World War 1, the May Fourth Movement and the development of psychology in China, and Europe: reflections on their mutual influence.

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Introduction

Beginning of the 20th century, Guo Renyuan 郭任远 (1898-1970), a Chinese experimental and behavioral psychologist, wrote in a letter to Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940): "The old psychology has been destroyed, whereas the new psychology still needs to be developed" (旧派的心 理学虽已破坏 , 新的心理学尚未建设) (Liu 2006, p. 31). Guo had studied from 1918 till 1923 at the University of California at Berkeley, where he obtained his PhD and returned to China. In 1924, after his return, he established the Department of Psychology at Fudan University. His correspondent, Cai Yuanpei, was a Chinese educational and democratic reformer, who at the time of receiving the letter had himself studied psychology at Wilhelm Wundt's laboratory in Leipzig and who later became president of Beijing University (Yang 1998; Jing & Fu 2001). The communication between both psychologists trained abroad clearly describes what was going on in the field of psychology after World War 1 had left China enraged with the Versailles Treaty, and the May Fourth demonstrations in 1919 turned society, and science, upside down.

Although it is a less unearthed topic, the science of psychology indeed developed at a very quick pace following World War 1, and during the New Culture Movement (NCM) (*Xinwenhua yundong* 新文化运动). In the context of the May Fourth Movement (*Wusi yundong* 五四运动) starting as early as 1917, intellectuals and politicians set out to transform China into a 'modern' country. Science and technology in particular were seen as crucial for effecting this transformation. As a consequence, the valorization of scientific knowledge and empirical science became the leading guides in this "new scientism movement". This also affected psychology (*xinlixue* 心理学) in China, both the Western-style psychology as an imported branch of science, and indigenous

Chinese psychology (*Zhongguo bentu xinlixue* 中国本土心理学)[1], which underwent respectively reinforcing and disruptive influences from this new scientific orientation.

Interestingly, by contrast, around the same time, European psychotherapy received strong Chinese influence through German sinologist and Jesuit Richard Wilhelm who lived and worked in Qingdao (Shandong) for more than 25 years. When Wilhelm returns to Germany after World War 1, his translation of the *Book of Changes (Yijing* 易经*),* and some 20 years later *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (*Taiyi Jinhua Zongzhi* 太乙金华宗旨*)* into German, and his frequent interactions with Swiss psychologist Carl Gustav Jung 荣格 (1875-1961) that lasted from the early 1920's until Wilhelm's death in 1930, exerted major impact on the latter's thought. Consequently, also the development of analytical psychology in Europe took a new turn.

In this paper, I explore how the mutual influencing during this historic period took place. I will also briefly discuss how psychology in China after its 'scientification' evolved until now.

Chinese psychology before the NCM

Before we talk about the influence of the NCM on Chinese psychology, we need to know the status of psychology in China around the turn of the century, before the NCM started. Obviously, the study and discussion of issues related to the human psyche have known a long history in ancient China. In fact, early psychological thinking in China not only was contained in diverse philosophical, political, military and other literature and theories. It was also expressed through various practices in education and medicine (Higgins & Zheng 2002; Jing 1994; Murphy & Kovach 1972; Wang 1993). It was however, a kind of psychology focusing not on the development and functions of the individual psyche, but on how an individual can become a good 'human' (as reflected in the popular term *zuoren* 做人) and obtain optimal health and longevity in his interaction with the environment: in the family and society (Confucianism, Chinese medicine), and with his broader environment such as nature and the cosmos (Daoism, Chinese medicine). In Daoism, Confucianism and later Neo-Confucianism, debates developed about human nature, and about how to maintain social harmony, harmony with the cosmos, and inner harmony as a way to preserve mental and physical health. This is for instance reflected in the ancient notion of 'unity between heaven and man' (*tian ren he yi* 天人合一), which not only has been subject of

[1] Indigenous psychology can be defined as the "scientific study of human behavior or mind that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people" (Kim 2000).

intellectual debate in Chinese intellectual history, but also expresses a way of living. In this sense, Chinese psychological thinking was a kind of contextual psychology belonging to the field of philosophy (including cosmology) and medicine.

How was this then different from Western psychology? For this, we have to go back to the roots of psychological thinking in their cultural context. Critical theorists (Habermas 1987) and psychologists (Fox & Prilleltensky 1997) have argued that psychological knowledge is often developed with practical concerns within particular social and political contexts. In this perspective, Gao Zhipeng (2013, p. 295) explains how Western and Chinese psychology differ from the very starting point:

> *In Western countries modern psychology developed through the convergence of philosophy and natural science, embedded in the scientific revolution, industrialization and modernization. In contrast, the collective, feudal China put most of its energy into governance and agriculture and had little interest in individual subjectivity. Such political-economic environment provided little impetus for developing modernist psychological knowledge. Further, the limited endemic development of natural-scientific thinking and technology did not enable fixing the intangible psychological phenomena to numbers and variables. The traditional Chinese reflexive discourses were pragmatic arts instead of positivist science, and had never been separated from their everyday contexts.*

This quote also demonstrates that not only the content of psychological thinking differed, but also the method of approaching issues related to the psyche. As Gao (2013, p. 294) further clarifies, "Chinese favored intuitive, synthetic, contextual and dialectical thinking over the rational, analytical, reductive and formal thinking that nourished modern scientific psychology". This situation lasted until the import of Western psychological paradigms in China during the Italian missionaries of the late 16th century, when Jesuits started introducing the Catholic scholastic psychology into China. However, this still had no meaningful effect on the development of psychology in China (Gao 2013, pp. 295-296).

Modern psychology came into existence after the Opium War in 1840 as an import product. At that time, the most urgent issue Chinese people were facing was the survival of a whole nation undergoing wars and colonization, and psychology became even more of a national (political) interest. It is in this period that Western psychology began to be disseminated in China along with other Western influences. For instance, in 1847, the first Chinese student Rong Hong 容闳 (1828-1912) was sent to the US where he, among other subjects, studied psychology in Massachusetts[2].

[2] Rong Hong first joined the Mengsong School in Massachusetts, and in 1850 passed the entrance examination for Yale University as the first Chinese. He graduated from Yale University in 1854. For more on Rong Hong as a pioneer

Half a century later, educational reforms also had a thorough impact on the study of psychology. Blowers explains that China's defeat in its military engagements with France in 1894 and Japan in 1895 prompted the Qing court to introduce educational reforms along the lines of what Japan did following the Meiji restoration. One of the consequences of these reforms was the setting up of teachers' colleges or normal universities, in which psychology figured prominently in the curriculum, with much reliance on Japanese textbooks and teachers (Blowers 2010, p. 9). In 1899, the first Western psychology book, *Mental Philosophy: including the intellect, sensibilities, and will* written in 1857 by Joseph Haven, a theologian, was translated into Chinese from Japanese by missionary Yan Yongjing 颜永京 and published in China. However, at that time, psychology was still a branch of philosophy (Higgins & Zheng 2002; Li 1994), and there was no such science of the psyche. It is only at the beginning of the 20th century that psychology began to be separated from philosophy as an independent science.

Then, in 1907, famous scholar Wang Guowei 王国维 translated *Outlines of Psychology* from the Danish psychologist Harold Hoffding's (written in 1893). This work states explicitly that psychology is a science that emphasizes the experimental method and physiological basis of the mind, thereby using subjective methods and psychophysical principles. Both Wang Guowei and Yan Yongjing had to coin new terms for many psychological concepts, including the discipline itself, psychology. Yan Yongjing used *xin-Ling xue* (心灵学, the study of the heart and spirit or of the soul, also called 'pneumology'), while Wang Guowei chose *xin-Li xue* (心理学, the study of the principle of the heart-mind) (Blowers 2010, p. 8).

After the revolution led by Sun Yatsen and the establishment of the Republic in 1912, psychology courses were offered in some missionary universities sponsored by Western Christian organizations. The works of American philosopher and psychologist William James (1842-1910), who is considered to be the 'Father of American Psychology', and some other psychologists were translated and used in the textbooks in those universities. All these textbooks and teaching materials, though varying in content, shared a similar assumption that psychological research is important for liberating and modernizing China. Sun Yatsen (1866-1925) himself believed that "national development depends on the citizen's psyche" and that "the foundation of a nation is

of modern China and his role as an intermediary in sending young Chinese talents to the US to study, see Lee 2005: 50-54.

built upon its psychology" (both quoted in Gao 2013, p. 301), which highlights the – again highly political and ideological – significance of psychology.

From 1915 onwards, a number of educated Chinese elites initiated the NCM, aiming to spread democracy and modern science. In this turbulent political and cultural environment, under the influence of the spirit of scientism that fed the NCM, the real emerging of the science of psychology in China started.

Chinese psychology after the NCM

One of the most tangible outcomes of the influence of "Mr. Science" on the development of Chinese psychology was its increasing institutionalization. Some Chinese scholars, like the abovementioned Guo Renyuan and Cai Yuanpei, who had studied in the US and Europe, returned to China to teach and do research in psychology. They on large scale translated and introduced the theoretical standpoint, research method and empirical data they had encountered in the West. Obviously, these pioneers played an important role in laying the foundation for the development of modern Chinese psychology. It was following the efforts of these scholars bringing back Western psychological theories and methods, that Western-style Chinese psychology got widely disseminated. Upon this basis, the real institutionalization of the science of Chinese psychology took place. Underneath I discuss how this institutionalization took place by referring to some historical facts, and shed light on some important characteristics and methods of modern psychology in China.

In 1917, the first psychological laboratory was set up in Beijing University by Cai Yuanpei (Jing 1994). Natively written books on psychology were published, of which the most important was Chen Daqi's 陈大齐(1886–1983) *Outlines of Psychology (Xinlixue Dagang* 心理学大纲*)*, a textbook for university students published in 1918. From 1918 to 1919, Chen Daqi, who was both politician and genuine pioneer in psychology, also developed a Chinese psychology test in which via questionnaires female higher education students in Beijing were examined about their moral consciousness (*daode yishi* 道德意识). In 1920, the first psychology department was established in South-Eastern University of Nanjing by Gao Shijian 高师建, and Fudan University and Beijing University followed respectively in 1925 and 1926.

Another sign of increasing institutionalization was the founding of the *Psychological Association of China* (PAC) in Nanjing in 1921, with Zhang Yaoxiang 张耀翔 as president. In 1922,

the first Chinese journal on psychology saw the light, *Psyche* (*Xinli* 心理), also with Zhang Yaoxiang as chief editor (Li 1994, p. 282). Between 1922 and 1940, some 370 books on psychology were published. By 1929, China had a few psychology departments, a national psychology research institute, a national psychology society and a journal. Although the number of Chinese psychologists remained very limited, all this laid the foundation for a national 'science of psychology', and, in line with the scientific spirit of the NCM, pointed out the future direction for Chinese psychology.

In this long-term process, the goal was to establish the leading position of an empirical, educational psychology. That is to say, psychology had to obey the rules of scientific rigidity expressed in the strong positivist direction of Chinese psychology. It was thought that through quantifiable observations that lead to statistical analyses following scientific principles, a new outlook on human life could be developed. This positivism is up till today the most essential aspect of Chinese psychology.

Such an orientation obviously also attacked and criticized religion and superstition. Chen Daqi in succession published the article *Refuting the Study of the Supernatural* (*Bi lingxue* 辟灵学, 1918), and *The Mental Phenomena (Xinling xianxianglun* 心灵现象论, 1919), elaborating on the scientific psychological perspective while refuting superstitious beliefs in traditional Chinese culture. These articles had a major impact on the spreading and promoting of the scientific model in Chinese psychology. Gradually, only positivism remained as the ideological trend. Some scholars go as far as to say that positivism had become not only the criterion for scientific research, but also the prevalent outlook on or approach to life (Li 2003, p. 43).

As already touched upon, another characteristic of this 'modern' psychology, was its predominantly educational orientation. Psychology had to be developed to the use of educating the people to modern, democratic citizens. In the first issue of *Xinli* in 1922, Zhang Yaoxiang outlined the proposition that psychology is "the most useful science in the world. Not only can it be applied to education, but also to business, medicine, fine arts, law, the military, and daily life" (quoted in Zhao 1992, p. 48). Also Cai Yuanpei had made it very clear that modern education should be based on experimental psychology (Yang 1998). Thus, from the very beginning, the emphasis on applied psychology was very explicit, whereas theoretical psychology was less common.

In line with this scientific orientation promoted by the NCM, also the empirical method quickly installed itself as the principal research method in psychology. Objectivity and quantification gradually became the leading principles in the methods of Chinese psychology, and stayed the only research criteria until only very recently. Resembling many Western scientists at that time, Guo Renyuan wrote it as follows[3]:

> *I am a scientist, I am not a philosopher…. I fully take the experimental attitude and findings as the foundation. Once you leave the laboratory, it does not deserve the name of psychology.* (quoted in Yan 1998, p. 649)

It has to be said that, in practice, there was very little experimental work in this period. The dominant form of practice was the psychometric variant of the group study, with its emphasis on educational testing. As such, it was a kind of psychology instrumental to solving social, moral and political problems (Blowers 2010, p. 10).

Chinese indigenous psychology after the NCM

As became clear from the above, in this context of increasing appreciation of the empirical, positivist outlook on life and science, the rich traditional reflexive discourses rooted in Confucianism and Daoism that constituted indigenous Chinese psychology lost favor in academia, and were gradually replaced by instead of incorporated into modern psychology (Yang 1997; Hwang 2005). Not surprisingly in a society where the new core values were democracy and scientism, especially the Confucian theory of the 'Three Bonds and the Five Moral Rules' (*san gang wu chang* 三纲五常), which requires subordinates to follow the guidance of superiors in three major human relationships (husband-wife, father-son, ruler-ruled), and traditional Chinese scientific methodology, provoked strong criticism. As a result, the actual value of ancient psychological thinking was completely overlooked. Reformers like Chen Daqi, Chen Duxiu 陈独秀,

[3] This extreme positivist orientation in theory building was at the time not by all warmly embraced. Western style positivism was strongly criticized by among others Liang Shumin 梁漱溟 (1893- 1988), who developed the theory on *Human Psychology* 人类心理学. In this sense, Liang Shumin can be considered the first real advocator of indigenous Chinese psychology. See e.g. Lu 2002; Lynch 2018.

and Hu Shi 胡适 all turned to arguments and methods from different disciplines to criticize traditional thinking to be backwards and to make people subordinate instead of democratic.

This criticism also concerned the methods and methodology belonging to ancient philosophy. Traditional methodology prevalently emphasized comprehensiveness, synthesis, interpretation, dialectical and associative thinking, and contextuality. Recently, that is to say, over the last two-three decades, mainly Western psychologists and philosophers started to argue that these methods can very appropriately complement the analyzing, empirical and objective Western research methods (see e.g. Hwang 2012; Li 2003). However, as Li Bingquan argues, most of the Chinese psychologists in the first half of the 20th century were only trained in the empirical method, and were very biased toward Chinese traditional culture (Li 2003, p. 45-46). This group of Chinese psychologists have continued to approach psychology as a purely quantitative science - not in the least to keep up with rigid international scientific standards. From the start, modern psychology was an import science in China, and this led to a situation in which 'Chinese psychology' was completely lacking Chinese characteristics.[4]

This continued to be so also after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, when Chinese psychology took the Soviet psychology as model. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), psychology was abandoned due to its Western roots. It was only in the late 1970s that psychology restored its momentum and new fields for study opened up. Still, also in this period, psychology served a clear political and ideological goal: contribute to economic development, national modernization and even nationalism, and more recently, deal with the emerging mental health crisis (Kleinman et al. 2011; Yang 2009, 2017).

It was not until the early 1980s that psychology in China started being indigenized (Hwang 2005). Non-Western psychologists that advocated academic anti-colonialism against 'mainstream' (= Western) psychology initiated large-scale indigenization movements. The reformers argued that the theories and research methods of psychology in China contain Western ethnocentric bias. In addition, more and more psychologists became aware that it is not appropriate to simply apply Western theories to explain individual and social behavior in Chinese and other non-Western cultures. The underlying, so-called universal (research) paradigms belonging to Western psychology, when transplanted blindly to non-Western countries, were - and for many still are -

[4] In fact, Yang (1998) argues that Cai Yuanpei, while appreciating Western methodology, already had a very early indigenization proposal, namely that traditional Chinese culture should be incorporated into the modern psychology. However, this insight was not received favorably, possibly due to the incompatible *zeitgeist*.

irrelevant, inappropriate, or incompatible for understanding the mentalities of non-Western people. Or, as Marsella and Pickren (quoted from their foreword in Hwang 2012, p. ix) argue:

> *The essence of science of conceived in the West, is ultimately about accuracy in describing, understanding, predicting and controlling the world about us. But the problem is that Western psychology is often inaccurate when applied to the behavior of non-Western people because it too often decontextualizes behavior.*

Gradually, indigenous counseling and psychotherapy became more accepted alongside established Western therapies, and the usefulness of Daoist and Confucian styles of coping and counseling is now even promoted in some circles. For instance Tseng et al. discuss the emergence of a Daoist cognitive psychotherapy in China in the 1990s. Because the main thrust of the therapy is to help the patient to obtain cognitive insight and become detached (or relieved) from excessive desires and expectations, this therapy is called *chaotuo xinli zhiliao* 超脱心理治疗, 'detached psychotherapy' (Tseng et al. 2005, pp. 152-155). Other indigenous therapies are the *Zhimian* 直面 therapy whose name based on a quote by Lu Xun 鲁迅 - himself a famous NCM advocate - dealing with how to confront life directly (Wang 2011) , and the *Wuhua* 物化 therapy which is a kind of existential psychology combining the Daoist practice of 'fasting of the heart-mind' *xinzhai* 心斋, Jungian Active Imagination and post-Jungian Embodied Imagination (Chen 2016).

Up till today, indigenous psychology in China is an amalgam of ideas, methods, and ideologies, and heated discussions are held among indigenous psychologists about problems of an ontological, methodological and epistemological nature (see e.g. Hwang 2005). In many of these discussions, the strong predilection for objectivity, controllability and empirical Western science that can be traced back to the NCM still dominate. [5]

Chinese psychology in Europe

Strangely enough, around the same time in Europe, practices and assumptions belonging to Chinese indigenous psychology knew a growing interest, and through the effort and genius of two visionary thinkers, started to influence Western psychotherapy. One of these thinkers was Richard Wilhelm 理查德-威廉. Incidentally, Wilhelm had lived most of his life in Qingdao,

[5] For more on the therapeutic value of Confucian and Daoist thought, see e.g. Bond 2010; Lin, Tseng, & Yeh 1995; Tseng et al. 2005. For a critical investigation into the relation of Daoism and psychology that highlights some potential pitfalls on different dialogues between Daoism, psychology and psychotherapy, see e.g. Cohen 2010.

Shandong Province, exactly the place that gave impetus to the 4th May Movement, in opposing to the Versailles settlement that previous German possessions in Shandong should be handed over to Japan. China's refusal to sign the Versailles Treaty necessitated a separate treaty with Germany in 1921. In 1922, Shandong province was – mediated by the United States – finally returned to China. It is during this tumultuous period that Richard Wilhelm worked on his famous translation of the *Book of Changes.*

Wilhelm was born in 1873 in Stuttgart, Germany. In 1891, he began theological studies at the University of Tübingen. In 1897 he became a pastor, got engaged with Salome Blumhardt, and left for China in 1899 to work in the East-Asia mission (the *Allgemein Protestantischer Missionsverein*) in Qingdao, at that time still German colonial city. In 1900 his wife Salome joined him and they got married in 1900 in Shanghai. From 1899 till 1920, Wilhelm worked in Qingdao, although he often went back to Germany for health reasons (he had contracted amoebic dysentery in 1910 in China) (Stein 2005).

As Wilhelm was very gifted for languages and quickly developed a strong fascination for Chinese culture and language, he was allowed to spend most of his time on linguistic and scholarly studies. For ten years, starting from 1913, he worked in close collaboration with the famous Chinese scholar and Daoist master Lao Naixuan 劳乃宣 (1843-1921) to translate and comment the *Yijing* in German[6]. However, it was not a smooth process, especially during the Japanese occupation in World War 1, as Wilhelm writes himself:

> *While we were in the midst of this work, the horror of the world war broke in upon us. The Chinese scholars were scattered to the four winds, and Mr. Lao left for Ch'ü-fou, the home of Confucius, to whose family he was related. The translation of the Book of Changes was laid aside, although during the siege of Tsingtao, when I was in charge of the Chinese Red Cross, not a day passed on which I did not devote some time to the study of ancient Chinese wisdom. (Baynes & Wilhelm 1977, p. 90)*

Later, Wilhelm also translated *The Secret of the Golden Flower* into German[7], a book on inner alchemy meditation for obtaining longevity and inner peace. After the war in 1920, he went

[6] The translation was published in Germany in 1924 as *I Ging: Das Buch der Wandlungen / aus dem Chinesischen verdeutscht und erläutert*. For an English version, see e.g. Baynes & Wilhelm 1977.

[7] The first edition was published in 1929 (Zürich and Stuttgart: Rascher Verlag) as *Das Geheimnis der Goldenen Blüte: ein chinesisches Lebensbuch*. For an English version, see e.g. Wilhelm 1962.

back to Germany to lecture. But again, in 1922 he took a post as scientific counsellor in the German Embassy in Beijing, where he finally finished the translation of the *Book of Changes*. Returning to Germany in 1924 permanently, he became professor of Chinese history and philosophy at the University of Frankfurt, where he died in 1930 aged 56 (Stein 2005).

It is in the period when he started to give lectures in Germany, that he first met Carl Gustav Jung, an at that time leading figure in Western psychotherapy, also known as the founder of European analytical psychology. Their relationship and later friendship grew steadily in importance and intensity, until Wilhelm's death in 1930. The fact is, that already after his breaking up with Freud in early 1920s, Jung's theoretical stance turned the longer the more from the psychoanalytical into a unique psychological theory that expresses a complex and ultimately global vision of the psyche (Stein 2005).

When Jung met Wilhelm, he had already for quite some time experienced difficulties in integrating findings of the therapies and observations with patients he intuitively sensed a meaningful role that challenged the existing (Western) theoretical paradigms. Jung himself explains that he had been investigating the collective subconscious for more than fifteen years when he met Wilhelm, and had come to results that seemed to him inconclusive, even when turning to the Gnostics systems for backing up his findings (Jung 2008, pp. 2-3). His contact with Wilhelm in this respect had far-reaching consequences on his research and writings. A wonderful illustration of this is his famous foreword to Wilhelm's translation of the *Yijing* into German, and later the visionary *Commentary on The Secret of the Golden Flower* to Wilhelm's translation (Jung 2008).

Without going into many psychological details, it is safe to say that the most important notion that grew out of his study of the *Yijing* is the notion of 'synchronicity'. Synchronicity in Jung's theory can be understood as a an 'acausal connecting (togetherness) principle', 'meaningful coincidence', and 'acausal parallelism'. In his long foreword to the *Yijing*, Jung explains that

> *... synchronicity takes the coincidence of events in space and time as meaning something more than mere chance, namely, a peculiar interdependence of objective events among themselves as well as with the subjective (psychic) states of the observer or observers. (Baynes & Wilhelm 1977, p. 41)*

Another aspect of his psychology that was greatly – to his own joy and contentment – confirmed by his contact with Chinese thought, was the view of individual growth, in particular

adult psychological development, as not linear, but circular and spiral-like, like the emergence of a psychic center. Especially the text of the *Golden Flower* that Wilhelm sent him in 1928 was convincing in this respect (Jung 2008, pp. 2-3).

As such, Jung integrated aspects of Chinese philosophy into his principles of psychotherapy and the human psyche (Higgins & Zheng 2002, p. 227). Jung himself claimed that Wilhelm – with his masterful translation of Chinese wisdom literature into a European language – had brought Chinese modes of thinking to so many in the West. He insisted strongly on Wilhelm's importance for Western medicine and psychotherapy, as we can read in a letter dating from 1929 he wrote to Wilhelm after he got the good news that Wilhelm would – following Jung's own suggestion – be invited as a keynote speaker on the next *Congress of Psychotherapy*:

> *You are too important to our Western world. I must keep telling you this. ... Think about what this means if medical practitioners, who reach the ordinary people directly in their most vulnerable areas, become inoculated with Chinese philosophy! I am thrilled and only hope that no devil will keep you away from this historic deed. This hits the bull's eye. Medicine is powerfully converting itself to the psychic, and here the East must enter. (Translated by and quoted in Stein 2005, p. 214-215)*

Unfortunately, one year later, Wilhelm passed away. Clearly, it has been Jung's popularity and efforts that brought about a growing interest in Chinese traditional thought in psychological circles in Europe. In fact, as Stein (2005, p. 215) argues, it was Jung's lifelong concern "to shift the mental health professions in particular out of the dominant materialistic reductionism of the medical model (psyche = brain chemistry) onto a more psychological basis". Chinese philosophy and Wilhelm's translations offered a powerful resource for this. Oddly enough, this was somehow the opposite of what happened in China at the same time.

Conclusion: recent developments

Starting with the NCM, what already existed as a kind of Chinese psychology underwent a 'scientification' process to become a Western import product focusing on empirical, educational psychology. At the same time – as if it were an example of Jung's synchronicity – after World War 1 in Germany, leading psychologist Jung's fascination and preoccupation with Chinese psychology had a major impact on the development of Western psychology, an influence that still resonates now.

With the recent interest – not only in non-Chinese countries but also in China – in a psychology rooted in traditional Chinese thinking and society, and a continuing and ever 'popularized' interest in Chinese wisdoms of life in Western countries, the mutual scientific influencing in the field of psychology is now complete, and offers a fascinating example in the history of ideas. This goes even to an extent that nor Wilhelm or Jung could have ever imagined. Not only have books appeared that investigate the relation of Eastern thought (Buddhism and Daoism) with contemporary psychoanalysis (see e.g. Suler 1993). Very recently, also a book on how to read Lu Xun through the theories of Carl Jung was published. In this book, the author uses foundational elements and key structures of the psychology of Jung to shed a new light on the psychological patterns within Lu Xun's famous story, *The True Story of Ah Q* (Brown 2018). Also the above mentioned existence of combined East-West psychotherapies in China testifies of this merging of approaches and styles of psychology and psycho-therapy. Almost 100 years later, this development seems to come very close to what Jung hoped would happen, as he wrote in the final paragraph of his *Commentary on the Secret of the Golden Flower*:

> *The purpose of my commentary is to attempt to build a bridge of psychological understanding between East and West. The basis of every real understanding is man, and therefore I had to speak of human beings. (Wilhelm 1962, p. 136)*

In the long run, World War 1 and the New Culture Movement contributed to the establishment of a 'new' – or should we say 'renewed' – Chinese, Western, and ultimately global, psychology, and this new discipline is still continuously renewing itself.

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