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Patterns of Thought and Numbers: A History of Mathematical Logic in Late-Republican and Early-Socialist China (1930-1960)

Vzory mišlenek a čísel: dějiny matematické logiky v pozdně republikánské a raně socialstické Číně (1930-1960)

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This dissertation surveys the development of mathematical logic as the idea and an academic discipline in China in the transitional period between late-Republican period and the first decade of the People's Republic (PRC). It surveys the development of this discipline in the pivotal period between its first establishment in Chinese academia, as a discipline studied in the scope of academic philosophy – the Qinghua school of logic, to its reestablishment within the context of socialist construction of science and technology in the 1950s. In parallel, one of the main focal points of this study is the transition from a philosophical notion of mathematical logic, which was related to the intellectual context of its first establishment in China, to its subsequent redefinition within the domain of mathematics and technological sciences in the context of the socialist reform of Chinese science in the early PRC period. In so doing, this treatise sets out by outlining the main features of the main results in teaching and research of mathematical logic in the late Republican era, so as to contrast the characteristics it acquired in its initial intellectual environment against its new identity, developed in the first decade of the socialist era. While the former serves as the background, the latter represents as the central topic of the present dissertation.

Setting out from the current state-of-art in the field, the main aim of this dissertation is to fill in the gaps in our historical understanding of the multi-layered development of mathematical logic in the Republican and early-PRC China. Its main focus is on the transitory period between the late-Republic and the early years of ideological restructuring of Chinese academic world in the 1950s. By closely observing two seemingly contrastive chapters in the institutional and conceptual life of mathematical logic in China, I try to gain a more precise understanding of the intellectual, philosophical, political, and scientific factors and circumstances underpinning its existence and identity in the crucial period of its establishment in China. Hence, while in the parts devoted to the Republican period special consideration is given, on the one hand, to its initial establishment as a philosophical discipline at the Qinghua University and the early emergence of its "mathematical counterpart" in Chinese mathematical circles, the subsequent and main part is devoted mainly to the key role of mathematical logic in the formation of Chinese socialist philosophy of science (philosophy of mathematics, dialectics of nature) and its eventual reestablishment as a semi-technical mathematical discipline in the context of new socialist science. In that way, the following study not only significantly complements previous scholarship, but, more importantly, investigate the ideological fundaments and intellectual-historical mechanisms which, due to political reasons, remain largely unexplored in contemporary Chinese historiography of mathematical logic and

philosophy (ideology) of science in modern China. The broader historical conclusions and inferences which were inevitably drawn in the following dissertation were all grounded upon a series of my previous studies relating both to the early and contemporary history of logic in China (see Vrhovski 2020a-c, 2021a-f).

One of the main theses of this dissertation is that, contrary to the established historical narrative, the early period of its establishment at Chinese universities in the late Republican period was still defined by profound variegations in its scientific and philosophical identity, while its understanding as a notion was in consonance with the current intellectual trends in the country. In the 1930s, the latter were still largely dominated by a strong propensity towards scientism, analytical philosophy, and materialist dialectics on the one side and a modern Chinese conception of "vitalist" philosophy on the other. Consequently, in the Republican period, both the popular notion as well as academic character were inextricably connected to the philosophical views, academic background or personal preferences of its pioneer-propagators in the country, which resulted in a diversity of different approaches to studying mathematical logic as established at the philosophical department of Qinghua University on one side and the mathematical department of Wuhan University on the other. In parallel to the content-related diversity in its existence in Chinese academia, from its first introduction in the May Fourth period (1917-1921), mathematical logic enjoyed a special status in general Chinese intellectual world as a concept associated closely with the modern scientific worldview and as the key pillar of the objectivity which surged in new Chinese academia. Its very status in context of the modern science-centred worldview was also the main driving force behind its subsequent establishment in Chinese academia, revealing the essential intertwinement between the identity of a notion in the general intellectual or popular discourse and the degree and manner of its initial establishment in the academic environment. An assumption subordinate to the above-stated thesis would also be that, at least in the early period, mathematical logic as a notion is to be distinguished from mathematical logic as a scientific discipline.

The second major thesis follows the same rationale as the first one. It namely conjectures that, in the subsequent period, when the notion and discipline of mathematical logic underwent a seemingly complete transformation, this change was still rooted in very same form of objectivism or worldview which underlay the past and current Chinese intellectual discourse. Although, at the surface, the content of this discourse was replaced by a new ideology – dialectical materialism as the general philosophical worldview and dialectics of nature as its

consistent philosophy of science, I assume that the socialist intellectual reconstruction was in direct continuity with the prior intellectual development, in the sense that it took place in coherence or within the same objectivist worldview. The second thesis assumes that the development of mathematical logic in the PRC period was conceptually still deeply rooted in the main trajectory of Chinese intellectual development. As a consequence, it can be conjectured that its past development in Chinese intellectual discourse and academia resulted in a relatively unique advancement of the concept within the new socialist order. In this sense, the fate of mathematical logic in early-PRC China would be expected to be formally in cohesion with that of the same discipline in the Soviet Union, while at the same time its development would have to be completely dissimilar at ideological level and in manner of its institutional re-establishment. The ideological alignment with the Soviet science would be expected at the earliest stage of adoption or emulation of the Soviet model, while, the developmental uniqueness of mathematical logic is recognised in the later period, when the aforementioned specifically Chinese intellectual current would gain expression through intellectuals and scientists who were able to reassert their identity through mastery of the language of the new ideology and erudition in its philosophical tenets.

Another central thesis of this research assumes that, in the process of undergoing the transition from a philosophical discipline to a branch of mathematics, the Chinese academic discipline (i.e. teaching and research of mathematical logic at Chinese Universities and research institutes) of mathematical logic was gradually aligning itself with the current advances or developmental trends in the field on the one hand and the needs stipulated by global trends in technological development on the other. Furthermore, by drawing closer to the realm of the applied sciences, the gap between the ideological or philosophical nature of mathematical logic and its scientific value and identity would also gradually disappear.

The analysis conducted in the dissertation resolved the above-listed theses in the following manner:

1.) Continual intertwinement between the development of mathematical logic as a concept in general Chinese intellectual discourse and an academic discipline

The highlighted several different aspects of development of mathematical logic as a notion and a discipline in the period between 1930s and the year 1960. It revealed some important circumstances, characteristics, biographical and other aspects of its first institutional establishment in Chinese academia and followed its development throughout its second

4

establishment in the first decade of Peoples Republic. Moreover, it confirmed an inherent developmental intertwinement between a *notion* of mathematical logic in general philosophical discourse(s) on one side and its, so to say, "internal" advancement as a field within the confines of the academic communities at Chinese Republican universities and the CAS in the PRC. In other words, in the turbulent period between the 1930s and the establishment of the PRC, which was underlined but major ideological, social, and political change, the intellectual developmental trajectory within the context of which the *notion* of mathematical logic was understood and evaluated retained a considerable degree of conceptual and objectivist continuity. Whilst this continuity, which was one of the main research foci of the present dissertation, was limited more or less to the notion of mathematical logic and its value in the scientific objectivity, which was gradually introduced to Chinese intellectual world since the May Fourth period (1917-1921), the identity of mathematical logic as a field of study underwent significant change in the period of transition from the Republic to People's Republic. However, although the continuity was broken with regard to its institutional life and its scientific (content-related) identity, these new shifts and detours in its advancements as a field of studies were more or less in consonance with its conceptual establishment in the aforementioned general intellectual or ideological discourse.

2.) In the Late-Republican period, mathematical logic was defined as a philosophical discipline and represented by Qinghua School of logic.

By the early-1930s, mathematical logic became established in Chinese intellectual world not only as one of the key concepts of the contemporary intellectual discourse (this has been additionally demonstrated in Vrhovski 2021b-f) but also in Chinese academia and the newly standardised national system of education. The main and only paragon of its establishment and advancement in Chinese academia was the so-called Qinghua School of logic, a generic term for a group of philosophers gathered at the department of philosophy at Qinghua University, whose common denominator resided in their research or teaching of specific aspects of modern logic. From its establishment in late 1920s on, the department of philosophy at Qinghua was the place of confluence of different approaches to mathematical logic as adopted by its most senior lecturers in logic, such as Zhang Shenfu and Jin Yuelin. Although, by the early 1930s, when a new generation of logicians had been formed, the research interests at the department had diversified considerably, the majority of research and teaching was still grounded on Russell's and Whitehead's *Principia Mathematica*, whilst, at the same time, the rise of a new generation of scholars who gained their formative research

5

experiences at European and American universities led to introduction of more recent theories and research trends relating to mathematical logic. Apart from the new research trends and theoretical advances imported from Europe (many-valued logical calculi, theoretical contributions to axiomatisation of mathematics and symbolic logic by the Vienna School etc.), the 1930s Qinghua school of logic also possessed a strong inclination towards the so-called "Harvard school of logic" and other advances in "symbolic logic" made in American academia.

Another important aspect of mathematical logic in the late-Republican period was its strong association with the discipline of modern philosophy, which was grounded not only in the fact that, in the 1920s, the idea of mathematical logic was first introduced to China as a part of the modern scientific outlook embodied in the *philosophy* of Bertrand Russell, but more so by the fact that, prior to the blossoming of the positivist notion of philosophy in the Western academia, all kinds of logic were generally regarded as a part of philosophy or an independent discipline – i.e. science of the laws of reasoning – closely related to either philosophy or psychology (see Vrhovski 2021f). Concurrently, due to the considerably wide-reaching impact of Russell's visit to China as well as Zhang Shenfu's strenuous efforts at propagating the general idea of mathematical logic in the years to follow, as early as in the 1920s, mathematical logic acquired a special status in Chinese intellectual world. As not only the manner of its nation-wide inclusion into the secondary school, normal school, and university school curricula, but also its overall treatment in the general intellectual discourse on logic (1930s) suggest, mathematical logic was viewed as a form of logic which was considerably more advanced than other known forms of logic, in the sense that it was believed to embody the principles of the most recent advances in the natural sciences etc. This *notion* of mathematical logic was inherently attached to a "dynamistic" variety of structural scientific objectivity (Daston and Gallison 2002, 253-308), which was prevalent in the Chinese intellectual world at the time. Aside from the notion of mathematical logic as expounded on in treatises written by its proponents in China, this special status became probably most clearly apparent in the Chinese Marxists led debates on dialectical and formal logic from the 1930s (see Vrhovski 2021b), where it was exempt from Marxists' criticism directed against "formal logic" and sometimes described as equal in value – in its quantitative aspect – to dialectical logic. As the summary of the early history of mathematical logic in the Soviet Union reveals, such special status was in complete opposition to the developments in the Soviet philosophy of logic at the time, and thus a uniquely Chinese feature, explainable only in the context of China's own intellectual developmental path and its own ideational spheres of influence. Contextualised into the very

6

core of China's intellectual modernisation, the general idea of mathematical logic, as established in Chinese intellectual discourse and Chinese academia by the 1930s, continued its existence even under the unlikely conditions of the socialist construction in the 1950s.

3.) In the Late-Republican period, Chinese academic community saw the emergence of research in mathematical logic as a mathematical discipline

In parallel to mathematical logic as a part of philosophical field of studies, the 1930s also saw the emergence of Chinese mathematicians' interest in the field. The rise of mathematical research was centred around a group of mathematicians at Wuhan University, who were connected to the current trends in research in set theory and foundation-related questions at German universities. Similarly, mathematical logic also found its way into the writing of two other prominent Chinese popularisers of modern mathematics, Zhu Gongjin and Gao Xingjian. The common point connecting these two "channels" of mathematicians' introductions of mathematical logic was Hilbert's and Ackermann's formalist system of symbolic logic. Although, it is unclear whether or in what manner these introductions prepared the stage for the later complete "mathematisation" of the discipline of mathematical logic, it is doubtless that they at least forecasted these later developments.

4.) A certain degree of conceptual continuity of Chinese intellectual discourse and awareness embodied in the general academic community conditioned the re-establishment of mathematical logic in the PRC.

As it has been demonstrated in the second part of dissertation, the developments in mathematical logic in the 1950s can be best understood when reflected upon through the prism of three main aspects: ideological, institutional, and content-related developments. By and large, these three aspects all illuminate either instances of causative conjunctions or interdependence of that so-called "internal" and "external" developments in the field. Such tight interconnectedness between the "external" character of a discipline and its "internal", development as a discipline within the scientific community on one side and its establishment at national institutions on the other, is an expected feature of such transitory periods between one objectivist system to another. In other words: this interconnectedness can be defined as a consequence of the ideological transformation which underlined the early decades of the socialist China. While this seems to be a self-evident, our analysis shows that this link between general intellectual discourse and the inner life of the discipline of mathematical logic existed continually from its first introduction into the modern Chinese intellectual discourse onwards.

7

Several different explanations can be offered for this phenomenon, of which the following two general explanations are most pertinent for our discussion: it can either be assumed that such an interconnectedness is an inherent feature of every such notion which at the same time also represents a scientific field of study etc., or, assuming that the latter is not the case and, consequently, that such a link is only established under special circumstances, then the continuity of the profound interconnectedness between these two aspects in the case under analysis may be explained by assuming the continuous existence of these special circumstances. Regarding the latter point, in our concrete case this would imply that in Republican Period and then again in the time of the socialist construction in the 1950s, the idea of mathematical logic was an essential component of a worldview which was still subject of appropriation or contention (from the perspective of tradition) into both Chinese public and intellectual discourse. In other words, mathematical logic was still part of the ongoing process of *intellectual modernisation*. It represented an important concept in the objectivity, which was being acquired by means of modern Western scientific, socio-political, and ethical worldview. Consequently, especially in the earliest period, the conceptual life of mathematical logic in China was deeply entwined with the traditional Chinese worldview or cultural perception into which the conceptual constituents of the above-mentioned worldview were contextualised in the due process, and whose concepts and categories have been used to decipher these foreign concepts in the first place. In this sense, this essential part of mathematical logic in China had a profound link to the discourse on modernisation. While this relation was eventually materialised in its inclusion into modern Chinese academia, its identity underwent a considerable transformation through the formation of China's first community of modern logicians. It was exactly this aspect which represented the main point of divergence between mathematical logic as a part of general intellectual discourse and a scientific discipline. However, due to nature of the ideological turnover which marked China's transition into a socialist country, the above-mentioned link became again of vital importance for the formation of a new community of experts and its reestablishment as a scientific discipline.

The second part of this dissertation affirms both the quintessential link between mathematical logic as an objectivist concept – as extant in the general intellectual discourse – and a scientific discipline, as well as its inherent continuous connectedness with China's own intellectual developmental trajectory. The first is apparent from the above analysis of the role of mathematical logic in Marxist philosophy of mathematics in the 1950s. Especially the Chinese mathematicians' and mathematical logicians' defence of mathematical logic, which

started in the Hundred Flowers Campaign, indicates that the initial period of introduction of Soviet results in philosophy of logic and mathematics were more or less conducted at a level of a superficial and automatic emulation of foreign doctrine, while at the same time the Chinese mathematical community sought not to blindly emulate its tenets but to use them as a means for making the case for their own theories and ideas. What is here referred to by "their own theories and ideas" appertains to the notion of mathematical logic acquired in their former training in European, American, or Chinese universities of the Republican Period. A similar attitude towards the notion of mathematical logic could even be attributed to Mao Zedong, whose formation as a young Communist took place under the influence of the circle of Communists at National Peking University (1918-1919), which included the first propagator of mathematical logic in China, Zhang Shenfu, who served as Mao's supervisor during his work at the Peking University Library. Having a strong interest in modern logic, in 1956 Mao inaugurated the "Great Debates on Logic", the main ideological focus of which lay on the relationship between formal and dialectical logic, a relationship which seems to have excluded mathematical logic, which was still regarded as one of the most advanced forms of logic exempt from the idealist problematics of philosophical thought. In this regard, the development of the philosophical discourse on mathematical logic in China did not follow the Soviet example. However, at the same time, the results of the past Soviet discourse, such as animadvert and other philosophical treatises discussing the relationship between dialectical materialism and logic, did from an important referential basis for the later developments in Chinese discourse on philosophy of mathematics and dialectics of nature.

5.) The trajectories of both philosophical and scientific development of mathematical logic diverged from the Soviet model and Marxist discourse of mathematical logic.

Another aspect of mathematical logic in socialist China, which distinguished it strongly from its Soviet counterpart, was related to its rapid, institutionally driven transition into a branch of mathematics. Most probably, this early establishment of mathematical logic at the CAS was the direct result of the above-discussed intellectual prestige which linked to the notion of mathematical logic in the late-Republican period. Its inclusion into the preparatory IMCAS could namely probably be credited to Hua Luogeng, a former student of Qinghua University who held mathematical logic in hight esteem. The same process of mathematisation also vitally catalysed its scientific remodelling into a socialist-style technological discipline, due to which mathematical logic was also able to return to Chinese universities and other levels of Chinese national education.

9

Both, its unique path in ideological discourse as well as its rapid transition to a ground-breaking scientific discipline, enabled Chinese mathematical logic to attain a higher level of political autonomy, which was particularly visible in its relative exemption from the mainstream Marxist discourse imported from the Soviet Union. Amongst other, the relatively autonomous path of Chinese mathematical logic is reflected also in the low number of translations of Soviet textbooks (in the first half of 1950s) on the one hand and a stronger propensity towards theoretically more relevant and ideologically less pressing or acceptable sources from the West (after 1958). Among the sources from the Eastern Bloc which were translated into Chinese in the 1950s were prevalent those related to the ground-breaking theoretical contributions to the theory of recursion or recursive arithmetic (R. Peter and Kalmar).

6.) Early institutionalisation of mathematical logic at IMCAS (Institute of Mathematics at Chinese Academy of Science) was vital for its ideological rehabilitation and scientific restructuring into an applicative, technology-related branch of mathematics.

Regarding the institutionalisation and the content related developments in the 1950s, the following conclusions can be drawn: Firstly, the return of mathematical logic to Chinese scientific and education institutes was initiated at the IMCAS, which already at its preparatory stage employed the mathematical logician Hu Shihua. Around scholars like Hu, Guan Zhaozhi and Min Naida, mathematical logic at the IMCAS gradually gained momentum both in their philosophical (especially Hu and Guan) and mathematical research. Because, under Hua Luogeng's leadership, from early 1950s on, IMCAS was also the centre of Chinese mathematicians' efforts to contribute to the general discourse on Marxist philosophy of mathematics, it can be established that the same institute had a pivotal role in re-establishing both the general notion and the discipline of mathematical logic in 1950s China. Moreover, as the foremost researcher in the new-type mathematical logic, Hu Shihua was probably the scholar who can be most credited for carrying out its socialist transformation. What is even more important is that, by taking on an important role in shaping the public discourse on mathematical logic and foundations of mathematics in the framework of dialectics of nature studies following 1956, Hu was also at the forefront of the Chinese scientists' community to regain direct control over the political discourse on science. In this sense, mathematical logic was also one of the pivotal concepts in mathematicians' struggle for greater intellectual freedom and freedom of research in Chinese academia.

10

Secondly, the turning year in the process of its ideological rehabilitation and institutional reestablishment was the year of the Hundred Flowers, 1956. This points not only at the vital importance of the current internal political atmosphere for the return of mathematical logic to Chinese universities, but also at the impact of China's own way of socialism on the manner in which mathematical logic was liberated from the constraints of Soviet Marxist doctrine. Thus, subsequently, starting in the year of the Giant Leap Forward, mathematical logic embarked more completely upon a path of an applicative, technology-related discipline on the one hand, and a concept if Chinese version of Marxist philosophy of science on the other.

Thirdly, as mentioned above, in the 1950s, the research trends in Chinese mathematical logic – and thus also its identity as a ground-breaking discipline – took a radical turn towards its applications in computer technology and industrial automatization. This was not only the result of all its changes, but also a natural development which was prompted by the global rise of electronic computer technology and its applications in industry and military defence technology. In its newly acquired form, alongside computational mathematics, mathematical logic was mainly applied in the field of computer programming. Since in the late 1950s Chinese computer industry was still at its early stages, accordingly, the theoretical questions researched by Chinese mathematical logicians all pertained to the basics of computer programming, such as recursive arithmetic, logical calculi, theory of systems, algorithms, functions and so on. At the same time, research of some questions of more theoretical value was still being pursued on the fringes of the community of mathematical logicians. Apart from Hu Shihua, the main representatives of this new research in mathematical logic were Mo Shaokui from the Nanjing University, Lu Zhongwan, and Wang Shiqiang.

7.) General conclusions relating to intercultural studies of history of modern science and intellectual history in general.

In summary, it can be claimed with some certainty that the various shifts and changes which underlay the development of mathematical logic in China between late-Republic and early-PRC can shed some important new light on the entire process of intellectual change in this pivotal period of Chinese modernisation. As an idea rooted in the modernist worldview that defined the May Fourth intellectual world, the notion of mathematical logic changed in cohesion with the trajectorial ebbs and flows in the evolution of the entire Chinese intellectual discourse. At the most fundamental level, this deep cohesion with the fundaments of Chinese

11

modernity did not cease to exist even under the new "ideological order". Apart from many other particular features in its development, this instance of continuity in Chinese intellectual evolution is probably one of the most important indices of both complexity as well as a certain degree of logical linearity within the entire process of scientific modernisation in China. It reveals the very vitality of the intertwinement between the general, culture-dependent intellectual discourse on one side and the formal existence of an academic discipline on the other. In this way, under intellectual circumstance akin to the period of Chinese modernisation, the life of a scientific discipline cannot be reduced to its concrete contributions to its global extension, but, in order to understand its advantages and inadequacies, must also be regarded in its complete form of existence, from its beginnings a notion embedded in the shifting or inter-merging external and native objectivist paradigms, down to the formation of the academic communities, its institutionalisation, teaching, and finally also concrete research. A major corollary to this is that, in studies relating to trans-cultural intellectual history, we must not only focus on the seemingly universal conceptual surface (e.g. existence of modern terminology), but must always try to delve deeper into the very epistemic, or as it were "cultural", foundations of the entire objectivist systems which are made up of individual concepts, categories, or theories. Sometimes, to discover the contour of these underlying patterns, we must try to combine all available aspects related to a concept's existence in a social or cultural environment. Although, in each and every case history of science as such does not necessarily include its relevant socio-historical aspects, this might well be the case in research of intercultural migration of scientific ideas and especially examples of appropriations of entire worldviews of systems of objectivity as in the case of the longstanding process of Chinese intellectual modernisation.

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