

CHAPTER IV

THE DANGER OF SELF-DECEPTION IN IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

This chapter aims to reveal the danger hidden in so-called ideological education—the danger of human self-deception—and consequently to call for a genuine democratic education for Chinese society. The problem will be discussed from two aspects: (1) the present ideological education practiced in China (both Mainland and Taiwan) which lends support to a monopoly or concentration of power in the hands of an individual, a party or a class, and which leads to human self-deception; (2) the ignorance of the nature of ideology that causes the twin mistakes of dogmatism and utopia in this education.

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

When John Dewey (1859-1952) came to China in the early 1920s, he exercised an undeniable influence on Chinese intellectuals. His idea of democratic education is no longer strange. His disciples are still promoting it today and, as expected, it has made a significant contribution to the organization and the form of the present Chinese educational system.¹ However, it seems that the change brought by Dewey's ideas in the substance of our education is minimal indeed. Better said, Dewey's democratic education, like Rousseau's idea of autonomous education, could not grow in Chinese soil. It meets an invisible, quiet and forceful resistance from traditional Chinese education which is authoritative and politically motivated. In a word, it has no chance against the ideology of the nation, namely, Confucianism. Note that even Communists, with a strong propaganda "apparatus" and a no less authoritative educational system, could not destroy Confucianism. The so-called Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) planned by Mao Dze-dung (1893-1976) to put an end to Confucianism ironically confirmed Mao himself as not a Marxist but a Confucian. The Marxist Chin Kwan-tao thus complained that there is *de facto* no genuine Marxism in China but rather a Confucianized Marxism.

Aware of this fact, we call not for an abolition of Confucianism but for its reconstruction. Our main tactics will be a pincer

movement: the same point will be reached by arguing from opposite directions: a criticism of ideological education and a criticism of the naive belief in a ideologically free education. Both end in human self-deception instead of human development.

In Chapter II above and previous works,² we warned that, ideological education, by its very nature, does more harm than good, and we urged Chinese authorities to reconsider their educational systems. We also advocated a free, democratic, and less ideological education. The warning signs (the increasing crime rate, the explosive, uncontrollable orgy of materialism) are more or less the tip of an iceberg with which we cannot deal by means of violence, authority or political power. A rational revolution in education is called for: only through a radical break with traditional ideological education can we survive. We would then introduce communicative dialogue, dia-logics and openness into education replacing the monologue, mono-logics and closedness of Confucian education. Political earthquakes in China have not changed much. The tragedy of *Tienanmen* and the subsequent military and political curricula in Mainland China³ confirm our pessimism that ideological education still reigns and terrorizes education. In Taiwan the students sleep, dreaming of the paradise promised by nationalist ideology. So far only a handful of intellectuals and students have dared to challenge such a rigid education.⁴ With military officer cadres of the ruling party on campus, the government plays effectively the stick and carrot game of promising jobs, giving privileges and securing order (maintaining at the same time the police system). This paralyzes the academic curriculum by stuffing it full of ideological courses, military tactics and strategies, and so on. They enforce these and make them compulsory for all kinds of examinations, promotions, or job-selection. In a word, even though challenged by the students on both sides of the strait, the governments still stick to their ideological education.

THE BIRTH OF IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN CHINA

Confucius is credited with being the first master and the greatest educator of China. His teachings served as the back-bone of Chinese education, and his methods were believed to be the most adequate. Consequently, Confucian education was the only legal and effective one in China. It is the unique path to success.

Confucianism stresses order, stability and harmony. Its corollary principles are obedience, loyalty, fidelity, filial piety, and respect for elders. That means, education aims at forming a man of loyalty, fidelity, obedience or a superior man (*chun-tzu*). The question of to whom one is loyal, obedient, respectful, etc. and why one ought to be so, is never seriously treated by Confucians. The point they stress is whether or not we follow the set behaviors required in Confucian ethics. The following of rules is considered as simply a matter of fact, and consequently, education is no more than the simple task of forcing the students to accept and obey these rules. They argue that since human nature is treacherous (as Hsun Tzu [298-238 B.C.] complained), and man consequently inclined to disobey laws, one needs a set of rules which possess the irresistible power of coercing the people to obey. Confucian rules were declared to be morals for this reason. However, if one carefully examines Confucian arguments, one easily discovers other motives behind such a proclamation, namely, vested interests in power and wealth. Social stability is stressed as the most important thing, and politics are understood rather as a means of defending it. The Han dynasty (BC 206-220 AC) successfully defended their regime for more than 400 years thanks mainly to this education. Almost all officials were Confucians or trained in the Confucian spirit. Absolute loyalty was due to the monarch who was praised as a divine commander; the emperor credited himself with the mandate of heaven. He ceremoniously crowned himself with the title "The Son of Heaven." In a word, Confucianism is the ideology of monarchism, while education is no more than an ideological instruction.

Confucian Ideological Education

Once Confucianism is declared to be the syllabus of all kinds of examinations, and once it is revered as the state ideology, it is clear that the state education must be shaped after the main doctrines of Confucianism, and its method must be in conformity with the intention of the rulers.

First, the main doctrines are drawn from the main works of Confucius, such as the *Analects*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Mencius* and the *Great Learning*. These texts, the *Four Books*, are considered sacred. All educators are requested to accept them as fundamental and to faithfully learn them by heart. The main doctrines can be grouped in the following categories: (1) humanism, (2) righteousness, (3) filial piety, (4) order, (5) rectification of names

(6) sincerity, (7) love, (8) following the way and other categories related only indirectly to education such as ceremonies and music, (10) literature and arts, (11) mean and harmony.⁵ In our discussion, we will concentrate on the doctrines which directly influence present education.

It is true that Confucianism is fundamentally a humanism. But the meaning of humanism must be understood in a much broader sense of anthropocentrism. It is a theory centered on the human world with very little place for the divine. Confucius' main concern is how to regulate people harmoniously in a society, and how to keep such a society in order. He paid little attention to the question of individual happiness (in contrast to Aristotle and in sharp contrast to the hedonism and utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832)). In this context, his idea of education rests on those categories of order, rectification of names, loyalty, obedience, filial piety, propriety, and righteousness (2,3,4,5,6). As he clearly stated: "The Way of learning to be great (adult education) consists in manifesting clear character, loving the people and abiding in the highest good."⁶ He then explained what he meant by "manifesting clear character": "Young men should be filial when at home and respectful to the elders when away from home. They should be earnest and faithful."⁷ Confucius' disciple, Tseng Tzu (505-? B.C.) confessed:

Everyday I examine myself on three points: whether in counseling others I have not been loyal; whether in intercourse with my friends, I have not been faithful; and whether I have not repeated again and again and practiced the instructions of my teacher.⁸

Since the doctrines are considered sacred and inviolate, it is clear that they function as dogmas. There is no question or debate on their validity and legitimacy. The rest is simple: we just follow or respect them. The quoted passage of Tseng Tzu tells us that the best method of education is repeating again and again the teachings of the teacher (Confucius), and then applying them in our life. That means that we do not need invention or creation, and that the idea of critique is rather a taboo in education. True enough, the Confucians highly respect this kind of method of memorizing the texts, faithfully following their literal meaning and, of course, practicing them. One may raise objection to my one-sided interpretation by citing the case of Neo-Confucians who have interpreted Confucianism in their own ways. We will not delve into this problematic here. It is sufficient to

say that, even if their interpretations are different in meaning, it does not suggest that they used different methods. Their difference comes rather from their conflicting interests. In fact, they all emphasized the same method of uncritically obeying, repeating, memorizing. Since we have proved in our earlier works that this kind of method is part of ideology,⁹ we will pay more attention to the ideological factor in our presentation.

The Present Ideological Education

Our present education bears in its very substance the Confucian ideology. It even appears in different forms and uses modern technology. Instead of pure moral teachings, the state adds political doctrines, say patriotism, or nationalism. The police and party-cadres replace the Confucians in handling these courses. In the place of the emperor, one finds the leader. Instead of Confucian teachings, one substitutes those of the leader. The Mao-bible, the President's (Chang Kai-shek, 1887-1975) thoughts are the stuff required for all students and of course for all citizens, especially for the bureaucrats.¹⁰ At bottom, one discovers nothing new but the same "moral" requirements such as loyalty to the leader, absolute obedience to the party and the state, sacrifice for the nation and respect for the order (of the state or the party). We need to present some of the practices in the schools to show that these laws and methods are part of an ideological training.

- At the elementary school level, all students are asked to master all requirements prescribed in the textbooks called *Civic Education and Moral Education*¹¹ without a discussion and strangely, without an understanding of the subject. On top of this, the only method preferred by the authorities is "learning by heart" all subjects. The students have no need to understand why they should respect the leader, obey the elders and teachers, love the nation and so on. Needless to say, the important thing to the state is whether or not the students learn at all. In a word, the authorities downgrade or dismiss the creative capacity and incentive of the students, for that could be dangerous for the leader or the state.

- At the middle school level: The same contents are presented in a colorful and concrete way by selecting the political and cultural examples which can be used to prove the relevancy of the material. Added to the traditional moral teaching are the decrees and patriotic documents of the leader, which the students are required to memorize

for examination. To cope with the unrest of young students, these subjects are taught not by ordinary teachers, but by cadres or military officers. These “teachers” often use a military manner to carry out their jobs. The students are also encouraged to report to the authorities all “non-patriotic” or “anti-patriotic” acts of teachers and fellows students. In Mainland China, the main criteria for the selection of bureaucrats, cadres, and even university or college students are curiously Confucian such as obedience, loyalty to the leader (party) while in Taiwan these “moral acts” decide the future of a young man or woman. It is often reported that someone is not qualified for a job, or that a student is expelled from his school, or disciplined simply because of their “amoral” acts.¹²

- At the college level: Even in this stage, ideological education is still rigorously executed. The freshman (or woman) is required to take 8 credits of military training and the junior has to add 8 credits of ideology (thoughts of the leader), while the junior and senior have to digest almost 30 credits of general education (mostly laws, constitutions). In effect, out of 120 credits in a bachelor degree curriculum, one third is spent in ideological education. For some time, at Peking University, freshmen spent their first year in boot camp. The presence of a military force on campus intimidating academicians and students had become the norm. In 1983, I was invited by Soochow University in Taipei to give a lecture on Marx’s concept of praxis. I found before me, in the first row of the lecture-hall, a dozen officers ranging from lieutenant-colonels to two-star generals in full uniform. I could see the anxiety of the chairman of the department who begged me not to present sympathetically, but savagely to criticize Marx’s idea. The poor professor might have lost his career had I refused to comply with his request. Such an incident, as far as I know, is so common that no one takes note of it.¹³

In short, ideological education is never neglected by the authorities. Rather, such education is legitimized, not only by the coercive power of the state, but more dramatically by Confucian ethics which is taken to be the best means by the ruling class.

THE DECEPTION OF IDEOLOGY

In this part we will argue that any form of ideological education has a double consequence: positive and negative. Any ardent advocate of ideology is as dangerous as the fervent anti-ideologue. Thus, we tend to the idea of a relative ideology and to

the temporal and spatial necessity of ideological education.

We have argued elsewhere¹⁴ that ideology by its genetic development bears a double character, positive and negative, and that its process is dialectical in nature. We are against Marx's view of ideology as pure reactionary, static, idealistic norms and forms designed by the rulers to defend their interests. We opt rather for Paul Ricoeur's view that ideology functions first as a positive force representing a common view of a group, a society or a state.¹⁵ We share Clifford Geertz's understanding of culture as a form of ideology.¹⁶ However, we contend that even the most solid culture, the most ideal norm has to be changed too. Because human beings are in development and therefore need new norms, they create new forms of culture. Thus, we may conclude that ideology would lose its positive effects once society changes. It will become negative if it tries stubbornly to resist this change. Correlatively, we may say that there is no absolute ideology of universal and necessary (as religions might hold, or as Kant might defend in the name of transcendentalism). Such an ideology would be either utopian¹⁷ or absurd. Only a dictator or a dreamer would believe in such an ideology.

From Relative Ideology to Absolute Ideology

The teachings of Confucius are by no means obsolete. In fact, for better or worse, many of his ideas still exercise an undeniable influence on the Chinese people. We are curious to know how a teaching of more than two thousand years ago could still be relevant today, especially in the age of advanced technology. There is no mystery about it if we understand that the main concern of Confucius is human beings and their problems. The world is changing fast, but human beings are not. We develop more slowly. Fundamentally, the main problems of dealing with life and death are of the same character. They differ only in their level of complexity. The new knowledge about humans and our world can at best help us cope more effectively with these problems. At bottom, these problems are still the same. Thus, when we say that Confucius' ideas have some effect on our society, we want strongly to emphasize his humanism. The same could be done with Aristotle's ethics, but not with his physics. Aristotelian ethics concern themselves with human problems (which are little or no different even today) and therefore are still valid, while his knowledge of physics is no longer tenable in the face of new discoveries. This point helps us to

understand the concept of ideology at the same time as a correct system of ideas (Bacon, Cabanis, de Tracy, de Condillac) and as a false consciousness (Marx). We may formulate it like this: an ideology is correct as long as it reflects our reality; it is false once the reality is changing, disappearing, losing meaning. Thus, the most important point determining the relevancy of ideology is reality itself. We will argue from our view of reality that no ideology is absolute, but all are relative in character.

First, the idea of an absolute ideology is connected with the concept of absolute truth. The long Greek and Hebrew traditions insist on the uniqueness and identity of truth. They conceive of God as the ultimate truth, who serves as the foundation of all things. Thus, Plato's idea serves not only as a simple naked truth, but as the foundation of all other phenomena. Since truth is the one and only foundation of all phenomena, philosophers believe that if we can discover such a truth, we can explain the whole universe. Such truth could be water, air, fire, number or god. The theory that explains all things best is actually what the French encyclopedists later called ideology. The theories of Descartes, Spinoza have been based on such a concept of truth.

Second, such an idea is challenged first by pantheism and later by anarchism. To the people who happen to believe in these later theories, there is no absolute or everything is truth. They tend to hold the view that there exists only reality appearing to us in phenomena (Schopenhauer), in feeling (Feuerbach) or in experiences (Locke, Hume). They regard feeling, experience as the foundation of our knowledge determining our understanding. They hang on fast to reality, and all knowledge that is born from reality is true. Thus, we may say that they build another ideology on the concept of reality instead of truth.

Third, these two kinds of ideology do not of course satisfy the knowledge we have about our world. Our view is that we understand our world and ourselves not in terms of truth or reality, but in the process of human self-realization.¹⁸ Human beings are in a process of self-genesis, and from this comes our knowledge about the world, about our community and about ourselves. The more man develops, the more abundant and complete is his knowledge. The more one deals with the external world, the better one's image of reality and experience. That means there is neither a fixed, total, external truth, nor a simple fact that we call reality. Everything that appears first as a real fact will change in accordance with our capacity of perception, our experience and understanding, and even with our

position (physical or social). In a word, we seem to be in a permanent process of self-realization.

By upgrading the concepts of truth and reality with realization, we want to prove that any ideology which is constructed on the concepts of reality or truth would be incomplete and therefore become false in the course of history. Ideology, understood in terms of a common idea about feelings, experiences, etc., would be correct only when these feelings and experiences are unchanging—which is impossible.

Hence, what we regard as truth or reality, whatever we believe to be the true system of ideas (1) shows in fact a temporal and spatial truth, (2) generates a certain validity in a certain aspect of human life, (3) and consequently serves as the basis for a particular education. We call such a system of ideas relative ideology. It will cease to be ideology once it loses its validity, effectiveness and the sense of realization. Analogically, norms, morals, rules will vanish if they no longer reflect reality, if they cannot cope with the process of self-realization. A culture will become a museum piece if it has nothing to do with actual human life.

Confucianism as Absolute Ideology

In this context, we do not deny the validity of relative ideology in a historical period, or in a certain society. We contend that such an ideology is necessary for the stability of a society, for a consensus in human decisions, for preserving the uniqueness of a people and so on. Confucianism is no exception. It is a form of ideology which was valid and useful for Chinese society in the past. It reflected basic human needs and activities, and as such was accepted as the most appropriate form for regulating society. However, it became a false ideology when it claimed for itself an absolute role dictating every aspect of human life, when it proclaimed itself the foundation of all knowledge. Here we will briefly analyze its claims, in order to show that Confucianism has gone beyond the limits allowed for a correct ideology.

The first claim on the foundation of human morals and knowledge is a metaphysical claim. Mencius (371-289 B.C.) and Hsun Tzu both share the view that man by his very nature is either good (Mencius) or evil (Hsun Tzu). That means, like Plato, they believe that human nature is unchanging, that all we have to do is follow natural laws and on these we can construct ideas, laws, social norms, etc. They quickly and uncritically take the metaphysical claims

of Confucius for granted, without knowing that most of the claims are unfounded. Consequently, they lapse into historical determinism and reject the human capacity for development. They use external standards to measure a developing humanity. In doing so, they believe in a system of standards or norms and paradigms of knowledge which are prior to and independent from the historical and social context.

Consequently, the second claim would be a belief in the inertia of man: man is as he is. Human development is understood not in the sense of Darwin's theory of evolution or Piaget's cognitive and psychological development, but in terms of growth of moral awareness (which is immovable). It is true that Confucius himself advocated learning, and that through learning man is more perfect.¹⁹ It is also correct to say that Mencius devoted himself to character development,²⁰ etc. But these facts do not wipe out the naturalistic, deterministic essence of their theories. Mencius, for example, clearly insisted: "Those who follow the greater qualities in their nature become great men and those who follow the small qualities in their nature become small men."²¹ He made clear that all the moral laws are based on the mandate of Heaven: "There is nobility of Heaven and there is nobility of man. Humanity, righteousness, loyalty, faithfulness and the love of good without getting tired of it constitute the nobility of Heaven, and to be a grand official, a great official and a high official this constitutes the nobility of man. The ancient people cultivated the nobility of Heaven, and the nobility of man came naturally to them."²²

We come then to the third claim that, since human nature is of the same character, the business of education restricts itself to the search for this nature and to the practice of norms required to attain the full state of nature.

Education of Ideology or Education of Deception

Such a theory of human nature would lose its validity if it were not accepted by people or at least by a class. Plato's *Republic* would quickly be dismissed if it was not adopted by politicians. Likewise, Confucianism as a form of ideology could only have survived precisely because it benefited someone, say, the emperor and the intellectual class. The reason why we accept it could be explained by (1) the aspect of human interest and (2) the human need for communication. In the first case, Confucian ideology was a tremendous benefit to the rulers and in some cases to the people.

Entrenched by social norms and requirements, the people had to accept the *status-quo*, and the rulers had no fear of being stripped of privileges.

From the second aspect, Confucianism has successfully established one of the greatest systems of human communication. One just needs to follow norms in order to be calm, tranquil, peaceful and of course “human”:

The ancients who wished to manifest their clear character to the world would first bring order to their states. Those who wished to bring order to their states would first regulate their families. Those who wished to regulate their families would first cultivate their personal lives.²³

To be acceptable means to be practical and people chose Confucianism as their ideology due to its practicality. Unlike the impractical categorical imperatives of Kant, Confucian morals are not beyond human abilities. It is especially attractive for those in higher positions because of its repressive character over the people of lower status. The weakest have hope too, for they may call on the authority of Heaven to restrain the rulers. In a word, Confucian ideology mixes all aspects of the human life-world in one, from the religious to the political, from the social to the economic, from the moral to the legal, etc.

However, the people are often “capricious,” or weak in morals, and as such they may be an easy target of manipulation. They need to be protected, namely by means of education, especially moral and ideological education. But a moral education is not much different from an ideological training. The people were taught to believe in the absolute power of the emperor and the state, blindly to obey laws and to be patient, not to revolt, and so on. The rulers were empowered to invent new laws, to interpret Confucianism in accord with their interests, to administer and to police the system. The rulers played both the role of legislator and administrator, of watchman and judge. Hence, the aim of education was to make the people conscious of this fact, and aware of the danger of not fulfilling their required tasks. It is true that Chinese traditional education consists of learning moral laws and of learning the art of ruling. Legalists like Han Fei-tzu (280-233 B.C.) argued passionately that penal laws are natural, that laws are the best instrument to control society. Actually, another legalist, Lord Shang (d. 338 B.C.) had his own

reason to proclaim the absolute role of laws: he was worried about people's inclination toward their own interests which might jeopardize the rulers' interests: "the tendency of the people to pursue their interests is like the tendency of water to flow downward."²⁴

To impose laws on the people is certainly easy, but to make them bend their head before laws is much more difficult. One is inclined to break laws that are unreasonable. That is to say, one will not obey laws, or follow moral rules if they do not further one's own interests. A strict, legal Confucian ideology would crumble if it could not meet people's interests. However, the interests could not be equally distributed in terms of numbers, or of proportionality because everyone prefers to get more. The Confucian ideological education enters upon the scene as the best means of educating the people to accept laws and morals. It tries to change human views of life, human aspirations and desires and even human needs: one needs not material success, but high spiritual values; one must aspire to become a superior man, and one's own interest should be the Tao or the Way, not the world. In many aspects, Confucian education resembles the Christian catechism; its success is beyond doubt.

To enforce such an education, a policy of stick and carrot had to be used wisely.

- They awarded those who faithfully followed the rules with high positions and more privileges. A system of examination to select the mandarin was established. The candidate needed only to repeat the content prescribed in the classics and in the teachings of the rulers. The more they could memorize, the better chance they had of promotion. Parallel to the national examination, the private life of the candidate was thoroughly checked to see whether he and his family for at least three generations had been faithful to the emperor, moral, and so on.

- The award-system was fortified by a system of punishment. The fear of losing face, career, and even life itself because of a moral mistake was so tremendous that the people, and especially the educated, lived a double moral standard. They tried to hide their feelings, and even the truth. Disobedience, infidelity, and independence could be punished with a death sentence by the authorities. The amoral man was accused of being a traitor, evil, etc. Of course, there were no written laws on which one could rely to pass sentence on another, but the tacitly accepted unwritten laws derived from the Confucian ethical codes. No wonder penal laws were the most beloved by the rulers.

Present Education

The spirit of Confucian and feudal ideological education is kept intact in our present education. Its methods are slightly upgraded by introducing new techniques. Since we have discussed this problem in Chapter II above,^{2,5} here we need only emphasize the character of self-deception in such an education.

First, the reward and punishment systems are not the ideal ones in education. Today, a ministry, or a body responsible only for examinations has replaced the feudal ones. There are more examinations at all levels of education, from the purely academic to job selection, from bureaucrat promotion to scholarship. But these examinations cannot help one become more conscious of oneself. In contrast, he has no time for anything other than repeating ideological doctrines. His mind is determined by success or failure, i.e. by reward or punishment. He acts according to rules and deceives himself by ignoring his own existence while believing others. The police policy of the state does not help the students either. They cannot live freely as they wish. Thus, even if they follow moral norms, it does not mean that they are moral persons. They act in this way only because taught to do so.

Second, repression and passive reaction kill the creative ability of students. Present ideological education is built mainly on these two characters. It is correct to say that mainly due to this kind of education, Chinese society could not develop in the last two thousand years. China was a leader in science in an earlier age, but for most of the last century remained largely an undeveloped country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The critique of ideological education in China and Taiwan aims, of course, not at a refutation of ideology, but at revealing the hidden danger of any education based on rigid ideology. That does not imply being against any form of ideological education. In fact, we are conscious of its need. But the kind of ideology we mean here is a relative one. It must change and be upgraded in accord with human and social progress. Such ideological education has undeniable importance: without it we would not be able to have social organizations or even human communication. Without it, we could not deal with conflicts and problems, and, we venture to say, without it, nor would we have scientific progress. To believe in an absolute ideology, or to refute all forms of ideology, including the

relative one, is to lapse into another kind of self-deception: utopic and anarchic.

NOTES

¹ See for example John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (The Macmillan, 1916), and Kao K. Y., "Pragmatism in Current Education" in *The Main Currents of Present Education* (Taipei, 1988), pp. 51 ff.

² Cf. Tran Van Doan, "Ideology, Interests and Morality" in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Philosophical Foundation of Moral Education* (Taipei: Fugen University Press, 1988); "Ideological Education and Moral Education," in Tran Van Doan, Vincent Shen, George F. McLean, eds., *The Philosophical Foundations for Moral Education and Character Development* (Washington, D.C.: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1991) chapter 7; reprinted as chapter 2 in this volume; "Reflections on the Nature of Ideology," in *The Asian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.2, No. 1 (1989); reprinted as chapter 1 in this volume.

³ The *Tiananmen* incident refers to the brutal suppression of the movement of liberation by the Communist rulers in June 1989. Most of the participants in this movements were intellectuals or students from leading universities in Mainland China.

⁴ In March 1990, a similar movement to the *Tiananmen* took place in Taipei. The students occupied the Chang Kai-shek Memorial Hall to protest the conservative policy of the Kuomintang, and to demand for a totally new Congress. Ironically, this movement was tacitly supported by a faction of the Kuomintang, with a certain political motive. After this "success," the Taiwan faction of the Kuomintang gained the upper-hand. However, they were blind to the demands of the students. A few months later, a similar protest was independently organized by the students, but died dramatically and very quickly.

⁵ See for example the text-books prepared by The Ministry of Education: *Civic Education* (1985 ff.); *Citizen and Morality* (Taipei: National Institute of Compilation, 1985).

⁶ *The Great Learning*, chap. 17.

⁷ *The Analects*, 1: 68.

⁸ *The Analects*, 1: 49.

⁹ Tran Van Doan, "Ideological Education and Moral Education," op. cit., p. 220.

¹⁰ Up to 1990, all bureaucrats or public officers were required to study the thoughts of Dr. Sun, President Chiang, etc. Even in the university, faculty members were “encouraged” to study and write reports. Some incentives in form of prizes (first prize, e.g., being a sum of NT.50.000) has been set up to make the study more attractive.

¹¹ Tran Van Doan, “Ideological Education and Moral Education,” p. 189.

¹² It is well known that a special task force is set up in every department of the bureaucracy and schools. The so-called “Bureau in Charge of Personal Affairs” had a final say in the engagement or discharge of employees. This Bureau, due to the protest of the opposition and intellectuals was abolished in 1990, though its ghost still haunts academic circles.

¹³ The year of 1993 could be counted as the year of emancipation. The incidents unreported in the past - the so-called white terror - are now widely reported.

¹⁴ Tran Van Doan, “Ideological Education and Moral Education,” op. cit.; “Reflection on the Nature of Ideology,” op. cit.

¹⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*, op. cit.

¹⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, op. cit.

¹⁷ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (1943).

¹⁸ Tran Van Doan, *Reason, Rationality, Reasonableness* (1989), republished by The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy (Washington, D. C., 2001).

¹⁹ *The Great Learning*, chap. 1; *The Analects* 1:1. English translation of Chan Wing-tsit in: Chan Wing-tsit, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961). Hereafter as Chan.

²⁰ *Mencius* 6A:13; Chan, p. 59.

²¹ *Mencius*, 6A:15; Chan, p. 59.

²² *Mencius*, 6A:16; Chan, p. 59.

²³ *The Great Learning*, Chapter 1; Chan, p. 86.

²⁴ Cf. *Shang Chun-shu*, 23:38; Benjamin Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 331.

²⁵ Tran Van Doan, “Ideological Education and Moral Education.” Chapter 2 in this volume.

