in Wen-hsin Yeh ed., *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp.152-175;

⁷⁸ Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed., *Negotiating China’s Destiny in World War II* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); Hans van de Ven, *China at War: Triumph and Tragedy in the Emergence of the New China, 1937-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018); Rana Mitter, *Forgotten Ally: China’s WWII 1937-1945* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013); Rana Mitter, *China’s War with Japan, 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival* (London : Penguin Books, 2014)

contribution to the victory⁵⁶. Another specific historical legacy of WWII that has been deployed by Beijing in dealing with the East and South China Sea disputes was that China resumed its sovereignty over the territories seized by Japan according to the Cairo Conference, although it was Chiang Kaishek, the head of the Nationalist Government as a non-European leader who attended on behalf of China⁵⁷. Obviously, Beijing has begun to use its previously downplayed historical legacy of WW II to justify its role in the world order, and in particular its regional leadership in Asia⁵⁸.

Hence, a revisionist writing on Nationalist China's role in the making of the post-war world order, in particular its interaction with post-war international institutions, begins to attract the attention of academic studies⁵⁹. As British-Indian historian Rana Mitter notes in his studies about role of UNRRA (United Nations Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency, 1943) in Republican China, although China was not generally regarded as one of the makers of the transitional post-war order), to understand the globalization of the post-WWII world and the making of the post-war world order, it is necessary to understand the role that China played⁶⁰. Recent studies also indicate that the neglected Chinese delegation actually contained 32 members and were an important presence at the Bretton Woods Conference in July 1944, where various issues on post-war international financial cooperation were broadly discussed with China and India being key advocates for international development⁶¹. As some scattered studies reveal, and as the archives indicate, China has indeed already brought "the cultural, educational and scientific hopes and aspirations of a vast subcontinent" to bear on its involvement in UNESCO from the very early phase of the

⁵⁶ Rana Mitter (2017), Presentism and China's Changing Wartime Past, *Past and Present*, 2017, Vol. 234(1), pp.263-274

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Rana Mitter, The End of the Second World War and the Shaping of Geopolitics in East Asia, *The RUSI Journal*, 04 July 2015, Vol.160(4), pp.14-17

⁵⁹ Rana Mitter, Historiographical Review: Modernity, Internationalization, and War in the History of Modern China, *Historical Journal*, Jun 2005, Vol.48(2), pp.523-543

⁶⁰ Rana Mitter, Imperialism, Transnationalism and the Reconstruction of Post-War China: UNRRA in China 1944-1947, *Past and Present*, May 2013, pp.51-69

⁶¹ Jin Zhong-xia (2015), The Chinese Delegation at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference Reflections for 2015, *Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum*; Michael Franczak, "Asia" at Bretton Woods: India, China and Australasia in Comparative Perspective, in G. Scott and J.S. Rofe ed., *Global Perspectives on the Bretton Woods Conference and the Post-war World Order* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 111-127

organization's history, which leads to the temporal choice of this dissertation, i.e. 1945-1950⁶².

In 2019, Canadian historian Gordon Barrett published an insightful article on the historical relations between UNESCO and China, mainly concerning the period 1946-1953. Barrett looks into UNESCO–China relations more from the perspective of the Communist government, as it is part of his research project on communist China's foreign relations in the field of science after 1950. Nevertheless, his article reveals that the Nationalist Government had been deeply engaged in UNESCO from its inception which greatly shaped Beijing's attitudes and Beijing's approach towards dealing with its relations with UNESCO, which demonstrated a mixture of ideology and pragmatism⁶³. The fact that Barrett does not discuss UNESCO Fundamental Education – the flagship project of UNESCO in which China was constantly mentioned – also motivates a thorough investigation into China's engagement in various fields that UNESCO sought to promote. Barrett's studies invoke the need to bring in the perspective of Nationalist China on the one hand and have inspired a research dissertation from a historical perspective to investigate the comprehensive relations between UNESCO and China from the very beginning.

3.2.3 Mapping Dialectical UNESCO–China Relations from 1945-1950 with a Focus on Mutual Impacts

As illustrated above, the recent literature on UNESCO's history has experienced a shift from the origins to the impacts of its initiatives. The tricky part in applying impact studies of UNESCO to modern China lies in the fact that "impact" has been an over-laden notion that has a reference to Western centrism or even Imperialism in the historiography of modern China, especially in USA during the peak Cold War period. Located in Europe, UNESCO seemed to have a Eurocentric tone in its initial phase before more former colonies became independent and joined the UN and UNESCO after the wave of decolonization in the 1950s and 1960s. The impact-response paradigm was explicitly applied by American Sinologist John King Fairbank and his students in their understanding and writing of China's modern

⁶² T. V. Sathyamurthy (1967), P.533

⁶³ Gordon Barrett, Between Sovereignty and Legitimacy: China and UNESCO, 1946-1953, *Modern Asian Studies*, 53, 5 (2019), pp.1516-1542

history, generally holding that China's modern history was a series of responses to the impact of the West⁶⁴. Having been very influential in the 1950s and 1960s in American historiography of modern China, though, it was criticized by Paul Cohen. Paul Cohen argues that the impact-response paradigm places China in a passive role, not capable of changing without a Western impact; it suggests a misleading essentialized distinction between China and the West which exaggerates the difference between the two; tends to ignore the enigmatic and contradictory nature of the modern West since the modern West has changed over time, and fails to note the fact that the so-called westernization of China is a highly selective vision of what the West was all about etc.⁶⁵

The assumption embedded within the impact-response paradigm in American historiography that was criticized by Cohen – the impacts of Western imperialism in China. It is paralleled to the critique of the UN and its agencies such as UNESCO that they draws upon both Western enlightenment ideals and British liberal imperialism in its early formation and development, given that some of the founding figures of UNESCO such as Alfred Zimmern, Julian Huxley etc. were closely connected with British colonial governance⁶⁶. Neo-Marxist scholar and Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung has built up a theoretical framework of structural imperialism in peak Cold War politics in which he argues that IOs serve as a tool of imperialism, encompassing economic, political, military and cultural imperialism⁶⁷.

The UN, although it was to some extent designed to maintain the imperial status quo, such as trusteeship rights over the former colonies, surprisingly became a catalyst of decolonization in 1960s⁶⁸. UNESCO itself was a special advocate in the decolonization process⁶⁹. But some scholars argue that decolonization paradoxically reinforced the imperial connection, and that the colonial legacy was inherited by UN agencies, their experts and

⁶⁴ Teng Ssuyu, John King Fairbank, *China's response to the West: a documentary survey: 1839-1923* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, the 1st edition in 1954, then 1975, 1994)

⁶⁵ Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp.12-13

⁶⁶ Glenda Sluga, UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley, *Journal of World History*, 1 September 2010, Vol.21(3), pp.393-418

⁶⁷ Johan Galtung, A Structural Theory of Imperialism, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.8, No. (1971), pp.81-117

⁶⁸ Perrin Selcer (2001), P.31

⁶⁹ Shepard Todd (2011), Algeria, France, Mexico, UNESCO: A Transnational History of Antiracism and Decolonization, 1932-1962, *Journal of Global History*, 2011, Vol.6(2), pp.273-297

their development projects in the underdeveloped countries, which are considered to have firm intellectual roots in the former colonial civilizing mission⁷⁰. As American IR scholar Ronald C. Nairn argues, what UNESCO and its associated agencies experienced in Thailand was to attempt to change aspects of a Southeast Asian society in accordance with Western values using nothing more than the power of persuasion. He concludes that that this kind of foreign aid from the UN and UNESCO is actually as much a continuum of the technological confrontation as the implanting of Western techniques on Asian societies by colonial powers⁷¹.

It is reasonable to note that the application of internationalist or even cosmopolitan projects promoted by post-war international institutions cannot be separated from the power relationships of empire. But the manifestations of the power were more nuanced rather than one sided. Being "semi-feudal, semi-colonial" nevertheless, China sort of remained a relatively independent state in modern era when imperial powers colonized more than 84.4 percent of the world's land surface⁷². A new historiography of the imperial presence in modern China was stimulated by the notion of a more plural understanding of both what "China" and "foreign" have meant historically⁷³. China had embraced Western-derived modernity symbolized by the promotion of science and democracy, but an interiorly torn China presented multiple subjectivity and complexity in its search for modernization, which is clearly demonstrated by the different approaches taken by the Chiang Kaishek-led KMT, the Mao Zedong-led CCP and the Wang Jingwei-led collaborationists in navigating Chinese destiny through WWII in China⁷⁴. On the other hand, Cohen argues that the plural colonialism from several powers and the competition and rivalry among the powers resulted in the lack of capacity or will of any single power to establish full colonial authority and provided China with the space to play one power against another⁷⁵. This is typically illustrated in the uneasy alliance that China maintained with major powers, in particular the

⁷⁰ Richard Jolly, Louis Emmerji, Dharam Ghai, and Frederic Lapeyre (2004); Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (London and New York: Zed Books, 1997)

⁷¹ Ronald C. Nairn (1966), P. 192

⁷² Stephen R. Halsey, *Quest for Power: European Imperialism and the Making of Chinese Statecraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015)

⁷³ Rana Mitter (2005)

⁷⁴ Hans van de Ven, Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014), *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014)

⁷⁵ Paul Cohen (1984), P.144

emerging powers of the United States and Soviet Union, to survive the conflict with another – Japan⁷⁶.

Furthermore, American historian Ruth Rogaski has already revealed that Western knowledge on hygiene that arrived in China was not a homogeneous and consistent body of scientific theories but rather a hodgepodge of notions already corruptly reinterpreted, sometimes contradictory and often entangled with religious or political agendas⁷⁷. Thus, there was also a Western response to a Chinese impact alongside the Western impact-Chinese response; furthermore, before Western factors could evoke a response, they had to be translated, i.e. be filtered through Chinese language and thought patterns to be communicated⁷⁸. German Sinologist Rudolf Wagner has uncovered the entanglement in the process of the transcultural conceptual translation of Western concepts such as labor into Chinese in modern China⁷⁹. Hence, the initial Western impact was subject to another sort of distortion when it was Chinese-carried, and the process got even more complicated when it became entangled in the network of Chinese personalities and politics⁸⁰.

American historian Margherita Zanasi has revealed that the Nationalist politicians were happy to receive technological and financial help from the seemingly Western-centric League of Nations but were very much committed to their own political agenda and were able to manipulate the League's experts to their advantage, making China's relation with the League of Nations a process of pick-and-choose of whatever was a best fit with their ideas of China's modern future⁸¹. Rana Mitter's studies into UNRRA in China also indicate that Chinese officials viewed cooperation with UNRRA as a means of leveraging China's

⁷⁶ Hans van de Ven, Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014)

⁷⁷ Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004)

⁷⁸ Paul Cohen (1984), pp.14-15

⁷⁹ Rudolf G. Wagner (2003), *The Concept of Work/Labor/Arbeit in the Chinese World, Die Rolle der Arbeit in verschiedenen Epochen und Kulturen*, Manfred Bierwisch ed. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003), pp.103-136; Rudolf G. Wagner, "China Asleep" and "Awakening." A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It, *Transcultural Studies*, 1 (2011), pp. 4-139; Rudolf G. Wagner, "Dividing up the Chinese Melon, guafen 瓜分": The Fate of a Transcultural Metaphor in the Formation of National Myth, *Transcultural Studies*, 1 (2017), pp.9-122

⁸⁰ Paul Cohen (1984), P.14

⁸¹ Margherita Zanasi (2007)

equal participation in the new post-war order in which they assumed China would play a central role⁸².

Cohen's reflection represented the concerns of American historians who sought to explain Asian history, especially that of China, in its own terms rather than in a framework imposed by an imperialist power⁸³. But the emphasis on China-centered historiography has been tempered. Since the 1980s, Beijing has been trying to reintegrate China into the world system, informed by the Reform and Open policy, which inspired historians like American historian William Kirby to pay attention to China's encounter with "the foreign" in many aspects encompassing diplomacy, economics, the military and culture etc.⁸⁴

The internationalization of China during the Republican era often involved multiple transnational networks and flows of ideas, institutions, personnel and funds etc., as revealed in Taiwan historian Chiang Yungchen's writings on the introduction of social engineering and social science in Republican China⁸⁵. Historians have revealed that the wartime relief, refugee and public health policy of Nationalist China had constantly interacted with international norms of social security and social welfare, which greatly shaped the post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction program that lent a great degree of legitimacy to the Nationalist Government, while undermined its capability to deliver on its promise⁸⁶.

Barrett's findings indicate that contingent and intertwined domestic as well as international factors in the transitional period from the post-war era to the Cold War very much shaped the trajectory of Chinese relations with UNESCO⁸⁷. Hence, China's participation in and cooperation with UNESCO during the period 1945-1949 might help to build a more nuanced

⁸² Rana Mitter (2013)

⁸³ Rana Mitter (2005)

⁸⁴ William Kirby, The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at Home and Abroad in the Republican Era, *China Quarterly*, June 1997, Issue 150, pp.433-458

⁸⁵ Yung-chen Chiang, *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

⁸⁶ Rana Mitter, Helen M. Schneider, Introduction: Relief and Reconstruction in Wartime China, *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 2012, Vol.11(2), pp.179-186; Tehyun Ma, A Chinese Beveridge Plan: The Discourse of Social Security and the Post-war Reconstruction of China, *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 2012, Vol.11(2), pp.329-349; Rana Mitter (2013); Tehyun Ma, The Common of the Allied Powers: Social Policy and International Legitimacy in Wartime China, 1940-1947, *Journal of Global History*, 2014, Vol.9(2), pp.254-275; Rana Mitter, State-Building after Disaster: Jiang Tingfu and the Reconstruction of Post-World War II China, 1943-1949, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 January 2019, Vol.61(1), pp.176-206

⁸⁷ Gordon Barrett (2019)

narrative transcending both arbitrary IO-centrism, with possible connotations of Western centrism, and reactive China-centrism. Rather than seemingly one-direction relations, casting UNESCO as an external agent exerting impacts and China as a passive recipient, this dissertation will examine the dialectic interactive relations between UNESCO and China and aim at uncovering the dynamics of UNESCO as well as the subjectivity and selectivity that China exhibited in their communication, negotiations, and cooperation with UNESCO via a multiple actor-network in the historical setting of 1945-1950.

Chapter 4 Theory and Methodology

Leading on from the reflections in the previous chapter on the state-of-the-art regarding the history of UNESCO, in particular the historical impact studies of UNESCO, this chapter attempts to formulate a theoretical and methodological framework for this dissertation: the historical relations between UNESCO and China with a focus on the mutual impacts, 1945-1950.

4.1 Unfolding the Black Box of Means-End in Impact Studies

As discussed in the previous chapter, studies about the historical impacts of UNESCO face the acute challenge of tracing the causal link and even raise the question whether UNESCO is the originator of these. The challenges that former UNESCO chief archivist Jens Boel points out – the observations, discussions and doubts about the assessment of UNESCO’s impacts – “reflect a profound tension and dilemma for UNESCO’s strategies, work and actions in general: how to reconcile the lofty ideas expressed as the ultimate goal of the organization – creating the defenses of peace in the minds of men and working towards intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind – with concrete, practical actions and how to measure progress towards that goal”¹.

Although impact does not necessarily mean success – and could imply both good and bad and intended or unintended changes attributed to UNESCO initiatives – in many cases, the operation of IOs and impact studies imply means-end logic, which usually begins with an ideally conceived goal to achieve, followed by an elaborated project or plan of action involving a sequence of operations that constitute means designed to attain certain goals after entering the realm of fact². Hence, in the formula means-end, action means employing certain means that carry efficacy to achieve a given end and impact studies work back to determine the sequence of means that lead to that achievement³. In other words, the

¹ Jens Boel (2016), UNESCO’s Fundamental Education Program, 1946-1958: Vision, Actions and Impact, Poul Duedahl ed., *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), P.163

² Poul Duedahl in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), P.8; François Jullien, translated by Janet Lloyd, *A Treatise on Efficacy: Between Western and Chinese Thinking* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), P.32,

³ François Jullien (2004), P. 34

assessment of the impacts of IOs becomes the testification of the efficacy of the model or plan of action that is developed from European modern science.

The gap between the means and the end is widened because they depend on two different faculties, i.e. the efficacy of the means is morally neutral and of a technical order whereas the matter of the quality of the end is of a moral order⁴. For instance, in warfare, the success of military tactics is a means while the ultimate aim is to dictate one's own conditions for peace to the enemy; hence the end is politics. The acute challenges of impact studies derive from not only the vastness both of UNESCO's idealistic goals and programs, but also the confusion between ends and means that has been so characteristic of the career of UNESCO from the outset. UNESCO is designed neither to merely add to the sum of human knowledge nor to serve the interest of scientists, educationists or artists but to act as a catalyst and to facilitate international cooperation in the field of education, science and culture, which are used as a means to maintain and foster peace, and advance the welfare of humankind, rather than as an end in themselves⁵. However, the goal of building peace upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of humankind is a questionable proposition⁶. It has been pointed out that the assumption that conflicts result from ignorance is only partially right and that the spread of education, the advancement of cultures and the increase of scientific knowledge are not a cure-all panacea and do not necessarily lead to peace⁷. Furthermore, although UNESCO claims to offer apolitical, technical assistance in science, education or culture, some commentators have argued that UNESCO must concern itself with politics if the education it provides is to contribute to attaining its goals⁸.

This is because UNESCO has a double identity of being both a global agency involving worldwide intellectual communities as well as an intergovernmental organization, mandated by national governments, and has its own bureaucratic structure⁹. The global conception of UNESCO as advancing peace for the common humanity has, from the outset,

⁴ Ibid, P.35

⁵ Byron Dexter, Yardstick for UNESCO, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Oct. 1949), P.59

⁶ Reinhold Niebuhr, The Theory and Practice of UNESCO, *International Organization*, 1950, Vol.4(1), P.10

⁷ Mary Evelyn Blagg, UNESCO: Product of Contradictions, *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol.32, No.2 (September 1951), pp.79-85

⁸ Ibid, P.84

⁹ Vincenzo Pavone, *From the Labyrinth of the World to the Paradise of the Heart: Science and Humanism in UNESCO's Approach to Globalization* (Lexington Books, 2008)

remained constantly contested and politically debated within the “wheels in wheels” bureaucratic system, which has its own organizational rationality, by intellectuals, politicians or diplomats, who often have various different interpretations of these goals informed by their own intellectual approach, shaped by national cultures and motivated by national interests.

This gap would get even wider when the project designed to achieve the goal enters into practice. Based on the concept of evaluation as the determination of the results attained by some activity designed to accomplish some valued goal or objective, the called scientific evaluation studies of IOs’ impacts would apply scientific methodology to experience with public programs to learn what happens as a result of program activities, i.e. the systematic empirical examination of hypotheses regarding the impacts of social action projects¹⁰. But the scientific model is not totally suitable for explaining human action, especially human actions that have occurred in the past. Because human action takes place in irreversible time, as long as it is to be verified by experience, the instrumental causality of the means remains hypothetical. Although the deliberation of the means is technical, human actions cannot eliminate their contingency and, hence, the results would never be exactly the same as those expected in a mathematical formula. The deliberation of the means, i.e. the implementation of UNESCO projects, can never be altogether isolated from the context within which it is used. Rather, there may be some unpredictable events that may intervene and block the supposed efficacy of the means (via UNESCO’s projects), rendering the end unattainable¹¹. The deeper paradox of UNESCO lies in the fact that UNESCO’s mission is to attain peace while the achievement of peace is often dependent for its effectiveness on the existence of peace¹².

Last but not least, the means may overshoot the intended end in the development of its causality due to the relative autonomy of the means vis-à-vis the end. Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore have vividly revealed how the bureaucratic cultures of IOs lead to their pathological behaviors, such as the repatriation policy of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that violated refugee rights and the UN Secretariat’s policy

¹⁰ Francis W. Hoole, Evaluating the Impact of International Organizations, *International Organization*, 1977, Vol.31(3), pp.541-563

¹¹ François Jullien (2004), P.34

¹² Ibid

toward Rwanda that led to the non-intervention in the Rwandan genocide¹³. It looks as if there is a black box in the formula of means-ends, and there is always a discrepancy between the planned model for our action and what humans manage to achieve¹⁴.

4.2 Shi (勢): Diffusing Impacts in the Processual UNESCO–China Relations

A particular concept of efficacy – Propensity (Shi 勢), inherent in the configuration/situation that French Sinologist François Jullien discovers in China – may provide a Chinese way of understanding the impacts of international organizations such as UNESCO, in particular in the context of China, where its projects are to be implemented. Jullien draws on Chinese classical texts in warfare, politics, aesthetics of calligraphy and painting, literature and historiography etc., and argues that there is a common model (Shi) of a configuration or disposition of things operating through the opposition and correlation of the actors in play, which constitutes a working system with different overlapping domains in Chinese thought (Legalism, Confucianism, Daoism) running through the entire culture¹⁵. In contrast to the Greek tradition of form-matter, Jullien argues that Chinese thought regards the whole reality as a regulated and continuous process that stems purely from the interaction of the factors in play; hence, instead of the efficacy of constructing an ideal form and setting up a model which serves as a means by which to project onto the world, China has a concept of efficacy of relying on the propensity inherent in the course of things, in which humans detect the factors whose configuration is favorable to the task at hand¹⁶.

The Chinese idea of efficacy is different from the European preconception of means-end, of cause and effect, and the divergence is at the ontological level. As implied in *Book of Changes* (易经) dating back to antiquity, Shi has an ontology that regards reality as a regulated and continuous process of transformation that stems purely from the interaction

¹³ Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp.73-120, pp.121-155

¹⁴ François Jullien (2004), P.5

¹⁵ François Jullien, *The Propensity of Things: Toward a History of Efficacy in China*, translated by Janet Lloyd, (New York: Zone Books, 1995), P.17

¹⁶ François Jullien (2004), P.16

of the factors in play, which are at once opposed but complementary (the Yin and Yang)¹⁷. The visual expression of this is the vivid cosmologic diagram of two fish-like swirls, one black, one white, which constitute a whole. Chinese sages believe that the contraries oppose each other but also contain each other mutually (Yang is within Yin, just as Yin is within Yang) and that they proceed from the same primordial unity and reciprocally transform into each other. The Chinese do not need efficient cause as the external driver because the propension stemming from the configuration is always immanent¹⁸. Consequently, the Chinese are not much interested in setting up a causal link and using the link to examine the efficacy of human actions; they think the tendency implicated in the configuration is spontaneous and ineluctable.

Chinese idea of Shi seems to deconstruct any efforts deriving from the humanitarian initiatives of humanitarian IOs like UNESCO because it informs a different logic of refraining action compared to the logic of activism of IOs. But it helps us to understand the reasons for the difficulties experienced in achieving the impacts expected by IOs specifically in China. According to Jullien, European perspectives of efficacy tend to encourage bold and audacious interventions to attain an agreed fixed goal that often turns out to lead to desire-driven heroism rather than to technical strategy¹⁹. Action that is oriented according to certain fixed goals tends to intervene in the course of things, since it constitutes an initiative that is often intrusive, that is external to the local community to some degree; therefore, it is relatively arbitrary, momentary and could inevitably to some degree tear the tissue of things, upset their coherence and provoke some resistance²⁰. The case of the International Monetary Fund's imparting of its expertise, specifically its economic models and technical assistance, in the Third World states to regulate and ultimately to (re)constitute member states' domestic economics, led to the establishment of complicated conditionality which often did not produce the desired results for the member states and led to the pathological expansion of their efforts to reconstitute these economies to conform with the market-dominated models²¹. The Chinese perspective on efficacy appraises nonaction, which is action without noticeable action so as not to clash with the existing situation, so as to

¹⁷ Ibid, P.15

¹⁸ François Jullien (1995), P.253

¹⁹ François Jullien (2004), pp. 82-83

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Michael Barnett, Martha Finnemore (2004), pp.45-72

render a continuous process of silent and unnoticed transformation during which the potential of the configuration/situation of factors accumulates²². Bringing in the idea of Shi, the propensity inherent in a situation/configuration undermines neither the humanitarian missions of UNESCO, nor the examination of their historical impacts. Rather, this idea may indicate a processual/configurational approach for understanding the historical impacts of UNESCO, in particular in the context of China.

The etymology of the word “impact” indicates the pattern of impact usually involves a chronological as well as a geographic process or movement from the headquarters to member states and then local place²³. But, as mentioned in the previous chapter, “impact” is an overlaid concept, placing China in a passive position; an impact-response paradigm in writing modern China is criticized by Paul Cohen. The historical impacts of UNESCO in China do not necessarily carry Western-centric novelettes, although it is often taken for granted that Nationalist China was a weak receiver of any international aid from international institutions such as UNRRA or UNESCO. Paul Cohen’s reflection on impact-response is also reasonable in the sense that the Chinese conception of Shi perceives efficacy as resulting from a processual transformation of certain configurations of factors, during which the effects are diffused and dissolved within the evolving configuration of factors, and it is thus impossible to trace the effects back to anyone or anything²⁴.

The nature of UNESCO determines that the process or routes of UNESCO’s ideals would very much rely upon both the governmental-political infrastructure at different bureaucratic levels as well as the intellectual infrastructure in its member states such as in China.

Without the agreement of the Chinese government, without access to China, without the support of its politicians, officials and experts in these fields, there would literally be little opportunity for UNESCO to exert concrete impacts in China. Drawing on Chinese intellectual traditions, especially Confucianism, Chinese IR scholar Qin Yaqing proposes two concepts of “relations and processes” in which process, defined as relations in motion, plays a key and irreplaceable role in social life, and possesses ontological significance; furthermore, to

²² François Jullien (2004), pp.78-79

²³ Ivan Lind Christensen, Christian Ydesen (2015), Routes of Knowledge: Toward a Methodological Framework for Tracing the Historical Impact of International Organizations, *European Education*, 03 July 2015, Vol.47(3), P.276

²⁴ François Jullien (2004), P.91

maintain a process is to maintain and allow room for relationships to flow, which activates the interaction²⁵. Hence, the relations between UNESCO and China are by no means one-way traffic of impact-response, but rather a dialectical interactive processual transformation through which mutual impacts are negotiated, diffused and dissolved all the way from the inception of certain initiatives at UNESCO's headquarters to the formulation of the action plan of the government to implementation at the local level and vice-versa.

4.3 Using Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to Uncover the Black Box of Impact Studies

Aside from François Jullien, who interprets the Chinese idea of Shi, which reveals that efficacy lies in the processual configuration of relational factors not just in human initiatives, French philosopher Bruno Latour also deals with the efficacy puzzle and holds similar viewpoints. In his famous work *The Pasteurization of France*, Latour investigates the efficacy of medical treatments such as vaccination, promoted by French microchemist Pasteur based on the "discovery" of microbes and then generalized by Pasteurians who regarded Pasteur as great model in public hygiene. Latour also questions the efficacy of human action: "we always think we are doing the right thing, but our actions never turn out as we expected and are slightly diverted from their aims"²⁶. Latour also noticed that lots of surprising situations may pop up between the causes and the effects and may result in unexpected outcomes²⁷. Effects are not transported by intermediaries during which inputs predict outputs because many unpredictable alien actors or actants could pop up that could modify a state of affairs by making a difference²⁸. Hence, Latour argues that ANT cannot share the philosophy of causality used in social science²⁹.

²⁵ Qin Yaqing, Relationality and processual construction: Bringing Chinese Ideas into International Relations Theory, *Social Sciences in China*, 2009, Vol 30, No.3, pp.5-20

²⁶ Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, translated by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988), P.32

²⁷ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network -Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), P.59

²⁸ Ibid, P.58

²⁹ Ibid, P.103

As Latour traces the career route of Pasteur and his contemporaries and Pasteur's contribution to the French hygiene movement, Latour notes the efficacy resulting from an arrangement (of using vaccine, i.e. the domesticated microbe-attenuated bacillus produced in Pasteur's laboratory, to save domesticated animals from anthrax)³⁰. Noting that anthrax acts as an agent disturbing the tranquil life of the countryside based on the statistics of the agricultural authority, Latour argues that the efficacy of Pasteurism in evoking public interest and introducing vaccination successfully lies not just solely in the great genius himself, but more in the networks that were created in advance³¹. Latour develops Actor-Network Theory (ANT) by mapping the diffusion of Pasteur's ideas of microbes and inoculation. ANT was also developed by Michel Callon and John Law etc. as part of a larger academic movement called Science and Technology Studies (STS)³². For instance, Michel Callon uses the framework of ANT to analyze the scope and effects of technological innovation and the engineering project relating to electric cars in France and he argues that the actor-network, i.e. the plethora of heterogeneous elements, failed to align in favor of the project³³. Callon argues that it is from the juxtapositions of the elements that the associations of actors/actants draw the coherence, consistency and structure of relationships that exist between the components that comprise the network. The notion of juxtaposition is very close to what François Jullien sees as a configuration of relational factors that is endowed with efficacy³⁴. Both Latour and Callon propose the notion of an actor-network that an actor-network is simultaneously an actor whose activity is networking heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and transform what it is made of³⁵.

Similarly, attempting to resolve the difficulty in tracing the social, Latour reverses the research focus from tracing the causal link of the effects to replacing as many causes as possible by a series of actors that are associated and related as a concatenation of actors.

³⁰ Bruno Latour (1988), P.91

³¹ Ibid, P.92

³² Michel Callon, Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay, *Sociological Review*, May 1984, Vol.32, pp.196-233; Michel Callon, Society in the Making: The Study of Technology as a Tool for Sociological Analysis, in Wiebe E. Bijker and Trevor Pinch ed., *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New Directions in the Sociology and History of Technology*(Cambridge Mass., London: MIT Press, 2012), P.89

³³ Michel Callon (2012), P.77-97

³⁴ Michel Callon (1984)

³⁵ Michel Callon (2012), P.87

Latour distinguishes between intermediaries simply transporting a force that would remain the same throughout and mediators whose emergence is triggered by an actor/actant and is generating transformations-translations manifested by the unexpected events triggered in other mediators³⁶. Hence, ANT is sometimes referred to as the “sociology of translation”. Translation means a relation that does not transport causality but induces two mediators into coexisting and the translations between mediators that may generate traceable associations - a network. A network is the trace left behind by some moving agents³⁷. An actor-network is what is made to act by a large star-shaped web of mediators flowing in and out of it. Hence, ANT has the post-structuralist premise that entities have no essence in themselves, but their properties and boundaries are formed and shaped through their relations to other elements³⁸.

ANT goes beyond STS. It is diasporic as it has spread and has translated itself into a range of different practices³⁹. A few scholars propose to bring in ANT into International Relations studies by highlighting the relation between translation and politics; and in the examination of the impacts of international development projects by tracing the mobilization, interaction and disintegration of the local and global actor-networks⁴⁰. As *The Pasteurization of France* indicates, ANT is very suitable to be applied in studies about public health campaigns. More scholars have recently figured out the appropriateness of applying ANT into studies of Public Health Intervention, including a relational view of action, a conception of the context as being defined by the actors and their actions and the investigation of how effects are produced⁴¹. ANT also attracts scholars working on IOs since ANT provides a toolbox for studying the situation involving actors that are often simultaneously public/private,

³⁶ Bruno Latour (2005), P. 107

³⁷ Ibid, P. 132

³⁸ Ritzer George, *Sociological Theory* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008), 8th edition, P.650

³⁹ John Law, *After ANT: Complexity, Naming and Topology*, in John Law and John Hassard ed. (1999), *Actor Network Theory and After* (Boston, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), pp. 1-14

⁴⁰ Andrew Barry, *The Translation Zone: Between Actor-Network Theory and International Relations*, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 2013, 41(3), pp. 413-429; Richard Heeks, Carolyne Stanforth, *Understanding Development Project Implementation: An Actor-Network Perspective*, *Public Administration and Development*, February 2014, Vol.34(1), pp.14-31

⁴¹ Ange`le Bilodeau and Louise Potvin, *Unpacking Complexity in Public Health Interventions with the Actor-Network Theory*, *Health Promotion International*, Vol 33, Issue 1, 2018, pp.173-181

state/nonstate, science/politics⁴². Hence, this dissertation applies ANT in mapping out UNESCO-China relations as well as examining the impacts of UNESCO's projects in China.

4.4 Unpacking Theory/Tools

Bringing in ANT has multiple implications: ANT considers translation as a process of making connections, of forging a passage between two domains or simply as establishing communications, that conceives relationship as an act of translation between elements or forces⁴³. ANT provides an appropriate framework to conceptualize the relations between UNESCO and China.

4.4.1 ANT: Translating UNESCO–China Relations 1945-1950

The communication and negotiations between UNESCO and China are often a process of linguistic translation constantly happening between the headquarters and national institutions, and then local sites since China has Chinese as its official language. Any official documents issued by UNESCO have to be translated into Chinese mandarin as well as other dialects to reach more Chinese people. The process of translation is one during which the identity of actors, the possibility of interaction and the margins of maneuver are negotiated and delimited. ANT or the sociology of translation points to the choice of the first analytical tool for this PhD dissertation – transcultural conceptual history, especially transcultural conceptual translation.

Inspired by the post-structuralist linguistic turn, conceptual history as part of the semiotic turn emerged in post-war Germany, with Reinhart Koselleck as its most prominent practitioner⁴⁴. The work of German conceptual historians is prominently presented in compiling lexicon of the accelerated changes of important political concepts in German-

⁴² Christian Bueger, Actor-Network Theory, Methodology, and International Organization, *International Political Sociology*, Volume 7, Issue 3, September 2013, pp.338-342

⁴³ Michel Callon (1984), P.203

⁴⁴ Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, Stanford University Press, 2002)

speaking Europe since 1700⁴⁵. Koselleck's conceptual history often intermingled with other approaches informed by the "linguistic turn" or "semiotic turn", such as Foucauldian discourse analysis, has been applied to trace the impacts of UNESCO's initiatives on anti-racism, textbook revision and world heritage etc. given that UNESCO is an ideational-oriented agency⁴⁶. The weakness in tracing causality has been pointed out in the previous chapter. Conceptual history focuses on concepts and aims at tracing the conceptual transformations, especially the changing usage of social and political concepts, linking the conceptual changes with social and political changes. It has become an inspiring approach for many historians in Europe, especially in Scandinavian countries⁴⁷. The practitioners of conceptual history are gradually attempting to map out the conceptual history of Europe⁴⁸. Conceptual history tends to focus on Western-derived concepts in European languages, and hence overlooks the fact that concepts are part of transcultural and translingual interactions; and origin-focused conceptual history often neglects the agency of appropriation as well as the continuing dynamics of an eventually shared transcultural conceptual apparatus⁴⁹. Recently, conceptual historians began to pay attention to Asia and other continents beyond Europe, even trying to conduct a historiography of a global conceptual history⁵⁰. Accordingly, scholars have proposed writing more histories of how concepts travel beyond European and especially beyond Anglo-American contexts, investigating the translations and appropriations as well as mistranslations and

⁴⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Klett-Cotta Verlag, 1972-1997)

⁴⁶ Poul Duedahl ed., *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen ed. *UNESCO Without Borders: Educational Campaigns for International Understanding* (London: Routledge, 2016); Aigul Kulnazarova, UNESCO and "Better History Textbooks": Reflection on Public Discourse and Policy-making in Postwar Japan, in Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen ed.(2016), pp. 164-181

⁴⁷ <http://www.concepta-net.org/history>

⁴⁸ "The European Conceptual History Project (ECHP): Mission Statement," *Contribution to the History of Concepts*, 2011, Volume 6, pp.111-116

⁴⁹ Rudolf Wagner (2013), a series of lectures on Exploration in Transcultural Conceptual History, at the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, Peking University

⁵⁰ Hagen Schulz Forberg, *Global Conceptual History of Asia, 1840-1940* (London: Routledge, 2014); there was a conference on Concepts in the World: Politics, Knowledge, and Time held in University of Oslo, Sep.21-23, 2017,

misappropriations⁵¹. At the same time, some Chinese historians have begun to map the intellectual history of modern China in terms of conceptual history⁵².

The reason for choosing transcultural conceptual history as an analytical lens lies in the fact that there has been a major conceptual transformation due to a noticeable scaling up of translations and introductions from the West to China such as the modern concepts of rights, state, nation, science, democracy, education and culture etc. in the modern era⁵³. The translation and the accommodation of these concepts in particular modern concepts of science, education and culture with which UNESCO is deeply concerned offers the transcultural conceptual apparatus for the translation and communication between UNESCO and China of humanitarian values and visions (peace, equality, rights etc.), international norms (treaties, conventions, constitutions, laws), information, knowledge and expertise etc. It also means that the causal origins of UNESCO impacts are not necessarily attributed to the presence of UNESCO, but more likely triggered by initiatives from UNESCO. The transcultural conceptual accommodation exhibited in modern China has greatly shaped the motivation and the way in which China has interacted with UNESCO. It has also lent China a great deal of agency-subjectivity and selectivity when China communicated with UNESCO over the formulation of certain initiatives and cooperated with UNESCO on their implementation. Hence, the impacts are by no means one-sided but mutual between UNESCO and China.

In ANT, translation is the linkage by which an actor-network is created, expanded and triggered to act. According to Callon, the process of translation consists of four phases: *problematization, interessement, enrolment* and *mobilization*. Aside from transcultural conceptual translation, ANT could offer a complimentary explanative framework for understanding the process of how UNESCO's initiatives provoke the interests of member states, followed by turning the initiatives into policy, regulations and institutions and the

⁵¹ Jan-Werner Müller On Conceptual History, in Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn ed. *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 1-31

⁵² Jin Guantao, Liu Qingfeng, *Guannianshi Yanjiu: Zhongguo Xiandai Zhongyao Zhengzhi Shuyü de Xingcheng* 观念史研究：中国现代重要政治术语的形成 (Beijing: Falü Chubanshe, 2010); Sun Jiang, Chen Liwei, Liu Jianhui ed., *Yazhou Gainianshi Yanjiu* 亚洲概念史研究 (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2019)

⁵³ For transitional period please see Chang Hao, *Youan Yishi yu Minzhu Chuantong* 幽暗意识与民主传统 (Taipei: Linking Publishing Company, 1989); Wang Fan-sen ed. *Zhongguo Jindai Sixiangshi de Zhuaxing Shidai* 中国近代思想史的转型时代 (Taipei: Linking Press, 2017)

enrolling and mobilization of actor-networks of bureaucracy, professions and grassroots participation. Hence, from the perspective of ANT, it is during this transcultural conceptual translation/mistranslation, appropriation/misappropriation that UNESCO–China relations take shape and that UNESCO’s visions and norms embodied in UNESCO’s Constitution, reports of UNESCO General Conference as well as the resolutions approved, UNESCO publications etc. were discussed, disseminated and communicated in China, some of which would be turned into practice.

Furthermore, this dissertation considers transcultural translation as a process of mutual communication and negotiation between UNESCO and China. Science was promoted and personified as “Mr. Science” in China during the New Culture Movement, encompassing scientific knowledge, scientific epistemology-pragmatism and scientific methodology-experimentalism, with profound impacts on academic research as well as educational movements in China⁵⁴. The promotion of science, education and culture during the major conceptual transformation in modern China translated into a huge actor-network of concepts, ideas, scientists, educationists and institutes etc. whose legacy lent much capacity for China to become involved in, interact and cooperate with UNESCO in post-war era.

4.4.2 ANT: Network Tracing UNESCO–China Relations and Mutual Impacts

As Latour explains, actor-networks do connect and by connecting with one another provide an explanation of themselves, i.e providing connections among unrelated elements and how one element controls or interferes with many others⁵⁵. The appropriateness of bringing ANT into this dissertation also lies in the fact that it provides a possible framework for tracing the continuous connections leading from interaction at the headquarters to its member states and to local places in the making of the historical relations between UNESCO and China.

As demonstrated above, the operation of IOs such as UNESCO relies upon the networking of politicians, scientists, intellectuals, experts and activists etc. at the global, national and local

⁵⁴ D. W.Y. Kwok, *Scientism in Chinese Thought 1900-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political in the Early Republic*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977)

⁵⁵ Bruno Latour, On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications plus more than a Few Complications, *Soziale Welt*, 1996, Vol. 47, pp. 369-381

levels. Following the path indicated by the process of translation renders a more continuous, more visible and more empirically traceable long chains of full-blown actors linking sites to one another in the making of UNESCO–China relations⁵⁶. Thus, the path paves the way to the places where the ingredients of UNESCO activities entering into interactions emerges in the form of juxtaposed localities⁵⁷. In other words, connection is established, laying down the conduit for circulating what would be transported or translated in the concrete and practical sense from one site to another over great distances, such as UNESCO documents, reports and guidelines etc.⁵⁸. Hence, it offers the possibility of tracing the diffuseness of their mutual impacts via tracing the actor-network.

ANT holds that actor and network should be considered dependently, i.e. actors are also networks and vice versa; that actor-networks are formed, defined and stabilized by their elements and by the relationships between them. Given the nature of UNESCO, the human actors to be analyzed in this dissertation involves politicians, diplomats, professionals, activists etc. who were recruited to the national delegations or National Commission to UNESCO or any UNESCO–China related issues. But they were not isolated; rather each of them was networking with others. The network tracing in this dissertation involves a global-national-local scale, but it is by no means a rigid categorization between the three scopes, as actors/actants often travel back and forth and network between global and national, national and local and global and local. Hence acting-networking UNESCO–China at the global-national-local scopes is often intermingled, intertwined and interwoven.

4.4.3 Actors/Actants in Network Tracing of UNESCO–China Relations and Impacts

Latour and other practitioners of ANT attach equal importance to both human actors and non-human actants. The politicians, such as foreign ministers, educational ministers and diplomats, involved in UNESCO-China business were often part of the KMT cadre and Nationalist Government bureaucracy, and they were actively engaged in the network of national as well as global power politics during wartime and the post-war period. The influential intellectuals engaged in UNESCO affairs, such as renown scholar Hu Shi (1891-

⁵⁶ Bruno Latour (2005), P. 173

⁵⁷ Ibid, P. 193

⁵⁸ Ibid, P. 223

1962), meteorologist Zhu Kezhen (1890-1974), biopsychologist Wang Jingxi (1898-1968) etc., were part of the scientific community that has been fostered in modern China. They had maintained a subtle interaction with Chinese politicians, while they networked with the international science community via internationalist scientists such as British biologist Joseph Needham, the networking among which greatly shaped UNESCO-China relations in the field of science, particularly in UNESCO's East Asian Field Science Cooperation Office (EAFSCO) in China. Educationist James Yen, the prominent leader of the Mass Education or Rural Reconstruction Movement in China that involved many educationists and educational groups, was networking with Chinese politicians, educationists and experts as well as his transpacific network of politicians, educationists and philanthropists in the United States for his envisioning of post-war reconstruction. Hugh Hubbard, the Congregational missionary, was a member of foreign missionary groups dedicated to Christian evangelism and he had a close and subtle relationship with James Yen in promoting Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction in China, the cooperation between them greatly shaping UNESCO's Fundamental Education pilot project in China.

The non-human actants that this dissertation will analyze UNESCO's ideals and initiatives in the post-WWII era, especially those that provoked much resonance in China such as the cosmopolitan One Worldness, Science, progress, reconstruction etc. New developments in conceptual history also suggest the inquiry go beyond abstract concepts, looking at everyday lived experience, such as metaphors and images related to or referring to certain concepts⁵⁹. Located in the conceptual transformation in modern China, and given that the subject of UNESCO's Fundamental Education pilot project was health, the dissertation will specifically trace the trajectory of the metaphor of the "Sick Man" in modern China, which exerted a lasting influence on the development of science, education and culture in modern China. The metaphor indicating a weak, decaying China was widely embraced by foreigners, especially foreign missionaries and many Chinese intellectuals since the early modern period. It inspired the missionaries and Chinese elites in the modern era to seek a medicalized resolution for transforming the Chinese body, society and culture. Highly influenced by Social Darwinism and much motivated by nationalism, Chinese intellectuals were determined to cultivate New People by establishing and promoting modern

⁵⁹ Jan-Werner Müller (2014)

professional societies and associations, modern mass media networks, including press, news agencies and magazines etc., and modern schools ranging from preschool education to elementary education all the way to higher education and academic research.

The prescription for the Sick Man made by New Culture intellectuals, many of whom would be involved in UNESCO–China affairs, was to introduce Western science and democracy that were thought to be the source of strength of the Western powers. The promotion of Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy and the promotion of New Culture led to the diffusion of scientific methodology and the democratic spirit in academic research as well as in experimental social engineering projects such as the educational experiments led by James Yen and his peers, which greatly fostered the actor/actant-network in the fields of education, science and culture. The actor/actant-network had been both national and international at the same time and played an important role in the foreign relations of Republican China during the interwar as well as the wartime period, which then paved the way for UNESCO–China interactions in the post-war era. Mr. Science was typically embodied by Joseph Needham in his service of wartime Sino-British Scientific Cooperation Office (SBSCO), and then of the Nature Science Department of UNESCO in the UNESCO EAFSCO, acting-networking among human actors such as scientists/scholars in modern scientific disciplines and non-human actants such as scientific facilities/literatures/apparatus and scholarships etc. between China and the outside world.

Furthermore, the scientific experimental approach, personnel, textbooks and teaching materials, including audio-visual aids etc., applied in the promoting of mass education or rural reconstruction were also circulated among Chinese educational groups such as the James Yen-led MEM and foreign philanthropic organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation and several missionary groups in China. Human actors, involving Chinese educational activists, missionary workers and UNESCO expert and non-human actants, also networked in the field of Fundamental Education, with UNESCO and China cooperating in organizing an international conference and a joint pilot project. The pilot project on Fundamental Education conducted between UNESCO and China, which was an experiment in producing audio-visual materials such as posters, calendars, booklets, film strips and animation movies for teaching Chinese villagers fundamental knowledge about health and protection from certain epidemic illnesses. The general subject of the healthy village, a

knowledge of health and hygiene and the representation of illness and disease were translated by the UNESCO AVP actors into verbal forms, such as the slogans and the narratives accompanying the scripts of the filmstrips and animation, and into visual forms, using formalistic and stylistic elements such as framing, featuring, light, color, presence and composition etc.. Other non-human actants included materiality, such as the media, technology and the referencing and remediation of the visual materials; etc. The networked disposition of the human actors and non-human actants and the interplay between them generated a certain degree of verbal and visual persuasion so that other important actors in UNESCO AVP – the local village audiences – would later be enrolled in the vaccination campaigns.

Therefore, this dissertation will trace how these non-human actants and human actors converged and interacted in acting-networking science, culture and education, laying down the infrastructure or conduits for their translation between UNESCO and China. It is noticeable that the Chinese expression of situation *Ju Shi* (局势) indicates both positive potential advantages and negative limitation or disadvantages. Just as the Chinese idea of *Shi* indicates both potential and limitation, these actors, their agency, their convergence and divergence, the alliances or conflicts embedded within these networks, will facilitate-support as well as restrain and undermine the action, thereby affecting the designed outcomes. The tension between the political appeals of Nationalists politicians and intellectuals at home and abroad contributed to the making of UNESCO–China relations and the formulation of certain projects such as UNESCO EAFSCO and UNESCO AVP; but the configuration of the geographic limitation and lack of facility, and the clash between the political steering and agency of scientists, educationists and epistemic community would bring trouble for networking UNESCO-China relations. This dissertation will trace these actor-networks and examine the composition and dynamics that would greatly shape UNESCO–China relations in the fields of education, science and culture and their mutual impacts.

4.5 Analytical Structure

This dissertation attempts to inquire into UNESCO–China relations in a roughly thematized way, i.e. to consider culture, science and education in broader sense. It will combine commensurable historical semiotics-transcultural conceptual history and ANT in the analysis.

Chapter 6 “Between Culture and Politics: Translating between UNESCO and Nationalist China 1945-1950” looks into UNESCO–China relations and mutual impacts in the field of culture in the broader sense. It mainly uses transcultural conceptual history and ANT as the tools to analyze how UNESCO and China were mutually translated with certain motivation, i.e. how UNESCO ideas, initiatives and agendas were translated/mistranslated, interpreted/misinterpreted in Chinese languages and contexts, and vice-versa how China’s ideas were translated/mistranslated and promoted through UNESCO. It will depict how the ideals of UNESCO were constantly translated/mistranslated, appropriated/misappropriated, negotiated, contested in the actor-network of cultural internationalism and power politics.

Chapter 7 “Mr. Science in Acting-Networking UNESCO–China Relations, 1945-1950” looks into UNESCO–China relations in the field of science by applying the analytical tools of actor-network tracing and conceptual history. The chapter first traces the conceptual history of the “Sick Man of East Asia” and the emergence of an actor-network of Chinese modern intellectuals looking to rebuild China. This chapter then takes a closer look at British biologist Joseph Needham and the SBSCO under his leadership, in particular the legacy of SBSCO in acting-networking UNESCO–China relations. The chapter aims at tracing and depicting the broader actor-network of scientific internationalism and sorting out how this loosely connected actor-network was mobilized, acted-networked and transformed in UNESCO–China relations in the post-war/Civil war/Cold War era.

Chapter 8 “UNESCO–China Relations in Fundamental Education: Experimenting with A Healthy Village in China for the Globe” investigates how UNESCO–China relations in the field of education took place by looking into the UNESCO–China joint pilot project on fundamental education, where a global actor-network experimented with creating a healthy village in West China using audio-visual educational materials. The chapter begins with a conceptual historical analysis of the loosely-defined yet contested concept of Fundamental

Education, how the concept was formulated and negotiated among a global actor-network through the platform of UNESCO. The chapter traces the gradual emergence of an actor-network in the field of fundamental education before the presence of UNESCO in modern China and maps out the broad spectrum of “Fundamental Education” in the making of UNESCO–China relations. This chapter then looks into how this global actor-network came into play when post-war reconstruction captured the global attention. By applying transcultural conceptual history and actor-network tracing, this chapter will map out the making of UNESCO–China relations and the diffusion of mutual impacts in the field of Fundamental Education.

Hence the dissertation aims at presenting the flow of ideas, working plans, actions and effects of UNESCO in China that were constantly interchanged and mediated among actor-networks at the international-national-local levels. By doing so, the dissertation aims at depicting a relatively comprehensive UNESCO–China relation and their mutual impacts in the historical period 1945-1950.

Chapter 5 Presentation of Resources

To study the historical relations between UNESCO and China and their mutual impacts in the initial period in the post-WWII era, this dissertation looks at the research topic at international-national-local levels. Accordingly, the author has conducted archival research in international-national-local archives to obtain first-hand resources.

As defined in Chapter 2, geographically, most activities in UNESCO–China relations during the period 1945-1950 took place at the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris and in the territories of mainland China. Thus, the author collected archives from the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris in November 2016. During the period discussed in this study, UNESCO–China relations in mainland China were centered in the capital of Nationalist China and the village where the sole UNESCO–China joint pilot project was located. The official capital of Nationalist China was Nanjing, and the wartime capital was Chongqing. It was in these cities that the major bureaucratic organs such as the foreign ministry and educational ministry and other organs (such as the Chinese National Commission for UNESCO) that dealt with UNESCO or communicated with UNESCO were located. Thus, the author visited Chinese Second National Archives in Nanjing in the summer of 2017, and the Chongqing Archives in the summer of 2017. Since the Nationalist government removed most of the official documents when they fled to Taiwan in 1949, the author has also visited the archives now mainly held in the Institute of Modern History, Academia SINICA, in Taipei in the summer of 2018. In addition, in order to grasp how UNESCO, and the initiatives UNESCO promoted, were discussed and communicated in the modern Chinese public media, visits were paid to the National Library, Peking University Library and Chongqing Library in the summer of 2017, and the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica in the summer of 2018. In these libraries it is possible to search the complete digital databases of modern newspapers, journals, magazines and other publications of Nationalist China. As the pilot project between UNESCO and MEM, led by James Yen, was conducted in a small county in Sichuan (now in Chongqing), the author visited the Bishan Archives in the summer of 2018. Due to the importance of British biologist Joseph Needham in the early history of UNESCO and the prominent role Joseph Needham played in the making and networking of UNESCO–China relations, the author also visited the Needham Research Institute (NRI), the NRI library and

University of Cambridge Library from mid-July to mid-August 2019. Apart from the main archives mentioned above, other archives and libraries that hold relevant documents for the pilot project, such as the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), Sterling University Library were contacted in the spring of 2018 as well as Yale University Library in the winter of 2018.

The documents held at the UNESCO Archives in Paris provide detailed records that encompass all UNESCO activities such as general conferences, seminars, meetings etc., and UNESCO-member state chronological relations from the preparatory phase all the way up to the 21st century, including project reports as well as UNESCO publications etc. Many of the UNESCO archives and publications have been digitalized and are available on a website, which the author used extensively¹. Sponsored by the Global History of UNESCO hosted at Aalborg University, photographic copies of UNESCO archives under the categorization “China”, which are the official records of UNESCO–China historical interactions since 1945 till now, were obtained. Since the dissertation focuses on the initial period from UNESCO’s history as its research target, the dissertation mainly investigates the specific years from 1945 to 1950. Thus, the sources used are UNESCO documents generated between 1945-1950, records of UNESCO’s General Conference (including the preparatory conference in London), special seminars, meetings etc. with a focus on China’s presence at these occasions and China’s interactions in the international dynamics; UNESCO’s correspondence with China including various reports from China or regarding China with a focus on UNESCO’s conceptions and expectations of China; Chinese employees in UNESCO and their participation in UNESCO on behalf of China; UNESCO programs in which China was directly involved with a focus on the joint project between UNESCO and China; and UNESCO’s publications which mentioned or specifically discussed China etc.

The documents from UNESCO offer materials through which to understand China’s participation in UNESCO at the international level; Chinese Second National Archives in Nanjing and Modern Institute of History Archives and Taipei Academia Sinica² offer many resources to show how China responded at the national level. The archives held at Academia Sinica include diplomatic correspondence in the name of UNESCO–China. Since UNESCO has its origin in CAME, the bureaucratic organ in charge of UNESCO was the

¹ <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/>

² http://archives.sinica.edu.tw/?page_id=33

Ministry of Education. But it was a specialized agency of the UN, and thus Ministry of Foreign Affairs was often also involved. So, the correspondences were not only between UNESCO and China, but also among different bureaucratic organs of Nationalist China. From these correspondences, it is possible to get a better grasp of how China formulated and delivered its opinions regarding UNESCO affairs, through several rounds of intergovernmental communication and intra-governmental communication. What is more, since UNESCO is located in Paris, and UNESCO holds its conferences or seminars in other countries from time to time, the Chinese officials who were involved in UNESCO's activities often had to communicate with local Sino-embassies, therefore there is a wealth of correspondence regarding UNESCO affairs in the global Sino-embassy system that Nationalist China had built. Thus, even in the short time-span of five years, there were many documents generated between and about China and UNESCO. Hence, ignoring the initial period of 1945-1950 gives a rather misleading perspective for getting a better understanding of the Sino-UNESCO relation.

An important supplementary source for this dissertation comes from the Joseph Needham Papers (JNP) held in the University of Cambridge Library and NRI. JNP encompass almost the complete records of Joseph Needham's activities during different periods from 1900-1995, but sections C and D are about his service for the Sino-British Scientific Cooperation Office (SBSCO) and for UNESCO and hence are most relevant to this dissertation. JNP firstly offer rich insights into how Needham's network with Chinese scientific workers and institutes had been formed as he put the idea of wartime scientific internationalism into practice at the SBSCO. JNP indicate how the actor-network of science in China, involving many Chinese scientists, scholars, educationists and politicians etc., mediated through Needham and SBSCO, forced their way into UNESCO-China relations from the very beginning. JNP also show how the legacy of SBSCO shaped the early work of UNESCO's Natural Science Division under the leadership of Needham, in particular UNESCO's Field Science Cooperation Office (FSCO) under the leadership of Needham including the one in China-UNESCO East Asia Field Science Cooperation Office (EAFSCO) etc. JNP, together with the archives found in Taipei, tell the story of the cooperation between UNESCO representatives and Chinese authorities in making EAFSCO operate for the benefit of the Chinese scientific community; they also tell the story of the uneasy navigation of the future of EAFSCO during the Civil War as well as in

the pre-Cold War setting. Last but not the least, JNP help to map out how Needham's interest in China and his position in UNESCO became an important factor in networking the Chinese scientific community with the international scientific community, even after he resigned from his post at the Natural Science Division, and how his earnest scientific internationalism was tempered by the real politics of the Civil War as well as in the pre-Cold War setting.

The newspapers, magazines and journals found in the Chinese National Library, Peking University Library in Beijing and Chongqing Library mainly come from a big database, called “全国报刊索引”, a national full-text periodicals database, which covered the Republican period of 1911-1949³. The other database is Shen Pao (申报)⁴ full-text database. The news reports and editorials portrayed how UNESCO activities, which occurred both in China and in the international community, were represented in the Chinese language and revealed, at a minimum, China's official response to UNESCO, such as that of the Chinese national delegation, participants, National Commission for UNESCO etc.

Chongqing Archives and Bishan Archives offer some historical resources regarding the implementation of the pilot project on Fundamental Education. Here, the author found more material regarding the people involved in the pilot project. A transcription of a missionary, Hugh W. Hubbard, who was the leader of the pilot project was also found. The transcription is a good starting place for understanding the sole UNESCO pilot project by locating it in the broader Rural Reconstruction agenda that existed in China, as well as in the historical situation of the Civil War between KMT and CCP. It also reveals personal reflections of Hubbard, sent out by UNESCO as the head of the pilot project. The author also contacted Yale University digital Library where some materials about his stay in China in that period including his memory of the project were found⁵. Another UNESCO expert was Norman McLaren, a Scotland-born film artist. So, the author contacted Sterling University Libraries and the National Film Board of Canada in Montreal where Norman McLaren worked in the 1940s and obtained some correspondence as well as and news clippings⁶.

³ <http://www.cnbkys.com/>

⁴ http://www.nlc.cn/dsb_zyyfw/bz/bzzyk/

⁵ <https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/4/resources/87?stylename=yul.ead2002.xhtml.xsl&pid=divinity:137&clear-style-sheet-cache=yes>

⁶ <http://libguides.stir.ac.uk/archives/mclaren>; <https://www.nfb.ca/directors/norman-mclaren/>

The pilot project was designed to produce audio-visual materials for fundamental education, with a specific topic of Healthy Village. The Chongqing Archives have a record of the titles of these filmstrips but the Bishan Archives sadly had no collection in this regard. Unfortunately, the filmstrips and animation movies have not been digitalized in UNESCO Archives either. But there are some records of the storylines in the UNESCO archives, and some reports on the public health campaign implemented in the pilot project in UNESCO *Courier*, which are very valuable materials for analyzing this project. More details were presented in the official report submitted to UNESCO, which was written by the participants in the project, including Hugh Hubbard, Norman McLaren and missionary doctors, and published by UNESCO. The report is important since it offers an overall introduction to the local environment, the formulation of the working group, the technical details involved in making the audio-visual materials, the actual implementation of these materials and numerical records of the public health campaign etc. The images illustrated in the *Courier*, in the report and some piecemeal video clippings in Norman McLaren's archives help us to gain a visual impression of the filmstrips that were made for this project.

Apart from the primary resources, this PhD dissertation will draw upon many secondary sources. The secondary sources have already been presented in Chapter 3, "Research Discussion", as a literature review, i.e. the vast resources that are available regarding the history of UNESCO as a specialized agency of the UN, including UNESCO's intellectual history, the role of UNESCO in international politics and UNESCO's impacts over its member states and globally etc. The secondary resources have also been presented when it comes to UNESCO-China relations, UNESCO's impacts in China etc. The resources used in this dissertation expand into several other related fields. Thus, at the international level, it draws upon general diplomatic history and the history of international relations of the pre-Cold War setting in the post-WWII era. Then at the national level, it brings in a historiography of Nationalist China, including the political history of late Republican China, intellectual history and the transcultural conceptual translation from the West in modern China. When it comes to the pilot project on Fundamental Education at a local level, it considers the history of the grassroots mass education movement and rural reconstruction movement in Nationalist China, which then calls for a broader perspective on international trends of progressive education and rural reconstruction/rural development shared in the

transpacific or even transatlantic network. Thus, the dissertation draws upon the history of the experimental education movement in Nationalist China, and historiography regarding missionary activities in the field of education and public health in Nationalist China.

Apart from academic articles and monographs, this dissertation draws upon the biographies, memoirs and diaries etc. of historical figures (such as Julian Huxley, Joseph Needham, Pearl S. Buck, Hugh W. Hubbard, Hu Shi, James Yen etc.) involved in UNESCO–China historical relations. For Joseph Needham and a special official Kuo Yushou, some archival resources from Wu Zuoren Archives held by Wu Zuoren International Foundation of Fine Arts located in Beijing were obtained, where the author used to work as an archival editor. The private holding of archives regarding Kuo Yushou is complementary to the official archives, since Kuo Yushou turned out to be an underground CCP agent, thus the archives available now are very limited both in mainland China and Taiwan. Due to time limitations, the dissertation only draws upon the resources mentioned above to map out the historical relations between UNESCO and China and their mutual impacts from 1945–1950. However, the author is definitely open to using any complementary resources in future studies.

Chapter 6 Between Culture and Politics: Translating between UNESCO and Nationalist China 1945-1950

When Great Principle (of the ideal social order) prevails, the world is like one home common to all; men of virtue and merit are to be elected to be rulers; sincerity and amity pervade all dealings between man and man [...] Thus, there will be no, and no cause for, conspiracy, robbery, theft, or rebellion, and no need to bolt one's outside door. This is a true Commonwealth.¹

UNESCO as the intellectual spearhead of the UN aims to promote the solidarity of humankind by promoting intellectual cooperation across national boundaries. At the request of UNESCO, Chinese Ambassador to the United Kingdom Futing Cheng (F.T. Cheng, 1884-1970), wrote a short article in October 1949 introducing Chinese culture in the light of world problems in which he quoted the Utopian description of the Confucian ideal Datong (大同) as a true Commonwealth. Quoting a Chinese saying uttered by a disciple of Confucius- "Within the four seas, all are brothers", F. T. Cheng claimed that the conception of the world as one is almost as old as Chinese history². This chapter focuses on UNESCO-China relations in the field of culture. The analysis will then look into the transcultural conception of this cultural internationalism in modern China, with a particular focus on the conceptual communication and accommodation between Western-derived internationalism and indigenous Confucian concepts such as Datong. This legacy of this transcultural history offered significant conceptual apparatus for Chinese politicians and intellectuals for communicating with the One World idealism of UNESCO when the organization was set up in the ashes of global war. UNESCO is an inter-governmental organization; hence, the conception and practice of cultural internationalism is often unavoidably interfered with by power-oriented realism, situated in the actor-network of geopolitical powers. This chapter

¹ UNESCO Archives, UNESCO/PHS/CE/13, F.T. Cheng, *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Enquiry on Cultural Interrelations: Chinese Culture in the Light of World Problems, 20 October 1949, P.2, quote of Confucian classical texts Book of Rite, Li Yun, Chapter 9*

² Ibid

will explore the interplay of idealist cultural internationalism and power-oriented realist nationalism in the making of the historical relations between UNESCO and China. So, the analysis will look at the wartime actor-network of political power at home and abroad, which were often intertwined in the uneasy negotiations between China and the Allied powers in dealing with the threats of the Axis powers. The product of the Allied practice of realist internationalism saw the formation of the post-war United Nations and greatly shaped the fact that China was one of the founding countries of the UN, with a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. However, domestic power conflicts between the rival the Nationalists and Communists as they competed for the legitimate representation of China – intertwined with international power relations between the liberal bloc headed up by the United States and the communist bloc headed up by Soviet Union – descended into full-fledged civil war. The actor-networks of politics at home and abroad greatly affected the Nationalist Government's attitudes, communication and strategy of interaction with UNESCO and the results would add an unstable variable to UNESCO–China relations in the long run.

6.1 A Conceptual History of Internationalism in Modern China

Internationalism, according to Akira Iriye, refers to an idea, a movement or an institution that seeks to formulate the nature of relations among nations through cross-national cooperation and interchange³. Cultural internationalism, which entails a variety of activities undertaken to link countries and peoples through the exchange of ideas and persons, through scholarly cooperation, or through efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding, has risen and been widely embraced in the realm of cultural or intellectual activities of humankind since the late 19th century⁴. In particular, the perfectibility of nature and humanity and the progressive evolution of the world towards an inevitable unity has been the theoretical background for many cultural internationalists up until the mid-20th century when UNESCO took its shape⁵.

³ Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), P. 3

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane Penguin Books, 2012), P. 99

It is remarkable that a kind of belief in the seemingly bright future of this One-World, where all states would enjoy justice, equality and human rights, received endorsement from many states including China. The ideal of cultural internationalism, that believes the wellspring of human intellect and emotions as a more solid basis for a world community had great resonance for many Chinese intellectual elites and politicians who were involved in the UN and its agency UNESCO. China, with a large delegation, was among 44 states present at the preparatory conference in London among the earliest countries to ratify the Constitution.

But there is a broader historical context under which internationalism was conceived and practiced by modern China as a semi-colonial country, the historical experience of which Rana Mitter argues as “an uneasy engagement” would greatly shape Chinese engagement in the international system, the wartime alliance, in the UN system⁶. The deeper motivation for China’s exploration of internationalism was paradoxically nationalism triggered by a national crisis in dealing with Western imperialism and, then, Japanese militarism, the interesting coexistence and mingling of which has been an important theme in the modern Chinese mentality, especially among Chinese intellectuals⁷. Hence, an inquiry into the conceptual trajectory of internationalism, especially cultural internationalism in modern China, would be useful in reaching an understanding of the participation of China in UNESCO set against the historical relations between UNESCO and China.

6.1.1 Mourning the Vanished Glory of the Past and the Making of the Sick Man of East Asia

Inspired by Marco Polo’s travel writing, an exotic idea of China captured many Westerners’ imaginations and inspired some of the great adventurers to explore the world. In the early modern period, the cultural encounters between China and Europe via European trading companies, missionaries and travelers had added more stereotypes and misunderstandings

⁶ Rana Mitter, *An Uneasy Engagement: Chinese Ideas of Global Order and Justice in Historical Perspective*, in Rosemary Foot, John Gaddis and Andrew Hurrell ed., *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.207-235

⁷ Chang Hao, *Youan Yishi yu Minzhu Chuantong* 幽暗意识与民主传统 (Taipei: Linking Publishing Company, 1989)

lending to a distorted European perspective of China⁸. Fascinated by the delicate porcelain, textiles and paintings exported from China, there was an obsession with Chinese culture in 18th-century Europe; the French called it “Chinoiserie”⁹. Some of the greatest Western thinkers, such as Voltaire and Leibnitz, were effusive in their praise of Chinese culture, such as the morality of Confucianism and the wisdom of Taoism, and the efficient governance of empire etc.¹⁰ However, while European aristocrats were fascinated by “Chinoiserie”, China was facing multiple crises, even though it seemed to be undergoing a prosperous period under the reign of Emperor Qianlong¹¹. But social pressure was embedded in almost every area. Culturally, on the one hand, the imperial examination system was failing to select the most talented people due to the standard and schematized curriculum and examination, not to mention that due to corruption and the increasing population, many examinees failed to pass the examination, because the court did not increase the admission ratio¹². On the other hand, Evidential Research (Kaoju 考据), drawing upon careful textual study, became more widespread an approach to literal inquisition into antiquity and the growth of textual detail-focused studies led to inability to look into the urgent social issues.

The fashion for Chinoiserie in Europe did not last long and European thinkers began to point out the weaker aspects of China, such as the fact that the imperial examination system could lead to moral decline, that Chinese laws were based on threats rather than rationality, etc. even though they did not travel to China to see for themselves. Scottish liberalist thinker Adam Smith’s famous work *The Wealth of Nations*, which would be translated into Chinese by Yan Fu (1854-1921) after China’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, predicted that China, one of the richest, most fertile, best cultivated, most industrious and most populous countries in world, had long been stationary in its development and had reached the limits

⁸ Thijs Weststeijn, *Foreign Devils and Philosophers: Cultural Encounters between the Chinese, the Dutch and Other Europeans, 1590-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2020)

⁹ Madeleine Jarry, *Chinoiserie: Chinese Influence on European Decorative Art 17th and 18th Centuries* (New York: Vendrome P., 1981)

¹⁰ Jürgen Osterhammel, translated by Robert Savage, *Unfabling the East: The Enlightenment’s Encounter with Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 2018)

¹¹ Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990)

¹² Benjamin A. Elman, *Civil Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013)

permitted by its legal and institutional systems, and that if China resisted change, it would make the situation even worse¹³.

From the late 18th century, the Qing court was confronted by a series of crises, including a deficiency of government and infrastructure, fatigue of its soldiers, the corruption and fractionalization of officials, the taxation and oppression of its peasants etc., added to which, of course, was the growing addiction to opium¹⁴. The serious outflow of silver due to the underground opium trade led Daoguang Emperor (1782-1850) to appoint Commissioner Lin Zexu (1785-1850) to eradicate the illegal opium trade resulting in the first clash with the Western powers¹⁵. Nationalist aspirations became the first and common concern of China after a series of military defeats in the wars with imperial powers, and consequently a full set of unequal treaties were granted, giving the powers sovereign concession and placing a huge financial burden as well as psychological humiliation on the Chinese people¹⁶. The shock became even greater after the overwhelming defeat by Japan in 1895, regardless of the efforts of the so-called “Self-strengthening Movement” (自强运动) that the Qing Court launched to build up a westernized military and industrial system so that the country could be wealthy and powerful¹⁷. Different versions of the cartoon image and poems that circulated around 1899, implied that China was metaphorically “like a melon”, being divided up by the imperial powers with the warning that the “sleeping lion” should wake from its sleep and avoid being cut by the Western powers¹⁸. The century of national humiliation of being the Sick Man of East Asia (东亚病夫) was a century of poignant exploration and struggle to resume the lost sovereignty, international status and cultural dignity¹⁹.

¹³ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London: The Electric Book Company, 2001), Book One: The Productive Powers of Labour, Chapter VIII, P.121, P. 163

¹⁴ Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China* (London: Picador/Panmacmillan, 2011)

¹⁵ Mao Haijian, *The Qing Empire and the Opium War: The Collapse of the Heavenly Dynasty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

¹⁶ Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832-1914* (London: Allen Lane, 2011)

¹⁷ Benjamin I. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964)

¹⁸ Rudolf G. Wagner, “China Asleep” and “Awakening.” A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It, *Transcultural Studies*, 1 (2011), pp. 4-139

¹⁹ Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012)

6.1.2 Encountering Social Darwinism

According to its sophisticated religious-philosophical system, having been at least the center of East and Southeast Asia via the tribute system, if not the center of the world, the Son of the Heaven actually bears more responsibility for maintaining stable inter-state relations²⁰. Confucian tradition in particular implies that those who are at the top of the hierarchy should not abuse their power, instead they have the obligation of practicing Benevolence (仁) to their suzerain and tributary territories.²¹ Although pre-modern Chinese actually considered themselves part of a much flatter hierarchical system than the rhetoric suggests, the historical experience of China's position in the modern world has been described as a poignant process, transitioning from "All under Heaven" (天下) to "Nation State" due to the arrival of the Western imperial powers and the encounter with the entire set of Western-derived international norms²². To make China a part of the world represented by the Western powers and modernized Japan, Chinese intellectuals, since the earlier reformists, have drawn upon various intellectual resources including Confucianism to creatively imagine and formulate a new cultural internationalism²³.

The notion hit the earlier reformists that China was no longer the center under the heaven with the privileged duty of delivering Benevolence; rather, it was one of many states in the world and, worse, it was in an inferior position in the competition of the world community²⁴. When the influential book *Evolution and Ethics* of 1893 by Julian Huxley's grandfather – British biologist Thomas Huxley – was first translated into Chinese as *On Evolution* (天演论) by Yan Fu in 1897, it was annotated with Social Darwinian references to British liberal philosopher Herbert Spencer²⁵. Very quickly, the astonishing concept of natural selection, "the survival of the fittest" and "the weaker go down before the stronger" in the jungle world, resonated with the thinking of many Chinese who pondered the failure

²⁰ Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), *Volume One The Problem of Intellectual Continuity*

²¹ Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968) *Volume Two: The Problem of Monarchical Decay*

²² Peter Zarrow, *After Empire: The Conceptual Transformation of the Chinese State, 1885-1924* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012)

²³ Luo Zhitian, Lixiang yu xianshi: Qingji minchu shijiezhuyi yu minzuzhuyi de guanlian hudong, in Wang Fansen ed. *Zhongguo Jindai Sixiangshi de Zhuanxing Shidai* 中国近代思想史的转型时代 (Taipei: Linking Press, 2017) P.280-281

²⁴ Luo Zhitian (2007), in Wang Fansen ed. (2017), P.274

²⁵ Benjamin I. Schwartz (1964), pp.91-112

of China in the First Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) and the previous series of defeats by the Western powers²⁶. Very soon, biological evolution theory was appropriated in China as Social Darwinism, which attracted more and more Chinese intellectuals such as Confucian reformists Liang Qichao, Kang Youwei etc. to uphold the nationalist argument that, in order to have a foothold in the world, China should search for wealth and power to become an independent, prosperous and powerful state in the international community²⁷. Informed by Social Darwinism, Since then, there have been two long-term nationalist aspirations that Chinese modernizing elites, whatever their divergent ideologies, would embrace, i.e. to achieve legal equality with other states and to end unequal treaties imposed by the imperial powers, and the recognition of China's self-assumed identity as a once and future great power²⁸. These would persist into the post-WWII period when China was about to become involved in the UN system, including its intellectual organ, UNESCO.

6.1.3 Datong as a Coping Strategy

During the process of its response to the West, the adoption of these Western notions was often filtered through traditional concepts, such as some of the old worldviews affecting China's perception of the Western challenge and Western knowledge²⁹. The world view implied in Confucian classics texts such as the *Books of Changes* and the *Book of Poetry* have been deployed by the earliest reformist thinkers in their explanation of the dangerous situation that China was facing and to justify the necessary reform³⁰. Yan Fu reconciled the ancient Chinese concept of heaven with the modern theory of evolution in invoking the urgency of reform for the sake of national salvation; as the *Books of Changes* indicate, change is the way of heaven, change is necessary to follow the will of heaven³¹. Chinese reformists seemed to abandon Sinocentric parochialism for the more universal view in replying to the

²⁶ Ibid; Huang Kewu, *Wei Shi Zhi An: Yanfu yu Jindai Zhongguo de Wenhua Zhuanxing* 惟适之安：严复与近代中国的文化转型 (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2012)

²⁷ Benjamin I. Schwartz (1964), pp.113-196; Peter Zarrow (2012)

²⁸ Alison Adcock Kaufman, In Pursuit of Equality and Respect: China's Diplomacy and the League of Nations, *Modern China*, Vol. 40, No. 6 (November 2014), pp.605-638

²⁹ Erh-Min Wang (1993), "Turn of Fortune" (Yun-hui): Inherited Concepts and China's Response to the West, in Richard J. Smith and D. W.Y. Kwok ed., *Cosmology, Ontology, and Human Efficacy: Essays in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), pp. 205-215

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Ibid

imperialist expansion which was driven by economically liberal internationalism. However, they still adhered to Chinese traditional philosophy which was then echoed by Confucian reformists such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, who also shared a similar approach to rediscovering and utilizing the legacy of Chinese ancient thought³².

In the effort of trying to reconceive the world situation and China's place in it, there was only one classical concept that was to gain and maintain an almost universally esteemed position in the ideological rhetoric of late Qing and Republican China, i.e. "Datong". Datong, the great world unity, an end to war, a Utopian ideal of a world society evolving toward one without competition or wars between nations, without any suffering of humankind, was to become the professed goal of reformers and revolutionaries, of republicans, anarchists, socialists, communists and constitutional monarchists alike³³. Kang Youwei grasped the concept of Datong from the chapter "Evolution of Rites" (礼运) in the Confucian classic *Book of Rites*, the same resource from which F.T Cheng's writing for UNESCO quoted and Kang reformulated it in his famous *Book on Datong* (大同书) in the early 1900s³⁴. Sun Yatsen (1866-1925), the founding father of ROC, formulated his draft for revolution with Datong as the ultimate goal, to which the Three People's Principles (Principles of Nation, Democracy, and Social Welfare) were supposed to lead. The phrase 天下为公 (Tianxia Weigong) as the official ideological rhetoric of Nationalist China was Sun Yatsen's most popular calligraphic inscription throughout republican China.

Datong internationalism was a highly nationalist aspiration filtered through Confucianism. This Confucian-derived term offered intellectual resources that Chinese elites could call on when they tried to formulate an indigenous version of cultural internationalism in their communication with the Western-derived language of international order. The historical legacy of seeking accommodation between Chinese-derived internationalism and Western-derived internationalism had long-lasting impacts on China's engagement with the outside world, including international organizations such as the League of Nations in the interwar periods when Wilsonian international norms were fiercely debated in the field of

³² Luo Zhitian, From Tian Xia to the World: Changes in Late Qing Intellectuals' Conceptions of the Human Society, *Social Science in China*, 2007, No.5, pp.191-204

³³ James Reeve Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), P.31

³⁴ Chang Hao, *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis: Search for Order and Meaning (1890-1911)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), P. 56

international relations. The Wilsonian expression of national self-determination, once inspiring for China and the Leagues of Nations, was once considered as a sign of great unity by many Chinese intellectuals, including reformists Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, and even communist Li Dazhao³⁵. Chinese diplomats, especially Wellington Koo (V.K. Koo, 1888-1985) and Wang Chonghui (1881-1958), who would also represent China in the UN meetings, strived for representation in the League of Nations Council by emphasizing the undervalued civilization of China, which they assumed was not only the world's oldest continuous civilization but also the most intellectually, spiritually and morally sophisticated, cultural dignity³⁶. However, China's contribution to WWI, the sending of 175,000 Chinese laborers to France by the Beijing Government of Republican China, sent as a sign of engaging in international affairs, was considered as unimpressive³⁷. As a result, China only received two seats as a "minor power", even fewer than Serbia or Belgium, while the USA, the UK, France, Italy and Japan each had five seats and China never became a permanent member of the League of Nations Council³⁸. Furthermore, Chinese diplomatic efforts in seeking to revise the unequal treaties were in vain and the failure to regain sovereignty in Shandong during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 led to collective disillusionment regarding the League of Nations in China³⁹. Some, including Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) and Li Dazhao, turned to Socialist internationalism – radical Bolshevism, as experimented with in the 1917 Russian Revolution – to transform China, which led to the establishment of CCP during the patriotic May Fourth Movement or the New Culture Movement, in a broader sense⁴⁰.

For patriotic liberal intellectuals such as Hu Shi, who was Chinese ambassador in the USA during 1938-1942 and would be the chief delegate attending the founding conference of the UN in San Francisco and the UNESCO preparatory conference in London, Datong arose as a strategic tool to counterattack the powerful social Darwinism that had hovered over China's

³⁵ Xu Guoqi, *The Rise of Chinese Internationalism and the New Diplomacy*, in Xu Guo-qí, *China and the Great Wall: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 19-79; Luo Zhitian, *Disillusionment after "Six Months of Optimism": The Psychology and Politics of the Literati before the May Fourth Movement*, *Historical Research*, 2006, No.4, pp.105-112;

³⁶ Alison Adcock Kaufman (2014), P. 625-626

³⁷ Paul Bailey, *From Shandong to the Somme: Chinese Indentured Labor in France During World War I*, in Anne J. Kershened., *Language, Labor and Migration* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp.179-196

³⁸ Manela Erez, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

³⁹ Luo Zhitian (2006), pp. 118-125

⁴⁰ Luo Zhitian, *Chen Duxiu yu Wusi hou Xinqingnian de Zhuanbian*, *Tianjin Social Science*, 2013, No.3, pp.116-130

modernizing elites in the entire 20th century, according to which China deserved to fail because of its backwardness versus the international competition. After studying in the USA for a while, Hu Shi, who used to be a supporter of Social Darwinism, realized that the power politics in international relations based on the law of the jungle, as advocated by “evolutionism”, could be dangerous, as indicated in WWI⁴¹. He slightly changed his previous opinion that Chinese culture was not fit for the modern era; on the contrary, he began to reassess the value of China’s national past (国故) using scientific methodology through the New Culture Movement⁴². He recognized that the legacy of Chinese tradition was a very valuable resource through which to recast a cosmopolitan world order, in which China could obtain true peace because international morality would welcome neither competition nor conflict but foster peace among nations. Even after the seemingly anti-Confucian, cultural iconoclastic New Culture Movement, the ideal of Datong survived as a useful mental configuration for dealing with the dichotomy of power and culture for modern China’s elites, who sought to condemn the imposed cultural inferiority, either as externally imposed by the imperialist invasion and oppression or self-imposed due to the former. Confucian Datong remained a fascinating rhetoric resource for Nationalist China’s engagement with the UN and its agency UNESCO following WWII since the war had essentially changed the geopolitical balance of power at the international level, which acknowledged China as a full sovereign state after a century of national humiliation.

6.2 Negotiating China’s Place in the Emerging Actor-Network of Geopolitics

As demonstrated impressively in Gordon’s studies on UNESCO-China relations during 1946-1953, China’s interaction with UNESCO was profoundly shaped by the contingent politics at home and abroad⁴³. But as Gordon notes, Chiang Kaishek, KMT and the party-state had deeply involved in this postwar organ from the inception. This section will take a step

⁴¹ Luo Zhitian, Hu Shi Shijiezhuyi Sixiang Zhong de Minzuzhuyi Guanhuai, *Modern Chinese History Studies*, 1996, No. 1, pp. 216-241

⁴² Yu Yingshi, *Chongxun Hushi Licheng: Hushi Shengping yu Sixiang zai Renshi* 重寻胡适的历程：胡适生平与思想再认识 (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2004), pp.178-232

⁴³ Gordon Barrett, Between Sovereignty and Legitimacy: China and UNESCO, 1946-1953, *Modern Asian Studies*, 53, 5 (2019), pp.1516-1542

further back and take a closer look at what was really going during the negotiation of wartime Allies. This section seeks to sort out how the realignment of the emerging actor-network of geopolitics at the conclusion of WWII brought China to the center of world politics, where China was one of the sponsor states for the establishment of the UN with a permanent seat in the UN Security Council and was an important founding state of the UN's specialized agency, the biggest intergovernmental intellectual cooperation organ to date — UNESCO. This section will then illustrate how the rational calculation and decision of each actor within this power network affect the alliance and the interplay, and the outcome - Civil War and Cold War, which would profoundly orient the trajectory of UNESCO-China relations in the short term and the long run.

6.2.1 The Rising of China as a “major power”

The international order in Asia as established by the Western empires, that had lasted for nearly a century after the Opium War and had impacts on East Asia and China at all levels, was greatly threatened by the rising Japanese empire and was to come to an end in WWII⁴⁴.

At the outbreak of war, Chiang Kaishek sought an international coalition with the United States, the UK and Soviet Union by trying to globalize the Second Sino-Japanese War⁴⁵. However, the British policy was to defend threatened British interests while the conflict between China and Japan was regarded as marginal to core British interests.⁴⁶ As the threat of Germany arose, the resistance of China against Japanese expansion in Northeast Asia became more important for Stalin in securing the eastern flank of the Soviet Union⁴⁷. The British also suffered the humiliation of a loss of power during the Japanese advance in Southeast Asia and the war with Japan had grudgingly shaped British attitudes towards China at the start of the decline of the British empire⁴⁸. The threat posed by American interests

⁴⁴ Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed., *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War III*(Stanford: Stanford University Press,2014), Introduction

⁴⁵ Tsuchida Akio, Declaring War as an Issue in Chinese Wartime Diplomacy, in Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014)

⁴⁶ Rana Mitter, British Diplomacy and Changing Views of Chinese Government Capability across the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945, in Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014)

⁴⁷ Li Yuzhen (2014), Chiang Kai-shek and Joseph Stalin during World War II, in Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014)

⁴⁸ Rana Mitter (2014)

increased and reached a crescendo when the Japanese embarked on an attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, which led to America's full engagement in combat against the Axis⁴⁹. The Declaration of the United Nations signed by the USA, the UK, Soviet Union and China on 1 January 1942, later joined by 22 further nations, declared an official wartime alliance against the Axis, meanwhile laying down the foundation of a future peace-time "United Nations" by establishing a wider and permanent system of general security⁵⁰.

Delivered by the midwife of World War II, the United Nations had acted as a wartime alliance between the major powers before it became a formally universal political world organization. Facing the common threat from the Axis, the United Nations built a consensus of mutual support and international aid. At the peak of WWII, on 27th June 1942, Winston Churchill and FDR announced that the United Nations had fully reached agreement regarding the plan of achieving victory⁵¹. Nothing was said about China though, as one of the earliest four nations that signed the Declaration of United Nations: the crisis that China faced was about to lift as the United Nations agreed the process of aiding China on 22nd July 1942⁵².

The rise of China as a "major power" was first expressed as a series of resurrections of sovereignty rights. After declaring war against Japan, the American government took a series of steps which "demonstrated the desires and intention of the United States to treat China an equal among the Major Powers and to contribute to the strengthening of the Chinese Nation"⁵³. On October 9, the American government suggested that China negotiate a treaty for the relinquishment of American extraterritorial rights in China⁵⁴. In October 1942, the UK also decided to give up their extraterritorial rights in China and to make a new treaty with China, which was considered as a sign of terminating unequal treaties between China and the imperial powers. Then, on 27th October 1942, Canada, Norway, Netherlands and Argentina

⁴⁹Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *FDR and the Creation of the UN* (New Haven: Yale University Press,1997), P.25, P.45

⁵⁰ Robert C. Hilderbrand, *Dumbarton Oaks: The Origins of the United Nations and the Search for Postwar Security* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press,1990), Preparing for Peace, P.13

⁵¹ Guo Tingyi, *Zhonghua Minguo Shishi Rizhi* 中华民国史事日志 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1979), Volume 4, P.208,

⁵²Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.210; Ruth B. Russell assisted by Jannette E. Muther, *A History of the United Nations Charter: The Role of the United States 1940-1945* (Washington: the Brookings Institution, 1958), P.41, P.55

⁵³ United States, Department of State, *United States Relations with China: With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949* (firsted in 1949, reprinted in New York: Greenwood Press,1968), P.34

⁵⁴ Ibid

also renounced their privilege rights in China⁵⁵. The system of extraterritorial rights that was set up by the imperial powers ended in 1943, which carried a lot of symbolic and political meanings for the leader of China - Chiang Kaishek, KMT and China. According to Chiang's diary, it meant the realization of one of the revolutionary goals laid down by Sun Yatsen and denoted that China could regain her independence and autonomy⁵⁶. Almost a century after the defeat of the first Opium War, on 16 January 1943, the Nationalist government released a history documenting China's diplomatic struggles in the past 50 years⁵⁷.

The Second Sino-Japanese war on the one hand, had caused massive damage to China and thus weakened China, but, on the other hand, it raised the international status of China as the major country in post-war Asia⁵⁸. Apart from resuming its lost rights and lands, a rising China was also reinforced by the fact that China was among one of the "Four Policemen" proposed by American president FDR and was expected to play a major role in the post-war order⁵⁹. FDR's scheme of post-war security organization included China partially to compensate for Allies's financially limited contribution to the Chinese war efforts, but more to grant China responsibility for maintaining order in Asia in replacement of the defeated Japan because the possible alternatives – revolutionary chaos or Russian hegemony – were unappealing for FDR in his promotion of American liberalism⁶⁰. FDR had sold the idea to the UK that China should be one of the major powers in the Far East to help to police Japan⁶¹. However, to what degree China had been accepted as an important player in the actor-network of international politics remained dubious, the interplay among which would interweave with the actor-network of politics in Chinas.

Although the UK agreed with American suggestions and gave up its extraterritorial rights in China, Churchill regarded FDR's proposal of Four Policemen as ridiculous and had emphasized the more important role of the Big Three as "the trustees for the peace of the world"⁶². For

⁵⁵ Qin Xiao-yi, *Zongtong Jianggong Dashi Changbian Chugao* 总统蒋公大事长编初稿 (Taipei: Caituan Faren Zhongzheng Wenjiao Jijin, 1978-), Volume 5, P.221-222

⁵⁶ Ibid, P.209-212

⁵⁷ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.224

⁵⁸ Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan, 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Penguin Books, 2014)

⁵⁹ Dan Plesch, *America, Hitler and the UN: How the Allies Won World War II and Forged a Peace* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2011), P.89-90

⁶⁰ Robert C. Hilderbrand (1990), *Preparing for the Conference*, P. 59

⁶¹ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.234; Ruth B. Russell assisted by Jannette E. Muther (1958), P.106

⁶² Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane Penguin Books,2012), P.196

Churchill, who sought to maintain the interests of the British empire in the Far East, the American proposal of China as one important regional role player was potentially unfavorable for the UK because of the anticolonialism embraced by both FDR and Chiang⁶³. Given the presence of British imperialism in modern China, Chiang projected a paradoxical attitude of anti-imperialism if not anti-colonialism when he met Indian leader Nehru and Gandhi, about which Churchill was furious⁶⁴. FDR's proposal to strengthen China as one of the Big Four also received opposition from Russia during the Moscow conference on 21 October 1943⁶⁵. Even within the USA, there was an opposing voice against the notion of China as a major power. For American political critic Walter Lippman, the new world organizations should be controlled by the Big Three; China and France were not serious actors in the world power equation⁶⁶. Russia would not encourage situations where China would be presented as the preeminent power in Asia since Russia perceived itself as an Asian as well as a European power, and Russia would not attend occasions at which China was included in the name of keeping its neutrality in the Pacific region to avoid fighting on two fronts⁶⁷. Russia also engaged in strategical thinking about Nationalist China since Chiang Kaishek would not allow coexistence with the Communists if he became the future leader of China⁶⁸. Hence, the negotiations about the final phase in the war against the Axis and post-war arrangements were spilt into two: one in Cairo, which focused on the Chinese role in the war with Japan, and one in Tehran, where the Big Three had created better military and political cohesion⁶⁹. The Cairo Conference still marked a significant moment of diplomatic history for modern China as it was the only wartime international occasion for post-war arrangements at which Chiang Kaishek was present and it claimed that Manchuria, Taiwan and Penghu Islands would be returned to China⁷⁰. Chiang was able to sit on behalf of China at the top table of global decision-making as an equal non-European partner. Chiang's KMT held onto the

⁶³ Robert C. Hilderbrand (1990), P. 59; Wang Shijie commented Churchill's satirizing opinion that China suffered great military loss regardless of receiving excessive aids from the USA, which indicated the UK might exclude China out of the Big Four. Also see in Academia Sinica, The Institute of Modern History Archives, Wang Shijie Diary (later referred as WSJD), 19441001, J4413064-J4413065).

⁶⁴ Rana Mitter, *Forgotten Ally: China's WWII 1937-1945* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013), P.168;

⁶⁵ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.259

⁶⁶ Walter Lippman, *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of a Republic* (New York: Pocket Books, 1943)

⁶⁷ Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley (1997), P. 95

⁶⁸ Robert C. Hilderbrand (1990), *Preparing for the Conference*, P. 62

⁶⁹ Dan Plesch (2011), pp. 95-96

⁷⁰ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.263; Ruth B. Russell assisted by Jannette E. Muther (1958), P. 153

internationally recognized government of China which meant that it was only through his regime that the Western Allies could form future diplomatic and commercial relations with China and that his government would monopolize international aids. Chiang Kaishek expected the Allies would defeat Japan and demise his opponents sponsored by Japan – Wang Jingwei’s and the Manchuria collaborationist regimes – so that he could concentrate on containing another challenger, the Soviet-sponsored CCP⁷¹. However, the diverse geopolitical concerns of his Allies were far more complicated, while the military strategy within the Allies for securing the goal of defeating the Axis were far more contingent than Chiang expected. To what degree Chiang’s regime was internationally recognized and supported by his “allies”, in particular the United States, was first of all subject to the Nationalist Army’s performance in co-fighting with the Allies against Japan in the China-Burma-India theater and by the Nationalist Government’s capacity in dealing with domestic affairs, particularly with the Communists. The price of entry into the global power club was far more expensive than he had expected and that would even threaten the very basis of his rulership in China⁷².

Facing the devastating Ichigo Operation, large parts of the wealthiest central and south China were lost to Japan because the Nationalist Army had to fight on two fronts, while many of Chiang’s best troops remained in Burma in 1944 as a result of the poor cooperation and performance of the Allies in Burma⁷³. Chiang did not get on well with the American chief of staff Joseph Stillwell (1883-1946, Vinegar Joe) over the leadership and strategy in the Burma Campaign; while Stillwell did not have positive opinions about Chiang either⁷⁴. Chiang felt the interior and exterior threat, i.e. the USA proposed a compromise with the CCP and might have nominated Sun Yatsen’s son--Sun Ke (1891-1973) to replace Chiang⁷⁵. The mutual trust between Chiang and FDR was quite weak over certain issues meaning that Chiang had to maintain a careful balance between asking for aid and bargaining for aid.

⁷¹ Odd Arne Westad, *Cold War & Revolution: Soviet-American Rivalry and the Origins of the Chinese Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), P. 15

⁷² Rana Mitter (2013), pp.239-364

⁷³Hans Van De Ven, Stillwell in the Stocks: The Chinese Nationalists and the Allied Powers in the Second World War, *Asian Affairs*, Vol 34, No.3, November 2003, pp. 243-259; Rana Mitter (2013)

⁷⁴ Hans Van De Ven (2003)

⁷⁵ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.296

In Tehran, the strategic importance of Chinese resistance for FDR had declined, and Stalin offered FDR military assistance against Japan if Russia's political demands in Northeast Asia were to be met. Foreign minister Wang Shijie (1891-1981) had already predicted in August 1944 that after Soviet Union entered Manchuria, the Communists would probably get assistance from the Soviet Union, which would immensely benefit CCP in its competition with KMT⁷⁶. The Yalta Conference in February 1945, without the presence of China, ended with a secret agreement, without the consent of China, to ensure a Soviet declaration of war against Japan in Manchuria⁷⁷. Chiang had hoped FDR could intervene in his strained relationship with Moscow so that Stalin would support him instead of his rival⁷⁸. However, neither FDR nor Chiang could ever imagine Soviet intervention in Manchuria would have such a big impact over the course of the competition between KMT and CCP, since the Soviets gave CCP grand military resources for fighting in the Civil War, the results of which would partially lead to "the loss of China"⁷⁹. The course and the outcome of the Civil War would unavoidably affect the interactions between China and many intergovernmental organizations devised in the post-war era, of which the UN system is the most prominent example.

6.2.2 Superficial yet Symbolic Participation: China Presence in the UN 1945-1950

Apart from the "betrayal" in Yalta, the USA still recognized the status of China as one of the Great Powers. At the insistence of the USA, the Chinese ambassador to Moscow Fu Bingchang (1895-1965) signed the Declaration of Four Nations General Assembly in Moscow on 30 October, 1943, which recognized China's rights and responsibility to participate jointly with the Big Three in the prosecution of the war, the world organization for peace and the preparation of various post-war international institutions⁸⁰. Despite being excluded from certain international occasions, the notion that China was to be involved in decisions about international affairs greatly fascinated Chiang and his governmental officials. China began to

⁷⁶ WSJD, 19440830, J4413054

⁷⁷ Odd Arne Westad (1993), pp. 7-30

⁷⁸ John W Garver, Chiang Kai-shek's Quest for Soviet Entry into the Sino-Japanese War, *Political Science Quarterly*, Summer 1987, Vol.102(2), pp. 295-316

⁷⁹ Lloyd E. Eastman, Who Lost China? Chiang Kai-shek Testifies, *The China Quarterly*, No. 88(Dec.,1981), pp.658-668

⁸⁰ United States, Department of State (1968), P.37

participate more and more actively in international affairs. Chinese delegations attended various international conference about post-war order making. In 1943, Chiang released an announcement to the United Nations that after the end of the war, it would be crucial to build up a peace organization that possessed sufficient international forces to guarantee world justice and collective security⁸¹. Wang Shijie had on several official and unofficial occasions raised the responsibility of China, the UK, USA and Soviet Union to work for world peace in the future and emphasized the importance of cooperation between the Big Four⁸². He also made reflections upon the idea of international institutions such as the United Nations organization in his diary⁸³.

On behalf of China, Wellington Koo, the Chinese ambassador in the USA, attended the Dumbarton Oaks Conference which was about building up the United Nations as an international organization in the summer and fall of 1944⁸⁴. It was noticeable that China only attended the second half of this conference since the Soviet Union, USA and the UK could not agree on whether China should participate in such a conference⁸⁵. Wang Shijie considered China's attendance at the conference as superficial or "informative", given that China was asked by the UK and USA to accept the agreements reached between the Big Three⁸⁶. Despite not being informed about the whole story, Chinese chief delegate Wellington Koo tried to present idealistic proposals on behalf of his government, of which the promotion of cultural cooperation received the fewest objections from the British and Americans⁸⁷.

Viewing it as a veil masking the alliance of great powers or the arrangement of post-war world order by the dominant victors, not every politician, including those of the Chinese national delegation, attending the San Francisco Conference in 1945 would really believe in the superficial rhetoric of universal freedom, rights, justice etc. However, a minimum agreement was reached between the national delegations that a universal intergovernmental organization is necessary as a mechanism for international negotiations to attain the goal of

⁸¹ Qin Xiaoyi (1978-), Volume 5 (1), P.340

⁸² WSJD, 19440105, J4411025

⁸³ WSJD, 19440216, J4411038, and 19440217, J4411039, and 19440223-0224, J4411041)

⁸⁴ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, pp.297-298, P.308

⁸⁵ Robert C. Hilderbrand (1990), pp.229-244

⁸⁶ WSJD, 19441007, J4413067; Robert C. Hilderbrand (1990), Preparing for the Conference, P.229

⁸⁷ Robert C. Hilderbrand (1990), P. 235-240; Ruth B. Russell assisted by Jannette E. Muther (1958), P. 429

peace keeping. After the conference ended, China, together with the USA and the UK and Soviet Union, jointly announced the draft Charter of the United Nations on 7th October 1944, which laid down the future formation of the UN.⁸⁸ China, as one of the sponsoring powers, attended the San Francisco Conference in April 1945, which approved the Charter of the United Nations⁸⁹. According to Wellington Koo's report to Chiang, China was honored for its long-standing fight against aggression by being the first country to sign on the Charter on 26 June 1945⁹⁰. Two days later, Chiang sent a cable to the new American president Truman saying that China had participated in initiating such a world security organization, and that China would try its best to realize the common goals⁹¹. He signed and approved the Charter on 24 August 1945⁹². The 1st General Assembly of the UN was held in London on 10 January 1946, after which the United Nations Security Council was set up with China as one of the five permanent members⁹³. On 29 January 1946, Chinese was among the official languages used in the resolution of the 1st UN General Assembly⁹⁴.

Given the mixed feelings of disappointment and expectation in its predecessor – the League of Nations – China's participation in the UN was not as superficial as it might seem. In 1945, the unequal treaties, that marked the national humiliation caused by the Great Powers, were ended, largely on the initiative of the USA; hence China could participate properly in the international community as a modern sovereign state. In contrast to the fact that China never became a permanent member of the League of Nations Council, the UN had opened a door for the Chinese, who were ready to engage actively in international affairs after a hundred years of humiliation. FDR's proposal included China as a major regional power because he actually took a post-colonial perspective that China's elevation to a Great Power would demonstrate to all non-Caucasian people that the Western powers were not seeking to continue their imperial domination and this would provide psychological lubrication in the inevitably painful transition from the colonial system to independence⁹⁵. There is no other

⁸⁸ Qin Xiaoyi (1978-), Volume 5 (1), pp.619-623

⁸⁹ United States Relations with China: With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949(first edition in 1949, reprinted in New York: Greenwood Press,1968), P.37

⁹⁰ Qin Xiaoyi (1978-), Volume 5 (2), pp. 734-740

⁹¹ Ibid, pp.740-741

⁹² Ibid, P. 812

⁹³ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.454; Qin Xiaoyi (1978-), Volume 6(1), P.13

⁹⁴ Ibid, P.30-31

⁹⁵ Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley (1997), P.70

specialized agency in the UN like UNESCO that could act as an excellent agency to offer a buffer for this intellectual transition. But the ideal of practicing cultural internationalism via UNESCO, would face challenges raised by real politics⁹⁶.

6.2.3 Locating UNESCO-China Relations in the Network of Civil War/Cold War

As WWII came to an end, the divergent interests of the members within the anti-Axis camp were becoming more and more evident as indigenous movements were freed from wartime constraints and were realigning into new political forces, while the major Allied powers were seeking to exert or reinsert their influence over the approaching post-war world⁹⁷. In particular, clashes between Soviet- communist parties and democratic factions supported by the UK and USA were becoming more and more intensive in Europe, the Balkans, Middle East as well as in China⁹⁸. While Chiang's Nationalist China seemingly gained international recognition by the Allies and engaged in the post-war design on behalf of Free China, it had to resolve many real challenges in order to maintain its legitimacy of governance at home that would in turn affect its legal representation abroad⁹⁹. Apart from the practical demands of relief and rehabilitation, the overt challenge for the Nationalist Government came from the rampant Communists. This subsection will carry on inquiring the actor-network of power politics manifested in the Civil War and Cold War, which casted shadow upon what would happen between UNESCO and China during 1945-1950 and beyond.

The conflictual relationship between KMT and CCP had undergone much international intervention from the very beginning. The social welfarism and nationalism indicated in Sun Yatsen's envisioning of China made it easier for him and his newly built KMT to cooperate with the Chinese Communists, while the later had a direct ideological connection with the Comintern that was then headquartered in and dominated by the Joseph Stalin-led Soviet Union, which Sun considered as friendly and benevolent¹⁰⁰. Under the mediation of Soviet-backed Comintern, the joint efforts of the first United Front, such as the Whampoa Military

⁹⁶ Akira Iriye (1997), P.9

⁹⁷ Iriye Akira, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1841-1945* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp.214-260

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), P. 7

¹⁰⁰ Rana Mitter (2013), P.44

Academy, involved many politicians and military leaders, including Mao Zedong (1893-1976), Chiang Kaishek, Zhou Enlai (1898-1976) etc. who would play a crucial part in shaping the historical fate of China¹⁰¹. But Sun Yatsen's successor, Chiang Kaishek, born in a merchant family in Chekiang in 1887, received traditional Confucian education at home and Japanese military training abroad, and his experience of visiting the Soviet Union would greatly shape the Neo-Confucian ideology of the party, the arbitrary leadership of the Government of Nationalist China as a party-state and the persisting hostility towards communism¹⁰². To better resist Japan, the KMT-CCP relationship had been cooperative one in forming the Second United Front again under the mediation of Soviet-backed Comintern, regardless of their mutual denunciations and the eradication of the Communists from their former revolutionary base in Southeast China¹⁰³. But having survived the encirclement and the Long March, and having relocated in Northwest China, CCP managed to maintain its vitality during the wartime period and grew even stronger to cultivate a firm revolutionary base with Yen' an as the center by launching land redistribution, mass propaganda and rectification campaign etc.¹⁰⁴.

Before the Sino-Japanese war came to an end, the negotiations over the future of China between KMT and CCP actually took place under pressure from the emerging power, the United States, in 1943, since FDR wanted a united China rather than a conflicting China to survive at the lowest cost for the American grand strategy in the Asia-Pacific area. Mao straightforwardly insisted that Chiang should abolish the party-state dictatorship, withdraw the encirclement army around the Yen' an area, and announce the CCP as legal party etc.¹⁰⁵ In a secret inner-party circular he wrote before he departed for Chongqing negotiations in 1945, Mao had clearly ordered "We should gain control of whatever we can even though temporarily"¹⁰⁶. Chiang, who sought the sole ruling power for his party-state in China,

¹⁰¹ Ibid, P.45

¹⁰² Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2009)

¹⁰³ Li Yuzhen (2014), Chiang Kai-shek and Joseph Stalin during World War II, in Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014)

¹⁰⁴ James E. Sheridan, *China in Disintegration: The Republican Era in Chinese History 1912-1949* (New York: Free Press, 1975), Chapter V Coalition and Conflict, pp. 141-182, Chapter VIII The Communist Victory, pp. 246-256

¹⁰⁵ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.257-259

¹⁰⁶ Mao Zedong, On Peace Negotiation with the Kuomintang (August 1945), in *Selected works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IV (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1965), pp.47-51, collected in Winberg Chai ed. *The Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1972), pp.57-60

simply could not meet the requirements of the Communists and vice-versa: the Communists could not become subordinate to the KMT, which became an insurmountable obstacle in any efforts to negotiate mediated by Patrick Hurley and George Marshall¹⁰⁷.

Due to the negotiations between KMT and CCP, the CCP cadre Dong Biwu (1886-1975) was also among the Chinese delegates at the UN founding conference in 1945¹⁰⁸. It was FDR who sent a secret cable to Chiang insisting that members of other parties, including oppositional parties such as CCP, should also be participants in the San Francisco Conference¹⁰⁹. At the behest of the United States, the Nationalist Government recruited a national delegation that seemed quite diversified to demonstrate the democracy of its governance. However, apart from liberal intellectuals such as Hu Shi and female biologist Wu Yifang (1893-1985), the editor of *Dagong Pao*--Hu Lin (1889-1949), representatives from the "third force" such as the founder of Chinese Youth Party, Li Huang (1895-1991), and the leader of the Chinese Democratic Socialist Party, Carsen Chang (1887-1969), there was only one Communist representative – Dong Biwu present at the San Francisco Conference. The majority of the delegates were diplomats such as T.V. Soong (1894-1971), Wellington Koo, Wang Chonghui, Wei Daoming (1899-1978) and Alfred Soke Sze (1877-1958): KMT obviously dominated the presence of China at the UN founding conference¹¹⁰.

UNESCO was still in the making in 1945, thus it seemed not to be the major target international organization that CCP strived for to contend with KMT. Apart from Dr. Kuo Yushou (1901-1978), who worked in UNESCO in the educational department and was then a special advisor on Far East affairs and turned out to be an underground Communist agent in 1966, the members of the future ruling party of mainland China were completely absent from various official UNESCO affairs. This left the stage for the Nationalist government, representing China as both a post-war and post-colonial country in Asia, to interact with the intergovernmental intellectual organization, UNESCO, a perfect platform to engage with and to monopolize international recognition. Although the Communists did not share in the

¹⁰⁷ Daniel Kurtz-Phelan, *The China Mission: George Marshall's Unfinished War, 1945-1947* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019)

¹⁰⁸ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.340

¹⁰⁹ WSJD, 19450323, J4514052

¹¹⁰ Guo Tingyi (1979), Volume 4, P.342

opportunity of interacting with UNESCO, their conflicts with the Nationalists would become the tumultuous condition for any of UNESCO's projects in China.

As required by George Marshall, the two parties went on with the negotiations and reached a cease-fire agreement around 6 January 1946¹¹¹. They even organized a political consultative conference in which KMT, CCP and other democratic parties participated, discussing post-war political, military and administrative reorganization. However, neither KMT nor CCP were sincere about a coalition government and they both saw it as a temporary arrangement while their parties prepared to fight for the absolute ruling power of the country¹¹². While the Soviets finally evacuated from Manchuria on 13 March 1946, fighting had begun at Siping in Jinlin Province, with both parties aiming to hold this vital area¹¹³. In October 1946, the negotiations staggered to a halt, which resulted in the withdrawal of George Marshall, even though a second cease-fire agreement was made¹¹⁴. In January 1947, the situation of mutual denial of both parties destroyed the formerly veiled conflicts and any attempts at mediation, and a full-fledged Civil War broke out in mainland China. From late 1948 to early 1949, the military situation was in favor of the Communists, as they had seized Manchuria and North China and very soon Nanjing, Shanghai and the rich base of Chiang and KMT's governance came under the control of the Communists. The new PRC was announced by Mao in Beijing in October 1949, while Chiang, KMT and the Nationalist Government had to flee and finally relocated in Taiwan. As Beijing quickly declared its loyalty to the Socialist bloc in the "leaning to one side" policy, any Western, and especially any American diplomatic, cultural, religious, commercial presence, including the international organization UNESCO over which the Western bloc had strong influence, was suspected to be hostile to the new regime, and hence was either to be dismantled or reorganized under the party and state control¹¹⁵.

¹¹¹ WSJD, 19460105-06, J4617021, 19460110, J4617023

¹¹² Rana Mitter (2013), P. 350

¹¹³ Odd Arne Westad (2003), P. 36

¹¹⁴ WSJD, 19461009, J4618026; Odd Arne Westad (2003), P.40-43

¹¹⁵ John W. Garver, *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), Chapter Joining the Socialist Camp

6.3 Between Culture and Politics: Relating Nationalist China with UNESCO 1945-1950

The global intellectual organization UNESCO relies upon intellectual communities, while the intergovernmental UNESCO relies more upon diplomacy and bureaucracy such as the General Conference and the National Commissions¹¹⁶. Republican China had a group of educated elites, many of them European-American-trained PhDs with high academic reputations at home or abroad, and they had maintained good relations with wartime intellectual internationalists such as Needham. Taken together, these factors gave the Nationalist Government the confidence to be engaged in the intellectual-oriented UNESCO, both symbolically as well as concretely, right from its inception. Drawing upon ANT, this section will map out how network between UNESCO and China were established and maintained by following the tracks of the actor-network of intellectuals, diplomats and politicians involving in UNESCO-China business such as attending UNESCO occasions and UNESCO events at home and abroad.

6.3.1 Attending, Legislating and Institutionalizing UNESCO–China Relations during Civil War

Chiang's Nationalist Government put much emphasis on its engagement with UNESCO. Nationalist China had recruited and sent out national delegations, which often consisted of intellectuals, politicians and diplomats, to attend various UNESCO conferences, meetings, seminars etc. In November 1945, China sent a delegation with the Columbia graduate philosopher, liberal scholar and diplomat Hu Shi as the chief delegate and the British-trained literati diplomat Chen Tongbo (Chen Yuan, 1896-1970) as the secretary to attend the Preparatory Conference of UNESCO in London, during which the delegates discussed the role of UNESCO in global affairs and the drafting of the Constitution of UNESCO. The Chinese delegates made a pretty impressive presence, including the talented Cornell-Harvard-trained linguist Dr. Zhao Yuanren (1892-1982), who was assigned to the drafting

¹¹⁶Vincenzo Pavone, *From the Labyrinth of the World to the Paradise of the Heart: Science and Humanism in UNESCO's Approach to Globalization* (Lexington Books, 2008), pp.88-92

committee¹¹⁷. Chen Yuan, a Nationalist diplomat in the UK, would be elected to the Executive Board twice and became the key channel for communications between UNESCO and the Nationalist Government. In 1946, the Nationalist government decided to send out a national delegation to attend UNESCO's 1st General Conference in Paris, which involved not only liberal intellectuals like Zhao Yuanren, Zhu Kezhen, French-trained bio-physician Li Shuhua (1890-1979), educationist Qu Shiying (1900-1976) etc., but also more KMT politicians such as Zhu Jiahua (1893-1963), who was a German-trained geologist but also a right-wing educational minister, and right-wing educationist Cheng Tianfang (1899-1967)¹¹⁸. Many travelled all the way from China to Paris to attend the 1st General Conference grandly inaugurated in the Sorbonne Auditorium¹¹⁹. Zhu Jiahua could not make it to Paris and was replaced by Zhao Yuanren as the chief delegate, but Zhu Jiahua cabled the Chinese ambassador in Paris to convey his congratulations on behalf of Nationalist China.¹²⁰



Figure 1 Chinese delegation to UNESCO 1st General Conference, November 1946, Paris

¹¹⁷ Xie Zheping, *China and UNESCO: An Empirical Study of International Organizations' Impact on Member States* (Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House, 2010), P.42; Su Jinzhi, *Zhao Yuanren Zhuan 赵元任传* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House, 2012), p.182.

¹¹⁸ Shenbao, 12 October 1946, P. 8

¹¹⁹ Shenbao, 24 October 1946, P.8

¹²⁰ Shenbao, 11 November 1946, P.8

Apart from sending national delegations to the General Conference, Nationalist China also sought to grasp the opportunity to promote the Chinese language, culture and arts in the celebration of the so-called UNESCO Month. China's plan and arrangement for the UNESCO month event included a speech given by Zhao Yuanren, a musical performance and the only scientific film produced by China about a solar eclipse.¹²¹ The talented linguist Zhao Yuanren was asked to give a speech on "the efficiency of Chinese language and characters under the hieroglyphic system" in French as part of the lectures in UNESCO Month¹²². For the UNESCO Month Arts Exhibition, Nationalist China had made elaborate preparations in advance as the Ministry of Education had organized a preparatory committee and called for objects nationwide for the UNESCO Month¹²³. On 13 September 1946, Minister Zhu Jiahua hosted a preparatory meeting in the meeting room of the Education Ministry, which decided to send out artistic and educational objects for the exhibition in Paris. This included more than 20 Chinese paintings by famous artists and various statistical charts about the education of different grades in wartime China¹²⁴. Consequently, Chinese artworks were on show in UNESCO's modern international art exhibition, 37 of which were contemporary artworks transported from China; the rest had been exhibited in London and Paris. This engagement in UNESCO Month was both a cultural performance and a political move, as reports back home put it, Chinese artworks, compared to those from other countries, attracted more attention from the audience as several visitors expressed their appreciation of Chinese painting in comparison to other multifarious modern arts in Europe¹²⁵.

Apart from attending UNESCO's General Conference and seeking exposure for China during UNESCO Month, Nationalist China's engagement in UNESCO included sending delegations to attend various international conferences held by UNESCO, such as the International Summer Camp for Teachers, an international conference of theater experts, a conference on the need for news, radio and films in war-devastated countries and conference on philosophy and humanities etc.¹²⁶. As the archives indicate, some secretaries who were appointed to attend the international meetings of international agencies such as UNESCO

¹²¹ Shenbao, 7 November 1946, P.8

¹²² Shenbao, 11 November 1946, P. 8

¹²³ Shenbao, 31 October 1946, P.6

¹²⁴ Shenbao, 15 September 1946, P. 6

¹²⁵ Shenbao, 20 November 1946, P. 8

¹²⁶ Shenbao, 15 October 1947, P. 6

and IRO (International Refugee Organization) had very busy schedules, which often overlapped and collided with each other¹²⁷. The next step was to formalize the relations with UNESCO and to institutionalize the docking platform for cooperation with UNESCO at home.

6.3.2 Institutionalizing UNESCO–China Relations: the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO

The UNESCO Constitution, drafted in London on 16th November 1945, was brought back to China by the national delegations. The full texts of the UNESCO Constitution were translated into Chinese and published in several journals¹²⁸. On June 25th, 1946, at Nanjing, meeting No.303 of the Legislative Yuan officially approved the ratification of the UNESCO Constitution, with the Foreign Minister Wang Shijie signing as a witness of this instrument of acceptance, which marked the official membership of China in UNESCO¹²⁹. This move formalized the relations between UNESCO and China but, for both UNESCO and Nationalist Government, it was very important to have national institutions to carry out the promotion of UNESCO in China, and the further engagement of China in UNESCO.

When the American National Commission to UNESCO held their meeting in the US capital in 1947, the Chinese media suggested that China should build up a similar organ to the one USA had created: a national commission which would be in charge of the coordination between UNESCO and national decision-making bodies etc. ¹³⁰ It was argued that China would play an important part in the international cooperation of culture and education, and that UNESCO was keen for China to try to perform this role as well as possible ¹³¹. The national commission is part of the institutional design of UNESCO to be the channel by which the work done in UNESCO finds its way into the daily life of the people of its member

¹²⁷ Academia SINICA, Institute of Modern History Archives (later referred to as IMHA), 11-INO-03855, No. 551713-No. 551714, cable sent from Chinese Embassy in London to Foreign Ministry on 6 July 1946

¹²⁸ Lianheguo Jiaoyu Kexue Wenhua Zuzhi Yuezhang, *Jiaoyubu Wenjiao Congkan*, 1946, No.1, pp. 8-12 (《教育部文教丛刊》1946年第1卷第1期); also in *Jiaoyu Tongxun*, 1947, No.12, pp.37-40 (《教育通讯》1947年副刊第12期)

¹²⁹ National Archives at Kew Garden, FO 94/1431, U.N.E.S.C.O Chinese Ratification; *Lifa Zhuankan*), No. 25, 1947, pp. 316-323(《立法专刊》1947年第25期)

¹³⁰ Shenbao, 2 February 1946, P. 2

¹³¹ Ibid

states and by which all those bodies in member states working for education, science and culture can make contact with UNESCO¹³². Huxley had already contacted China with regard to building a Chinese national commission to UNESCO in early 1947. Dr. Kuo Yushou suggested to Huxley that a letter be sent to Chen Yuan to press for the formation of the national commission in China so that the inauguration of this body could take place at the time of the “Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in Far East” in China¹³³. Citing and enclosing Article VII of the Constitution regarding the setting up of National Cooperating Bodies or a National Commission, on 12th March 1947 Huxley informed minister Zhu Jiahua that the principal member states, notably the USA, the UK, France and Brazil etc. had made great progress in putting this Article into effect and urged that China should push on with the process so that a Chinese National Commission could take the opportunity of the conference on fundamental education be held in China to impress the experts attending the conference¹³⁴.

As a response to the expectations of UNESCO, the Ministry of Education set up a special preparatory committee involving major intellectuals on 7th April 1947¹³⁵ to study the organizational structure of a national commission and it came up with several suggestions, that were approved by the Ministry of Education¹³⁶. Later, on 12th April 1947, the preparatory committee held its first meeting and discussed several issues, such as the members of the committee, the number of members, admittance to membership, the responsibilities of the committee etc.¹³⁷ In a letter dated 24 July, Zhu Jiahua informed the Deputy Director-General of UNESCO, W.H. C. Laves, that the preparations were in full swing for the constitution of the Chinese National Commission¹³⁸. On July 29th, the Ministry of Education had already screened the candidates from various academic associations to build up the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO and would hold its founding conference in August 1947¹³⁹. Huxley had sent Zhu Jiahua a letter of congratulation two days ahead of the

¹³² UNESCO Archives, X07.217/51, The UNESCO National Commission for China

¹³³ UNESCO Archives, X07.217/51, a letter from Dr Kuo Yushou to Julian Huxley on 1st March 1947

¹³⁴ UNESCO Archives, X07.217(51), a letter from Julian Huxley to Dr. Zhu Jiahua on 12th March 1947

¹³⁵ Lianjiao Zuzhi Zhongguo Weiyuanhui Jijiang Chengli, *Jiaoyu Tongxun (Hankou)*, 1947, Issue 3, Vol. 12, P. 30 (《教育通讯(汉口)》1947年复刊3第12期)

¹³⁶ UNESCO Archives, Report by Cheng Qibao 20 June 1948

¹³⁷ Canjia Lianheguo Jiaoyu Kexue Wenhua Zuzhi Zhongguo Weiyuanhui Choubei Weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo Tushuguan Xiehui huibao*, 1947, Vol.21, No.1-2, P.8 (中国图书馆协会汇报, 1947年第21卷第1-2期)

¹³⁸ UNESCO Archives, X07.217(51), a letter from Zhu Jiahua to W. H.C. Laves on 24th July 1947

¹³⁹ Shenbao, 30 July 1947, P.5

founding conference in which he conveyed his appreciation for China's interest in UNESCO and expressed his confidence in fruitful cooperation between UNESCO and China¹⁴⁰.

On August 28th 1947, the founding conference of the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO was inaugurated in the Mingzhi Building (明志楼) in the Examination Yuan (考试院) in Nanjing, where the Dean of the Examination Yuan Dai Jitao (1891-1949), who was one of the founding fathers of KMT, the leader of the right-wing faction of KMT (the Western Hills faction) together with a representative from the Legislative Yuan (立法院), a representative of the Ministry of Social Affairs and more than 70 commission members attended the conference¹⁴¹. With Zhu Jiahua as the chairman and Hu Shi and Wu Yifang as the vice-chairmen, the conference discussed and revised the draft regulations of the commission, the mission of which was to build and maintain the connection between the educational, scientific and cultural groups within China and UNESCO; to come forward with proposals for the government regarding UNESCO; and to conduct the tasks assigned by the government and UNESCO¹⁴².

According to the revised regulations, the first National Commission consisted of 120 commission members, 100 of whom would be selected by academic groups, 20 by the Ministry of Education; and they would be commission members for three years, during which they would have an annual conference. The Chinese National Commission would also include the executive board, which would consist of 15 members, 10 selected from the National Commission, five appointed by the Ministry of Education. The executive board would implement the resolutions of the National Commission and take charge of the important issues for the commission. To better cooperate with UNESCO, the Chinese National Commission would imitate the structure of UNESCO's divisions and set up six individual committees in charge of Natural Science, Social Science, Education and Mass Communication, Libraries and Museums, Arts and Literature, Philosophy and Humanities¹⁴³.

¹⁴⁰ UNESCO Archives, X07.217(51), a letter from Huxley to Zhu Jiahua on 26 August 1947

¹⁴¹ Shenbao, 29 August 1947, P. 6; also see UNESCO Archives, X07-21(51) NC - X07-21(51) SF, Report from the Chinese National Commission, UNESCO, by Dr. Cheng Chi-pao (Cheng Qibao), Secretary General, submitted June 20, 1948

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Ibid

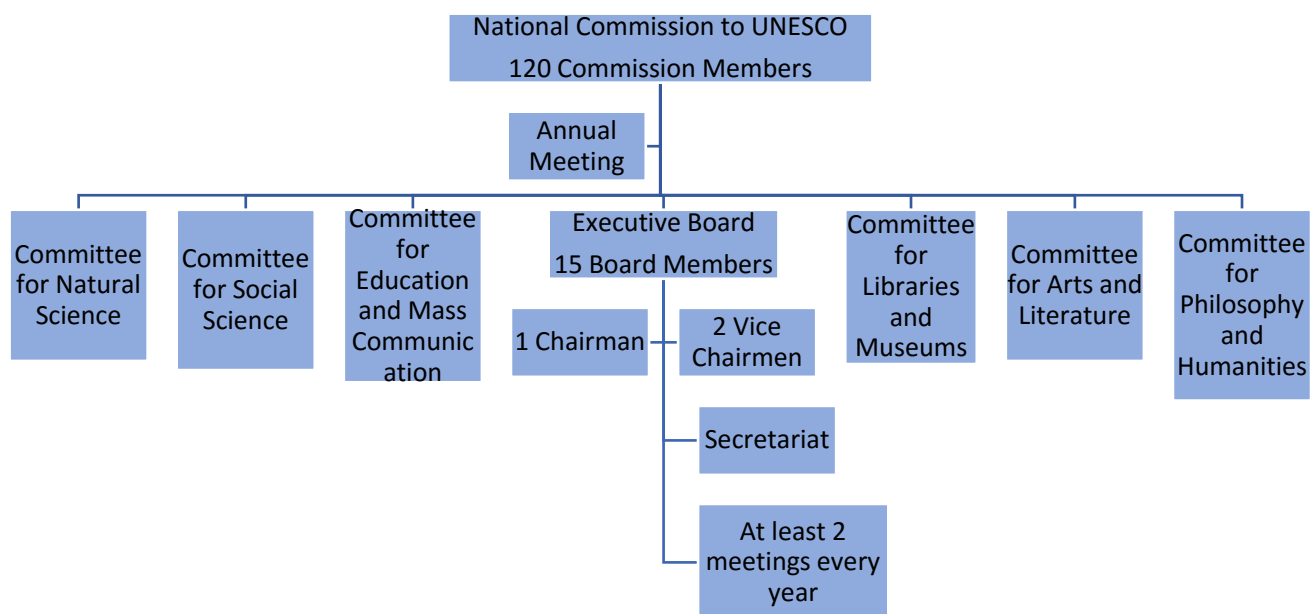


Figure 2 The structure of Chinese National Commission to UNESCO

This founding conference lasted for three days. In both the National Commission and the executive board, there was a mixture of leading politicians and intellectuals. The involvement of intellectuals in the National Commission to UNESCO had symbolic meaning for Chiang and his party-state given the historical background of civil war. Chiang and KMT had presented the USA with an image of a crumbling dictatorship when he refused to form a coalition government with CCP. Hence, Chiang had hoped that prominent liberal intellectuals such as Hu Shi could engage in the government as an independent representative, so that the government would have an element of democracy with which to win American support¹⁴⁴. Chiang had to treat these intellectuals with respect. At 5 pm on 29 August, the National Commission members were hosted by Chiang Kaishek in the tea house of Li-chih Club (勵志茶會), which was set up by Chiang to discipline military personnel and became the best-run mass organization of KMT in the mainland under the leadership of Madame Chiang. At 1 pm on 30 August, Chiang Kaishek invited commission members to a dinner at his official residence, which many commission members attended¹⁴⁵. This news

¹⁴⁴ Yu Ying-shih (2004), pp.91-100

¹⁴⁵ Shenbao, 31 August 1947, P.6

was even reported in a newspaper run by the National Academy of Frontier Culture and Education, which used the photos taken during the founding conference as its cover image and reported this conference in Mongolian language¹⁴⁶. Chiang also had to demonstrate to the ordinary civilian populations in the territory of China that the most intelligent citizens were recruited to his government's international intellectual entrepreneurship rather than affiliated with CCP.

On September 15th 1947¹⁴⁷, with Zhu Jiahua as chief executive, Hu Shi and Wu Yifang as the vice-executive, the head of Central Cultural Movement Committee - the propaganda organ of KMT, Zhang Daofan (1897-1968), educationists Qu Shiyong and Cheng Qibao (1895-1975) as secretaries, the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO held its first executive meeting, during which they drafted organizational regulations and decided on the members for six special committees¹⁴⁸. On 18 October 1947, the executive committee had their second meeting in the Ministry of Education, at which they began to discuss the details of cooperation with UNESCO, such as UNESCO experts sent to China, China's proposal in UNESCO 2nd General Conference etc.¹⁴⁹ In spite of the large group of commission members, the structure and dynamics and the convergence and divergence of their opinions, either political or cultural, would have both a positive and negative influence over UNESCO-China relations during the Civil War, especially around the turning point of 1949, when they had to decide whether to stay or leave mainland China (see Chapter 7). Although short-lived in mainland China, the National Commission offered significant political assets for Chiang, because it demonstrated that it was his government that had the official relationship with the universal intergovernmental body of UNESCO and would be actively involved in UNESCO to promote the scientific, educational and cultural cooperation that would benefit the Chinese population and restore the lost cultural dignity of China from a century of humiliation.

¹⁴⁶ Lianjiao Zuzhi Zhongguo Weiyuanhui Chengli Dahui, *Zhongyang Bianbao*, 1947, No.11, pp.0-15 (《中央边报》1947年第11期)

¹⁴⁷ Lianjiao Zuzhi Zhongguo Weihui Zhongda Yian, *Waijiaobu Zhoubao*, 24 September 1947, Vol. 39, P.3(《外交部周报》1947年9月24日第39期, 3页) said the first executive meeting was on 15th September 1947

¹⁴⁸ Lianjiao Zuzhi Zhongguo Weihui Tuiding Gezu Zhuanmen Renyuan, *Zhongguo Tushuguan Xiehui huibao*, 1948, Vol. 21, Issue 3-4, P.12 (《中华图书馆协会会报》1948年第21卷第3-4期)

¹⁴⁹ Lianheguo Jiaoyu Kexue Wenhua Zuzhi Zhongguo Weiyuanhui Chengli Dahui Baogao, *Jiaoyubu Guoji Wenjiao Congkan*, 1947, Vol. 1, Issue, 3 (《教育部国际文教丛刊》1947年第1卷第3期)

6.3.3 Communicating between UNESCO and Nationalist China: One World

Cosmopolitanism & Nationalism

Having lived through a series of imperialist rules, and having survived the latest imperialist invasion from Japan, China had now restored full sovereignty and even became a major post-colonial country in Asia with a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. Enjoying this political position and intellectual reputation at home and abroad and being granted the chance to be involved in UNESCO, Chinese politicians and intellectuals were very ready to communicate with UNESCO. Having gone through the historical experience of trying to accommodate Western internationalism to indigenous concepts such as Datong since late Qing and the early republican period, they were also eager to project a Chinese vision of a global intellectual organization. The nationalist aspiration was lurking particularly in China's attempt to project a Confucian version of cosmopolitan internationalism. To further understand the deeper motivation of acting-networking UNESCO-China relations, this section will mainly bring in transcultural conceptual history meanwhile keep an eye on the actor-network of power politics to analyze how and why the ideal of cultural internationalism was translated between UNESCO and China during 1945-1950.

When Chinese intellectuals engaged with UNESCO, they spoke not only of China but also of post-colonial Asia or the East. During the 1st General Conference, Dr. Zhao Yuanren had already proposed that UNESCO should set up a research center in China to connect the research done in the East and the West and that publications in the East should be translated into Western languages¹⁵⁰. His proposal was echoed by Cheng Tianfang's proposal to translate classical works from China, India and other countries into Spanish for better access to Western countries¹⁵¹. A vision of a post-colonial cosmopolitan UNESCO was clearly articulated by another Chinese intellectual Lin Yutang¹⁵².

Lin Yutang, born to a Christian family in Southeastern Fujian, studied in several prestigious universities in the West, including Harvard, Jena and Leipzig, and became professor at a couple of prestigious universities in China¹⁵³. He was actively engaged in writing, editing and

¹⁵⁰ Shenbao, 11 November 1946, P. 8

¹⁵¹ Shenbao, 2 October 1946, P. 2

¹⁵² UNESCO Archives, PER/ REC. 1/34, Personal record of Lin Yutang; also see Lin Yutang Joins UNESCO, UNESCO *Courier*, August 1948, P. 3

¹⁵³ Lin Yutang, *From Pagan to Christianit 从异教徒到基督徒* (Changsha: Hunan Wenyi Chubanshe, 2012)

publishing works introducing Western culture as well as Chinese culture from a new perspective, some of which such as *My Country, My People* reached broader readership in the West and received great popularity particularly in the USA due to his close cooperation with Pearl S. Buck¹⁵⁴. Lin joined the cosmopolitan UNESCO and served as the Head of UNESCO's Arts and Letters Division during the period 28 July 1948-15 May 1949. Lin Yutang, having lived through hybrid culture and reflected upon "*The Wisdom of China and India*" in 1942, proposed UNESCO to stress Orient-Occident Cultural Cooperation, being convinced that there must be reconstruction on the level of ideas¹⁵⁵. As he wrote, "the East needs the West and the West needs the East, each in its groping towards a more satisfactory design for living and in humility and mutual respect", he called for "a synthesis for a culture of a richer and better-balanced type"¹⁵⁶. He proposed that the West must teach the East the dignity of the individual and other democratic concepts while Chinese philosophies and Hindu philosophies may make important contributions in this synthesis as well¹⁵⁷.

However, Hsia Chinglin, who was a specialist in international law and an adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist government, had a slightly different opinion towards the ideal cosmopolitanism of a world organization in the aftermath of the war. Writing during the wartime period, he was convinced that the Chinese people needed to acquire and inculcate a certain amount of nationalist sentiment in order to survive in a world full of rabid nationalism and jingoist imperialism, although Chinese people believed in the common humanity and were aware of both the benefits and limits of nationalism¹⁵⁸. It was not only a reasonable argument during the wartime period, but also a persistent stance of republican China, since following China's frustrating interactions with the West-dominated League of Nations in the interwar period, Chinese intellectuals had the conviction that "cosmopolitanism is the ideal while nationalism is the reality; cosmopolitanism is the future while nationalism is the present"¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Lin Yutang, Orient-Occident Cultural Cooperation Stressed, *UNESCO Courier*, September 1948, P. 3 and P.6

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

¹⁵⁸ He listed three possible roads of postwar world: universalism, cosmopolitanism and internationalism. Please see C. L. Hsia (1942), A New Deal for All Nations, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 222, Winning Both the War and the Peace (Jul. 1942), pp. 124-132

¹⁵⁹ Luo Zhitian (2006), pp. 118-125

As demonstrated in last subsection, Chinese delegations exhibited conspicuous nationalist imperatives for promoting Chinese language and culture in UNESCO as China had considered its involvement in UNESCO as an excellent opportunity to resume national cultural dignity. There had been nationalist impulse to promote Chinese culture through UNESCO in particular Confucianism even before the 1st General Conference was held in Paris. An editorial had advocated that China should take responsibility in promoting international cooperation in culture and education since China had its own treasure in its spiritual culture despite being backward in science and technology; and that Chinese national culture should be promoted, such as the thoughts of Confucius and Mencius, so that they could be part of world cultural heritage and so that the world could better understand China¹⁶⁰. Li Shuhua, the physician sent out as a Chinese delegate, wrote a report to introduce UNESCO after he attended the 1st General Conference in 1946, then published in a newspaper and magazine¹⁶¹. In this report, he suggested to the readership that China should build up close links with UNESCO because the establishment of UNESCO could directly promote educational, scientific and cultural cooperation in the world and indirectly foster global peace. After UNESCO's 1st General Conference, Chinese publications had built up a rhetoric connection between the goal of Datong and the mandates of UNESCO.

The vice Minister of Education Hang Liwu (1903-1991), in the 2nd General Conference in Mexico, presented Confucian-inspired cosmopolitan internationalism to the audience. He stated that China had always maintained the idea that all people under heaven are one family (天下一家, Tianxia Yijia), hence China would provide full support for UNESCO¹⁶² Li Shuhua also attended the 2nd General Conference of UNESCO in Mexico in 1947. Again, he published a report on this conference, in which he emphasized the importance of UNESCO as well as the significance of UNESCO's work¹⁶³. Li Shuhua argued in his report that the ultimate aim of UNESCO to achieve world peace and the happiness of human kind

¹⁶⁰ Shenbao, 2 October 1946, P. 2

¹⁶¹ Li Shuhua, Jieshao Lianjiao Zuzhi Unesco, *Shijie Yuekan*, 1947, Volume 2, No. 3, pp.6-8 (《世界月刊》1947年第2卷第3期); Li Shu-hua, Lianjiao Zuzhi jiqi Diyijie Dahui Jingguo, *Xiandai Zhishi*, 1947, Volume 1, No. 8, pp.15-18 (《现代知识》1947年第1卷第8期)

¹⁶² Lianjiao Zuzhi Quanti Dahui, Woguo Daibiao Chanming Mubiao, *Sichuan Jiaoyu Tongxun*1947, Issue 32, P.14 (《四川教育通讯》1947年第32期)

¹⁶³ Li Shuhua, Lianjiaozuzhi Dahui de Jingguo jiqi You Moxige Ganxiang, *Xiandai Zhishi*, 1948, Vol.2, No.7, pp.5-7 (《现代知识》1948年第2卷第7期)

regardless of race, gender and religion through educational, scientific and cultural cooperation between countries in the worldwide was identical with the idea 大同 formulated by Chinese ancient philosophers and was the same as the idea 天下为公 promoted by the founding father of ROC, Sun Yatsen¹⁶⁴.

It is understandable that Chinese intellectuals since Kang Youwei had resorted to Confucianism in their nationalist imagination of a cosmopolitan world order while striving for Chinese cultural dignity. But the deeper motivations for the Nationalist politicians to keep referring to these traditional concepts lied more in their partial revival of neo-Confucianism in the quest of a unifying ideology among the theoreticians of the KMT¹⁶⁵. The Three People's Principles formulated by Sun Yatsen, with its obvious deficiencies of failing to produce loyalty or evoke action, faced the challenges of Marxism and Leninism during the Nanjing Decade which, imported from the West, particularly from the Soviet experience, were becoming popular among the youth in universities and colleges¹⁶⁶. To be true "Nationalists", KMT theoreticians turned to China's traditional theoretical legacy to legitimate KMT's authority. Chiang himself also believed in Confucianism although he was a Christian and married to an American-educated Methodist¹⁶⁷. Confucianism had already been deployed as an important ideological element by KMT in the New Life Movement before the Sino-Japanese war, with Chiang seeking to cultivate a national citizenship modelled on Western citizenship by combining discipline to personal hygiene practices, living habits and the raising of children etc. with Confucian behavior norms¹⁶⁸.

The mixture of old Chinese concepts and modern evolutionary concepts imported from the West, and the entanglement of cultural nationalism and ideological rhetoric, were more overtly articulated at the founding conference of the Chinese National Commission for UNESCO on 28th August 1947. The head of the Examination Yuan, Dai Jitao, gave his speech

¹⁶⁴ Li Shuhua (1948)

¹⁶⁵ James C. Thomson Jr., *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), P.17

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, P.40

¹⁶⁸ Samuel C. Chu (1980), *The New Life Movement before the Sino-Japanese Conflict: A Reflection of Kuomintang limitations in Thoughts and Action*, in F. Gilbert Chan ed., *China at the Crossroads: Nationalist and Communists, 1927-1949* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1980), pp.37-68; Hideo Fukamachi (2013), *Shintai O Shitsukeru Seiji: Chugoko Kokuminto No Shinseikatsu Undo*, first published by Iwanami Shoten Publisher in Tokyo, translated into Chinese (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Co., Ltd., 2017), pp. 21-38

at the opening address, in which he mentioned the couplet of the Mingzhi Building “淡泊明志，宁静致远，人群进化，世界大同” (danbo mingzhi, ningjing zhiyuan, renqun Jinhua, shijie datong), which literally means to obtain a clear direction by discarding the pursuit of fame and fortune; to achieve greater goals by placid meditation; and human society would evolve towards One Worldness (世界大同). Among them, “淡泊明志，宁静致远” (danbo mingzhi, ningjing zhiyuan) is a well-known quotation from the famous Chinese politician and military strategist Zhuge Liang (181-234 AD), who was also a Confucian-oriented legalist during the Three Kingdoms period. The earlier version of “淡泊明志，宁静致远” dates back to *Huainanzi* (淮南子), which blends theories of statecraft from Daoism, Confucianism, Legalism etc.¹⁶⁹ Having studied the Chinese classics before he went to study in Japan, it was no wonder that Dai Jitao kept referring to Confucius¹⁷⁰. According to his speech, the three Confucian merits Zhi (智 Wisdom), Ren (仁 Benevolence), Yong (勇 Audacity) and six arts (Rites, Music, Archery, Charioteering, Calligraphy and Mathematics) that were practiced by ancient scholars were to contribute to the goal of the Great Commonwealth that Confucius envisioned. He claimed that the three merits and six arts were incarnated in Sun Yatsen’s Three People’s Principles, then embedded in China’s cooperation with the League of Nations now in its cooperation with UNESCO, the ideal of which is identical to Confucius’s ideal of One Worldness (世界大同)¹⁷¹.

The question of “how to promote the excellence of Chinese culture” became a major focus of discussions during the founding conference of the National Commission. The topic was so broad and general that the participants concluded that it was sufficient to promote Chinese culture through the translation and introduction of major works by Chinese writers and philosophers, and the exhibition of artworks produced in the last 500 years to an international audience¹⁷². In contrast with the seemingly iconoclast attack on Confucianism during the New Culture Movement, the Commission members even proposed to 发动世界

¹⁶⁹ John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer, and Harold D. Roth. With additional contributions by Michael Puett and Judson Murray, *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China by Liu An, King of Huainan*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010)

¹⁷⁰ Christiane Reinhold, *Studying the Enemy: Japan Hands in Republican China and Their Quest for National Identity, 1925-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2001)

¹⁷¹ Shenbao, 29 August 1947, P.6

¹⁷² Lianheguo Jiaoyu Kexue Wenhua Zuzhi Zhongguo Weiyuanhui Chengli Dahui Baogao, *Jiaoyubu Guoji Wenjiao Congkan*, 1947, Vol. 1, No. 3, P. 7 (《教育部国际文教丛刊》1947年第1卷第3期)

尊孔运动 (fadong shijie zunkong yundong), which means to launch a worldwide campaign to worship Confucius since they hoped that the 5th General Conference of UNESCO would be located in China¹⁷³. Hu Shi also proposed that the government should appoint Academia SINICA and the National Commission to organize a memorial event to mark the 2500th anniversary of Confucius, during which the government could invite UNESCO to hold its General Conference in China, either in Nanjing or Beijing¹⁷⁴. The expression sounds a bit propagandized that in the summary of the meeting, they decided to delete the texts in the resolution¹⁷⁵. An editorial on the founding conference that was published on 30th August referred to the couplet mentioned by Dai Jitao and agreed completely with Hu Shi's proposal to organize a memorial event for the 2500th anniversary of Confucius' birth and to invite UNESCO to locate the General Conference in China¹⁷⁶.

Although, the Chinese National Commission decided to erase the expression of 发动世界尊孔运动 (to launch a World Campaign to Worship Confucius), and the UNESCO General Conference was not held in China in 1950, which marked the 2500th anniversary of Confucius' birth, the Nationalist Government, fleeing to Taiwan, still tried to promote Confucian concepts through the platform of UNESCO. Cheng Qibao translated the concept 大同 Datong as the world commonwealth and translated 天下为公 as the world is one common home to all¹⁷⁷. He then translated some famous quotations from Confucius *Analects* and published these in UNESCO Courier. The straightforward iteration of the title "CONFUCIUS 'the most sagely ancient teacher' PLANNED A WORLD COMMONWEALTH" became a significant byword in the relations between the global intellectual organization of UNESCO and Nationalist China, whose government that sought external legitimacy by projecting its cosmopolitan internationalism as well as its cultural nationalism¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷³ Ibid, P. 10

¹⁷⁴ Shenbao, 29 August 1947, P.6

¹⁷⁵ Lianheguo Jiaoyu Kexue Wenhua Zuzhi Zhongguo Weiyuanhui Chengli Dahui Baogao, *Jiaoyubu Guoji Wenjiao Congkan*, 1947, Vol. 1, No. 3, P.10 (《教育部国际文教丛刊》1947年第1卷第3期)

¹⁷⁶ Shenbao, 30 August 1947, P.2

¹⁷⁷ Another concept to describe the UN and UNESCO was that they were organizations of 天下一家 (Tian Xia Yi Jia which means "All Peoples-Under-Heaven belong to one family).

¹⁷⁸ Dr. Cheng Chipao (Qibao), Nearly 2500 Years Ago, Confucius "the most sagely ancient teacher" Planned A World Commonwealth, *UNESCO Courier*, April 1950, P.12

6.3.4 Developing Mutually Beneficial Relations between UNESCO and Nationalist China 1945-1950

As well as the Confucian ideal of a world commonwealth, Nationalist China had more to contribute to UNESCO, although it is often taken for granted that China was a passive receiver of various post-war relief organizations such as UNRRA and UNESCO. However, this does not tell the whole story of the international dynamics and Nationalist China had a much more active role to play in its relations with UNESCO at the very beginning.

Part of UNESCO's authority, as an intergovernmental organization, comes from the fact that it is delegated by its member states to conduct supranational tasks, and the financial resources of UNESCO draw mostly on its membership fees. China, as a member state, bore the monetary quota of 6.99 % in financial support although the Nationalist Government found this burdensome because they were experiencing a serious financial crisis during the Civil War¹⁷⁹. Moreover, in spite of enjoying certain sovereignty over the fields of science, education and culture, UNESCO is affiliated with the UN framework, in which China has a vote that counts. UNESCO would come to rely on and appreciate the support from China when it needed the approval of its parent organ.

Shortly after UNESCO was set up, Huxley, the 1st Director-General of UNESCO, began to lobby for greater financial resources and authority for this organization, including from the UN. Three proposals were made in this regard, including the allocation of US\$1 million to UNESCO; the transference of the assets of IIIC from the League of Nations to the UN, in other words to grant UNESCO the rights to utilize the assets of IIIC; and an amendment in the Draft Agreement between the United Nations and UNESCO which would grant UNESCO access to International Justice without having to obtain the previous authorization of the UN ECOSOC. Julian Huxley sent a letter to the Chinese foreign ministry via Chen Yuan, on 5th November 1946, in which he expressed his hope that Chinese representatives at the UN General Assembly could vote in favor of the three UNESCO proposals¹⁸⁰. As the archives indicate, correspondence about Huxley's letter between the Foreign Ministry and the

¹⁷⁹IMHA, 11-INO-038856, Page 552014-2015, correspondence between foreign ministry and Hang Liwu on 11 June 1948

¹⁸⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551818-551819, a letter from Julian Huxley to educational ministry on 5 November 1946; 11-INO-03857, Page 552309-552312, a letter from Chen Yuan to Wang Shijie on 8 November 1946, enclosed with the Julian Huxley's letter on 5 November 1946

Education Ministry took place on 9th November¹⁸¹. While the 1st General Conference was being inaugurated in Paris, the Chinese Foreign Ministry had cabled Chinese representatives to the UN General Assembly in New York to request that they vote to support UNESCO on 26th November 1946 and acknowledged Chen Yuan via the Chinese embassy in France¹⁸².

Chinese intellectuals, diplomats had made a fair representation of China in UNESCO. Zhao Yuanren was again elected as one of the seven vice chairmen at the preparatory meeting in London and made a public speech on 21st November 1945, which was recorded by BBC and broadcast to the Chinese people.¹⁸³ Zhao Yuanren was also the chairmen of the Eighth Plenary Meeting held on 23th November 1946 to hold the election of the executive board of UNESCO¹⁸⁴. Chen Yuan was among the nominees and was finally elected to the executive board, which would be responsible for the approval of plans, the conference agenda and working program¹⁸⁵. During UNESCO's 2nd General Conference, Chinese national delegates reportedly played an active part in UNESCO's various committees¹⁸⁶. For instance, chief delegate Hang Liwu, was on the co-ordination and instruction commission, and he was elected as the chairman of the administrative and public relations division committee; Zhao Yuanren was elected as the chairman of the literature commission; James Yen's assistant in MEM, Qu Shiyong, was elected as the vice-chairman of the Fundamental Education committee¹⁸⁷. But China was not satisfied. The fact that China bore quite a large monetary quota, and that China was a major post-colonial country from Asia, motivated its striving for a stronger representation in UNESCO, which Huxley would have to give consideration to because the support and cooperation from China was significant for the promotion of this organization in the post-colonial world which aimed at being global rather than Western-centric.

¹⁸¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551816-551817, document sent from educational ministry to foreign ministry in November 1946

¹⁸² IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552312-552313, document in foreign ministry on 26 November 1946, about cabling to Chinese delegation at New York and to Chinese Embassy in Paris. 11-According to INO-03857, Page 551820, a cable was also sent from foreign ministry to Chinese delegation at New York on 12 December 1946

¹⁸³ Su Jinzhi (2012), p. 184.

¹⁸⁴ UNESCO (1946), pp. 66-68.

¹⁸⁵ Shenbao, 25 November 1946, P. 8

¹⁸⁶ Shenbao, 16 November 1947, P. 6

¹⁸⁷ Lianjiao Zuzhi Dahui yu Sheshi, *Zhonghua Jiaoyujie*, 1947, Vol.1, No.12, pp.50-51 (《中华教育界》1947年复刊1第12期)

During the 2nd General Conference in Mexico, a Chinese educational newsletter reported an Indian delegate's complaint about there being too many British and American staff members in the secretariat and stating that UNESCO should avoid the impression¹⁸⁸. Referring to the fact that there were 515 British and American staff members out of the whole 557, the Indian delegate said it was not fair that only 7-8 percent of the staff were from the Middle East, Latin America, China and India, in that those countries had more than three-quarters of the population of the world¹⁸⁹. The Foreign Ministry mentioned a report from the Chinese Embassy in Mexico and also noted that the majority of UNESCO staff were European, American and Canadian, with insufficient representation of China and other Asian countries¹⁹⁰. The Foreign Ministry expected that Chen Yuan, who was on the executive board, to try to obtain China's stronger representation in the organization¹⁹¹. Chen Yuan told Foreign Minister Wang Shijie in a letter in March 1948 that he had strived for more positions in UNESCO for Chinese nationals, either by election or private negotiation, and that the Director General would train some young Chinese elites to work in UNESCO¹⁹². According to a letter between Huxley and Chen Yuan, "the private negotiation" between them led to a position for Dr. Zhuang Zexuan (1895-1976) to work on the rehabilitation in Asia and UNESCO would confirm this post in February 1948¹⁹³. Huxley considered the appointment as an immediate step toward giving China increased representation on the Secretariat and promised to build up a strong Chinese representation¹⁹⁴.

UNESCO was fully embraced by the actor-network of Chinese politicians, diplomats and intellectuals who were involved in UNESCO. The mission of UNESCO to foster world peace and to promote international understanding among different cultures captured the cosmopolitan imagination, meanwhile nationalist intellectuals who had sought cultural dignity for China or even for the post-colonial Asia While for Chiang and the Nationalist

¹⁸⁸ Lianjiao Zuzhi Yingmei Zhiyuan Guoduo, Yindu Daibiao zai Lianjiao Dahui Zhizhai, *Sichuan Jiaoyu Tongxun*, 1947, No.32, P. 14 (《四川教育通讯》1947年第32期)

¹⁸⁹ Ibid; Shenbao, 11 November 1947, P. 6

¹⁹⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 552031-552032, correspondence between foreign ministry and educational ministry on 12 June 1948

¹⁹¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 552033-552034, document sent from foreign ministry to Chen Yuan on 12 June 1948

¹⁹² IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551912, correspondence between Chen Yuan and Wang Shijie, on 3 March 1948

¹⁹³ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551919, correspondence between Julian Huxley and Chen Yuan, on 25 February 1948

¹⁹⁴ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551919. According to Page 552027-552030, correspondence between education ministry and foreign ministry on 16 May 1948, there were 14 candidates.

Government, it offered a great opportunity to enhance the legitimacy of its governance in several aspects. By sending national delegations to attend various official and formal UNESCO occasions, the Nationalist Government actively represented China from the very beginning of this universal intergovernmental organization. By ratifying the Constitution, by recruiting a large group of intellectual elites in the National Commission to UNESCO, the Nationalist Government formalized and institutionalized the official relations and future cooperation between its government and the organization. By actively interacting and communicating with UNESCO, the Nationalist Government connected its neo-Confucian-inspired ideology to the ideals of UNESCO, indicating a reviving China in terms of both cosmopolitan internationalism and cultural nationalism, while its rival Communists had almost no presence at all. The political motivations for Nationalist China's relations with UNESCO would become more and more obvious as the intergovernmental organization of UNESCO came to serve as a grand diplomatic platform of international politics.

6.4 The Politics of Networking Intellectual Internationalism through UNESCO, 1945-1950

Despite his dismissal of UNESCO's high idealism, American theologian and delegate to UNESCO General Conference in 1949, Reinhold Niebuhr proposed a pragmatic approach to international cooperation to focus on reaching minimal common convictions regarding standards of justice¹⁹⁵. However, it was not easy to achieve these minimal common convictions, as UNESCO, an intergovernmental organization, provided a special platform for acting and networking international politics, where its member states practiced formal and informal diplomacy, often speaking of national interests in the name of cosmopolitan internationalism. In view of ANT, this section will demonstrate how a huge actor-network of modern diplomacy within the scope of the global actively engaged in bridging, facilitating and maintaining UNESCO-China relations. The analysis will reveal how the agency of this actor-network of diplomacy helped to disperse the zeal for UNESCO's internationalism

¹⁹⁵ Vincenzo Pavone (2008), P.74

meanwhile unavoidably intervened and dissolved the impacts of certain initiatives due to divergent political steering.

6.4.1 Diplomatic Networking of UNESCO with Nationalist China

China had been at a disadvantage due to a lack of modern diplomacy institutions in its encounters with the European-American powers since the late Qing period. The tough process of moving away from the celestial kingdom to being one among a family of sovereign nations paved the way for China's relations with UNESCO, as Republican China had gradually formed modern diplomatic relations within the Westphalian framework. The historical relations between UNESCO and China relied greatly upon and intertwined with the official diplomatic relations that the Chiang's Nationalist China had built and maintained during the Nanjing Decade and the wartime period. This opportunity for multilateral diplomacy again reinforced the legitimacy of Nationalist Government in the international community.

As illustrated above, the national delegations that the Nationalist Government sent out to attend UNESCO conferences and meetings involved not only prominent intellectuals but also politicians and often diplomats. In fact, much of the communication between UNESCO and China was carried out by the diplomatic network, consisting of a large number of ambassadors and embassies in many capitals of most of the European-American countries, even in countries like Mexico, Brazil and Cuba etc. in Latin America. The diplomatic relations that China maintained laid down a path for the multilateral diplomacy that China practices in UNESCO.

Even though a national commission is required to serve as the cooperation body between UNESCO and its member states, in the historical period 1945-1950, the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO did not quite fulfill its role since it was established in the autumn of 1947 and its operations were severely hindered by the Civil War. Instead, the Foreign Ministry played an important role in the making of UNESCO-China relations, becoming a type of information clearinghouse because UNESCO was located in Europe and many of UNESCO's events also took place outside China. The communication between UNESCO and China was often channeled through a constant correspondence in cables and reports

between Chinese delegates, Chinese diplomats and the Foreign Ministry, and sometimes the Educational Ministry. The actors that were particularly active in networking UNESCO–China were Chinese ambassadors and embassy staffs in London and Paris, since UNESCO originated in a London conference and its headquarters were located in Paris. For instance, the Foreign Minister of Nationalist China had been kept updated by the British Embassy in China regarding the acceptance of the UNESCO Constitution because, according to the resolution of the London conference, the acceptance of the UNESCO constitution should be submitted to the British foreign ministry¹⁹⁶. China’s foreign relations were “all penetrating, all permeating, all prevailing” in the Republican era¹⁹⁷. They ultimately forced their way into the relations between UNESCO and Nationalist China.

6.4.2 Friends or Foes: Reinforcing Sino–American Relations in UNESCO 1945-1950

A noticeable element of the multiple diplomatic relations that Nationalist China brought into the UNESCO–China interaction was its relations with the United States. Chiang and the Nationalist Government had been supported by the USA in wartime relief, post-war rehabilitation and, most importantly, the American endorsement for China as one of the Big Four to police Asia. To maintain the beneficial relationship with its big sister, although this was sometimes difficult for Chiang due to his fragile relationship with FDR and Stilwell, Chiang and his government would have to offer necessary support for American proposals in UNESCO.

In a document sent out on 13th November 1946 during UNESCO’s 1st General Conference, Foreign Minister Wang Shijie informed Chinese delegates Chen Yuan and Zhao Yuanren that China should support American nominee Francis. J. Biddle as the candidate for Director-General and that China should get in touch with the American delegation to obtain their support for Chinese nominee, KMT cultural official Xie Shoukang (1897-1974) as the candidate for Vice Director-General¹⁹⁸. The Americans did not seize the top leadership of

¹⁹⁶ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, No. 551708-No.551710, NO.551712

¹⁹⁷ William C. Kirby, *The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations At Home and Abroad in the Republican Era*, *The China Quarterly*, No. 150, Special Issue: Reappraising Republic China (June., 1997), pp.433-458

¹⁹⁸ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551765-551766, cable from foreign ministry Wang Shijie to Chen Yuan on 13 November 1946

UNESCO, and the result was that Julian Huxley, who had been deeply involved in the preparations since 1945, became the 1st Director-General.

The Americans attempted to increase their influence over this organization. They did not want Huxley or any British national to keep the office of the Director-General. The American delegation proposed the nomination of James Yen, a prominent Chinese educationist, who was an expert on mass education, as the candidate for the 2nd Director-General during UNESCO's 2nd General Conference¹⁹⁹. James Yen was an excellent nominee for the USA because the Americans wanted to avoid direct rivalry with the British by nominating an American, also because they could not find a competitive, well-known intellectual to secure the post²⁰⁰. But the most important reason lies in American philanthropic organizations such as Rockefeller Foundation and activists such as missionary groups deeply engaging in the educational experiments in Republican China, the most important project being James Yen-led MEM. James Yen had maintained a good network with the American political elites and American liberals such as the Supreme Court Justice William Douglas, Nelson Rockefeller, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Pearl S. Buck and the editor of the Reader's Digest etc²⁰¹. Due to this transpacific network, James Yen had gained impressive prestige in the field of educational experiments across the Pacific as well as Pearl S. Buck's 1945 publication on his work and other media exposure of his work²⁰². James Yen was lobbying this transpacific network for a grand post-war reconstruction project through systematic educational programs, which quite a few American politicians found fascinating²⁰³. A liberal, educated China created by such a project would definitely conform to America's interests in this country and the American strategy of making a liberal China its ally in the Far East. America's global leadership would become clearer if James Yen became the leader of UNESCO and implemented a large-scale mass education movement in the Far East and the larger undeveloped post-colonial countries along the lines of American liberal values.

¹⁹⁹ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551941-551945, letter from Chen Yuan to Wang Shijie in 20 April 1948

²⁰⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551941

²⁰¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551953, letter from Howard Wilson to Chen Yuan on 8 March 1948 and Page 551952, on 29 March 1948

²⁰² Charles W. Hayford, *To the People: James Yen and Village China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990)

²⁰³ Charles W. Hayford (1990)

The reactions from Nationalist China were dubious. Chen Yuan counseled Wang Shijie that Chinese embassies abroad should begin to launch campaigns to nominate James Yen because it would be a great honor for China if UNESCO welcomed a Chinese Director-General²⁰⁴. However, the Chinese government was too modest to nominate James Yen by itself even though China was striving for stronger representation²⁰⁵. James Yen also proposed his project to Chiang Kaishek. However, Chiang was primarily concerned with winning over his rampant rivals the Communists by military means and could not support James Yen's post-war program in China. James Yen gave a lecture in a UNESCO seminar and served more as the spiritual leader of the later Fundamental Education project rather than as UNESCO's director, and not even the director of UNESCO's pilot project in China, the details of which will be uncovered in Chapter 8.

6.4.3 Friends or Foes: the Sino-American Contest for Influence over Post-War Japan

Nationalist China and its big sister, the United States, were both concerned about their influence over post-war Japan, their common enemy during the war. The unconditional surrender of Japan was agreed at the Cairo Conference, where Chiang Kaishek raised the question of post-war repatriation and compensation and received no response from the Big Three. The post-war treatment of Japan was agreed upon by the Big Three during the Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Conference where China was not present²⁰⁶. Even though China was designated by FDR to police Japan after the war ended, it was sometimes a rhetoric promise to keep China in the war against Japan, as in Yalta, FDR's later strategy was to involve the Soviet Union in Manchuria as soon as possible, even at the cost of China's interests. Chiang Kaihek's general policy to "repay aggression with kindness" (yide baoyuan) seemed quite Confucian-inspired, but was, in fact, strategically pragmatic as he was preparing the ground for a post-war Sino-Japanese alliance to counter the likely efforts of the Big Three to recast their position in Asia²⁰⁷. China's vision of post-war Japan would have

²⁰⁴ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551944, letter from Chen Yuan to Wang Shijie in 20 April 1948

²⁰⁵ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 551946-551949, document sent from foreign ministry to educational ministry on 7 May 1948

²⁰⁶ Wu Sufeng (2014), *The Nationalist Government's Attitude towards Postwar Japan*, in Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014)

²⁰⁷ Wu Sufeng (2014)

to be subordinated to American's strategy in East Asia, which was also demonstrated in the negotiations regarding UNESCO's policy in post-war Japan.

The Chinese National Commission to UNESCO had already discussed the re-education of post-war Japan at its founding conference in August 1947²⁰⁸. Chen Yuan, being on the UNESCO executive board, was well informed about UNESCO's discussions of its policy toward post-war Germany in 1947, whereas Japan was still beyond its attention²⁰⁹. But at the 2nd General Conference in Mexico, Chinese delegations proposed expanding UNESCO's educational programs to Japan²¹⁰. Chen Yuan consulted the Foreign Minister, Wang Shijie, about his opinions regarding UNESCO's policy in Germany in February and March 1948, since UNESCO was going to have a meeting on April 2nd ²¹¹. But Chen Yuan received the general instruction for making contact for future cooperation with Germany or Japan from Minister Zhu Jiahua during the meeting, and in a letter written on 13th April, Chen Yuan suggested the Education Ministry and Foreign Ministry look into the drafted programs of UNESCO in Germany to formulate China's approach towards Japan given that Japan was nearest to China²¹². On 30 April, the Educational Ministry informed the Foreign Ministry that China had no comments on UNESCO's policy in Germany but suggested a revision which emphasized the inclusion of Far East Commission members in the making of the policy in toward Japan²¹³. On the same day, the Foreign Ministry informed Chen Yuan of the Chinese suggestion of including Far Eastern Committee members in the negotiation with Allied Authorities in Japan²¹⁴. Chen Yuan received the letter on 6th May and replied to Wang Shijie on 20th July that the proposal for a revision would be too late, but he had already proposed that UNESCO should negotiate with Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), as well as with the Far Eastern Commission, and Dr. Kuo Yushou had already been appointed on behalf of UNESCO to visit Japan for the negotiation with Allied authorities²¹⁵.

²⁰⁸ Shenbao, 30 August 1947, P.6

²⁰⁹ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551909-551911, letter from Chen Yuan to Wang Shijie on 25 February 1948

²¹⁰ Takashi Saikawa, *Returning to the International Community: UNESCO and Post-war Japan, 1945-1951*, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp.116-130

²¹¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551909-551912, letter from Chen Yuan to Wang Shijie on 25 February 1948 and 3 March 1948

²¹² IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551917-551918, letter from Chen Yuan to Wang Shijie on 13 April 1948

²¹³ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551922-551926, document from foreign ministry to educational ministry on 30 April 1948

²¹⁴ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551938-551939, cable from foreign ministry to Chen Yuan on 30 April 1948

²¹⁵ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 552085-552087, letter from Chen Yuan to Wang Shijie on 20 July 1948

On 27th August 1948, SCAP informed the Foreign Ministry, in a message then forwarded to the Education Ministry, that the visa for Japan was ready for Kuo, Chinese educationist and UNESCO's advisor on the Far East, who was sent by UNESCO to Japan to negotiate with SCAP and the Japanese officials and educationists²¹⁶. As reported in the Chinese press, Kuo had arrived in Japan for two weeks, during which he had talks with UNESCO headquarters and Japanese leaders in education and culture. He had a meeting with Japanese politician on 14th September and with MacArthur on 18th September and 20th September 1948. On 23rd September 1948, Kuo announced that he had already formulated a working plan for UNESCO in Japan, which was quite similar to the plan for Germany²¹⁷. The plan included disseminating knowledge about UNESCO in Japan, promoting the exchange of publications and journals between Japan and other countries, communicating with other countries regarding the objective standard for world textbook revision, promoting the exchange of scholars; and inviting SCAP and Japanese experts to attend the UNESCO conference. On 8th December 1948, it is reported that UNESCO decided to expand its project to Japan to make Japan democratic sooner, after hearing the suggestions of MacArthur²¹⁸.

However, China had a dissenting view against the USA and SCAP over the leadership of UNESCO's programs in Japan as China insisted on the significance of the Far Eastern Commission as the highest decision-making body²¹⁹. In the beginning, China seemed to take the initiative and succeeded in persuading UNESCO to set up an office in Tokyo led by the an educational official of Shanghai Municipality Li Ximou (1896-1975), who, in spite of various difficulties set up the Tokyo office and managed to cooperate with several Japanese organizations to launch programs such as a program for international understanding among the youth²²⁰. Although Japan intended to return to the international community through UNESCO, China, with Australia and the Philippines, strongly objected to Japan's entry into UNESCO. This opposition turned out to be in vain and Japan became a member of UNESCO on 2nd July 1951. Very soon, the activities of the Tokyo Office were taken over by the

²¹⁶ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 552132-2134, cable from Chinese delegation at Tokyo to foreign ministry on 30 August 1948

²¹⁷ Shenbao, 25 September 1948, P.7

²¹⁸ Shenbao, 10 December 1948, P.3

²¹⁹ Takashi Saikawa (2016)

²²⁰ Ibid; Aigul Kulnazarova, UNESCO's Role in East Asian Reconciliation: Post-war Japan and International Understanding, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp.257-275

Japanese National Commission to UNESCO and the office led by Li Ximou was closed, which damaged China's previous attempts to ensure its influence over the Allied occupation in Japan²²¹.

Despite these efforts, Chiang's articulated policy towards East Asia and in particular Japan had in reality little impact on Allied policy toward post-war Japan²²². The Civil War was going unfavorably for the Nationalist Government, and the United States' pragmatic strategy to involve Soviet Union in Manchuria indirectly contributed to the Nationalists losing to the Communists. It was getting more and more clear that a new red Communist Regime would emerge in East Asia firmly allied with the Soviet Union. The United States sought to establish a US-dominated Cold War front line along Asia's mainland border which led to American efforts to ally Japan with itself and American's support for Japan²²³. Drawing upon China's contribution in resisting Japan during WWII, Chiang tried to assert a China-centered East Asia, and the Nationalist Government still sought to influence post-war Japan through UNESCO²²⁴. However, an important part of America's support was to help Japan get recognized again in the international community, and engagement in the peace-oriented intergovernmental organization of UNESCO served as a perfect route to obtaining membership of the universal world political organization – the UN.

6.4.4 Practicing Multilayer Diplomacy through UNESCO

Although Nationalist China failed to exert a sustained influence over post-war Japan through UNESCO, they still had space to negotiate and maneuver their diplomacy through UNESCO. To lighten the Western centrism in the staffing of UNESCO, the candidates for the 2nd Director-General included more prominent intellectuals from post-colonial countries, many of which considered China as a friendly and supportive country. The Brazilian embassy had asked China to support its own nomination for the candidate of the new D-G on 21st July 1948²²⁵. The Chinese Foreign Ministry replied to Brazil on 16th August that China could not

²²¹ Takashi Saikawa (2016)

²²² Wu Sufeng (2014)

²²³ Hans van de Ven, The 1952 Treaty of Peace between China and Japan, in *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II*, in Hans van de Ven, Diana Larry and Stephen MacKinnon ed. (2014)

²²⁴ Ibid

²²⁵ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552067-552070, document sent from foreign ministry to educational ministry and Brazilian embassy in China, 16 August 1948

support this because, based on Chen Yuan's report, Brazilian candidates were not among those nominated by the Executive Board²²⁶. However, the Brazilians asked again for China's support on 4th September²²⁷ meaning that the Foreign Ministry had to consult with Chen Yuan over the candidate list²²⁸. After a couple rounds of communication between Wang Shijie and Chen Yuan, while noting that the candidate list was a confidential issue even though there were no Brazilians candidates on it, Wang Shijie replied on 30th September to the Brazilian embassy that China would give its kind consideration before the final decision was made²²⁹. India also came to China asking for support for an Indian nominee in November 1948²³⁰. Here, the Chinese Foreign Ministry also expressed its kind support.²³¹ When a Mexican diplomat asked for Chinese support for Jaime Torres Bodet in the D-G election, the Chinese ambassador in Mexico could not find a reason to reject this, given that Mexico had supported China in the International Telecommunication Union and other UN organs²³². But since China had already promised to support an Indian nominee, the Foreign Ministry could only promise to vote for Torres Bodet if there were a second round of election²³³.

The requests for China's support continued till the 3rd General Conference, during which Australia asked China to support an Australian nominee for election to Director-General. After cautious deliberation over the potential over-promise of offering support, the Foreign Ministry informed the Education Ministry that China would vote for an Australian candidate only if both Indian and Mexican candidates lost the election²³⁴. On 30th November 1948, the

²²⁶ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552067-552070

²²⁷ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 552146, document sent from Brazilian embassy to foreign ministry on 4 September 1948

²²⁸ IMHA, 11-INO-03855, Page 552147-552148, cable from foreign ministry to Chen Yuan on 11 September 1948

²²⁹ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552222-552224, document sent from foreign ministry to Brazilian embassy and educational embassy on 30 September 1948

²³⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552240, document sent from Chinese embassies in Turkey and India to foreign ministry on 3 November 1948

²³¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552241-552246, documents sent from foreign ministry to Chinese embassies in Turkey and India on 8 November 1948

²³² IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552276, cable from Chinese embassy in Mexico to foreign ministry on 6 November 1948

²³³ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552280-552283, cable from foreign ministry to Chinese embassy in Mexico on 10 November 1948

²³⁴ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552302-552308, document sent from foreign ministry to educational ministry on 25 November 1948, cable from foreign ministry to Chinese embassy in Egypt on 23 November 1948, and reply from educational ministry to foreign ministry on 24 November 1948

Chinese embassy in Mexico informed the Foreign Ministry that Mexican candidate Torres Bodet had been elected as the new Director-General; later, on 9th December, the Education Ministry also received a similar report from Chinese national delegate Zhu Jingnong (1887-1951) as well as a suggestion that the Foreign Ministry send their immediate congratulations²³⁵. On 12th December, the Foreign Ministry sent a cable to the Chinese embassy in Mexico City to transmit Chinese congratulations to Torres Bodet²³⁶.

The maneuvering for multilateral diplomacy that Nationalist China and other member states, and in particular the post-colonial countries, practiced through UNESCO could be seen in their negotiating over UNESCO's plans for building various regional centers in its member states and orienting UNESCO's resources for their own countries. Cuba hoped a regional office of UNESCO would be located in Cuba and the Cuban ambassador was not shy in asking Chinese delegates to vote in support of this. On 13th November, the Foreign Ministry of China informed the Chinese embassy that the Education Ministry had agreed to support Cuba and had cabled Chen Yuan, as well as reminding the Chinese national delegation to vote for Cuba²³⁷. The multilayer diplomacy that Nationalist China had practiced through the platform seemed insignificant at first sight. However, it granted the Nationalist Government a certain degree of positive relations with the postcolonial countries, in particular the newly-independent Asian and African countries, broadly defined as the Cold War Third Forces, that would have to compete with the Communists to win over their support during 1950s and 1960s²³⁸.

As demonstrated above, the diplomatic network of Nationalist Government, had greatly facilitated its pragmatic practice of intellectual internationalism through UNESCO and actively involved in considerable negotiation and contest over the orientation of the development of UNESCO. However, the networking of Nationalist diplomats for the sake of

²³⁵ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552323-552326, report and cable foreign ministry received from Chinese embassy in Mexico on 30 November and 15 December 1948; Page 552328, cable Zhu Jiahua received from Zhu Jingnong on in December 1948

²³⁶ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 5523227-552328, cable from foreign ministry to Chinese embassy in Mexico on 12 December 1948; Page 552329-552330 document sent from foreign ministry to educational ministry on 16 December 1948

²³⁷ IMHA, 11-INO-03857, Page 552247-552250, cable from foreign ministry to Chinese embassy in Cuba on 13 November 1948

²³⁸ An on-going project by PhD Candidate Hao Chen examines the competition between Beijing and Taipei for representational legitimacy of China in Cold War "Third Forces" of Asia between 1947 and 1967. <https://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/directory/hao-chen>

China's interests, had to give way to its Big Sister's geopolitical strategy, which had complex legacy for UNESCO's peacemaking in post-war East Asia.

6.5 Maintaining an Expensive Relationship with UNESCO

As demonstrated above, UNESCO enabled Chiang-led Nationalist Government a great deal of diplomatic space to monopolize international recognition in the warfare with CCP, so much so that they would continue to play in the multilateral diplomatic platform of UNESCO. This section, drawing upon ANT, will take a look at how Nationalist Government sought to maintain an expensive with UNESCO even though it was getting more and more stressful for the Nationalist Government and even beyond their affordability as the Civil War went on.

In the first place, it was becoming more inconvenient for the Nationalist Government to recruit a national delegation for UNESCO conferences. In 1947, China sent out a national delegation to attend UNESCO's 2nd General Conference in Mexico. To attend this conference, the government had to take an economical and pragmatic approach by recruiting intellectuals who were already abroad and thus could easily travel rather than sending big delegations from mainland China²³⁹. As the situation became more and more frantic at home, the number of national delegates that the KMT government managed to organize for UNESCO's 3rd General Conference in Lebanon in 1948 fell sharply, with only Zhu Jingnong, Qu Shiyong and Chen Yuan mentioned in news reports²⁴⁰. In 1949, KMT almost lost mainland China, losing both military control and civilian support from the mass population, and was forced to retreat to Guangzhou and later Taipei. At that stage, it was even more difficult to organize a national delegation because the community of Chinese intellectuals that was networked with Needham and had been recruited by the Nationalist Government to be involved in UNESCO affairs experienced a significant divergence, fell apart along with the change in regime around 1949, when many intellectuals remained in mainland China while some relocated with the government in Taiwan and some fled to the USA.

²³⁹Hang Liwu deng Daibiao Chuxi Lianjiao Zuzhi Dierjie Dahui, *Jiaoyu Tongxun (Hankou)*, 1948, Vol. 4, No. 9, pp.28- 29 (《教育通讯(汉口)》1948年复刊4第9期)

²⁴⁰Zhu Jingnong deng Chuxi Lianjiaozuzhi Nianhui, *Jiaoyu Tongxun (hankou)*, 1948, Vol. 6, No.7, P.32 (《教育通讯(汉口)》1948年复刊6第7期)

At the conclusion of the Civil War, the KMT government was very weak militarily and economically, hence the KMT government found it financially very difficult to pay the membership fee in the year 1949. In fact, the Nationalist Government in Taiwan, that retained its status within the UN as the sole recognized representative of China, had to pay the dues that was assessed upon the population and wealth of mainland China. The Secretary of UNESCO's Chinese National Commission was very concerned about this issue because, according to UNESCO regulations, without paying the membership fee, China would lose its right to vote in the General Conference²⁴¹. Zhu Jiahua might have well read the Constitution of UNESCO, in particular Article IV and Clause C about voting: "a member state which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contribution to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Conference if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding full two years"²⁴². The national commission agreed with Chen Yuan, the Chinese representative at UNESCO, that the percentage allocated to China was too much to afford. Chen Yuan had already exchanged opinions with other committee members of UNESCO and the Vice-Secretary. But the result of the discussion was that all agreed that it was a big issue, but it would be very difficult to lower the amount because the percentage was regulated by the UN, and if China managed to reduce the amount then other member states would also ask for a re-allocation; hence it was absolutely impossible to get this approved by the general conference²⁴³.

Even though the Nationalist Government was desperate, it still sought any possible temporal resolutions to relieve this financial burden while keep its legitimate representation in this organization. Chen Yuan must also have known the UNESCO Constitution very well, in particular the clause about voting rights: the General Conference may nevertheless permit such a member state to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the member nation²⁴⁴. As implied in a document that Zhu Jiahua received from the Secretary of UNESCO's Chinese National Commission on 3 August 1949, Chen Yuan suggested that China need not necessarily ask for a re-allocation but it should release an official announcement to UNESCO, saying that China had unavoidable and real

²⁴¹ Academia SINICA, Zhu Jiahua Archives (later referred to as ZJHA), 301-01-09-073, P.35

²⁴² Ibid, P. 61

²⁴³ Ibid, P.35

²⁴⁴ Ibid, P.61

difficulties, that China would try to pay; and China would ask for a reduction or release from the amounts that China it should pay in the following years.²⁴⁵ According to Chen Yuan, even though the General Conference would not approve this, at least it could provide an explanatory excuse in the future²⁴⁶. Zhu Jiahua held that China should try to collect some money and pay part of the membership fee before making such an announcement²⁴⁷. The legal committee of the General Conference symphonized and the 7th General Conference approved Taiwan-based government to vote ²⁴⁸. But the financial burden would not be lessened for a while even after the Government settled down in the island of Taiwan and that Chinese delegation did address and had to address this issue from time to time to have the right to vote when UNESCO held its General Conference before 1960²⁴⁹.

6.6 Summary and Perspective

This chapter deals mainly with politics within the broader category of cultural internationalism as coined by Akira Iriye, showing how idealist cultural internationalism came into play in the actor-network of realist geopolitics within UNESCO–China relations. The ideal of achieving peace through promoting international intellectual cooperation across boundaries was incepted into the establishment of UNESCO. There was a transcultural accommodation between Western-derived cosmopolitan internationalism and the Chinese indigenous concepts of Datong in modern China. This conceptual apparatus, cosmopolitanism overlaid with nationalism in modern China, highly influenced China's perception of the world order and affected China's interactions with the universal intergovernmental organization of the League of Nations and later the UN system.

The relations between UNESCO and China emerged from wartime internationalism and underwent a process from up surging to waning in the post-war period 1945-1950, which

²⁴⁵ Ibid, P.34

²⁴⁶ Ibid, P. 36

²⁴⁷ Ibid, P. 37

²⁴⁸ UNESCO Archives, 7 C/Resolutions, CPG.52.VI.7, Records of the General Conference, 7th Session, 1952:

Resolutions; also see Laura Wong, *Cultural Agency: UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, 1957-1966* (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), pp. 79-83

²⁴⁹ UNESCO Archives, 9 C/14, Report of the Administrative Commission on the Right to Vote of China, UNESCO General Conference, 9th New Delhi, 1956; 11C/38, Communication from the Head of the Delegation of China, Right to Vote of China, UNESCO General Conference, 11th 1960

then developed into a Civil War and Cold War power network. The founding countries of the UN had experienced the common threat to humankind from the devastating world war and this had fostered a shared desire for establishing a permanent world organization to maintain peace. Though short-lived, an idealized cosmopolitan view of the future of internationalism was popular to varying degrees within intellectual and political visions of an anticipated new world order from 1945 to 1950²⁵⁰. The interaction and communication between UNESCO and China over cultural internationalism was located in the domestic power network between the Nationalists and the Communists, intertwined with the international power network between the USA-led liberal bloc and Soviet-led communist bloc. The transcultural conceptual translation of UNESCO ideology and agendas into Chinese languages and contexts and vice-versa was as closely bound up with conventional nationalism as it was political assets in a period of civil war. Nationalist China's participation in UNESCO and the translation and communication of UNESCO's ideals were as much driven by nationalist appeals to promote Chinese culture as they were by the Nationalist Government's political maneuver of intensifying the legitimacy of its governance by linking Nationalist China with a globally recognized intellectual cooperation organ affiliated with the UN.

As the intellectual organ of an intergovernmental organization, UNESCO was deployed as a platform of multilateral diplomacy in its interactions with its member states, which would greatly affect UNESCO–China relations in the long run when two separate governments along the Taiwan Strait claimed to represent China from 1950 till 1971. In the final section of this chapter, the analysis illustrates how Nationalist China sought to secure and exert its influence in post-war world by practicing intellectual diplomacy through UNESCO, and how Nationalist China still sought to maintain an expensive relationship with UNESCO after it was relocated in Taiwan following its defeat on the mainland. With two governments along the Taiwan Strait both claiming the legitimate representation of China, the power relations of the Cold War would very much condition the outstanding issue of the representative rights of China in the UN system, including in its intellectual organ UNESCO, China's engagement in

²⁵⁰ Glenda Sluga (2010), P.394

UNESCO projects and even the participation of Chinese intellectuals in NGOs such as the International Political Science Association that were affiliated with UNESCO²⁵¹.

China as cultural identity, as shared by both sides of Taiwan Strait, was a constant variable in the equation of UNESCO–Taipei relations. Although Lin Yutang’s reflection upon the Orient and Occident belied a lingering essentialism of the early post-war period, his call for the cooperation between the East and the West had partially led to the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values adopted in New Delhi at the third session of the UNESCO General Conference in 1956 and carried out during 1957-1966²⁵². The Chinese delegation from Taiwan had tried its best to secure a Chinese representative on the committee arguing that Chinese culture has important contribution to make to the rest of the world²⁵³. Even though no a single Chinese representative was involved in the committee, the translation of major Chinese classical works which was proposed previously by Chinese delegations and Chinese National Commission to UNESCO was to some extent put into practice²⁵⁴. As revealed by American China historian Laura Wong, the classical works of Mozi, Xunzi, Laozi were translated into English as well as Sima Qian’s *Shiji* and other Chinese poems, which had used in English and American pedagogy for years to come²⁵⁵. Although mainland China was absent from UNESCO, it never disappeared from UNESCO’s vision. In this project, several boxes of files, with documents about socialist China’s apparel, literature, stamps, architecture etc., with letters from associations such as “China Welfare Institute of Peking” and “All China Democratic Women’s Federation”, were sent abroad making the country known in a way that had not been known to people outside of China before²⁵⁶.

Having restored the legitimate place in UNESCO and the UN in 1971, the permanent Chinese delegation to UNESCO was set up in 1974 and the relations between UNESCO and Beijing

²⁵¹ John Feng, The International Political Science Association and Cross-Strait Relations in the 1980s, conference paper presented at the 25th World Congress of Political Science, Brisbane, 21-25 July 2018

²⁵² Laura Wong (2006); Laura Elizabeth Wong, Relocating East and West: UNESCO’s Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 19, No.3, New Histories of the United Nations (Sep.2008), pp.349-374

²⁵³ Laura Wong (2006), pp. 79-80

²⁵⁴ Laura Wong (2006), P.80; Laura Wong (2008)

²⁵⁵ Laura Wong (2006), P. 109

²⁵⁶ Shen Junqiang, *Research on the Relations between China and UNESCO in Education Cooperation: In the Perspective of Lifelong Education for All* (Doctoral Dissertation, East China Normal University, 2009), pp. 52-53

was strengthened as Director-General of UNESCO Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow had four visits to China during 1975-1984 and Chinese National Commission to UNESCO in 1979 was approved by Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) who had met M'Bow in 1978²⁵⁷. Beijing has gradually begun to draw upon the downplayed platform of UNESCO to foster its “soft power”. As the inheritor of the legal representative government of China in UNESCO, Beijing also inherited the nationalist mission of promoting Chinese culture and has advanced in this direction in a more comprehensive and profound manner than the Nationalist Government had managed to do. For example, in a nationwide campaign that made Chinese cultural heritage world standard through the platform of UNESCO since the first decade of the 21st century ²⁵⁸. It is noticeable that the One Belt One Road initiative draws heavily upon the historical legacy of the Silk Roads connecting countries in East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia and Central Asia, the Arabian Peninsula, East Africa and even Southern Europe, about which UNESCO launched the project “Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue” in 1988 before the conclusion of the Cold War²⁵⁹. As a result of cooperation between China and Silk Road countries, “The Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang’an –Tianshan Corridor”, 33 sites (22 of them in China, the rest in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) were inscribed into UNESCO World Heritage in 2014²⁶⁰.

Compared to the United States, which once was one of the biggest sponsors of this multilateral international institution and withdrew its financial support and finally its membership of UNESCO in 2019, Beijing has constantly demonstrated commitment to multilateralism embodied in international institutions such as UNESCO. Chinese former vice educational minister Dr. Hao Ping was elected as the President of UNESCO’s 37th General Conference when he served as the chief director of Chinese National Commission to UNESCO²⁶¹. President Xi Jinping, as the first Chinese president and his First Lady paid a historic visit to the headquarter of UNESCO in Paris in 2014 and made a speech, which spoke

²⁵⁷ Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid ed., *China’s Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer* (Routledge, 2019), P.

²⁵⁸ Celine Lai (2016), UNESCO and Chinese Heritage: An Ongoing Campaign to Achieve World-Class Standards, in Poul Duedahl ed. (2016), pp.313-324

²⁵⁹ UNESCO Archives, UNESCO (2002), CLT/CPD/DIA/2008/PI/68, The Silk Roads Project: Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue, 1988-1997

²⁶⁰ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1442/>

²⁶¹ <https://en.unesco.org/news/china%E2%80%99s-education-vice-minister-hao-ping-elected-president-unesco%E2%80%99s-general-conference-0>

of multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue in terms of Confucian “harmony without uniformity” (和而不同) and building an “intimate community of shared destiny” (命运共同体)²⁶². The current Director-General Audrey Azoulay became another leader in office UNESCO who received formal reception by a Chinese President in her visit to China, during which Xi Jinping confirmed Beijing’s commitment to multilateralism²⁶³. It is not the first time that China has drawn upon ancient Chinese thought, in particular Confucian philosophy, when projecting its image in the international community, in particular in its engagement in multilateral institutions such as UNESCO. As it had for the Nationalist Government, the intellectual platform of UNESCO offers both political assets and room for diplomatic maneuvering for Beijing, while the post-war reconciliation that UNESCO sought to promote in East Asia remains a contested issue. From a chronological perspective, the historical relations between UNESCO and Nationalist China in the relatively short period of 1945-1950 had much resonance with contemporary relations between UNESCO and China today.

²⁶² <https://en.unesco.org/news/president-china-xi-jinping-pays-historic-visit-unesco-0>;
https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1142560.shtml

²⁶³ <https://zh.unesco.org/news/zu-lai-cheng-wei-shou-wei-fang-hua-dao-zhong-guo-guo-jia-zhu-xi-jie-dai-jiao-ke-wen-zu-zhi-zong>

Chapter 7 Mr. Science in Acting-Networking UNESCO–China Relations, 1945-1950

Certain it is that no people or group of peoples has had a monopoly in contributing to the development of Science. Their achievements should be mutually recognised and freely celebrated with the joined hands of universal brotherhood.¹

Science is at the kernel of UNESCO's mission, as literally the sole agency with science as its main realm in the UN family. In the wake of WWII, UNESCO was dedicated to marshalling science for the common good of humankind. British embryo biochemist Joseph Needham began to work on continuing *Science and Civilisation in China* (SCC) series after he resigned from UNESCO as head of UNESCO Natural Science Division. In the preface of the first volume of SCC, he viewed the history of science and technology from a cosmopolitan perspective that UNESCO sought to promote in its global peace mission in post-WWII era. This chapter will mainly map out UNESCO–China relations in the field of science during the period 1945-1950 with the analytical tools of transcultural conceptual history and ANT.

It is reasonable to say that what we think of as the concept of science today is modern science as developed in early modern Europe. But science has been regarded as one of the most essential elements in many programs in modern China, from the Self-strengthening Movement to the New Culture Movement, and it has been a top priority for the imperial reformers, the Nationalists as well as the Communists². One of the founders of the CCP, Chen Duxiu, created the aspirational notion of Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy, personified as two gentlemen who could save China from political, moral and intellectual darkness³. Hence, this chapter will briefly trace the transcultural conceptual reception of science by Chinese intellectuals' and politicians' conceptual perceptions of science in their search for a cure for the deficiencies of the Chinese state, society and mentality in the modern era. This

¹ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954-), Volume 1 Introductory Orientations, Preface

² Benjamin A. Elman (2005), *On their own terms: Science in China 1550-1990* (Cambridge. Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005), P. xxxi

³ Chen Duxiu, New Youth's Reply to Charges against the Magazine (Xin Qingnian zui an dabianshu), *New Youth* (*Xin Qingnian*), Vol.6, No.1 (15 Jan.1919), pp.10-11

process of welcome science was translated and greatly mobilized into a huge actor- network through Mr. Science, as vividly brought to life by the New Culture intellectuals. The legacy of the transcultural conceptual translation, communication and appropriation went on to play a role in shaping China's attitudes towards UNESCO's ideas and programs of science and even education; the national and international actor-network motivated by Mr. Science very much paved the way for the making of UNESCO–China relations in science.

Although it was American delegate Archibald MacLeish's proposal to add science to the post-war intellectual organization, Needham also played an important role in bringing in the presence of science when envisioning the post-war UNESCO. This chapter will examine the role that Needham played in the early history of UNESCO, the legacy of the Needham-led Sino-British Science Cooperation Office (SBSCO) and the network he built with Chinese scientists in the making of UNESCO–China relations during the immediate post-war period. By investigating Needham's role in SBSCO and UNESCO, by tracing how a network of scientific internationalism beneath SBSCO forced its way into UNESCO and UNESCO–China relations in the organization's first formative years, and by following how it was later transformed during the Chinese Civil War and under Cold War politics, this chapter will re-conceptualize UNESC—China relations in the field of science during the period 1945-1950. This chapter will demonstrate the agency of Chinese scientists and scientific community in acting and networking UNESCO–China relations.

7.1 Actor-Network of Science in the Making of UNESCO–China Relations

7.1.1 The “Sick Man of East Asia” Metaphor and the Predicament of Chinese Intelligentsia in Modern China

This section will sort out China's transcultural encounter with Europe-derived science and how this transcultural accommodation evolved into from a functionalist borrowing into a systematic and fundamentally intellectual appropriation that had profound impacts in fostering a huge actor-network for UNESCO-China relations in science.

Modern science, according to Joseph Needham's definition, developed in Western Europe at the time of Galileo in the late Renaissance, refers to the application of mathematical hypotheses to Nature, the full understanding and use of the experimental method, the distinction between primary and secondary qualities, the geometrization of space, and the acceptance of the mechanical model of reality⁴. China was not entirely separated from or indifferent to European science. American historian Benjamin A. Elman argues that science, as a medieval French term, was synonymous with accurate and systematized knowledge, and included seven specialized branches (grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy) of Aristotelian moral and natural philosophy when Latinized into *Scientia*, which are similar to the classical ideal of six arts in ancient China (rites, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy and mathematics)⁵.

During the Renaissance period, European scholars developed a preferred order of logic, mathematics, natural science, moral philosophy and metaphysics, while the Chinese literati also developed their own traditions of natural studies - "widening learning of things" (Bowu 博物) and "investigating things and extending knowledge" (Gezhi 格致) by turning to Evidential Research⁶. The encounter between Chinese literati and missionaries regarding science in the late Ming Dynasty has been very significant. Chinese literati had learnt mathematics, astrology, and new methods and techniques regarding cartography from Jesuit missionaries such as Matteo Ricci and made some of the Western learning part of "Natural Studies"⁷. There were European missionaries visiting China and transmitting European scientific knowledge in Qing Dynasty, in particular during the Shunzhi and Kangxi reign⁸. However, modern science did not take root in China, presumably for which reason China was considerably left behind, especially in the development of modern scientific technology, the production of ships and bombs, the application of modern medicine etc. which resulted in the making of the Sick Man of East Asia.

⁴ Joseph Needham, *The Grand Tradition: Science and Society in East and West* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1969), *Poverties and Triumphs of the Chinese Scientific Tradition*, pp.14-64

⁵ Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Cambridge Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2005), P. XXIV

⁶ *Ibid*, pp.4-5, pp.24-60, pp.223-280

⁷ *Ibid*, pp.63-106; Ho Yi Kai ed., *Science in China: Essay by Benjamin A. Elman, 1600-1900* (Hackensack, NJ: World Century Publishing; Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2015)

⁸ Benjamin A. Elman (2005), pp. 150-222

As observed by historian Larissa N. Heinrich, French Jesuit missionary Father Martial Cibot's writings represented China as the "cradle of smallpox" as early as the late 1760s; other missionary writings of the early 19th century had already perceived China as "the original home of the plague" as well as a perceived source of cholera in Europe⁹. China was viewed as a hygienically "backward" country because of the plague, which was an indication of the deterioration of the so-called "Sick Man of Asia"¹⁰. During 1836-1855, the formulation and circulation of images associating Chinese identity with illness in discourses between China and the West had already been fostered through medical materials such as medical illustrations or paintings painted by the Cantonese commercial artist Lam Qua¹¹ and used by medical missionaries in the Canton delta¹². Rather than representing Chinese people with opium guns, the paintings depicted portraits of Chinese patients with terrible tumors, with portraits of "before" and "after" surgery to demonstrate the dramatic healing potential of Western medical practice brought in by the Christian missionaries¹³. The medical enterprises of foreign missionaries would later converge with UNESCO's initiative in experimenting with public health education which will be analyzed in Chapter 8.

Along with introduction of Western techniques, in particular, Western medicine and surgery, a new way of looking at and representing the human body was brought to China, i.e. Western dissection derived anatomy, dating back to the translation and publication of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (全体新论) in 1852¹⁴. This new and diagnostic way of looking at the body had inspired Chinese elites to accept a medicalized view of the country's problems and they embraced a medicalized solution for the deficiencies of both the Chinese state, Chinese nationhood and Chinese body in the late 19th century and in the first decades of the twentieth century¹⁵.

While the medical missionary sought to treat Chinese "patients" with Western medicine, Chinese politicians and intellectual elites had explored "curing" the country, the state and

⁹ Larissa N. Heinrich, *The Afterlife of Images: Translating the Pathological Body between China and the West* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2008), pp.16-20

¹⁰ Carol Benedict, *Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996)

¹¹ The paintings were ordered by Peter Parker (1804-1888), a medical missionary in Guangzhou

¹² Larissa N. Heinrich (2008), pp.40-42

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Larissa N. Heinrich (2008), P.118

¹⁵ Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004) pp.1-21

society as China was suffering from a domestic as well as an international crisis¹⁶. What would be coined as “science” was closely tied in with national salvation in China via the technological competence that Qing rulers recognized in the West¹⁷. Informed by Confucian statecraft of how to deal with foreign “barbarians”, the Self-strengthening Movement had attempted to preserve the rule of the Qing court as well as traditional Chinese culture by grafting advanced Western techniques onto Chinese learning, which expanded from military affairs to industries and applied science¹⁸. However, all the efforts ended in devastating failure in the first Sino-Japanese War.

After its defeat in the first Sino-Japanese war, China was widely iterated as the Sick Man, both among Chinese intellectuals and in Western public opinion. Historian Yang Ruisong traces the origins of this term describing China’s status-quo back to the year 1894 from an editorial in a French newspaper, and the British newspaper *The Times* also mentioned that “Sick Man of the Far East was lying on his death-bed” in 1895¹⁹. As pointed out by German Sinologist Rudolf Wagner, the term “Sick Man” had been used in Western public opinion to describe the Ottoman Empire for some time; hence, the metaphor of being the “Sick Man” of East Asia and the Bosphorus was applied to China and the Ottoman Empire respectively, including terms like “decaying” or even “dying”, in addition to the metaphor that their lands were being “carved up” like a melon or cake into spheres of influence or colonies by the Powers²⁰. “Sick Man of East Asia” is probably one of the most well-known epithets for ethnic Chinese at home and abroad in modern China and had a profound impact in contemporary China²¹. The use of the metaphor of “Sick Man” became so widespread that Chinese elites, especially Chinese intellectuals, began exploring a more fundamental treatment for the “Sick Man”, laying down the actor-network for UNESCO-China relations in science.

¹⁶ Chang Hao, *Zhongguo Jindai Sixiangshi de Zhuanxing Shidai, Ershiyi Shiji Shuangyuekan*, 1999, April, pp.29-39(二十一世纪半月刊四月号)

¹⁷ Zuoye Wang, *Science and the State in Modern China, Isis*, September 2007, Vol.98(3), pp.558-70

¹⁸ Earl Swisher, *Chinese Intellectuals and the Western Impact, 1838-1900, Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1958, Vol. 1, No.1, pp.26-37

¹⁹ Yang Ruisong, *Xiangxiang Minzu Chiru: Jindai Zhongguo Sixiang Wenhushi shang de “Dongya Bingfu” Guoli Zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao (国立政治大学历史学报)*, 2005, Vol 23, pp. 1-44

²⁰ Rudolf G. Wagner, “China Asleep” and “Awakening.” A Study in Conceptualizing Asymmetry and Coping with It, *Transcultural Studies*, 1 (2011), pp. 4-139

²¹ Yang Ruisong (2005)

7.1.2 Acting-Networking Chinese intellectuals in Rebuilding the Sick Man of East Asia

The humiliating failure of the 1st Sino-Japanese war had demonstrated to the Qing rulers that a narrow borrowing of technology and expertise directly from Western experts or indirectly from a translation of Western knowledge simply could not serve for the mission of national salvation. The metaphor of “Sick Man” was frequently referred to in the mobilization of launching reform by late Chinese reformist intellectuals such Liang Qichao and the mentor of Liang Qichao - Kang Youwei²². Influenced by Social Darwinism, which was shaped by Yan Fu’s creative yet misleading translation and introduction of British liberal works, Chinese intellectuals began to note that it would be essential to improve the capability of its nation to enhance national wealth and power²³. Herbert Spencer’s sociological thought, especially the theory of Social Organism, inspired Chinese intellectuals to cultivate a new nationhood and reshape a new nationality²⁴. Chinese reformists sought to foster an organic society consisting of actor-network of healthy, cultivated and virtuous individuals and vibrant social groups, capable of acting and networking to reboot the Sick Man of East Asia.

The systematic institutional reform proposed by Kang, Liang and their reformist peers – One Hundred Days’ Reform – died in its infancy but had significant legacy in triggering an intellectual actor-network. The Imperial University established in 1898 survived and became Peking University, a major intellectual space in modern China. The efforts of forming patriotic societies and presses had already demonstrated to Chinese intellectuals the power of societies and journalism to communicate political ideas²⁵. Another set of reform policy was then initiated under the leadership of Dowager Cixi (1835-1908), including the abolition of the imperial examination, the establishment of a new school system and the dispatching

²² Iwo Amelung and Sebastian Riebold ed. *Revisiting the “Sick Man of Asia”: Discourse of Weakness in Late 19th Century and Early 20th Century China* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2018)

²³ Benjamin I. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964)

²⁴ Zhou Hongbing, Yan Fu and Spencer’s Theory of “Social Organism”, *Southeast Academic Research*, 2015, No. 2, pp.75-80; Fu Zheng, Herbert Spence’s Theory of “Social Organism” and Nationalism in Late Qing: A Study Focusing on Zhang Taiyan and Yan Fu, *Modern Chinese History Studies*, 2017, No. 2, pp.34-51, P. 160; Wan Jiqing, Yan Fu’s Theory of the “Social Organism” and Its Political Implications, *Philosophical Research*, 2019, No. 9, pp.74-78

²⁵ Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang Chi-chao and the Mind of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967)

of students for overseas study would have profound impacts over the intellectual history of modern China²⁶.

Chinese traditional schooling, characterized as an examination system based upon rigid studies about Confucian classics rather than modern subjects, has been accused by earlier reformists of accounting for China's backwardness and weakness since it resulted in a shortage of skilled human resources for social development. The abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905, that had served as the recruitment channel for the government and promotion channel for the traditional literati, accelerated the emergence of an actor-network of Chinese modern intelligentsia. Convinced that educational reform which combined Chinese learning and Western learning was essential for national revival, the reformists had proposed transforming the school system²⁷. Inspired by the Japanese experience of a formal educational system that had contributed to rapid social progress during the Meiji Restoration, the Chinese government tried to build up a new educational system in the first decade of the 20th century modeled on the Japanese education system, which was both influenced by French and German models²⁸. The Chinese government, despite its poor financial state, envisioned a new school system involving a centralized and hierarchical school network from kindergarten to primary school to middle school to high school to college to research institute, reaching out from villages, towns and provincial capitals all the way to the national capital²⁹.

The new educated elites were not necessarily recruited as national civil servants as before but were involved in various intellectual activities in new forms of professions, such as journalists, editors, authors, teachers, professors, scholars, activists etc.³⁰. Although some scholars doubt whether there was a "public sphere" in modern China similar to that of Western Europe, American Chinese historian Hao Chang argues that in the transitional period of 1895-1920, Chinese intellectuals had gradually built up an institutional network including mass media, new schools and various societies and associations, through which

²⁶ Thomas Daniel Curran, *Education and Society in Republican China* (Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1986), P.150

²⁷ Thomas Daniel Curran (1986), pp.116-124

²⁸ Ruth Hayhoe, China's Universities and Western Academic Models, *Higher Education*, 1 January 1989, Vol.18(1), pp.49-85

²⁹ Thomas Daniel Curran (1986), pp. 133-146

³⁰ Chang Hao (1999), pp.31-32

new knowledge and new ideas imported from outside were translated and communicated to Chinese audiences³¹. This institutional actor-network of modern intelligentsia suffered greatly during the Sino-Japanese war but would later resume as an important element in providing the infrastructure upon which UNESCO–China relations could work in practice.

7.1.3 Fostering the Actor-Network of Science in Republican China

The efforts of searching for a vibrant actor-network were greatly invested in higher education, resulting in the emergence of an academic actor-network of modern colleges and universities as part of the educational reforms from late Qing onwards³². The Imperial University was transformed into the first truly modern university under the reforms led by educationists such as Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940), who emulated the German model with its central values of autonomy, professional self-governance and academic freedom³³. More and more national and provincial colleges and universities were set up meanwhile missionary universities were set up directly by foreign missionaries such as St. John's University (1905) and Aurora University (1903) in Shanghai, Yenching University (1919) in Beijing, and Ginling College (1913), where Lu Gwei-djen (1904-1991), Joseph Needham's companion, had studied biochemistry³⁴. There were more than 100 modern (national and provincial) universities, missionary and provincial colleges running throughout China up until 1949³⁵. The majority of Chinese intellectuals had experience of overseas study and of working in colleges or universities at home or abroad after they obtained their degrees, mostly from American universities, with some from European and Japanese universities. Among these were important educationists of the top universities, such as Hu Shi and Jiang Menglin (1886-1964) of Peiping University, Zhang Boling (1876-1951) of Nankai University, Mei Yiqi (1889-1962) of Tsinghua University, and Zhu Kezhen of Zhejiang University etc³⁶.

³¹ Ibid

³² Yeh Wenhsing, *The Alienated Academy: Higher Education in Republican China* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1984)

³³ Ruth Hayhoe (1989), P.62

³⁴ Yeh Wenhsin, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1990)

³⁵ Chang Hao (1999)

³⁶ Xu Youchun ed. *Minguo Renwu Da Cidian* 民国人物大辞典 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Renmin Chubanshe, 1991); Hu Shi, with the assistance of Te-kong Tong, *The personal Reminiscences of Dr. Hu Shi* (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2012); Wang Yunwu, Luo Jialun, *Three University Presidents of*

This setting up of a higher education system was a most important intellectual platform for modern China, where young students received professional career training and where senior scholars conducted and develop their research. Some of the presidents, deans and professors of these universities would be recruited to the national delegation, and many of them were in the national commission to UNESCO. This actor-network of higher education greatly facilitated the production, reservation, dissemination and circulation of knowledge in various disciplines, which constituted the main body of international intellectual cooperation that UNESCO sought to promote and facilitate for the maintenance, increase and diffusion of knowledge, and in particular, knowledge in terms of modern science.

The academic actor-network in republican China was by no means bound to be national, rather it connected with a broader network at the international level from the outset because the process of building up a modern higher education system in republican China was as highly influenced by domestic reformist imperatives as by international agencies and agents³⁷. These encounters and interactions with the foreign experience greatly affected modern China's efforts in building modern academic institutions and a scientific community and its attempts to integrate into a world academic and research community through UNESCO.

7.1.4 Scientism in Modern China: Omnipotent Mr. Science in China's National Salvation

An important mobilizer of the actor-network of higher education in modern China emerged from a profound intellectual transformation when China was confronted with the interior crisis of governance and exterior crisis of foreign invasion while encountering heterogeneous foreign science, technology and culture in the modern era³⁸. Yuan Shikai's restoration and the failure of a republic government led many Chinese political intellectuals to attributed China's vulnerability to the survival of an anachronistic despotism, which they

Republican China (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 2015); Zhang Boling, *Reminiscences of Zhang Bo-ling* (Hefei: Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House, 2013); Ma Yong, *A Biography of Jiang Menglin* (Beijing: Red Flag Publishing House, 2009); Mei Yiqi, *Reminiscences of Mei Yiqi* (Hefei: Anhui Literature and Art Publishing House, 2013)

³⁷ Yelong Han, *Making China Part of the Globe: The Impact of America's Boxer Indemnity Remissions on China's Academic Institutional Building* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1999), P.5, and P.22

³⁸ Chang Hao (1999), pp.29-39.

identified with Confucian despotism³⁹. During the New Culture Movement, Chinese intellectuals sought to establish the necessary cultural and social conditions to nourish the qualities of individuals and a collective character which was expected to remedy the disease, i.e. the systematic resistance to and cultural rejection of the political innovations of the republic⁴⁰. In other words, China could not simply be saved through the introduction of Western technology, or even Western institutions such as elections and a parliament. Chinese intellectuals began to note that the superiority of the West had profound intellectual roots. They believed it was highly important to introduce Western culture characterized by science and democracy, promoted by Chinese intellectual figureheads as Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy, to cultivate and mobilize the intellectual agency of the actor-network.

Suffering from the accusation that China's severe deficiencies in factual scientific knowledge were responsible for the country's backwardness in the modern era, Chinese enlightened intellectuals tried to use the claims of science and rationality to construct new organizing principles for cultural and political life⁴¹. Boxer Indemnity-sponsored student Ren Hongjun (1886-1961) argued that the essence of science lies in studying facts rather than texts; Eastern culture could not compete with Western culture because Eastern culture dealt with texts while Western culture worked on the facts⁴². Inspired by English philosopher-the father of empiricism Francis Bacon, Ren Hongjun as a pioneer in the promotion of science, embraced empiricist induction as a research method⁴³. For Ren, the mission of science is to observe and study the facts generated via experiments in the laboratory⁴⁴. Even before the May Fourth Movement, Hu Shi, as a friend of Ren Hongjun, who was supervised by John Dewey during his studies at Columbia University, was much inspired and influenced by Deweyan Pragmatism, which he assumed would shed light on the

³⁹ Jerome B. Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State in Modern China: A Narrative History* (New York: The Free Press, 1981)

⁴⁰ Jerome B. Grieder (1981), P.204

⁴¹ Lam Tong, *A Passion for Facts, Social Survey and the Construction of the Chinese Nation-State, 1900-1949* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2011)

⁴² Ren Hongjun (1918), What is Scientist, in Fan Hongye and Chang Jiuchun ed., *Ren Hongjun Wencun: Kexue Jiuguo zhi Meng* 任鸿隽文存：科学救国之梦 (Shanghai: Shanghai Scientific & Technical Publishers, 2002), P. 59

⁴³ Ibid; Ren Hongjun (1920), The Relations between Science and Industry, in Fan Hongye and Chang Jiuchun ed. (2002), pp.62-63;

⁴⁴ Ren Hongjun (1918), in Fan Hongye and Chang Jiuchun ed. (2002), P. 59

modernization of China in facilitating the development of science and the emergence of a scientific civic community in China. He had already published an article on "Experimentalism" in *New Youth* (新青年) on 15 April 1919, in which he introduced Deweyan Pragmatism, in particular the experimental method, as deployed by scientists in labs that indicated "the experimental attitude of mind" and profoundly contributed to the development of modern science in the 19th century⁴⁵. By comparing the evidential learning that was prevalent in Qing with the natural science studies in Europe, Hu Shi agreed with his friend's argument about the divergence of textual research versus experimental research and emphasized the importance of the latter⁴⁶. But unlike his friend Ren Hongjun's background in pure science, Hu Shi had a strong grounding in the humanities especially his training in evidential learning, which paved the way for his acceptance of Deweyan Pragmatism, as well as drawing him to regard science as a field that was commensurate with hard-core natural science and social science and humanities⁴⁷. Hu Shi's understanding of science was closer to that of Cai Yuanpei's, as the latter introduced the concept of *Wissenschaft* from Germany in reorganizing Peiping University and would later shape the disciplinary structure of Academia Sinica and National Academy of Peiping that both hosted natural science, social science and the humanities⁴⁸.

The introduction and promotion of Mr. Science had led to the well-known debate of science versus metaphysics (科学与玄学) in the intellectual history of modern China. Ren Hongjun put it clearly when he said that in science a rational formula could be discovered after scientific investigation, and that the discovery of certain formulae informs universal causality in the empirical world and could be applied to one's outlook on life (人生观)⁴⁹. In response to the great debate, Hu Shi also proposed a scientific outlook on life (科学的人生

⁴⁵ Hu Shi (1919), *Experimentalism*, originally published in *New Youth* Vol.6 Issue 4, in Ouyang Zhesheng ed. *Hu Shi Wenji* 胡适文集 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2002), Vol.2, pp.208-248

⁴⁶ Hu Shi (1928), *The Methods and Materials of Scholarship*, originally published in *New Moon* Vol.1 Issue 9, in Ouyang Zhesheng ed. (2002), Vol.4, pp.105-114

⁴⁷ Yu Yingshi, *Chongxun Hushi Licheng: Hushi Shengping yu Sixiang zai Renshi* 重寻胡适的历程：胡适生平与思想再认识 (Guilin: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2004), pp.178-232

⁴⁸ Shiwei Chen, *Government and Academy in Republican China: History of Academia Sinica, 1927-1949* (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1998)

⁴⁹ Ren Hongjun (1923), *The Science in Outlook on Life or Scientific Outlook on Life*, in Fan Hongye and Chang Jiuchun (2002), pp.72-73

观) by applying scientific attitude, scientific spirit and scientific methods in daily life⁵⁰. According to him, the scientific method, in practice, is to “hypothesize boldly and prove carefully” (大胆假设, 小心求证), which he believed had contributed the progress of natural science in the West⁵¹. As pointed out by American Chinese historian Yu Yingshi, there is a reductionist tendency in Hu Shi’s thinking that scientific experimentalism was the essential foundation for almost everything he advocated⁵². But this new experimental methodology would have profound impacts that went beyond science (see Chapter 8), and Hu Shi’s promotion of this made him one of the most prominent thinkers among the New Culture intellectuals⁵³. Science was expected by both the communists and liberals to assume a significant role in the enlightenment national salvation before they diverged on the solution.

Hu Shi’s advocating for Mr. Science in China was also much inspired by French biologist Louis Pasteur. Pasteur was cited by Hu Shi as a hero of science and as a role model for Chinese scientists to make science a necessary part of civic epistemology, even in the tough wartime conditions⁵⁴. Facing the national crisis of a Japanese invasion, Mr. Science was mobilized as a hero to save the nation⁵⁵. Being convinced that Japanese efforts to introduce modern science made it a new Japan and one of the four powers, Hu Shi called for the conducting of academic research for national salvation⁵⁶. He elaborated on how Mr. Science could save the nation using the example of Pasteur, describing how his discoveries about tartaric acid, the method of separation in silkworm breeding and the vaccine against cowpox had contributed to a financial upturn for France. Although he noted that there were many approaches to national salvation, he concluded that only science could save the

⁵⁰ Hu Shi (1928), *Scientific Outlook on Life*, originally a speech in Suchow then published in *Republican Daily* June 1-2 1928, in Ouyang Zhe-sheng (2002), Vol.12, pp.584-587

⁵¹ Hu Shi (1928), *The Methods and Materials of Scholarship*, originally published in *New Moon* Vol.1 Issue 9, in Ouyang Zhe-sheng (2002), Vol.4, pp.105-114

⁵² Yu Yingshi (2004), pp.178-232

⁵³ *Ibid*

⁵⁴ Pan Guangzhe, *How to Advocate Science in Modern China: Hu Shi’s Interpretations of Louis Pasteur (怎样欢迎“赛先生”：胡适与巴斯德)*, *Intellectual History*, 2016, Vol.6, a specially issue on May Fourth New Culture Movement, pp.1-45

⁵⁵ Hu Shi (1932), *The Road that We Should Take*, originally a speech in Changsha Hunan, published in *Peiping Morning Post*, December 12-13, 1932, in Wang Yu ed. *The Republic of Hu Shih* (Changsha: Hunan People’s Publishing House, 2012), pp.204-208

⁵⁶ Hu Shi (1926), originally a speech at Peking University, compiled in Ouyang Zhesheng ed. (2002), Vol.12, pp.454-457

nation (惟科学可以救国)⁵⁷. The development of modern geology and agricultural science in Republican China indicates that Chinese scientists linked science and national empowerment, trying to deploy the universal truth claims in service of national goals⁵⁸. Hu Shi, Ren Hongjun and their peers had helped to establish an important chapter in the emergence of Scientism, i.e. the authority of modern science and even the worship of science, in modern China in the name of national salvation⁵⁹.

In parallel with the establishment of a higher education system, Chinese scientists, inspired by Mr. Science, were dedicated to forming various modern societies and associations, which made an important network for the academic community in Republican China⁶⁰. The first boom of modern associations was encouraged by the advocacy of reformists such as Liang Qichao, who believed that Western strength lay partially in the promotion of various professional associations⁶¹. Many of the commission members were engaged in professional associations covering a wide variety of individual disciplines, that were mostly established between 1912 and 1927, inspired by their overseas experience of modern academic associations, either the French and Soviet model or the American experience and the British Royal Society⁶².

The year 1912 marked the first year of Republican China as well as the birth of the first modern professional society i.e. the Chinese Society of Engineers in Guangzhou. Two years later, the Science Society of China (SSC 中国科学社) was set up in the USA by Boxer Indemnity-sponsored students. Commission members Ren Hongjun, Hu Shi and Zhao Yuanren were all actively involved in its activities⁶³. Hu Shi took part by donating membership fees and publishing articles in the *Science* magazine under the charge of SSC⁶⁴.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Grace Yen Shen, *Unearthing the Nation: Modern Geology and Nationalism in Republican, 1911-1949* (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2007); Xuan Geng, *Serving China Through Agricultural Science: American-Trained Chinese Scholars and "Scientific Nationalism" in Decentralized China (1911-1945)* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2015)

⁵⁹ D. W.Y. Kwok, *Scientism in Chinese Thought 1900-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965)

⁶⁰ Chang Hao (1999)

⁶¹ According to a statistic, 54 societies were set up during the One Hundred Days Reform, Zhou Pei-Lin, *Zhongguo Kexue Jishu Tuanti 中国科学技术团体* (Shanghai: Shanghai Science Popularization Press, 1990)

⁶² Zuoyue Wang (2002)

⁶³ Jia Sheng, *The Origins of the Science Society of China, 1914-1937* (Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1995), P.18

⁶⁴ Fan Hongye, The Association between Ren Hongjun and Hu Shi, *Chinese Studies in History*, 2004, Vol. 37, No.3, pp.3-33

Zhu Kezhen was also an active member of SSC even though he was not among its founders⁶⁵. Many prominent scholars such as mathematician Xiong Qinglai (1893-1969), physicians Sa Bendong (1902-1949) and Wu Yifang were also active members of SSC⁶⁶. Even politicians such as Weng Wenhao (1889-1971) and Wu Zhihui (1865-1953) and educationists such as Mei Yiqi were also SSC members and involved in SSC's activities aiming to promote Mr. Science in China⁶⁷. SSC was perhaps the most representative professional scientific association in Republican China, and it had reasonable influence on the development of other associations.

Apart from SSC, Chinese scientists were involved in many other associations. Zhu Kezhen was involved in the establishment of the Chinese Meteorological Society (中国气象学会) in Qingdao in 1924⁶⁸. Zhu Jiahua, Weng Wenhao, Ren Hongjun etc. were also involved in Botanical Society of China(中国植物学会), established in 1933⁶⁹. The development of scientific societies spoke of the professionalization and institutionalization of science in China⁷⁰. There were 117 societies set up by Chinese experts during the republican period⁷¹. These professional associations and many of their members would be networked and mobilized in bringing together UNESCO and China via the internationalist scientist Joseph Needham, and many of their active participants would be recruited in the national commission to UNESCO.

The relatively "laissez-faire" development of the scientific institutions continued until 1927 when KMT's Party-State sought to enforce its influence over the system of higher education and research institutes⁷². This wave of the institutionalizing of scientific research reached

⁶⁵ Zuoyue Wang, *Saving China through Science: The Science Society of China, Scientific Nationalism, and Civil Society in Republican China*, *Osiris*, 2002, Vol.17, pp.291-322

⁶⁶ Mao Rong, *Kexue de Bohuozhe: Zhongguo Kexueshe Shuping* 科学的播火者：中国科学社书评 (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 2002)

⁶⁷ The Science Society of China, *The Science Society of China: Its History, Organization and Activities* (Shanghai: Science Society of China, 1931)

⁶⁸ Zhang Xuan, Jiao Junxia, *The Establishment of Chinese Meteorological Society in Republican China*, *Archives & Construction*, 2006, vol 4, pp. 55-59

⁶⁹ Xiao Lei, *Botanical Society of China during the Period of Republic of China*, *Journal of Hebei North University (Social Science)*, 2014, Vol 30, No. 3, pp. 43-47

⁷⁰ Fan Fati, *The Controversy over Spontaneous Generation in Republican China: Science, Authority and the Public*, in Jing Tsu and Benjamin A. Elman ed. *China Studies: Science and Technology in Modern China, 1880s-1940s* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp.209-244

⁷¹ Zhou PeiLin (1990)

⁷² Yeh Wenhsin (1990), P. 2

its peak when the most prestigious research institute of Republican China, i.e. the Academia Sinica, was set up and put into operation in 1928 as the national centralized institute, where “full-time staff researchers conducted research in different scientific fields”⁷³. The establishment of a top national academic institute had been in the sights of the founding father Sun Yatsen, and its preparation had involved the older statesmen of this regime including Li Shizeng (1881-1973) and Cai Yuanpei and other KMT top officials such as Wang Shijie⁷⁴. The establishment of Academia Sinica was led by Cai Yuanpei, an advocate of academic freedom, and its development involved major intellectuals who would work in affiliation with about a dozen research institutes encompassing astronomy, meteorology, physics, chemistry, geology, history and linguistics, engineering and social science etc.⁷⁵ But Academia Sinica also developed with political steering from KMT and the government as well as being established in the intellectual pursuit of academic autonomy and freedom⁷⁶. One year later in 1929, a similar state-sponsored and state-supervised research institute, the National Academy of Peiping (NAP), headed by Li Shuhua, was established, in which Li Shizeng, another older statesman of KMT, was heavily engaged⁷⁷. The NAP recruited its own research fellows, expanded into nine research institutes, and built up its own system of academician members by 1948⁷⁸.

Driven by nationalism and patriotism, many New Culture intellectuals were involved in the making of a scientific epistemology in modern China by dedicating themselves to setting up scientific associations and institutes, publishing articles, by attending national or international conferences where they debated scientific issues, and conducting scientific research in various laboratories⁷⁹. Even under tough wartime conditions, Chinese scientists

⁷³ Chen Shiwei, Academia Sinica and the Scientific Professionalization in Republican China, *China Scholarship*, General Issue No. 15, 2003, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 173-213; Zuoyue Wang (2002)

⁷⁴ Chen Shiwei, Legitimizing the State: Politics and the Founding of Academia Sinica in 1927, *Papers on Chinese History*, Vol. 6, (Cambridge: Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 23-41

⁷⁵ Fu Banghong, *Scientific Planning and Planning Science in Republican China: An Investigation on Academia Sinica 1927-1949* 民国时期的科学计划与计划科学：以中央研究院为中心的考察 1927-1949 (Beijing: China Science and Technology Press, 2015), pp. 38-63

⁷⁶ Chen Shiwei (1998)

⁷⁷ Lin Wenzhao, A Survey of the History of the National Academy of Peiping, *China Historical Materials of Science and Technology*, Vol.10, No.1, 1989, pp.12-25; Liu Xiao, Li Shizeng and the Establishment of the National Academy of Peiping (NAP), *Journal of Dialectics of Nature*, Vol.32, Sum No.3, 2010, pp. 52-57

⁷⁸ Liu Xiao, The National Academy of Peiping's Academic Council and Membership System, *The Chinese Journal for the History of Science and Technology*, Vol.31, No.1 (2010), pp.26-42

⁷⁹ Pan Guangzhe (2016)

kept on researching, being convinced that only science could save the nation⁸⁰. The academic network that was predominantly located in the eastern regions was almost destroyed when most of the facilities were sabotaged or abandoned during the Japanese invasion. Most of the institutes were forced to retreat to the southwestern regions or more inland areas, but this relocation was difficult, and the resupplying was inadequate, despite the government's financial support for purchasing new books and equipment⁸¹. However understaffed, underequipped, and isolated, Chinese scientists continued to conduct research in basic science and applied science, which Joseph Needham found so inspiring⁸². Joseph Needham had managed to build close connections with this epistemic community that had emerged in Republican China, the legacy of which would play an important role in connecting it with the broader international community, helping to direct aid to these institutes through the British Council-sponsored Sino-British Science Cooperation Office (SBSCO) and later through the international organization of UNESCO.

7.2 Acting-Networking Mr. Science through Joseph Needham

Scholars in China and beyond have revealed the historical origins of SBSCO. Some of them tend to overemphasize the diplomatic and political intension of British government; while others do pay attention to scientific internationalism held by Joseph Needham but often focus on Needham's connection with individual scientists or institute in China and fail to map out the full network that would be significant for his service of SBSCO and UNESCO⁸³. Many scholars have noticed the significant connection between Needham's wartime

⁸⁰ Hu Shi (1926), originally a speech at Peking University, compiled in Ouyang Zhesheng (2002), Vol.12, pp.454-457

⁸¹ UNESCO Archives, UNESCO/Nat. Sci/2, Paris, November 19th, 1946

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Duan Yibing, On the Title of Joseph Needham in Wartime China, *China Historical Material of Science and Technology*, Vol. 25, No.3 (2004), pp. 199-208; Liu Xiao, Sino-British Scientific Cooperation in Late World War II: A Perspective Based on Correspondence between Li Shuhua and Joseph Needham, *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities*, Vo. 13, No. 3, Aug 2007; Zhou Leiming, Joseph Needham and the Academia Sinica, *Republican Archives*, 2008, NO. 3, pp.125-130 and P.136; Yin Xiaodong, Communication between Dr. Joseph Needham and Hu Chienshan, *Science & Culture Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2013), pp. 104-110; Yin Xiaodong, Contacts between Joseph Needham and Zhang Dongsun and His Sons, *Journal of Dialectics of Nature*, Vol.34, Sum No. 200, No. 4, 2012, pp. 31-35; Shu Yueyu Wang Liling, Communication between a Chinese Couple and Dr. Needham, *Studies in Dialectics of Nature*, Vol. 35, No. 10, Oct., 2019, pp. 83-89; Qiu Xiaojiao, Research on Joseph Needham and Sino-British Science Collaboration Office during the Anti-Japanese War, *Shanxi Science and Technology*, 2019, Vol.34, No. 6, pp. 78-81

experience in China and his work at UNESCO⁸⁴. This section, mainly drawing on the Joseph Needham Papers (JNP) held in Cambridge University Library, will sort out how the actor-network worked in practice by tracing the formation and development of the actor-network of scientific internationalism embodied in SBSCO which forced its way in bridging UNESCO-China relations from the inception of UNESCO.

7.2.1 The Allies of Science: Joseph Needham and the Sino-British Science Cooperation Office (SBSCO)

Joseph Needham had developed his interest in history of science from the perspective the social function of science while he had actively engaged in the Social Relations of Science movements (SRS) in 1930s⁸⁵. He had deeply involved in several scientific associations in the UK and beyond including the Association of Scientific Workers (AScW), British Association for the Advancement of Science and the “Committee on Science and its Social Relations” (CSSR) of the International Council of the Scientific Unions (ISCU)⁸⁶. Needham and his leftist friends such as British scientists – James G. Crowther, Julian Huxley-the later UNESCO Director-General, Irish scientist John D. Bernal and French scientists such as Federic Joliot Curie were also active participants in SRS and these associations, and they formed a Franco-British network that shared belief in wartime scientific internationalism while addressed the urgency of international organizing, planning, funding and applying of science for the welfare of humankind in the context of Great Depression and the rise of fascism⁸⁷. SBSCO led by Needham spoken another important chapter of scientific cooperation among the Allies in combating against fascism.

⁸⁴ Poul Duedahl, Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945-1976, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 22, No.1 (March 2011), pp.101-133; Elena Aronova, *Studies of Science Before “Science Studies”: Cold War and the Politics of Science in the U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R., 1950s-1970s* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California San Diego, 2012); Thomas Mougey, Needham at the Crossroads: History, Politics and International Science in Wartime China (1942-1946), *British Society for the History of Science* 50(1), pp.83-109, March 2017; Gordon Barrett, Between Sovereignty and Legitimacy: China and UNESCO, 1946-1953, *Modern Asian Studies*, 53, 5 (2019) pp.1516-1542

⁸⁵ Fu Banghong, New Exploration Concerning the Motivation of Needham’s Research on the History of Chinese Science and Technology, *Journal of Dialectics of Nature*, 2011, Vol. 33, Sum No. 196, pp. 47-54

⁸⁶ Fu Banghong (2011) and Patrick Petitjean, The Joint Establishment of the World Federation of Scientific Workers and of UNESCO after World War II, *Minerva* (2008) 46, pp. 247-270

⁸⁷ Patrick Petitjean (2008), pp. 247-270

Needham had been intrigued by Chinese language and culture since he met three Chinese students including his lover and second wife - Lu Gwei-djen in Cambridge in 1937⁸⁸. By late 1939, he believed that he had made considerable progress in learning to speak Lu's mother tongue, Nanjing mandarin, and to write the language⁸⁹. As an internationalist scientist, he began to develop his desire to visit and help in the rebuilding of the scientific life of the country as he got to know more about the difficulties faced by the Chinese scientific community through his Chinese collaborators⁹⁰. Needham's personal involvement in aiding China received strong endorsement from nongovernmental organizations in the UK such as the China Universities Committee of Cambridge⁹¹. Furthermore, Needham's plan was perfectly in tune with the appeals made by the Chinese philosopher Luo Zhongshu (Lo Chung-shu, C.S. Lo, 1903-1985). Luo, a graduate of philosophy from Yenching University and a professor of West China Union University, was lobbying for British support for Chinese universities and academic activities in 1939 when he was a visiting fellow at St. Peter's Hall at Oxford University⁹². In August, November and December 1939, he gave a series of talks on specific, practical topics such as enhancing the cooperation between British universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, and Chinese universities, and more abstract topics such as deeper cultural understanding between China and the West, which turned out to be thought-provoking and resonant for scholars in other parts of the UK, including Joseph Needham⁹³. This resulted in the formation of the Anglo-Sino Intellectual Cooperation Committee in Cambridge, and Needham, as the Secretary, managed to obtain many signatures from scholars from Oxford and Cambridge on a joint statement regarding cooperation between British and Chinese universities⁹⁴. Luo inspired Needham in his career as a bridge-builder

⁸⁸ Simon Winchester, *Bomb, Book and Compass: Joseph Needham and the Great Secrets of China* (London: Viking, 2008)

⁸⁹ University of Cambridge Library, Joseph Needham Papers later referred to as JNP. C1, in a letter from Joseph Needham to the Secretary of China Universities Committee on 18 November 1939

⁹⁰ JNP, C1, in a letter from Joseph Needham to the Secretary of China Universities Committee on 18 November 1939

⁹¹ JNP, C1 and C2, correspondence between Joseph Needham and China Universities Committee staff in 1939

⁹² JNP, C2, talks made by C.S. Lo at St. Peter's Hall included one titled as Chinese University Education and British Universities: A Plea for Co-operation, in 1939; Some Ideas on Cultural Co-operation on November 15th, 1939.

⁹³ JNP, C2, A Suggestion on Cultural Co-operation between Cambridge University and Chinese Universities, a talk made by C.S. Lo in December 1939

⁹⁴ JNP, C4, typed and hand written documents titled as A Statement by some Teachers in Oxford to those Teachers and other Men of Learning in China who are concerned that higher education should be improved and more particularly that better training should be given in philosophy and a better understanding be achieved of the relation of philosophy to life; and A statement by a Group of University Teachers in Cambridge,

between China and the West⁹⁵. Luo himself would be recruited in the National Commission to UNESCO and was even appointed by UNESCO as an advisor presenting a Confucian approach to Human Rights⁹⁶.

Luo's previous lecture introduced British scholars to the status of higher education in China, which included 13 national universities, 9 provincial universities, 20 private universities and 28 independent colleges and 31 technical schools, and Luo provided Needham with a long list of many contacts that he thought would be helpful in Needham's mission in China at the end of 1939⁹⁷. This included political leaders such as Chiang Kaishek, government representatives such as the president of the Legislative Yuan - Dr. Sun Ke, and 13 presidents of these institutes, including Luo Jialun (1897-1969) of the National Central University, Zhang Boling of the Nankai University, Wu Yifang of Ginling College etc. Needham was thus for the first time significantly networked with the Chinese scientific community; and Needham would go on to deepen, maintain and help to rebuild and facilitate this network during his service with SBSCO, and later with UNESCO.

Needham had communicated to the Chinese ambassador in London, Guo Taiqi, in November 1939, the fact that he and his wife were greatly interested in helping to rebuilding Chinese scientific life, while the ambassador also expressed his support⁹⁸. After receiving Joseph Needham's proposal regarding intellectual cooperation between China and England in February 1940, Chinese ambassador in London Guo Taiqi (1888-1952) asked for ten more copies to send back to China⁹⁹. As suggested by Luo, the proposal for strengthening Anglo-Sino cultural cooperation was sent to Chiang Kaishek, Chen Lifu (1900-2001), the Minister of Education, and, of course, to the Chinese embassy in the UK¹⁰⁰. The joint statement was also sent out to university teachers and other scholars in China,

addressed to University teachers and other scholars in China concerned with Cooperation between British and Chinese Universities

⁹⁵ Thomas Mougey (2017), pp.91-92

⁹⁶ Luo Zhongshu, Human Rights in the Chinese Tradition, sent to UNESCO's survey on the philosophical foundations of human rights on 1 June 1947, also in UNESCO, Human Rights & Interpretations: A Symposium Edited by UNESCO, 25th July 1948; see <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2018-4/confucian-approach-human-rights>; and UNESCO, Courier, October-December 2018, pp.30-31

⁹⁷ JNP, C3, The Past and the Present of Chinese University Education, a talk by C.S. Lo on 4 August 1939 and a letter from C. S. Lo to Joseph Needham on 30 December 1939

⁹⁸ JNP, C1, a letter from Guo Taiqi to Joseph Needham on 22 November 1939

⁹⁹ JNP, C5, a letter from Guo Taiqi to Joseph Needham on 28 February 1940; and C6, a letter from Liu Chieh to Joseph Needham on 4 March 1940.

¹⁰⁰ JN P, C7, documents indicate that the proposal was sent to Chiang Kaishek and Chen Lifu

receiving a warm welcome¹⁰¹. Due to his friendship with Luo, Joseph Needham and his wife Dorothy Needham soon received an official invitation from the West China Union University to visit for one or two years¹⁰². The National Southwestern Associated University (formed from a merger of Peiping University, Tsinghua University and Nankai University) also formulated and issued a joint official response to the joint statement on Anglo-Sino intellectual cooperation, which was also signed by the presidents of the three universities, Zhang Boling, Jiang Menglin and Mei Yiqi, together with the deans and professors of several colleges, including philosopher Feng Youlan (1895-1990) and physicist Wu Youxun (1897-1977), many of whom were members of the top research institute, Academia Sinica¹⁰³. Meanwhile, Luo also continued his lobby and secured strong support for the joint statement from eminent scholars of five more universities on the campus of West Union University¹⁰⁴. Needham would visit these universities, meet these scholars and received a warm welcome and a great deal of support in his SBSCO mission, the network continuing during his UNESCO appointment.

This Anglo-Sino Intellectual proposal was also of interest to the British Council, in particular its Science Department, as the national foreign policy of the UK towards China had become a slightly more supportive and engaging one¹⁰⁵. After communicating with J. G. Crowther, the head of the British Council's Science Department, Needham agreed to travel to China on its behalf with an invitation to become a visiting professor at the Academia Sinica relocated in Chongqing, and the Chinese university authorities would arrange details of lectures and other activities¹⁰⁶. The British Council regarded Needham's visit as of high importance and facilitated the trip, including giving Needham a two-thirds stipend during his mission and the

¹⁰¹ JNP, C6, replies from China include the College of Agriculture and Forestry, University of Nanjing, Guang Hua University

¹⁰² JNP, C6, a letter from Leslie G. Kilborn to Joseph Needham on 5 April 1940; a letter from C.S. Lo to Joseph on 30 April 1940; and a letter from Lincoln Dsang to Joseph Needham on 30 May 1940

¹⁰³ C7, an official statement in Chinese issued by the National Southwestern Associated University with signatures from deans and professors; an official reply in English from National Southwest Associated University to Joseph Needham on 20 April 1940, with signatures from president, chancellor and deans.

¹⁰⁴ JNP, C7, a letter from C. S. Lo to Sino-British Cultural Association, on 6 May 1941; Reply to Letters from Oxford and Cambridge from Five Universities Cooperating on the Campus of West China University,

¹⁰⁵ JNP, C8, a letter from the head of the Science Department J. G. Crowther to Joseph Needham on 11 June 1941

¹⁰⁶ JNP, C10, letters from the secretary-general of British Council A. J. S. White to Joseph Needham on 3 and 18 June 1942

necessary administrative assistance, which would develop into SBSCO¹⁰⁷. Needham's scientific and cultural mission received intensive media exposure, as did the cultural mission of Eric Robertson Dodds, who was a scholar in Classics who was also sent out by the UK at the direct invitation of Chiang Kaishek¹⁰⁸. But the legacy of the British Council-sponsored Needham mission was more influential and the SBSCO turned out to be an essential contributing factor in the making of UNESCO–China relations.

Needham made a journey to the USA, during which he had visited many universities and enhanced his network with American scientific community speaking of Anglo-American democratic alliance in securing science from Nazi dominance in the world¹⁰⁹. According to himself, American tour was also in preparation for his China mission, as he noted that there were many American-trained students working in the Chinese academy¹¹⁰. Having acquired an invitation from the top political leaders and the top academic institutes, endorsed by letters of recommendation from both the British and Chinese authorities, with several lists of contacts suggested by Lu Gwei-djen and his friends, he was ready to embark on his life-changing journey to the motherland of Lu and to assist in rebuilding the scientific community that was facing isolation¹¹¹. What SBSCO had done was summarized by Needham as a “post office” categorized into contacts (in other words, network), interchanges, i.e. supply–output, counselling advice and exchange of personnel. This SBSCO model of scientific liaison would greatly shape the framework of UNESCO Field Science Cooperation Offices.

Being affiliated with the British Council, and with the British Embassy as the hub, he managed to build up a network involving Chinese scientists and Western scientists, facilitating scientific exchange between China and the Allies. According to Needham, the

¹⁰⁷ JNP, C13, correspondence between British Council and Joseph Needham in September 1942, in particular in a letter from the First Assistant Registry of University of Cambridge to Joseph Needham on 15 September 1942 indicates the financial arrangement made by British Council

¹⁰⁸ JNP, C14, English news clippings

¹⁰⁹ Duan Yibing (2004), P. 200

¹¹⁰ JNP, C13, according to a news clipping of Evening Standard, 28 September 1942, Page 2

¹¹¹ C13, a letter from Guo Taiqi to Joseph Needham on 11 September 1942 indicates that Chinese Embassy issued an introduction letter for Needham to Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law, Dr. H.H. Kung, the Vice President of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance; a letter from British Council to Joseph Needham on 30 September 1942 indicates that the Royal Society also issued an introduction letter of Joseph Needham to Academia Sinica. C 16, a list of contact made by T.P Hou on 4 December 1942 and a handwritten list made by Lu Gwei-djen.

input had included existing information and ideas from the West, tangible scientific apparatus, laboratory instruments and chemical agents purchased for the scientific institutions of China, and scientific literature of various types. The output had included scientific products from China, information about Chinese science, and scientific materials from China such as manuscripts written by Chinese scientists for publication in Western scientific journals, current Chinese publications for Western scientific libraries, translations or abstracts from Chinese scientific papers etc.¹¹². From February 1942 to February 1943, when the initiative was still known as the Sino-British Scientific Cooperation Bureau, 91 visits had been made to scientific institutes in China, 98 interchanges of scientific information and material had been carried out both eastbound and westbound; and no less than 77 lists of requirements from Chinese institutes and laboratories had been sent by the Bureau to Calcutta¹¹³. 152 American journals and 97 British journals on microfilm were available in 35 institutes in China and 289 scientific books had been transmitted to Chinese scientific institutions; while 30 scientific papers by Chinese scientists were transmitted for publication in the West¹¹⁴. The work of maintaining contact, the supply of scientific materials to the Chinese, the facilitation of the output of scientific literature from China continued and increased in the following years, relying upon the existing research network and transportation by the Royal Air Force (RAF), to deliver requested books, maps, periodicals, laboratory equipment and other aids¹¹⁵. It is estimated that Needham handled 333 orders from Chinese scientific and technological institutions during his stay via the operation of the SBSCO¹¹⁶.

The hard work of Chinese scientists and the liaison work of the SBSCO were both presented at the International Scientific Exhibition held by UNESCO in Paris in 1946. The exhibition samples included Chinese scientific journals, printed on low-quality paper and lacking color, scientific apparatus made from Japanese airplanes that had been shot down during the war, and a prismatic compass made from aluminum etc.¹¹⁷. According to the guide booklet of

¹¹² Needham Research Institute, copies of Joseph Needham Papers, Joseph Needham F.R.S. British Embassy Chongqing, Report of the First Year's Working of the Sino-British Science Co-operation Bureau, British Council Cultural Scientific Office in China, Feb 1944

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Thomas Mougey (2017), pp.97-98

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ UNESCO/Nat. Sci/2, Paris, November 19th, 1946

UNESCO's Scientific Exhibition, some £60,000-worth of scientific equipment together with about 10,000 books had been sent to the scientific men of Free China with the help of the RAF¹¹⁸. The exhibition also presented the future format of the international science service that UNESCO's Natural Science Division would facilitate. The post-war reconstruction of China's war-devastated education and science sector continued when many of the institutes were relocated back home again after the surrender of Japan. UNESCO was willing to offer China aid within its capability through its programs and particularly through the field science cooperation office modelled on the SBSCO.



Figure 3 Display of UNESCO International Scientific Exhibition, November 1946

¹¹⁸ Ibid

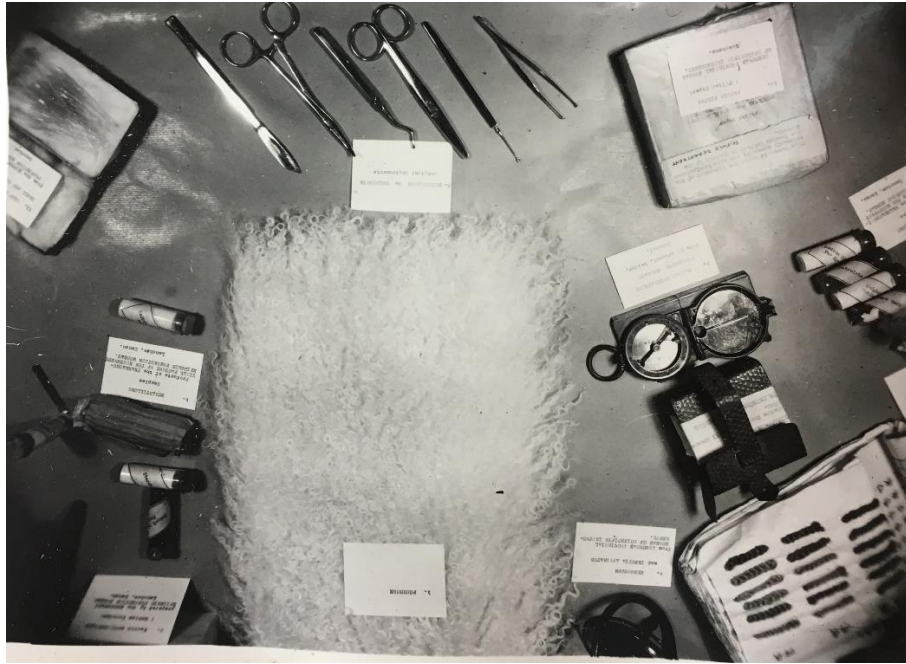


Figure 4 Display of UNESCO International Scientific Exhibition, November 1946

7.2.2 Joseph Needham and the SBSCO's legacy in the Making of UNESCO–China Relations

7.2.2.1 Joseph Needham's Network with the Chinese Institutions of Science

By 1942, the SBSCO had not yet fully been established with no office available, but its head, Joseph Needham, had already engaged in the first part of its business —building real contact with Chinese scientists. Upon arriving in Kunming in February 1942, he was warmly welcomed by the Chinese authorities and his Chinese friends affiliated with top universities and he was appointed as the corresponding member of NAP¹¹⁹. Very soon, his schedule was filled with intensive visits to academic institutes and the affiliated laboratories relocated in Kunming, including the National Southwest Associated University and Chemical institute of Academia Sinica, during which visits he finally managed to meet and really networked with Chinese scientists of various disciplines who were suggested to him even before he arrived in China. During his stay in China, he had either official meetings and official banquets or private discussions and dinners with many scholars, including the presidents of universities, such as Jiang Menglin, Mei Yiqi etc., the heads of research institutes such as Li Shuhua and individual scientists such as biologist Tang Peisong (1903-2001), chemist Wu Xuezhou (1902-

¹¹⁹ JNP, C17, Impressions of First Thirty-Six Hours in China asked for by Margaret Mead, on 26 February 1942

1983), physicist Wu Youxun, and social scientists Fei Xiaotong (1910-2005) and Francis Xavier Hsu (L.K. Hsu, 1909-1999) etc.¹²⁰. Needham also began his first lectures about the Chinese history of science as well as writing for *Nature* to introduce wartime science in China¹²¹.

After visiting Kunming, Needham had travelled to the wartime capital Chongqing and Western Sichuan, including Chengdu and Lizhuang in April 1942¹²². Needham was first welcomed by the British Embassy in Chongqing, the Ambassador Horace Seymour and by Hang Liwu, the vice-minister of education as well as the head of Sino-British Cultural relations, with whom Needham made a plan of four-month trips touring throughout Free China and establishing the Sino-British Science Cooperation Office¹²³. During his stay in Chongqing, he visited the Sichuan University and National Central University as well as some institutes of Academia Sinica relocated in Shapingba and Pehpei, the latter of which hosted no fewer than 18 scientific institutions. Wearing the badge of Academia Sinica, he also received a warm welcome over tea from Sichuan University and Academia Sinica, where not only the presidents of universities, the professors but also Chinese political authorities, Zhu Jiahua and Wong Wenhao, even Chiang Kaishek's brother-in-law H. H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi, 1880-1967) and Horace Seymour were present¹²⁴. He had spent some time at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, where he became ever more interested in the history of science and technology through contact with local scholars such as the head of the institute Fu Sinian (1896-1950) and the historian of science Wang Ling (1917-1994) who would become his future assistant in writing and editing *Science and Civilization in China*¹²⁵. He also got to know another lifelong friend-an excellent man in every way according to Needham, Dr. Kuo Yushou, who was the chief educational official of Sichuan at the time,

¹²⁰ JNP, C17, letters by Joseph Needham during 1st March-7th March 1942

¹²¹ JNP, C17, letters by Joseph Needham on 3rd March 1942 indicate that he talked about Chinese history of science; letters written c/o Consul-General dated 18 March 1942 indicate he began his writing two articles for *Nature* on Science in Southwest China.

¹²² JNP, C17, letters written c/o the British Embassy, on 21st March 1942, 27th March 1942,

¹²³ JNP, C17, letters written c/o the British Embassy, on 21st March 1942

¹²⁴ JNP, C18, Joseph Needham's letters from China, during April-June 1943

¹²⁵ Maurice Goldsmith, *Joseph Needham: 20th Century Renaissance Man* (Paris: UNESCO, 1995), Chapter 5 Second Half-life: the Chinese Experience, pp. 69-88

and who would provide much help with his tours to other regions, especially to the Northwest, and would also work in UNESCO Education Division¹²⁶.

Following intensive trips to 91 Chinese scientific and technological institutions, Needham had a clear understanding of how science was organized in the party-state administrative structure, the vast academic institutes supervised by ministries or councils deriving from the Central Executive Committee of the KMTs¹²⁷. But he had realized that in order to acquire a personal acquaintance with the working conditions of Chinese science and technology, a considerable amount of time should be spent on tour, which would also become part of the working program of UNESCO's East Asian Science Cooperation Office in China.

After leaving Chongqing, he and Eric Robertson Dodds made a tour through Southern China all the way from Guizhou-Guangxi via Guangdong to Fujian and ZheJiang in April, May and June 1943¹²⁸. As indicated in his report, he had visited 23 educational institutions. During his visit to Southern China, he managed to meet his Chinese scientist friends including Zhu Kezhen, who was the president of Zhejiang University and head of the Meteorology Institute of Academia Sinica, Li Siguang (1889-1971), who was the president of Geology Institute of Academia Sinica and Sa Bendong, the president of Xiamen University. Zhu Kezhen had attended the preparatory conference of UNESCO in London and all of them would be recruited to the National Commission to UNESCO. In August 1943, Needham and his assistant began the trip to Northwestern China, all the way from Chengdu to Lanzhou; from Lanzhou he embarked on a journey to Dunhuang along the Silk Road in September and October 1943, during which he got to know his life-long Chinese artist friend Wu Zuoren (1908-1997), who was also a good friend of Kuo Yushou¹²⁹.

¹²⁶ Joseph Needham, The First Julian Huxley Memorial Lecture, in Krishna R. Dronamraju ed. *If I am to be Remembered: The Life and Work of Julian Huxley with Selected Correspondence* (Singapore. New Jersey. London. Hongkong: World Scientific Publishing Co.Pte. Ltd., 1993), pp.IX-XVIII

¹²⁷ Needham Research Institute, Copies of Joseph Needham Papers, Joseph Needham F.R.S. British Embassy Chongqing, Report of the First Year's Working of the Sino-British Science Co-operation Bureau, British Council Cultural Scientific Office in China, Feb 1944

¹²⁸ JNP, C22, report from Joseph Needham to Sir H. Seymour to Mr. Eden received 28th August 1943 enclosed with Report of My (Joseph Needham) of the Educational Institutions of Southern China, 28th April to 25th June 1943

¹²⁹ JNP, C19, Joseph Needham's letters from China, during July-September 1943



Figure 5 Joseph Needham, Wu Zuoren and two boys in the desert near Yue Ya Quan, Dunhuang, October 1943

In the second and third year, 205 institutes were visited, making a total sum of 296 institutes. Not only did Needham meet scholars and visit academic institutes during his stay and visits, he also visited industrial factories, arsenals and other technological centers and thus had acquaintance with local bureaucrats and industrialists etc. He had kept detailed notes and even diaries on almost every institute or laboratory he had visited.¹³⁰ After he finished all his survey tours, he had collected much information regarding the institute of science in China, valuable documents from the institutes, details of scientists, the conditions of their research, and of course, their needs.¹³¹ The results were a register of Chinese scientists and technologists containing detailed information of names, variants of romanization of names, their posts and their affiliations. He was also highly engaged in Chinese scientific societies. During his stay, he was not only a corresponding member of the top research institutes, Academia Sinica and National Academy of Peiping, but also an honorable member of several societies set up by Chinese scientists including the Science Society of China, Chinese Chemical Society, Natural Science Society of China etc.¹³² In other

¹³⁰ JNP, C56-C70, manuscript notes on his visits to Chinese institutions

¹³¹ JNP, C.79-C.94; Needham sorted out in his confidential report to Sir Horace Seymour and Ambassador Anthony Eden and then published in *Nature and Science Outpost*.

¹³² JNP, C. 147.C. 149

words, Needham had a nearly complete database of the individuals and institutes and had close connections with many of them that UNESCO activities in China would greatly rely on. Needham had managed to adapt himself to Chinese Guanxi philosophy in this interpersonal network in China. Compared to the first impression that Chinese authorities were uniformly 100% cooperative, not all local educationists and local bureaucrats presented their hospitality. During his China tour, he had managed to deployed the authority of senior officials such as Chen Lifu and Kuo Yushou's brother-in-law Yang Gongshu (1897-1978) who was working for KMT's wartime technocratic organ-National Resources Commission's branch in Kansu.¹³³ Even his friend Wu Zuoren's painting skills, that greatly made his journey to the Northwestern China a lot easier. When he was about to leave China for his UNESCO mission, his Chinese friends expressed their gratitude by presenting him with Chinese paintings and calligraphy¹³⁴. Mei Yiqi initiated a commemoration scroll of Joseph Needham leaving China which was signed by many scholars in Kunming, three of whom were members of National Commission to UNESCO¹³⁵. Another farewell signature was made by scientists in Chengdu in 1945, which included his friends Luo Zhongshu and Kuo Yushou.¹³⁶ For the farewell to the Needham couple, his Chinese friend Dr. Kuo even organized a group event in which many artists in Chengdu created their own piece of Chinese painting, very typical of Chinese traditional scholars¹³⁷. Furthermore, he managed to befriend both leftist and liberal intellectuals in wartime China, even though he never disguised his leftist sympathies. There were certainly some discordant voices within this network. Hu Shi, who was a firm liberal and would turn out to be reluctant to become involved in UNESCO-China relations as he felt it would be too "painful" to cooperate with the so-called "leftist" British friends Needham and Huxley, even though he was an admirer of Huxley's grandfather¹³⁸. Nevertheless, this official contact and interpersonal network

¹³³ JNP, C24, correspondence during January-March 1944

¹³⁴ JNP, C.162. In *Catalogue of the exhibition Joseph Needham in Wartime China (1942-1946)* (Kaohsiung: National Science and Technology Museum, 8 Dec. 2000-17 June. 2001; Taichung: National Museum of Science, 17 July.2001- 2 Dec. 2001), P.66-102.

¹³⁵ *Catalogue of the exhibition Joseph Needham in Wartime China (1942-1946)*, P. 76

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, P. 86

¹³⁷ Held by Needham Research Institute, University of Cambridge, in *Catalogue of the exhibition Joseph Needham in Wartime China (1942-1946)*, pp.88-100

¹³⁸ Hu Shi and Julian Huxley, *Southern Metropolis Daily*, 2011, December 18

gradually paved the way for bridging China with the post-war international organization- UNESCO.

7.2.2.2 The Legacy of the SBSCO in the Making of UNESCO–China Relations

The need for setting up an international scientific cooperation organ had been discussed among Allies mainly British and French scientists and scientific communities some of which Needham was presented, leading to the revival of ICSU and the establishment of post-war organ including UNESCO and World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFScW)¹³⁹. As many scholars have studied, due to his experience in China, Needham was drawn to lobby for the inclusion of science into UNESCO by distributing his three memoranda regarding post-war scientific cooperation¹⁴⁰. This dissertation will further reveal how actor-network involving Chinese politicians, scientists and scientific community had exerted a great deal of agency in supporting Needham’s proposal and were actively engaged in making S in UNESCO.

As demonstrated above, Needham was not only networked with Chinese scientists but also with Chinese politicians involved in the decision-making for KMT and the Nationalist regime. Needham was able to have conversations with top politicians, including the Generalissimo Chiang in summer 1943, and the foreign minister-Chiang’s brother-in-law, T.V. Soong, regarding the world scientific cooperation service in December 1943. Needham was asked by Chiang to offer his criticisms on the shortcomings of Chinese science and technology and to prepare a report on the position of science and technology in China before he finished his wartime assignment. In his communications with T.V. Soong, Needham had proposed the concept of a post-war international science cooperation service, whose representatives in all lands would have semi-diplomatic status and government facilities in communication and transportation¹⁴¹. SBSCO became the source of Needham’s inspiration for the concept of post-war intellectual cooperation.

As recalled by Needham, T.V. Soong suggested that UNRRA was not suitable as the foundations of this international scientific cooperation service since it was too temporary; it

¹³⁹ Patrick Petitjen, The “Periphery Principle”: UNESCO and the International Commitment of Scientists After World War II, *The Polish Academy of Arts and Science*, Sep. 2007, pp.734-741; Patrick Petitjean (2008)

¹⁴⁰ Poul Duedahl (2011); Elena A. Aronova (2012); Thomas Mougey (2017); Gordon Barrett (2019)

¹⁴¹ JNP, D1, a letter from Joseph Needham to T. V. Soong on 29 December 1943

would better for the world organization to be set up by the Big Four¹⁴². While CAME were discussing a post-war United National Educational and Cultural Organization, Needham was busy developing his ideas of International Scientific Cooperation Service (ISCS) in the first of three memorandums¹⁴³. Needham suggested an ISCS with the functions of a clearing house, modeled on the post office format of the SBSCO, be set up by the United Nations at the conclusion of the war under a supreme international organization to be devised and that it would be parallel with the International Labour Organization (ILO) and other similar bodies¹⁴⁴. He intended to distribute his proposal to many “opinion-forming individuals” throughout the Western world—a worldwide network of scientists that he liaised with, including the founding fathers of UNESCO – H.G. Wells, Julian Huxley, Sir Alfred Zimmern, Gilbert Murray etc. located in the UK, USA, India and representatives of UNRRA, Rockefeller Foundation and ILO, etc.¹⁴⁵ The recipients, of course, included his scientist friends in China. The memorandum was intended by Needham to reach Chiang Kaishek via Han Liwu, other Nationalist politicians including Weng Wenhao, Zhu Jiahua, Chen Lifu, and, of course, T. V. Soong etc.¹⁴⁶. The feedback from his Chinese friends was basically positive and supportive. Han Liwu replied on 3 August 1944 and promised that he would deliver the proposal to Chiang Kaishek; Weng Wenhao replied on 7 August 1944 and he promised to deliver the proposal to some members of the Academia Sinica; Chen Lifu also replied on 10 August 1944, generally agreeing with Needham’s proposal, but he suggested that the title and the constitution should be decided through comprehensive discussion¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴² JNP, D1, Joseph Needham’s note on a letter from the Office of Dr. T.V. Soong on 22 December 1943

¹⁴³ JNP, D2, Manuscripts of the first memorandum

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Joseph Needham, The First Julian Huxley Memorial Lecture, in Krishna R. Dronamraju ed. *If I am to be Remembered: The Life and Work of Julian Huxley with Selected Correspondence* (Singapore. New Jersey. London. Hongkong: World Scientific Publishing Co.Pte. Ltd., 1993), pp.IX-XVIII; JNP, D3, a letter from Joseph Needham (British Council Cultural Scientific Office in Chongqing) to J.G. Crowther on 25 July 1944

¹⁴⁶ JNP, D3, a letter from Joseph Needham (British Council Cultural Scientific Office in Chongqing) to J.G. Crowther on 25 July 1944

¹⁴⁷ JNP, D4, a letter from Han Liwu to Joseph Needham on 3rd August 1944; a letter from Weng Wenhao to Joseph Needham on 7 August 1944; a letter from Chen Lifu to Joseph Needham on 10 August 1944; Li Siguang also replied to Joseph Needham on 26 October 1944; and Wang Shijie to Joseph Needham on 25 November 1944

Needham had revised and formulated his ideas into the 2nd Memorandum in December 1944¹⁴⁸. Meanwhile, the concept of a post-war international organization had been much discussed in CAME and was much further advanced than he had supposed. The American delegate to CAME, G.N. Kefauver, had already presented the proposal for a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNECO) for CAME. Nevertheless, Needham continued with his vision and lobbying for inter-governmental arrangements for scientific collaboration in the post-war international system. In a letter to the head of the British Commonwealth Scientific Office, Brigadier Ralph Bagnold, in February 1945, he argued that there were three requirements needed to make UNECO work, one of which was the addition of science¹⁴⁹. In a letter from Needham to Sir Henry Dale, the chairman of the Science Commission of CAME on 1 March 1945, Needham again addressed the argument that “Science” should be clearly represented in the title of the organization so that UNECO would be UNESCO¹⁵⁰. Realizing that the American proposal for UNECO might be brought up in a preliminary way at the United Nation’s Conference in San Francisco to be held in April 1945, Needham suggested British delegations gave stronger support for adding “Science” to UNECO, literally proposing to transform the abbreviation UNECO into UNESCO¹⁵¹.

Having refined the ideas of post-war international scientific cooperation, Needham began a new round of lobbying by making ever clearer reference to the place of science in the UNECO in his 3rd memorandum¹⁵². He even proposed setting up a Scientific Commission parallel to the Economic and Social Commission under the UN ECOSOC and to expand the importance of science in many agencies under the umbrella of the UN¹⁵³. Two hundred personal contacts in China were asked to distribute his 3rd memorandum, which undoubtedly included Generalissimo Chiang, the presidents of 5 Yuans, including Sun Ke, Weng Wenhao and Chen Lifu, ministers T. V. Soong, Zhu Jia Hua and Hang Liwu and of course his friends Kuo Yushou, Li Shuhua, Fu Sinian, Luo Zhongshu, Li Siguang, Wang Jinghxi

¹⁴⁸ JNP, D6, typescript drafts on 'Memorandum addressed to the parliamentary and scientific committee (December 1944). Measures for the organisation of international co-operation in science in the post-war period', London, December 1944.

¹⁴⁹ JNP, D8, A letter from Needham to Dr. Bagnold (British Commonwealth Scientific Office) in Feb 1945

¹⁵⁰ JNP, D9, A Letter from Needham to Sir Henry Dale on 1 March 1945

¹⁵¹ Ibid

¹⁵² JNP, D10, manuscript and typescript draft on 'The place of science in a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation', March 1945 and D12-D14, 'The place of science and international scientific co-operation in post-war world organisation', Chungking, 28 April 1945.

¹⁵³ JNP, D8, an organizational chart of the UN with some revisions made by Joseph Needham

etc.¹⁵⁴. Undoubtedly, his Chinese friends would provide much support for his proposal as usual¹⁵⁵. Furthermore, the support from China was so strong that in May 1945, 14 Chinese scientific societies in Pehpei and Chongqing, including Academia Sinica institutes, sent a telegraph to T.V. Soong, Hu Shi, Wu Yifang and other members of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco¹⁵⁶. As indicated in the telegraph, the scientific institutes in Pehpei and Chongqing, incorporated into Pehpei Scientific Institutes Association, earnestly expressed the hope that the Chinese delegation would propose and press for the establishment of a United Nations Cultural Organization with the inclusion of an international science cooperation service within it¹⁵⁷. Inspired by his scientist friends in China, Needham suggested Crowther convey his request to Sir Henry Dale that the Royal Society send a similar telegram to the British delegation at San Francisco or other unofficial groups of fellows of the Royal Society stressing the importance of giving science in its due place in such an organization¹⁵⁸. Needham's efforts in selling scientific internationalism were not entirely overshadowed by the seemingly dominant American and French influence over the negotiations to establish a UN intellectual institute as proposed by France, or educational and cultural organ as proposed by the USA. At the invitation of the British government, the preparatory conference for establishing a UN intellectual spearhead was located in London.

Six months later, during the preparatory conference for UNESCO in November 1945, a joint document was prepared and signed by four Chinese societies requesting Hu Shi, the chief Chinese delegate, to follow the lines of Needham's 3rd memorandum, i.e. the Scientific Commission directly affiliated with ECOSOC.¹⁵⁹ These four Chinese scientific societies included the Natural Science Society of China, of which Needham was a honorable member; the Chinese Meteorological Society, of which his friend Zhu Kezhen was the president; the Chinese Geological Society, of which his friend Li Siguang was the president; and the

¹⁵⁴ JNP, D. 15, lists of those to receive a copy of third memorandum

¹⁵⁵ JNP, D. 19-21, Correspondence from recipients of third memorandum, in August, September and October 1945, including one from Zhu Jiahua (Academia Sinica) to J.N on 24 Oct 1945

¹⁵⁶ JNP, D. 16, in a news clipping on 11 May 1945 titled as "Local Institutions Want International Scientific Cooperation Service" and in a cable Crowther received from Joseph Needham on 16 May 1945

¹⁵⁷ JNP, D. 16, in a news clipping on 11 May 1945 and in a cable Crowther received from Joseph Needham on 16 May 1945

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ JNP, D.22, an official statement in Chinese signed by 4 Chinese societies

Association of Chinese Scientific Workers, whose establishment in Chongqing involved many of his friends. Hu Shi, who was about to assume the presidency of Peiping University, said in a statement that the London conference was called to establish an international educational and cultural organization, but in the short period of 14 days it had added the important field of science to the scope of the organization; he hoped that the influence of “scientific man” – trained with strict discipline and in scientific pursuits – would increasingly be felt in international education.¹⁶⁰ Although Hu Shi spoke of it more from the perspective of an educationist, and as a liberal himself, Hu Shi actually disliked Needham’s leftist sympathy. Nevertheless, he was clearly an advocate of “Mr. Science” during the New Culture Movement and agreed with the inclusion of “Science” in the UNECO to make it into UNESCO.

Even though Needham failed to get science into the main organization – the UN – at a higher level, by setting up a Scientific Commission under ECOSOC of the UN, science was now deeply embedded in the newly-built UNESCO. Needham’s memorandums did play an active role in communicating the importance of international science cooperation, although the destructive power of nuclear weapons displayed in the use of the atom bomb in Japan had also driven the international consensus to bring the use of science under international supervision¹⁶¹.

UNESCO was so far the sole agency within the UN with jurisdiction over science in general. Needham’s friend Julian Huxley was elected as the executive secretary of the Preparatory Commission for UNESCO¹⁶². Julian Huxley wanted Needham in London as soon as possible to work for UNESCO, sending a cable very urgently to ask Needham to accept a position as the senior counsellor responsible for natural sciences in the Preparatory Commission at salary of £2,000 per annum.¹⁶³ The British Council also suggested Needham return to London at once and begin the scientific activities of UNESCO, being the best service he could make to Chinese and world science¹⁶⁴. Needham accepted the appointment and was ready to

¹⁶⁰ JNP, D24, a news clipping on 11 December 1945, titled as Hu Shih Praises Accomplishments of UNECO

¹⁶¹ JNP, D24, a letter from R. L. Meier to J.G. Crowther on 27 December 1945

¹⁶² JNP, D25, telegram from Dorothy Needham to J.N 17 Feb 1946, mentioned Julian Huxley appointed as the executive secretary of UNESCO preparatory commission;

¹⁶³ JNP, D25, a telegram to Joseph Needham on 25th Feb 1946; telegram from British Council to Joseph Needham on 5 March 1946

¹⁶⁴ JNP, D25, a telegram from British Council to Joseph Needham on 5 March 1946

embark on his mission of for UNESCO¹⁶⁵. He was, of course, able to help Chinese scientists working under the regime of KMT to benefit from UNESCO and to help them connect with the wider scientific community that UNESCO sought to facilitate due to his post as head of the Natural Science Division.



Figure 6 Joseph Needham at UNESCO 1st General Conference, 1946

7.3 Acting-Networking National Commission to UNESCO, 1945-1950

Writing from Chongqing before leaving for UNESCO in 1945, Needham submitted an official and detailed report to the Generalissimo as requested by him earlier in 1943, in which he provided 10 rational suggestions about how China should promote science at home and abroad from his perspective as an individual scientist¹⁶⁶. Arguing that China already had high-quality scientific research, Needham suggested that a firm foundation for building up future Chinese science and technology required more financial support from the government. He recommended that Chiang's government embark on a great investment policy by subsidizing the leading Chinese institutions of pure as well as of applied science

¹⁶⁵ JNP, D25, telegram from Huxley to J.N on 26 March 1946

¹⁶⁶ JNP, C100, Report to His Excellency President and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on the Position and Prospects of Science and Technology in China

that he had visited and recorded, such as Academia Sinica and NAP etc.¹⁶⁷. He also suggested substantial government grants should be given to the Science Society of China, Natural Science Society of China and all the specialized scientific societies. He tried to persuade Chiang of the necessity for increasing the prestige of science and technology at home and abroad, of finding political leaders with an understanding of the function and importance of science for national wellbeing, and he even suggested setting up a ministry of science and technology. Needham basically suggested a stronger role for science at all levels of Chinese society, for government, foreign relations of the country and particularly China's participation in international scientific relations¹⁶⁸. The Chinese delegation to the San Francisco Conference had already expressed a desire for a United Nations Organization capable of fulfilling the service of international intellectual cooperation. Hence, Needham suggested that since China had a long tradition of respecting scholars, if China continued the pressure in this direction, this would be a source of much prestige for China in the comity of nations¹⁶⁹.

As the archives indicate, Needham intended to circulate this highly confidential report among the network of top politicians and scientists affiliated with top research institutes and prestige universities. It went firstly to 14 contacts, including politicians Zhu Jiahua, Weng Wenhao, T.V Soong, Sun Ke, and scholars such as Wang Jingxi, Fu Sinian, Li Shuhua, Wu Youxun, Li Siguang, Jiang Menglin etc. and later to another 14 contacts, including Hu Shi, Ren Hongjun, Mei Yiqi, Hang Liwu etc. – all the big names that he had built contact with, even Communist leader Mao Zedong¹⁷⁰. Needham's report generated huge impacts at the academic and political level in provoking discussion and the formulation of a plan of science in post-war China¹⁷¹. Needham's advice would turn out to be highly sympathetic to and inspiring for Chiang and his government. By recruiting as large a group of intellectuals as possible to form a national delegation or a national commission speaking on behalf of the Nationalist regime to the prestigious, universally-recognized intellectual organization of

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, P.2

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, P.60

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, P.60

¹⁷⁰ JNP, C101, a letter from Joseph Needham to Mr. Peng and Miss Liu, on 28 February 1946

¹⁷¹ Fu Banghong (2015), also see Fu Banghong, Needham's Suggestions on Science and Technology in China: A Secret Report to Jiang Jieshi in 1945, invited report at the seminar named "Sino-British science co-operation since Joseph Needham: past, present, and future prospects", April 21st, 2009, Beijing

UNESCO, Chiang and his government sought to earn legitimacy and win international support at a time when the Nationalist regime was being faced with a domestic crisis of governance and international critique.

7.3.1 A Pool of Scientists to Form a Chinese National Commission to UNESCO

When the party-state controlled *Shenbao* suggested that China should build up a similar organ to its big sister - the USA, it also debated what kind of institution this organ should be affiliated with, either within or outside the ministry of education. It proposed that the commission could involve research institutes such as Academia Sinica, NAP, prestigious universities and other associated museums, libraries and scientific societies¹⁷². By doing so, the national commission would be in touch with all bodies active in these fields and vice-versa: teachers and students, scientists and artists, writers and public men and other individuals working in the field of education, science and culture should get to know the work of UNESCO¹⁷³.

As demonstrated in the previous section, although it had suffered during the war, China still maintained an academic network of professionals in education, science and culture resulting from a series of attempts at modernization. Chinese intellectuals in the modern era had gone through a transitional phase, exhibiting both continuities and discontinuities with their predecessors. Unlike their predecessors, the literati (士大夫), who usually played an organic part in the imperial governance and social structure, modern Chinese intellectuals, were not necessarily connected to the country and society in the modern era. In this sense, they were “free floating” according to the definition of Karl Mannheim¹⁷⁴. They often held a relevantly detached and critical view of society and politics, i.e. they enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. However, as the transitive generation, many of them still clung to the Confucian ideal of serving the public, thus they could never be completely detached and indifferent towards the crisis occurring in China at that time. Furthermore, the new national network of academies also took on the function of the selective advancement

¹⁷² *Shenbao*, 1946 October 2, P. 2

¹⁷³ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁴ Xu Jilin, *Zhongguo Zhishi Fensi Shi Lun* 中国知识分子十论 (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2003), pp. 2-31

of the educated elites up the ladder of the civil service hierarchy while replacing the traditional system¹⁷⁵. Hence, while many intellectuals worked as independent public commentators and critics for periodicals, or as professionals in the modern scientific disciplines, many of them were recruited as servants of the state, for example, as diplomats or officials of the regimes or at least engaged in the bureaucracy from time to time. Even in academia, they had built up links with the Nationalist government and sometimes had to seek support and sponsorship from the regime¹⁷⁶.

On the other hand, as scholars have argued, they struggled to establish a new social order and to integrate China into the international community¹⁷⁷. The work of intellectuals has been a significant part of modern China, because each regime needed their input to devise, elaborate, implement and police the ideological “software”¹⁷⁸. It was these people that UNESCO sought to practice and promote intellectual cooperation in China. The Ministry of Education could rely upon the network to form a national commission to UNESCO. The complex mentality and the agency of the Chinese intelligentsia in the modern era, the cooperation and negotiation between the intelligentsia and the government etc. influenced their engagement in UNESCO and UNESCO–China relations.

On 28th August 1947, the first as well as the founding conference of Chinese National Commission to UNESCO was held in Nanjing. The list of 118 commission members was also publicized, but due to accidents and transportation problems caused by the Civil War only two-thirds were able to attend the conference¹⁷⁹. Apart from two religious leaders, the majority of commission members were experts or professionals in modern academic disciplines of the natural sciences, social sciences and humanities such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, engineering, meteorology, education, history, archaeology, philosophy, linguistics, psychology, economy, law and sociology. Nearly 25% of them were

¹⁷⁵ Yeh Wen-hsing (1984), pp.1-5

¹⁷⁶ Chen Shiwei, *Legitimizing the State: Politics and the Founding of Academia Sinica in 1927*, in *Papers on Chinese History*, Vol. 6, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 23-41; Shiwei Chen (1998)

¹⁷⁷ Chang Hao, *Chinese intellectuals in crisis: search for order and meaning (1890-1911)* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987); Luo Zhitian, *Lixiang yu Xianshi: Qingji Minchu Shijie Zhuyi yu Minzu Zhuyi de Guanlian*, in Wang Fansen ed. (2007), pp.272-314; Luo Zhitian, *From Tian Xia to the World: Changes in Late Qing Intellectuals' Conceptions of the Human Society*, *Social Science in China*, No.5, 2007, pp.191-204

¹⁷⁸ Timothy Cheeks, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Preface

¹⁷⁹ Shenbao, 1947 August 28, P. 6

elected as academicians (Yuanshi) of Academia Sinica in 1948 when Academia Sinica attempted to build up Yuanshi system¹⁸⁰. Academia Sinica and NAP were closely connected and more than 1/3 of their members were also associated with the other¹⁸¹. Hence, some of them were members of the Academia Sinica, NAP at the same time and recruited in the National Commission to UNESCO, such as Wu Youxun, Weng Wenhao, Zhu Kezhen, Wu Zihui, Hu Shi, and sociologist Tao Menghe (1887-1960) etc.¹⁸². Many of Needham's friends were unsurprisingly recruited to the commission.

Most of them were liberal intellectuals, born around the start of 20th Century. Some of them participated directly in the New Culture Movement, such as Hu Shi and Ren Hongjun who involved in the debate of Science versus Metaphysics, and historians Fu Sinian and Gu Jiegang (1893-1980), who were both famous for their critical studies about antique China from the perspective of modern archaeology¹⁸³; and the psychologist as well as novelist Wang Jingxi who would serve in the UNESCO Natural Science Division as a colleague of Joseph Needham. If not directly involved in, they at least grew under the influence of the New Culture Movement in their youth; for instance, James Yen and his fellow Qu Shiyong were inspired by Mr. Democracy and dedicated to MEM that UNESCO sought to cooperate with. Some of the commission members (nearly 10%) attended at least once or twice or more UNESCO conferences in London, Paris or Mexico. Li Shuhua and educationist Qu Shiyong were all present at UNESCO General Conference in London in 1945, Paris in 1946 and Mexico in 1947.

On the afternoon of 29th August, the executive board consisting of 10 members was elected, which included prominent intellectuals such as Hu Shi, Zhu Kezhen, KMT politicians such as Zhu Jiahua, Hang Liwu and Zhang Daofan; five more leading experts to serve in the executive board including Ren Hongjun, Jiang Menglin, Cheng Qibao, Fu Sinian and Li

¹⁸⁰ Chen Shiwei, *Academia Sinica and the Founding of Modern China's First Yuanshi System in 1948*. The Institute of Modern History, ed. *Republican China in 1940s*, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2009

¹⁸¹ Yao Shuping, *The Preparation and Establishment of the Chinese Academy of Sciences*, *China Historical Materials of Science and Technology*, Vol.10, No.3, 1989, pp.56-65

¹⁸² Xiao Liu, *A Brief History of the National Peiping Research Academy* (Beijing: China Science and Technology Press, 2014)

¹⁸³ Wang Fansen, *Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); translated into Chinese, simplified Chinese edition published by SDX Joint Publishing Company in 2012

Shuhua¹⁸⁴. A similar but shorter list of prominent scholars made up the names on the executive board. The six committees of the executive board of Chinese national commission was elected in its first executive meeting on September 15th 1947¹⁸⁵. There is no doubt that Needham's scientist friends in China, Sa Bendong, Ren Hongjun, Mei Yiqi, Wu Youxun and Zhu Kezhen, Li Shuhua and public health expert Jin Baoshan (1893-1984) made the committee of Natural Science; while Jiang Menglin, Hang Liwu and Tao Menghe made the committee on Social Science, Philosophy and Humanities. The committee of Libraries and Museums included archeologist Li Ji (1896-1979), archivist Yuan Tongli (1895-1965), librarian Jiang Fucong (1898-1990) and anthropologist Ling Chunsheng (1902-1981) while Cheng Qibao, Chen Heqin (1892-1982), Zhu Jingnong and Qu Shiyong were in the committee of Education. More experts in arts, literature and mass communication were recruited in other committees including photographer Sun Mingjing (1911-1992) etc.¹⁸⁶. The intellectual network not only provided a pool of experts to form a national commission to UNESCO but also actively engaged in disseminating UNESCO as well as networking and practicing UNESCO–China relations at home and abroad.

7.3.2 Politics of Acting-Networking Mr. Science in China's Civil War

Both party and party state had close ties with UNESCO at its inception and this set the tone of the relations between UNESCO and China from the outset¹⁸⁷. The influence of party and party state was also embedded in the National Commission to UNESCO and its executive board. As the membership list of the National Commission to UNESCO indicated, apart from governmental officials, the Education Ministry gathered as many of the intellectual elite as possible in the Nationalist regime, which was a prologue to their grand plan of retaining talent from the Communists in 1949 when the regime fled to Taiwan. It is noteworthy that there were also some KMT politicians in the commission including the “Older Statesman” of the regime – right-wing Nationalists Wu Zhihui, foreign minister Wang Shijie, high ranking

¹⁸⁴ Shenbao, 30 August 1947, P. 6, other executive board members included Wu Yifang, Sa Bendong, Zhu Jingnong, Qu Shiyong, Mei Yiqi, Ren Hongjun, Li Shuhua, Cheng Qibao etc.

¹⁸⁵ Lianjiao Zuzhi Zhongguo Weihui Zhongda Yian, *Waijiaobu Zhoubao*, 1947 September 24, NO. 39, P. 3 (《外交部周报》1947年9月24日第39期第3页) said the first executive meeting was on 15th September 1947

¹⁸⁶ Zhongguo Weiyuanhui Zhixing Weiyuanhui Diyici Huiyi Jilu, *Jiaoyubu Guoji Wenjiao Congkan*, 1947, Vol. 1 No.3 (教育部国际文教丛刊, 1947年第1卷第3期)

¹⁸⁷ Gordon Barret (2019)

military officer Bai Chongxi (1893-1966), vice-minister of education Hang Liwu, the general secretary of Central Political Committee as well as the leader of the CC Clique, Chen Lifu, the president of Administrative Yuan - Weng Wenhao, propagandist Zhang Daofan and Pan Gongzhan (1895-1975) a KMT right-wing journalist, the head of Shenbao etc.

As noted by American Chinese historian Ye Wenhsin, the history of the modern Chinese intelligentsia was profoundly political from the moment of its conception¹⁸⁸. The mixture of politicians, intellectuals and intellectual politicians in the National Commission revealed a noticeable aspect of republican intellectuals, i.e. the tendency to seek political patronage in order to better serve the nation, which would clash with their academic freedom and autonomy¹⁸⁹. But many of the liberal intellectuals clashed with Chiang because most of them preferred a peaceful approach to resolving the CCP-KMT conflicts and struggled against the party-state control of KMT represented in KMT's oppression of student anti-war protests¹⁹⁰. The tension between the intellectuals and the state resulted in a split at the turning point of 1949 when they had to choose which government they would like to stay with and serve or leave the country. This would further result in the disintegration of the National Commission and the difficulties experienced in assembling a national delegation to attend UNESCO conferences.

In September 1948, military battles between the Communists and Nationalists were taking place in Manchuria and North China, threatening Nanjing and the Yangtze Delta. Some scholars had to travel under these conditions to attend the 1st General Assembly of Yuanshi in Academia Sinica in Nanjing, at which Chiang was present¹⁹¹. The plan to relocate Academia Sinica to inland areas and then to Taiwan was being considered by Zhu Jiahua and was discussed in a meeting in November 1948 at which Sa Bendong, Tao Menghe, Fu Sinian and other scholars in Nanjing were present¹⁹². Chiang appointed Fu Sinian and Zhu Jiahua to rescue four categories of intellectuals via flights from Peiping, including the presidents of universities, colleges and societies, the Yuanshis of Academia Sinica and those who had

¹⁸⁸ Yeh Wenhsin (1984), P. 5

¹⁸⁹ Chen Shiwei (1998)

¹⁹⁰ Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 42-93, pp.132-195

¹⁹¹ Dai Jun, *Minguo Yiguan: Fengyu Zhongyanyuan* 民国衣冠：风雨中研院 (Beijing: Beijing United Publishing Company, 2012)

¹⁹² Dai Jun (2012),

made a great contribution to academia etc.¹⁹³ Zhu Jiahua was in charge of the relocation of Academia Sinica; however, the result was that most of the institutes of Academia Sinica refused relocation to Taiwan apart from the Institute of Mathematics and the Institute of History and Philology¹⁹⁴.

The legacy of Academia Sinica including the buildings, facilities, the entire academic framework, most of its scholars, and eight institute directors and most of the Yuanshis were passed to the new Chinese Academy of Science that had Joseph Needham's friend, Guo Moruo (1892-1978), as the president, and expanded into 15 research institutes after merging with NAP¹⁹⁵. Zhu Kezhen stayed in Zhejiang and later became the vice president of the Chinese Academy of Science and was in charge of preparing the new Institute for Geographic Science under the umbrella of the Chinese Academy of Science, modeled on Academia Sinica and NAP. Li Siguang, co-founder and close colleague of Zhu Jiahua at the Institute of Geology decided not to move after being contact by Guo Moruo and was also appointed to be vice-president of the new national academy and be charge of preparing a new Beijing University of Geology¹⁹⁶. Joseph Needham's friends Wu Youxun, Wu Xuezhou and Tao Menghe etc. were among the eight institute directors recruited in the new Chinese Academy of Science. More scholars, many of who were also networked with Joseph Needham such as philosophers Luo Zhongshu and Feng Youlan stayed in mainland China and would play an important part in leading academic and cultural life under the new regime, although they would experience various ideological campaigns launched in 1950s and 1960s¹⁹⁷.

Hu Shi, who once served as Chinese ambassador in the USA and tried as best as he could to win over American support and aid to help to relieve China's crisis in the face of the Japanese invasion, headed the first Chinese delegation to UNESCO, rejected several political positions, including the post of foreign minister offered by Chiang Kaishek several times

¹⁹³ Zhou Weijun, Choice: Chinese Intellectuals in 1949, *Culture and History Vision*, 2009, No.1, pp.56-59

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵ Fu Banghong (2015), pp. 197-201

¹⁹⁶ Dai Jun (2012)

¹⁹⁷ Liu Xiao, The Adjustment and Establishment of Subordinate Institutes at the Beginning of the Foundation of the Chinese Academy of Science, *The Chinese Journal for the History of Science and Technology*, Vol.34, No.3(2013), pp.301-315

from 1947-1950¹⁹⁸. He was reluctant to attend UNESCO occasions on behalf of Nationalist China. In a cable on 18 August 1949 sent by Hu Shi to the Foreign Minister, who was temporarily relocated in Guangzhou, Hu Shi rejected an invitation to attend UNESCO's 4th General Conference on the grounds that the government did not have plenty of foreign currency and he could not speak French¹⁹⁹. He also had to give up his proposal of inviting UNESCO to locate its General Conference in China in the year celebrating the 2,500th anniversary of Confucius²⁰⁰.

UNESCO's 5th Conference in Florence had significant meaning for the Nationalist government after having been defeated and relocating in Taiwan. Ten of UNESCO's 46 member states had recognized the sovereignty and legitimacy of PRC and the Czech government considered proposing the rescinding of the representative membership of ROC in UNESCO²⁰¹. Even Wellington Koo, who was Chinese ambassador in the USA, was worried about the issue, given that PRC had already cabled UNESCO to exclude any Chinese representatives sent out by the Nationalist government, which had not paid its membership fees due to a severe lack of foreign currency during the Civil War with CCP²⁰². The entire Nationalist top bureaucracy, including the Ministry of Education, Foreign Ministry, the Executive Yuan and the network of embassies and diplomats, were all engaged in the preparations to attend this conference²⁰³. In April 1950, the Executive Yuan gave an order to the Foreign Ministry to organize a national delegation to attend the conference, emphasizing the importance of winning international support and compassion for its anti-communist and anti-Russian agenda since the Nationalist government was involved in UNESCO on behalf of China from the outset and UNESCO was being helpful in its post-war reconstruction²⁰⁴. Chen Yuan was well informed about the operation of UNESCO and the opportunity that UNESCO provided for national interests after being elected to the

¹⁹⁸ Yu Yingshi (2004), pp.91-100

¹⁹⁹ Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History Archives, later referred to as IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552407-552408, cable from Hu Shi to foreign ministry in Guangzhou on 18 August 1949

²⁰⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552408, cable from Hu Shi to foreign ministry in Guangzhou on 18 August 1949

²⁰¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552471-552472, cable from foreign ministry to Chinese ambassador in Greece on 18 May 1950

²⁰² IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552483, cable from Wellington Koo to foreign ministry in Taipei on 18 May 1950

²⁰³ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552426-552427, document from educational ministry to foreign ministry on 22 April 1950

²⁰⁴ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552428-552429, document issued from Executive Yuan to foreign ministry on 26 April 1950

Executive Board for a couple of years²⁰⁵. In May 1950, the Executive Yuan on the suggestion of Chen Yuan released a second order to the Foreign Minister to select intellectual elites who could represent the Nationalist government in UNESCO and strive for the interests of the regime due to their prominent international reputation and authority²⁰⁶.

However, in order to recruit a national delegation to attend the UNESCO conference, Chiang and his government had to try very hard to win the support of these intellectuals. Hu Shih was again listed as a delegate and was expected to be elected to the Executive Board so that he could better serve national interests²⁰⁷. Given that Hu Shi had turned down the invitation from Chiang Kaishek, it was no wonder that Hu Shih did not take up this plan²⁰⁸. Another former national delegate Li Shuhua, who attended the London conference and the 1st and 2nd General Conference, forthrightly refused the mission as the chief delegate to attend the General Conference in 1950²⁰⁹. Several attempts by Nationalist politicians to get Li Shuhua to represent the Nationalist government had been put into practice, including by Education Minister Cheng Tianfang, Foreign Minister Ye Gongchao (1904-1981), even through an official order from Chen Cheng, the dean of Executive Yuan²¹⁰. However persuasive and coercive, Li Shuhua rejected this coercive invitation and the seemingly prestigious opportunity because attending UNESCO was getting more and more diplomatic and less and less intellectual, as he noted²¹¹. Nevertheless, he presented his humble excuses by saying that he was busy with research work, he was neither qualified nor the appropriate person to

²⁰⁵ Ibid; IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552457-552458, document from educational ministry to foreign ministry on 10 May 1950

²⁰⁶ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552452-552455, order issued from Executive Yuan to foreign ministry on 9 May 1950

²⁰⁷ Ibid

²⁰⁸ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552469, cable from diplomat Duan Maolan to foreign ministry in Taipei on 15 May 1950

²⁰⁹ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552436, cable from diplomat Wen Yuanning to foreign ministry in Taipei on 22 April 1950; Page 552448; cable from Duan Maolan to foreign ministry in Taipei on 4 May 1950

²¹⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552456, letter from educational ministry Cheng Tianfang to Duan Maolan on 6 May 1950; Page 552463, cable from Duan Maolan to foreign ministry on 11 May 1950

²¹¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552460-552461, cable from Li Shuhua to foreign ministry, to Executive Yuan on 10 May 1950

attend on behalf of China²¹². The Nationalist government in Taipei had to inform UNESCO that it had appointed the diplomat Wen Yuanning (1899-1984) as the chief delegate²¹³.

7.3.3 Recruiting a New National Commission to UNESCO

After the KMT government fled to Taiwan, the scientific institutes, including Academia Sinica and the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO, had to be re-organized, as many of the members stayed in mainland China²¹⁴. According to a letter Zhu Jiahua received from Cheng Tianfang on 1st November 1950, the National Commission could not undertake any activities and it was difficult to hold another election, while UNESCO was asking for an updated list of the commission members²¹⁵. Cheng Tianfang suggested that the Education Ministry take the policy that those who stayed in the mainland or converted to communism would lose their membership with the exception of 48 members who were in Taiwan or abroad, such as Wang Shijie, Hu Shi, Mei Yiqi and James Yen etc.²¹⁶ The ministry would appoint six new members, a new executive committee member and new secretary²¹⁷. Apart from those who were old commission members and who would be appointed as the members for the natural science committee, much had been changed. For example, James Yen was moved from the education committee to mass communication indicating some degree of disorder. Factional politics were still infiltrating the new National Commission. An important figure in the CC Clique, Chiang Kaishek's close confidant Li Jingqi (李敬齐), was appointed as the sole member for the libraries and museums committee²¹⁸. Chen Shifu (1899-1979) - the dean of National Chengchi University, which was dominated by the CC Clique, and KMT official Liang Hanco (1899-1975), who was a leading officer of another

²¹² IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552435, cable from Li Shuhua to foreign ministry in Taipei, educational ministry on 25 April 1950; Page 552456; letter from educational ministry Cheng Tianfang to Duan Maolan on 6 May 1950

²¹³ IMHA, 11-INO-03858, Page 552467-552468, document from foreign ministry to Wen Yuanning diplomat in Greece on 16 May 1950; Page 552465-552466, cable from educational ministry to Jaime Torres Bodet on 16 May 1950; Page 552476-552478, letter from Cheng Tianfang to Duan Maolan on 17 May 1950

²¹⁴ Lu Siqi, Cai Jingang, *The Rehabilitation of Academia Sinica in Taiwan, Technology and Industry Across the Straits*, 2016, No.1, pp.18-27

²¹⁵ Academia SINICA. Zhu Jiahua Archives (later referred to as ZJHA), 301-01-09-073, member list of 3rd Chinese National Commission to UNESCO, P.40-45

²¹⁶ ZJHA, 301-01-09-073, P.63, Commission members abroad including Hu Shi, Mei Yiqi, Li Shuhua, Chen Lifu, Chen Yuan and James Yen, Zhao Yuanren, Cheng Qibao etc.

²¹⁷ Ibid

²¹⁸ Feng Yuhsiang, *Wo Suo Renshi de Jiang Jieshi 我所认识的蒋介石* (Xi'an: Shanxi Normal University Press,

faction within KMT, were recruited to the committee of literature and arts²¹⁹. Again, politics was persistently infiltrated into the new National Commission.

To attend UNESCO's 6th General Conference, the provisional National Commission had to convene meetings for discussions. According to Cheng Tianfang's letter on 19th April 1951, the former commission member and the executive committee member Fu Sinian could not make it, thus the Education Ministry appointed the head teacher of Taiwan University, chemist Qian Siliang (1908-1983) to replace him, which was approved by Zhu Jiahua in his reply of 20th May 1951²²⁰. On 22nd May 1951, the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO held its annual conference in the meeting room of the Education Ministry, hosted by Zhu Jiahua. The discussion had several parts: how to win the right to vote in the upcoming UNESCO 6th General Conference; whether China should join the copyrights agreement; the proposal to UNESCO to continue the Fundamental Education Pilot Project in China; other matters that should be proposed to UNESCO; and how to manage the work of the National Commission.²²¹ The conference had elected and made a temporary commission of 54 members and an executive committee of 10 members, with Zhu Jiahua as the chairman ²²². They also attempted to add new members to special committees²²³. However, the reorganization of a well-functioning body was not completed.

Due to insufficient members in Taiwan, the operation of the National Commission was severely handicapped. There was a meeting on 4th October 1956 at the Education Ministry in Taipei to prepare for the new Chinese National Commission to UNESCO.²²⁴ Zhu Jiahua was appointed as the member of the preparatory committee for the Chinese National Committee²²⁵. On 7th June 1957, the National Commission held their conference and the election of committee members. Zhu Jiahua was again elected as the committee member of the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO.²²⁶ This time they reformulated a list for the

²¹⁹ Xu Youchun ed. (1991), P.881; LiangChing Wang, *A Study of the Relations between the San-min Chu-i Youth Corps and the Kuomintang, 1938-1949* (Taipei: National Chengchi University, Master Thesis, 1996)

²²⁰ ZJHA, 301-01-09-073, P.46-47, 48; see <http://archives.sinica.edu.tw/?project=chien-shih-liang>

²²¹ ZJHA, 301-01-09-073, P.58

²²² Ibid, P.59, The executive committee included Zhu Jiahua, Hu Shi, Hang Liwu, Mei Yiqi, Li Shuhua, Cheng Qibao, Jiang Menglin, Zhang Daofan etc.

²²³ Ibid

²²⁴ Ibid, P. 89-90

²²⁵ Ibid, P. 91

²²⁶ Ibid, P.93

Commission which consisted of 91 members²²⁷. This list was much the same as the temporary commission formed in 1951; 36/54 remained in the National Commission. Prominent intellectuals who decided to relocate to Taiwan after spending a while in the West were also recruited as commission member, such as Hu Shi, Zhao Yuanren, Li Shuhua, Jiang Menlin, Li Ji and Wang Jingxi etc. Chen Lifu, Wang Shijie, Hang Liwu and Zhu Jiahua, Bai Chongxi and Zhang Daofan were firmly embedded in the National Commission. Major KMT politicians such as the politician and calligrapher Yu Youren (1879-1964), the Financial Minister Wang Yunwu (1888-1979), were new to this national enterprise of striving for the legitimate representation of Republic of China through UNESCO. James Yen, who was once among the new list of National Commission members, had spent his life overseas promoting international rural reconstruction which will be discussed in Chapter 8. Weng Wenhao, who was an geologist, a Yuanshi of Academia Sinica, a member of the National Commission to UNESCO, the president and then vice president of Executive Yuan during the Civil War, during which currency reform had failed, became the first KMT politician to return to mainland China via a winding route from France and Hong Kong in 1951²²⁸.

7.4 “The Flag is Flying of Science” in the Service of Man

Although the strategic position to propose the initiative had been taken by the Americans, the Brits succeeded in seizing the top leadership position of UNESCO, in particular, the Natural Science Division. Julian Huxley – a renowned figure for his popularization of science – was 1st Director-General of UNESCO, holding a position of influence over this organization with his own intellectual orientation and networks²²⁹. Born into a family of biologists – his grandfather, Thomas Huxley, was a firm champion of Darwinism – Julian Huxley incorporated evolutionary biology into his philosophical work for UNESCO in the form of scientific humanism²³⁰. As Huxley’s friend, Needham’s scientific humanism was in broad

²²⁷ Ibid, P.94

²²⁸ Li Xuetong, *The Chronicle of Dr. Wong Wen-hao* (Jinan: Shandong Education Press, 2005)

²²⁹ John Toye and Richard Toye, *One World, Two Cultures? Alfred Zimmern, Julian Huxley and the Ideological Origins of UNESCO*, *History*, July 2010, Vol.95(319), pp.308-331

²³⁰ Julian Huxley, *UNESCO: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy* (Paris: Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1946)

sympathy with but slightly different from his friend's evolutionary scientific humanism, which was greatly shaped by Needham's encounter with China.

7.4.1 The Legacy of SBSCO: Adding a New Dimension to Scientific Humanism

Humanism involved different aspects within academic and scientific circles after WWII and the scientific humanism promoted by Huxley as the universal creed capable of transcending all divisions was shared by humanists such as John Dewey, Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell and Thomas Mann etc. in their Humanist Manifesto, as early as the beginning of WWII²³¹. American intellectual Oliver Reiser also suggested establishing an international agency to facilitate a new world order of mental-spiritual unity by fostering international cooperation between scientists and by reforming educational systems worldwide to achieve a global culture, which looked very similar to the concerns of UNESCO²³². For Huxley, UNESCO worked as an organ through which the conscious and considered application of evolutionary thinking by educated, intelligent men could be brought in to ameliorate the manipulation of human capacities and for the purposes of progress in general. Because Huxley also believed that man's capacities depended upon the social framework that conditioned their use, the future evolution of humankind should benefit from planned or unplanned innovations in social organization²³³.

Scientific humanism, according to Huxley himself, is based on the facts of biological adaptation and advances, brought about by means of Darwinian selection, and continued into the human sphere through psycho-social pressures, leading to some kind of advance, or even progress, with increased human control and conservation of the environment and of natural forces²³⁴. During his visit to Latin America, the biological diversity of this continent reminded Huxley of Darwin's voyage and the theories inspired by Darwin's travels in Latin America, i.e. evolution as a fact²³⁵. In a pamphlet published in 1946, Huxley developed his philosophy for the future development of UNESCO based on his personal view of an

²³¹ Vincenzo Pavone, *From the Labyrinth of the World to the Paradise of the Heart: Science and Humanism in UNESCO's Approach to Globalization* (Lexington Books, 2008), pp.49-53

²³² Vincenzo Pavone (2008)

²³³ James P. Sewell, *UNESCO and World Politics: Engaging in International Relations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), P.108

²³⁴ Julian Huxley, *Memories II* (Allen & Unwin, 1973), P.15

²³⁵ Julian Huxley (1973), P.4

inevitably evolving world consciousness that could be triggered by international cooperation in science, education and culture²³⁶.

Being a scientist himself and having reflected upon the “Rise and Fall of Western European Science”, Needham generated a comparative perspective for looking at the history of science between China and the West²³⁷. Before Julian Huxley began to present his own philosophical framework for UNESCO, writing from China, Needham had discovered “the Chinese Contribution to Scientific Humanism” –with humanism supplied by the Confucianism and science by the Taoist alchemy – in his first academic article on China studies in 1942²³⁸. Needham continued to publish a series of articles for *Nature* in the years 1943, 1944 and 1946, becoming the chief interpreter of wartime Chinese science to the West for that publication²³⁹. He continued to introduce the Chinese contributions to the West and helped to promote these at the opening session of UNESCO at the Sorbonne in November 1946 by giving a lecture with the title “*The Chinese Contribution to Science and Technology*”²⁴⁰.

Needham was concerned about the unequal development in terms of the inside/outside “bright zone” (Europe and America) when he reflected upon the reconstruction of international scientific cooperation²⁴¹. It was particularly the scientists and technologists in the far larger regions of the world outside the “bright zone” who need the helping hand of international science²⁴². He coined this as the “Periphery Principle”, suggesting that UNESCO should help the scientists isolated around the periphery of the “bright zone”, encompassing the war-devastated Europe but referring more to what later would be coined as the “Third World”²⁴³. In his letter to T. V. Soong in 1943, Needham, drawing upon his experience of

²³⁶ Julian Huxley (1946)

²³⁷ Joseph Needham (1938), *The Rise and Fall of Western European Science*, *Manufacturing Chemist*, Vol.9, No.2

²³⁸ Joseph Needham (1942), *The Chinese Contribution to Scientific Humanism*, *Free World*, Vol.2, republished in *Science Outpost* (1943), pp.259-265

²³⁹ Joseph Needham, *Chinese Science* (London: The Pilot Press, 1945)

²⁴⁰ Joseph Needham (1946), *The Chinese Contribution to Science and Technology*, Paris, David Hardman, Stephan Spender ed. *Reflections on Our Age: Lectures delivered at the opening session of UNESCO at the Sorbonne* (London: Allan Wingate, 1948)

²⁴¹ Patrick Petitjen (2007)

²⁴² UNESCO Archives, UNESCO/Prep.Com./Nat.Sci.Com./12, Joseph Needham, *Science and UNESCO. International Scientific Cooperation. Tasks and Functions of the Secretariat's Division of Natural Science (Paris: UNESCO, 1946)*

²⁴³ Patrick Petitjen (2007)

SBSCO, argued that the immediate aims of an international scientific cooperation service would be the conveyance of the most advanced applied and pure science from the highly industrialized western countries to the less highly industrialized eastern ones²⁴⁴. His experience in SBSCO in wartime China convinced him that some of the scientific work of his Chinese friends the research and development of quartz chip in National Peiping Research Academy, were of use to the Allies²⁴⁵. Needham's interests and inquiry into the history of science and technology in China enabled him to understand that "some of the peoples of undeveloped areas have produced great men in the past and that all will be able to do so when once the elementary needs of civilized life have been secured...that peoples of undeveloped areas have produced forms of art and culture as noble and beautiful as anything in that Euro-American technical civilization which has dominated and now unifies, the world; and that 'all men are brothers within the four seas'"²⁴⁶.

In UNESCO 3rd General Conference in Beirut, Needham went beyond China and revealingly presented how Muslim world helps to transmit science from the West to the Far East and vice versa, in what he titled as "*The Unity of Science: Asian's Indispensable Contribution*"²⁴⁷. Needham's notion of global mutual indebtedness and interdependence in the scientific and cultural history of humankind inspired UNESCO's globalist approach to facilitating international understanding as the true common ground of humankind, with the organization aiming to look beyond Western centrism in the wake of WWII²⁴⁸. This experience would motivate him to devise a global actor-network for scientific liaison to aid the underdeveloped areas.

As Needham had accepted his appointment by Huxley to help build the Natural Science Division of UNESCO, Needham would carry on his mission of acting and networking Mr. Science between China and the West during his service with SBSCO and extend this scientific liaison on a global scale. Carrying the memory of SBSCO, Needham envisioned two backbones for the work of the Natural Science Division of UNESCO, i.e. to devise the Field

²⁴⁴ JNP, D1, a letter from Joseph Needham to T. V. Soong on 29 December 1943

²⁴⁵ Qiu Xiaojiao (2019)

²⁴⁶ JNP, D.237, UNESCO booklet, *The Field Scientific Liaison Work of UNESCO* (Paris, UNESCO, 1949), which was drafted by Lu Gwei-djen but with much editing advice from Joseph Needham, P. 18

²⁴⁷ UNESCO Archives, 3 C/D.22, Joseph Needham, *The Unity of Science: Asia's Indispensable Contribution*, UNESCO General Conference 3rd Beirut, 1948

²⁴⁸ Poul Duedahl (2011)

Science Cooperation Offices (FSCO) and provide aid of all kinds, especially grants-in-aid to the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) and all the individual scientific unions represented on it. Both Chinese politicians and intellectual elites would welcome aid of any kind and a similar institute to the SBSCO that UNESCO would locate in its member states to aid scientific development and to foster international cooperation.

7.4.2 Pragmatism and Nationalism in Orienting UNESCO Aid for Reconstruction in Post-war China

When the war ended in 1945, countries that were in the path of the German, Italian and Japanese invasions were almost entirely devastated. The reconstruction of these countries had evoked much public attention in UNESCO so that rehabilitation and reconstruction was one of the three major projects in the first years of the post-World War II period. As Richard Bernstein describes, China, as the main frontier in resisting Japan in the Pacific battlefield, suffered heavy losses and desperately needed aid in almost every field²⁴⁹. UNESCO had acknowledged the situation of China as indicated by the quotation in the *Courier*: “among war-devastated countries there is no doubt that China suffered longest in time and most in extent”²⁵⁰. With the agreement of its founding fathers and as promoted by Needham, UNESCO as a world organ was supposed to offer the necessary aid, not only in rebuilding the Chinese science sector. China was also looking forward to UNESCO’s scientific, educational and cultural assistance when it opened its new headquarters in Paris²⁵¹. But in welcoming Mr. Science, Chinese scientists and scientific community presented both idealist internationalism as well as nationalist pragmatism in their practice of the international relations of science through UNESCO.

The Chinese delegation had already tried to channel aid directly from UNESCO as well as from other member states through the platform of UNESCO for China. It was reported in a Chinese newspaper that the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO had already launched a donations campaign before the 1st General Conference aiming at providing £10 million-worth of publications, research courses and scholarships etc. for the war-devastated

²⁴⁹ Richard Bernstein, *China 1945: Mao’s Revolution and America’s Fateful Choice* (New York: Knopf, 2015)

²⁵⁰ UNESCO Archives, *All China’s Children Do Not Smile*, *Courier*, September 1948, P. 7

²⁵¹ *Shenbao*, 1946 September 25, P.6

countries²⁵². At the 1st General Conference, the issue was discussed by the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Commission in their first meeting held on 25th November 1946²⁵³. With various degrees of emphasis, many national delegates expressed the urgency of reconstruction and the necessity of listing it as one of UNESCO's tasks. Needham's friend, Zhu Kezhen, spoke on behalf of China in the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Commission, stating that Chinese secondary schools and universities had been damaged by the Japanese invasion, with an estimated material loss of US\$ 738,782,000 (neither military targets nor private possessions were included), and more than half of the amount was architectural damage²⁵⁴. On November 27th, 1946, the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Commission approved six programs, including allocating relief funds, materials, technical guidance for war-devastated countries; enabling candidates from the war-devastated areas to conduct abroad research etc. ²⁵⁵.

During the 1st General Conference, Chinese delegates also proposed the collection and communication of information about the needs of impoverished countries so that the relief resources would be better distributed²⁵⁶. The UNESCO Division of Libraries and Museums held a meeting on 28th November 1946, and its reports were published in Chinese two years later²⁵⁷. One of the reports noted that Chinese delegate made a speech regarding the severely damaged cultural and educational facilities in China and the urgent need for support²⁵⁸. Pointing out that China was not included in a brochure published by UNESCO regarding the loss of libraries, it was suggested that UNESCO should published a report with more details as soon as possible and that more attention be paid to Asian countries, especially China, in future allocations.²⁵⁹

UNESCO decided to distribute scientific magazines to China and other war-devastated countries in 1947²⁶⁰. The Division of Libraries and Museums sent questionnaires and was

²⁵² Shenbao, 1946 October 30, P.9

²⁵³ UNESCO, 1st General Conference, P.136

²⁵⁴ Shenbao, 1946 November 27, P.8

²⁵⁵ Shenbao, 1946 November 28, P.8

²⁵⁶ Ibid

²⁵⁷ Lianjiao Zuzhi Tushuguan ji Bowuyuan Fen Weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo Tushuguan Xiehuibao*, 1948, Vol.21, No. 3-4, pp.18-19(《中国图书馆协会报》1948年第21卷第3-4期)

²⁵⁸ Ibid

²⁵⁹ Ibid

²⁶⁰ Shenbao, 1947 July 14, P.5

willing to help China get more aid by sending 250 volumes of UNESCO journals on library science²⁶¹. However, 250 was insufficient for all the national, provincial, city and private libraries in China; hence UNESCO hoped to get the addresses of Chinese libraries so that they could deliver directly, or Chinese libraries could contact the UNESCO library²⁶². In 1946-1947, UNESCO Division of Libraries and Museums donated 9,000 scientific journals titles, 25 volumes of each, 22,500 in total, and 5,000 pictures and 472 books and brochures to China²⁶³. For instance, China received 45 sets of British Encyclopedia, 12 sets of applied science facilities for technical colleges from the University of Chicago; five different publications by French writers, totaling 4,000 volumes from France²⁶⁴. Sixteen sets of British Encyclopedia were first distributed to the prestigious national universities in China, top research institutes, big libraries and prestigious private universities etc.²⁶⁵. The Ministry of Education sent a telegraph to UNESCO asking for another 12 sets for 12 provincial universities²⁶⁶. The result was that 17 more sets were given to 17 universities according to an investigation by the educational ministry²⁶⁷. In 1948, UNESCO sent slideshows and 10 projectors to 10 Chinese universities and libraries and UNESCO allocated US\$37 per university for rehabilitation, the entire amount of which was US\$375²⁶⁸.

In May 1948, UNESCO sent out an Indian expert Mr. Obrio to investigate the need of China²⁶⁹. He toured in several capital cities such as Nanjing, Shanghai, Peiping, Chongqing,

²⁶¹ Lianjiao Zuzhi Tushuguan ji Bowuyuan Fen Weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo Tushuguan Xiehuibao*, 1948, Vol.21, No. 3-4, pp.18-19

²⁶² Ibid

²⁶³ Shenbao, 1947 October 15, P.6

²⁶⁴ Ibid

²⁶⁵ Lianjiao Zuzhi Peizeng Woguo Daying Baike Quanshu, *Jiaoyu Tongxun (Hankou)*, 1947, Vol. 4, No. 7, P.24 (《教育通讯(汉口)》1947年第4卷第7期),

²⁶⁶ Ibid

²⁶⁷ According to the lists of institutions submitted to the ministry of education for a second allocation of Encyclopaedia Britannica, they were National Guangxi University in Guilin, National Lanchow Library in Lanzhou, Preparatory Committee for National Sian Library in Sian, National Yinshi University in Jinhua, Zhejiang, National Shanxi University in Taiyuan, National Xiamen University in Xiamen, National Normal College in Hungshang, Hunan, National Hubei Normal College in Jiangling, National Nanning Normal College in Nanning, National Normal College for Women in Chongqing, Ginlin Girls's College in Nanjing, Aurora University in Shanghai, National Shenyang Medical College, National Veterinary College in Lanzhou, National Chengdu College of Arts and Science.

²⁶⁸ Lianjiao Zuzhi Zeng Wo Daxue Tushu Huandengpian, *Jiaoyu Tongxun (Hankou)*, 1948, Vol.6, No. 7, P.32. (《教育通讯(汉口)》1948年第6卷第7期)

²⁶⁹ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551961-551963; Shenbao, 1948 May 11, P.4

Hankou, Changsha, Lanzhou, Guangzhou and Wuhan etc.²⁷⁰. It was reported that Mr. Obrio expressed his impression on the efforts of Chinese government and Chinese people in reconstructing culture and education, the hard work done by Chinese teachers and the energetic students, and the shortage of financial sources to maintain a huge amount of schools of different levels.²⁷¹ Aside from publications and scientific facilities, there were also various scholarships granted either by UNESCO or other member states through the platform of UNESCO for Chinese scholars to travel abroad. UNESCO decided to disperse the remaining budget of 1947 as 66 “reconstruction scholarships” (复兴奖学金), 48 of which were granted to China and other war-devastated countries²⁷². Six scholarships were granted to China, which covered travel expenses, six months’ living expenses, fees etc²⁷³. The Ministry of Education forwarded the information to the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO and the executive board of the National Commission asked six special committees to recommend candidates in six fields²⁷⁴. Following a vote by the executive board, the candidates were selected in 1948²⁷⁵. The list was submitted by the Ministry of Education to UNESCO, and UNESCO had to select from the candidates. Invited by UNESCO, a Chinese musicologist had prepared a visa for her research trip in October 1948²⁷⁶.

China also received scholarships donated by other accredited governmental and voluntary organizations through the multilateral UNESCO. Prior to the 2nd General Conference, China had already received two scholarship grants from the USA, one from Belgium and four from France²⁷⁷. In June 1948, a news report noted that Denmark had welcomed Chinese students to do research in Denmark²⁷⁸. Denmark also set up a special committee to help these war-ravaged countries in training scientists. Once they had obtained a recommendation from

²⁷⁰ Wenhua Xianfeng, 1948, Vol.8, Issue 11, pp.28-29 (《文化先锋》1948年第8卷第11期); Shenbao, 1948 May 22, P.6

²⁷¹ Lianjiao Zu Aobolai shi Shengzan Wo Zhengfu Nuli Wenjiao Shiye, *Jiaoyu Tongxun*, 1948, Vol.6, No. 1, P.35 (《教育通讯(汉口)》1948年复刊第6卷第1期)

²⁷² Lianjiaozuzhi Zengsong Woguo Jiangxuejin, *Jiaoyu Tongxun (Hankou)*, 1948, Vol.5, No.5, P. 36 (《教育通讯(汉口)》1948年第5卷第5期); Shenbao, 1948 April 20, P. 6

²⁷³ Lianjiao Zuzhi Zeng Wo Jiangxuejin, Gong Liu Xuezhe Zuo Kaocha Yong, *Waijiao Zhoubao*, 1948, No. 60, P.3 (《外交部周报》1948年第60期)

²⁷⁴ Shenbao, 1948 March 11, P.6

²⁷⁵ Lianjiao Zuzhi Jinxiu Minge, *Science (Kexue)*, 1948, Vol.30, No.4, P.122 (《科学》1948年第30卷第4期)

²⁷⁶ Shenbao, 1948 October 21, P.4

²⁷⁷ Shenbao, 1947, October 15-16, P.6

²⁷⁸ Danmai Huanying Zhongguo Xuesheng, *Jiaoyu Tongxun (Hankou)*, 1948, Vol.5, No. 8, P.32 (《教育通讯(汉口)》1948年第5卷第8期)

their national government or university and clarification of their qualification and motivation, young scientists could study in Denmark for two years without paying tuition fees and lab fees. In 1948, there were six Chinese scholars studying in Denmark and; three Chinese scholars received offers of work in Denmark. The Ministry of Education of Belgium also informed UNESCO that Belgium could offer four scholarship for China, Czech, Norway and Poland, but the educational ministry of the ROC government decided to select the candidate from students who were studying in Belgium²⁷⁹. On 13th September 1948, UNESCO noted that New Zealand had donated £15,000 for graduate scholarship for war-devastated countries, of which China was granted two scholarships²⁸⁰. Aside from grants, aids, the function of scientific liaison work of UNESCO that Needham envisioned was to facilitate a global actor-network for international scientific cooperation modelled on SBSCO.

7.4.3 UNESCO Field Science Cooperation Office (FSCO) System: Devising a Global Actor-Network of Scientific Liaison

As Needham recalled himself, “the nature of the job of Scientific Counsellor at the British Embassy in Chongqing turned out to be directly connected with what happened afterwards at UNESCO”²⁸¹. As a friend of Needham, Huxley was very familiar with what Needham had done in SBSCO, and he was also convinced that regional centers would play an important part in the future work of the Natural Science Division. Informed by his reflection upon the unequal development of science in different regions, Needham had held the “Periphery Principle” with a “Third World Priority” in setting up various research centers and Field Science Cooperation Offices (FSCOs) in underdeveloped areas, which would receive warmly welcome in UNESCO member states²⁸².

Chinese scientists had been obsessed with the question of why pre-modern China failed to develop the rigorous mental mindset required by modern science and thus could not develop modern science like Western Europe had. As illustrated in beginning section, the promotion of Mr. Science had long-lasting impacts over the mentality of Chinese

²⁷⁹ Ibid P. 36; Shenbao, 1948 April 20, P.6

²⁸⁰ Shenbao, 1948 September 16, P.7

²⁸¹ Joseph Needham, The First Julian Huxley Memorial Lecture, in Krishna R. Dronamraju ed. (1993), P. VIII

²⁸² Patrick Petitjean (2007); UNESCO Archives, Joseph Needham, Natural Sciences Practical Step for International Co-operation among Scientists, *Courier*, February 1948, P. 2

scientists²⁸³. Their nationalism-driven pursuit of developing Chinese science was then expressed in their attempts to obtain UNESCO sponsorship of possible research institutes to be located in China.

In July 1946, UNESCO informed the Ministry of Education of the decision of the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO might establish a world mathematics research center in China²⁸⁴. This information was welcomed by the Ministry of Education and the ministry asked experts for their opinions about the best location for the center. By August 1946, the ministry had received feedback from the experts it had consulted: some thought the research center should be in Beijing, but more preferred it to be located in Shanghai, which was officially adopted. However, Needham's friend, the engineer Ye Xupei, opposed to having a particular emphasis on a pure science like mathematics and thus did not think setting up a mathematical center in China was as urgent as mobilizing applied science to improve living standards²⁸⁵. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Education informed UNESCO of their decision and arranged for the foundation of the center²⁸⁶. On November 25th, 1946, Zhao Yuanren and Li Shuhua both formally proposed to the Preparatory Commission that UNESCO should set up a mathematics research center in China to connect the academic work of scholars in the East and the West²⁸⁷. The Natural Science sub-commission did not agree with the proposal of setting up a mathematical center in China, as the manufacturing of calculating machines would take a long time, even though Zhu Kezhen tried to convince the commission of the necessity of making a plan²⁸⁸.

There was some international competition on the issue of the location of UNESCO research centers since other countries were also eager to welcome Mr. Science. Li Shuhua and Zhu Kezhen proposed that a nutrition center should be set up in China, which was approved, regardless of some objections from New Zealand. After a great deal of discussion and

²⁸³ Benjamin A. Elman (2005), P.25

²⁸⁴ Shenbao, 1946 September 13, P.6

²⁸⁵ Zhu Kezhen, Diary on 1946 November 16, in *Zhu Kezhen Quanji* 竺可桢全集 (Shanghai: Shanghai Kexue Jishu Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2006), Vol.10, P. 252

²⁸⁶ Shenbao, 1946 September 13, P.6

²⁸⁷ Shenbao, 1946 November 27, P. 8; Zhu Kezhen, Diary on 1946 November 30, in *Zhu Kezhen Quanji* (2006), Vol.10, P. 262

²⁸⁸ Zhu Kezhen, Diary on 1946 December 3, in *Zhu Kezhen Quanji* (2006), Vol.10, P. 265

debate, neither a mathematical center nor a nutrition center affiliated with UNESCO was established in China, with the exception of the SBSCO inspired–EASFCO.



Figure 7 "Thinking Globally", Joseph Needham as the Director of UNESCO Natural Science Division, 1947 Paris

As reported by Li Shuhua, the proposal to set up a science cooperation office in the Far East, India and South America to help the areas that needed scientific information and cooperation most urgently was approved at the 1st General Conference in 1946²⁸⁹. The Secretariat was instructed to “establish a series of Field Science Cooperation Offices starting with those regions of the world remote from the main centers of science and technology, to begin with East Asia (China), South Asia (India), Middle East and Latin America; each to consist of scientific men engaged in every type of liaison work which will assist the scientists of the region”²⁹⁰. As stated by Needham himself, FSCO was modelled on the experience with SBSCO and “the idea was to have Science Cooperation Offices scattered all over the world able to bring help to the struggling scientists of the Third World, to ease their way to getting apparatus needed and to ensure the quick publication of their results in the central scientific journals”²⁹¹.

²⁸⁹ Li Shuhua, Lianjiao Zuzhi jiqi Diyijie Dahui Jingguo, *Xiandai Zhishi*, 1947, Volume 1, No. 8, pp.15-18 (《现代知识》1947年第1卷第8期)

²⁹⁰ JNP, D.237, UNESCO (1949)

²⁹¹ Joseph Needham, The First Julian Huxley Memorial Lecture, in Krishna R. Dronamraju ed. (1993), P. XVI

Needham had brought with him the model of scientific aid for underdeveloped regions – as the work of SBSCO was also presented at the International Scientific Exhibition held by UNESCO in Paris during the 1st General Conference. The scientific liaison work was classified by Lu Gwei-djen and Joseph Needham into nine categories, ranging from establishment and maintenance of personal contact with the scientists and technologists of the region; establishment of the liaison office as a clearing house and information center for the two-way exchange of scientific literature, scientific apparatus, scientific equipment, scientific information etc. between each particular region and the rest of the world; facilitation of the two-way flow of personnel exchanges; the communication of the interesting and important work being carried out in the region and provision of scientific advice to governments of the region etc.²⁹².

Clearly, the framework of FSCO was pretty much that of SBSCO in wartime China – a Post Office. The Headquarters Unit at UNESCO House in Paris, UNESCO’s scientific secretariat, including experts in various disciplines, and the Libraries Division, the Exchange of Persons Department, and Departments of Education and Culture were all enrolled to carry out this scientific liaison work. In addition, UNESCO’s office in New York, libraries in France and International Scientific Unions and various field offices of cultural relations organizations in various countries etc. were also mobilized to act and network with each other in the global FSCOs system²⁹³. Needham believed that UNESCO FSCOs would lay the foundation of a system which would guarantee effectiveness and speed of contact between all those posts and outposts where “the flag is flying of Science” in the service of man²⁹⁴. Needham’s experience of SBSCO convinced him of the special need for a UNESCO FSCO in Asia.²⁹⁵

²⁹² JNP, D. 237, UNESCO (1949)

²⁹³ Ibid

²⁹⁴ JNP, D.233, a draft preface for a booklet drafted by Lu Gwei-djen describing the work of the Field Science Cooperation Offices of UNESCO

²⁹⁵ JNP, D.30, a confidential letter from Joseph Needham to Dr. E. J. H. Corner copied to Dr. Ralph Allee on 11 October 1947

7.5 Acting-Networking EAFSCO in the Chinese Civil War

7.5.1 Making EASFCO a Post Office for Mr. Science in China: November 1947–August 1948

By the 2nd General Conference in Mexico, FSCOs had been established in Rio de Janeiro (South America) and Cairo (Middle East). In 1948, an FSCO was set up in New Deli (South Asia). The network of scientific liaison offices became an established part of UNESCO's work for the vast "outlying areas of the world", as concluded by Lu Gwei-djen, who sat at the center of the operations seeing to the needs of all the offices and their needs²⁹⁶. China, where Needham's inspiration began, was no doubt for this reason chosen as the location of one of UNESCO's FSCOs in the Far East. But the acting and networking of the preparation and operation for a UNESCO organ in China was inevitably overtaken by the politics of China's Civil War.

Joseph Needham sent out UNESCO representative Mr. Jan Smid, a Czech engineer, to prepare for this scientific cooperation body in China²⁹⁷. The news was well reported by a quarterly journal and an educational magazine in Hankou²⁹⁸. In December 1947, Jan Smid had already sent a cable to the Foreign Ministry that he was the acting principal of the East Asia Field Science Cooperation Office (EAFSCO) of UNESCO²⁹⁹. The Ministry of Education replied to UNESCO that it would send a coordinator to cooperate with Jan Smid³⁰⁰.

According to the arrangements made by the Ministry of Education, Academia Sinica, as the top research institute in China, would offer accommodation for Jan Smid when he was in China so that he could have contact with the Chinese scientists, scientific community and relevant institutes³⁰¹.

²⁹⁶ JNP, D.234-237, draft and published booklet UNESCO (1949); Joseph Needham, The First Julian Huxley Memorial Lecture, in Krishna R. Dronamraju ed. (1993), P.XVI

²⁹⁷ Lianjiao Zuzhi Jijiang Zaihua Choushe Kexue Hezuosuo, *Huixun*, 1948, Vol.2, No. 1, P.3 (《会讯》1948年第2卷第1期)

²⁹⁸ Lianjiao Zuzhi Jijiang Zaihua Choushe Kexue Hezuosuo, *Fudao Jikan*, 1947, No.4-5, P. 24 (《辅导季刊》1947年第4-5期); *Jiaoyu Tongxun*, 1947, Vol.4, No. 7, P.24(《教育通讯》1947年第4卷第7期)

²⁹⁹ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551980 letter Jan Smid to foreign ministry on 18 September 1947, Page 551987 letter from Jan Smid to foreign ministry on 8 December 1947

³⁰⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551971-551972, letter from Han Qinglian to Hu Qingyu on 25 March 1948

³⁰¹ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551979, document from educational ministry on 17 February 1948



Figure 8 Jan Smid during his mission in China, 1947 Nanjing

The EAFSCO of UNESCO was set up in Nanjing on 15 November 1947 with Jan Smid as the acting chief official to facilitate scientific cooperation with its member states at that time in the Far East, Philippines and China³⁰². As Jan Smid reported, the activities of the EAFSCO were greatly shaped by the legacy of the Needham-led SBSCO. Just as Needham had done upon his arrival in China, regardless of multiple challenges, Jan Smid spent much time establishing friendly personal contact with leading scientific institutions, universities, research laboratories etc. and becoming familiarized with the actual scientific research of these institutions. During the first ten months (November 1947–August 1948), Jan Smid made journeys to major cities such as Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Beijing and Tianjin, visiting 53 Chinese research institutions, as well as a visit to scientific institutions in Manila, as the Philippines was the other member state of UNESCO in the Far East at that time.³⁰³ Needham, a great friend of China, was still popular in Chinese academia. As Jan Smid told Needham in their correspondence, “who can forget Dr. Needham in China?”; and on every visit and new acquaintance, he found Needham’s friends

³⁰² Shenbao, 1948 February 21, P.6; JNP, D144, Activity Report of the East Asia Field Science Cooperation Office (EAFSCO) of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) covering the period from its establishment in Nanjing on November 15th 1947 till August 31st 1948 (later referred to as Activity Report)

³⁰³ JNP, D. 144. Activity Report

and memories of his activity³⁰⁴. It looks as there was further strong development of EAFSCO in China, as Jan Smid reported “our relations with all organizations working here are excellent”.³⁰⁵

Smid was fully aware of the mission of the office to facilitate the exchange of scientific documentation, the exchange of students and to help Chinese scientific organizations. When he visited Xiamen University in March 1948, he appreciated the beautiful landscape of the campus and the efforts of the university under such difficult conditions and said that he would report to UNESCO and hoped that UNESCO would offer aid to its library and with publications³⁰⁶. However, the contacts that he made and the people and institutions that he needed to maintain friendly relationship with were definitely not limited to scientists and scientific institutions. A vast network of various administrative bureaus was laid before him to interact with to make the office work. He was first of all faced with monetary challenges, given the rampant inflation of the Civil War China, which the Nationalist Government would attempt to resolve by a monetary reform in August 1948 before the regime finally collapsed. Smid had to ask the Foreign Minister for a special and realistic rate of exchange for USA dollars, as was the case for other UN agencies in China, when the office was still being established, so that any loss in exchange rate would not diminish the implementation of this office³⁰⁷.

The Foreign Ministry communicated and discussed with the Central Bank, the Executive Yuan and Ministry of Education giving the same exchange rate to UNESCO as it did to other UN agencies in China in April and May 1948³⁰⁸. In May, the Foreign Ministry issued an official recommendation for Jan Smid to contact the Director of the Business Department of the Central Bank in Shanghai regarding the conversion of US dollars into the Chinese national currency at the same favorable rate granted by the Chinese Government to other

³⁰⁴ JNP, D. 144. Letter from Jan Smid to Joseph Needham on 4 September 1948

³⁰⁵ Ibid

³⁰⁶ Dongfang Kexue Hezuoguan Fuguanzhang, Shi Maode Xiansheng Lixiao Cangan, Xiada Xiaokan, 1948, Vol.3, No. 5 (《厦大校刊》1948年第3卷第5期)

³⁰⁷ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551981, Page 551986 and Page 551988, letter from Jan Smid to foreign ministry on 23 January 1948;

³⁰⁸ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551982-551984, document from foreign ministry to Central Bank on 23 April 1948; Page 551989, reply from Central Bank on 24 May 1948; Page 551990-551992, document from foreign ministry to Executive Yuan on 23 May 1948; Page 551993-551994 document from foreign ministry to educational ministry on 26 May 1948

UN agencies in China³⁰⁹. The fact that UNESCO was a specialized agency of the UN was repeatedly mentioned in the correspondence between Jan Smid and Chinese officials and between the Chinese officials. It is obvious that the KMT had to demonstrate its willingness to cooperate with the UN and its agencies in this historical situation where it had to fight for the legitimate rule of China in the international community, away from the domestic battlefield. Jan Smid had presented his compliments on behalf of EAFSCO for the help and support that China provided in helping EAFSCO to take shape³¹⁰.

Following all these either professional or administrative arrangements, the EAFSCO was set up and located firstly at No. 671 Zhongshan Road North, (中山北路 671 号); it later moved to No.14 Wuyee Lu (武夷路)³¹¹. Lu Gwei-djen worked from the headquarters as Assistant Chief; Jan Smid, was the acting head and William. J. Ellis, the Australia biochemist, would arrive in March 1949 as the acting official³¹². As initiated and expected by Needham, EAFSCO was ready to carry the mission of channeling two-way flows for anything science-related between China and, by extension, the Far East and the broader world via the global actor-network of scientific liaison that Needham and UNESCO's Natural Science Section devised. As Jan Smid summarized in his report, EAFSCO managed to facilitate the international exchange of scientific periodicals on social science, botany and geology between institutions in China and those in India, the Middle East and Europe; the provision of subtropical plant seeds, cotton, wheat and millet seeds for agriculturalists in Fujian and North China; the communication of scientific information about sugar cane between China and the Philippines, the communication of scientific information about hygro-electric projects and paper making from bamboo pulp between China and India etc.³¹³

Examples of this liaison work were also presented vividly by Lu Gwei-djen: " Fujian (Fukien) would like to try out the 'carob bean' and legume trees from Sicily", "Guangxi (Kwangsi)

³⁰⁹ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551996, letter from foreign ministry Hu Qingyu to Shen Xirui, director of Business Department of Central Bank on 26 May 1948; Page 551997-551999, correspondence from Hu Qingyu to Jan Smid on 26 May 1948 and reply from Hu Ching-yu to Shen Hsi Jui in May 1948

³¹⁰ IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 551985, letter from Jan Smid to foreign ministry on 2 April 1948; Page 551995 letter from Jan Smid to Hu Qingyu on 27 May 1948

³¹¹ JNP, D144, correspondence from Jan Smid to Joseph Needham on 4 September 1948

³¹² JNP, D.235, FSCO Booklet, Appendix of Personnel and Addresses of the Offices.

³¹³ JNP, D144, Activity Report; Also collected in Chinese Second National Archives in Nanjing (later referred to as CSNA), Volume 5(2), No. 1356, date 194809, Chinese National Commission for UNESCO 2nd General Conference September 26, 1948, Reference Materials in English,

Agricultural Experiment Station wants to experiment with the Hawaii horse-bean”, while, by liaising with the International Association of Microbiologists and its International Centre of Type-Culture Collection at Lausanne, both sponsored by UNESCO, EAFSCO officers were able to learn where to obtain sulphur bacteria, yeasts and algae that Chinese scientists from National Peiping University and other institutes wanted for urgent research³¹⁴. Hence “the Sulphur bacteria were winging their way by Pan-American from the west coast of California, the yeasts were coming by KLM from Delft in Holland, and the algae, carefully sub-cultured in Prague were on their way also”³¹⁵. Due to the liaison work of EAFSCO, scientific periodicals, plant seeds, scientific papers, scientific information etc. had flown from scientists, research institutes, libraries and laboratories in India, Asia, Europe, Middle East and America etc. to China to aid its scientific activities.

7.5.2 Channeling UNESCO Aid to China and Inheriting the Legacy of UNRRA

The other projects EAFSCO was dealing with was the Industrial Rehabilitation Education Program transferred from UNRRA and UNESCO Book Coupon, which have been revealed in Gordon’s article³¹⁶. Based on archives found in Cambridge, Nanjing and Taipei, this section seeks to add more historical details. UNRRA served as the wartime relief agency among the Allies, becoming one of the first transnational agencies in the global process of post-war reconstruction at the conclusion of WW II³¹⁷. UNRRA, which was pretty much an American-dominated body, began its work in assisting China in late 1944; accordingly, China set up a parallel organization, CNRRA, headed up by Jiang Tingfu (1895-1965): the story of the cooperation and conflicts between UNRRA and CNRRA is richly revealed in Rana Mitter’s studies³¹⁸. One part of UNRRA’s work in China was the Industrial Rehabilitation Education Program to assist with engineer education for post-war industrialization in China. According to the agreement between UNRRA, CNRRA and the Ministry of Education, US\$2,200,000

³¹⁴ JNP, D235, Draft booklet “The Scientific Liaison Work of UNESCO” by Lu Gwei-djen, with much editing advice from Joseph Needham, section The Science Co-operation Office in East Asia, pp. 31-33

³¹⁵ Ibid

³¹⁶ Gordon Barrett (2019)

³¹⁷ Rana Mitter, Imperialism, Transnationalism and the Reconstruction of Post-War China: UNRRA in China 1944-1947, *Past and Present*, May 2013, pp.51-69; Rana Mitter, State-Building after Disaster: Jiang Tingfu and the Reconstruction of Post-World War II China, 1943-1949, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 January 2019, Vol.61(1), pp.176-206

³¹⁸ Rana Mitter (2013); Rana Mitter (2019)

from the UNRRA project was allocated for the purchase of equipment in the Industrial Rehabilitation Education Program for engineering colleges, which represented less than one-third of the minimum requirement of the universities and colleges in the war-devastated areas³¹⁹.

By December 1947, out of the US\$2,200,000 already purchased, nearly US\$2,000,000 worth of equipment had reached China. This included variable chopping machine, electrical mechanical and laboratory equipment that were purchased and delivered to China and stored at Jiaotong University in Shanghai³²⁰. The proposal to transfer the IR program in China to UNESCO was officially approved during the Mexico Conference at the behest of UNESCO, including Huxley and Needham and with the support of Chinese national delegation. After Jan Smid arrived in China, he was contacted by Dr. Cleveland, the director of UNRRA's China Office, and since it would be closed at the end of 1947, a transference of the IR program from UNRRA to UNESCO was agreed between Jan Smid and Cleveland as they both thought UNESCO would be the most suitable international agency to deal with education in post-war China.³²¹ On 19 January 1948, an official agreement regarding the transfer was signed by UNRRA, the Ministry of Education and UNESCO EAFSCO³²². EAFSCO moved to an office in Shanghai, located at 106 Huangpu Road, the UN building (黄浦路 106 号联合国大厦), which would later become EAFSCO's sole office in China³²³.

According to the agreement, UNRRA, the Ministry of Education and CNAAR had made a priority list of 149 engineering departments in 35 leading engineering universities that would benefit about 20,000 students all over China, with an average value of about US\$70,000 allocated to each college³²⁴. During February–August 1948, EAFSCO's Shanghai Office managed to allocate 687,13 Long Ton (L/T) (the total supplies amounting to 722,13 L/T) of facilities with the assistance of BOTRA (Board of Trustees for Rehabilitation Affairs)³²⁵. As anticipated by Jan Smid, the second part of this program was to check and

³¹⁹ CSNA, Volume 5, No. 15267, date 194712, a Memorandum with reference to the suggestion that UNESCO should handle UNRRA's rehabilitation program for Chinese university

³²⁰ JNP, D. 144. Activity Report

³²¹ JNP, D. 144. Activity Report

³²² IMHA, 11-INO-03856, Page 552025-552026, Agreement for the Transfer of Educational Rehabilitation Program from UNRRA to UNESCO, on 19 January 1948

³²³ Shenbao, 1948, February 21, P.6

³²⁴ JNP, D. 144. Activity Report

³²⁵ JNP, D. 144. Activity Report

help with the installation of all allocated materials so that the equipment would be used in the coming semester. As the booklet *The Field Scientific Liaison Work of UNESCO* implies, the machinery and facilities from the Industrial Rehabilitation Education Program were installed in very well-known colleges such as the Engineering College of Sun Yatsen University (Chungshan, or Zhongshan) in Guangzhou, Tangshan College and other institutions under the Ministry of Communications, which had trained several generations of Chinese engineers³²⁶.

EAFSCO's operation also involved helping to channel UNESCO aid to China, one of which was UNESCO's Book Coupon Scheme. Having discussed in 1946 and 1947, UNESCO decided to implement the Book Coupon Scheme to overcome the economic barriers to international understanding by providing special coupons backed by "hard currency" for war-devastated countries, especially those non-European countries that had financial difficulties in purchasing certain materials³²⁷. The Chinese delegation and other delegations from war-devastated countries had expressed earnest support for such an initiative³²⁸. As the archives indicate, Jacob Zuckerman, the acting head of the Libraries Division, had informed China about the implementation of the scheme in October 1948 and China would go on to accept it³²⁹. UNESCO offered China US\$7,938-worth of book coupons as a contribution to the reconstruction of educational, scientific and cultural facilities in China³³⁰. The Book Coupon Scheme was officially inaugurated on 6 December 1948, during a special ceremony at UNESCO House at which the Chinese government was represented by Chinese ambassador in Paris.³³¹

China had submitted lists of books and equipment desired by 24 universities and institutes in China, with the request that the materials intended for each institute should be packed

³²⁶ JNP, University of Cambridge Library, JNP, D.234-237, draft and published booklet *The Field Scientific Liaison Work of UNESCO*

³²⁷ JNP, D. 189, Draft Proposal for UNESCO Book Coupon Scheme, UNESCO/Bibl/2/1947, Paris, May 14th, 1947; Al-Maniey Adnan, *UNESCO's Role in Promoting the Flow of International Communication* (Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1967)

³²⁸ Miriam Intrator, UNESCO, Reconstruction and Pursuing Peace through a "Library-Minded" World, 1945-1950, in Poul Duedahl ed., *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 131-148

³²⁹ CSNA, Volume 5, No. 15266, date 194808-194905, letter from J. Zuckerman to minister of national education, LBA/69646, 29 November 1948

³³⁰ Ibid

³³¹ CSNA, Volume 5, No. 15266, date 194808-194905, letter from J. Zuckerman to minister of national education, LBA/72052, 9 December 1948

separately and directed to the specific institute concerned, but in order to facilitate duty-free importation, the goods should be shipped to the EAFSCO in Nanjing with Jan Smid as the acting official³³². As agreed, UNESCO would mail the book coupons together with a number of explanatory leaflets and order forms to EAFSCO in Nanjing, which would hand them over to the institutions concerned³³³. As reported by Jan Smid, EAFSCO helped to distribute the US\$7,938-worth of UNESCO book coupons gifted to 117 Chinese institutions in August using the lists made by EAFSCO and an additional US\$100 of coupons to three institutions from their own budget³³⁴.

The applied science-oriented IR program inherited from UNRRA was part of EAFSCO's activities and continued till March 1949, as Jan Smid conceived it as important for building UNESCO's credit in facilitating international cooperation both in pure and applied science, even though it was not actually a UNESCO initiative. It looks as if, in this transition from wartime to the post-war period, UNESCO's activities were very much dependent on the actor-network that was emerging from previous wartime internationalism and taking on a new shape to carry out its global mission in the mindset of humankind. Yet the conditions did not always prove to be favorable and hence were not always supportive of EAFSCO's mission rather, the historical situation created by the Civil War between the Communists and Nationalists was extremely disruptive. The distribution of the last segment of the UNRRA IR program to six North China universities had been blocked and the distribution of coupons was thus very opportune, since "the whole continental China was divided into two political groups"; hence EAFSCO tried to sell the coupons but could only manage to sell a very restricted amount due to the difficulties in communication resulting from the Civil War³³⁵. The contact between Chinese institutions and the operations of EAFSCO would become more and more restricted by the ongoing Civil War.

³³² CSNA, Volume 5, No. 15265, reply from Tipton M. Westfall, Deputy Head of the Reconstruction Department to minister of national education, on 7 December 1948

³³³ CSNA, Volume 5, No. 15266, date 194808-194905, letter from J. Zuckerman to minister of national education, LBA/72052, 9 December 1948

³³⁴ JNP, D. 155, Activity Report of the East Asia Science Cooperation Office of UNESCO (Shanghai), Period: March 1949—December 1949 (later referred to as Activity Report)

³³⁵ Ibid

7.5.3 Acting-Networking EAFSCO in the Chinese Civil War, March-December 1949

The difficulties of operating EASFCO became more and more apparent as the Civil War between the Communists and Nationalists approached its final phase. To assist in Smid's mission, Julian Huxley sent William. E. Purnell who was in charge of FSCO to China and head of FSCO in New Delhi. Purnell was supposed to arrive in China on 24th September 1948 and would conduct a survey in Nanjing, Shanghai during which he would discuss scientific cooperation with Chinese scientists from Academia Sinica and would probably attend the annual meeting of the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO.³³⁶ Jan Smid would not have felt as isolated if Purnell had visited China in September. Writing from Shanghai after many months of being out of contact, Jan Smid reported to Needham and described a hectic time in November and December 1948 in China, when all military problems were interwoven with political struggle and nobody knew how long they would have to wait for any decision regarding future plans³³⁷. Contact with the Nationalist Government was more or less non-existent because the previous network that Needham had maintained had more or less crumbled and fallen apart. Cheng Qibao was the acting Minister of Education because Prof. Mei Yiqi from Tsinghua never accepted his nomination; Hang Liwu resigned as vice-minister and Sun Ke would resign anyday too³³⁸. Sa Bendong, a Yuanshi of Academia Sinica and a member of National Commission to UNESCO, passed away in February 1949, following which Zhu Kezhen, many professors and Jan Smid sent cables to Mrs. Sa to express their deep sorrow³³⁹. Jan Smid had no one with whom to openly discuss the delicate and gloomy actual situation³⁴⁰.

The Civil War brought about multiple challenges; a decrease in airlines, delayed mail delivery and a disorderly transportation system and rampant inflation etc. The KMT Government blockaded the Chinese coast, which disturbed all contacts with the outside world, including delaying any responses from outside China, and even correspondence with UNESCO's Paris headquarter through Hong Kong by courtesy of the WHO office was extremely slow and irregular.³⁴¹ The failure of KMT's efforts to reform the currency

³³⁶ Shenbao, 1948 September 23, P.7

³³⁷ JNP, D. 152, letter from Jan Smid to Joseph Needham on 8 March 1949

³³⁸ Ibid

³³⁹ Shenbao, 11 February 1949, P.4

³⁴⁰ JNP, D. 152, in a letter from Jan Smid to Joseph Needham on 8 March 1949

³⁴¹ JNP, D. 155, Activity Report

worsened the economic situation and the constant depreciation of the local currency caused additional expenses when it came to making local salary payments in the US dollar equivalent³⁴². Thus, it was getting even more difficult to recruit workers and to pay for their salaries. Despite of the high cost of living and the “business-minded” population in Shanghai, Jan Smid decided that the office in Nanjing should be moved to the United Nations Building in Shanghai, which had previously hosted the UNRRA IR program and which they shared with the United Nations Information Office.³⁴³ Communication within inland China was also very slow, carried by mules or on junks since the regular commercial planes were canceled by the KMT fighters, and travel from the Shanghai Office was extremely restricted because of the unstable financial and strategic situation during the final months of the KMT regime³⁴⁴. Jan Smid could only manage to do all that he could under such circumstances, such as trying to update the addresses of all their correspondents, even though many had been evacuated from their former residences and some had even left mainland China for Taiwan or gone abroad³⁴⁵.

Despite the circumstances, the office did manage to contact some of their former correspondents and to correct their addresses, and were approached by new correspondents; the office still tried to update or even re-establish the databases of various scientific institutions and their publication activities as some of them had been either closed or changed their titles or merged with other institutions³⁴⁶. Even though the situation was challenging, 28 institutions located in 13 cities in China had sent enquires to this scientific post office³⁴⁷. The scientific and educational supplies purchased had a total value of approximately US\$29,942, but they could not be shipped to China under civil war conditions and were held in store in the countries where they were purchased³⁴⁸. According to the archives, during 1948, the UNESCO budget allocation for China was spent on US\$20,693.94-worth of general science, biology, physics and chemistry apparatus and supplies at secondary school level in the USA, which were purchased for six national universities, five

³⁴² Ibid

³⁴³ JNP, D. 155, in a letter from Jan Smid to Joseph Needham 7 January 1950

³⁴⁴ JNP, D. 155, Activity Report

³⁴⁵ Ibid

³⁴⁶ Ibid

³⁴⁷ Ibid

³⁴⁸ UNESCO Archives, 26 EX/16, Paris, 22 May 1951, Report on Material Supplies Purchased for China From the Reconstruction Fund

national colleges and three national polytechnical institutes³⁴⁹. A sum of US\$3,502.80 was allocated to Academia Sinica, which was used to purchase biology and physiology apparatus and supplies, especially designed for research in biochemistry and physiology to meet the shortage in China³⁵⁰. The sum of US\$5,746 was allocated to the Ministry of Education for distribution, which was used to purchase miscellaneous scientific supplies such as glassware, balances, microscopes and stills; artists' brushes and art reproductions, museum preservatives, film and photographic paper, books of art, music and photography and book coupons³⁵¹.

The Shanghai Office continued to be a hub for the exchange of scientific information, scientific periodicals, scientific apparatus and specimens etc. between China (East Asia) and South and Southeast Asia, Europe, Middle East, North America (USA), Latin America and international organizations such as the IMF and, of course, UNESCO headquarters and other FSCOs. Even under such conditions, Pinus seeds were supplied from Australia and USA for trial in Fukien; wheat and millet seeds from Egypt, Italy and India were supplied for a trial in China; silk worm eggs were exchanged between China and Siam; Alpine, cotton seeds and wood samples were supplied from India etc.³⁵² Furthermore, the Shanghai office managed to deal with enquiries from other member states in East Asia: 10 scientific institutions from Indochina, eight from Manila and six from Siam; and the Shanghai Office managed to communicate with other FSCOs in Delhi, Montevideo and Cairo. The results were that camphor and rice seeds from Taiwan, corn and mango varieties from the Philippines and various seeds from Malaya and India were supplied for trial in Indochina; corn varieties from Latin America, various rice and vegetables seeds from Taiwan and silkworm eggs from Siam were supplied to the Philippines etc.³⁵³. Hence, EAFSCO was really playing its part in the global actor-network that Needham had envisioned.

³⁴⁹ UNESCO Archives, 26 EX/16, Paris, 22 May 1951, Annex 1; National Sichuan University, National Yunnan University, National Northwestern University, National Lanzhou University, National Guizhou University, National Chongqing University, National Northwestern College of Engineering, National Northwestern College of Agriculture, National Guiyang Medical College, National Teachers College in Hengshan, National Kunming Teachers College, National Central Polytechnical Institute, National Tsekung Institute of Technology and National Xikang Polytechnic Institute

³⁵⁰ UNESCO Archives, 26 EX/16, Paris, 22 May 1951, Annex 1

³⁵¹ Ibid

³⁵² JNP, D. 155, Activity Report

³⁵³ Ibid

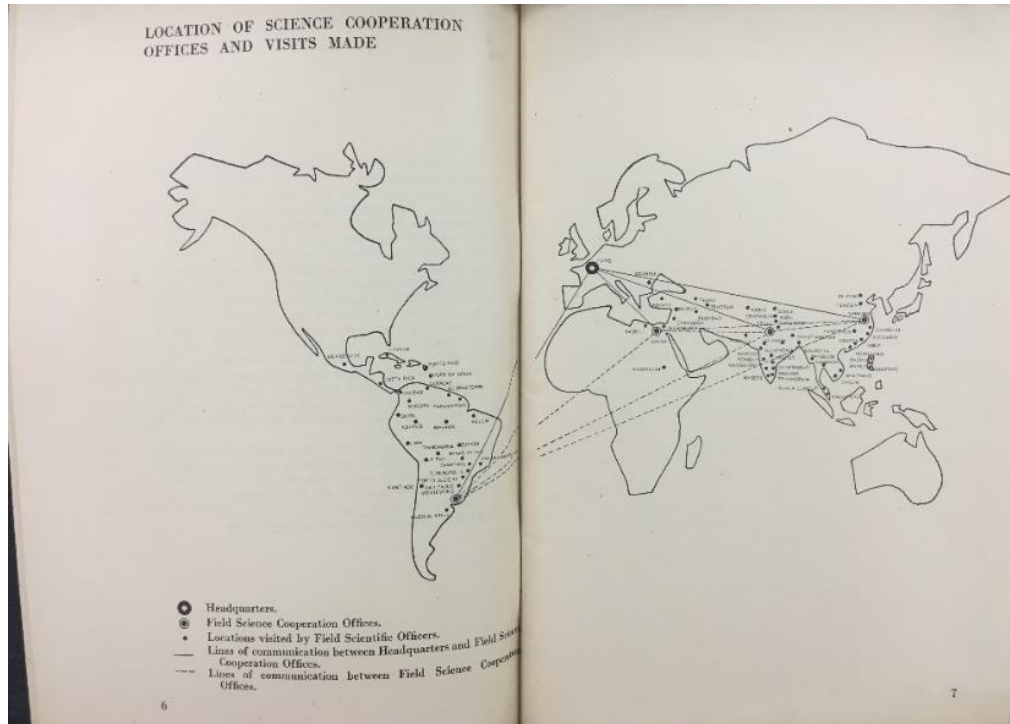


Figure 9 Location of Field Science Cooperation Offices and visits made

From March to May 1949, the office still had the normal official status and facilities given to UN organizations by the KMT Government. From June to December, when the new Communist regime took over the rulership of mainland China, Jan Smid and this UNESCO office would be confronted with a trickier situation in many ways. Well-informed of Needham's ongoing interest in scientific work in China, Jan Smid would try to seek the continuance of UNESCO EAFSCO in mainland China. However, the dilemma of EAFSCO's operation under the new regime lay in the fact that the Nationalist Government was deeply involved in this UN agency from its inception, which indirectly reinforced the ROC's legitimacy and by extension the KMT's³⁵⁴. Hence, Smid was refused contact with the Beijing authorities, since the new government was skeptical about all foreign influences and imposed more restricted regulations on the travel of foreigners, and all contact with the Shanghai authorities turned out to be very polite and non-committal since Shanghai was also waiting for higher-level directions from Peking³⁵⁵. Relationships with Needham's scientist friends also became more discreet and contact with them was restricted, as the FSCO

³⁵⁴ Gordon Barrett (2019)

³⁵⁵ JNP, D. 155, Activity Report of the East Asia Science Cooperation Office of UNESCO (Shanghai), Period: March 1949—December 1949

officers tried not to embarrass their friends because they had their own personal difficulties in the social dynamics under the new regime³⁵⁶.

During the final months of the Civil War, Jan Smid made a plan, part of which, with the benefit of hindsight, was quite unrealistic. According to the plan, although this seems to be wishful thinking, the Shanghai Office would continue its routine work on scientific enquiries, promoting the Book Coupons Scheme, updating the database of scientific works, institutions and their publications, recruiting an assistant and even initiating some discussions, groups and clubs etc.³⁵⁷ Jan Smid had the clear idea in 1950 that the PRC's skeptical attitude towards its relations with UNESCO would certainly be maintained until the regime gained official recognition from the UN and UNESCO. He planned to apply for a new travel permit and to visit the new Ministry of Education in Beijing once the official relations between the new government and the UN organizations were established in February 1950; he even planned to make a visit to Japan, and even Korea³⁵⁸. However, he could never have imagined that the new government of mainland China would not be recognized by the UN until two decades later due to the Cold War block confrontation and the politicization of the UN system which involved UNESCO in the peak of the Cold War conflict. In the end, Smid was not able to continue his efforts to contact Beijing due to family difficulties in Czechoslovakia and he was withdrawn by UNESCO. Needham had to look for someone else to carry out the mission of acting and networking science with the Communists.

7.6 Joseph Needham in Acting-Networking UNESCO-China Relations, 1945-1950

As well as presenting Chinese wartime science and the indispensable contribution of Chinese science via the platform and UNESCO, helping to reincarnate SBSCO's experience in UNESCO in the form of post-war field scientific cooperation in China, Needham, the leader of UNESCO's Natural Science Section, had continued his efforts to offer assistance to Chinese scientists in their pursuit of foreign study, research visits and attendance at conference etc. The database as well as the interpersonal connections that Needham had

³⁵⁶ Ibid

³⁵⁷ Ibid

³⁵⁸ Ibid

maintained turned out to be very valuable in the acting and networking UNESCO–China relations in science.

7.6.1 Joseph Needham as an Important Node

Needham had the companionship of Lu Gwei-djen in his work for the Natural Science Division, and Chinese scientist Sa Bendong and Wang Jingxi were candidates under consideration for the post of the Head of the Natural Science Division in association with Needham³⁵⁹. According to an organization chart of the Natural Science for 1948, formulated on 31 December 1947, Chinese engineering scientist Ye Xupei was to be a counsellor, Wang was to be a counsellor in pure science, and Lu Gwei-djen was the chief assistant of field operations³⁶⁰. Wang turned out to be a good colleague as he was always in good humor and got along with other staff very well³⁶¹.

Needham was to resign from the head of Natural Science Division at the end of 1947 while Huxley's time was up in November 1948 and there was no guarantee that Huxley would be reelected. Thus, Needham felt obliged to properly accomplish the construction job for UNESCO Natural Science Division, to form and bring into full operation³⁶². After communication with Cambridge University and Julian Huxley, he extended both his leave from Cambridge University and his term at UNESCO till April 1948³⁶³. Needham had also managed to get a British Council scholarship for Wang Ling a historian of science he had met during his stay in China so that Wang Ling could work in England and would cooperate with him writing and editing *Science and Civilization in China*. Since Needham had extended his appointment at UNESCO, he was trying to get Wang a position by commissioning him to prepare background materials for use in the science popularization activities of UNESCO as well as a memorandum of considerable length on the contributions of Asia in general and China in particular to the history of science and the progress of technical civilization³⁶⁴. In September 1948 when he served as the honorary scientific adviser to UNESCO, he still tried

³⁵⁹ JNP, D. 31, notes on Candidates who have been under consideration for post of Head of the Division of Natural Sciences in association to J.N, on 14 April 1947

³⁶⁰ JNP, D. 30, Proposed Natural Sciences Section Organization Chart for 1948 (December 31, 1947)

³⁶¹ JNP, D. 143, in a letter from Angela Gotlieb to Joseph Needham on 23 April 1948

³⁶² JNP, D. 29, correspondence on extension of Needham's appointment into 1948 in September 1947

³⁶³ Ibid; UNESCO Archives, Dr. Needham Recalled to Cambridge, Courier, April 1948, P.6

³⁶⁴ JNP, D. 29, in a letter from Joseph Needham to Julian Huxley on 7 August 1947

to get a position in UNESCO for his Chinese friend and his assistant at SBSCO, the physicist Hu Qianshan (1911-), even though he knew there was not much likelihood of such a vacancy in UNESCO³⁶⁵.

Needham's connection with UNESCO was a great asset, especially when Chinese scientists were asking for international assistance from the international community which went beyond UNESCO's normal programs. In 1949, when nationwide inflation hit China, some research institutes, such as the West China Frontier Research Institute, which was a center for anthropology and Tibetan studies, were experiencing a financial crisis. When the aid coming from outside became even more scarce because of the Civil War, the head of the institute, a Chinese anthropologist Li Anche, approached Needham asking whether UNESCO would be interested in assisting the institute³⁶⁶. Needham could only pass on his appeal to UNESCO with a strong recommendation, attempting to provoke interest within UNESCO's Social Science Division even though he was no longer the head of the Natural Science Division³⁶⁷. Needham offered to help, but with no guarantee or low expectations of getting any financial aid from UNESCO, given that UNESCO's budget was also limited and that the institute was not an international one³⁶⁸. Needham sorted out a possible solution by making the work of the institute a temporary international project of the newly built International Union for Anthropology, Ethnology and Archaeology that was also affiliated to UNESCO³⁶⁹. He was so willing to help to support this institute that he suggested Li formulate a concrete proposal to press matters forward further at the interim committee meeting of UNESCO and tried to set up contact between Li Anche and the interim secretary-general, even though nothing concrete came of it³⁷⁰.

Needham's position in the UNESCO Natural Science Division, his popularity and his network with Chinese academia made him the embodiment of a clearing house when the international scientific community wanted to contact and involve Chinese scientists in various occasions. Needham had been approached when the Population and World Resources in Relation to Family International Congress intended to invite Chinese

³⁶⁵ JNP, D. 144, in the correspondence in September 1948

³⁶⁶ JNP, D. 151, in a letter from Li Anche to Joseph Needham on 18 February 1949

³⁶⁷ JNP, D. 151, in the correspondence regarding in February 1949

³⁶⁸ JNP, D. 152, correspondence in March 1949

³⁶⁹ Ibid

³⁷⁰ Ibid

representatives in June 1948, for which Needham offered his suggestions of the names and affiliations of two Chinese scientists³⁷¹. Needham was approached again for a recommendation when the 7th Pacific Science Congress was to take place in New Zealand, since UNESCO granted funding to enable the congress to involve scientists from war-devastated Eastern countries³⁷². His network with Chinese academia and his knowledge about them proved to be so valuable that he was able to offer a detailed list of 21 suitable candidates (most of them Chinese, including his friends Le Siguang and Fei Xiaotong etc.) with their biographical information and contact details who he thought would contribute to the discussion in the congress and to the reconstruction back home³⁷³.

Needham still had a strong connection with UNESCO and often represented it at various international scientific occasions, where he did not miss a chance to promote Chinese science or communicate between the Chinese science community and the international one. When he was asked by his successor, Pierre Auger, to speak on behalf of UNESCO at the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting, he was able to introduce Chinese societies for the promotion of science that were founded and run by his Chinese friends, including the Science Society of China, the Natural Science Society and the Chinese Association of Scientific Workers³⁷⁴. He was so familiar with them that he could offer details of their history and development, including the president, publications, membership, and the close cooperation and overlapping personnel between them etc.

Although Needham spared no efforts in helping to promote anything to do with Chinese science through the platform of UNESCO, the pre-Cold War setting had contaminated pure intellectual activity to a considerable degree. In 1949, while speaking about the credibility of Dr. Franklin Ho (Ho Lien, 1895-1975), long-time director of the Nankai Institute of Economics at Nankai University, Needham was at the same time recommending to Jaime Torres Bodet Chinese candidates for the future head of the Social Science Division, while the official proposal was made by Chen Yuan³⁷⁵. Franklin Ho was also interested in UNESCO's work and was, of course, very grateful for Needham's recommendation, but he was offered

³⁷¹ JNP, D. 141, in the correspondence between Howell Everson and Joseph Needham in June 1948

³⁷² Gordon Barret (2019); JNP, D. 144, in a letter from Dr. Marsden to Joseph Needham on 15 September 1948

³⁷³ Gordon Barret (2019); JNP, D. 144, in draft and a letter from Joseph Needham on 7 October 1948

³⁷⁴ JNP, D. 153, in a letter from Joseph to D. N. Lowe on 10 April 1949

³⁷⁵ JNP, D. 153, in a letter from Joseph Needham to the D-G of UNESCO on 26 April 1949,

a post at Columbia University in the USA and was not willing to work under the Communist Government, which would probably have caused some problems if UNESCO sought contact with the Communist Government³⁷⁶.

7.6.2 Cold War Politics in Networking Mr. Science through Joseph Needham and UNESCO

Needham was expecting some official contact between UNESCO and Beijing, to involve Communist China in this global actor-network of scientific liaison or at least to maintain the EAFSCO in mainland China. Although he was associated with the KMT Government during his service of SBSCO, he never disguised his political sympathies (left) but by concentrating wholeheartedly on scientific and technological work was on excellent terms with scholars, technologists and officials on both sides throughout China³⁷⁷. He offered suggestions as to how UN technological non-political activity could best be managed with the Chinese Communists, i.e. by recruiting a scientist who could speak Chinese and who was intimately acquainted with the Chinese life – Fritz Jensen – Jan Smid’s colleague, who was an Australian biochemist, a communist and married to a Chinese communist³⁷⁸. However, Needham’s invitation was politely rejected by Jensen because he himself was a communist and his Chinese friends warned him that he would be under a “double allegiance” if he went to China within the framework of UNESCO as an international organization³⁷⁹.

Needham turned to Michael Lindsay for help to appointing a FSCO official for EAFSCO; someone who was scientifically trained, preferably not Anglo-Saxon, with Chinese experience and excellent knowledge of the language³⁸⁰. Michael Lindsay, the son of Alexander Dunlop Lindsay, was a British anti-appeaser, a strong supporter of Chinese resistance and had a close relationship with the Communists especially Zhou Enlai because he and his Chinese wife fled to Yan’an and lived there until the end of WWII³⁸¹. He replied

³⁷⁶ JNP, D. 153, in the correspondence in April 1949

³⁷⁷ JNP, D. 159, in a draft letter from Joseph Needham to Evert Barger on 11 September 1949; for Joseph Needham’s connection with the communists see Fu Bang-hong (2016), *The Early Relationship between Joseph Needham and the Chinese Communist Party*, *Science & Culture Review*, Vol.13, Issue 3, pp. 27-35

³⁷⁸ JNP, D. 159, in a confidential draft letter from Joseph Needham to Fritz Jensen on 27 September 1949

³⁷⁹ JNP, D. 159, in a confidential letter from Fritz Jensen to Joseph Needham on 23 October 1949

³⁸⁰ JNP, D. 159, in a confidential letter from Joseph. Needham to Michael Lindsay on 14 Nov 1949;

³⁸¹ Tom Buchanan, *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925-1976* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2012), P. 97

and recommended a German doctor, Dr. Mueller, who was part Jewish, and who went to China in 1939 and had worked with the Eight Route Army under the auspices of Sun Yatsen's widow Madame Sun's organization, but without a guarantee that Dr. Mueller would accept this post³⁸². In spite of Needham's efforts to find a pro-communist official, the new regime had projected suspicion onto international organizations such as UNESCO, which had both a strong American influence and a connection with KMT, and the cold attitude and often officially sanctioned silence towards the activities of EAFSCO in China, in particular the book coupons, continued as EAFSCO's activities were restricted and finally closed down in 1953³⁸³.

The shadow of Cold War politics would then infiltrate even the project of writing the scientific and cultural history of mankind, which was much inspired by Needham's discovery about Asia's (especially China's) contribution to the history of science and technology. As an inspiration for initiating the project of writing a worldwide cultural and scientific history to promote international understanding, Needham was the corresponding member of the international commission for this project, which was officially set up during the Florence Conference of 1950 after discussion in previous General Conferences with the support of his good friend, the former Director-General Julian Huxley³⁸⁴. Based on his knowledge on science of China and his network with Chinese scientists, Needham suggested experts write the Chinese sections, and those involved included eminent scholars such as Hu Shi, Feng Youlan, and Fei Xiaotong, Francis Xavier Hsu, Wei Xueren (1899-1987) a dean of Nanjing University, Weng Wenhao, Guo Moruo and Tao Menghe etc. ³⁸⁵ Four of them – Feng Youlan, Fei Xiaotong, Guo Moruo and Tao Menghe were more closely affiliated with the mainland regime, because Needham thought that it was most important that the new China should be properly represented on this international commission. ³⁸⁶ Needham and Huxley had discussed who would be suitable to be included in the commission, but Needham's efforts to involve these mainland Chinese scholars in this project turned out to be in vain. Huxley

³⁸² JNP, D. 159, reply from Michael Lindsay to Joseph Needham on 16 Nov 1949

³⁸³ Gordon Barrett (2019)

³⁸⁴ Joseph Needham, The First Julian Huxley Memorial Lecture, in Krishna R. Dronamraju ed. (1993), P. XVII; Poul Duedahl (2011)

³⁸⁵ JNP, D. 168 in a letter from Joseph Needham to Dr. Shryock on 7 Feb 1950, and D. 169 in the correspondence between Joseph Needham and Armando Cortesao in July-September 1950

³⁸⁶ JNP, D. 170, correspondence from Joseph Needham to Chou Pei-yuan on 14 October 1950

had to surrender to the fact that as long as Communist China was not admitted to the United Nations, it was improper for the commission to have any member from mainland China, even though Needham had tried to convince Huxley in this regard.³⁸⁷ Hu Shi was appointed as correspondence member of the commission during 1952-1954. However, Hu Shi—a liberal, who was listed as a war criminal by the CCP, and who had relocated to Taipei, maintained a cool distance from Julian Huxley and Needham as he had found it painful to have to differ with the “prejudiced” opinions of so many of his old friends, including those in England, by which he referred in particular to Needham’s efforts in verifying American germ warfare in the Korean War.³⁸⁸

7.7 Summary and Perspective

The historical relations between UNESCO and China in the field of science relied heavily upon the existing intellectual infrastructure that had been cultivated in China in the search to rebuild the “Sick Man of East Asia” from the late Qing and in the Republican period. This infrastructure had provided a base for any interactions between UNESCO and China to promote scientific cooperation. Mobilized by Mr. Science to remedy the intellectual deficiency of the Chinese, a huge actor-network of scientists, professors, scholars etc. together with scientific apparatus, scientific literatures etc. were involved in the science establishment, encompassing universities, colleges, research institutes, labs and scientific professional associations etc. This huge actor-network provided a pool of scientists for China to make up a national delegation and a national commission to UNESCO.

This actor-network was internationally connected, even under the wartime conditions. This chapter has highlighted the role of the internationalist scientist and British biologist Joseph Needham in the early history of UNESCO, the legacy of the Needham-led SBSCO and his network with Chinese scientists in the making of UNESCO–China relations in the immediate post-war as well as Civil/Cold War period. Joseph Needham’s network within the Chinese science establishment, ranging from top bureaucracies and research institutes to

³⁸⁷ JNP, D. 170 and see British National Archives at Kew Garden, Foreign Office Archives, FO371-123792

³⁸⁸ Hu Shi and Julian Huxley, *Southern Metropolis Daily*, 2011, December 18; Hushi Memorial Hall ed., TanXue Lunshi Ershinian: *Hu Shi Correspondence with Yang Liansheng* (Taipei: Linking Press, 1998), P. 136, P. 150

professional associations, from top political leaders Chiang Kaishek and T. V. Soong and provincial officials to a large group of scientist friends in various disciplines in modern science, encompassing natural science, social science and humanities, greatly paved the way for bridging the post-war intellectual organ of UNESCO and Nationalist China. Drawing upon his wartime experience of providing scientific assistance to China via the SBSCO, his three memorandums played a significant role in evoking the importance of international scientific cooperation and bringing the due presence of science to UNESCO, during which time his network in China constantly engaged in this international lobbying..

Joseph Needham's work in UNESCO was much inspired by the SBSCO, as exhibited during UNESCO's 1st General Conference, and incarnated in UNESCO's FSCO system, with one located in China: UNESCO's EAFSCO. FSCOs were designed by Joseph Needham to create a global actor-network of scientific liaison, with a special focus on aiding backward areas to bring about the evolution and progress of entire humankind. Embedded in this global actor-network, EAFSCO not only managed to facilitate two-way exchange between China and the outside world to the benefit of China but also constantly involved and triggered a global actor-network of science involving non-human actants such as scientific literature, scientific information, scientific apparatus, specimens, plant seeds etc. and scientists flying from diverse places of origin to sites where they were needed for scientific research, initially among UNESCO member states in Asia and later enlarged to cover member states in Latin American, East Europe, the Middle East and, of course, the advanced areas of Western Europe and North America. EAFSCO managed to exist for a while in red China, witnessing the transition of scientific internationalism from a relative multilateralism to Cold War bilateralism, from relatively civil to totally state-controlled behavior.

Scientists in Republican China had not been 100 percent internationalists; rather, their promoting of Mr. Science was very much driven by nationalism and then patriotism, which led them to form a special relationship with politics. The international relations of science through the platform of UNESCO were by no means totally apolitical. China's connection with UNESCO had rendered considerable immediate political advantages for Chiang, and his regime sought international recognition from abroad to secure legitimacy in the competition with the Communists at home. The Nationalist Government managed to recruit more than a hundred scientists and experts in various disciplines for the National

Commission to UNESCO. The acting and networking of science through Needham and UNESCO were unavoidably shaped by the intertwined Civil/Cold War power politics, and much affected by the politicized choices made by many individual scientists enveloped in this atmosphere. This actor-network disintegrated as the majority of the actors chose to stay in mainland China and were reorganized into new institutions under the new regime. The tumultuous shift of regime and the changing dynamics of this actor-network also caused great difficulties in maintaining the scientific liaison work of EAFSCO within China and further blocked its impacts in the wider world.

Needham tried to befriend both the communist and the nationalist camps and tried to involve them in the global scientific liaison via UNESCO regardless of their political affiliations. However, the international relations of science were by no means apolitical. In his later employment in UNESCO, Needham personally struggled with the inefficiency of the administrative colleagues at UNESCO Headquarters and the obstructive tactics of highly-placed leaders within UNESCO as American State Department wanted to utilize UNESCO as the instrument of their propaganda in the Cold War³⁸⁹. As he noticed, the mixture of scientific and diplomatic had all kinds of delicate and even explosive implications, which was totally outside Needham's idealized vision of scientific cooperation through UNESCO³⁹⁰.

While he attempted to be an internationalist scientist with humanitarian concerns, but some of his efforts, such as his involvement in investigating Chinese germ warfare allegation against the United States in the Korean War, were inevitably colored by the politics of Cold War block confrontation. In fact, Needham was harshly criticized by many Western scientists, causing much damage to his own reputation as a scientist and further a spilt-up and alienation in his network back in the UK, some of whom such as many Royal Society scholars had once offered support for acting-networking SBSCO, lobbying "S" in UNESCO and facilitating UNESCO FSCOs³⁹¹.

³⁸⁹ JNP, D. 30, correspondence over administrative problems within UNESCO, during October 1947-January 1948

³⁹⁰ Ibid

³⁹¹ Chen Shiwei, History of Three Mobilizations: A Reexamination of the Chinese Biological Warfare Allegations against the United States in the Korean War, *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol.16, No.3 (Fall 2009), pp.213-247; Ruth Rogaski, Nature, Annihilation, and Modernity: China's Korean War Germ-Warfare Experience Reconsidered, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 61, No.2 (May, 2002), pp.381-415

However, the legacy of Joseph Needham, of SBSCO and of UNESCO–China relations in the field of science in this short period reveals an important and intriguing story of China’s involvement in the global system of science meanwhile UNESCO FSCOs demonstrate a possible mode for efficiently acting and networking scientific internationalism. Joseph Needham’s inquiry into the history of science and technology in China enabled him to bring UNESCO the notion of the mutual indebtedness and interdependence of the peoples of the world, which was much resonant with enhancing true common ground for the whole of humankind in the aftermath of WWII.

Due to Cold War politics, Chinese did not take an active role in the Needham-inspired project of writing a history of the scientific and cultural development of humankind under the auspices of UNESCO. However, Needham’s massive work in the continuing *Science and Civilization in China* series demonstrates how the importance of Chinese inventions on developments in other parts of the world had been underestimated. The notion of including history of science, medicine, technology and culture in non-Western countries such as China as part of the common cultural heritage that the human race shares would lead to UNESCO’s well-known initiative on protecting World Heritage and Intangible Cultural heritage, in which Beijing has been proactively engaged in since 1980s.

Chapter 8 UNESCO–China Relations in Fundamental Education: Experimenting with A Healthy Village in China for the Globe

Here is the record of a plan already at work for twenty-five years, already consciously tested for just such a problem as the world faces today. The plan was made by a Chinese (James Yen) and put to work for China. [...] a country where three fourths of the people were illiterate, at the mercy of disease, badly governed. [...] War struck before the work was complete, but the tests had been made and the plan is ready to put into action, not only all over China, but everywhere. [...] anywhere there were people who are hungry and illiterate and badly governed.¹

In the wake of World War II, American author Pearl S. Buck (1892-1973) envisioned a plan of post-war reconstruction after a conversation with Chinese educationist James Yen in 1945. She genuinely believed that the experimental educational work of the Mass Education Movement (MEM), conducted by James Yen and his peers to uplift the Chinese mass population would be of inestimable value for the vast underdeveloped areas. Bearing the task of post-war reconstruction, UNESCO was to dedicate itself to marshalling education to diffuse modern scientific knowledge, provide the minimum requirements of civilized living, to strengthen the basis of democratic governments, and to promote international understanding to secure global peace and security. Fundamental Education was one of the three priority projects in UNESCO after the organ was set up in the ashes of war. This chapter mainly drawing upon ANT and conceptual history occasionally, will investigate the formation of and the spectrum of a global international actor-network of MEM or Rural Reconstruction (RR), practicing what would be coined as “Fundamental Education” in China, and how this actor-network paved the way for the making of UNESCO–China relations in the field of Fundamental Education.

This chapter will briefly trace the conceptual origins of the post-war arrangements for the colonies during the wartime period and the global actor-network in the formulation of

¹ Pearl S. Buck, *Tell the People: Talks with James Yen About the Mass Education Movement* (New York: John Day Company, republished by International Mass Education Movement, Inc., 1959), foreword

UNESCO's Fundamental Education initiative. It has its origins in CAME, which aimed at eradicating illiteracy and conveying a minimum level of education and was later associated with the grand post-war reconstruction effort in both war-devastated areas and particularly in the vast undeveloped countries, many of which were former colonies. China played a key role because it was a major country in post-colonial Asia and also because there had already been an international actor-network of ideas, personnel and institutes experimenting with social engineering via systematic educational programs with the goal of societal reconstruction in interwar and wartime China. Hence the ANT analysis looks into the implementation of the UNESCO–China joint pilot project on Fundamental Education and how the grand design that drew on the historical legacy of MEM or RR was forced by the constraining historical setting of Civil War to shrink down into a sole pilot project with the subject of “Healthy Village”, aiming to experiment with teaching Chinese villagers health and hygiene knowledge using audio-visual aids. The final section of the analysis seeks to examine the implementation of this pilot project by looking into the medical iconography of these audio-visual materials and the impacts of this UNESCO–China joint pilot project on Fundamental Education at the local, national and international levels.

8.1 Whose Foundation? Fundamental Education as a Contested Concept

8.1.1 Building A Common Ground for Humanity in the Aftermath of WWII

The Pacific War had unusual political and psychological significance because it involved many colonial populations in Far Eastern and Japanese wartime propaganda on an unprecedented scale: pan-Asianism, drawing upon the Western colonial presence in this area, sought to liberate Asia from the dominance and exploitation of the West². After the Atlantic Charter was announced in November 1941, the Japanese also announced the Declaration of the Great East Asia Conference in 1943, speaking of mutual respect, independence and cooperation to promote the coexistence and coprosperity of economic culture in the whole of East Asia³. To

² Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), Chapter Abortive New Order

³ *Ibid*, P.119

win the loyalty and whole-hearted support of the Far Eastern peoples, and to compete with and counterattack the Japanese vision of regional order in Asia, the United States and other Allied powers had to devise a policy that lay somewhere between existing imperialist control and the immediate autonomy of the Asia-Pacific region. Following the wartime negotiations of the Big Four, or more often the Big Three, the Allies' design for the post-war order embraced an internationalist and integrationist approach in dealing with the colonies by promoting gradualist reforms for political, economic, social and educational advancement in these colonial areas within the international trusteeship administration of the United Nations⁴. The American policy of bringing about peace and security and the betterment of economic and social conditions in these areas became more intimately associated with the general post-war international institutions in its adoption of international standards and arrangements for the development of dependent areas in the interests both of the colonial populations and of the world as a whole⁵.

The task of educational relief and reconstruction of war-devastated countries had captured the attention of CAME and this became even more urgent at the conclusion of the global war in 1945 when CAME were negotiating the establishment of a more universal intellectual organization to be affiliated with the UN. CAME had turned to the London-based organization the CEWC (Council for Education in World Citizenship, 1939) for inspiration. Julian Huxley was on the board of CEWC and at the same time was an unofficial participant in CAME during WWII, which made him one of the most important figures in the preparation of the organization of UNESCO⁶. Huxley, as a member of the Colonial Office Committee on Education, had visited East Africa to report on the role of biological science in African education in 1929, and his report led him to advise on the survey in Africa, the result of which was of great help to later colonial administrators⁷. In the 1940s, he was sent to West Africa by the Committee, during which time he exhibited his progressive spirit, in that the "white man" could provide "tutelage" to the colonies and could bring civilization, modernization and education so that the colonies would be able to participate in world progress⁸. Having served for the British Colonial Office, having gained the impression that the living conditions in the slums in Latin

⁴ Ibid, p.131

⁵ Ibid, p. 191

⁶ Julian, Huxley, *Memories II* (Allen & Unwin, 1973), P.14

⁷ Julian Huxley (1973), pp.179-196

⁸ Glenda Sluga (2010), P. 393

America and India were terrible, Huxley was greatly interested in promoting educational programs aimed at leveraging up educational, scientific and cultural facilities in the world's backward or "underdeveloped" countries⁹.

Having gone through WWII, the national delegations attending the London Conference, mainly the politicians, educationists and intellectuals of the Allies, were convinced that education should be deployed as an instrument for promoting international understanding, bringing peace rather than war to the mindsets of humankind.¹⁰ British classicist Sir Alfred Zimmern raised the idea at the First Plenary Meeting of the Preparatory Commission in London in November 1945 that this new organization should embark on a worldwide attack against the dangers to world peace of illiteracy and ignorance, which was broadly agreed upon by many delegates, including Mexican delegate Jaime Torres Bodet, who later became the 2nd Director General of UNESCO after Julian Huxley¹¹. Another issue that was raised and discussed at the London Conference was the economic and social betterment of underdeveloped areas. The tendency to connect literacy education policy with broader social reform policy became more and more intriguing as Pearl S. Buck had just published a book (*Tell the People*), introducing James Yen's pioneering work in China and James Yen's assistant Qu Shiying was one of the Chinese delegates at the London Conference. The famous and persuasive argument made by James Yen that no lasting peace would be possible with three-quarters of the population of the world ignorant, illiterate, ill-fed and diseased would be frequently quoted in UNESCO's flagship project on Fundamental Education.

Another Chinese educational official, Dr. Kuo Yushou, was also involved, not on behalf of China but as UNESCO Senior Counselor for Education. Dr. Kuo proposed appointing a commission on Fundamental Education and he attempted to distinguish fundamental education from mass education, popular education and basic education, which, semi-officially, gave birth to the concept of fundamental education in July 1946¹². Since it was considered as an urgent issue and there was no time to get first-hand data on fundamental education worldwide, on 12th June 1946, 14 experts were approached by the Secretariat and were asked

⁹ Julian Huxley (1973), pp.37-52; pp.141-166

¹⁰ Wodajo Mulugeta, *An Analysis of UNESCO's Concept and Program of Fundamental Education* (Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1963)

¹¹ UNESCO (1947), *Fundamental Education: Common Ground of All Peoples*, P.9

¹² Ibid, P.12

for their contribution, as well as reports from other experienced persons¹³. The Secretariat was then empowered to appoint a special committee with Dr. Kuo as its chairman and their task was to compile and edit the reports and articles that the experts wrote regarding their own experience of what became known as “Fundamental Education” and to propose a possible working scheme to the 1st General Conference¹⁴. The results of the collection of articles and reports and the discussion held at the 1st Session of the 1946 conference were published in 1947 in New York under the title: *Fundamental Education: Common Ground for All Peoples, Report of a Special Committee to the Preparatory Commission of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*.

8.1.2 A Global Actor-Network in the Making of UNESCO’s Initiative for Fundamental Education

The publication, *Fundamental Education: Common Ground for All Peoples*, did not offer any hints on how to implement fundamental education but did provide a grounding for further discussion on the issue. The UN has its ideological foundations in the ideals of imperialist internationalism and serves as a means of facilitating international cooperation between civilized nations and of rendering a world order that allows imperial powers to perform their civilizing missions in the underdeveloped areas¹⁵. Some scholars argue that the decolonization, paradoxically, reinforced the imperial connection, and the colonial legacy was inherited by UN agencies, their experts and their development projects in the underdeveloped countries, which are considered to have firm intellectual roots in the former colonial civilizing mission¹⁶. Australian historian Glenda Sluga argues that UNESCO also inherited both enlightenment ideals and British liberal imperialism in its early formation and promotion of a cosmopolitan One World, given that some of the founding figures of UNESCO such as Alfred Zimmern and Julian Huxley etc. were closely connected with British colonial

¹³ Ibid, P.21

¹⁴ UNESCO, *The Origin of Fundamental Education Conference in Far East and its Process*, translated by National Translation Office, *Jiaoyu Tongxun*, 1947 Vol. 3, No. 6, pp. 31-34 (《教育通讯》, 1947年第3卷第6期)

¹⁵ Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009)

¹⁶ Richard Jolly, Louis Emmerji, Dharam Ghai, and Frederic Lapeyre, *UN Contributions to Development Thinking and Practice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (London: Londres Zed Books, 2004)

governance, and especially in colonial education¹⁷. It is reasonable to argue that British colonial education was embodied in CEWC in order to educate the colonial populations with individual subjectivity within the existing colonial system and that this offered a possible model for UNESCO through which to formulate an internationalist education project in these areas. However, at the roots of UNESCO's Fundamental Education lies a transatlantic, transpacific or even global actor-network of ideas, personnel and institutes etc. that goes beyond the literal headquarters of UNESCO or the forerunners of UNESCO, like ICIC or CAME.

In the first place, as well as CEWC, there was a close connection between the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and UNESCO. NEF, an international organization, was launched in Calais in 1921 after WWI to promote international, democratic reconstruction through education and developed into "a movement connecting lay enthusiasts for educational reform with major figures in the developing disciplines of psychology and education, such as Carl Gustav Jung, Jean Piaget and John Dewey"¹⁸. NEF built up an intellectual field and had close connections with academic institutions such as the University of London, and international organizations, such as the League of Nations and later UNESCO¹⁹. A reciprocal relationship between NEF and UNESCO was obtained through the efforts of some prominent NEF figures involved in and commissioned by UNESCO, on themes endorsed by UNESCO's Constitution and which resonated with NEF, and with the attendance of NEF members in UNESCO's 1st General Conference etc.²⁰. The influential British educationist of the first half of the 20th century, Fred Clarke (1880-1952), who served as the director of the Institute of Education at the University of London during 1936-1945 as well as the president of the NEF, also reported to the British Colonial Office, which more or less shaped the official UK submissions to the Preparatory Commission to UNESCO²¹. Fred Clarke, together with two colleagues at University of London, Margaret Read (1889-1991) and Joseph Lauwerys (1902-1981), presented on the UNESCO

¹⁷ Glenda Sluga, UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley, *Journal of World History*, 2010, Vol.21 (3), pp.393-418

¹⁸ Kevin J. Brehony, A New Education for a New Era: The Contribution of the Conference of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education 1921-1938, *Paedagogica Historica*, Volume 40, Nos.5, 6 October 2004, pp.733-755

¹⁹ Celia M. Jenkins, *The Professional Middle Class and the Social Origins of Progressivism: A Case Study of the New Education Fellowship, 1920-1950* (Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Education, University of London, 1989), pp.101-103

²⁰ Celia M. Jenkins (1989), pp.104-105

²¹ Phillip W. Jones, Unesco and the Politics of Global Literacy, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol.34. No.1, Special Issue on Adult Literacy, Feb 1990, P.52

Commission on Fundamental Education, and contributed to making the blueprint of UNESCO's Fundamental Education project.²²

American scholar Joseph Watras argues that UNESCO's concept of fundamental education resulted from the convergence of the NEF and American Progressive Education Association (PEA). He argues that both NEF and PEA had roughly similar concerns about the individual freedom to shape social reform, and both received financial sponsorship from the US-based Rockefeller Foundations and Carnegie Foundations and had a considerable overlap in its members, as American cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead was actively engaged in PEA while pragmatist philosopher John Dewey was actively engaged in both PEA and NEF²³. In other words, a loosely-connected transatlantic actor-network of progressive educational movements, that shared similar beliefs in the efficacy of the modern science of education, was involved in shaping the first flagship project of UNESCO's educational missions.²⁴

Furthermore, aiming to build up a true world community, the post-war generation of internationalists that gathered at UNESCO adopted a scientific worldview, i.e. "view from everywhere" to foster a world of Unity in Diversity that would embrace a diversity of cultural values, social structures and economic specialization etc.²⁵. American anthropologist Margaret Mead, who was among the editing committee of the report, proposed taking Oriental cultures into account when policymaking for international organizations, so that some of their values would complement, counterpoint and to a degree negate and cancel out the dominant motifs of Western culture, and further to develop a real world ideal²⁶. By comparing and synthesizing the perspectives molded by diverse national cultures, UNESCO aims at obtaining an objective view of social phenomena²⁷. In an attempt to provide a universal epistemology that enables diverse peoples to collaborate, not only Anglo-American experts were consulted, but many experts from the underdeveloped countries, such as China, Egypt, Sudan, Columbia and Haiti etc. were also involved in investigating the development of

²² Phillip W. Jones (1990), P.52

²³ Joseph Watras, Was Fundamental Education Another Form of Colonialism? *International Review of Education*, Vol.53, No.1, (Jan. 2007), pp.55-72; Joseph Watras, The New Education Fellowship and UNESCO's Programme of fundamental education, *Paedagogica Historica*, 01 February 2011, Vol.47 (1-2), pp.191-205

²⁴ Joseph Watras (2007)

²⁵ Perrin Selcer, *Patterns of Science: Developing Knowledge for a World Community at UNESCO* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2011)

²⁶ UNESCO (1947), *Fundamental Education: Common Ground of All Peoples*, pp.132

²⁷ Perrin Selcer, (2011), P.57

fundamental education on a global scale. The reports produced by the experts were presented geographically in the publication, including an overall review of the status quo of education and educational activities in countries with high literacy rates in Europe and North America as well as in countries with the lowest literacy rate in the vast underdeveloped “Global South”. The experience from the East had intellectual significance, because epistemologically it offers research data for comparative studies, which is supposed to generate the same kind of universally valid scientific knowledge that natural science does through experimental methods²⁸.

Chinese experts included Kuo Yushou, Zhao Yuanren, Francis Xavier Hsu, Qu Shiyong - James Yen’s assistant in MEM, and educationist Wang Chengxu (1912-2013). Pearl S. Buck had introduced the prominent pioneering practice of MEM under the leadership of James Yen and Qu Shiyong²⁹. In fact, an international actor-network had attempted to accommodate and Sinicize modern intellectual resources, in particular to deploy education, science and culture in revitalizing the decaying Chinese society where three-quarters of the population lived in ignorance, poverty, disease and ill governance. This historical experience in China was of considerable reference value for UNESCO when it was confronted with not only the urgent tasks of reconstruction in war-devastated areas but also the call for the economic and social betterment of vast colonies to earn its legitimacy of global governance.

8.2 Mapping out the Spectrum of the Actor-Network for

“Fundamental Education” in the Making of UNESCO–China Relations

The actor-network of Fundamental Education in China emerged from a series of educational reforms in the modern era and had a broad spectrum, ranging from formal schooling to informal social education, encompassing modern liberalism, radicalism, revival Confucianism and even Christian evangelicalism embraced either by Chinese elites or foreign activists. These dynamics would greatly shape UNESCO–China relations in the field of Fundamental Education.

²⁸ Perrin Selcer, (2001), P.55

²⁹ Pearl S. Buck (1959)

8.2.1 Fostering a System of National Education and Social Education

As illustrated in Chapter 7, in searching to cure and revitalize the Sick Man of East Asia, Qing rulers and elites took a functionalist approach toward knowledge and education, anticipating the immediate utilitarian value of the expertise imported from the West in their search of for strength and power, which was typically embodied through the system of higher education and academic research³⁰. In addition, a new school system was implemented in 1902 shortly after the 100 Days Reform failed, and a revised version was released in 1903. Despite the lack of abundant financial resources and the unstable political environment, with the efforts of influential educationists who had studied abroad and were dedicated to the modernization of China's education based on what they had learned, the new school system of national education – including lower and upper primary, lower and upper secondary and higher schools, based on the American 6-3-3 model – expanded, especially in the urban areas. During the Nanjing Decade, the Nationalist Government continued to enforce a series of educational reforms from 1928 onward up until the 1940s. On the eve of UNESCO's arrival in China in the post-WWII era, the educational system of basic education (a category that is compared to higher education) in republican China consisted of a structure of official national education (国民教育) for school-aged children and teenagers and social education (社会教育) for mass population, most of whom had been deprived of normal schooling³¹.

But the tumultuous situation of the Warlord period made it difficult to enforce the new educational system at the local level, and it was too expensive for poor families, the gap widened between those who could afford it and those who could not, between the urban and the rural population³². This discrepancy drove more and more intellectuals to realize the need to educate those who had no access to official schooling by promoting various forms of unofficial education, such as public exhibitions and public lectures, or even literacy campaigns for the illiterate mass population. Modern associations formed by provincial and local

³⁰ Yeh WenHsing, *The Alienated Academy: Higher Education in Republic China* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1984)

³¹ Jiaoyubu Yuandongqu Jiben Jiaoyu Yanjiu Huiyi Choubi Weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo de Jiben Jiaoyu* 中国的基本教育 (The Commercial Press, 1947), P. 10 (教育部远东区基本教育研究会议筹备委员会编《中国的基本教育》商务印书馆). Education for frontier population was also included in the nationalist educational system but is beyond the research target of this PhD dissertation.

³² Yeh Wenhsin, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1990)

educationists played an important part in exploring the educating of modern Chinese³³. An earliest example was the Chinese Association of Vocational Education (中华职业教育社) set up by Huang Yanpei in 1917, involving many intellectuals such as Liang Qichao and Cai Yuanpei etc, with a special mission of offering vocational training in urban areas and a rural experiment in Jiangsu province³⁴. During 1921-1922, John Dewey's student Tao Xingzhi (1891-1946) was the secretary of the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education (中华教育改进社 CNAAE), which was a grand educational association loosely networked with many educational associations³⁵.

During the New Culture Movement, John Dewey's lectures on education, science and democracy were published in Chinese and his pragmatic educational theory on "education is life" and "school is society" were very influential in China³⁶. Deweyan Pragmatism resonated in China as his students Hu Shi, Tao Xingzhi, and Chen Heqin etc. assumed important positions in promoting educational reform in China³⁷. CNAAE dominated by American-returned students, aimed at promoting New Education informed by John Dewey and published in the forum of *The New Education*³⁸. Another Dewey's disciple, the female educationist Yu Qingtang (1897-1949) worked on her PhD at Columbia University, where she developed her interest in popular education which she assumed would contribute to national development³⁹. Under her leadership, Jiangsu Provincial Educational College (江苏省立教育学院) was set up in 1928 with an emphasis on popular education, and she served as president of the college, during which time she set up several popular education halls (民众教育馆) and experimental zones, a magazine in this regard in 1929, and the Chinese Society of Social Education in 1933⁴⁰.

³³ Suzanne Pepper, *Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th-Century China: The Search for an Ideal Development Model* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), P. 74

³⁴ *Zhongguo de Jiben Jiaoyu* (1947), pp.29-32

³⁵ Barry Keenan (1977); Suzanne Pepper (2010)

³⁶ Zou Zhenhuan, The "Dewey Fever" in Jiangsu and Zhengjiang during the May Fourth Movement and Its Relation to the Cultural Tradition in Jiangnan, *Chinese Studies in History*, 01 July 2010, Vol.43(4), pp.43-62

³⁷ Nancy F. Sizer, John Dewey's Ideas in China 1919 to 1921, *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 10, no. 3 (Oct., 1966): 390-403; Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political in the Early Republic*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977); Jessica Chingsze Wang and David Weir, *John Dewey in China: To Teach and to Learn* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007)

³⁸ Barry Keenan (1977); Suzanne Pepper (2010)

³⁹ Xiaoyan Liu, *The Changing Face of Women's Education in China: A Critical History of St. Mary's Hall, McTyeire School and Shanghai No.3 Girls' Middle School* (Zürich: Lit Verlag GmbH Co. KG Wien, 2017), P.90

⁴⁰ Zheng Wang, *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), P.272

After relocating to Shanghai after the end of WWII, she served in the educational bureaucracy under the Nationalist Government, but she also built and managed experimental schools for popular education (实验民众学校), the last one being the National College of Social Education (国立社会教育学院) set up in 1941 with educationist Chen Lijiang (1896-1984) as its headteacher⁴¹. Many of these educationists were recruited to the National Commission to UNESCO because of their experimental work in social education.

8.2.2 Sinicized Liberalism: James Yen and MEM in Searching for Uplifting the Rural Masses

The most prominent part in this actor-network was played by James Yen and MEM, with which UNESCO finally cooperated in the implementation of a UNESCO pilot project in China. James Yen was born in 1893 to a Confucian family in Sichuan. Born to a traditional family, with his ancestors mentioned in the *Analects* as a disciple of Confucius, nevertheless, his father somehow worked for the China Inland Mission (CIM) and therefore James Yen received an education from the missionary school, which had a big impact on his life and later career⁴². He went to a middle school run by American Methodists in Chengdu and he named himself James after his friend James Steward, a YMCA missionary he met in Chengdu⁴³. He was then drawn to the international YMCA while pursuing higher education in Yale, where he met his future wife and began to build a transpacific liberal network of Yale alumni and YMCA, both of which would offer support for his MEM work until the post-WWII era⁴⁴. During WWI, he worked for the YMCA service in France, where he began literacy campaigns to teach the illiterate Chinese Labor Corps (CLC).⁴⁵ During his service as a YMCA volunteer in France, about

⁴¹ Xiaoyan Liu (2017), P.91. One experimental school in Shanghai accommodated more than 200 underground CCP members and functioned as a base for Communists activities in Shanghai. She herself was not proved to be an underground communist but her daughter Tang Xiaochun was. After 1949, Yu was invited by Zhou Enlai to serve as the general secretary of the social education department of the Ministry of Education. Died in the year of 1949, many CCP politicians such as Zhou Enlai attended her funeral ceremony.

⁴² Wu Xiang-xiang, *James Yen and Sixty Years of Struggle with Rural Reconstruction for the Peasant People of the World* (Taipei: China Times Publishing Co., 1981)

⁴³ *ibid*

⁴⁴ Charles Hayford, *To the People: James Yen and Village China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp.13-22

⁴⁵ Xu Xiuli (2002), An Historical Examination of the Literacy Campaign of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education, *Modern History Studies*, pp. 89-120

18% of the 200,000 Chinese laborers there learnt to read and write⁴⁶. Inspired by both Confucian and Christian zeal, together with his experience of working with Chinese laborers, the Chinese term “Coolie” which literally means “bitter strength”, the 3 Cs greatly shaped his career to free them from their bitterness and help them to develop their own strength.

James returned to China in 1920, at a time when Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy were warmly welcomed in China. Due to the efforts of New Culturalists such as Hu Shi, who sought to promote vernacular Chinese and make literacy available for the masses, a favorable linguistic base had been laid down for teaching, uplifting and turning the masses into modern citizens⁴⁷. James accepted the invitation of David Z.T. Yui (1882-1936), the head of the YMCA in China and chief witness at the wedding between Chiang Kaishek and Madame Chiang, to work in the Mass Education division of YMCA. Under the leadership of James Yen, the Mass Education division had begun scientifically studied the illiteracy issue and edited textbooks for teaching based on the practical needs and problems indicated in the investigation⁴⁸. Chen Hechin (1892-1982) of South Eastern University, another Columbia University graduate, wrote studies on the vocabulary of the common people that greatly shaped the textbook *The People’s Thousand Character Lessons*, which would later be used in literacy campaigns by both communists and foreign missionaries. James Yen launched urban literacy campaigns to teach the illiterate urban population from Changsha, with Mao Zedong participating as a volunteer teacher, and this then spread to many cities such as Yantai, Nanjing, Hangzhou and Wuhan etc.⁴⁹.

James Yen’s urban literacy campaigns were so successful in China that Tao Xingzhi found them inspiring. The cooperation between Tao and Yen resulted in the organization of the National Association of the Mass Education Movement (中华平民教育促进会 MEM) in 1923, which involved major educationists and educational officials such as Yen, Tao, Zhang Boling, Jiang Menglin and even reformist thinker Liang Qichao etc.⁵⁰. After analyzing the causes of China

⁴⁶ James Yen (1946), A Brief History of Mass Education Movement, a speech in the Rural Reconstruction College in Pehpei, published in 1948, and then piled in Song En-rong ed. *Pingmin Jiaoyu yu Xiangcun Jianshe Yundong* 平民教育与乡村建设运动 (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2014), pp. 328-388

⁴⁷ Lenning Sweet, Wiping Out Illiteracy in China, in John C.K. Kiang ed. *Dr. Y.C. James Yen: His Movement for Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction* (South Bend Indiana, 1976), P.43

⁴⁸ James Yen (1946), *Pingmin Jiaoyu Yundong Jianshi*, a speech in the Rural Reconstruction College in Pehpei, and then piled in Song En-rong ed. (2014), pp. 328-388

⁴⁹ Xu Xiuli (2002), pp. 89-120

⁵⁰ Charles W. Hayford (1990), P. 51

getting “sick”, Liang Qichao proposed shaping “New People” in China in his famous article *Xin Min Shuo* (新民说), which involved intellectual, volitional and physical dimensions⁵¹. Yen, the secretary of MEM, like Liang, also appealed for the cultivation of the “New People” (新民) via mass education, as expressed in the slogan of MEM “to eradicate illiteracy, to make New People” (Chu Wen Mang, Zuo Xin Min, 除文盲, 作新民). Very soon, MEM’s branches were distributed in 32 cities across 18 provinces.

Yen had shifted the city-centered approach of MEM into a rural-based project in 1926, attempting to address the rural crisis, that had its roots in the late 17th century and degenerated because of multiple natural and manmade disasters such as floods, famine, rebellion, banditry and warlords etc.⁵² The causes of the rural crisis – widespread land tenancy, heavy and inequitable taxation and the scarcity of rural credit – had been the targets of Sun Yatsen’s revolutionary guideline regarding the welfare of the people. The modern schooling system of republican China had barely reached rural areas since it was basically centered in treaty ports, provincial capitals or commercial centers but clearly the rural crisis was more than the popularization of modern schooling among the rural population but also involved social, economic or even political dimensions.

James Yen argued that the critical problem for China lay nowhere else but in the decaying nation, the depraved nation, the disintegrating nation; the essential problem was the problem of the “people”⁵³. The “people” was a fundamental concept that James Yen discovered in the Confucian classics – the *Book of Documents* – and was one that ran through MEM. The seemingly populist tone was imbued with traditional Confucian dimensions. A medicalized prescription was issued by Yen that the Chinese should revitalize the nation and cultivate its vitality⁵⁴. He believed that the most efficient way to re-build the nation was education⁵⁵. The mission of re-building the nation needed to focus on the rural areas since the majority of Chinese people, i.e. 80% or even 85% of the Chinese population, lived in rural

⁵¹ Liang Qichao, *Xin Min Shuo*, Xia Xiao-hong ed., *Liang Qichao Wenxuan* (Beijing: Zhongguo Guangbo Dianshi Chubanshe, 1992), P.163

⁵² James C. Thomson Jr., *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp.43-75

⁵³ James Yen, *Nongmin Yundong yu Minzu Ziji*, a speech in 1935, published in 1937, in Song En-rong ed. (2014), pp. 86-98

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, P. 89

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, P. 90

areas⁵⁶. According to Yen's argument, the richest resource that China possessed was the peasants, i.e. 80% of the population; thus, it was essential to mobilize the peasants to transform the nation and to revitalize the nation⁵⁷.

But a thousand characters were certainly not enough to make a modern citizen. Yen began to note more profound and interlocking symptoms of "illness" (bing xiang 病象) in the "foundation" – Ignorance (愚), Poverty (贫), Illness (弱) and Selfishness (私)⁵⁸. Poverty and illness are closely related to ignorance; illness would greatly handicape productive activities; and the lack of citizenship led to improper practices in the political community⁵⁹. To "cure" these four symptoms of the "foundation", Yen developed a systematic program of education with four interlocking sections to cultivate the necessary elements of citizenship: (1) Literacy (and Arts) education to cultivate knowledge (文艺教育以培养知识力); (2) Livelihood education to improve productivity (生计教育以增进生产力); (3) Civic education to foster solidarity (公民教育以训练团结力); (4) Hygiene education to build up a sturdy body (卫生教育以发育强健力)⁶⁰.

To make the New People for national salvation, James Yen had brought Mr. Science into the interlocking programs. The plan was to arm the "people" with "science" embodied in pedagogy, economics, agronomy, medicine and hygiene etc.⁶¹ For James Yen, science went beyond scientific knowledge and had a profound methodological meaning that Edgar Snow praised as "the only scientific experiment" and coined it as "Dingxian-ism".

⁵⁶ Ibid, P. 88

⁵⁷ James Yen, *Zhonghua Pingmin Jiaoyu Cujinhui Dingxian Shiyang Gongzuo Dagai*, a speech in 1934, published in 1935, in Song En-rong ed. (2015) P. 99-142

⁵⁸ James Yen, *Shinianlai de Zhongguo Xiangcun Jianshe*, firstly published in China in the Past 10 Years, 1937, in Song En-rong ed. (2014), P.216

⁵⁹ James Yen, *Zhonghua Pingmin Jiaoyu Cujinhui Dingxian Shiyang Gongzuo Dagai*, a speech in 1934, published in 1935, in Song En-rong ed. (2014), P. 100

⁶⁰ James Yen (2015), *Pingmin Jiaoyu de Zongzhi Mudi he Zuihou de Shiming*, published in 1927, in Song En-rong ed. (2014), pp75-80

⁶¹ James Yen, *Zhonghua Pingmin Jiaoyu Cujinhui Dingxian Shiyang Gongzuo Dagai*, a speech in 1934, published in 1935, in Song En-rong ed. (2014), P. 112

8.2.3 Hybrid of Confucianism and Deweyan Pragmatism: Gradually Experimenting with Transforming Rural China

In the light of Deweyan pragmatism, Chinese liberals such as Hu Shi advocated gradual reform. In a debate on the “problems and isms” (问题与主义之争) of China’s future, Hu Shi criticized lazily borrowing from foreign ideologies or “isms” (zhuyi 主义) and instead he called for more investigation into practical problems (wenti 问题)⁶². According to Hu Shi, Deweyan experimentalism, endorsed by the Darwinian theory of evolution, is a theory of truth and a theory of reality with a belief that reality is constantly and gradually being mastered by humankind; hence epistemologically, experimentalism implies gradualist tendency to probe the truth as truth could be digested, testified and proofed⁶³. Hence, experimentalism would embrace Meliorism, which is neither pessimistic nor optimistic, but believes in the gradual contribution of humankind, little by little, to the gradual “salvation” of the world⁶⁴.

In practice, experimentalism consists of five steps: the predicament, the identification of the difficulty, the assumption of various solutions, the deduction of the outcome of all the possible solutions, and then to experiment and testify whether the solution works or not⁶⁵. Accordingly, this experimentalist approach involves problem formulation, investigation into facts, hypothesis, experiment and verification⁶⁶. Deweyan experimental pragmatism was shared across the transpacific actor-network of progressive education that would greatly shape the methodology imbued in UNESCO’s Fundamental Education initiative. Pedro Tamesis Orata, a native Filipino, highly influenced by John Dewey’s philosophy, especially the “five steps of thinking”, was involved in the PEA in the USA and later UNESCO’s pilot project on Fundamental Education as well⁶⁷.

⁶² Luo Zhitian, Difference in Similarity: A Re-consideration of the Controversy over “Problems and Doctrines”, *Modern History Studies*, 2005, No.3, pp.44-82; Luo Zhitian, Wholesale Transformation or Piecemeal Reform: A Reassessment of the “Issue vs. Isms” Debate(II), *Historical Research*, 2005, No.5, pp.100-116; Luo Zhitian, The Philosophy of Borrowing and China’s Actual Conditions: A Third Discussion of the Dispute over “Problems vs. Isms”, *Journal of Nanjing University, Philosophy, Humanities and Social Science Edition*, 2005, No. 2, pp. 98-110

⁶³ Hu Shih (1919), in Ouyang Zhesheng ed. *Hushih Wenji* 胡适文集 (Beijing: Peking University Press,2002), Vol.2, P.219

⁶⁴ Ibid, P.226

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.233

⁶⁶ Lam Tong, *A Passion for Facts, Social Survey and the Construction of the Chinese Nation-State, 1900-1949* (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2011)

⁶⁷ Joseph Watras, Was Fundamental Education Another Form of Colonialism? *International Review of Education*, Vol.53, No.1, (Jan 2007), pp.55-72

Many Chinese educationists, including James Yen, were convinced that the educational theory should be tested not in the classroom but in living communities under everyday conditions and that the results should be multiplied in “social laboratories” by human endeavor⁶⁸. Deweyan educational philosophy: “learning by doing” was embedded in his thinking about making a “social laboratory” and Yen began to dedicate himself to the educational experiments⁶⁹. He believed that rural construction was not just a movement; it should emphasize contents, methods and techniques from the scientific standpoint⁷⁰. What he meant by scientific method was experimental methodology. He envisioned transforming national life by applying experimental methodology⁷¹. Dingxian was selected as the first spot for the experiment because it was a typical village in North China, the experiment was one of the most famous pilot projects in modern China. Dingxian experience was expected to be valuable for other villages in China leading to more experiments before the full onslaught of the Japanese invasion.

Having experimented in several villages, Yen sought to build up an institute in Free China to compare and synthesize the observations and practices of previous experiments into scientific knowledge, which would be taught to college students to better transform Chinese villages and villagers. The National College of Rural Reconstruction was set up in 1940 in Pehpei close to Chongqing, China’s wartime capital, and the college used the local county of Bishan as the “laboratory” zone for teaching and experimenting with scientific methods of rural reconstruction to integrate the theory and practice⁷². The college had developed during the wartime period and was endowed with the task of training the leadership and meeting the tremendous demand for trained personnel in social and economic reconstruction in the post-war period.

Hu Shi predicted in 1921 that there would be many experimental schools in China under the

⁶⁸ J.P. McEvoy, Jimmy Yen: China’s Teacher Extraordinary, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed. pp.91-99

⁶⁹ James Yen (1946), Pingmin Jiaoyu Yundong Jianshi, a speech in the Rural Reconstruction College in Pehpei, published in 1948, and in Song En-rong (2014), pp. 328-388

⁷⁰ James Yen, Nongmin Yundong yu Minzu Ziju, a speech in 1935, published in 1937, in Song En-rong ed. (2014), P. 148-153

⁷¹ James Yen, Nongmin Yundong de Shiming, in Song En-rong ed. (2015), P. 90

⁷² Chu Shihying, A Cradle for Leadership: The National College of Rural Reconstruction, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed. pp. 105-108

influence of Dewey⁷³. Other Chinese educationists, such as Tao Xingzhi and Liang Shuming (1893-1988) also began their experiment but it was imbued with a great deal of Confucianism to uplift the rural masses; nevertheless, their approach of investigating and solving specific practical problems in a local community fell perfectly in line with Hu Shi's idea of gradualist reform.

Tao Xingzhi, born to a poor family in Anhui in 1891, brought traditional Confucian education with him when he studied with John Dewey at Columbia University. His name – Zhi-xing (知行) and then Xing-zhi (行知) – means an integration of knowledge and action because he was fascinated by the philosophy of the Neo-Confucian literati Wang Yangming (1472-1529), who was a versatile of Ming Dynasty. Tao's admiration for Wang Yangming's philosophy paved the way for his embracing of Dewey's pragmatism, which also emphasizes the infusion of knowledge with moral purpose by linking it directly to social action⁷⁴. The cooperation between Tao and Yen in promoting MEM did not last long; afterwards Tao established Xiaozhuang Normal School in Nanjing suburbs in 1927, which was both inspired by Dewey and Wang Yangming. Xiaozhuang was closed in 1930, but the Xiang Lake Normal School in Zhejiang (浙江省立湘湖师范学校) was modeled on Xiaozhuang⁷⁵. Holding the belief in education as the fundamental means of social, cultural, political and economic renewal for China, Tao sought to train teachers for the whole range of problems found under rural crisis with programs he devised that encompassed traditional school subjects, village management, military defense, agricultural research etc.

Liang Shuming was a Confucian-Buddhist-inspired cultural conservative who embraced the modernist challenge. Liang, the son of a reformist official, had already gained his reputation as a critical intellectual affiliated with Peiping University for his comparative reflections upon Eastern and Western cultures and philosophy in the debates during New Culture Movements. As a cultural conservative, Liang sought to revise the Neo-Confucian "community compact" system in Zouping as a mechanism for experimenting with rural reconstruction, aimed at moral improvement, mass mobilization, political participation, economic and technological

⁷³ Hu Shih (1921), Mr. Dewey and China, originally published in the *Easter Miscellany* Vol.18 Issue13, compiled in Ouyang Zhe-sheng ed. (2002), pp.279-281

⁷⁴ Hubert O. Brown, Tao Xingzhi-Progressive Educator in Republican China, *Biography*, 1990, Vol.13, No.1, pp.21-42

⁷⁵ R. Keith Schoppa, *Xiang Lake-Nine Centuries of Chinese Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp.205-209

development and even military self-defense⁷⁶. Shandong Rural Reconstruction Institute (山东乡村建设研究院) lead by Liang, was set up in 1931 and up until 1937, 70 of 107 counties (县) of Shantung had become experimental districts of this institute ⁷⁷. Zouping and Dingxian differed, since the former represented Chinese-style rural reconstruction with a decidedly Confucian flavor, the latter was “New” school with a modern scientific approach and foreign sponsorship. But, the two had much in common, especially the approach of gradualist reform rather than radical revolution and the essential framework of research-experiment etc.

These educational experiments under the big umbrella of the “Mass Education Movement” were referred to as the “Rural Reconstruction Movement”. They were forced to cut back at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, but James Yen-led MEM, Liang’s institutes in Shandong and Tao’s experience embodied in Xiang Lake Normal School in Chekiang, together with the Chinese Association of Vocational Education, National College of Social Education and Jiangsu Provincial Educational College, were presented as the Chinese experience when UNESCO’s Regional Study Conference for Fundamental Education in Far East was inaugurated in Nanjing in 1947. Many leaders of these organizations were recruited to the National Commission to UNESCO and they would engage in various discussions about this UNESCO initiative and a possible pilot project in China. James Yen-led National College of Rural Reconstruction college would provide the personnel and facilities when UNESCO sought to cooperate with China in implementing a fundamental education pilot project.

8.2.4 “A Christian Approach to Redeem Chinese Peasants”: Missionary Groups in Rural Reconstruction Movements in Republican China

Tao never referred himself as Christian while Yen had been affiliated with YMCA, later resigned, and they went outside the Christian institutions to begin their work in rural reconstruction⁷⁸. But Yen was described by his friend, the Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court

⁷⁶ Guy S. Alitto, *The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), the first edition was in 1979; also see Guy S. Alitto, Rural Reconstruction during the Nanking Decade: Confucian Collectivism in Shantung, *The China Quarterly*, 1976, No.66, pp. 213-246

⁷⁷ Guy S. Alitto (1986), also see Guy S. Alitto (1976)

⁷⁸ Charles Hayford (1990), P.52

William O. Douglas as a “Christ-like person”⁷⁹. Christian evangelism held a special position in the broad spectrum of rural reconstruction movement and Foreign missionary reformers in Republican China had played an important role in this actor-network of experimenting.

Foreign missionaries had already begun their evangelical activities in the mid-19th century when the treaty ports were open to foreigners after the Opium Wars, and they even penetrated deeply into inland areas, as indicated by CIM, where Yen’s father and Tao’s mother used to serve. The North China Station of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), where Hugh W. Hubbard, the future head of the UNESCO–China pilot project on Fundamental Education would serve, was founded shortly after inland China was opened up to foreigners in the 1860s. When the North China Famine hit China around 1920-1921, the multinational relief organization, the China International Famine Relief Commission (CIFRC), was set up under American leadership with Dwight W. Edwards of YMCA as the longtime executive secretary, involving many missionaries, Chinese churchmen and YMCA personnel under the call for evangelism⁸⁰. YMCA had also conducted literacy campaigns in which James Yen had played an important role.

Hugh W. Hubbard, born to a Congregational missionary family, also became a Congregational missionary. In 1908, he arrived in Tianjin to serve the YMCA as a teacher of physical education and English after his theological training in college⁸¹. Then, he had worked for the American Board Mission in North China in Paoting on fieldwork, where he conducted a series of literacy campaigns. Having been introduced by the head man of YMCA in North China, Robert Gaily (Bob Gaily), Hubbard got to know James Yen and his literacy campaigns and later ordered copies of *A Thousand Characters* developed by Yen’s group and used this in his own rural literacy campaign in Paoting during 1923-1924⁸². As indicated in his memoirs, Hubbard met Yen on a car journey to Beijing at a time when Yen had resigned from YMCA and was involved in organizing MEM in the fall of 1924⁸³. Hubbard’s rural literacy campaigns had actually

⁷⁹ Gardner Tewksbury, *My Friend Jimmy Yen: A Glimpse into the Personal Life of One of the World’s Most Remarkable Christians*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed. pp. 181-186; William O. Douglas, *James Yen: A Christ-like Person*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed., pp.189-193

⁸⁰ Andrew James Nathan, *A History of the China International Famine Relief Commission* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965)

⁸¹ Hugh W. Hubbard, *Transcription of Hugh W. Hubbard’s Tape-Recorded Reminiscences of A Lifetime of Service in China 1908-1952*(Bethesda, Md.: Poolside Publications, 1989), P.6

⁸² Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.35

⁸³ Ibid, P.36, Charles Hayford (1990), P.58

slightly preceded Yen's rural program, and they had enjoyed communicating since then; Yen even paid a visit to Paoting and gave encouraging lectures and they began to inspire and assist in each other's enterprise⁸⁴. In 1922, the National Christian Council of China (NCC) was established under the leadership of Zhang Fuliang, Yen's brother-in-law and Hubbard's friend, to apply the Gospel to social problems and in particular the plight of the peasant⁸⁵. Their work in China was bolstered by international Christian organizations with an interest in philanthropy⁸⁶. There had been a larger Christian literacy movement in China involving other missionaries such as Presbyterians and Methodists⁸⁷.

Hubbard began to engage in rural reconstruction, firstly inspired by James Yen and then in parallel with the work of Yen from 1923⁸⁸. He also realized that *A Thousand Characters* – even three thousand characters – were not sufficient to make a good Christian or a good citizen, because there were more serious systematic problems with economics, poverty and health etc.⁸⁹. After picturing what the life of the Chinese farmer was like, he lamented, “How are we going to save this farmer – really save him from disease, ignorance, starvation and utter despair?”, which sounds very much like James Yen's tone⁹⁰. He began to think about the possibility of introducing Chinese farmers to a life of walking hand-in-hand with a loving, heavenly Father, looking upon all people as members of a great family who have his affectionate loyalty, i.e. the possibility of “preaching the Gospel”⁹¹. He believed that there were persistent calls from both within and outside the church for a program which would redeem the whole man and reconstruct the entire community, i.e. building village communities on the principles of the kingdom of God, in other words, a Christian approach to community development⁹².

Several Chinese missionaries and American missionaries were brought together by Hubbard to conduct experiments in methods of “Christianizing village life”, and they decided to adopt

⁸⁴ Ibid, P.37

⁸⁵ James C. Thomson Jr. (1969), pp.43-75

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.63

⁸⁸ Ibid, P.39

⁸⁹ Ibid, P.51

⁹⁰ Hugh W. Hubbard, A Christian Approach to the Chinese Village, *The International Review of Missions*, 1939, P.240-241

⁹¹ Hugh W. Hubbard (1939), P.240-241

⁹² Ibid, P. 242

the experimental method and to establish a “village laboratory”⁹³. They implemented one pilot project in one village to see whether they could carry out a full program of reconstruction in that village, and, if successful, Hubbard assumed that it would work along lines that others could copy, i.e. it should be reproducible⁹⁴. Probably from the beginning of the 1930s, he began to look for a village in which to try a full Christian rural reconstruction, later known as the Fan Village Experiment (Fan Jia Zhuang)⁹⁵. He expanded the village experiment from merely a literacy campaign into comprehensive programs involving agriculture, public health etc. to help the local farmers, just as his peer and friend Yen did in Dingxian⁹⁶. The two also placed similar emphasis on the methodology, the implementation of project, the scope and scale of the project, and the way local villagers were enrolled in self-improvement and public service; on the training of leadership in carrying out programs on fundamental issues of agriculture and on economics, educational activities and health programs etc.⁹⁷. Meanwhile, the NCC, led by Zhang Fuliang, sought to cooperate with Dingxian to form a coordinative program of rural reconstruction, resulting in the North China Christian Rural Service Union (NCCRSU) in September 1932 where Hubbard served till his UNESCO appointment⁹⁸.

Hubbard’s experimental rural reconstruction lasted for four years before the Sino-Japanese war broke out. In four years, the work had spread from one central village to 12 villages, which implied using almost the same model as Yen’s “social laboratory”, and the idea would go on to be firmly embedded in the blueprint of UNESCO’s Fundamental Education pilot project in China. In the Fan Village Experiment, Hubbard developed his experience of using audio-visual materials to educate illiterate Chinese villagers as he found that the Chinese had the mental ability to carry mental images in their mind; when using Chinese pictorial characters, the Chinese would form visual images that they remembered when they learned to write⁹⁹. He was also familiar with the religious traditions that Chinese villagers had lived with, i.e. an eclectic combination of religious beliefs that could embrace principles of Confucianism such as filial piety, respect for ancestors and Buddhism, Daosim, and even local beliefs or customs

⁹³ Ibid, P.242

⁹⁴ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.65

⁹⁵ Ibid, P.46

⁹⁶ Ibid, P.64

⁹⁷ Ibid, P.245

⁹⁸ James C. Thomson Jr. (1969), P. 53-55

⁹⁹ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P. 52

that villagers applied for certain purposes, such as a prayer for rain¹⁰⁰. All these experiences made Hubbard qualified to serve as the lead of the UNESCO–China joint pilot project on Fundamental Education.

8.2.5 Concerted Actor-Network for Social Engineering in Republican China

The medicalized perspective of a decaying Chinese state and society and Chinese population, together with the medicalized solutions to “cure” or even “rescue” it, was also shared by the emerging community of Chinese social scientists. The emerging community of Chinese social scientists, who were influenced as much by European and American social engineering movement that believed in the technocratic potentials of social science as by traditional Confucian elitism in governing society by knowledge and morality, were also involved in making a concerted scientific attack on China’s rural poverty¹⁰¹. Upon the call of Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy, many returned and local PhDs had been fascinated by the appeal of “going to the people” to better serve for the people¹⁰².

John Dewey, his disciples in China and Chinese social scientists not only introduced Mr. Science together with Mr. Democracy but also connected the ideas, methods and institutions that were fostered in China with the broader international actor-network of ideas, experts, funds, personnel and institutions etc. which sought to introduce the scientific spirit and rational methodology as an efficient way to reconstruct the inefficient social, political and economic systems of a decaying China¹⁰³. Due to the shared concern about the rural crisis, the Rockefeller Foundation attempted to forge and facilitate a transpacific patronage actor-network among Chinese educationists such as James Yen, foreign missionary groups represented by people like Hubbard and social scientists affiliated with leading academic institutes to deliver concerted rural reform¹⁰⁴.

Selskar Gunn, a public health expert from the Rockefeller Foundation and the vice-president of the Foundation in Europe, with whom Yen maintained close relationship during the post-

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, pp.61-62

¹⁰¹ Yungchen Chiang, *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Lam Tong (2011)

¹⁰² Charles Hayford (1990), pp.60-84

¹⁰³ Barry Keenan (1977)

¹⁰⁴ Yung-chen Chiang (2001)

war era, was impressed by the multifaceted approach (social sciences, public health, agronomy and engineering), the economic feasibility and replication of the MEM program¹⁰⁵. After visiting Dingxian and other rural reconstruction centers, Gunn formulated a persuasive program to be implemented in China for the Rockefeller Foundation. Gunn expected to coordinate the program with Chinese academic institutions such as the Yenching Sociology Department and Nankai Institute of Economics to provide training and research for rural reconstruction; meanwhile the Foundation would cooperate with experimental centers such as Dingxian that would serve as labs for the testing and the application of ideas or theories formulated by the former¹⁰⁶. After several rounds of communication, the Rockefeller-funded North China Council for Rural Reconstruction (NCCRR) was formed in April 1936, which involved experts from Yenching, Nankai, Tsinghua, Nanjing University etc. and MEM, and even sought to cooperate with the Confucian-inspired Zouping experiment led by Liang Shuming¹⁰⁷. NCCRR drew upon American experience of reconstructing society such as the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) as guide for its China programs¹⁰⁸. The Rockefeller Foundation sponsored Chinese officials to visit TVA, hoping that there would be a Chinese version of TVA, which was very inspiring for the head of UNRRA's counterpart in China—CNRRA, T.F. Jiang, who was committed to bringing scientific modernity to post-war reconstruction¹⁰⁹. It was not one-way traffic for Gunn and for the Foundation, as the ideas, methods and institutions networked through the interwar rural reconstruction agenda were practiced and shared in the USA, in Europe, in Caribbean areas, in the Philippines and in China¹¹⁰. Huxley, holding scientific humanism, was much inspired by the integrated “experiment in applied social science” of TVA which he thought would meet the global need for a scientific post-war reconstruction¹¹¹.

The efforts of NCCRR to transform and modernize Chinese rural areas were handicapped by

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, pp.63-64

¹⁰⁶ Yung-chen Chiang (2001), pp.222-255

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ David Ekbladh, To Reconstruct the Medieval: Rural Reconstruction in Interwar China and an American Style of Modernization, 1921-1961, *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 2000, Vol.9, No.3/4, pp.169-196

¹⁰⁹ Rana Mitter, State-Building after Disaster: Jiang Tingfu and the Reconstruction of Post-World War II China, 1943-1949, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 January 2019, Vol.61(1), pp.176-206

¹¹⁰ David Ekbladh (2010), pp.14-39

¹¹¹ David Ekbladh, Meeting the Challenge from Totalitarianism: The Tennessee Valley Authority as a Global Model for Liberal Development, 1933-1945, *The International History Review*, 2010, Vol. 32, pp.47-67

the Sino-Japanese war. But idea of concerting a global actor-network to transform medieval China and backward areas inspired founding fathers of UNESCO to marshal a global actor-network of intellectual, financial and personnel resources for scientific experiment with education and development in several areas, to synthesize a universal experience that could be implemented in other backward areas across the globe¹¹². The Rockefeller Foundation was actually deeply engaged in a development project in Marbial Valley in Haiti during the interwar and wartime periods, and the actor-network of experts, institutional memory, funds, materials and program model had greatly shaped UNESCO's Fundamental Education Pilot Project in Marbial Valley¹¹³.

8.3 Politics and Idealism in Acting-Networking Fundamental Education

8.3.1 Challenge from Radical Communists: Fundamental Education as a Fundamental Solution?

Although many scholars often referred to Dr. Kuo Yushou as the one who literally formulated the term Fundamental Education, it is often overlooked that he turned out to be an underground communist in 1966. However, his presence in UNESCO's Fundamental Education initiative hinted at radicalism, in the form of explicit political revolution on the Bolshevik model based on class conflict developed in the Mao Zedong-led Communist regime. The radical Communists did not directly engage but had a subtle presence in UNESCO Fundamental Education; and their activities paralleled those who embraced and practiced gradualism, such as Yen, Tao, Liang and Hubbard; the Communist experience and their victory in 1949 would greatly affect and shape the destiny of the gradualists.

The future leader of the radical Communists, Mao, who was the same age as Yen, was born in 1893 when China was undergoing perhaps its toughest period of imperial invasion. Having experienced the tumultuous transformation from the late Qing to the Republican era, Mao was first influenced by reformists and was enthusiastic about revolution and then, Marxism. He began his career as a teacher after graduating from Hunan First Normal University, with

¹¹² David Ekbladh (2000), pp.169-196

¹¹³ Chantalle F. Verna, Haiti, the Rockefeller Foundation, and UNESCO's Pilot Project in Fundamental Education, 1948-1953, *Diplomatic History*, 2015, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 269-295

Yang Changji (1871-1920) as his tutor; Yang who had close relations with Dr. Kuo's father-in-law Yang Du (1875-1931), would become Mao's father-in-law and Mao had engaged actively in a debating society and taught courses at a "worker's evening school", while Yen was involved in the labor literacy campaign in France¹¹⁴. During the New Culture Movement, both liberals and radicals shared nationalist concerns about the welfare of the Chinese, as well as the belief in the efficacy of science and education, but they diverged on their prognosis for China. Rather than liberal gradual reform, the radicals Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu called for a class revolution drawing upon ideological consensus and they established CCP in July 1921, which Li Dazhao expected would take a lead in seeking and applying the radical "Fundamental Solutions" to transform China. Being introduced by his tutor and father-in-law, Mao got to know the leading Marxist Li Dazhao and was able to work as a library clerk in Peking University, and he was actively engaged in Marxist discussion groups in Beijing and in forming small groups back in Changsha, partially for which reason he was invited to attend the First Congress of CCP on 23 July 1921¹¹⁵.

Aiming to become a professional revolutionary organizer, he had been involved in James Yen's literacy campaigns among the urban laborers in Changsha in 1923¹¹⁶. Both Yen and Mao had a shift in focus from urban to rural areas in 1920s. Mao's engagement with radical rural revolution was, however, more due to his experience with the Nationalist Peasant Training Institute led by another pioneer of the peasant revolution, Peng Pai (1896-1929), during the North Expedition. Peng Pai, a son of a landlord family in Guangdong, graduated from Wasadeo University, where Li Dazhao had studied, and was highly influenced by the Japanese New Village Movement informed by the New Village Christian socialism of Tolstoy¹¹⁷. Peng Pai was actively engaged in forming a radical peasant association back in Guangdong after returning from Japan and even built up a Hailufeng Soviet that sought to take up arms against the Nationalists after the purge by Chiang Kaishek in the First United Front¹¹⁸. Mao published his

¹¹⁴ Jonathan Spence, *Mao Zedong* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1999), P. 26; Angus W. McDonald, *The Urban Origins of Rural Revolution: Elites and the Masses in Hunan Province, China, 1911-1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978)

¹¹⁵ Jonathan Spence (1999), P. 52; Angus W. McDonald (1978)

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Timothy Cheeks, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), P. 103

¹¹⁸ Timothy Cheek (2015), P.104, details see Pang Yong-pil, Peng Pai and the Origins of Rural Revolution Under Warlordism in the 1920s: Haifeng County, Guangdong Province (Doctoral dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 1981)

influential *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* (湖南农民运动考察报告) in 1927 at almost the same time as Dingxian was set up as an experimental base for rural reconstruction. The radical plans of the peasant revolution to overthrow the gentry and end the dominance of the landlords were immediately applied in the Autumn Harvest Uprising (秋收起义) in 1927, which betokened a shift in the Communist's Fundamental Solutions from urban towards rural revolution. Peng Pai's Hailufeng Soviet was crushed by the Nationalist Government in 1928, but the Communists began to set up their peasant revolutionary base in rural Jiangxi and West Fujian where *A Thousand Characters for Common People* – the textbooks and many of the educational techniques developed and used by Yen-led MEM – were suggested by Mao for the literacy campaigns in revolutionary areas¹¹⁹.

Shortly after Chiang Kaishek secured his position as the official top leader of Nationalist Government, ROC located in Nanjing in 1929, Kuo Youshou, a Sichuanese and a graduate of Peiping University with a PhD in economics from Université de Paris, returned to China and served in the Nationalist Government as an educational official due to his friendly and supportive relationship with Cai Yuanpei.¹²⁰ Kuo was a cousin of the famous painter Zhang Daqian (1899-1983) and he had maintained a close interpersonal relations with Chinese overseas students, especially artists in Europe, during his lifetime¹²¹. Kuo led a life of a typical bourgeois, enjoying cocktails and beaux arts such as antiques, music and paintings, both Chinese scrolls and Western canvases, but his life was profoundly transformed by his marital connection with the Yangs. His future father-in-law, Yang Du, who was previously a conservative had tried to rescue Li Dazhao from Chiang Kaishek's purge in 1927 and became an underground communist, having secret contact with leftist and then communist dramatist Xia Yan (1900-1995) in 1929¹²². His wife Yang Yunhui had actively engaged in Tian Han's leftist drama before she married Kuo in 1930. Their marriage was arranged by Yang Du as an

¹¹⁹ Yu Zhang, Visual and Theatrical Constructs of a Modern Life in the Countryside: James Yen, Xiong Foxi and the Rural Reconstruction Movement in Ding County (1920s-1930s), *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 2013, Vol.25, No.1, pp. 47-95

¹²⁰ Sun Jiansan, *Zhongguo Dianyingshi, Ni Buzhidao de Naxie Shier: Zhongguo Zaoqi Dianyingshi Gaodeng Jiaoyu Wenxian Ziliao Shihui* 中国电影史, 你不知道的那些事儿: 中国早期电影高等教育文献资料拾穗 (Beijing: World Publishing Corporation, 2010)

¹²¹ Chen Yarong, *A Comprehensive Study on Wu Zuoren's "Biography of Tibetan Tea"* 吴作人《藏茶传》研究 (Beijing: MA thesis, Peking University, 2014)

¹²² Yang Yunhui, *Cong Baohuangpai dao Mimi Dangyuan: Huiyi Wo de Fuqin Yangdu* 杨云慧, 从保皇派到秘密党员: 回忆我的父亲杨度 (Shanghai: Shanghai Wenhua Chubanshe, 1987))

underground communist who was fully aware of the danger that his identity might bring for his family and that a marriage with a Nationalist official witnessed by Cai Yuanpei would greatly dilute the leftist tone in his family¹²³.



Figure 10 The Yang Family, Yang Du (second from left, second row), Kuo Yushou (third from right, third Row), and Yang Yunhui (third from left, third row)

Being on the Film Censor Committee (电影检查委员会, 1931) and Chinese Educational Film Association (中国教育电影协会, 1932), Kuo was engaged in promoting educational films and hence maintained a connection with film directors some of who were leftists¹²⁴. The Film Censor Committee through its regulations was expected by the Nationalist Government to restrict leftist films and to promote KMT ideology, but during his term of office, Kuo was able to give special support for leftist films in both national and international film competitions from 1933-1936¹²⁵. Cai Yuanpei and Kuo Yushou also supported filmmaker Sun Mingjing, who had made documentary and educational films in the 1930s, including a film addressing rural issues which won an international prize in Brussels in 1935¹²⁶. Due to his rich experience in

¹²³ Yang Yunhui (1987)

¹²⁴ Kuo Yushou (1934), *Zhongguo Jiaoyu Dianying Xiehui Chengli Shi, Zhongguo Dianying Nianjian, 1934, pp.7-8* (《中国电影年鉴》1934年版); Kuo Yushou (1945), *Jiyi Zhong de Zhongguo Jiaoyu Dianying Yundong, Film and Radio, 1945, Volume 4. No. 5*, in Sun Jiansan (2010), P.3; Kuo Yushou (1942), *Zhongguo Jiaoyu Dianying Xiehui Gaikuang, Film and Radio, 1942, Vol. 3, No. 1*, in Sun Jian-san (2010)

¹²⁵ Kuo Yushou (1934), P. 8

¹²⁶ Sun Jiansan (2010), P. 10

making educational films, Sun Mingjing was appointed to the National Commission to UNESCO (see Chapter 7).



Figure 11 Kuo Yushou (second from right), Wei Xueren (first from left) in Suzhou, 1934, photographed by Sun Mingjing

Kuo worked as an official in the Ministry of Education from 1930-1937 and the chief educational official of Sichuan during 1938-1945 when the Nationalist Government relocated to West China. While working in Sichuan, he became a good friend of Joseph Needham, who was taking charge of the Sino-British Scientific Cooperation Office (SBSCO) and was conducting a survey about scientific research in Free China (See Chapter 7). Kuo had actively engaged in a network which involved his colleagues, relatives and Chinese intellectuals who had relocated to West China and, of course, Needham in his service at SBSCO¹²⁷. This network greatly helped Needham as well as many Chinese artists who embarked on their journey to Northwest and Southwest China in search for a Chinese national aesthetic during 1943-1944¹²⁸. Some of them accompanied Needham on his research trip to Dunhuang and some artworks, were selected and displayed at UNESCO's International Exhibition of Modern Art when it celebrated its establishment by launching UNESCO Month in 1946.

¹²⁷ Y. Chen (2014), based on Wu Zuoren Archives

¹²⁸ Ibid

Kuo's resume as an educational official, his fluency in English and French and his international experience made him qualified to work for UNESCO on educational affairs and foreign affairs¹²⁹. Kuo, who literally coined the term Fundamental Education, did not define this concept very clearly although he implied that Fundamental Education would include but go beyond basic education to include mass education, adult literacy campaigns, popular education and the provision of primary education¹³⁰. Although he distinguished fundamental from basic education, he claimed that the first layer of the concept was basic education, and the education of the mass of the people should reach the largest number of individuals without any limitation, differentiation or discrimination; hence it would be democratic, and therefore essentially popular and universal¹³¹. Hence, the contents of Fundamental Education should be oriented towards teaching the people elementary knowledge such as reading, writing and arithmetic and the means of acquiring it for further goals such as improving the life of the nation, influencing the natural and social environment etc.; in sum, education would be a force working for progress and evolution or even radical transformation¹³².

According to the archives, Kuo and his wife had discussed working for Beijing in Paris when he still worked for UNESCO as a special advisor on Far East in 1949; he had provided intelligence for Beijing since the 1950s before he returned to mainland China as an underground communist agent in April 1966¹³³. Dr. Kuo, a member of the Nationalist China's delegation to UNESCO and the Nationalist Embassy to Belgium in 1966, unexpectedly "disappeared" a couple of days before Nationalist China's delegation to UNESCO headed by Chen Yuan was evicted by the French Government when France built their official diplomatic relationship with Beijing¹³⁴. As suspected by a British diplomat, Dr. Kuo had outlived his usefulness as an intelligence agent and was "persuaded" by Beijing and was heralded as an example of a patriotic Chinese citizen who had forsaken the darkness in Taiwan and sought the light in Beijing¹³⁵. Dr. Kuo was welcomed by an official from the Foreign Ministry, his wife and his friends at the airport, and he expressed his excitement about coming back to mainland

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ UNESCO (1947), *Fundamental Education: Common Ground for All Peoples*, P.12

¹³¹ Ibid, P.128

¹³² Ibid

¹³³ Y. Chen (2014), based on Wu Zuoren Archives.

¹³⁴ British National Archives, Kew, FO371/ 187061, Foreign Office, General Correspondence on Political relations in China, on 18 March 1966

¹³⁵ Ibid

China in a personal statement on 9 April in the *People's Daily*; a month later the Cultural Revolution would begin, during which he was protected by Zhou Enlai for his contribution to the new republic¹³⁶.

There are no archival resources available stating that his formulation of Fundamental Education indicates his communist tendencies. But his seemingly egalitarian definition of Fundamental Education sounds like a subtle echo of the search for a “Fundamental Solution” among Chinese Communists. It is highly possible that he was well informed about the approach of the Communists’ “Fundamental Solutions” since his wife and father-in-law were both fascinated by the Communist radical approach to improve the lives of the deprived classes, especially the Chinese peasants.

The Communist peasant revolution had raised a great deal of unease for Chiang Kaishek who sought to encircle and erase them from revolutionary base. Meanwhile, the Communists also posed a considerable challenge to the gradualist actor-network involving other local agencies such as Yen, Liang and international agencies such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the ABCFM which were searching for an alternative to transform China, especially rural China. The competition, cooperation and the complex dynamics within this actor-network went on until the post-WWII era when the new international organization of UNESCO joined the field and sought to cooperate with both governmental and voluntary bodies. Although the success of the Communist revolution in 1949 dimmed any efforts by the gradualists, it was their network, involving both national and international reformists, that would be engaged in the cooperation between UNESCO and China in the Fundamental Education project, becoming the last liberal stand in mainland China in that era.

8.3.2 Dancing with Politics: The Involvement of the Nationalist Government in Rural Reconstruction

James Yen claimed that his experiment was independent of any political interference and had survived the situational turmoil, while the pioneer Xiaozhuang Normal School, led by his friend Tao Xingzhi, was closed down by the Nationalist Government in 1930. The Nationalist

¹³⁶ Y. Chen (2014), based on Wu Zuoren Archives.

Government was not totally indifferent to these educational experiments, especially the rural reconstruction programs. Being told of the work of MEM, Chiang Kaishek had invited Yen to visit Chiang's hometown Fenghua and to give lectures on rural reconstruction for KMT cadre in 1931¹³⁷. Chiang sent one of his close associates General Zhang Zhizhong (1890-1969) to visit and study the local governance and county reform informed by the Dingxian experiment¹³⁸. The ability to mobilize the grassroots became a source of enhanced control for the new regime and the program of four kinds of education also inspired Chiang's government introduction of "political tutelage". T.V. Soong invited Yen to work for the National Economic Council (NEC), to which Soong recruited many returned technocrats aimed at a plan to revive China¹³⁹.

Yen and his work had exerted a certain degree of influence over the policymaking. Being convinced that addressing the rural crisis was important and necessary for improving the villages, for centralized control over local grassroots and for devising an efficient ideology, the Interior Ministry of the Nationalist Government held a National Conference on Interior Administration in 1932, the resolution of which was to approach the rural reconstruction problem by experiment in provinces on a county-unit basis¹⁴⁰. Afterwards, the Nationalist Government formed a Committee of Rural Reconstruction and carried out county reform by setting up 20 experimental counties in 11 provinces, each with a research institute and experimental area as a laboratory modelled on Dingxian and Zouping¹⁴¹. The three tiered health care system – Village Health Worker, the Sub-District Health Station and the District Health Center based on the Baojia administrative system that had already been trialed in Dingxian under the leadership of Dr. C. C. Chen – became another inspiration for the national health care system and a new county system that the KMT enforced in Sichuan province and

¹³⁷ Sun Shijin, *Qimeng yu Chongjian: Yan Yangchu Xiangcun Wenhua Jianshe Shiye Yanjiu (1926-1937)* 启蒙与重建：晏阳初乡村文化建设事业研究（1926-1937）（Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2012），P. 280，

¹³⁸ Pearl Buck (1959), P. 101; Sun Shijin (2012), P. 281

¹³⁹ Charles Hayford (1990), P.149

¹⁴⁰ Y.C. James Yen, *The Mass Education Movement in China*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed. Dr. Y.C. James Yen: *His Movement for Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction*, South Bend Indiana, P.256; Sun Shijin (2012), Chapter 6, *Government, Enlightener and Rural Society*, P. 281

¹⁴¹ James Yen (1945), *A Letter to Gerard Swope on 30 May 1945*, in Song Enrong ed. *Yan Yangchu QuANJI* 晏阳初全集（Changsha: Hunan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1992），Vol.3, pp.638-642. Sun Shijin (2012), P. 283

later in other provinces during the wartime resistance period¹⁴². This health care system in Sichuan also became the foundation of the UNESCO–China joint pilot project.

What had attracted KMT was the possibility of cooperating with these rural reconstruction groups based on a shared concern of impeding the influence of communism in rural Jiangxi. Being fostered by the transpacific actor-network of the gradualist rural reconstruction movement in China, there were high expectations in the whole country, especially among the liberal educationists and Christian workers, that it would be an answer to the communist challenge. The American protestant missionary groups, with which Madame Chiang had close ties, held a discussion in Jiangxi in 1932 and were assigned to study the problem and outline for her a program for rural reconstruction in Jiangxi on a large scale that would be carried out mainly by missionaries¹⁴³. As proposed, a comprehensive project for rural reconstruction in Jiangxi and Fujian that was modelled on previous experiments in China, including James Yen's Dingxian and other experimental projects by academic institutes such as Nanjing University, Yenching University etc., would be coordinated mainly by missionary groups such as NCC and would seek support from the government, from Madame Chiang and the Rockefeller Foundation¹⁴⁴.

However, the organization of a proper working group for a new program had been reshuffled and re-oriented by the involvement of the government¹⁴⁵. The result was that Christian role was steered towards a smaller experiment in Lichuan in Jiangxi with a New Zealand missionary George W. Shepherd of the Congregational church in Fujian leading the project under the Kiangsi (Jiangxi) Christian Rural Service Union (KCRSU) that was established following the pattern of the Rockefeller-funded NCCRSU in November 1933¹⁴⁶. The Lichuan project was a joint project between the Nationalist Government, Chinese educationists and foreign missionaries, but was greatly hindered by the interior dynamics between politicians and educationists, between Chinese nationals and foreigners, resulting in the involvement of

¹⁴² James Yen (1945), A letter to Marshall Field on 5 November 1945, in Song Enrong ed. (1992), Vol.3, pp.546-549; James Yen (1945), A Letter to Gerard Swope on 30 May 1945, in Song Enrong ed. (1992) Vol.3, pp.638-642.

¹⁴³ Ibid, pp. 61-63

¹⁴⁴ James C. Thomson Jr. (1969), pp. 63-65

¹⁴⁵ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.91

¹⁴⁶ James C. Thomson Jr. (1969), pp.66-67,

Hubbard¹⁴⁷. Being convinced by the experimental methodology, i.e. via the pilot project, the experience of which could be reproduced and suitable for reproduction all over China, Hubbard wanted nothing more than to concentrate on his small experiment in Fan Village¹⁴⁸. Hubbard had felt hesitant because he was at a loss to know how to tackle the problem of rural reconstruction in a country like China, while his colleagues at NCC also noted the exceeding difficulty of the rural reconstruction task¹⁴⁹. He compromised and agreed to spend six months in Lichuan before Shepherd came back, and the difficulty of the task as well as the nationalism of the Chinese educated groups made him invite Xu Baoqian (1892-1944), a dean of Yenching University and a theologian who was also dedicated to Christianize rural China, to head up the Lichuan project¹⁵⁰.

Having “danced” with politics, Yen, Hubbard and their colleagues would face a similar yet worse situation in the post-WWII era during the Civil War when the rural reconstruction movement was cast in the light of UNESCO’s Fundamental Education initiative. But the experience of dealing with party-state politics, Chinese patriotism and Hubbard’s decision to hand the Christian rural reconstruction project over to the Chinese would greatly help him to realize the local needs and adapt his working strategy to the local situation. Neither Hubbard’s Paoting fieldwork nor Lichuan project ventured into the political field; neither of them ever touched upon the central issue of land tenure or land taxation that the Communists sought to revolutionize and redistribute among the peasants. MEM had once conducted a land survey for its provincial and county reforms but received huge resistance from local landlords because the survey exposed the “black” land owned by the landed gentry and local warlords¹⁵¹. Only in 1946 did the Nationalist Government begin to adopt a land reform which limited the percentage tenants should pay to landlords and allowed tenants to purchase the land¹⁵². However, when the war against Japan came to a conclusion, the Communists would seek to expand their own version of reconstruction to the maximum level, and then conflicts led to the Civil War, which would condition the chaotic and unstable environment that UNESCO faced in seeking to cooperate with China on fundamental education, barely leaving

¹⁴⁷ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P. 91

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ James C. Thomson Jr. (1969), P.70

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ Pearl Buck (1959), P. 100

¹⁵² George Kent, *China Builds for the Future*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed., pp. 113-123

space for any gradualist attempts, especially those by Westerners, after the new regime was set up.

8.3.3 Chinese–American Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction (JCRR): Geopolitics and Idealism in Envisioning Post-war Reconstruction in China

Before the conclusion of war, James Yen, who had built and maintained a transpacific network of liberals, had already begun to lobby for post-war reconstruction program, that was based on the ideas, practices and institutions that had been achieved and that Yen and his peers would seek to implement after the war ended. Yen fully understood the complicated dynamics of the Sino-American relationship. He sought to exert a positive influence over his personal network with American politicians and liberal elites, and by selling a liberal reform project like MEM expected that the Sino-American alliance would jointly steer the post-war coalition and reconstruction in China¹⁵³. Politicians, either from Nationalist China or the United States, assumed an important role in the global actor-network of gradualist rural reconstruction and the cooperation with both sides was as much conducive as it was destructive for the making and implementing of UNESCO's Fundamental Education program in China.

In 1943, James Yen received an invitation from T.V. Soong and embarked on a journey to the United States as part of the Chinese Study Group on Postwar Planning, during which he met old friends and expanded his network via these old friends. During this trip, he met his Yale alumni William Benton, who was in the State Department; arranged by Chinese Ambassador Wei Daoming, he met Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who turned out to be William Benton's friend; via William Douglas, he met Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady; he also met DeWitt Wallace, owner of *Reader's Digest*; he met Pearl Buck's second husband, who was a publisher and editor, who later became the leader of MEM's American operation¹⁵⁴. It was during this trip to the United States that Yen achieved an unprecedented personal reputation. On May 24, 1943, in New York's Carnegie Hall, he was awarded the honor of being one of ten outstanding "modern revolutionaries" for his experimental humanitarian

¹⁵³ James Yen (1944), a speech to the teachers and students of the Rural Reconstruction College, in Song En-rong ed. (1992), Vol. 3, pp.628-630

¹⁵⁴ Charles Hayford (1990), P. 197

educational movements in China, one of whom was world-known physicist Albert Einstein¹⁵⁵. *Reader's Digest* and its editors helped to arrange considerable media exposure by publishing several articles praising James Yen as China's extraordinary teacher, and MEM as a crusade for humanity¹⁵⁶.

Pearl S. Buck had a long conversation with him, based on which she published an article and later the book *Tell the People* through the magazine and publishing house that her husband owned¹⁵⁷. Pearl S. Buck's publication about James Yen would help to build a specific image of China that would be linked to UNESCO's Fundamental Education initiative. Born to a Presbyterian American family, she had visited China three months after she was born and spent her childhood in China, where she learnt Chinese and the Chinese culture at a much younger age than Needham and had already begun to write in Chinese from a young age. Travelling and switching between the Chinese world and American world perhaps allowed her personal, fascinating and influential insights and comments on China, as she had published articles in many popular journals such as *New York Times Magazine*, *Life* and *Reader's Digest*¹⁵⁸. Her marriage to the agricultural specialist working on China's rural economy offered her a chance to get to know the land and the peasants living on the land. *Tell the People*, which introduced Chinese educational activist James Yen and his Mass Education Movement, received a large number of admiring reviews abroad.¹⁵⁹ Pearl S. Buck helped to set China's struggles against ignorance, poverty and illness in a global perspective, calling for a world plan to be put into action so that education could be brought to three-quarters of the world's people¹⁶⁰.

In 1945, Yen was made an honorary citizen of San Francisco for his work to promote democracy through MEM in China, for his intelligent and untiring efforts to disseminate

¹⁵⁵ A Letter about the Copernican Citation, from James R. Angell to Dr. James Y.C. Yen, on May 11, 1943, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed., pp. 100-103

¹⁵⁶ J.P. McEvoy, Jimmy Yen: China's Teacher Extraordinary, in *Reader's Digest*, Nov. 1943 in in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed., pp.91-99; George Kent, China Builds for the Future, originally "The Mass Education Movement at the Grass Roots" in the *New Leader*, Feb. 14, 1948, in in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed., pp. 113-123

¹⁵⁷ Pearl Buck (1959)

¹⁵⁸ Michael H. Hunt (1977), Pearl Buck- Popular Expert on China, 1931-1949, *Modern China*, January 1977, Vol.3(1), pp.33-64

¹⁵⁹ Pearl S. Buck (1959)

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Foreword

knowledge to his Chinese countrymen¹⁶¹. Yen began to lobby for a post-war reconstruction program for China, one with the potential for worldwide application for UNESCO. He tried to convince his old and new friends in USA, that what MEM had achieved in rural reconstruction movements would contribute to reconstructing China into a modernized, democratic country¹⁶². In the spring of 1944, the American-Chinese Committee of the Mass Education Movement was established, with an office in New York. This committee recruited a long list of powerful politicians, renowned publishers and businessmen, including Rockefeller Foundation and General Electric¹⁶³.

The post-war plan that Yen envisioned was so grand that he needed support back in China from Chiang and the Nationalist Government. But at the same time, he had to maintain a balance between power and autonomy. In January 1945, he wrote to T. V. Soong explaining the urgency and necessity of the literacy campaign in fostering democracy in China and the efficacy of the four-fold educational program that MEM had experimented in molding modern and healthy peasants, workers, technicians and citizens, which would be greatly needed for post-war reconstruction¹⁶⁴. T.V. Soong who had just attended the United Nations San Francisco meeting on behalf of China and spoke of a liberal constitutional government that China would set up, offered Yen the post of heading the government-sponsored program of mass education; the former. However, a short meeting with T.V Soong at the Soong family headquarters in the USA disappointed Yen and he had no hope about the support from the government¹⁶⁵. While T. V. Soong seemed vocally supportive yet indifferent towards Yen's plan, Chiang, a military man, more concerned with winning over Communist troops in battlefields, gave Yen a polite refusal, even though Yen tried to persuade him that his plan was essential to win the support of the masses in the conflict, without which China would be lost to the Communists¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶¹ Resolution NO. 5071, to Dr. James Yen for his Outstanding work to Promote Democracy in the Republic of China and Naming him for Honorary Citizenship in San Francisco, an Editorial from the San Francisco Chronicle, Nov.10, 1945, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed., pp.109-110

¹⁶² James Yen (1942), a letter to E.C. Carter on 16 October 1942, in Song Enrong ed. (1992), Vol.3, pp. 624-626

¹⁶³ Charles Hayford (1990), P. 199

¹⁶⁴ James Yen (1945), a letter to T. V. Soong on 18 January 1945, in Song Enrong ed. (1992). Vol. 3, pp.631-634

¹⁶⁵ Charles Hayford (1990), P. 200-201

¹⁶⁶ James Yen (1965), The Establishment of Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction after Victory over Japan, a speech at Philippines International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, compiled in Song Enrong (2014), pp. 441-450

Since the Nationalist Government was mired in the Civil War following stagnant negotiations with its rival Communists and having been rejected by Chiang, Yen had to return to the USA again in 1947 to raise funds for his grand plan¹⁶⁷. By 1947, the American authorities, such as General George Marshall, who had just returned from his unfulfilled China Mission, had found the United States in a complicated dilemma in China but still had a slight hope of nonviolent reform by a third force of liberals in heading off the Communists. With the endorsement of John Leighton Stuart (1876-1962), the Sino-American ambassador, James Yen managed to persuade Marshall that the economic and social front was as important if not more important than the military front in the war with the Communists¹⁶⁸. At Marshall's suggestion, Yen formulated a plan of a rural commission with American Aid and presented it to his American network with the title "How to Implement the American Policy for a Strong and Democratic China"¹⁶⁹. Introduced by Marshall, Yen had a semi-official meeting with American President Truman, during which he spoke of his rural reconstruction program as one in the spirit of the New Deal-informed TVA.¹⁷⁰ James Yen's efforts paid off, in that the China Aid Bill and Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) in charge of the bill were approved by the American Congress with a Jimmy Yen's Provision that 10% of US\$275,000,000 was allocated to initiating a rural reconstruction program in China¹⁷¹. A Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (later referred to as JCRR) was organized between China and America, with the task of carrying out an important part of the Chinese version of the Marshall Plan.

James Yen, bearing multiple strands of intellectual influences from Confucianism, Christianity and modern liberalism, was not only a son of China but also recognized as a citizen of the world. According to the East and West Association in New York, Yen was a world citizen who had best served "the cause of new and greater understanding between the peoples of the world"¹⁷². When he was invited to Cuba to give lectures and introduce the work of MEM, Yen also sensed that the experimental approach of MEM had an international significance beyond

¹⁶⁷ Pearl Buck (1959), Epilogue, P.130-131

¹⁶⁸ Charles Hayford (1990), P. 208-209, Pearl Buck (1959), P.131

¹⁶⁹ Charles Hayford (1990), P. 210

¹⁷⁰ Charles Hayford (1990), P. 213-214; Pearl Buck (1959), P. 132

¹⁷¹ Ibid

¹⁷² Award from the East and West Association to James Y.C. Chen, on May 24, 1948, in John C.K. Kiang (1976) ed., P. 111

China and Latin American¹⁷³. The American money and the JRCC would offer potential financial resources and personnel for implementing a UNESCO Fundamental Education pilot project in China. Some of his American friends, such as William Douglas, Nelson Rockefeller, Eleanor Roosevelt, Pearl Buck and DeWitt Wallace were even engaged in formulating a campaign to persuade the American delegation to UNESCO to nominate James Yen as a candidate for UNESCO's 2nd Director-General¹⁷⁴ (see Chapter 6). No matter the result, his work in mass education and rural reconstruction, his reputation, and his genuine practice of trying to bridge different cultures paved the way for his implicit presence and influence over UNESCO's Fundamental Education project when this organization started to undertake post-war reconstruction in underdeveloped areas and forge international understanding and the solidarity of humankind across national boundaries.

8.4 Locating UNESCO's Fundamental Education Program in China:

1945-1950

While James Yen was in the USA lobbying for his post-war China plan, his assistant at MEM, Qu Shiyong, was among the Chinese delegates attending UNESCO's founding conference in London and UNESCO's 1st, 2nd and 3rd General Conference, where he promoted MEM. During the 2nd Meeting of the 1st General Conference on 26th November, there was a panel on fundamental education, at which Qu Shiyong, as the second-in-command at MEM, had a chance to speak on behalf of MEM as well as China. He gave an account of the enormous problems in China, but he emphasized that the project for fundamental education implied a democratic view of education: drawing upon MEM's experience, he remarked that research and experiment must play an important role, and that fundamental education had to be an integral part of social reconstruction¹⁷⁵. Chinese linguist Dr. Zhao Yuanren and educationist Wang Chengxu were also involved in the editing of the UNESCO publication on fundamental

¹⁷³ James Yen (1944), a speech to the teachers and students of the Rural Reconstruction College, in Song Enrong ed. (1992) Vol.3, pp.628-630

¹⁷⁴ Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History Archives, 11-INO-03855, Page 551953, letter from Howard Wilson to Chen Yuan on 8 March 1948

¹⁷⁵ UNESCO Archives, UNESCO/C/30, General Conference Held at UNESCO House, Paris, from 20 November to 10 December, 1946, P.150

education, while Dr. Kuo, the underground communist and Nationalist educational official, was appointed by UNESCO as the Senior Counsellor for Education, and the chairman of the editorial committee. Pearl S. Buck's book on James Yen and his experiment had resonated greatly with UNESCO's involvement in post-war reconstruction, as she argued, "Education must proceed through reconstruction", and James Yen's statement regarding the appalling conditions throughout the world – "three-fourths of the world's people today are underhoused, under clothed, underfed, illiterate" – became well-known in relation to UNESCO's program in Fundamental Education¹⁷⁶.

The proposed world-wide program of Fundamental Education was adopted by the 1st General Conference and it was approved as one of UNESCO's 1947 programs by the Executive Board at its Second Session in April 1947. UNESCO decided that the first regional conference would be located in China, hopefully to collect and exchange materials, experience, ideas etc. regarding about fundamental education in China, which would be of value to other member states of UNESCO.¹⁷⁷ Wang Chengxu immediately wrote an introduction to UNESCO which was published in the first issue of a newly-established journal called *Fundamental Education* (基本教育) after he attended UNESCO's 1st General Conference¹⁷⁸. Chiang's negative attitude towards James Yen's proposal for post-war reconstruction would be paradoxical to his overt supportive rhetoric at UNESCO Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in the Far East inaugurated in Nanjing in September 1947, when many national delegations from Far East countries and UNESCO experts showed up.

8.4.1 Locating UNESCO Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in the Far East in China

James Yen was no doubt recruited to the National Commission to UNESCO due to his reputation for promoting MEM; Yen himself was invited to give a lecture introducing his work on mass education in China at the UNESCO-sponsored Summer Seminar in Education for International Understanding in France in 1947¹⁷⁹. But Yen was busy with his second round of

¹⁷⁶ UNESCO (1947), *Fundamental Education: Common Ground for All Peoples*

¹⁷⁷ *Zhongguo de Jiben Jiaoyu* (1947)

¹⁷⁸ *Fundamental Education*, No.1, pp.2.4 (《基本教育》第一期)

¹⁷⁹ UNESCO, Dr. Yen Describes Work of Mass Education in China, *UNESCO Courier*, 1948, March, p.7

fundraising in the United States and it was his assistant Qu Shiyong who attended and made a speech on behalf of MEM at the founding conference of the Chinese National Commission to UNESCO in August 1947 and who was elected to be on the executive board of the National Commission on 29th August, as well as being invited by Chiang to have a dinner at his official residence on 30th August 1947¹⁸⁰. But before that, Qu Shiyong had already been actively involved in the preparation for the coming UNESCO conference in China.

Qu Shiyong, as representative of MEM, was among the experts (Dr. Margaret Read, Dr. Kuo and Dr. Joseph Lawerys) at a discussion in London in January 1947 that suggested UNESCO locate a regional study conference in China¹⁸¹. Recognizing the pioneering role that China had played in furthering education and recognizing China's great importance in the modern world, UNESCO decided that the first Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education would be held in China. In March 1947, UNESCO had sent a paper defining the purpose of the study conference as well as suggesting various items that might be discussed at the conference¹⁸². It was expected that experts from Asia-South Pacific states and territories would bring their own experience and expertise in fundamental education in the making of a project under the auspice of UNESCO. The conference was originally planned at Nanjing from June 2 to June 14, 1947. It was aimed at collecting and communicating experiences, ideas and problems relating to fundamental education in the Orient and South Pacific, exploring the best type of experimental work to be carried out in the Chinese pilot project, as this would be of value to other countries through the development of types of regional conferences which could be applied later in other sectors of the world, demonstrating UNESCO's deep interest in the Orient and South Pacific etc¹⁸³. Afterwards the "Preparatory Committee for the Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in the Far East" (远东区基本教育研究会议筹备委员会) was set up by the Ministry of Education with Qu Shiyong as the Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸⁰ Shenbao, 30 August 1947, P.6

¹⁸¹ UNESCO Archives, UNESCO/Educ./6/1947, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, March 13th, 1947, P. 5

¹⁸² Ibid

¹⁸³ Ibid, P. 6

¹⁸⁴ UNESCO Archives, X07-21(51) NC - X07-21(51) SF, Report from the Chinese National Commission, UNESCO, by Dr. Cheng Chi-pao (Cheng Qibao), Secretary General, submitted June 20, 1948; UNESCO Archives, FE. Conf./8, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Regional Study Conference on

On July 9, 1947, Qu held a press release in which he described the preparation that China had done for the conference. He mentioned that “fundamental education” as a new term included national education and social education, claiming that China had worked on these issues for several years so that UNESCO had decided that a conference would be held in China. The committee invited more than 60 Chinese educational experts to study the achievements and experience in China and to formulate a comprehensive program for the coming conference. The committee consisted of Zhu Jiahua, the Minister of Education, as chairman and Hang Liwu as vice-chairman. Most of the experts came from Nanjing, Shanghai and Hangzhou, such as Zhu Jingnong, Chen Heqin, Yu Qingtang etc. On July 10th, 1947, the four-day Preparatory Conference was inaugurated at the Ministry of Education, attended by 45 experts and some preparatory committee members. According to the Preparatory Conference, China would formulate a report on fundamental education in China summarizing the experience of MEM and other Chinese educational groups that had conducted similar activities, and China would curate an exhibition which would illustrate various aspects of fundamental education in China¹⁸⁵. The most famous experimental projects were introduced by the associations and groups that had similar involvement in a publication on fundamental education in China compiled by the preparatory committee¹⁸⁶. The Preparatory Conference was divided into six panels to discuss issues ranging from language teaching, to textbooks to educational methods and techniques, and from educational surveys to educational administration, which lay down the basic framework and agenda of the coming Nanjing Conference¹⁸⁷.

Julian Huxley was satisfied with China’s preparations for UNESCO’s initiative and sent a cable to China in which he expressed his congratulations to the preparatory meeting of the Fundamental Education conference on July 14th, 1947¹⁸⁸. Prof. Ivor Armstrong Richards, the literature critic who had worked with China during the wartime period, made a four-page note on the forthcoming Nanjing Conference in which he suggested what should be studied

Fundamental Education in Mexico City, Report on Nanking Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, Mexico City, 30 October 1947

¹⁸⁵ Ibid; *Zhongguo de Jiben Jiaoyu* (1947)

¹⁸⁶ *Zhongguo de Jiben Jiaoyu* (1947), pp.17-47

¹⁸⁷ Ibid

¹⁸⁸ Shenbao, 15 July 1947, P.5

in the pre-project on educational practice¹⁸⁹. On July 20th, 1947, Hang Liwu held a press conference at an Academia SINICA institute in Shanghai in which he said that China had invited 11 countries to attend the conference¹⁹⁰. Through mutual arrangements between UNESCO and the Chinese Government, invitations were sent to countries and territories, most of which were colonial countries from Asia and the South Pacific, such as Australia, Ceylon, Korea, New Zealand, Sarawak, Burma, Hong Kong, Malayan Union, Pakistan, Siam, Bhutan, India, Nepal, the Philippines and Singapore¹⁹¹. UNESCO would send Dr. Kuo and other experts to attend this meeting while the Mexican Government and Mexican Education Ministry would also send out two delegates since another regional conference would be located in Mexico¹⁹².

On 2nd September, UNESCO representatives, including Dr. Kuo arrived in Nanjing. Kuo held a press conference at the Ministry of Education at which he introduced the importance of and the schedule for the conference¹⁹³. He spoke on behalf of UNESCO, stating that it had considered fundamental education as its main task since the 1st General Conference and that UNESCO planned to hold regional study conferences in China and Mexico, and to implement pilot projects in China, Haiti, East Africa (UK), and the Amazon region. The conference was located in China because China had some achievements in fundamental education, the ideas and experiments from which would be inspiring for the delegations. The purpose of the conference was to collect information, to exchange ideas, to get more facts about the situation before making a working plan for the fundamental education pilot project which would be discussed at the regional conference and submitted to UNESCO's 2nd General Conference in Mexico. To this end, the Mexican delegate also presented and expressed the hope that there would be more cooperation between China and Mexico due to the similar social history, revolutionary experience and expectations regarding post-war development¹⁹⁴.

¹⁸⁹ UNESCO Archives, Educ./42, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Fundamental Education Project, Notes for the Nanking Regional Study Conference by Professor I.A. Richards, Paris, 15 July 1947

¹⁹⁰ Shenbao, 1 July 1947, P.5; also see UNESCO Archives, FE. Conf./8, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in Mexico City, Report on Nanking Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, Mexico City, 30 October 1947

¹⁹¹ Shenbao, 20 August 1947, P.6

¹⁹² Ibid

¹⁹³ Shenbao, 3 September 1947, P.6

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

8.4.2 Nanjing Conference: Deploying Fundamental Education in Post-war

Reconstruction in the Far East

On September 3rd 1947, at the commemoration of “Victory over Japan Day” (V-J day), UNESCO’s Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in the Far East was inaugurated in the auditorium of Academia Sinica, Chinese highest research institute located in the Northern Pole Hall (北极阁) in Nanjing¹⁹⁵. The opening speech was given by Zhu Jiahua, followed by a congratulatory letter from Chiang Kaishek, and a long list of official addresses, including by the head of the Executive Yuan, Zhang Qun and Dr. Kuo, and a congratulatory letter from Huxley read by Dr. Lawerys, an address by the Burmese delegate and a congratulatory letter from Gandhi. Most of the Chinese speeches made reference to the reviving Neo-Confucianism-inspired KMT’s official ideology. Although Chiang Kaishek did not put a priority on launching educational improvements in the light of the urgency of military resistance against the Communists, he did not forget to use the occasion to issue propaganda for his government. Chiang Kaishek’s rhetoric combined different ideational components, i.e. the Confucian ideal of educational equality – education without distinction (有教无类) – which could be traced back to *the Analects*, the Confucian elitist concept of educating, cultivating and civilizing the ordinary people; of transforming and perfecting the manners and customs of ordinary people (化民成俗) which could be traced back to another Confucian classics *The Book of Rites*, and the official ideology of “Three People’s Principles” (三民主义); and, of course, UNESCO’s “One World” (Datong, 世界大同)¹⁹⁶.

Not surprisingly, Huxley’s message to the conference conveyed UNESCO’s cosmopolitan ideal in promoting scientific experimental fundamental education projects, which was to be marked by a mood of self-determination by the delegates from most of the Eastern lands which hosted three-fifths of the population of the globe¹⁹⁷. Furthermore, the Neo-Confucian universalism spoken of by Chiang and Nationalist China was endorsed by Huxley in his open letter to Nanjing Conference¹⁹⁸. Huxley articulated that the intellectual workers from China

¹⁹⁵ Shenbao, September 5th, 1947, P.6

¹⁹⁶ Shenbao, September 5th, 1947, P.6

¹⁹⁷ UNESCO Archives, Educ.49, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Director-General’s Message to the Regional Study Conference in Nanking On Fundamental Education, Paris, 22 August 1947

¹⁹⁸ UNESCO Archives, Educ./50, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, An Open Letter to the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Workers of China, Paris, 22 August 1947

were firmly rooted in the tradition laid down by Great Teacher, Confucius, his thinking about world fellowship and the Great Commonwealth; and he warmly praised the interventions of the Chinese delegation at the San Francisco Conference in supporting the establishment of UNESCO (also see Chapter 7)¹⁹⁹. As he advocated, “And now, our boat has been launched and UNESCO exists. In this dangerous and complex century, it must try to realize the Datong”²⁰⁰.

After the official and seemingly rhetoric addresses, followed by the reports of activities on fundamental education by 11 delegations, four committees or panels were formed to discuss the practical problems of policy, administration, finance and personnel; methods and techniques; content and materials, and the organization of a pilot project in China²⁰¹. The conference program and the resolutions that were approved were published in the publications issued by the Ministry of Education²⁰². As recorded, Committee/Panel A had approved more than 10 resolutions, which were loosely-defined working guidelines, such as the instructions of UNESCO, the responsibility of central government, the involvement of local educational organs and professional institutes with regard to special educational content, the training of more teachers, raising teachers’ salaries etc.²⁰³. The term “fundamental education” was strongly supported due to UNESCO’s publication, and it was agreed that the emphasis should be put on common ground for all peoples but the ultimate responsibility for providing fundamental education must rest with central government²⁰⁴. Panel A concluded that the education to be provided under the auspices of UNESCO Fundamental Education, despite having a seemingly universalist tone, should be much determined by the needs of local conditions, which remained to be studied by local experts; and the implementation would rely heavily upon the support and involvement of other local bodies.

Teaching methods and techniques were discussed in Panel B, which involved Qu Shiyong, delegates from colonial countries in the Far East and Hubbard, the missionary, now a UNESCO

¹⁹⁹ Ibid

²⁰⁰ Ibid

²⁰¹ UNESCO Archives, FE. Conf./8, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in Mexico City, Report on Nanking Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, Mexico City, 30 October 1947

²⁰² *Jiaoyubu Guoji Wenjiao Congkan* 教育部国际文教丛刊, 1948, Volume 1, Issue 4

²⁰³ Ibid

²⁰⁴ Ibid; UNESCO Archives, FE. Conf./8, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in Mexico City, Report on Nanking Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, Mexico City, 30 October 1947

expert. Hubbard was not involved in UNESCO–China business until the Nanjing Conference. Hubbard was elected by the authorities as director of the NCCRSU which located in Tongzhou in 1947 and he was ready to begin organizing the Christian work of rehabilitation in North China. He received cables from UNESCO inviting him to attend the Nanjing Conference on behalf of UNESCO before it took place in September 1947. Following a discussion with the Secretary of NCCRSU, Earl Ballou, Hubbard decided to go down to Nanjing because he was convinced by Earl Ballou that the contacts made at Nanjing Conference and the experience discussed would be of value to his Christian work of rural reconstruction in North China²⁰⁵.

Although Hubbard preferred rural reconstruction to be the general subject of the Nanjing Conference, the key words were still “fundamental education”. Panel B approved five broad issues, including the principles to be followed in applying teaching methods and techniques; the methods designed respectively for child education, adult education and women’s education; involving multiple teaching instruments such as films, radio and printed matter and group activities etc. With at least two leading experts on rural reconstruction on this panel, the discussion addressed the discrepancy between rural and urban areas, in that 80 percent of the Chinese population and 85 percent of the population in India were peasants, who were the main forces of social labor and production but were deprived of school education²⁰⁶. Accordingly, the education designed for them should be oriented towards the acquiring of practical skills and civil common sense, rather than merely literacy education²⁰⁷.

In the panel meeting on 6th September, rural reconstruction was raised in the discussions and it was agreed that fundamental education would be connected to rural reconstruction because it could contribute to improvements in rural community. The panelists agreed upon the essential contents of the fundamental education program, which were basically the same as the four interlocking educational programs of MEM and Hubbard’s project in Fan Villag²⁰⁸. Fundamental education was supposed to relieve poverty by teaching scientific knowledge in agriculture, cooperative organization and handicraft etc. It was supposed to improve health

²⁰⁵ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P. 143

²⁰⁶ *Jiaoyubu Guoji Wenjiao Congkan* 教育部国际文教丛刊, 1948, Volume 1, Issue 4

²⁰⁷ Ibid

²⁰⁸ *Jiaoyubu Guoji Wenjiao Congkan* 教育部国际文教丛刊, 1948, Volume 1, Issue 4; UNESCO Archives, FE. Conf./8, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education in Mexico City, Report on Nanking Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, Mexico City, 30 October 1947, pp.6-7

conditions by teaching villagers about hygiene, nutrition, medicine and vaccination as well as cultivating hygienic habits. Since a village or community is an organic part of a country, so fundamental education would be closely linked to local democratic organizations, the democratic policy of a country. A new dimension – training in international understanding to make world citizenship – was added; hence, by promoting fundamental education, they expected to produce literate, healthy, skillful, modern Chinese citizens, as well as world citizens.

Five additional principles were formulated that would orient teaching methods to local conditions, be easy to practice and be fast in achieving universal efficacy²⁰⁹. Deweyan pragmatism informed educational theory: Life Education (活的教育) was widely adopted by the panelists who believed that learning by doing would help the students acquire knowledge as well as life skills. Because the teaching methods should be locally conditioned, they felt it would be tricky to set up universal teaching methods for all areas in the world. But they did approve multimedia teaching with audio-visual teaching materials, including films, radio, posters, wall papers, musical orchestras, drama performances and touring exhibitions etc. in which both James Yen's MEM and Hubbard's Fan Village had accumulated much experience.

Panel C took place on September 5th with Han Liwu as the chairman. National delegations attending the conference reported the situation regarding fundamental education in their own countries Malaysia, Nepal, Australia, India etc. and, of course, China. As agreed by the delegations and designed by UNESCO, a pilot project would be located in China, to be reproduced in other member states of UNESCO. UNESCO had suggested an outline plan for the pilot project in China and Han Liwu proposed a special division to draft a "Plan and Outline of Experimental Zones of Fundamental Education" (基本教育实验计划纲要) and a working plan for "China Pilot Project" (中国示范设计区)²¹⁰. The panel discussed six principles, working programs and working processes for the "Plan and Outline of Experimental Zones of Fundamental Education"²¹¹. The principles suggested by UNESCO and approved by the Nanjing Conference were basically consistent with what James Yen and Hubbard had

²⁰⁹ Ibid

²¹⁰ UNESCO Archives, Educ./47, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Fundamental Education Pilot Project in China Suggested Outline Plan, Paris, 13 August 1947; Shenbao, September 6th, 1947, P.6

²¹¹ Shenbao, 6 September 1947, P.6

practiced, i.e. the scientific experimentalist approach. The panel claimed that they would inquire into the choice of experimental zone, select a representative zone as a “social laboratory” and gradually scale up. They would implement experiments in other areas, collect and synthesize experiences of all sorts of experiments after comparative verification. They claimed that they would apply scientific methods, they would take historical, cultural background and social-political conditions into consideration, and formulate practical solutions for specific problems. Since fundamental education was expected to be a global initiative, they also suggested cooperating with foreign institutes or even entrusting case studies to foreign institutes so that they could compare experiences of pilot projects globally. The propositions discussed and resolutions approved at the Nanjing Conference were also very much along the lines of the rural reconstruction programs previously envisioned by NCCRR and JCRR.

As a pilot project, the essential task was to study and experiment with teaching methods and tools. Hence, working process was formulated, which began with involving institutes involved, selecting experimental zones, conducting social and educational surveys in the experimental zones, mobilizing local educational leaders, intellectuals and other activists and cooperating with them, followed by implementing and conducting projects, preparing and testing new textbooks, new reading materials, new methods and new tools. After the experimentation period, the assessment of the impacts would be made and comparative verification with other experimental zones would be entrusted or conducted. The summarized experience was expected to contribute to experiments in training more teachers who could work in the new field of fundamental education. As for the details of the pilot project, they still tried to establish universal contents for fundamental education that could be shared by humankind while distinguishing between the different audiences etc.

The attempts to accommodate between UNESCO’s flagship initiative fundamental education and the rural reconstruction projects continued in Panel C, which agreed that fundamental education could be an organic part of rural reconstruction. Situated as an initiative of the new international agency of UNESCO, aside from fundamental education, the panelists sought to redefine the existing educational movements in China within UNESCO’s agenda of promoting international understanding during the immediate post-war period. They proposed that textbooks and reading materials should not only integrate national culture with high-value

literature and arts but also foster peaceful cultural dignity and awareness of One Worldness (世界一家) rather than promoting aggressive sentiments. An agreement was confirmed that fundamental education aimed at fourfold goals which included the cultivation of individual personality, the improvement of living standards, rural reconstruction and international understanding. Accordingly, the universal fundamental education that they envisioned would teach knowledge about science and cultural traditions; knowledge and practical guidance on agricultural science, handicrafts, economics, public health, democracy and local autonomy; and the promotion of international understanding and the idea of One Worldness (Datong)²¹².

It seems that the panels ended up with a promising but very vague general outlook with a vast range of instructions on sub-themes that even touched upon the racial prejudice in textbook revision and superstitious traditions. The discussion regarding teaching tools and materials carried on but without any concrete plans for implementing a pilot project until the afternoon of 9th September. A special meeting was held to discuss the plan to set up a pilot project on fundamental education in China, with all delegates participating. An educational official from Sichuan, welcomed the delegations to visit Sichuan, and asked for a pilot project to be located in Sichuan. But before they formulated a practical working program, particularly the financial resources for promoting fundamental education, the delegates and UNESCO experts would make a careful tour of Nanjing, then Suzhou, Shanghai and Beijing etc. where they would take a look at the educational modernity that Chiang and his government had tried their best to impress the delegates with given the situation with their rivals, the Communists.

8.4.3 A Performance of Fundamental Education

The educational infrastructure in China had suffered a great deal from Japanese aggression and that China was in urgent need of educational aid from UNESCO. Chapter 7 demonstrates how the universities and research institutes received aid from UNESCO via the UNESCO platform. But the schools of national education and the agencies of social education would assume a different role in the performance of presenting Chinese educational modernity that the Nationalist government had specifically prepared in the making of UNESCO–China

²¹² Shenbao, 6 September 1947, P.6

relations in education.

To prepare for the Nanjing Conference, the Ministry of Education had ordered educational bureaus in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Nanjing to make some arrangements for the coming foreign guests and representatives from intergovernmental organizations²¹³. The Ministry of Education claimed it would allocate financial support to enrich the educational content and facilities of the selected schools. Ironically, while Chiang was not willing to invest in James Yen's post-war reconstruction program, 6 billion yen was spent (1.5 billion yen for Jiangsu province, 1.1 billion yen for Zhejiang Province, 1.5 billion for Nanjing and 1.5 billion for Shanghai) in order to welcome delegates of UNESCO's Nanjing Conference. Another 70 million yen was allocated to schools in Shanghai and Nanjing²¹⁴. By June 22nd, 1947, more schools in Shanghai and Jiangsu that would be visited had been chosen²¹⁵. To welcome the visits of the delegations, Shanghai Municipality headed by Li Ximou (also see Chapter 6) had collaborated with the education office of Shanghai and set up a special office to host UNESCO delegations which involved several national commission members from Shanghai²¹⁶. On 23rd June, the Ministry of Education sent an official to Hangzhou to inspect the preparations, and to take some photos which would be presented to the international guests²¹⁷.

At the peak of the conference, the delegates were to visit the schools that had been financially supported and other social and educational facilities that had been designated and prepared by the Nationalist Government²¹⁸. Guided and accompanied by educationists, they visited a central national school, where they had a glimpse of Chinese educational modernity that had been prepared in advance²¹⁹. The party-state formalism of this arranged tour was then overtly displayed in the visit to the headquarters of the General Association for the Promotion of the New Life Movement (新生活运动促进会总会), established in 1934 with Chiang as its leader and its Women's Advisory Committee (妇女指导委员会), initiated and headed by Madam Chiang with a focus on women's mobilization to support her husband's moralist New Life

²¹³ Shenbao, 23 June 1947, P.5

²¹⁴ Ibid

²¹⁵ Ibid

²¹⁶ Shenbao, 7 September 1947, P.6

²¹⁷ Shenbao, 24 June 1947, P.5

²¹⁸ Shenbao, 6 September 1947, P.6

²¹⁹ Chinese Educationists Yu Qingtang, Wu Yanyin, Wang Chengxu etc. and delegates from Australia, India, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Thailand, UNESCO representatives Hubbard and Prof. Aguilar.

Movement. They were an extension of KMT and the Nationalists, as they recruited their members from the party, government, military and educational circles, and were coordinated by the highest-ranking officials²²⁰.

While the Communists in Yan'an tried to impress the international visiting groups with their self-sufficiency and frugality, the Nationalists had another way of winning sympathy and recognition from the international community, in particular intergovernmental organizations such as UNESCO, in which the Communists had almost no presence. Following the devastation of war, starvation and death were prevalent in China, as described by the UNESCO Courier in "All China's Children Do Not Smile"²²¹. The guided tours to the children's welfare experimental zone and the organized visits to welfare stations were another orchestrated performance prepared by Chiang's government²²². In the context of civil war, social security brought about by social welfare policy not only became a way to legitimize KMT's rule in the face of rural and urban militancy, but also a means of exhibiting KMT's accommodation to the international norms for improving living standards, as promoted by its allies, the UK and the USA, and the universal values of the UN system, including UNESCO, in the post-WWII era²²³. As reported, the delegates generally viewed the visit as helpful and believed that fundamental education in China, especially child social welfare, had made some achievements; they believed if they could attain the same standard then the efficacy of fundamental education would be witnessed in the near future²²⁴.

Similarly arranged tours to designated kindergartens, national schools, other experimental educational facilities, and even historical relics, artistic performances etc. continued on 6th, 7th and 8th September in Nanjing²²⁵. They also visited the educational exhibition curated by the preparatory committee²²⁶. KMT officials had prepared a comprehensive program,

²²⁰ Federica Ferlanti, *The New Life Movement at War: Wartime Mobilisation and the State Control in Chongqing and Chengdu, 1938-1942*, *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 2012, Vol.11, No. 2, pp.187-212

²²¹ UNESCO, *All China's Children Do Not Smile*, *Courier*, 1948, September, P. 7

²²² Chinese educationists Zha Liang-zhao(查良钊) Ying Qian-li and Xiong Zhi and delegates from Burma, Malaysia, Singapore and UNESCO representative Dr. Lawerys

²²³ Tehyun Ma, *A Chinese Beveridge Plan: The Discourse of Social Security and the Post-war Reconstruction of China*, *European Journal of East Asia Studies*, 2012, Vol.11, No.2, pp.329-349; Tehyun Ma, "The Common Aim of the Allied Powers": Social Policy and International Legitimacy in Wartime China, 1940-1947, *Journal of Global History*, 2014 Vol.9, No.2, pp.254-275.

²²⁴ Shenbao, 6 September 1947, P.7

²²⁵ Shenbao, 7 September 1947, P. 7

²²⁶ Yuandongqu Jiben Jiaoyu Huiyi Jingguo, *Fudao Jikan*, 1947, No.4-5, pp.21-22 (《辅导季刊(建德)》1947年第4-5期)

including an expanded cultural program of visiting historical relics, a Western cocktail party, a Chinese tea party as well as art performances etc.²²⁷. On 12th September, following more than a week of tours and discussions, the preparatory committee compiled their general report and the closing ceremony was held at Academia SINICA in later that day, Chiang Kaishek held a tea meeting to greet the international delegates, including UNESCO representatives²²⁸. The seemingly perfect ending was followed by an expanded tour for 35 delegates to the cities of Wuxi, Suzhou, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Beijing and Chongqing from 13th September to 21st September to demonstrate to the international guests how norms of modern education and social welfare were applied in China under the leadership of Nationalist Government that with sufficient international support and cooperation was to be a major stabilizer in East Asia²²⁹.

8.5 Acting-Networking UNESCO's Fundamental Education Pilot Project in West China: Challenges and Implementation

8.5.1 The Challenging Conditions in China and a Scaling Down of the Pilot Project

As Hubbard reported, there seemed to be a prevailing enthusiasm to promote fundamental education among politicians and educationists after Nanjing Conference²³⁰. The report made in April 1948, said that fundamental education "appeals to many thoughtful persons as a timely basic approach to the solution of China's problem of poverty, ignorance, disease, over-population, disintegration and even civil war"²³¹. As the Nanjing Conference had received a seemingly warm welcome from Chiang, the plan of pilot project provoked discussion among educational officials and local educationists, and there were no objections to launching the project. UNESCO had already suggested that the Chinese government should focus on the full-time or part-time services of a small team of experts and the Ministry of Education would

²²⁷ Shenbao, 9 September 1947

²²⁸ Jijiao Huiyi Kaimu, *Waijiaobu Zhoubao*, 24 September 1947, Issue 39, P. 3 (《外交部周报》1947年9月24日第39期)

²²⁹ Shenbao, 9 September 1947, P.6

²³⁰ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P. 143

²³¹ UNESCO Archives, FE/Rep.1, *Fundamental Education: China Pilot Project*, Report made in April 1948, page 2

possibly allocate a grant for the pilot project²³². Meanwhile, UNESCO would appoint a full-time Expert Consultant who would be responsible for keeping a two-way flow of ideas and information radiating between the Project Team and the Chinese Government on the one hand and UNESCO on the other, and for drawing on the widest international sources for advice and expert guidance²³³. As agreed, a UNESCO committee was to be elected to supervise this pilot project and Hubbard was asked by Joseph Lauwerys to act as the head of the UNESCO Committee to lead it, which he found surprising but then accepted because both he and Earl Ballou felt obliged to help the Nationalist Government and UNESCO to reconstruct China²³⁴.

As suggested by UNESCO, a basic survey should be conducted before and during the project, in which UNESCO's Expert Consultant should play a valuable part²³⁵. Hence, in December 1947, Hubbard began to conduct a survey in West China, where he visited Yen's MEM branch and tried to find a possible location for this pilot project²³⁶. Following the Nanjing Conference, the Committee on Research and Experimentation on Fundamental Education was elected by the Ministry of Education in January 1948, consisting of 40 educational representatives from all over the country, most of whom were on the Preparatory Committee of the Nanjing Conference²³⁷. Nine of the 40 members formed a Standing Committee with regular monthly meetings, and they also had a sub-committee on planning for research and experimentation in fundamental education, with Cheng Qibao as the convener²³⁸. The Ministry of Education also decided that the main pilot project would be located in the Nanjing area; the National Association of the MEM located in the Third Prefecture of Sichuan Province would be the First Experimental Area; and the Jiangsu Provincial College of Education at Wuxi would be the Second Experimental Area²³⁹. However, there were far more challenges than UNESCO expected, and that resulted in a much smaller Audio-Visual project.

²³² UNESCO Archives, Educ./47, Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Fundamental Education Pilot Project in China Suggested Outline Plan, 13 August 1947 P.2-3

²³³ Ibid, P.3

²³⁴ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.144

²³⁵ UNESCO Archives, Educ./47, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Fundamental Education Pilot Project in China Suggested Outline Plan, Paris, 13 August 1947 P.3

²³⁶ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.144

²³⁷ UNESCO Archives, FE/Rep.1, Fundamental Education China Pilot Project, 30 August 1948, P.2

²³⁸ Ibid

²³⁹ Ibid, P.3

The first challenge was the Civil War between KMT and the Communists. At the beginning of the Civil War, the Nationalist army, although weary after the Sino-Japanese war, pushed forward seemingly irresistibly into Manchuria, retook Shandong and claimed that they would have victory over the Communist “bandits” within six months²⁴⁰. However, the Nanjing Conference occurred at the point, during the second half of 1947, when the military strategic advantage shifted inexorably to the Communists. As reported by Hubbard, the Civil War made large areas of China that otherwise might be most fruitful fields for fundamental education inaccessible, and it threatens to overtake other areas since the war was expanding to the South²⁴¹. As illustrated in Chapter 7, the war brought about a large amount of displaced population and disruption of communication and worsened the high inflation that happened in China, which hampered the work of UNESCO Field Science Cooperation Office in China. As also reported by Hubbard, the KMT Government could not find funds for a program of long-range reconstruction, since the Chinese currency had devalued to less than one-tenth of its value six months previously²⁴². The economy of Nationalist China during 1947 was on the edge of collapse, and in 1948 the economic situation was worsened by the large budgetary deficits necessitated by the war against the Communists, leading to rampant inflation from North China to Central and South China²⁴³. However, in January 1948, the Ministry of Education appropriated the sum of 500 million Chinese yen, 200 million of which would be for the MEM; 200 million for the Jiangsu Provincial College of Education and 100 million for the Committee on Research and Experimentation on Fundamental Education²⁴⁴. And according to a report from UNESCO, there was even a national budget passed by the Executive Yuan with an amount of 800 billion Chinese yen set aside for subsidizing fundamental education²⁴⁵. However, nothing happened because no funds were received²⁴⁶.

James Yen invited Hubbard to join in JCRR, and as an old friend, Hubbard was involved in JCRR along with three Chinese citizens: James Yen and his assistant Qu Shiyong, and Jiang Menglin;

²⁴⁰ Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 158-171

²⁴¹ UNESCO Archives, FE/Rep.1, Fundamental Education China Pilot Project, 30 August 1948, P.2

²⁴² Ibid

²⁴³ Lloyd E. Eastman (1984), Chapter Chiang Ching-kuo and the Gold Yüan Reform, pp. 172-202

²⁴⁴ UNESCO Archives, FE/Rep.1, Fundamental Education China Pilot Project, 30 August 1948, P. 3

²⁴⁵ Ibid

²⁴⁶ Hugh W. Hubbard Transcription, P. 144

and five Americans, including Ray Moyer who used to be in the same mission with Hubbard²⁴⁷. The subtle dynamics in this JCRR group included the fights between Yen and Ray Moyer, the latter, according to Hubbard, trying to prevent Yen from heading up JCRR while Yen considered himself as the only choice for the leadership²⁴⁸. The competition for the leadership within this commission resulted in the appointment of Jiang Menglin as the head of JCRR, which made Yen feel betrayed; the dynamics disappointed Hubbard and so he went on looking at other possibilities in West China and Wuxi where he conducted research in a lively college²⁴⁹.

As recalled by Hubbard, he received the news from Qu Shiyong, that the Executive Yuan, one of two “elective” bodies of the KMT Government, had agreed to allocate 200 million Chinese yen to the pilot project, almost US\$80,000, which was quite “pleasant and quite adequate for a one-year start”²⁵⁰. Unfortunately, the money, which was supposed to be received by the FE Committee, was allocated by the Minister of Education Zhu Jiahua and divided among the provinces for primary education²⁵¹. According to Hubbard, Zhu Jiahua, as the chairman of the Nanjing Conference, who was supposed to be well aware of the necessity of promoting fundamental education, did so because he was pleasing the educational officials and was trying to gain favor for political advancement. This corruption right under Chiang Kaishek’s nose caused Hubbard to suggest UNESCO get away as far as possible from this government²⁵². The teaching materials for fundamental education had been discussed at the 3rd General Conference in Beirut and the Secretariat was instructed to prepare sample materials, particularly audio-visual aids, that would be of use and interest to governments, organizations and individuals working in this field and would be distributed through UNESCO’s Clearing House in Fundamental Education. The result is that UNESCO agreed and “cooked up” a new experimental project in Sichuan, West China to apply visual aids in fundamental education: the topic was “The Healthy Village”, i.e. experimenting with the influence of visual aids in health education within the bigger framework of fundamental education.²⁵³

²⁴⁷ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.145

²⁴⁸ Ibid

²⁴⁹ Ibid, P.146

²⁵⁰ Ibid

²⁵¹ Ibid, P. 147

²⁵² Ibid

²⁵³ Ibid

Pehpei, located 50 miles north-west of Chongqing on the Jialing river, very close to the MEM experimental field in Bishan, was selected as the site of the headquarters for the AVP. Huang Ke Chen (黄桷镇), a village on the other side of Pehpei along the Jialing river, with a population of 15,516, was selected as the first area for fieldwork. Shi Tze Hsiang (狮子乡), a village to south of Bishan, the headquarters of the MEM Experimental Field, 13 miles from AVP Pehpei headquarters, were selected as the second area for fieldwork²⁵⁴.

8.5.2 Looking to Build “The Healthy Village” in China

UNESCO noted that one of China’s greatest needs was “education for health”, hence it decided the central subject of the pilot project would be “The Healthy Village”, which was supposed to illustrate simply but vividly to the Chinese peasants the rules of hygiene and means of protection against disease²⁵⁵. The subject had multiple significances. In the first place, the “Sick Man” had been a profound metaphor in modern China which went far beyond a literal reference to the physical health of the Chinese population. It persistently motivated Chinese nationalists, especially the Western-educated medical elite, to promote modern public health as one of the essential goals in improving the conditions of the people and building a strong nation²⁵⁶. It is also noticeable that the theme of body and nation, the acceptance of public health as a critical element of modernity and strong nation, was prevalent in colonial Asian societies such as in Dutch-dominated Indonesia²⁵⁷. The health problems were “nearer to being alike throughout China and around the globe than other questions of Fundamental Education, such as language, agriculture etc.”²⁵⁸. In other words, health education is relatively universal, and the outcome of this work could also be made accessible to educators elsewhere; i.e. the experience of AVP could be applied and multiplied elsewhere. After consultation with the leaders of the MEM and of the Pehpei Administration, the AVP group set certain criteria for the choice of subjects, such as the subject should be capable of wide application not only in China, but also in other countries. Later the subject

²⁵⁴ UNESCO, *The Healthy Village: An Experiment in Visual Education in West China* (Paris: UNESCO, 1951), P.9

²⁵⁵ UNESCO, *Cartoons and Films in China*, *Courier*, 1948, October,

²⁵⁶ Liping Bu, Darwin H. Stapleton and Kache Yip ed., *Science, Public Health and The State in Modern Asia* (London: Routledge, 2012), Introduction, P. 8

²⁵⁷ Eric Andrew Stein, *Hygiene and Decolonization: The Rockefeller Foundation and Indonesian Nationalism, 1933-1958*, in Liping Bu, Darwin H. Stapleton and Kache Yip ed. (2012), pp.51-70

²⁵⁸ UNESCO (1951), P.7

was narrowed down to epidemic diseases and remedies such as smallpox and vaccination; trachoma; cholera, malaria, typhoid fever and tuberculosis etc., as well as childhood diseases such as tetanus neonatorum and healthy habits of daily hygiene such as safe drinking water and safe food, dishwashing etc.²⁵⁹ The issue of health and epidemics or common diseases seemed universal for UNESCO experts although it would raise challenges in communicating with the Chinese villagers who still held a traditional understanding of diseases and the arts of healing. This tension between universality and locality was a foretaste of similar issues faced by UNESCO's future projects.

The introduction of personal hygiene and health in China was initially related to national and racial survival in the face of Western imperialist expansion during late Qing period; later, during the Republican Era, the promotion of public health was conceived of as a government's responsibility in a modern nation-state with the control of public health intervention being a symbol of sovereignty.²⁶⁰ A national institution of public health was called for by many Western-trained physicians to include a tiered system of national health care at national, provincial, county and village levels, and a similar idea was also suggested by the public health expert Ludwig Rajchman from the League of Nations Health Section²⁶¹. But public health initiatives in Republican China were very much based in urban areas and often undertaken in order to gain credibility with the international community, while the delivery of public health care in rural areas was not a high priority for the Chinese Government, leaving medical aid in the vast rural areas to local administrations and other agencies such as missionary groups, for example James Yen or Hubbard's rural reconstruction project²⁶².

Western modern medicine was first brought to China by missionaries as they found that medical services helped with the acceptance of Christianity among the Chinese population. In particular, YMCA's science and health campaigns of played an important role in introducing public health, involving exhibitions, demonstrations, multimedia audio-visual aids such as posters, calendars and lanternslides and even filmstrips etc. that sought to teach Chinese audiences scientific medical knowledge about diseases and disease prevention. William

²⁵⁹ *ibid* P.15

²⁶⁰ Bridie Andrews, In Republican China, Public Health by Whom, for Whom? in Liping Bu, Darwin H. Stapleton and Ka-che Yip ed. (2012), pp.177-194, this containment of pneumonic plague was led by Wu Lien-teh

²⁶¹ *Ibid*

²⁶² *Ibid*

Wesley Peter (known as W.W. Peter), an American medical missionary, joined the YMCA and then the YMCA had conducted public health campaigns with the aid of posters, bulletins, sandwich boards, catchy slogans, organizing themes and carefully structured lectures²⁶³. James Yen was working in YMCA's Mass Education division while W.W. Peter worked in the Health division in the Lecture Department and was in charge of public health education. But there were problems with W. W. Peter's public health campaigns because many of the visual aids, such as posters, calendars or even the manner of demonstration were brought in from the United States. James Yen probably knew of these public health campaigns and had absorbed some of their techniques in his own campaigns. Health education had been one of the four pillars of the interlocking programs of the Dingxian-style experiment as well as Hubbard's rural reconstruction experiment and was discussed as an important element of promoting fundamental education during the Nanjing Conference in September 1947. The network of ideas, personnel and techniques, in particular, the audio-visual techniques applied in public health campaigns, became a partial legacy of the larger network of gradualist rural reconstruction, which paved the way for the making of UNESCO AVP on The Healthy Village.

Hubbard encountered filmstrips during his furlough in 1928 in London when he was shown the projected pictures by a missionary working in South Africa²⁶⁴. Hubbard bought one projector from the Society of Visual Education in Chicago, and some filmstrips on agricultural betterment from the United States Department of Agriculture and began to apply filmstrip projectors in his fieldwork from 1928-1936²⁶⁵. After learning how to make color film at the Department of Agriculture of Cornell University during 1936-1937, Hubbard began to make filmstrips documenting his work in China with the necessary supplies he bought from America and the help of a Chinese photographer and artist.²⁶⁶ After consultation with the leader of NCCRSU, Hubbard organized a Visual Aids Department in 1938 in Hopei, at a time when Japanese troops occupied North China, which made filmstrips of the temples and palaces and sights of Beijing to sell to tourists and began to financially support the department²⁶⁷.

²⁶³ Charles Hayford (1990), P. 41; see more in Liping Bu, Cultural Communication in Picturing Health: W.W. Peter and Public Health Campaigns in China, 1912-1926, in David Serlin ed., *Imagining Illness: Public Health and Visual Culture* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), pp. 24-39

²⁶⁴ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P. 184

²⁶⁵ Ibid

²⁶⁶ Ibid, P. 185

²⁶⁷ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P. 117, and P. 185

Hubbard had once served for the YMCA and was clear about the inappropriacy of the imported English-language visual aids; hence, he decided to experiment with filmstrips made in China, made for China in his rural reconstruction work, as a result of which UNESCO invited him to conduct an audiovisual project in West China.

8.5.3 Teamwork Building and Working Guidelines

In January 1949, UNESCO officially authorized the start of the AVP. As suggested at the Nanjing Conference, UNESCO had discussed the project with agencies, such as WHO, FAO, JCRR, MEM, the Ministry of Education etc²⁶⁸. However, the potential cooperation with WHO, FAO, JCRR, Wuxi College of Education and Nanjing University Audio-visual Centre failed to materialize, including the expected technical advisers, because of the Civil War²⁶⁹. Fortunately, MEM and the College of Rural Reconstruction, both of which were led by James Yen, were able to offer essential physical and personnel assistance for the implementation of AVP. In February 1949, they began to recruit and organize members of staff for the AVP.²⁷⁰

Qu Shiyong, the deputy-General Secretary of the MEM, was invited to be a special adviser; professors from the college were invited to direct the survey and evaluation process; public health expert of the MEM, offered consultation on health matters; Sun Lianquan, the head of the Experimental Field of the MEM, helped in general planning; and the MEM field staff such as supervisors, directors and health workers offered help during the production of the AVP materials²⁷¹. The Pehpei Administration also offered free rooms for the Director's office, a laboratory for Norman McLaren, the Canadian expert on film production, in the theatre and two staff residences; and a committee that consisted of local advisors was formed to provide suggestions²⁷². Then Norman McLaren, who was head of the Animation Department of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), was offered a four-month assignment for a lump-fee of

²⁶⁸ UNESCO (1951), P.9

²⁶⁹ Ibid, P.11

²⁷⁰ Ibid, P.15

²⁷¹ Ibid, P.12

²⁷² UNESCO (1951), P.12-13, those on the committee were Dr. Y. Y. Ku, Head of Health Dept. MEM; Dr. Y.S. Tang, Superintendent of Pehpei Hospital; Dr C.K. Wang, in charge of Health Centre, Huang Ke Chen; Dr. Chiang, in charge of Healthy Centre, Shi Tze Hsiang; Mrs. Sun Lianquan, wife of Commissioner Sun; Mr. Tian Weinong, in charge of Mass Education Programme, Pehpei District; and Dr. Wang Chengyi, in charge of medical research, MEM.

US\$7,500²⁷³. He flew to China in August 1948 as a special technical adviser to train Chinese artists in the techniques of making animation and cartoon films²⁷⁴. The Audio-Visual Centre of the College, which located in Xie Ma Chang, would cooperate in the photographic work and the making of filmstrips because they received from UNESCO a US\$500 USD grant for materials²⁷⁵. Another foreign commissioner appointed was a nurse and a doctor, Clara A. Nutting, in her 50s, who was getting tired of having to treat sicknesses that could have been prevented, and had spent many years doing preventive medicine in China; she was assigned to full-time work with AVP by the Methodist Mission²⁷⁶. The foreign experts stayed at Hubbard's house on the edge of a mountain in a gorge close to a park, gardens and Buddhist temple; later, Norman McLaren would join them²⁷⁷. Basically, within the Director's Office, which included Hubbard, Eugene J. Fan and the Secretary, there were four departments: Business, Art, Health and Field. Hubbard was in charge of the Business Department, within which there were sections for Service and Accounting; McLaren was in charge of the Art Department, in which there were sections for Artists (12 in all) and Photography; Dr. Clara Nutting was in charge of the Health Department; Eugene J. Fan was in charge of the Field Department, in which there was a Field Section and a Survey Section²⁷⁸.

Compared to the general working outlines discussed during the Nanjing Conference, now that the pilot project had been scaled down, the group narrowed down and formulated new working guidelines²⁷⁹. According to these guidelines, the AVP should not have ambitions to meet the needs of all countries; instead, it should aim at a definite mark and meet at least one concrete, typical situation. The language, clothing, personnel and environment involved in AVP should be localized to bring the lesson directly to the individual or group for whom it was intended within a certain country or even district. As indicated by the studies carried out by the United States Department of Agriculture, different media could produce multiple impacts on the mind of the individual; in the AVP, a variety of media would reach the subject

²⁷³ Nichola Dobson, *Norman McLaren: Between the Frames* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), P.98; see University of Stirling, University Library, Norman McLaren Archive (later referred to as NMA), GAA-31-C-1-1949-001, correspondence from Norman McLaren to his mother on 1st May 1949

²⁷⁴ UNESCO, *Cartoons and Films in China*, *Courier*, 1948, October, P.12

²⁷⁵ UNESCO (1951), P.12

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*; also see NMA, GAA 31-C-1-1949-003, correspondence from Norman McLaren to his father and mother on 4 September 1949

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*

²⁷⁸ UNESCO (1951), P.14

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, P.13

through the eye, the ear and through personal contact. To mobilize more people to become involved in the project, the AVP should emphasize local leadership and grassroots enrollment. The AVP should not needlessly attack or offend any group, such as the local medicine men, who might be quite defensive when they were introduced new ideas, and the local peasants who believed in superstitions²⁸⁰. To make the audio-visual materials available to as many audiences as possible, they should be accessible to the average rural worker. Since artists played an important part in the making of materials, they would need to understand the key points, and should also be kept in touch with the conditions in the field where the materials were put to use. The materials would be produced and then tried out and revised before they entered large-scale production and use.

8.5.4 Actors/ Actants in the Making of “The Healthy Village”

In January 1949, the UNESCO AVP group led by Hubbard was located in a brick and bamboo building in Xie Ma Chang (歇马场), welcomed by the Mayor who heartily offered help in planning²⁸¹. The group had already begun to order equipment and reference materials as they received authorization from UNESCO in January 1949. As suggested in the working guidelines, a variety of media would be brought in. In their initial planning, posters, flyers, filmstrips, drama, games and animated cartoons etc. were considered for use. Before the arrival of Norman McLaren in August, they decided to experiment with simpler media, leaving the more complex items till later.

By February 1949, six artists were engaged and had already started on the drawings for posters and filmstrips²⁸². In March 1949, the artists finished their first filmstrip on vaccination and posters on trachoma, while Dr. Nutting planned the health program around the topic of “Healthy Village”.²⁸³ The conditions were so limited that they had to try out the finished filmstrips using Hubbard’s bicycle as generator²⁸⁴. In May, Hubbard bought equipment and a

²⁸⁰ Ibid, P.14

²⁸¹ Yale University Library, Hugh W. Hubbard Papers (later referred to as HWHP), Mabel Ellis Hubbard, Ode to '49; also see NMA, GAA 31-C-1950-001, News Clipping, I Saw the Chinese Reds Take Over, Maclean’s Magazine, October 15, 1950, page 10-11, page 73-76

²⁸² HWHP, Mabel Ellis Hubbard, Ode to '49

²⁸³ Ibid

²⁸⁴ Ibid

car for the project with the filmstrips, pictures and posters already having been made²⁸⁵. In June, they finished 13 sets of filmstrip drawings; by July, they had two more sets of filmstrip drawings and eight posters completed²⁸⁶. By the first half of 1949, the team had already experimented with several types of media and their experiment had proved that posters and filmstrips were very practical and useful in the field, as well as slide films taken with a Leica camera, but they could not use drama because they had failed to find appropriate authors and directors; similarly, a health game was not completed due to the high cost²⁸⁷.



Figure 12 Norman McLaren during his stay in China, 1948 Pehpei

In August, Norman McLaren was brought by Hubbard from Hong Kong and joined in the making of visual aids²⁸⁸. As reported briefly by Eugene J. Fan and by McLaren, there were four categories of materials produced and used in the AVP: wall posters and connected pictures; picture books; mobile pictures; filmstrips and film slides; and animated movies²⁸⁹. As a pioneer of camera-less animation (i.e. animation made directly onto the film stock without the need to film the action separately), Norman McLaren was involved in AVP's experiment in filmmaking, to which he brought two methods. One was to apply ink, paint or color directly

²⁸⁵ Ibid

²⁸⁶ UNESCO (1951), P.11

²⁸⁷ Ibid, P.16

²⁸⁸ HWHP, The Watchman, October 15, 1949, UNESCO Office, Pehpei

²⁸⁹ UNESCO (1951), P. 26 and P.41-95

to the film with pen or brush or to remove the black photographic emulsion by etching or scraping with a sharp instrument. The other was the standard method of making filmstrips i.e. photographing the artworks that were painted by artists. As archive found in Chongqing indicates, among all the filmstrips made jointly by UNESCO and MEM, there were 17 silent filmstrips that used the second method, and 27 silent film strips that used the first method²⁹⁰. In addition to the two main methods, the AVP group also applied the standard method of making filmstrips or slides by photographing the actuality, and by combining several techniques together in making the films, which were “Trachoma Campaign in Huang Ke Chen”, the “Vaccination Campaign in Huang Ke Chen”, and “Dishwashing and the Prevention of Typhoid-dysentery Infection”.

But McLaren found the screening of filmstrips, movies and animation too technically complicated and these turned out to be of less value than more old-fashioned and technically simpler aids²⁹¹. They produced very simple standard-type posters on safe drinking water, trachoma, vaccination and daily hygiene, which were designed on the message-at-a-glance principle, and which would be used in schools, health centers and public places. Related pieces, such as small flyers, were also made on vaccination and on trachoma. A calendar was designed to be looked at all-year-round, printed on a single sheet and adopted for ease and economy of printing. As with the wall sheets and related flyers, they used the comic-strip method to combine a series of pictures into a storyline on repeating topics such as vaccination, trachoma, hygienic habits, safe food and tetanus.

McLaren and his AVP colleague tried on booklets as a livelier and more dramatic medium for telling a story through a series of pictures, since information remained hidden until the most impactful moment. They designed three kinds of picture books in different sizes. The small pocket-size picture story books served as teaching materials as well as a registration system for checking how often the patient came back because they needed to write their name, gender, age, registration number etc. on the front pages, were asked to bring it with them on each visit. The medium-sized books (50 cm x 75 cm), were designed to show to the patients by doctors and nurses in medical examinations, during which the health workers could tack

²⁹⁰ Chongqing Archives, No. 0089000100116000051, Filmstrips made jointly by MEM and UNESCO (中华平民教育促进会、联合国教育科学文化组织合作之静印卷片一览表)

²⁹¹ NMA, GAA-31-PC-1949-006, correspondence on 24 October 1949,

the books down on the table and let the patients who were waiting have a look at them by themselves. The large-sized books (75 cm x 90 cm) were designed primarily as day-time substitutes for filmstrip when the audiences reached up to 100 or more. These consisted of several dozen pages with one large, bold picture on each page, which were arranged in a sequence just like a filmstrip.

To lift the medium of posters from their static limitations, McLean and his AVP colleagues devised a new idea for mobile posters and designed wheel posters, two-way posters and a mobile wooden scroll-box. The AVP group made two kinds of mobile posters with the wheel pivoted around one central point: wheel posters and two-way posters. Both consisted three parts: a back which remains stationary and supports the frame; a wheel, which rotates, and carries the movable or variable parts of the pictorial message that were painted around the wheel; and a front which remains stationary and has an opening or holes cut in it, through which the rotating wheel can be seen. Two-way posters could not rotate fully around 360 degrees, but simply moved back and forth through a small circle, while wheel posters could develop into a 3-picture, 6-picture or 12-picture sequence, shown through the pie-slice hole. Hence they were suitable for conveying two alternative and contrasting messages by moving from one position to the next. By cutting out several viewing holes and numbering them in an ordered sequence, the wheel posters could guide the flow of the viewer's attention and show a longer sequence of a certain behaviors.

The scroll-box, according to McLaren, was an adaptation of the old Chinese scroll painting, which is a long continuous panel of paper or cloth gradually wound from one roller to another, revealing only a small section of the picture at a time. The scroll box (36 cm x 25 cm x 10 cm) they built was taken by the field doctor or nurse to the scene of examination and treatment. The traditional scroll painting is very portable but slightly cumbersome to wind and unwind by hand. Hence, they changed the design to overcome the main disadvantage of the scroll box although failed to put these into practice. In sum, the design and experiment with different sizes, formats and materials etc. was to find out the easier and more efficient way to teach the audience medical knowledge via visual persuasion.

8.6 Visualizing a Healthy Village in China: Medical Iconography in UNESCO's Audio-Visual Project

8.6.1 A Product of Cultural Adaptation

UNESCO's AVP was not the first time that Chinese artists cooperated with foreign missionaries to produce a persuasive message by applying visual aids that sought to heal the body and more importantly the soul of the Chinese population via missionary medical service. When the American medical missionary Reverend Peter Parker and his colleagues used Western surgical techniques to convert the Chinese people to Christianity from around 1836-1852, Parker applied visual aids, i.e. oil paintings of his pre-operative patients, by a Cantonese artist Lam Qua²⁹². These paintings were used explicitly for the purpose of describing not only the pathology but also the Chinese character to curious Westerners, especially to the impressively diverse and often quite influential viewing audience when Parker travelled to the USA and in Europe to gather support for missionary work in China²⁹³.

As analyzed by Larisa N. Heinrich, the roots of Lam Qua's medical iconography came from both Western sources and the diverse range of Western images used in Chinese art for export from the late 1700s, and from non-Western sources, such as the 18th century imperial medical anthology known as *The Golden Mirror of Medical Orthodoxy*, which had been commissioned by the Qianlong emperor in 1739²⁹⁴. Lam Qua's paintings were hung around the walls of hospitals a century before UNESCO's AVP group produced posters on diseases that were prevalent in China, and they were displayed in schools, health centers, public places etc. Compared to the subtle metaphor and representation of Lam Qua's painting, these posters were very simple in their visual presentation and had very clear captions instructing the audience what to do to avoid certain disease and to build up a healthy body.

This idea of using simple images and texts can also be dated back to the visual materials used in public health campaigns conducted by W.W. Peter and the YMCA in the 1920s or even 1910s, which had a close connection with the commercialized medical visual culture in

²⁹² Stephan Rach, Curiosity and Cure: Peter Parker's Patients, Lam Qua's Portraits, *Common-Place*, 2004, Vol.4, no.2, January 2004

²⁹³ Larissa N. Heinrich (2008), pp.43-45

²⁹⁴ Ibid, pp.48, 57

the United States, since many of them were directly purchased from America²⁹⁵. The images in AVP used bold lines that formed the shape of a human figure, with a little shadow to create the sense of volume. Every poster had a sentence giving instructions about avoiding certain illnesses. One poster depicted a man using his own towel in a restaurant or a teahouse while someone offered him a towel, and at the top of the poster there was one sentence in Chinese characters saying that to avoid trachoma, don't use a shared towel to rub your eyes (要免沙眼, 不用公共手巾擦眼). The instructions in the posters from W.W. Peter's health campaigns in the 1930s were translated from the original English, sometimes with English versions alongside²⁹⁶. After nearly two decades of adaptation and Sinicization, the visual materials applied in Chinese health campaigns, especially by foreign missionaries, had become less infused with cultural relativism and had become more adapted to Chinese culture and life.

Another simple poster depicts a baby with a smiling face. Her sleeves are rolled up above her arm which indicates that she has been vaccinated. The caption below the smiling vaccinated baby was vernacular and simple in instructing parents to get their baby vaccinated. The Chinese instructions "wo jia yige pang wawa, zao zhong niudou mian tianhua, zuihao sannian zhong yici, yisheng pingan shenti hao" (我家一个胖娃娃, 早种牛痘免天花, 最好三年种一次, 一生平安身体好 which literally means "We have got a fatty baby in my family, we get it vaccinated earlier to avoid smallpox, vaccination every three years, it will be safe and have a healthy body for entire life") are informative, instructive but simple, catchy and rhythmic in Chinese pronunciation. The landscape depicted in the health calendars represented the hilly scenery in West China, particularly in Pehpei where the experiments were located. Meanwhile the calendar combined both lunar calendar and solar calendar but based on the lunar calendar, which was commonly used in China, especially in Chinese villages. Obviously, the Hubbard-led UNESCO AVP group had a clear idea of what kind of visual aids UNESCO's AVP should produce to appeal to and teach Chinese villagers knowledge of health and hygiene.

²⁹⁵ Liping Bu (2010), *Cultural Communication in Picturing Health: W.W. Peter and Public Health Campaigns in China, 1912-1926*, in David Serlin ed. (2010), pp. 24-39

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, P. 28

8.6.2 Health Campaigns Pay Off

Another aspect that the AVP materials emphasized was the economic argument for hygiene and this was done in folksy language to emphasize the financial savings and gains for individuals in having good health. The notion that “Health Pays Dividends” (in Chinese 卫生能生利) was an important point in W.W. Peter’s health campaigns to appeal to people’s fundamental desire to know the personal benefits of good health, which was perhaps directly influenced by American business culture²⁹⁷. Although, in Peter’s strategy as an evangelist, he sought to appeal to Chinese audiences by linking public health to the Chinese concerns of national survival and strength, the idea that health and hygiene had economic significance also exerted a profound influence. Whether applying James Yen’s or Hubbard’s philosophy and practice in mass education or rural reconstruction, health education was directly related to poor productivity and, hence, poverty. As the archives indicate, MEM made many filmstrips about economics and agriculture, such as production cooperatives and growing rice and economic plants and UNESCO’s AVP group also made a couple of filmstrips about agriculture, one of which was “Planting Oranges in June”²⁹⁸.

With *The Healthy Village* as the subject, the appeals to economic gains were also subtly infiltrated in AVP. As reported in the UNESCO Courier, the film “The Teacher’s Words” showed that Chang Ta, a local Chinese villager, tripped over a stone because he could not see very well due to the trachoma that had attacked his eyes. The teacher of the village school took Chang Ta as an example to explain the cause for Chang’s illness, i.e. carelessness. He continues by teaching the students that there were four precautions that one should take to avoid trachoma, such as do not wipe your face with a towel provided in a public place; use only clean water to wash your face and never wash in water that someone else has used; keep the wash basin clean because the germs sometimes stick on the sides; never rub your eyes with your hands. The teacher finally emphasizes that if you are careless and catch this disease, then you will not only suffer from pain but also financially in paying for the treatment, and you may be unable to work. Health or Hygiene is often translated into a Chinese term 卫生 (Weisheng), which is more closely related to the protection and guarding of life with the aim

²⁹⁷ Liping Bu (2010), *Cultural Communication in Picturing Health: W.W. Peter and Public Health Campaigns in China, 1912-1926*, in David Serlin ed. (2010), pp. 24-39

²⁹⁸ UNESCO Archives, WS/011.51, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Audio-Visual Project, Pehpei, Szechuan, China, 6 August 1951, P.21

of prolonging lifespan²⁹⁹. As perfectly exhibited in the case of Chang Ta, who could not work properly but only collect and sell firewood at a low price because of his inability to see well, good health and hygiene would offer “self -protection” for your life and bring in more income, while bad health and poor hygiene would cause the spending of money to see doctors and create difficulties in making money.

According to Yen or Hubbard, and as agreed at the Nanjing Conference, poor health and poor public health hygiene would partially contribute to a vicious circle of illness, poverty, ignorance and selfishness etc. that Yen, Hubbard and UNESCO sought to combat to revitalize and reconstruct a dynamic society. This depressing scene had been presented through the formative visual language of Lam Qua’s paintings, which included the depiction of the paradoxical nature of a patient’s calm, impassive facial expression, the distant landscape or seascape, sometimes with hint of storm clouds in the sky beyond, mirroring or echoing illness and health, creating a pathological ecology³⁰⁰. However, the health calendars made by the AVP group indicated that the dark, sobering and inactive pathological ecology displayed in hospitals could be more or less transformed into a brighter, livelier atmosphere in daily life.

²⁹⁹ Bo Hu, A Diachronic Study of the Changing Concept of Weisheng in Chinese Journals, 1880-1930, *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 2017, Vol.12, Issue 1, pp. 1-21

³⁰⁰ Larissa N. Heinrich (2008), pp.48-57

1950 UNESCO 衛生日曆

1950 UNESCO 衛生日曆

大月七
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
31 30 29

夜睡睡覺
不亂丟屎尿
不隨便使廁
要吐安全水
撲滅蚊蠅
打掃公共水地
豆子僅養牲

大月八
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
31 30 29

小月九
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
30 29

大月十
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
31 30 29

小月十一
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
30 29

大月十二
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
31 30 29

大月正
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
31 30 29

清潔廁所
常開窗戶
常常洗澡
大月三
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
31 30 29

受掛蚊帳
不忘種痘
不吃腐敗食物
不用公共手巾
小月四
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
30 29

大月五
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
31 30 29

小月六
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
14 13 12 11 10 9 8
21 20 19 18 17 16 15
28 27 26 25 24 23 22
30 29

健康祝敬
製編處事辦碚北織組化文學科育教國合聯
繪畫火馬

Figure 13 Health Calendar produced in UNESCO Audio-Visual Project in China, 1950

The calendar begins with lunar January on the right-top edge, and lunar July on the left-top edge, leaving a central space for various scenes of health habits. Between the numeric calendar on the border and the visual scenes in the center, the AVP artist put 14 instructive sentences on health and hygiene, which refer to each scene depicted in the middle, whose height, width, depth and position in relation to each other are basically arranged according to the rules of perspective. The 14 scenes that local artist Ma Shaochen (马少尘) depicted are placed in everyday indoor or outdoor village settings, such as a clean and hygienic toilet;

a house with the window open; a man rubbing his back with a towel; a child being vaccinated by the doctor or the nurse; a man refusing a public towel; a woman cleaning the road; a man drinking safe boiled water; a women grinding soybeans to make soy milk; stamping out the flies and mosquitoes inside the house and putting rubbish into a trash can etc. Basically, the order of the lunar months leads your eye around the entire calendar. Since the calendar was supposed to be used for a whole year, the villagers would repeatedly view the details contained in the instructive scenes and captions.

The calendar has a winding main road running from the foot of the page, connecting the 14 instructive scenes and leading towards the green, productive farming land at the top, foretelling a fruitful harvest. Hence, it visually echoes the notion that good health would contribute to material gain. The health calendars were designed to adorn the pictureless walls of the villagers' homes, with rich detail to impart knowledge on health and hygiene, so that the country folks could look at the calendar all year round rather than one or two glances. In other words, the visual and verbal persuasion would last for the entire lunar year. In this way, the AVP group were able to convey instructions about healthy habits and hygienic practices verbally and visually over a long period of time while envisioning a vibrant, healthy and prosperous village life in China.

8.6.3. Inventing a Theater of Medical Truth

As Latour noted in his studies on the career of biologist Pasteur as the Hero of France, Pasteur was a genius in the theater of truth which greatly helped to interest and mobilize a large educated public because the theater of truth is very useful to “force” someone to “share” one’s point of view³⁰¹. The UNESCO AVP designed wall sheets, which use the comic-strip method of presenting a series of connected pictures to tell a story. Thus, by guiding the eyes in the regulated order over the visual information, the wall sheets could create a narrative or “the theater of truth”, telling the audience about the effects of unhealthy behaviors and persuading people into certain actions. The simplicity of the perceptual judgment on which the setting up of the proof relied is what made the difference and carried conviction through

³⁰¹ Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, translated by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988), P. 85-86

the use of extremely simple perceptual contrasts such as absence/presence, living/dead and particularly the before/after comparison³⁰².

The paintings, in oil and watercolors, portray Dr. Parker's patients who have been in the hospital, showing their different appearance before and after their operation, creating an especially vivid theater of medical truth that sought to persuade the Chinese audience of the effects of medical treatment. In the late 19th and early 20th century, this before-after format was still used in medical journals that were set up by medical missions, such as the China Medical Missionary Journal established in 1887 and many medical illustrations in the form of woodcut and lithograph reproductions followed the format of before-after³⁰³. Once photography was introduced, this before-after model continued to be used in early medical photography³⁰⁴. The tradition of using the before-after format along with the more subtle techniques developed by UNESCO AVP group played an important role in visual persuasion by displaying the effects of proper medical treatment.

On the mobile posters, the before-after format was developed into "Do-and-Don't" or "the good way" versus "the bad way" comparisons. As mentioned, two-way posters could simply move back and forth, thus they could show two alternative and contrasting messages. For instance, they made a two-way poster on smallpox (20x28 cm), in which position 1 presents a baby exposed to smallpox radiating from another child, and in position 2 presents the same baby being vaccinated and being protected from the smallpox by a shield. In a two-way poster on trachoma (27x37 cm), position 1 appears to have bad eyes because "I didn't come back for treatment", while position 2 shows good eyes because "I came back for 21-day treatment". Another two-way poster on trachoma presents the comparison between position 1 with dirty eyes, dirty hands, dirty towel and dirty wash basin, and position 2 with clean eyes, clean hands, clean towel and clean wash basin³⁰⁵. Another two-way poster on trachoma (15x21 cm), also creates the comparison between four people with trachoma eyes sharing a common dirty towel and the same four people with healthy eyes each holding his own clean towel.

And what is more, by cutting out several viewing-holes and numbering them for viewing in an

³⁰² Ibid

³⁰³ Larissa N. Heinrich (2008), pp.90-92

³⁰⁴ Ibid, pp.97-98

³⁰⁵ UNESCO (1951), P.66

ordered sequence, the two-way posters could show the comparison between “Don’t’s sequence” and a “Do’s sequence”. For example, in the two-way posters on smallpox vaccination (12x14 cm), position 1 recounts four stages of an unhappy story, while position 2 tells four stages of a happy story³⁰⁶. In the picture books, especially the pocket-size books, this contrasting format was also applied and developed into contrasting narratives, with 21 pages presenting a sequence of pictures showing telling the story of a patient with trachoma who came back regularly for treatments and gradually was cured, while the other tells the story of a patient who was careless and forgot to come back and eventually went blind. Since the book keeps information hidden until the correct place for seeing it, the reading experience could be even more dramatic and retrospective leading to persuasions. The AVP group managed to create a dramatic and convincing contrast between good health/hygiene practice and bad health/hygiene practice. However, in displaying the causal links between illness-medical treatment and in demonstrating the efficacy of modern medicine in curing diseases, the group would encounter and need to accommodate the strong indigenous tradition of understanding diseases and the arts of healing in China, especially in the villages.

8.6.4 Encountering Chinese Religious Tradition

The UNESCO AVP group rendered their skills in dramatic storytelling in the making of filmstrips and animation movies, especially with the participation of Norman McLaren. The filmstrips not only introduced common sense and knowledge about certain diseases, and protection from them, they also created certain dramatic effects to persuade the audience, but in a way that did not offend or disrespect Chinese religious tradition.

8.6.4.1 What’s Hard for the Eye to See?

Since it was a collaborative project, Norman McLaren, as the technical advisor, taught local artists to make filmstrips. However, according to a UNESCO Courier report, aside from ignorance of the new media, Chinese local artists found it difficult to draw patients, such as a repulsive face of child suffering from smallpox or eyes inflamed with trachoma. The foreign

³⁰⁶ Ibid, P.59

experts had to persuade Chinese artists that the audience must be shocked into action by seeing the terrible effects of these diseases. Once convinced, Chinese artists were able to apply patience and delicacy to their work ³⁰⁷. But why would the Chinese artists feel challenged in doing so? Why was it hard for the Chinese artists to draw a child's face as "repulsive" or "ugly" because their face was marked with smallpox or their eyes inflamed with trachoma?

Chapter 7 has mentioned that China had been seen as the "Cradle of Smallpox" in missionary writing since the late 18th century. Later, the writing of James Carrick Moore, who wrote *The History of the Smallpox* to promote vaccination in 1815, indicated that smallpox had prevailed in China for at least 3,000 years³⁰⁸. If one takes a closer look at the history of smallpox in China, a possible explanation would be that the Chinese in the pre-modern era had a cognition about smallpox and other diseases as they considered them closely related to the deterioration of morality and lifestyle.

The Golden Mirror, a classic Chinese text on medicine, gave this explanation of the origins of smallpox:

"In the earliest times, pox did not exist, and human nature was pure and simple (上古无痘性淳朴); in the middle period, the pox came, and lust ran rampant' (中古有痘情欲恣). The pox originates in the fetus, once suffered, would never get it for the second time (痘禀胎元出不再). The intensity of the pox depends on the depth of the toxin. (毒之深浅重轻识)"

The Golden Mirror also defines Smallpox as "Smallpox is fetal toxin, it lurks in the formed fetus, flares up when stirred and is an inevitable part of life." (夫痘，胎毒也。伏于有形之胎，因感而发，为圣人不能免”。)³⁰⁹ The Chinese character 痘 (dou) consists of 疒 which literally means illness and 豆 which literally means beans, which indicates that the shape of the pox

³⁰⁷ UNESCO, Chinese Artists and UNESCO Experts Find New Roads to "The Healthy Village", *Courier*, 1950 September P.5

³⁰⁸ James Carrick Moore, *The History of the Smallpox* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815), <https://archive.org/details/historysmallpox00moorgoog/page/n7/mode/2up>; <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hc21dp&view=1up&seq=9>

³⁰⁹ Wu Qian, *Imperially Commissioned The Golden Mirror of Medical Orthodoxy* (Yizong Jinjian, 御纂医宗金鉴) (Beijing: Wuyingdian, 1742), chapter 56.1; See Marta Hanson, *The Golden Mirror in the Imperial Court of the Qianlong Emperor, 1739-1742*, *Early Science and Medicine*, February 2003, pp.111-147; See Larissa N. Heinrich (2008), P. 24, P. 57;

is like beans. Smallpox is also intrinsic, as its common name in Chinese “天花” (tianhua, the intrinsic variola) or “天疮” (tianchuang, the intrinsic sore) implies because it is passed to the infant by either parent before it is born or activated through breast-feeding. The fetal toxin could be affected by emotion, desire, habits of daily life and the diet of the parents before conception, especially the immoral behaviors of the fathers and mothers, such as drinking, fighting or taking aphrodisiacs or frequently engaging in sexual activity during pregnancy etc.³¹⁰. In pre-modern China, the conception that the origin of childhood disease lies in the parents was not restricted to smallpox but was also applied to many other childhood disorders³¹¹. The concept of fetal toxin suggests a seductive resemblance; no wonder that Cibot associated the origins of smallpox with the Christian concept of Original Sin, and smallpox as God’s punishment for human sin³¹². It is partially due to the cognitive association of “fetal toxin” with immoral behaviors, particularly undisciplined sexuality in the private domain, that Chinese artists were initially reluctant to draw and present the image of a child’s face hideously marked with “Dreadful Smallpox” to the public.

8.6.4.2 “Mirage of Health”

Apart from misunderstandings about the causes of illness, in particular, cultural taboos linked with certain diseases, the UNESCO AVP groups had to deal with the healing tradition in China, which often seemed unscientific. American microbiologist Rene Dubos notices that in most primitive cultures, disease is often regarded as a visitation of some hostile gods or of other capricious forces³¹³. In ancient China, a doctor or the process of healing 医 (yi) – whose traditional Chinese character is 醫 – had shamanistic undertones. Yi (醫) is made up of three component parts: 医 which means an arrow hidden; 扌 (shu) means a hand grasping a weapon; and 巫 (wu) means sorcerer or priest. Thus, when Chinese characters were formed in ancient times (Shang and Zhou dynasties), the character of Yi 醫 meant that the priest

³¹⁰ Zhang Jiafeng, *Aspects of Smallpox and Its Significance in Chinese History* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of London, 1996), pp.56-58

³¹¹ Ibid

³¹² Larissa N. Heinrich (2008), pp.28-29

³¹³ Rene Dubos, *Mirage of Health* (London: Ruskin House, George Allen & Unwin LTD,1960), P.113

employed strong weapons to kill or drive away the demons of sickness³¹⁴. In other words, in the healing tradition of China, ancient Chinese healers practiced exorcist rituals, magical incantations and preparation of lucky talismans to purge the body of these spirits. Although the component Wu 巫 was changed into You 酉, which implies the practice of applying elixirs or wines to the patient, the concept of associating illness with external spirits still continues in Chinese medical discourse today.

After Daoism and Buddhism began to be widely accepted among the Chinese from the late Han dynasty and the Six Dynasties, supernatural forces were considered as divine punishment for the immoral behaviors of the heavenly bureaucracy, which consisted of a Ministry of Epidemics and the Five Commissioners of Epidemics³¹⁵. The celestial bureaucrats kept track of each person's merits and demerits, and when their transgressions became too great disease was sent as a punishment; epidemics occurred when the divine bureaucracy deemed an entire community to be beyond redemption³¹⁶. The role of religious ritual in the practice of driving away illness remained prevalent right up to the early modern period. As Benedict observed, given the centrality of gods and demons in popular thinking about illness, especially about epidemic plagues, in Southern China collective efforts to eradicate plague were implemented by organizing exorcistic rites (醮), that often lasted for about a week, and included several elaborate temple rites, liturgies and a large processions designed to expel all the remaining plague demons and send the god back to heaven³¹⁷.

There were shrines for worship of the Smallpox Goddess, who was believed by ancient Chinese to have the superintending power over the smallpox or, in some cases, Chinese people would turn to Buddha or a Daoist deity to help them cure other diseases. The Chinese artists of the late 1940s were so familiar with this traditional procedure for treating smallpox that they could not look beyond it when they made up a storyline for the filmstrips. As Dr. Nutting recalled, the Chinese artists insisted that any story about smallpox naturally developed like this: one family member went to the temple and burned incense before the

³¹⁴ K. Chimin Wang, Wu Lien-the, *History of Chinese Medicine: Being a Chronicle of Medical Happenings in China from Ancient Times to the Present Period* (Shanghai: National Quarantine Service, 1936), First AMS edition published in 1973, P.14

³¹⁵ Carol Benedict, *Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), P.110

³¹⁶ Carol Benedict (1996), pp.115-116

³¹⁷ Ibid

gods, beseeching them to drive away the evil spirits which were thought to cause the disease; or they would invite priests to come to the house, with their beating of gongs and cymbals, their burning of incense and their incantations, driving the evil spirits away³¹⁸.

However, Dr. Nutting thought that UNESCO could not make filmstrips showing a lack of respect for Chinese religion; rather, it should help people to understand the scientific facts of disease, so that knowledge would gradually drive out superstitious practices, which was broadly agreed at the Nanjing Conference. So, in the filmstrip "The Malarial Mosquito" both the "superstitious practices" and "scientific facts" are taught by the doctors, but subtly rather than openly criticizing traditional practices. The filmstrip tells the story of how a mosquito becomes infected with malaria after it bites a malaria carrier, and then the malarial mosquito transmits the disease to another man, and that man gets ill with symptoms such as chills and fever. His wife believes it is the devil, and begs the Buddha for his intervention, which turns out to be in vain since he still has the chills and fever. A doctor comes and explains that malaria is an infectious disease, gives him medicine and he is cured after taking the medicine for a few days. The doctor comes again and says, "Malaria is not caused by the devil but transmitted by mosquitos. To prevent malaria, first, use mosquito net; second, dispose of dirty water; third, burn mosquito punk; fourth, spray insecticide. The mosquito is sad on hearing this, but we will not suffer from malaria anymore." ³¹⁹.

In the report, Dr. Nutting quotes an old farmer's argument that the newfangled notions about germs causing disease are like ancient Chinese notions, "we are afraid of evil spirits which cause disease, they are afraid of germs; we want to keep out evil spirits, while they want to keep out germs. What's the difference"? Dr. Nutting's subtle approach to teaching Chinese peasants about modern medical knowledge was echoed by Hubbard, who recalled in his memoires: "my aim was to get artists who would make film strips with Chinese characters, Chinese background, and everything adapted to China-Chinese because I had been convinced by my work in the Visual Aids Department in Paoting that foreign visual aids don't register properly in China, that you have to take account of their psychology, their customs, their language, of course, and so forth."³²⁰ UNESCO's AVP group had "inherited" this legacy from

³¹⁸ UNESCO (1951), P.34

³¹⁹ UNESCO Archives, WS/073.37, Experiment in Visual Education in West China, pp.7-8.

³²⁰ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), pp. 148-149

earlier missionary work, especially that of Hubbard. Hubbard's experience in the Visual Aids Department in Paoting made him excellent leader for the AVP³²¹.

As illustrated above, the visual aids made by the AVP group were the direct outcome of a transcultural conversion and accommodation between the Western missionaries and Chinese artists, which has a long history dating back to pre-modern period all the way through earlier decades of the 20th century. They were ready to experiment with the transcultural product to teach Chinese villagers how to make a Healthy Village.

8.6.5 The War against Illness: Experimenting with a "Healthy Village" Campaign in China

The audio-visual materials were tested in two local areas, Huang Ke Chen and Shi Tze Hsiang. E.J. Fan, the head of the field department, Dr. Clara Nutting, the medical supervisor of the mission, Wang Teweï, the commentator, and Fan Weichuan the operator, and two members of the Pehpei Mission were engaged in fieldwork.

According to the report by Eugene J. Fan, they contacted the county officials and informed them about their plan to improve the health conditions of their county. It was easier and more convenient to get to Shi Tze Hsiang by car, since it is a short distance south of Bishan, the MEM headquarters, and there was also a highway running through the area. It was relatively difficult to get to Huang Ke Chen because they had to cross the river in a small boat with their machinery and all necessary equipment. Since Huang Ke Chen is a hilly place with no roads available, the local farmers came and helped them carry the equipment to their destination, usually the Bao (保, an administrative unit) school, since they thought it was the center of all kinds of rural activities, and an ideal place for their work. Then the director of the Pao, together with school children and teachers, came and offered help, to erect poles for the screen and to carry tables and benches for the screening. Since the villagers were free from their work in the evening, the AVP arranged an evening program for filmstrips starting usually at 7:30 pm. As reported by Eugene J. Fan, they could only manage to present four filmstrips because they could not run them too quickly, or the audience would have problems in

³²¹ Ibid, pp.184-185

understanding. During the interludes, a little music was played; after the filmstrips, they gave out an announcement telling people to come back the next morning for medical examination or treatment.

As reported, the group made two trips to Huang Ke Chen and conducted one show in May 1949; one trip and one show in August; two trips and two shows in September; four trips and four shows in October; and three trips and five shows in November. In Shih Tze Hsiang, they made one trip with two shows in May; one trip and three shows in September; one trip and three shows in October, and one trip with three shows in November. In sum, there were 12 trips and 13 shows in Huang Ke Chen and three trips and eight shows in Shih Tze Hsiang³²². As Dr. Nutting recalled, on 1st September, the UNESCO field team was in the 20th district in Huang Ke Chen and gave an evening program of the filmstrips showing the causes, methods of transmission and dangers of and cure for trachoma. On 16th October, the group again gave an evening program of filmstrips on trachoma, followed by medical examination the next morning.

UNESCO Courier produced a vivid report of a trip to Shih Tze Hsiang on market day³²³. They found a place in an old temple, unpacked their equipment and set up an impromptu outdoor film theater and began to broadcast the filmstrips that showed how to recognize, to prevent and take care of the illness of trachoma (in Chinese pinyin it is Sha Yen, sand eyes), one of the most widespread diseases in China. An estimated amount of 1,000 townspeople and farmers watched the filmstrips at Shih Tze Hsiang. The filmstrips have a very simple narrative telling about the story of Wang San, a carpenter, who caught trachoma from public towels he used to wipe his face when he visited a tea house, because someone who had this disease used the towels. As he did not treat it quickly, he became blind and unemployed. His wife also caught trachoma because he they shared one towel, but his wife was cured due to proper treatment. The screening was followed by advice from the commentator that told people the dos and don'ts³²⁴. These vivid audio-visual materials, imbued with medical truth, direct stimulation and immediacy, invited visual curiosity and elicited the audience's attention and participation, and the collective spectatorship played a role in facilitating a modern sensory

³²² UNESCO (1951), P.32

³²³ UNESCO, A New Lesson at Shih Tze Hsiang, *Courier*, 1950, April, P 3

³²⁴ Ibid

consciousness in inspiring a new rural community feeling that was based on science and rationality³²⁵.

By involving blonde or pink-faced foreigners in the show, McLaren, Hubbard and Dr. Nutting went beyond the idea of the movie as an audio-visual aid and tried to provide the populace with a live, moving, colorful, three-dimensional visuality bringing internationalism to rural life in China³²⁶. Two more members of MEM, Dr. Chiang and Nurse Hsiung, who were described as “field soldiers in the war of modern science against the old plagues of endemic and epidemic illness in the Chinese countryside”, were also involved in the following activities³²⁷. The medical supervisor Dr. Clara Nutting, Dr. Chiang and Nurse Hsiung would sit at three tables and offer consulting and eye examinations for the townsfolk and farmers and children; as the UNESCO Courier put it, “they reaped the harvest of the seeds of knowledge that the filmstrips had shown”³²⁸. After watching the educational filmstrips, the residents came and had their eyes checked by the doctors and nurse. At the same time, a loudspeaker was set up to explain the on-going activities, especially to those who had not watched the films. In addition, posters were also put up on walls to show how diseases evolved and were cured³²⁹. As reported by Dr. Nutting, in Huang Ke Chen, the final records indicated that they examined 9,514 or 70% of the entire population of 13,158 and found 2,665 cases of trachoma³³⁰. In Huang Ke Chen, the AVP groups gave 1,965 smallpox vaccinations during the spring, which was believed by the Chinese to be a good time for smallpox vaccinations³³¹. Influenced by the campaign, the Health Centre in Huang Ke Chen gave 4,077 smallpox vaccinations during March and April of 1949³³².

8.7 Evacuation and Perspective

Unfortunately, the AVP came to an end in December 1949 when the PLA marched into Pehpei.

³²⁵ Yu Zhang (2013), pp. 47-95

³²⁶ NMA, GAA-31-PC-1949-006, correspondence on 24 October 1949

³²⁷ UNESCO, A New Lesson at Shih Tze Hsiang, *Courier*, 1950, April, P 3

³²⁸ Ibid

³²⁹ UNESCO, Chinese Artists and UNESCO Experts Find New Roads to “The Healthy Village”, *Courier*, 1950 September, P 5

³³⁰ UNESCO (1951), P.39

³³¹ Ibid, P.36-37

³³² Ibid, P.39

Hubbard handed the AVP work over to Eugene J. Fan³³³. Although Hubbard still sought potential cooperation between UNESCO's AVP and the new regime in Beijing, he could not find a way to do this, because, as the head of the Public Health Department of the Southwest said, "everything depends on Peking...there are two big hurdles to get over, one is that the United Nations has not recognized our government, and second, you have been working in conjunction with the Mass Education Movement, and the status of that movement is not clear"³³⁴. As it turned out, neither of the hurdles were surpassed. Norman McLaren witnessed the changeover; the Nationalists marched out when the Communist troops marched in on 3 December 1949, when Pehpei was "liberated"³³⁵. He stayed till mid-April 1950, trying to get the necessary travel permit to get back to Canada; finally, he became the first foreigner to come out of this region with his No.001 "Foreigner's Travel Permit" issued by the Chongqing Communist Government³³⁶.

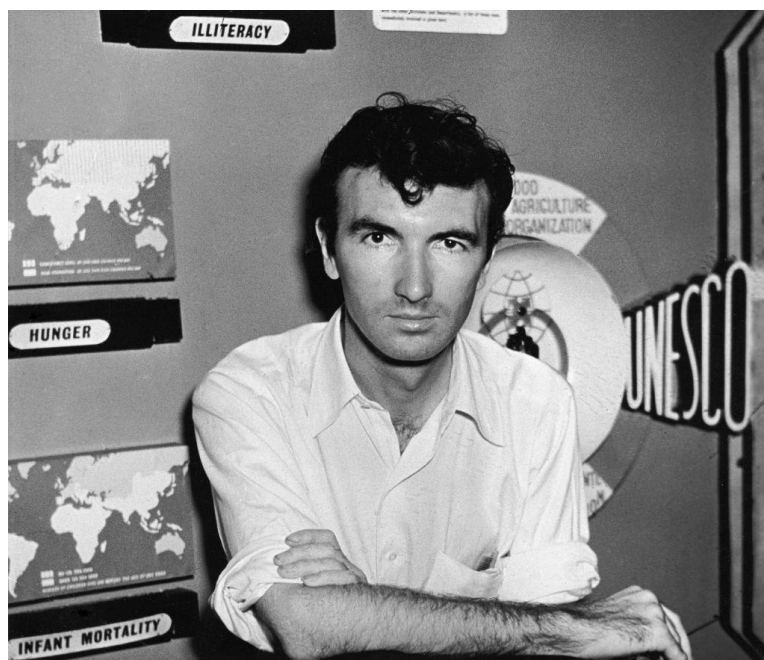


Figure 14 Norman McLaren on his return from China, at UNESCO Headquarters in 1950, Paris

Norman McLaren recalled: "You can imagine the relative futility of designing posters filmstrips and movies on the idea of a healthy diet for the farmers. Suggest he eat a couple of

³³³ Hugh W. Hubbard (1989), P.150

³³⁴ Ibid, P.152

³³⁵ NMA, GAA-31-PC-1950-001, News Clipping, I Saw the Chinese Reds Take Over, Maclean's Magazine, October 15 1950, page 10-11, page 73-76;

³³⁶ Ibid

eggs a day, or chicken, or a little bit of meat; he will just laugh at you, for he knows the idea is preposterous when it takes him all his time to get enough rice to eat.”³³⁷ The simple boiling of water that could have prevented typhoid and dysentery was a luxury that required an extra pot, a different kind of stove and more fuel beyond their means³³⁸. The local farmers were heavily in debt and forced to borrow money from the landowners at an interest rate of 50%, which meant that the landlords could seize most of the crops from the farmers’ harvest leading to a depressing level of poverty for the peasants, as a result of which the Communists were eagerly welcomed with their program of land redistribution and the abolition of usury³³⁹. But he McLaren also noted that the posters and filmstrips they designed encouraged the farmers and their families to eat leafy vegetables every day, and bean products, both of which are relatively cheap and would provide them with protein and minerals. He summarized by saying that all they could do in the UNESCO project was to at least show the country folk how it might be, to put a blueprint in their mind. In this sense, at its best UNESCO’s AVP continued what James Yen, Hubbard and their peers had practiced in mass education or rural reconstruction, i.e. forged a cultural imaginary — a repository or an actor-network of images, ideas and stories, which would potentially provoke a modern and public consciousness among the local villagers so that they might begin to envision a new and modern rural life³⁴⁰. In the documentary *Creative Process*, McLaren recalled that, “although the Healthy Village project took place at the climax of the Chinese civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists, the program had an impressive impact. Its philosophy became the basis for the future UNESCO project.”³⁴¹

For UNESCO, the two aims of carrying out a piece of educational work on the spot and placing the experience of the Chinese project at the disposal of educators elsewhere were realized in the sense that the AVP project did take place in Pehpei, and that the experience was summarized in the report that the AVP staff wrote in “The Healthy Village: An Experiment in Visual Education in West China”, which was distributed to its member states through the clearing house of UNESCO. The concepts of mass education or rural reconstruction very much

³³⁷ NMA, GAA 31-C-1-1949-006, correspondence on 24 October 1949

³³⁸ NMA, GAA-31-PC-1950-001, News Clipping, I Saw the Chinese Reds Take Over, Maclean’s Magazine, October 15 1950, page 10-11, page 73-76

³³⁹ NMA, GAA 31-C-1-1949-006, correspondence on 24 October 1949

³⁴⁰ Yu Zhang (2013)

³⁴¹ Nichola Dobson (2018), pp.99-100

continued to exert a generally positive influence on UNESCO's educational program in Asia. Cambodia, India, Nepal, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand etc. – the countries that sent out national delegations to the Nanjing conference, including China – and the ROC in Taiwan continued to present at UNESCO's regional seminar held in India about a decade later in 1958. The legacy of UNESCO's experience in promoting fundamental education was still present in the members' consciousness in the discussion of the Fundamental Education, Community Development program in South and South-East Asia that UNESCO facilitated in 1950s³⁴². In 1953, UNESCO again borrowed McLaren for the training of film workers for fundamental education projects in India³⁴³. Some of them, probably remembering the impacts of the discussion in Nanjing, were still in agreement that the challenges presented by poverty, disease, illiteracy, apathy and despair in the underdeveloped regions and the interlocking aspects of health, economics and literacy etc. remained important subjects for community development; the discussion of the production and application of visual aids, the need for international cooperation etc. continued to provoke much interest.

As argued by François Jullien, Chinese thinking about efficacy, especially the efficacy of statecraft reverts to a single act, that of “returning” to the “Fundamental Basis” (反其本)³⁴⁴. If the ruler has the moral support of the people, all people will desire to remain under his authority, they will open their doors and will be unable to resist; hence, morality is also a force and a particularly strong one, because it possesses great influence and can be used this to effect in a diffuse and discreet fashion³⁴⁵. James Yen was fully aware of the moral force of his grand program of post-war reconstruction that he had proposed to Chiang Kaishek that was supposed to benefit the majority of the nation's population to win the “hearts of the people” (minxin 民心). Although Nationalist China was constantly involved in interacting with the international actor-network regarding the norms of development and social welfare, the defeat of the Nationalist Government was partially because they failed to deliver KMT's

³⁴² UNESCO Archives, MC.59/XVIII.27/A, Visual Aids in Fundamental Education and Community Development, Report on the UNESCO Regional Seminar in South and South-East Asia, held in New-Delhi, India, 8-27 September 1958

³⁴³ Canadian National Film Board Archives, Ropchan, The Career of Norman McLaren, in Cinema Canada, August/September 1973, pp. 43-49

³⁴⁴ François Jullien, translated by Janet Lloyd, *A Treatise on Efficacy: Between Western and Chinese Thinking* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), P. 45

³⁴⁵ Ibid, P. 44

overpromise of improving social welfare³⁴⁶. This frustration continued with its inability to implement the highly modern ideas that were being widely discussed and accepted as post-war social norms, including the newly-formulated UNESCO Fundamental Education program. The Nationalist Government was too heavily immersed in its military and moral war with the Communists to maintain its legitimate governance of China and simply couldn't afford to finance James Yen's post-war reconstruction program, but it did overtly support the auspicious UNESCO initiative of Fundamental Education. Nationalist China, inheriting a state that had long-term poverty, that had not recovered from the scars of war and yet began to be trapped into another war, and infiltrated with corruption and authoritarianism, simply could not realize this idealistic model of reconstruction³⁴⁷.

The story behind the historical relations between UNESCO and China in the field of education, in particular under the auspices of UNESCO's Fundamental Education project, helps us to better understand UNESCO's first flagship project in education and the historical fate of its rising and waning. Quoting from a Confucian classic, *The Book of Documents* (尚书), which says that "people are the foundation of the nation. If the foundation is firm, then the nation will enjoy tranquility" (民为邦本，本固邦宁), Yen extended this statement to the whole world, i.e. people are the foundation of the whole world, if the foundation is firm, then the world will enjoy tranquility³⁴⁸. However, the idealistic goal of achieving a worldwide foundation from the ashes of WWII was immediately confronted with the intrinsic political configuration of the Cold War, which again intertwined at the international and national levels. It seems as if the idealistic search for a world foundation through fundamental education was a journey full of challenges. The implementation of the over-ambitious, all-inclusive design would face challenges as a result of the organization's limited budget and from subtle competition with a similar project in its parent organ of the United Nations, the UN Technical Assistance Project (TAP) in its later development; as a result, UNESCO decided to give up the term "fundamental education" which had led to some confusion after 1958.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ Felix Boecking, Unmaking the Chinese Nationalist State: Administrative Reform among Fiscal Collapse, 1937-1945, *Modern Asian Studies*, 2011, Vol.45, No.2, pp.277-301

³⁴⁷ Rana Mitter (2019)

³⁴⁸ Pearl Buck (1959), P. 23

³⁴⁹ Wodajo Mulugeta (1963)

Although China failed to realize the over-ambitious model of reconstruction, it did propose an alternative model for itself and, by extension, other postcolonial societies. Having left mainland China, and not even relocated in Taiwan, James Yen was “forced” to be a citizen of the world, although the JCRR that he lobbied was transferred to Taiwan and played an important role in making Taiwan into an “Asian Dragon”³⁵⁰. Probably inspired by UNESCO’s global vision, he then formed the International Mass Education Movement in 1951 in the United States with the assumption that the program that had been developed on Asian soil would help other peoples of underdeveloped countries³⁵¹. In his exploratory trip to the leading countries in Asia, he was surprised to find out that the idea of rural reconstruction and his work evoked much interest. Consequently, the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) was found in 1952, which was very much inspired by the experience in China, such as the social laboratory concept, the integrated approach and the indigenous leadership etc. and very much along the lines discussed at the Nanjing Conference³⁵². Inspired by Yen’s work in China and the Philippines, a similar movement was launched in Columbia, followed by the Guatemalan in 1965, Thailand in 1969 and Ghana in 1971.³⁵³ The International Institute of Rural Reconstruction was formed in 1967 with the support of many countries in Asia and the South Pacific area, many of which had sent delegations to the Nanjing Conference and, of course, with the support of James Yen’s transpacific network; it managed to operate till 1990³⁵⁴.

Sadly, Yen’s assistant Qu Shiyong did not have any further opportunities to engage in an educational experiment of this kind, while James Yen’s son stayed in mainland China and met with an untimely death during the disastrous years of the Cultural Revolution in China. Although the newly-established PRC regime did not allow any space for gradualist reform, Yen’s reputation and expertise for promoting rural reconstruction finally earned him a warm reception from Deng Yingchao (1904-1992), the widow of Zhou Enlai, and from Wan Li (1916-

³⁵⁰ James Lin, *Sowing Seeds and Knowledge: Agriculture Development in the US, Taiwan and the World, 1949-1975*, *East Asian Science, Technology and Society*, 2015, Vol. 9, pp.127-149; Zhang Ruisheng, “Taiwan’s Rural Reconstruction from the Perspective of ‘Sino-US Cooperation’ – A Research on the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (1948-1979)”, *Historical Research in Anhui (CSSCI)*, 2019, No.1, pp.81-90.

³⁵¹ Pearl Buck (1959), *Epilogue*, pp. 127-141

³⁵² Pingsheng Chin, *Filipino Peasants Win New Hope*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976), pp. 147-154; Manuel P. Manahan, *Dr. James Yen: Crusader for the Common Man*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976), pp. 167-177

³⁵³ Supplement II *National Rural Reconstruction Movements*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976), pp. 287-294

³⁵⁴ Appendix C, *International Institute of Rural Reconstruction*, in John C.K. Kiang (1976), pp. 269-285

2015), the vice-chairman of National People's Congress, in 1985 and 1987 when he returned to China and this was mainly because of the Reform and Open Policy of Deng Xiaoping³⁵⁵.

³⁵⁵ Wu Fu-sheng, The Practical Significance of Yen Yangchu's Philosophy of Education, in Martha McKee Keehn ed. (1993), *Y.C. James Yen's Thought on Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction: China and Beyond*, Selected Papers from an International Conference held in Shijiazhuang, China, May 27-June 1, 1990, International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, pp. 25-30

Conclusion

UNESCO, as part of the post-war global institution of the United Nations, with expertise in the fields of education, science and culture, was expected to play its vital role in reconstructing intellectual activities in war-devastated areas and in promoting international intellectual cooperation to rebuild humanity and enhance mental solidarity across national boundaries in the ashes of WWII. The war with the Axis powers, in particular, the combating of Japanese militarist expansionism in the Asian-Pacific battlefield involved an unprecedented level of cooperation amongst three-fifths of the entire global population. It is against this backdrop of international collaboration that UNESCO emerged. Many founding fathers of UNESCO were convinced that work of this organization should prioritize helping underdeveloped countries – the so-called Third World or Global South – so that they could better participate in international integration. China, as a major populous post-colonial country, was an important nation in this context. China's social and economic stability, and its political stance in the international community, were all important issues in the post-war global order; this is why China was the target country of many significant UNESCO programs. China also brought its weight of influence both in terms of political and cultural orientation into UNESCO's global mission of mental engineering.

This dissertation is inspired by reflecting upon the efficacy attribution in impact Studies, which is paralleled with the impact-response paradigm in China studies (see Chapter 3). Mainly inspired by the French thinkers François Jullien and Bruno Latour, and German Sinologist Rudolf Wagner, it is designed to sort out the transcultural conceptual translation and accommodation embodied in UNESCO's key concepts and initiatives, and to trace the actor-network that was already in existence and constantly mobilized in UNESCO-China relations (see Chapter 5). By doing so, this dissertation attempts to offer a case study of IO's impacts in a member state in the post-WWII era by tracing the processual formation of UNESCO-China relations and the negotiation and diffusion of their mutual impacts in the process of translating, acting and networking. Hence, this dissertation, taking as its point of departure an examination of UNESCO's impacts in post-war China, concludes by mapping the historical relations between UNESCO and China and the mutual impacts in three main areas: culture, science and education (see Chapter 6, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8).

In the search to revitalize the “Sick Man of East Asia”, a decaying country and populace with a dysfunctional mode of political organization and cultural production, a Western-derived system of modern diplomacy, science and education had been introduced and developed by Chinese political and intellectual elites since late 19th century, in particular under the influence of the New Culture Movement of the mid-1910s to 1920s, which had profound and long-lasting impacts in modern China. The process of modernization in the first half of 20th century had resulted in a huge actor-network for the communication of transcultural internationalism, the practicing of international relations of science and the establishment of a regime of global education. The historical experience of and legacy of encountering the “impact” of the West imbued specific meaning to China’s engagement in UNESCO at the conclusion of WWII, when UNESCO came to envision peace-oriented initiatives that both embodied the Enlightenment belief in rationality, science, democracy, and progress while respecting national and indigenous culture and religions.

As China’s relationship with UNESCO indicates, instead of an oversimplified Eurocentric narrative shrouded in the colonial legacy of the “civilizing missions”, the historical impacts of UNESCO are to some extent globally made, constantly negotiated, often transculturally translated, gradually dissolved and diffused via an actor-network among the global, the national and the local. Determined by the identity of UNESCO – intergovernmental organization, the acting and networking of intellectual cooperation by post-war internationalists via UNESCO often entangled with the intrinsic geopolitics at the international level often interwoven with domestic politics at the national level, even interpersonal politics at the local level. In general, during the historical period 1945-1950, the atmosphere of post-war internationalism, the full-fledged Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists, and the Cold War bloc confrontation all combined to condition the interaction between UNESCO and China, the cooperation between UNESCO and China and the mutual impacts.

UNESCO’s ideal of guarding peace in the mindset of humankind was first of all negotiated among an emerging global actor-network of modern international relations between sovereign states. Being mandated by its member states, the intergovernmental body of UNESCO had to navigate its global peace mission in various national interests in the early development of its programs, which often involved a mixture of idealism and the rational accumulation of contingent and interwoven domestic/international politics situated in a

longer historical trajectory. The global power balance after WWII evolved towards one which temporarily raised the status of Nationalist China as a major power in the UN. Chapter 6 demonstrates that the engagement of China in the UN specialized agency - UNESCO in the period 1945-1950 speaks of historically rooted appeals to cultural nationalism in modern China; meanwhile, it related strongly to contemporary politics at the time. By translating and communicating UNESCO's "One world" ideals using Confucian Datong rhetoric, Chinese Nationalists sought to recast an idealized cosmopolitan world order which would recognize China as a great historical power and also a great power again in the future. The Nationalists also forged a link between an internationally recognized organ with the neo-Confucianism inspired ideology of Kuomintang (KMT), which further bolstered the decreasing legitimacy of the Nationalist Government in competing with the Communists. By diplomatic networking with many countries over UNESCO affairs, the Nationalist delegation representing China attempted to maintain international recognition and support, despite the discord arising with its biggest supporter, the United States, regarding post-war arrangements for Japan.

UNESCO's goal of promoting international scientific cooperation relied upon the support, mobilization and involvement of existing scientific communities, forming a closely interconnected actor-network of universal science for the advancement of common humanity in post-war reconstruction. Scientism, the authority of modern science, and the omnipotent 'Mr. Science', loaded with the Nationalist pursuit of national salvation, was another key concept in modern China, the efficacy of which was expected to shake off the country's backwardness in the modern era, winning widespread support in China regardless of political affiliation. The foundation of UNESCO-China relations in science was a vast actor-network of higher education and scientific research communities, including universities, colleges, institutes and professional societies, and it was mobilized by a Scientism that had been established and set in operation as an indispensable part of rejuvenating the "Sick Man of East Asia" in modern China (see Chapter 7). The actor-network substantially provided the personnel and institutions acting-networking Mr. Science between UNESCO and China, including making Chinese national delegations and Chinese National Commission to UNESCO.

Despite the ongoing threat from the Japanese, the actor-network of science in China, via acting and networking with internationalist scientist Joseph Needham in the framework of

the wartime SBSCO, played a significant role in helping to introduce “Science” into the acronym UNESCO. Chapter 7 shows that SBSCO, under the leadership of Joseph Needham, very much inspired UNESCO Field Science Cooperation Office (FSCO) system by which UNESCO aimed to devise and facilitate a global actor-network for scientific liaison with a special concern for assisting scientifically and technologically underdeveloped areas. Chinese scientists and the scientific community actively engaged in the global scientific liaison between China and the outside world via UNESCO’s FSCO in East Asia (East Asia Field Science Cooperation Office, EAFSCO) and via Joseph Needham. However, Needham’s wishful design which enabled China to integrate in the international scientific community via UNESCO was severely hampered by the Civil War and Cold War and furthermore by the absence of mainland China in UNESCO for two decades.

Education captured the attention of the founding states of the intellectual organization of UNESCO from its inception during the wartime negotiations and gave it a means of gaining global legitimacy. A national-international actor-network of experimental social engineering had been fostered in Republican China, resulting in a resourceful legacy of ideas, institutions, practices and personnel etc. One of the prominent pioneering projects was the Mass Education Movement (MEM) led by the Chinese educationist James Yen. An interlocking set of social engineering projects involving literacy, livelihood, public health and self-governance was experimented with in rural areas of China to rejuvenate and reconstruct the rural society. This actor-network had a broad spectrum, encompassing a radical Communist approach and gradualist liberal approach, an indigenous Confucian approach and a Christian Evangelical approach. Chapter 8 illustrates that the global actor-network of ideas, personnel, funds and institutions, in particular the historical legacy of MEM, greatly paved the way for China’s presence in UNESCO in the field of fundamental education, while the interaction and dynamics of actor-network also shaped the cooperation between UNESCO and China. UNESCO was interested in marshaling more international finance as well as mobilizing civil community for promoting fundamental education in underdeveloped areas. China, as a major post-colonial country in Asia, hosted a UNESCO regional study conference on fundamental education in the Far East in September 1947 as well as an experimental pilot project on rural public health education with audio-visual aids in 1949, the experience of which was expected to be replicable to other underdeveloped areas.

Chapter 8 also indicates that UNESCO's Fundamental Education initiative in China should be considered in the context of the interwoven Civil War conflicts and Cold War geopolitics between 1945-1950. The efforts of mobilizing this network in transforming and accommodating rural China in line with the international liberal norms of development to impede Communism had been expressed in the Rockefeller Foundation-sponsored NCCRR and continued in the post-war era in the JCRR due to the lobbying of James Yen and the American Cold War strategy of foreign aid to strengthen the liberal capitalist bloc in confrontation with the Soviet Union-led Socialist bloc in the pre-Cold War era. The gradualist liberal approach, which was modern science-inspired, scientific in methodology and democratic in its tone of grassroots participation was discussed with great interest at the Nanjing Conference. Although implicitly expected, the wishful plan of the liberal gradualists had fallen sharply into a small pilot project and the ambition to counteract the Communist radical revolution was smashed when PLA marched in cities and towns and took over the control in December 1949.

Generally, the impact of the UNESCO audio-visual programs in China were initially witnessed in the enrollments in the vaccination campaigns, followed by audio-visual education conducted by UNESCO's AVP group. The details of UNESCO's AVP indicate that the impacts of UNESCO in its member states were bound up in a longer historical trajectory. The UNESCO group had drawn on a long historical process of transcultural conversation and accommodation between Chinese indigenous conceptions of disease and healing and Western-derived modern medicine and hygiene in making the audio-visual materials on the subject of health to visually as well as verbally persuasive to rural communities in the Chinese villages.

The zeal for the cosmopolitan Datong ideal, UNESCO's East Asia Field Science Cooperation Office and UNESCO's Audio-Visual Project in China, were short-lived with limited visible impacts due to the unfavorable conditions. UNESCO's Oneworld ideal was quickly politicized and divided by the Iron Curtain in Asia, while the EAFSCO and the gradualist approach in the grand UNESCO Fundamental Education program were not allowed to develop sufficiently to accumulate processual effects. From UNESCO's point of view, it was more an issue of the insurmountable discrepancy between the idealized goals and confining reality. The implementation was constantly subject to the complexity and politics of the actor-network

involved, which would increase as the initiative travelled back and forth from the headquarters to national territories and local sites, and immensely exacerbated in the Civil War and Cold War atmosphere. In China, the entire actor-network of internationalists in the field of culture, science and education that laid the foundation for the relationship between UNESCO and China was completely transformed and politicized during this historical period and realigned afterwards.

However, it would be an oversimplification to say that the efforts of devising a global actor-network for scientific liaison or UNESCO's first flagship project in Fundamental Education turned out to be insignificant. The nationalist appeals to promote Chinese culture specifically Confucian perspective of cosmopolitan world order had continued to shape Beijing's approach to UNESCO. The experience of acting and networking in a global scientific liaison via FSCO or concerting a global actor-network to experiment with public health education was vividly described in the reports written by Lu Gwei-djen, Hubbard, McLaren and other participants, circulated in the broader world through the clearing house of UNESCO and it became profound legacy of UNESCO and its mission of global mental engineering. The short history of how China participated in the making of global science and the experimenting of global education via UNESCO in the post-war era is inspiring for understanding the role China currently plays in global system and for studying how the interaction between international organization and member states has diffused impacts in a connected world.

This dissertation offers a historical analysis of the diplomatic history of modern China by inquiring into the interactions between China and one of the most significant international organizations of the twentieth century, namely UNESCO. As indicated in the multiple, often overarching programs of UNESCO examined in this dissertation, the writing of each analytical chapter has drawn upon conceptual history, the history of science and the history of education; it also touches upon the social history of medicine and even visual culture in modern China. This dissertation demonstrates the intriguing and vivid story of how a global actor-network of scientists, experts, professionals in many fields partook in UNESCO-China relations during the period 1945-1950 practicing post-war internationalism with their expertise meanwhile dancing with politics at home and abroad, the diverse impact of which still has much resonance today.

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Glossary

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Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History	中央研究院近代史研究所
Alfred Saoke Sze	施肇基
All under Heaven (Tianxia)	天下
<i>Analects</i>	论语
<i>A New Treatise on Anatomy</i>	全体新论
Association of Chinese Scientific Workers	中国科学工作者协会
Aurora University	震旦大学
Autumn Harvest Uprising	秋收起义
Bai Chongxi	白崇禧
Baojia	保甲
Beijing University of Geology	北京地质大学
Benevolence (Ren)	仁
Bishan	璧山
<i>Book of Changes</i>	易经
<i>Book of Documents</i>	尚书
<i>Book of Poetry</i>	诗经
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<i>Book on Datong</i>	大同书
Botanical Society of China	中国植物学会
Boxer Protocol	辛丑条约
<i>Boxer Rebellion</i>	义和团运动
Gainianshi (Conceptual history)	概念史
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CAME (Conference of Allied Ministers of Education)	盟国教育部长会议
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Chen Lifu	陈立夫
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Chinese Association of Vocational Education	中华职业教育社
Chinese Communist Party (CCP)	中国共产党

Chinese Chemical Society	中国化学会
Chinese Democratic Socialist Party	中国民主社会党
Chinese Educational Film Association	中国教育电影协会
Chinese Meteorological Society	中国气象学会
Chinese National Commission to UNESCO	联合国教科文组织中国委员会
Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education (CNAAE)	中华教育改进社
Chinese Youth Party	中国青年党
Chinoiserie	中国风
Chu Wen Mang, Zuo Xin Min (to eradicate illiteracy, to make New People)	除文盲，作新民
Dowager Cixi	慈禧
Civil War	内战
Coolie	苦力
Cold War	冷战
Cultural Internationalism	文化国际主义
<i>Dagung Pao</i>	大公报
Dai Jitao	戴季陶
Datong	大同
David Z.T. Yui	余日章
Democracy	民主
Deng Xiaoping	邓小平
Deng Yingchao	邓颖超
Dingxian	定县
Dong Biwu	董必武
Dunhuang	敦煌
education without distinction	有教无类
Eight Nation Alliance	八国联军
Evidential Research (Kaoju)	考据
Examination Yuan	考试院
Fan Chia Chuang	范家庄
Fei Xiaotong	费孝通
Fenghua	奉化
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Franklin Ho	何廉
Fu Bingchang	傅秉常
Fundamental Education (Jiben Jiaoyu)	基本教育
Fu Sinian	傅斯年
Futting Cheng (Cheng Tienhsi or F.T. Cheng)	郑天锡，郑蕤庭
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Ginling College	金陵学院

Great Principle	大道
Gu Jiegang	顾颉刚
Guanxi	关系
Hailufeng Soviet	海陆丰苏维埃
Hang Liwu	杭立武
Hao Ping	郝平
harmony without uniformity	和而不同
hearts of the people	民心
H.H. Kung	孔祥熙
Hsia Chinglin	夏晋麟
<i>Huainanzi</i>	淮南子
Huang Ke Chen	黄桷镇
Hu Qianshan	胡乾善
Hugh W. Hubbard	胡本德
Hu Lin	胡霖
Hu Shi	胡适
hypothesize boldly and prove carefully	大胆假设, 小心求证
IIIC (International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation)	国际智力合作局
ILO (International Labour Organization)	国际劳工组织
Imperial University	京都大学堂
investigating things and extending knowledge (Gezhi)	格致
James Yen	晏阳初
Jan Smid	施茂德
Jiang Menglin	蒋梦麟
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Kuomintang (KMT)	国民党
KMT Central Executive Committee	国民党中央执行委员会
Kuo Yushou	郭有守
League of Nations	国联
leaning to one side	一边倒
Li Ximou	李熙谋

Legislative Yuan	立法院
Li Anche	李安宅
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Lin Zexu	林则徐
Lin Yutang	林语堂
literati	士大夫
Long March	长征
Lu Gwei-djen	鲁桂珍
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Luo Zhongshu	罗忠恕
Mei Yiqi	梅贻琦
Mao Zedong	毛泽东
Ma Shaochen	马少尘
Mass Education	平民教育
Mingzhi Building	明志楼
Ministry of Education (Educational ministry)	教育部
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Foreign ministry)	外交部
Movement (Campaign)	运动
Mr. Democracy	德先生
Mr. Science	赛先生
National Academy of Peiping (NAP)	国立北平研究院
National Central University	国立中央大学
National College of Rural Reconstruction	乡村建设学院
National College of Social Education	国立社会教育学院
National Education	国民教育
National Past	国故
National People's Congress	人民代表大会
National Resources Commission	国家资源委员会
National Southwestern Associated University	国立西南联合大学

Natural Science Society of China	中国自然科学社
New Culture Movement	新文化运动
New Life Movement	新生活运动
New Youth	新青年
Northern Pole Hall	北极阁
<i>On Evolution</i>	天演论
<i>One Belt One Road</i>	一带一路
<i>One Hundred Days' Reform</i>	百日维新
<i>only science could save the nation</i>	惟科学可以救国
<i>Reform and Open Policy</i>	改革开放
Pan Gongzhan	潘公展
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Pehpei	北碚
Peng Pai	彭湃
People's Daily	人民日报
People's Liberation Army (PLA)	人民解放军
People's Republic of China (PRC)	中华人民共和国
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Processual-relationalism	过程关系主义
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Science versus Metaphysics	科学与玄学
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Smallpox	天花
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West China Union University	华西联合大学
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Within the four seas, all are brothers	四海之内皆兄弟
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