

Qicheng Jing

- Born 3/3/1926 Shenyang, China; Passed 9/29/2008
- Spouse - Xingan Wang
- B.Edu (1947), M.A. (1950), both received at Fu Jen University. Honorary Doctor of Science (2005) Taiwan Fu Jen University



Major Employment:

- Institute of Psychology at Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) - 1950-1983, Assistant Research Scientist, Associate Professor, Professor
- Institute of Psychology at CAS - 1983-1987, Deputy Director
- Institute of Psychology at CAS - 1985-1995, Chairman of the Academic Committee
- Institute of Psychology at CAS - 1995-2008, Member of Academic Committee

SRCD Affiliation:

- SRCD Member

SRCD ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

Qicheng Jing

Institute of Psychology in Beijing
Chinese Academy of Sciences

Interviewed by Henry Wellman
University of Michigan
At the Institute of Psychology in Beijing
Chinese Academy of Sciences
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Wellman: I am Henry Wellman and I have the privilege of doing this interview. The oral history is being commissioned by SRCD, Society for Research in Child Development. So we should be sure and mention, because this goes all through your career, your interest in children and the research you have done. But not just that, your whole career, and your life. So we want to begin with information about your early days, and your education, and your family that led to you becoming such a famous psychologist. I know that you were born in 1926. Why don't you begin there? Where were you born, and what was your family like and your mother and father?

Jing: I would like to say it is my pleasure to be interviewed by Dr. Henry Wellman, and we have been friends for more than 20 years.

Wellman: Twenty seven, eight years, since 1979.

Jing: So I welcome you to come to Beijing and of course I would be happy to talk about myself.

I was born on March 3, 1926 in northeast China in the city of Shenyang. When I was a baby my father went to Japan to study and brought his family along, so my father, mother, my elder sister and I were all in Japan for 2 years. In 1928 we returned to China. In 1931 when the Japanese occupied northeast China, also known in the West as Manchuria we moved to Beijing.

Wellman: And you were four or five?

Jing: I was about four or five. I had my primary school education for the most part in Beijing. Then in 1937, Japan invaded north China. In several years Japan occupied almost all coastal areas of China and some inner parts of the country, so the Chinese government and some Chinese people had to move from place to place and finally they all settled in northwest China, mostly in cities in Szechuan and Yunnan provinces, and Chongqing in Szechuan province was assigned as the temporary capital of wartime China

My father was first a high official, later a banker, he was a rich person. I have an elder sister, two younger sisters and a small brother. As the Sino-Japanese war made people move to remote areas of China, my father and mother were concerned over the education of their children, so in 1938 he sent me and my elder sister to Hong Kong for education. Hong Kong was a British colony at that time. I went to a British boy's boarding school called St. Joseph's College, it was a catholic school; my sister went to a different girl's boarding school. We were cared by a friend of my father who lived in Hong Kong. My other family members were also in Hong Kong temporarily, then they all moved to Chongqing.

At this school at each grade, all boarders, including Chinese and non-Chinese students, were assigned in Class A. Chinese day students were assigned in Class B and Class C. Class A comprised of local Chinese students, British students, Portuguese students (from Macau) and Spanish students (from the Philippines), it was a mixture of different nationalities. The textbooks and speaking language were English. This was where I learned my English. I studied there for four and more years. On December 8, 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and on the same day Japanese ground forces, airplanes and warships bombarded Hong Kong.. In 17 days Hong Kong was besieged, I and my sister were caught in Hong Kong and couldn't get out of the colony. I and my sister had to take shelter in my father's friend house.

Wellman: In 1941?

Jing: 1941, December 8.

Wellman: Oh, '42 probably. Early '42.

Jing: December '41, you can look up the history. It is December 8.

Wellman: December the 8th! Right after Pearl Harbor.

Jing: Just the same day.

Wellman: The same day as Pearl Harbor they came to Hong Kong?

Jing: Their bombardment of Hong Kong, cannon shelling from Shenzhen border (Shenzhen near Guangzhou was already occupied by the Japanese), bombardment from battleships, also air raids. Hong Kong was occupied after 18 days. And there was the superstition at that time that the word Hong Kong in Chinese is made up by 2 characters, the first character Hong can be decomposed into 1, 10, and 8, meaning 18, the second character Kong means harbor, so in 18 days the Japanese come into Hong Kong. Those were difficult times. People were starving, no food, no water, looting by local people. The Japanese military authority gave their soldiers and marines about one week's free time to go to households asking for women, watches, rings, everything that they can carry in their pockets, and if you don't obey you will be shot.

Wellman: Yes, you had to be very careful.

Jing: In 1942 we somehow were able to get two tickets on a cargo ship, we were on the cargo deck, after 9 days we arrived in Shanghai.

Wellman: Were you and your sister able to be together?

Jing: Yes, my father's friend and family were on the same ship and I and my sister were with them.

Wellman: You were together.

Jing: More about Hong Kong. After Japanese occupation of Hong Kong the schools were closed, we were helpless and my father's friend was very kind and accepted us into his family. We were young, I was 15 and my sister 18, we moved together to his house. His house was later looted by local people and also bombarded by Japanese shelling, all his family members and we two had to move to another safe place, into another family's house who is a pious believer of Buddhism. Many people were so kind and helpful in difficult times.

After Hong Kong we joined my mother in Shanghai (my mother went to Shanghai earlier), my father was still in Chongqing and later in Kunming. We then moved from Shanghai to Beijing. In Beijing we lived in the Jing's big feudal family house. My grandfather, two uncles and their family members all lived in a very big courtyard house.

Wellman: And you and cousins—

Jing: Yes, cousins, I was the eighth among the cousins. Actually it was three families living in different smaller courtyards in one big courtyard house.

Wellman: And how many brothers and sisters, just you and your sister?

Jing: I have four.

Wellman: Five.

Jing: Five including me. I have an elder sister, I, a younger brother, two smaller sisters. The two younger sisters still lived with my father in Chongqing.

Wellman: But your mother is with you and uncles and aunts and grandfather.

Jing: Yes, in that big, big family.

Wellman: Yes. And you are 15 or 16 now.

Jing: I was 16. Since Hong Kong was occupied by the Japanese in December 1941, I have not graduated from Hong Kong high school yet. Beijing was also in Japanese occupation and very few universities were open.

Wellman: The Japanese were in Beijing?

Jing: The Japanese were in Beijing.. So I somehow went to Fu Jen University. It was a Catholic university, run by German missionaries.

Wellman: Here in Beijing?

Jing: Here in Beijing.. Now the University building is still there. It was combined with Beijing Normal University in 1953.

Wellman: So over in that part of town.

Jing: Yes. I talked to the Director of Studies of Fu Jen University saying that I had not graduated from high school because of the close down of Hong Kong schools, that I still needed a semester to get a graduate certificate. So he approved me to take the entrance examination-in psychology. So that is how I came to psychology as my life's career.

Wellman: That is how you became a psychologist. Oh, this is a good story.

Jing: Yes, that was in 1942, so I was admitted to the psychology department in Fu Jen University.

Wellman: In psychology. What had been your, in high school, what had been your interest.

Jing: Actually I had no definite interests. I was a handy boy, I liked to use my hands, in hobbies, to play with things. I was an amateur carpenter, tried to make things, I liked destroying toys to find out what's the mechanism inside. I was very naughty as a child and young boy. In Hong Kong I participated in the inter-school arts and crafts exhibition.

Wellman: Was it in Hong Kong that you began to learn English?

Jing: Yes, that's right. Because at that time very few people from north China knew Cantonese (the speaking language of Hong Kong), and Hong Kong people knew nothing about mandarin, and my English is better than my Cantonese, so I spoke English most of the time, that was how I got along.

Wellman: And the high school was in English, instruction in English?

Jing: Yes. And when I am in Fu Jen University, the head of the psychology Department was a German professor named Joseph Goertz who was a student of Lindworsky, he a student of Oswald Külpe of Würzburg, so we learned the German psychology system. I did very well in psychology, and in my senior year I was already a part time assistant to Professor Goertz. Although I learned first year and second year German, but we communicated in English. The books were in English, he lectured in English. He dictated his lecture drafts in English, I typed his manuscripts to be used as lecture texts.

Wellman: And you were saying earlier that that University (Fu Jen) was still here because of its German connection, right? Germany and Japan were allies.

Jing: Right. At that time most missionary run Universities had a Chinese President and a foreign Rector. That University's President was Chen Yuan, a famous Chinese historian, the German Rector was Rahmann. Because the university was run by a catholic mission and with a German Rector, so it survived during Japanese occupation. Germany and Japan were allies, the so-called axis countries. After WWII in 1945, the German Rector of Fu Jen University was replaced by an American Rector, so the university still survived. The psychology department had all its equipments from Germany, all by Zimmerman's, from Hipps chronoscope to memory drums and tachistoscopes, everything. And I was an assistant in my senior year and during graduate school. I took care of the apparatus in the experimental psychology laboratory, set up experiments for the students.

Wellman: And what part of psychology in particular were you most interested in college?

Jing: I was most interested in experimental psychology.

Wellman: Experimental psychology.

Jing: Doing experiments.

Wellman: Had you started your interest in vision yet or human factors, your airplane research?

Jing: Not yet.

Wellman: Not yet, just experiments, yes.

Jing: At that time we were very restricted, only a few Universities were still in Beijing, there was little communication among psychologists. In 1947 I graduated from Fu Jen University, got my bachelor's degree in Psychology.

As I said before, I became an assistant when I was a senior student, and the professor liked me and asked me to stay at Fu Jen, but there was no Department of Psychology at the graduate school, so I enrolled in the Department of Anthropology (they also call it ethnology) which was a strong discipline in a Catholic university. I took courses mainly in psychology and continued to be an assistant, looking after the laboratory and the department library.

Wellman: Yes, like ethnography.

Jing: The Catholic university had a strong tradition in cultural anthropology, it published a very famous journal called "Monumental Sinica", as far as I know it still exists in Europe to-day. At that time the highest degree a Chinese universities could confer was the Master's degree.

Wellman: Good but this, . . . one of the things I wanted to ask you, was your master's work, I know it is about children's drawing and ancient drawing. That is the anthropology part.

Jing: Yes, prehistoric.

Wellman: Prehistoric.

Jing: Yes, my Master's thesis was "Prehistoric painting and children's drawing compared: A contribution to the 'Psycho-genetic' problem of development", it was the comparison between prehistoric cave paintings of Altamira in Spain, Lascaux in France and other cave paintings dated back about 35,000 years and present day children's drawings. As I was from psychology and also a student in the ethnology department, so my thesis has to be related to anthropology and psychology, the title of my thesis was chosen by an anthropology professor and my psychology professor. The thesis' conclusion was against the recapitulation theory of J. M. Baldwin who developed an evolutionary genetic psychology, stating that ontogenetic development of the individual follows the pattern of phylogenetic development of the race. You can see there is a religious flavor in this thesis against the evolution theory since the tutoring professor was a catholic missionary.

Wellman: So this was partly anthropology, with children's drawings.

Jing: Yes, on children's drawings. So I received my master's degree in 1950. 1949 was the founding of the People's Republic of China.. I was among the last group of graduate students from Fu Jen University. In 1953 Fu Jen was combined with Beijing Normal University.

Wellman: That's right, exactly. And you said Zhang Houcan was there too?

Jing: Yes, Zhang Houcan was one year junior than I, after I left Fu Jen she succeeded me as assistant in the Department of Psychology. She stayed on after Fu Jen joined Beijing Normal University.

Wellman: Well this was another question, how did you meet your wife? Was it at this University?

Jing: Yes, she was a student in psychology. When I was a junior student she came to the department as a freshman student. There we got acquainted, particularly after I became an assistant.

Wellman: In psychology.

Jing: We married in 1948. The People's Liberation Army troops of the Communist Party came into Beijing in 1949, the Peoples' Republic of China was founded in the same year.

Wellman: In October, right? October 1st or so—

Jing: Yes, that is right, October 1st, 1949 was the founding of the People's Republic of China. After graduation from graduate school in September 1950 I was dispatched, at that time we called it, together with a group of Fu Jen Master's graduates to the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Other graduate students were assigned to other institutes of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and I was assigned to the preparatory office of the Institute of Psychology.. The preparatory office had just started, had only one room and 3 or 4 people.

Wellman: And where was it, it wasn't here, it was in—

Jing: The Chinese Academy of Sciences' main building was on the west side of the Beihai Park, on the northwest side of the Forbidden City.. The preparatory office was on the third floor in the Academy of Sciences' main building. Now the building was pulled down.

Wellman: Oh yes, close to the forbidden city. Behai—

Jing: Across the street of the Chinese Academy of Sciences' main building was the north gate of the central government of People's Republic of China at Zhong Nan Hai.

Wellman: Yes.

Jing: That was a beautiful old building for the Academy of Sciences.

Wellman: One room for psychology.

Jing: Another room is a preparatory office of the Institute of Mathematics, also with three or four people. There was one door between the two rooms and one servant serving both Institutes. That was in 1950. Later the preparatory office of Institute of Mathematics moved to Tsing Hua University and we occupied both rooms.

Wellman: '50?

Jing: In 1950 we were five or six people, who came from different universities in the months of September and October, including the Director of the office Prof. Cao Richang from University of Cambridge (a student of Bartlett), then in University of Hong Kong and returned to Beijing. A woman professor Liu Jing Ho from Columbia University. Others were young assistants from Chinese universities.

Wellman: Anybody else that I might have met? Who else were the original psychologists?

Jing: No more. All elderly people passed away, the Director was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution and died of cancer.

Wellman: You're the junior person, were you the youngest too?

Jing: Oh, I was 24. And I'm now (2007) the oldest person here (at the current Institute), I've witnessed the full history of the Institute.

Wellman: A founding member.

Jing: I was among the founding members, for I was only a junior person at that time. By 1951 we established the Institute of Psychology. As the story goes, for reasons which still I'm not very clear, in 1952 the Institute changed its name, it was called the Psychology Research Laboratory, or the Office of Psychology, of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Wellman: The Office, okay.

Jing: I think, if I can assume, the reason was that at that time the Russians, led by Lysenko, began to attack the so-called Morgan and Mendel's bourgeois road in genetics, a political campaign against Western biology. Also Soviet psychology began to criticize idealism and Western bourgeois psychology. We were learning from the Soviet Union, I think Chinese psychologists saw it not be appropriate for the discipline to stand out, to be noticed. At that time the Chinese Academy of Sciences had also a section for social sciences, psychologists thought it may be wise to be included in the natural science section. This proved to be a correct decision, as the social sciences suffered more than the natural sciences in later political movements.

Both speaking at once

Wellman: Yes, idealism, that's right. And it became reflexology and Pavlovian reflexology.

Jing: Yes, there were Pavlovian conditioned reflex, Behkterev' reflexology. The establishment of psychology in Russia was by Chelpanov, a student of Wundt. But he was criticized after the Russian revolution as upholding an idealistic psychology. Pavlov's students were divided into two groups, one group criticized the other group. So as I just said, in China we kept a low profile. At that time we also had to go around town to buy laboratory equipments and to find a house for the Institute. We found a courtyard house for the Institute. The Academy bought the place and in 1951 or 1952, we moved to this place. The total staff had increased to about 30 in a few years.

Wellman: In that same part of Beijing, close over to Behai Park?

Jing: No, it is more to the western part of the city. The Office of Psychology lasted until 1956. There was a big psychology department in Nanjing University, Professor Shu Pan was the President of that University. In 1956 the Nanjing University psychology department closed, the department with its faculty and books moved to Beijing and joined the Office of Psychology. The two institutions together made up a new Institute of Psychology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences with Pan as its new director. Altogether there were about 40 faculty members in the new Institute.

Wellman: And he was the Director, right? Pan Shu?

Jing: He became the new Director. The original Director Cao became the Vice Director of the Institute.

Wellman: What parts of psychology would be represented, then, at that time?

Jing: In 1950 there was a joint meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences, they came to a decision that all medical and biological sciences, including psychology, must be based on the Pavlovian theory. This decision was endorsed by the Soviet highest authority, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union psychology adopted Pavlovian theory as its foundation. In China we followed that example, the Chinese Psychological Society decided that “psychology must be reformed under the guidance of Marxism and Leninism and based on Pavlovian theory”. By reform we meant criticize Western psychology and only adopt the useful parts. In the 1950s the Soviet government sent Soviet experts to China as consultants in all disciplines, in the academic fields they gave lectures in China.

Wellman: Including psychology.

Jing: Including psychology. But the Russian psychologists sent to China were mostly philosophers, they gave talks in Beijing and sometimes the audience was more than a thousand people, including people coming from all parts of China.. We all have come to listen to these talks. But what they say were really Marxist philosophy, not much psychology.

Wellman: Right, Marxism—

Jing: They criticized Western Psychology as idealism or bourgeois ideology. At that time Vygotsky was still not well recognized by the Russians. His works were first translated in the West, and recognized by Russian psychologists quite late.

Wellman: He was sort of out.

Jing: Yes. And somehow they (the Russians) recognized Piaget.

Wellman: Is that right?

Jing: Yes, the Russians spoke positively about Piaget after the revolution.

Wellman: The Soviets did? Were okay with Piaget? I didn't know that.

Jing: All psychologists had to learn Pavlov's works.

Wellman: In Russian, or were they translated into Chinese?

Jing: All Pavlov's works were translated into Chinese, some from Russian some from English. I participated in translating Horsely Gant's English edition of Pavlov's “Lectures on conditioned reflexes” into Chinese.

Wellman: Did you learn some Russian?

Jing: At that time we all have to learn Russian. Most people can read Russian and can translate, but very few people can speak or write in Russian. Most people forgot it all now. All biology departments have built Pavlovian laboratories, exactly the same way as the Russian laboratories. At the Institute of Psychology we built several conditioned reflex laboratories, replicated Pavlov's experiments.

Wellman: With animals mostly or with humans too?

Jing: With dogs, the same as you see the pictures in Russian books.

Wellman: With dogs, the same exactly (as Pavlov), yes, right.

Jing: The saliva experiments.

Wellman: The saliva, yes.

Jing: We collect saliva drops from the saliva gland, used smoked kymographs to and record the results. The Institute even designed an electric driven kymograph, and made by a Chinese factory, and given to Russian psychologists as gifts.

Wellman: To record how much.

Jing: Everywhere.

Wellman: So that's the kind of psychology. You learned Pavlovian Psychology almost exclusively.

Jing: This kind of Pavlovian laboratory was everywhere in China. We also learned Russian psychology books. Actually except the first chapter on philosophy, the other chapters were not much different from German psychology books.

We also did basic research (besides Pavlovian conditioning), mostly focused on Education. There is a tradition in China that psychologists work on education.

Wellman: So Pavlovian and education.

Jing: Pavlovian, educational and developmental psychology. Piaget was very influential in China, some even replicated his conservation experiments. Chinese psychologists also did experiments on the two signal systems which Pavlov mentioned in his late years, and developed by his student Ivanov Smolenski after Pavlov's death. This was a theory of language acquisition, the spoken word is the second signal system developed by conditioning of the first signal system, i.e., the conditioning of sensory stimuli. My group did experiments in perception. This continued until 1957 when the Anti-Rightist movement came along. This was a nation-wide political movement aimed at intellectuals. Many professors and the psychologists were labeled as Rightists. Once you get this label as Rightist, you are finished. You cannot work, your salary cut, you have to go to do labor work.

I think it was in 1958, another campaign against psychology occurred. It was not a regular political movement, it started in Beijing Normal University and was against psychology and psychologists. Psychologists were accused of using our universities to train young people to depart from Marxist principles, that the psychology taught in universities was based on Western doctrines to do away with class struggle (class consciousness). Some psychologists suffered from this criticism. Particularly psychologists returned from the West, trained in Chicago, Harvard and other places, were severely criticized.

Wellman: So there was like Red and Expert. Right, so you had to be Red and Expert.

Jing: Yes,

Wellman: In the '50s?

Jing: In 1957, the Anti-Rightist movement, you can look this up in history books or encyclopedias.

Wellman: So what happened to you then, you were . . . you escaped?

Jing: We were at the Institute of Psychology in the Academy of Sciences, in the natural science section. Psychology was considered as a natural science, that was much better. The Anti-Rightist movement was a big movement, involving all intellectuals in China.

Wellman: When did China break its relations with the Soviet Union, and throw out the Soviet experts and become . . . when was that? Because that would have changed psychology.

Jing: Yes, that was about in 1959 and the early the '60s. That was during Khrushchev's time, we broke away from the Soviet Union, all Soviet experts pulled out, also took away with them the factory plans that they helped build, but we still were independent from the West, from the US. In these years we just went our own way, and did many really good researches. My perceptual studies were mostly done in these years.

Wellman: Still in those areas, okay, education, development . . .

Jing: (1) Education, (2) developmental, (3) industrial, (4), basic cognitive processes.

Wellman: Basic experimental, yes—

Jing: Experimental, they call it cognitive now. Very few people were in this area because we didn't have apparatus, that needs money and we didn't have funding. This happened until the Cultural Revolution.

Wellman: Was this the time, after the Soviets were gone, that you began your research on airplane pilots, aviation?

Jing: During that period the basic scientific policy was that scientists must contribute to the modernizations of China. Your work must have concrete effects.

Wellman: Yes, applied psychology.

Jing: Yes, not constructing theories in what we called the Ivory Tower, or thinking about new problems that do not have immediate effects to society. So everybody tried to find work that can have immediate applications outside of the laboratory, This was how we came to study aviation psychology and color.

Wellman: Oh, I see, color.

Jing: Color studies at that time.

Wellman: Already.

Jing: The wife of Mao, Jiang Qing, wanted to establish an independent color television system, not copying from Europe or America. The government invested money into color television research.

Wellman: Yes.

Jing: They wanted to go against the Western TV color systems. You know the world has two TV systems, (1) one is the Pal system in Europe (Germany), (2) another is the NTSC system of United States. Jiang Qing wanted China's to have its own system, following neither Germany nor USA.. They started to organize people to do work on color TV. So we took this opportunity to do some color research. Our physicists working in optics understood the electronic system but did not understand how subjective color experience can be transformed into physical

quantitative terms (numerical units). We know that this is psychophysics, we are familiar with this. This is colorimetry, i.e., the science of measuring colors in quantitative units. So we wrote papers and books on color and they were very, very well received by all disciplines that had to do with color, in photography, color TV, printing, architecture, textile industry, etc. We established a basic Chinese color system. Of course, not a Chinese color TV system. It is foolish to establish our own TV system.

Wellman: Oh yes, this is some of your favorite, I mean famous work on Chinese color charts and different—

Jing: So widely received, even now. Yes, there were several hundred citations on our books. They just don't understand how subjective experience can be translated into physical terms, i.e., into quantitative measures. Actually we came into the field of metrology. So we came to color, came to pilot training. Some of us even worked on airplane cockpit designs.

Wellman: Yes, the instruments. But this is some of your, these are big contributions that you made to psychology both in aviation and in color.

Jing: Then came the Cultural Revolution.

Wellman: Yes, so you were working on aviation and color—

Jing: I was working on aviation, color, size and distance perception, classical perception problems. At that time I was only able to read some Western journals, we were closed up; we have no way to communicate with foreign colleagues, nor were we allowed to communicate with the West, so we were doing things in closed doors, only following trends from the very limited literature we can get. I think if our works were translated into English, it would be welcomed internationally. Now, of course, they are outdated. So that went on until the Cultural Revolution.

Wellman: And in your color work, you said “we,” so several people were doing it?

Jing: Yes.

Wellman: Was there, like the Institute works now, there is sort of a head person and several people in his team. Were you part of a team?

Jing: Yes, I was, actually I was the leader of a team on experimental psychology, the head of it. Later I was the team leader in child development.

Wellman: You were the head, on color vision.

Jing: Yes. Actually I was always the leader of various teams. On color vision. The Cultural Revolution came in 1966. One of the leaders of the Cultural Revolution was Yao Wenyuan, later one of the Gang of Four. The Gang of Four was Jiang Qing (Mao's wife); Zhang Chunqiao; Wang Hongwen; and this Yao Wenyuan. Yao was the writer of the Gang. On the eve of the Cultural Revolution maybe Yao saw that psychology may be a weak point to provoke an incident, He criticized a paper on color preference by Chen Li, then President of Hangzhou University, a leading Chinese psychologist trained in Cambridge. He passed away only a few years ago at age 102.

Wellman: Wow, I didn't know that, 102.

Jing: One hundred and two. Yao picked this paper as his target, saying that this is what our psychologists are doing. They are doing nothing significant, of no meaning to society, design a

topic, play with an experimental procedure, do the research, and publish a paper, spending the people's money for acquiring their own personal fame.

Wellman: Right. Where? Where did that come out, the criticism? I have heard this, but was it published under his name, or was it a pseudonym?

Jing: Yao used a penname (pseudonym) of Ge Ming Ren (the sound of the name can be interpreted as Revolutionary Man in Chinese). Yao's article was published in a widely read newspaper The Guangming Daily (a newspaper for intellectuals). A week later the Cultural Revolution began with a paper written by Yao published in a Chinese newspaper, a little more later it was made known that Ge Ming Ren was really Yao Wenyuan.

Wellman: Okay, I have heard this, yes.

Jing: When Yao published his article in his pseudonym, on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, there arose a debate among psychologists. Most psychologists were on the side of Chen Li, saying that psychology as a science can do basic research on topics of no immediate significance, to acquire new knowledge in the exploration of the unknown is a part of scientific endeavor.

Wellman: This was famous not just for psychology but wasn't it for all of the cultural revolution. It was the beginning of an attack on all academics. . . Okay, to begin with. How did this influence you, since the article being criticized was on color, it was on color preference, and you were doing color vision.

Jing: Our color study was different, our study was purely natural science, considered more attached to physics and optics, and for applied purposes.

Wellman: So you were—

Jing: However, in the debate we stood on Chen Li's side (supporting color preference study), so fell into the trap, for this we were criticized later.

Wellman: Yes, basic research.

Jing: We stayed on the side of basic research. But after a few weeks the Cultural Revolution started. Psychology's revolution started with Yao's paper. So that's the landmark of the cultural revolution in psychology. As people came to know that Yao was Ge Ming Ren, the Cultural Revolution was spreading all over the country. A wave of fear befell on all psychologists. Yao gradually became the spiritual leader of the revolution, writing articles in the People's Daily (a leading official newspaper) directing the course of the Revolution.

Wellman: So, is this one of the reasons that psychology was one of the first sort of disciplines closed down in the cultural revolution?

Jing: That's right. As the Cultural Revolution went on, it went more and more in depth, gradually revolutionary people started to criticize psychology. And all kind of names came down on psychology: a pseudo-science, a bourgeois ideology, a discipline corrupting young people, spending people's money with no contribution to society, publishing papers for personal fame, these and that. And finally psychology was made known as a bourgeois ideology and pseudo-science. All psychological institutions and departments closed down.

Wellman: Yes, closed down.

Jing: The Institute of Psychology, being an “obsolete” organization, was suspended. All its faculty members had to move to a farm in Hubei Province near Wuhan, about 2 thousand kilometers from Beijing.

Wellman: Everybody went more or less to the same place?

Jing: Everybody went to the same place.

Wellman: I didn’t know that.

Jing: So we did labor work for 2 to 3 years, my wife went first, she was there three years, I was there two years. And we call the place Five Seven Cadre School, because Mao announced on May 7th (the fifth month the seventh day, so the Five Seven Cadre School) in the previous year that intellectuals should go to the factories and farms to learn from the workers and peasants to reform their bourgeois minds.

Wellman: So you and Wan Chuanwen and Fang Fuxi and everybody?

Jing: Everybody.

Wellman: What did you do then, because I know Fang Fuxi told me he was a schoolteacher for—

Jing: He (Fang Fuxi) was somewhat different, because he was a graduate student he was asked to go to a small town to teach middle school.

Wellman: He went to a different place.

Jing: A different place, but quite far from Beijing, in Hubei Province. The farm we were in was a farm for prison convicts before we came. The convicts moved to another place to transfer the farm to us.

Wellman: Oh yes, a prison farm.

Jing: At that place, in the rice fields there was a kind of tiny worm which resides in the body of snails, called schistosomes, its larvae penetrates into the human skin and cause the disease of schistosomiasis which damages human tissues and the bladder. People who goes into the water to work in the rice fields had to wrap up their legs with cloth bandages (soaked in medicine and dried up) to prevent the contamination of the disease.

Wellman: A leech, leeches.

Jing: It resides in moist, marsh places.

Wellman: Yes, like marshy.

Jing: So uncomfortable. People became victims while working there.

Wellman: Yes, prisoners.

Jing: We never used the word “prisoners.”

Wellman: And what were the crops?

Jing: wheat, rice, cotton, also corn.

Wellman: Wheat, cotton I remember. Your wife and you were together?

Jing: We were together but lived in different dormitories, we were in a kind of military organizations.

Wellman: Yes, different barracks.

Jing: In women's barracks, men's barracks. We were about six or eight people in one room, two-level beds. Always a few intellectuals were picked out as targets to be criticized for unsatisfactory work, no matter if their work was satisfactory or unsatisfactory. You know I was a handyman and did carpentry work. It was much better for me.

Wellman: Yes, yes you said you were handy.

Jing: I know carpentry. I fixed tables and beds. Finally I made cow carts.

Wellman: Oh yes, oxcarts.

Jing: Oxcarts, yes, I made those big things and many people helped me. I taught them how to make these things. Actually it was very simple, you just buy used truck wheels together with the axle, fix it under the big wooden cart, that's all. The carts are very simple, but it was a challenge. The local farmer carpenters were very nice, eager to help. They used heuristics, i.e., fixed rules, passed down from their masters. For example, where should the wheel axle go? The axle should be three inches behind the middle point of the cart. That is the right place where the load of the cart exerts the right pressure on the back of the ox which makes pulling easy.

Wellman: Yes, see, you were still being a psychologist, learning about expertise.

Jing: I also worked in pig sties.

Wellman: Pig—

Jing: I went to raise pigs. I was living in a small cottage room at the end of a chain of pig sties. This was the most comfortable place because you don't have to rise early to go to the fields, and avoid criticisms. You are an individualized worker. Of course, the living place was dirty and shabby. It seems at times of difficulty mental comfort is more important than physical comfort.

Wellman: Yes, but aren't those pigs very smelly.

Jing: Yes. But we tried to make the place as clean as possible, we showered the pig dens several times a day, and I liked piglets. I helped give birth to those little pigs, after several days they are white and plump, much better than the stuffed toys, very nice to play with. I watched their behavior, very interesting.

Wellman: Were you looking at imprinting on the mothers.

Jing: How the small pigs were being fed by the mother pig. They each chose a nipple and never changed afterwards, of course the early born and stronger ones find the better nipples. The mother pig was lying sidewise with a piglet on each nipple, the mother gives milk while making a snoring sound. If she falls asleep and is quiet then there is no milk for their kids, at this time one baby pig goes around the back of the mother and goes to the front, pops his nose at the mother pig's nose. The mother awakes and making the snoring noise again, she again feeds milk. The small pig returns by the same path (around the back of the mother) and sucks

the assigned nipple. This behavior repeats itself mechanically under the same conditions. After the Cultural Revolution I read Konrad Lorenz. These were the imprinting behaviors observed by the ethologists.

Wellman: Ethology, you were doing your ethology.

Jing: Yeah, ethology, Lorenz, Tinbergen, von Frisch who got the Nobel Prize. I have read the whole book of “Sociobiology: The New Synthesis” by E. Wilson.

Wellman: How interesting, did you write a paper on that?

Jing: Not a paper, but I wrote a small paragraph on that in one of my books. So that’s the last of the tales of the Cultural Revolution. It almost stopped suddenly.

Wellman: So when were you, what year was it you were—

Jing: From 1969 to 1972. Do you know Lin Biao? His plane crashed in Mongolia, he was assigned to be the successor of Mao, but tried to revolt against Mao. In our farm the main administrator was an officer from the Chinese army.

Wellman: Yes, PLA.

Jing: Yes, a PLA officer. Suddenly he did not lead us anymore. We were free, no work, can go about as we liked. We sensed that something very important happened.

Wellman: This was ’72, ’73?

Jing: We returned to Beijing in 1972.

Wellman: And you had been there how many years? Two or three years?

Jing: I was two years, but my wife was there three years. I came to the farm several months after my wife.

Wellman: And I know this, but for the tape: tell about your children, when you and your wife were sent to the countryside.

Jing: My children--

Wellman: You had three children, right, all small—

Jing: Three children, because I was from a capitalist family background my elder son was sent to a rural countryside in Shanxi Province in 1967. He was there for 8 years, not allowed to return to Beijing to be united with his parents.

Wellman: In a different place, not with you.

Jing: Not with us.

Wellman: And he was how old then?

Jing: He was 16 or 17, just graduated from junior middle school at the time of the Cultural Revolution.

Wellman: Junior high.

Jing: Junior high.

Wellman: Fifteen or sixteen years old.

Jing: And my two other children, a daughter 15, another son 12 when I and my wife left Beijing.. They lived by themselves, taken care by neighbors in the same courtyard, occasionally visited by relatives. The authority would like you to bring the whole family along to the cadre school and provide you a room for the family to live in, but we did not want to bring the family there for fear that we might be asked to remain there as peasants after the Cultural Revolution. This was a possibility if the Cultural Revolution had succeeded.

Wellman: Yes, right, so your children only saw aunts and uncles in Beijing.

Jing: If the Cultural Revolution had succeeded, I think no one from “bad” family backgrounds could be allowed to come back. Probably all intellectuals trained by the Western educational system will remain in the countryside. So not very long after the Lin Biao incident in 1972 we all (members of the Institute at the cadre school) came back to Beijing. The Cultural Revolution had weakened but there was still power struggles at the top. The cadre school closed. When we returned to Beijing, the building of the Institute of Psychology no longer existed, it was pulled down. The place used for other purposes.

Wellman: So when you moved back, was it just sort of on your own initiative or were you invited back?

Jing: At the orders of the government. But that was after Lin Biao’s death, before Mao’s death, before the final fall of the Gang of Four.

Wellman: Everybody came back.

Jing: Everybody came back except a few who were from Shanghai, they went to Shanghai to work at the Institute of Physiology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

Wellman: And because you had some sort of signal that it was okay to come back or just -

Jing: That was before of Mao’s death (Mao died in 1976), after Lin Biao’s incident in 1972, and as Mao’s health weakened, the balance of power struggle at the top party level gradually turned to the side of the old leaders of the country (Deng Xiao Ping and his group). After Mao’s death in 1976 immediately came the arrest of the Gang of Four, including Mao’s wife. This declared the collapse of the Cultural Revolution. So in history we say the Cultural Revolution occurred from 1966 to 1976.

Wellman: Very quick ending and return for you.

Jing: Everybody had a feeling in the final years of the Cultural Revolution that some big political changes had been happening from time to time.

Wellman: So everybody returned.

Jing: We returned to Beijing.. We had no Institute building, no office space. We tried to work. It was very hard at that time, we wrote petitions to the government to rehabilitate psychology to be recognized as a scientific discipline. We applied for funding and to be given land to rebuild a new institute building.

Wellman: Where did you live? You came back to your, in that courtyard house?

Jing: My two children were still living in the old courtyard house, we just came back. During the Cultural Revolution, while at the cadre school, at Chinese New Year we were allowed to come home for two weeks.

For the Institute of Psychology we used a temporary simple house that had only a few rooms as offices. We tried to begin again, so we started again, asking the Academy of Sciences for this and that.

Wellman: And what year would this be, like 1975?

Jing: Let's see, '75, '76, at that time. Nominally they say the Cultural Revolution was ten years, from '66 to '76. In the last few years there was still power struggle at the top, Deng Xiaoping was up and down several times.

Wellman: Yes, he was sent back to the provinces--yes.

Jing: But for the ordinary people the big revolution, the big turmoil had passed, already ceased. Actually, people became fed up with this kind of criticizing one another, everybody suffered, no one gained from the revolution. Actually there was no revolution for us already in '74 or '75. But normally we say the revolution was from '66 to '76.

So at that time we started to renew psychology. We also tried to do away with the Russian tradition, in 1977 we tried the major task to establish the first psychology department in China since the People's Republic, that was in Beida (Peking University). So I was--

Wellman: You were a part of that too.

Jing: Yes, Beida wanted me to go over and to help establish the Psychology Department. But the Institute didn't want me to be employed completely by Beida. .

Wellman: --didn't want to let you go!

Jing: So I stayed, I was being borrowed by Beida, or lent to Beida.

Wellman: Borrowed, yes, and you were the Deputy Chairman--

Jing: The Department of Psychology of Peking University was formally inaugurated in September 1978. I was the Deputy Chairman of the department. There was no Chairman, only Deputy Chairmen. After the founding of the People's Republic there was no independent department of psychology, as in the Soviet Union psychology was under philosophy or education. But before the People's Republic we followed the Western pattern in education, we had independent departments of psychology in universities. The first group of psychology students graduated from Beida with bachelor's degrees was in 1982. I went to Ann Arbor in 1979 after the establishment of the psychology department in 1978.

Wellman: When you were already in Michigan (1979-80 academic year).

Jing: Yes, the first group of students had not graduated yet. I remember I had an interview with Mikael Oksenberg saying that our first group of students will be graduating very soon.

Wellman: How many people in that first group?

Jing: Not many, about 10, they were mainly old students who had been in the division of psychology under philosophy, but then the Cultural Revolution started and disrupted their

studies, now they came back to study. While I was in Ann Arbor in 1980 the total number of students of the two years' admission was about 30 to 40. Immediately after the establishment of the Peking University Department of Psychology, in the next two to three years, the other four departments were established. That all began with Beida (Peking University).

Wellman: It was the first.

Jing: So that started the rehabilitation of psychology.

Wellman: And the other four are?

Jing: Huadong Shida (East China Normal University in Shanghai, 1979), Hangda (Hangzhou University in Hangzhou, 1980), Bei Shida (Beijing Normal University, 1981), Huanan Shida (South China Normal University in Guangzhou, 1986).

Wellman: So in 1978 there is just Beida

Jing: By itself.

Wellman: and then in three years—

Jing: First Beida (1978), and then three or four years later the other universities. Altogether there were five big universities at different places. Of course, all these had to be approved by the Ministry of Education.

Wellman: So those are the big five.

Jing: Big five.

Wellman: And then the institute was six.

Jing: The Institute was the first, it existed since 1951. Or, the Big Six.

Wellman: In the first years.

Jing: And the Chinese Psychological Society resumed. Pan Shu was the President, I succeeded him as President. We restarted everything. At that time, nobody had ever been to the West since 1949. Only a delegation went to the Institute of Psychology at Humboldt University in East Berlin in East Germany in 1957 and visited the Institute of Psychology of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow on its way back.

Wellman: I remember your first trips to the west. So for the tape let's just say a little bit more about that. You first went to Australia, Australia was the first visit of (Chinese) psychologists to the West.

Jing: We met John Keats of University of Newcastle in Beijing in 1977 when he came as a tourist. After he returned to Australia, the Australian Psychological Society invited us to attend the 1978 Australian Psychological Society's annual meeting. This trip was approved by the Chinese Academy of Sciences. There were 3 members in this delegation, I was one. The APS annual convention took place at University of Newcastle.

We stayed in Australia for about two weeks, visited many universities. We went to Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and other places. At the APS convention we met Roger Russell (he was then a university president in Australia) and Neal Miller. I saw Russel again at the assembly meeting of the Leipzig International Congress of Psychology in 1980. He was very friendly.

Wellman: And that is where you met Neal Miller in Australia. And because you had met Neal Miller in Australia then....

Jing: Yes, then in 1979 we received two invitations, one from University of Michigan and one from APA worked out by Neal Miller. The Michigan invitation went to Fang Yi, Vice-Premier of China and President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, this invitation was passed to the Institute of Psychology and I was chosen as the first one in 30 years to go to the United States, first to New York for the APA Annual meeting, then to Ann Arbor the University of Michigan.

This was very early. China and the United States declared the normalization of relations on 1979's new year day (January 1st.), one month later, on January 28 Deng Xiaoping made his historic visit to the United States. At that time there were no mainland Chinese in the United States except those working in the diplomatic field or the UN headquarters. I made my trip Beijing - Tokyo - Chicago - New York. My sister Ching Chi-Hui and brother-in-law Dr. Lu Chungtai were in the US since 1947, they went there to study. Dr. Lu was a Professor of economics at Hamline University in Minnesota. He and the APA secretary both came to meet me at the airport in New York. That was in August 1979.

At the APA meeting American psychologists were surprised at seeing this Chinese man wearing a name badge marked with People's Republic of China.. I gave a short speech at the APA assembly meeting and also talked at a dinner party of APA officers. People were surprised that someone from the communist country China could speak English and knew about Western convention and manners.

Wellman: This was very important for Michigan, and also for all of psychology here, and for international psychology. You and Harold.

Jing: In Michigan I had an office at the Center for Human Growth and Development. Actually this was the place (CHGD) where the links between psychologists of the two countries were built, earlier than the Michigan China Center. In Michigan I worked with Mathew Alpern and a Japanese ophthalmologist Kitahara on vision study. We published together a good paper in Journal of Physiology. I received many invitations to give talks. I traveled around the United States, visited more than a dozen American universities, Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Cornell, UC Berkeley and other universities. I visited the National Academy of Sciences, was invited to the National Science Foundation by Richard Atkinson. Atkinson was the one who came to China in 1980 or so, representing the US, to sign the first U.S.-China agreement in science and technology. China was interested to know that he was a psychologist, a pseudo-science during the Cultural Revolution.

Wellman: Agreement, yes. Ah, NSF. Yes.

Jing: He was the Director of NSF and after he became Chancellor of UC San Diego I also visited him. Later he became AAAS President, and then the President of all UCs.

Wellman: All the Universities of California.

Jing: He was very nice. He told me he knows some Chinese top officials; if I needed help in promoting Chinese psychology he can write letters to these leaders to give some help. In fact all the Americans whom I met in the US were nice to me especially in Michigan. I found Americans were very good to me, no barriers in exchanges. But what was difficult for me at that time were the people from Taiwan. They seemed not to dare to communicate with me and at one or two instances tried to insult me.

Wellman: Undermine your efforts. They were frightened. They were worried. So let me repeat a little so you can fill in any missing parts.

So in '78 there was to be some establishment of relationships and a letter came from Harold (Stevenson) to the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and another invitation from APA to attend its 1978 annual meeting in New York worked out through Neal Miller, and you were the one chosen. You came to Ann Arbor in 1979 for a year. You first went to APA, the APA convention in New York, and then you came to Ann Arbor for a year and then began all this.

Jing: That's right.

Wellman: Mr. Psychology Ambassador.

Jing: Yes, well people were very nice to me. And I think my English speaking helped. In Cornell Lee Lee called me the charming Chinese psychologist . . . The reason was very simple, because it was beyond their expectations. They thought that psychologists from a communist country first must be a communist but I am not a communist. Or, he must behave like a robot, and he's not. In Ann Arbor even somebody from Taiwan said, "This man, in order to come to America must have had special training. Or he must be telling lies that he has never been to the West".

Wellman: Yes, indoctrination.

Jing: I was invited to many people's homes.

Wellman: Yes, I remember when you came to my home.

Jing: Yes, your and Karen's home.

At many weekends I was invited to homes for dinner. And I remember young people, students sitting on the floor around me and asked all kinds of strange questions, "Were you allowed to have a family in China? Were you brainwashed?" It seemed I convinced people that we Chinese people are natural human beings, with the same feelings and sentiments, also with sense of humor, the same as Americans. That people from different cultures, social systems and ideologies can become friends.

Wellman: Yes, it was a very successful year. Can I tell a story on myself? When you came to Ann Arbor we had the offices next door to each other and you had been there for three or four weeks and you came to my house for dinner. Do you remember?

Jing: Sure, yes.

Wellman: And you were at my house—

Jing: And your kids?

Wellman: No, my kids were not born yet, just me and Karen. Just Karen and I, and this is part of the story. Because we have an average sort of American house and you came in the door and you said, "How many families live here?" That was your question then.. So it was just the two of us and we were sort of embarrassed, two people in such a big house. But anyway, that was nice.

Jing: At that time, I remember in the early '80s, when people were coming to China, and still things were very difficult for us at that time. We were very poor, Everyone was poor, an egalitarian society. But people from abroad understood this, that every country has its own circumstances. But this is no problem to communication or building friendship. It is different

now, there are many rich people in China, we have the problem of the gap between the rich and the poor.

Wellman: So this part, actually what you were saying that because of the difference in income the first sorts of exchanges that happened, and I remember this in Michigan; that you had no foreign exchange. So western scientists could come there and you would host them in China for a month or two months and then we could bring people to China, I mean from China to the U.S., for a whole year. (If someone went to China from US for 1-2 months, a Chinese visitor could come to US for a whole year).

Jing: We had no foreign exchange to send people abroad but wanted to send scholars abroad to learn psychology. We had to rely on exchanges in the way that some foreign senior professors come to Beijing to stay for 1 or 2 months, see some other cities, stayed in a hotel or guesthouse paid by the Chinese side, and then in return our students or young faculty go to the United States for 9 months supported by the hosting institution.

Jing: This was our agreement between Michigan, Beida, and the Institute.

Wellman: And that agreement started many scholarly exchanges.

Jing: And gradually the American universities found that Chinese students were very good students. Emanuel Donchin at Illinois (Chair of Department of Psychology at University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana) wanted to receive ten students from China to come in different years. We asked Chinese universities to nominate 40 students to come to Beijing. Donchin came to Beijing with a delegation to choose students, from these he selected 10 who went to Illinois. I think through these kinds of arrangements we sent more than 40 students to the US. For exchanges between faculty members the Foundation for Child Development and University of Michigan provided funds. On the Chinese side the Institute and Chinese universities provided funding. Many American psychologists visited China in the early 1980s, Michigan sent about 20 faculty members to China on these exchanges. This was very rare for other disciplines at that time.

Wellman: Was Zhang Kan part of that group of 10 students to Illinois, or later?

Jing: No, Zhang Kan went to the US later. Zhang got funding from the Chinese Academy of Sciences to study abroad, he asked me where to go, and I asked Herb Simon and Herb introduced Zhang to Donchin. Donchin put him to work with Chris Wickens on aviation psychology. When Zhang Kan was there China's economy was much better, but in the early '80s we were very difficult. If you had come at that time you would have seen us dressed in the Mao suits and the streets full of bicycles, very few cars.

Wellman: Yes, I remember how you dressed when I first saw you.

Jing: We had no personal money. In 1978 for the first time we travel abroad, besides money provided by the Academy of Sciences for regular use which is quite generous, but each person is only allowed 15 US dollars as pocket money.

Wellman: Fifteen, wow.

Jing: Fifteen, and we used this when passing through Hong Kong to buy a watch or some other souvenirs to bring back home.. Digital watches were new to us, we don't have this in China at that time.

Wellman: Digital, yes. Oh yes, now I know what you mean, yes.

Jing: They were not available in China. So those early days were very difficult. If you stay abroad long enough and save money to bring back a radio receiver with tape recording facility, that would be a big gift to bring back home.

Wellman: And when was the second time you came? It wasn't very much later. You were there for '79 and '80, and then again in '82, even, right? Just two years later that you came?

Jing: Yes. When I was in Ann Arbor for one year from 1979 to 1980 the Institute of Psychology applied to the Chinese Academy of Sciences to receive an American delegation. This was approved. I planned with Harold as to who should we invite. So, after I came back to China, in 1980, a delegation of American psychologists visited China for 3 weeks. The head of the delegation was Neal Miller, and his wife, then Herb Simon (who just got his Nobel Prize in 1978), Harold Stevenson and his wife Nancy, Gary Olson, Florence Denmark (then APA President) and husband, Raymond Fowler and Nancy McGlothlin as secretary. They were in Beijing, Nanjing and Shanghai, I accompanied this delegation all the way from Beijing to Shanghai. While in Beijing the delegation was received by the Vice-Premier and President of Chinese Academy of Sciences Fang Yi in a room at the Great Hall of the People. The first US Ambassador to China Mr. Leonard Woodcock hosted a reception at his residence for the visit of this delegation. They gave talks on different subjects of psychology in many cities and crowds of Chinese psychologists came to listen to their talks. This visit was very successful, Chinese psychologist began to know what was going on in psychology in the United States.

In 1982 I went to Edinburgh in UK for an applied psychology meeting, from London I flew to Pittsburgh, stayed in Herbert Simon's house and had a meeting with Herbert Simon (Chaired the meeting), Harold Stevenson, Eleanor Gibson, Lauren Resnick, Rochel Gelman, Zhang Houcan (from Beishida but who was at University of Pittsburgh working with Bob Glaser) and someone from NAS, to plan for a China-US joint meeting in Wingspread Wisconsin to be held in 1983. (Gibson, Resnick and Gelman had been in China in 1981). This meeting "Issues in Cognition" was a part of an exchange program between Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Committee of Scholarly Communications with the People's Republic of China under National Academy of Sciences.

The meeting was held August 28-31, 1983 in Wingspread, Wisconsin, at a beautiful conference site donated by the Johnson Foundation. I led a Chinese delegation from the Institute of Psychology (about 10 people) to Wingspread, several Chinese psychologist who were in the United States also attended the meeting. There were about 30 American psychologists at this meeting, all very prestigious people. I and Harold co-chaired the meeting. 28 papers were presented. Chinese psychologists presented 10 papers. Many papers were on cutting edge issues in psychology. This was the first Chinese psychology delegation to have visited the United States in 30 years. After the meeting the Chinese delegation visited NIH and many universities. In 1984 APA published the Proceedings of this meeting in the book "Issues in Cognition".. This meeting had great significance both for American psychologists and Chinese psychologists, the former knowing what happened in China and what research we were doing, the latter knowing how American psychological research was organized, funded and carried out.

In 1983 I invited Herb Simon and his wife Dorothy to China, they stayed in the Friendship Hotel for 3 months. He gave lectures on cognitive psychology at Beida. Many people came to listen to his lectures, including psychologists from other cities. At that time we only heard about a new psychology discipline springing up in the United States called cognitive science or cognitive psychology. It was completely new to Chinese psychologists. Simon even brought his assistant with him to help us run programs in artificial intelligence. His presence again had great impact on Chinese psychology, now people know that psychology had advanced much further from the Pavlovian conditioned reflex. But still there was a small group of conservative psychologists

holding on to traditional Russian psychology who were not interested in the introduction of new knowledge in psychology.

Then afterwards I went to the US almost regularly, every year or once in two years. I think altogether I visited the United States 13 or 14 times, sometimes stayed for an extended period, sometimes just went there for meetings or discussion on collaborations. On my second longer visit to Ann Arbor in 1985 when I and my wife stayed for 6 months, I gave a mini-course on “Psychology in China” to graduate students and faculty members. At this visit I received from Pat Gurin (Chair of Psychology Department) and Betsy Lozoff (Director, CHGD) a certificate with the title of Honorary Member of the Department of Psychology and Honorary Research Scientist of CHGD. I was very honored to have received this title. In 1998 I and my wife were caught in a serious car accident in Beijing, but after that I still made my last trip to the United States.. It was in 2002 or 2003 I went with Denise Park and Dick Nisbett to the Rocky Mountains and planned a study on aging in the US and China. Later I made another trip to New York for a meeting at the United Nations Building on child health care. Eventually the injuries from the car accident could no longer allow me to travel outside China anymore, but the study with Park and Nisbett went on and was successfully finished. So these were my last visits to the United States.

Wellman: Yes, good. So let’s talk some, because after your years in Ann Arbor you weren’t just the ambassador to the West, you began to do some of your other research and some with children, some on the single child family, some on aging, and you helped establish the China Child Development Center, so you should tell us about that.

Jing: That is another long story. After I returned from the United States in 1980 UNICEF wanted to establish a comprehensive child center in a developing country to set an example of how a comprehensive child care program can be implemented in a developing country. The then UNICEF chief executive James Grant’s grandfather was a missionary in China in the early 20th century, died in south China and buried here, his father worked in the Rockefeller Foundation ran Peking Union Medical College in Beijing. So Grant knows well about China and UNICEF decided to set up this center in Beijing. The organization in charge of the negotiations on the China side was the All China Women’s Federation, a government organization. Again I was borrowed by the Association from the Institute to help in its preparation and participate in negotiations with UNICEF. The Center was called the Child Development Center of China (CDCC). This establishment was a huge program, a funding of tens of millions of US dollars for building the Center’s building and buying equipments. The Chinese government and UNICEF put in equal amounts of money, 4 million US dollars running money for each cycle of 4 years from UNICEF, China putting in an equal amount of money.. Actually the first negotiation meeting took place in Ann Arbor, James Grant, the UNICEF Beijing office Director Mr. Prabasi (from Nepal) were there, Chinese leader from All China Women’s Association Madame Wu Quanheng, the top Chinese Obstetrician Dr. Yan Renying and several Chinese aides were there. Harold Stevenson helped organized and attended the meeting (I was not there at this meeting). Later I attended all negotiations with UNICEF in Beijing. Finally the program materialized. I was named the first Deputy-Director of the CDCC (there was no Director) and had an office there after the building was built.

I once went with Harold to New York to talk with James Grant and his chief officers who helped me in solving big problems with UNICEF people in Beijing. The purpose of the Center was for dissemination of knowledge, training and research, serving all China. It had a computer center, a child care knowledge dissemination division, a child care personnel training division and several Associate Centers on nutrition, child health care, women and infant care, and psychology. The Center arranged an international meeting each year, we have invited Terry Brazelton, Tony Falbo, Hiroshi Azuma, Harold and others to give talks at these meetings. I think I have taken many Michigan friends to see the CDCC.

Wellman: James Grant, UNICEF.

Jing: He was called the Chief Executive Officer or something--

Wellman: Yes, I don't know the exact title but yes. Yes, interesting.

Jing: The Peking Union Medical College was funded in the early 1900's, ran by the Rockefeller Foundation. It had built a big compound of buildings in the heart of Beijing, on Wang Fu Jing street. It was an American medical college that could confer M.D. degree in China before the People's Republic. During the WWII the Japanese military occupied the buildings. After WWII George Marshall's had headquarters there for Chinese Nationalist-Communist peace negotiations. Finally the buildings were given back to Peking Union Medical College.. Now it is still there, using the same name.

Wellman: Yes, the only medical school in china at the time to confer the M.D. was that the George Marshall.

Jing: George Marshall, yes, of the Marshall plan in Europe after the Second World War.

Wellman: So James grant came to Ann Arbor to begin establishing the CDCC ? Okay, I remember that, yes. Harold helped organize it.

Jing: Harold helped. It was James Grant who made decisions. Grant comes often to China, when he comes to the Center I interpreted for him. And I chaired most of the international meetings and receptions of CDCC.

Wellman: Is it in Beijing here . . .

Jing: It is at the Western part of Beijing, in the same place was the Children's Activity Center where there is a big building with science and art hands-on exhibitions.

So, Grant was very nice to China, really. And that got established.

Wellman: Is that still here?

Jing: CCDC still here, yes. CCDC is still in Beijing.

Wellman: Are you still part of it.

Jing: That was established, but they also wanted me to go over to chair that Center, Child Development Center of China, CCDC.

Wellman: And you were deputy chair, right?

Jing: And again at that time in the early '80s . . . I'm not a Communist Party member. The tradition in All China Women's Federation was that a non- communist member cannot be the number one boss of an institute (as in many other organizations at that time). Besides if I have to be there completely I had to quit my Institute of Psychology job and I liked the Institute because I wanted to do research in psychology. Later a Director was appointed to the CDCC and I remained the part-time Deputy-Director. Dr. Yan Renying was the Chair of the Expert Committee and I was the Deputy-Chair of the Expert Committee.

Wellman: Because you were the Director of the Institute then (Institute of Psychology CAS)?

Jing: I was the Deputy Director.

Wellman: Deputy Director (because again a non-communist could not have the top “Director” title).

Jing: Deputy Director, yes. So I stayed at the Institute to do research work. But gradually the CCDC run by itself, I only attended the Expert Committee meetings.

Wellman: But, Wan Chuanwen went?

Jing: Wan Chuanwen also worked in the Institute of Psychology, but helped work at CDCC. Usually Dr. Yan Renying (the most famous obstetrics and gynecology expert in China), I, Wan and a pediatrician Dr. Ji Xiaocheng went to UNICEF office in Beijing for negotiations. At that time we had just started, we wanted to take off immediately in research and to show UNICEF that we can do this, so we established four Associate Centers at different institutions: Associate Center for Nutrition in the Institute of Nutrition of the Chinese Medical Academy of Sciences, Associate Center for Child Health Care in Beijing’s Capital Children’s Hospital, Associate Center for Women and Infant Care in Beijing Medical College, and the Associate Center for Psychology in the Institute of Psychology. So psychology is only one of the centers, mainly worked on developmental psychology. I was also the Director of the Psychology Center.

Later the CDCC was not very successful in research, mainly because UNICEF wanted immediate applied research results. But it was successful in personnel training of child health care workers, popularization of child health care knowledge to the whole country, and in epidemiological studies

Wellman: Services and training, yes. Yes, and for children.

Jing: So, I was honored to have participated in building the Center and negotiated with UNICEF. After that I and Harold established the Collaborative Research Center between the Institute of Psychology and the University of Michigan. (The Inst. of Psychology–U. of Michigan Collaborative Research Center in Beijing at the Institute of Psychology building.) Harold and I were Co-Chairs, and this Center was there for a long time, more than 10 years.

Wellman: A long time...

Jing: Yes, if you had come a few years earlier there was still the big plaque of the Center’s name in front of Institute’s building.

Wellman: Plaque, oh yes, you and I have a picture in front of this plaque.

Jing: Betsy Lozoff, Harold, you, and many from Michigan researchers had pictures there. Then we ran the Fogarty program for CHGD in Beijing. (The NIH Fogarty International Center MIRT program run by CHGD in Michigan with the Institute in Beijing as a partner.) Each year, some students from Michigan came, one year a big group of about ten students came. They come in early May, stayed for 3 months and leave in the end of July, almost three months in China. Betsy Lozoff (the Director of CHGD from 1995 till 2005) was responsible for this program at CHGD, the contact persons were Harold and Kate Restrck. Kate came to China too and conferred with us on running the MIRT program in China, She gave each of us a diploma for that. This was very nice.

Wellman: So these are all child development things and through Michigan, yes [it is the, it is from the National Institutes of Health and it is a special training program]. Now say something, because everybody would be interested, about your research on the single child policy in China. You were very instrumental in getting that researched.

Jing: That's right. The research in single child in psychology, actually, I initiated this research. Before that, no psychologist was involved in the single-child program in China.

Wellman: Right, it was just a policy.

Jing: It happened that after I returned from Ann Arbor in 1980, the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) office in Beijing wanted someone to give a talk about the psychological aspects of the China Single Child Program at a meeting in Bangkok organized by the UN system. I don't know how but the UNDP's representative in Beijing Ms. Melchoir-Teller. A Dutch lady, approached me. So I went to Bangkok and gave the talk in 1981. The talk was very successful, and through the UNDP office in Beijing my paper was published in "Studies in Family Planning". There was a companion paper by Toni Falbo in the same issue of Studies in Family Planning.

Wellman: Yes, only children, --

Jing: That meeting in Bangkok was a very formal meeting, I had a plaque with "China" (in big letters) in front of me on the table. I gave the talk. Actually it was nothing more than I had made a small investigation of the single child family program in China, some population growth statistics from ancient times, future predictions, and how the program came about, the situation in China after the implementation of the program and its problems. I never expected it, but the talk was very welcomed, because at that time people outside knew very little about China.

And then after I returned from the UN meeting in Bangkok Melchoir-Teller, a very nice lady, tried to help me to get funding to do work on the single children problem. I did not get funding from UNDP or UNICEF until after I went to Ann Arbor several times. Harold and several others suggested that we should try to find funding from a U.S. institution So I wrote a proposal to the William T. Grant Foundation. This proposal had four international advisors: Paul Mussen, Howard Gardner, Harold Stevenson, and one from China Liu Jinghe, a Ph.D from Columbia, a former student of Gesell.

I sent in the proposal and it was approved. That was in 1988, we got a grant of \$180,000. Lonnie Sherrod was the Deputy Vice President for research at the William T. Grant Foundation. In early 1989 we had a meeting of the advisors when I was at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Studies at Stanford, to discuss on how the program should be implemented. Wan Chuanwen also came to the meeting from China.

But suddenly the Tiananmen Square incident occurred (on June 4, 1989), I came back to Beijing just about 10 days after the Tiananmen Square incident, we had to suspend the program for one or two years. After sometime the situation came to normal and we started to do work on this project.

Wellman: Yes, in '89. Hmm, I never heard this story.

Jing: At that time we had very strict restrictions. If money comes to China from abroad the government converts foreign exchange into Chinese RMB, we can only get RMB to use.

Wellman: U.S. dollars to China but only local currency to you, that's right.

Jing: Using the grant money was very difficult, very complicated.

Wellman: Foreign exchange was very difficult.

Jing: The grant was approved in 1988, but we started to work on the project in the early 1990s. We published about some 15 or 16 papers, most in China, I think about six or seven papers in American journals.

Wellman: In the United States, yes. I think one in *Child Development*.

Jing: Two in *Child Development*.

Wellman: Two in *Child Development*, yes.

Jing: It was two, the editor was Bill Hartup, he came to China.

Wellman: Yes, Bill Hartup

Jing: He came to China on one of the exchanges. When he was in Beijing he stayed in Beida's guest house and advised us how to revise the manuscript. Bill Hartup came several times to China.

Wellman: That was very important research for the international community in child development, because it was like a natural experiment, all these children just single—

Jing: And we found one thing which was new, that was those single children born at the beginning of the policy implementation, when the policy implementation was not strict, the parents did not expect that their child is going to be a single child, they are expecting more children to come, the results showed that these single children were no different from children with siblings. But, after strong policy implementation no more children were given birth and parents expected there would just be the one. Those children born after the strong implementation of the policy fared better in cognitive abilities than comparison children who had siblings.

Wellman: The only child after....

Jing: The only child.. Children born after the strong implementation of single child policy fared better in cognitive abilities than children with peers. We had to go to small cities and the countryside to find sibling children for the comparison study, because in big cities there were very few children with siblings.

But morally, the single children were worse than sibling children, in group cooperation, helping others, respecting elders etc. We have Chinese moral norms: helping others, sense of community, respecting elders, obeying orders etc. The sibling children fared better.

Wellman: Yes, an important finding.

Jing: Lois Hoffman cited this result in her book.

Wellman: Yes, that was very important research.

Jing: So we worked on this project for 5 years. They were 6 people and some students working on this project, Wan Chuanwen worked with me. We asked for a no cost extension. That was the first funding we got from the United States. The second funding was with Denise Park.

Wellman: Yes, for aging, also development, that's right.

Jing: On aging. From NIA. We got the idea from Dick Nisbett. We did not do anything very new in China, only followed original guidelines outlined by Denise Park and Dick Nisbett, mainly comparison studies in the US and China. (protocols used in US) . . .

Wellman: But it was still important, because no one knew and China has an aging population like the U.S. Also important work.

Jing: And that work also ended 2 or 3 years ago.

Wellman: So this is a good transition; they asked me as interviewer to be sure and ask you what you think your most important contributions have been, to psychology.

Jing: I think my contributions have been (1) on the topic of perception and color, (2) and on child development. Another most important contribution was my role in the opening up of Chinese psychology to the outside world, and of introducing international psychology into China. And in the beginning this was done under very difficult times, not without political risks.

Wellman: Color perception—

Jing: (2) child development.

Wellman: --child development.

Jing: But nowadays people understand history, for example in a volume of my collected works, edited by my student Fu Xiaolan now Deputy Director of the Institute of Psychology, the preface (Wellman holds up a copy of the volume for the camera), says that I'm the trail blazer of introducing international psychology into China, extending Chinese psychology to the international community, introduced new ideas of psychology into China. At that time there was still political struggle between traditional orthodox ideology and the opening up ideology of Deng Xiaoping, and very few people explored, or were able to set foot on, this difficult path.

Wellman: So the (1) internationalization of (Chinese) psychology, (2) color vision and perceptual studies, and (3) child development. And the internationalization, that is still going on. Look at the International Congress of Psychology just three years ago.

Jing: And the high point was the 28th International Congress of Psychology held in Beijing in 2004. To retrospect, in 1980 immediately after I came back from the United States, I went with Chen Li, Liu Fan and Xu Liancang to Leipzig to attend the 22nd International Congress of Psychology. There I and Chen Li as delegates from China participated in the assembly meeting of the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS), the sponsor of the Congress. At this Congress China joined the IUPsyS. In 1984 I was elected Executive Committee member of IUPsyS, in 1988 elected to Vice-President of IUPsyS. So, Chinese psychology after 24 years in the international community was able to host the 28th International Congress of Psychology. This was amazing, a victory of the opening up policy for psychology in China.

Wellman: The high point was that Congress, yes, 2004.

Jing: More than six thousand people from 78 countries attended the Congress. I was honored to be the President of this Congress. This would not happen again in decades of years.

Wellman: Six thousand psychologists.

Jing: Of course, about two thousand from China.

Wellman: Yes, but even so, that was a very successful congress.

Jing: And in the late '70s after the Cultural Revolution there was zero people in psychology.

Wellman: Yes, good point.

Jing: I call it a wonder!

Wellman: Right.

Jing: It was a miracle!

Wellman: [laughs] A miracle, and now in, the Conference that I was just at, the Chinese Psychological Society eleventh meeting in Kaifeng, they said that there are almost 200 Departments of Psychology in China.

Jing: Two hundred and sixteen to be exact.

Wellman: Two hundred and sixteen!

Jing: It was difficult to count. Some they don't call departments, they call it institute of psychology, school of psychology, or a working group.

Wellman: Yes, a program.

Jing: Two hundred and sixteen.

Wellman: Beginning from Beida, when there was one.

Jing: Yes, Beida the first one.

Wellman: Two hundred sixteen. It is amazing.

Jing: Yes. We had originally about five to six hundred psychologists before the Cultural Revolution. After the Cultural Revolution, in 25 years or so, now the Chinese Psychological Society has about 6000 and more members.

Wellman: Yes, that's what they were saying, 6000 about and there were, more than 2000 came to this meeting.

Jing: 6000 members not including student members. Many who came to Kaifeng were graduate students. You were at the panel of International Perspectives on Psychology (at the Chinese Psychological Society meetings)?

Wellman: Yes.

Jing: Zhang Kan gave a talk with my slides.

Wellman: Yes. He said these were your slides.

Jing: So in doing those statistics I discovered something new. The famous Chinese educator Cai Yuan Pei went to Leipzig twice to study under Wundt, returned to China in 1911. In 1917 he became President of Beida. In the same year (1917) under Cai Yuan Pei's presidency a psychology professor Chen Daqi, a returned student from Japan, established the first psychology laboratory in Beida. Chen was also for a time the Acting President of Beida. And I

found that Chen, a psychologist, was also the first President of Taiwan University after WWII. Many university Presidents in the early 20th century in China were psychologists.

Wellman: If you are talking about Taiwan, we should say just a little bit, after your university, Fujen University closed down here, it went to Taiwan. And in 2004 that they had you to Taiwan and gave you an honorary doctorate?

Jing: Yes. After the communist victory on the mainland, the Chinese nationalist under Chiang Kai Shek moved to Taiwan. In 1960 Fu Jen University was reopened in Taiwan.. 2005 was the university's 80th anniversary, counting from the time of its establishment in 1925 in Beijing.. The President of Fu Jen came to Beijing and asked Fu Jen alumni to return to Taiwan for the celebration, and at the celebration Fu Jen University was going to confer honorary doctor of science degrees to me and Zhang Houcan, as distinguished alumni from its psychology department.

Wellman: Two very famous graduates.

Jing: So a group of alumni went to Taiwan, including some from the old psychology department. I and Zhang Houcan were to receive the honorary degrees. But due to my back problem I couldn't go. The Dean of School of Psychology of Beishida Dr. Che Hongsheng went and received the degree on my behalf.

Wellman: Oh, you weren't able to go.

Jing: So actually the Dean of School of Psychology of Beishida (Beijing Normal University) went to receive that award for me. I did not go. They brought back the diploma and the gown (or robe) Fu Jen made for me.

Wellman: So I'll just show (to the camera), this is the picture of him with his honorary degree, and this is his bachelor's degree and his master's degree all from Fujen. (Showing page of book.)

Jing: All from Fu Jen.

Wellman: But you weren't able to go, I didn't realize that. But Zhang Houcan went?

Jing: Yes, Zhang Houcan went. The degree was conferred by a Cardinal in Taiwan.

Wellman: The Cardinal, oh it's still a Catholic university?

Jing: Still a Catholic university. That University has very good relations with the mainland, the honorary President of that University was Soong Mei Ling, the wife of Chiang Kai Shek Fu Jen is pro nationalist (Kuomintang) and now the Taiwan nationalists are friends of the mainland communists, before (in the earlier years) they were enemies, but now they are friends.

Wellman: That's good, so that was helpful after all these years.

Jing: Yes, so I wrote this speech in this booklet at the ceremony. I can give it to you.

Wellman: Oh great.

Jing: I think this speech was very well written. You may have that . . .

Wellman: Are you sure, you have copies?

Jing: Oh I have many copies.

Wellman: Oh, I'd love to have it. Thank you.

[Laughter]

Wellman: Oh yes, your picture in the robe.

Jing: That picture was taken downstairs (at the Institute).

Wellman: Oh good, thank you. That's very nice. Thank you. They also asked me to ask you what do you think are the strengths and the weaknesses of your own research.

Jing: My research is . . . the problem is that because of the changing situation in China, I was jumping from this area to that area. I was actually driven around by history.

Wellman: Reflexology, then—

Jing: We're the victims of history. For example, color (perception research) was very successful, but when China opened up we must use new instruments to catch up with international standards, and that costs much money, such as buying new spectrophotometers, colorimeters, that would need hundreds of thousands of Yuan. That is a lot of money. So we have to give that up. Without good equipment our research will not come up to publication level. We have to give up these studies.

Wellman: The proper standards, yes.

Jing: You need to reach international standards for good research, empirical research. So actually we are the victims of history.

Wellman: Victims of some of your own history, yes.

Jing: As the situation required we have had to learn Pavlov. Did perception and color research in closed doors. And then because of the Cultural Revolution, you have to find applied research topics that must be useful. Thus you work in, for example, aviation and engineering psychology. The CDCC comes in and we can find money to do research in child development, we have to follow the funding possibilities. That's the problem. If psychology were a stable discipline in China, like physics and chemistry, had I stuck to one direction (hands come together like caged in) I think I can do something better.

Wellman: Yes, but you did a lot very well, especially— [then tape is turned off] Now we can turn it back on, because I'd like to ask you one last question if that's okay. And, so one last question, and that is, or more if you want, I can keep talking but . . . What do you think the future of psychology and developmental psychology and children, are for China.. China is changing so much and so many new psychologists, this conference was very impressive, what are your thoughts about the future of psychology in China.

Jing: See, psychology is developing at such a rapid pace. The problem I see psychology facing (in China) is how to upgrade our standards, especially in the applied areas. For example, China is now building a harmonious society (As outlined by Hu Jintao), many areas in psychology can make contributions to that. Counseling is very popular and important.

Wellman: Clinical and—

Jing: The problem is that many so-called psychologists are not bona fide psychologists, they do counseling without training. There are so many charlatans in psychology now.

Wellman: So licensing and regularization, yes. Yes, I see. It is a danger for psychology again, because if those people get too much then it's too easy to start to criticize all of psychology on the basis of a few--okay.

Jing: China is developing so fast, and I think the government is eager to promote development, and we need people's expertise, so comes the mass production of high degree students. After a student got a doctor's degree from a big University if he goes to a smaller university in other provinces he can become a professor in three years. That is a problem. Our young professors are not well trained.

Wellman: Yes. So rapid expansion also means you have to watch out for standards of psychological training.

Jing: Yes. In other places once you got a doctorate degree, immediately you become an Associate Professor. After another four or five years you are a full Professor. Not so in universities in big cities. I think in the United States in a prestigious university, you have to be at least 50, 55 or 60 to be a full professor. But in China it's only 35, and then you may become a Dean.

Also in the early days (in the '80s), to get funding in China was very difficult. If a young man can get, say 60 or 70 thousand Yuan, that's good funding. But now young people want several hundred thousand, even a million Yuan. Especially those returned from the abroad. Say an assistant professor from the United States would ask for millions. The government needs them and gives the money, and they become greedy.

Wellman: Yet, they have a special program, don't they, too?

Jing: It's called the 100 Scholars Program in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, in the Ministry of Education (for universities) it is called the Yangtze River Scholar Program.

Wellman: And they get a million, right? They get a million Yuan.

Jing: They get a million, and housing allowances, and the so-called settling fee (to settle your family in China),.One returned scholar in psychology even had a car bought for him, of course only for him to drive.

Wellman: Wow, interesting. Yes, so there's a balance between too much too fast and the best science.

Jing: The Chinese authorities really count on publications. So scientists want to produce publications quick and short, for quantity not for quality. They get credits for this, and money related to credits.

Wellman: Okay, so these are interesting cautions for the future.

Jing: When we knew very little about the West, those people who got tenured in the West and came back they don't say they are Associate Professors, but they say they are life-long professors. I was astonished to see so many young life-long professors from the United States.. Now people begin to know more about how the tier system in the West works.

Wellman: A problem always, but built on some of your successes too. All of these exchanges of students between the West and China, you were the first.

Jing: In psychology only.