

4 World History at the Service of the Ruling Party: The Image of Russia and the West in ROC and PRC History Curricula and Textbooks 1949–90

Abstract. This chapter compares the history curriculum standards and textbooks in the Republic of China (ROC) and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) from the 1950s to the 1980s, focusing on world history at the junior secondary school level. The image of the West and that of Russia/the USSR as the “other” are described as a means to conceptualize the “self”. These images are embedded in an overall concept of history varied in both countries. It will be analyzed how these images are employed to legitimize the respective political system and ruling party. The findings show how world history is employed to take sides in a bipolar world order. The ROC books appropriate Western achievements and demonize Soviet Russia. The PRC books begin with an idolization of the USSR in the 1950s. With the split of the PRC-Soviet ties, disenchantment with the post-Stalinist USSR ensues, and the PRC styles itself as the only true proponent of communism. Western “progress” and “achievements”, in contrast, are deconstructed by exposing their inhumane nature, especially in the 1950s. With the “Reform and Opening” politics and the “Four Modernizations” beginning in the late 1970s, the West is cautiously credited for technological innovation. To a certain extent, world history is used as a prop to legitimate domestic policies and should therefore be read as allegory. This may be seen especially clearly from the changes in the PRC teaching material.

Keywords. Republic of China, People’s Republic of China, Taiwan, Russia, West.

Introduction

With the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the retreat of the Kuomintang (*Guomindang* 國民黨, henceforth KMT) to the island of Taiwan, the Taiwan Strait became the fragile and contested border not only between two different political regimes that had previously clashed with each other in a turbulent civil war over China, but also between the two major spheres of influence of the Cold War – the USSR and the USA. Both of them supported their favorite part of China with military and financial aid as well as through advice and teaching. All aspects of life under the two rival political regimes, especially historical education, had to cater to the legitimization and promotion of the respective party and ideology: communism in the PRC, nationalism in the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan).

The ROC and the PRC, both authoritarian states during the period discussed, exerted a high, if not the highest possible, level of state control over education, the curriculum and the production of textbooks.¹ The threat of the invasion of the respective other party or the aim of reconquering the other part of China was constantly in view. Students had to be educated in terms of a worldview that could secure their loyalty to the ruling party. This was especially the case in history education as it has always provided the possibility to legitimize the polity. In order to do so, history education conveys to the students a particular concept of history (“Geschichtsbild”): a fixed idea and interpretation of the past which is (intended to be) shared in a community. It serves to answer relevant questions such as “what is history?”, “what or who ‘makes’ history?” and “where does history lead?”. It fosters the formation of a collective identity and can be projected into the future. For this reason, history education is used for nation building and also for committing the populace to the pursuit of a desirable future.² It provides legitimacy to the

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Georg-Eckert-Institut (GEI, Leibniz-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung) in Braunschweig, Germany and The Textbook Library of the Center for Textbook Research of the National Academy for Educational Research (國家教育研究院教科書研究中心教科書圖書館) in Taipei, Taiwan. Both libraries have granted me access to their collections and supported my research with their expertise and advice.

1 Alisa JONES: “Toward Pluralism? The Politics of History Textbooks in South Korea, Taiwan, and China”. In: Gi-Wook SHIN and Daniel C. SNEIDER (eds.): *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories*, New York: Routledge 2011, pp. 215–231, p. 215.

2 Karl-Ernst JEISMANN: “Geschichtsbilder: Zeitdeutung und Zukunftsperspektive”. In: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (Federal Agency for Civic Education, ed.): *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, December 2002, pp. 13–22.

government, the party, and its policies as it is employed to show the validity of state ideology.

This ideology, which may be made up of political (historical) myths, is employed to legitimize the rulership and to reach political goals.³ The “belief in legitimacy” (“Legitimitätsglaube”) is crucial for the exercise of dominion (“Herrschaft”), and schools are places where this belief in the legitimacy of the ruling is cultivated,⁴ and where the myths and collective memory of the past are transmitted.⁵ Such “politics of remembrance”, especially when they are used to legitimize and solidify extant power structures, to construct a shared identity, to increase the cohesion in society, and commit members of it to the pursuit of a common goal, usually utilize and instrumentalize ones’ “own” past. These politics narrate myths of the greatness and diachronic unity of the self. This chapter, in contrast, focuses on the image of the *other*. The concepts of otherness⁶ are crucial to the constitution of the self.⁷

In the textbooks, this other can play several roles. It can be a hostile enemy, against which the self is demarcated, and thanks to which the ruling party can treat itself as successful and hence the legitimate defender. If this “other” is an overly powerful, omnipresent normative system, we may go as far as to call it LACAN’s capitalized “Other” (“grand Autre”). If it is not hostile, we can conceptualize it as authoritative but benevolent “Other”. In both cases, the “Self” gains its identity

3 Yves BIZEUL: *Glaube und Politik* (Belief and Politics), Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2009, pp. 139, 238. On page 26, BIZEUL gives the example of primitive communism in prehistory as a political myth employed to legitimize Marxist governments. This precisely explains what the PRC textbooks do.

4 Max WEBER: *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Guenther ROTH and Claus WITTICH (ed.), Berkeley: University of California Press 1978, pp. 212, 215

5 Jan ASSMANN and Aleida ASSMANN, after BIZEUL: *Glaube und Politik* (2002), p. 251.

6 CHEN and CHEN choose the post-colonial reading of otherness: CHEN Yun-Shiuan 陳昀萱 and CHEN Hsiao-Lan 甄小懶: “Guozhong lishi kegang zhong de Ouzhou yixiang” 國中歷史課綱中的歐洲意象 (European Images in Taiwan’s Junior Secondary School History Curricular Guidelines). In: *Jiaokeshu yanjiu* 教科書研究 (*Journal of Textbook Research*) vol. 11 no. 2, 2018, pp. 27–55. They show the development of the ROC history curriculum and how it emancipates itself from presenting the West as the norm. The present chapter discusses sources during their first phase; therefore, this emancipation has not yet taken place.

7 HEGEL (1770–1831) is seen as the primary thinker who defined self-consciousness as exclusion of the other using the example of how servitude is most easily grasped in its relation to lordship. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich HEGEL: *System der Wissenschaft I: Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* (System of Sciences I: The Phenomenology of Spirit), Bamberg / Würzburg: Joseph Anton Goebhardt 1807, pp. 117, 124. Available online through “Deutsches Textarchiv”: http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/show/hegel_phanomenologie_1807 (last access 2020, February 13).

via the gaze of this capitalized “Other”.⁸ It can also be LACAN’s lowercased “other”, i.e. an “other” that may represent a reflection, a possible development, a (future) ideal version of the self.⁹ In that case, this “other” functions as a model, as an idol. The ruling party gains legitimacy by identifying the self with it, by providing evidence that this ideal state of the self will be reached under its rulership. In that regard, the world history textbooks are only superficially concerned with the “other”. They should, however, rather be read as allegory of the self. The books are pervaded by ideology and legitimation narratives of current policy. This makes them a parable of the here and now. The “Geschichtsbild” put forward in them has the sole purpose of legitimizing and cementing the status quo.

In the curriculum standards and textbooks of the ROC and PRC during 1949–1990, the image of two important “others”, the West and Russia, is discussed. Changes and consistencies in their depiction are analyzed against the backdrop of coeval events and affairs. It will be demonstrated that the image of either the West or Russia (or the Soviet Union) is employed to legitimize the ruling party and their ideology. These images fit into the worldview that is taught to the students and varies with its shifts.

It will also be demonstrated that the nationalist outlook of the KMT in the ROC remains steady, as do the curricula and textbooks from 1952–1990. The initially pronounced denigration and demonization of the Soviet Union was slightly watered down over time. Nationalism, however, remains the all-pervasive trope of the world history textbooks, making the birth of nations the most important turning point of history and neatly assigning distinct characteristics to all nations. The nation is the main reference point for the identity of the individual. In the interaction of the different nations of the world, Wilsonianism¹⁰ is the ideal. Projected into the future, this concept of history will lead to peace among all nations, (scientific) progress, and prosperity.

8 This argument is based on the adaptation of LACAN’s “grand Autre” for the analysis of PRC historiography and its othering of the West by: Q. Edward WANG: “Encountering the World: China and Its Other(s) in Historical Narratives, 1949–89”. In: *Journal of World History* vol. 14 no. 3, 2003, pp. 327–358. LACAN himself utilizes the grand Autre to denote the parents, teachers etc. of the self, a whole set of norms that preexists. In my analysis, the West or the USSR may play the role of this grand Autre as they provide the framework of norms.

9 Sean HOMER: *Jacques Lacan*, London and New York: Routledge 2005, p. 70.

10 Wilsonianism, named after the U.S. president behind the founding of the League of Nations, Woodrow WILSON (1856–1924), encompasses the values of democracy, freedom, human rights, capitalism, and the need of these values to be disseminated in the world. See Lloyd E. AMBROSIUS: *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2002.

The PRC, in contrast, narrates world history exclusively within the scope of historical materialism to convey Marxist values. The peer group of the individual is not the nation, but the class. International solidarity of the proletariat is invoked, superficially internationalist, but actually instrumentalized to speak to the domestic. World history in the PRC furthermore exhibits profound changes in its history teaching material, reflecting the radical changes in policy. The 1950s begins with an idolization of the Soviet Union, followed by the emancipation or rather coming-of-age, in the course of which the PRC promotes itself as the legitimate leader of the communist camp and increasingly delegitimizes Post Stalin USSR leadership.¹¹ In terms of the image of the West, a rather opposite development takes place. At the beginning of the PRC, the West is treated as an archenemy not only of China but basically of the proletariat of the entire world. It is presented as the inventor of capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, and described by a plenitude of negative attributes. With the beginning of the “Reform and Opening” politics of the late 1970s, the image is bettered, and the textbooks provide a showcase for Western technological achievements.

This chapter describes the main historical narrative of first the ROC, and then the PRC textbooks (sections 2. and 3.). Noteworthy is how the overall narrative of both regimes conveys a teleological concept of history.¹² Section 4. offers the analysis of the images of Russia and the West with reference to the description of major historical events as they are described in the textbooks. In all sections, it is attempted to include the main directions of development.

11 WANG describes this emancipation from the Soviet model as the reemergence of nationalism. Cf. Q. Edward WANG: “Between Marxism and Nationalism: Chinese Historiography and the Soviet influence, 1949–1963”. In: *Journal of Contemporary China* vol. 9 no. 23, 2000, pp. 95–111, <https://doi.org/10.1080/106705600112074>.

12 Conceptualizing history as progress, as “anticipation of the present” goes back to English liberal history or “Whig history”. “Marxist history is characteristically whig.” John BURROW: *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances & Inquiries from Herodotus & Thucydides to the Twentieth Century*, London: Penguin 2009, pp. 473–474.

World History in the ROC: Nationalism, Progress, Wilsonian Idealism and the Fight against Communism

To begin with, the investigation is undertaken into the Taiwanese history teaching material in 1952 when the first standardization took place. Before that, the KMT had imported the heterogenous teaching material from the mainland.¹³ The ROC history curriculum standards begin with neatly stating their teaching “aims” (*mu-biao* 目標).¹⁴ They clearly exhibit a nationalist ideology. This nationalist outlook refers on the one hand to the domestic realm and Chinese history, and on the other hand to the international arena and world history.

Regarding the domestic situation, the major challenge faced by the KMT was the Communist rule on the mainland and the KMT’s declared aim to reconquer it. It was only abandoned in 1991 when the “Temporary provisions effective during the period of communist rebellion” (動員戡亂時期臨時條款) were repealed. Another important challenge was the resistance of the Taiwanese populace to what they perceived simply as new colonial rule¹⁵ and the fact that the island’s population was just as multiethnic as the mainland. Therefore, the students were to study the evolution (*vanjin* 演進) of the Chinese nation (*Zhonghua minzu* 中華民族) and how the “different clans were on friendly terms with each other” (*ge zongzu jian rongqia* 各宗族間融洽).¹⁶ Furthermore, the students were not only to understand how ancient and venerable Chinese culture is, but also that an important responsibility arises:

認識民族的傳統精神，以啓發復興國家責任之自覺 [...] ¹⁷

To know the consciousness of tradition of the nation in order to develop the awareness of the responsibility to regain the mainland [...]

13 Cf. DMITRENKO’s contribution to this volume.

14 For an overview of the development of the teaching aims in the ROC, see Lung-chih CHANG’s contribution to this volume and CHEN/CHEN: “Guozhong lishi kegang zhong de Ouzhou yixiang” (2018).

15 And less competent than Japanese colonization. Cf. Steven PHILIPS: “Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945–1948”. In: Murray A. RUBINSTEIN (ed.): *Taiwan: A New History*, Armonk, NY: Sharpe 2007, p. 276.

16 Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education, ed.): *Xiuding zhongxue gongmin, guowen, lishi, dili ke kecheng biaoqun* 修訂中學公民、國文、歷史、地理科課程標準 (Revised Secondary School Citizen, Chinese, History, Geography Curriculum Standard), n. p. 1952, p. 40.

17 Ibid., p. 20.

In terms of an international perspective, the development of nations and nationalism is the nexus between world history and the core value of KMT rule. Students are expected to be able to understand the main points of the evolution of each important nation of the world and China's position and responsibility in the international arena.¹⁸ By this rather abstract imperative the curriculum means the following two points: The first is that Taiwan perceives itself as part of the worldwide Cold War bulwark against communism; the second is that the KMT still felt entitled to rule over all of China.

The emergence of national consciousness and the birth of nations in Europe are depicted as a key turning point in world history.¹⁹ History as a whole is presented as a succession of achievements, progressing toward an ever-improving state with better living conditions for the people. Listed as achievements are the Western values that are to be adhered to in the ROC such as freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. The fact that from 1949 (following the February 28 incident of 1947) until 1987 martial law and "White Terror", during which many Taiwanese were persecuted for alleged cooperation with the communists, reigned the island, makes the praise of these values appear to be mere lip service.

National unity in the various European countries was achieved during the age of absolutism (*junzhu zhuanzhi shidai* 君主專制時代, from the 15th to the 18th century), implying that only a strong government can finally unite the people. England, France, Spain, Prussia and Russia were all:

民族國家，由一羣語言文字相同、風俗習慣類似、屬於同一種族的人民、組織而成。²⁰

Nation-states [that] were formed by the people belonging to one race that had the same language and script and similar customs.

Only after that were democracy and freedom established by the "revolutionary movements for democracy and freedom" (民主與自由的革命運動), which

18 Ibid.

19 See, as an early source: Zhongxue biao zhun jiaokeshu lishike bianji weiyuanhui 中學標準教科書歷史科編輯委員會 (Secondary school standard textbook history compilation committee) and XIA Deyi 夏德儀: *Chuji zhongxue biao zhun jiaokeshu: Chuzhong lishi* 初級中學標準教科書: 初中歷史 (Junior secondary school standard textbook: Junior secondary school history) vol. 5, Taipei: Taiwan sheng zhengfu jiaoyuting 1958, p. 85. Volumes 1–4 deal with Chinese history; volumes 5–6 with world history.

20 XIA Deyi 夏德儀, Qi Letong 祁樂同, Li Maixian 李邁先: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* 國民中學歷史 (History for Junior Secondary School) vol. 4, Taipei: Guoli Bianyiguan 1971, p. 69. Volumes 1–3: Chinese history. Volumes 4–5: world history. The fact that XIA remains chief editor may serve as a further argument for the continuity of the ROC textbook landscape.

consist of the Enlightenment, American Independence, and the French Revolution. They established an ideology of freedom and equality. The establishment of citizen's rights and the nationalist movements led to technological innovation, progress, improvement of the living conditions via the Industrial Revolution,²¹ and the advancement of modern European and American science (近代歐美科學之發達).²² The future is implied to be as rosy as it can be if we believe in technological progress and Wilsonian idealism which will unite the world under the wings of the United Nations (or a similar institution). The KMT was highly dependent on U.S. financial help (1954–1979). Republican scholars were actually already far beyond this teleological and didactic presentation of history. Many had studied progressive historiography in the USA and would have approached their sources critically.²³ However, history education in Taiwan under KMT conservatives was not to form a critical, but an obedient student.²⁴

How do these laudations of Western civilization relate to China having become a victim of imperialism and colonialism?²⁵ Social Darwinism is the answer to this question: a worldview that has shaped the thought of the early 20th century Chinese intellectuals as well as KMT politics.²⁶

Imperialism is explained as geographical discoveries and the opening up of sea routes, combined with the needs for resources rising from the Industrial

21 Zhongxue biao zhun jiaokeshu lishike bianji weiyuanhui and XIA Deyi: *Chuji zhongxue biao zhun jiaokeshu: Lishi* 初級中學標準教科書：歷史 (Junior secondary school standard textbook: History), vol. 6, Taiwan shengzhengfu jiaoyuting 1958, p. 15.

22 Jiaoyubu (ed.): *Xiuding zhongxue gongmin, guowen, lishi, dilike kecheng biao zhun* (1952), p. 53.

23 For example, the historian and textbook author HE Bingsong 何炳松 (1890–1946): He studied in Princeton University and became an advocate of American progressive historiography, influenced by James Harvey ROBINSON's *New History* (which he used for the historical methodology course at Peking University; it was published in Chinese in 1924) and his New History School with James SHOTWELL, J. H. HAYES and William DUNNING. See Q. Edward WANG: *Inventing China Through History – The May Fourth Approach to Historiography*. Albany: State University of New York Press 2001, pp. 67–68. See also FANG Xinliang 房鑫亮: *Zhongxin dujing – He Bingsong zhuan* 忠信篤敬——何炳松传 (Loyal and respectful – Biography of HE Bingsong), Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 2006, p. 15.

24 WANG: *Inventing China Through History* (2001), p. 200.

25 CHEN and CHEN present 1968–1985 as a time period in which Europe was synonymous with modernity and civilization. The fact that Europe was also the cradle of imperialism led to an ambiguous feeling toward Europe. Cf. CHEN/CHEN: “Guozhong lishi kegang zhong de Ouzhou yixiang” (2018), p. 40.

26 See James Reeve PUSEY: *China and Charles Darwin*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press 1983 and YANG Haiyan: “Encountering Darwin and Creating Darwinism in China”. In: Michael RUSE (ed.): *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Darwin and Evolutionary Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013, pp. 250–257.

Revolution in Europe leading to a “competition” (*zhengduo* 爭奪) for colonies (*zhimindi* 殖民地) and trade monopolies (*shangye longduan* 商業壟斷).²⁷ The resulting imperialism (*diguozhuyi* 帝國主義), a policy of countries with an advanced industry (*chanye* 產業), aimed at seizing land, resources, the market, etc. of other “backwards nations” (*luohou minzu* 落後民族), denying others the access to them and sometimes ultimately swallowing (*bingtun* 併吞) them.²⁸

The attack of imperialism toward China (*Diguo zhuyi dui woguo de qinlüe* 帝國主義對我國的侵略) is explained by the fact that the country, despite being prosperous and rich in population, was “ignorant of the general world trends” (*meiyu shijie dashi* 昧於世界大勢, i.e. not acting adequately in global politics), and its politics and economy were not (yet) improved (*gaijin* 改進). After China’s defeat in the First Opium War (1839–1842), it became the object of a competition for hegemony of the Great Powers (*lieqiang* 列強), lost a number of territories and rights, and was therefore attacked by many imperialist countries in the realms of politics, economy and warfare, and found itself in great peril (*weiwang* 危亡). Only after the end of the Second World War (1939–1945) could China shake off (*baituo* 擺脫) the oppression of imperialism.²⁹ The Taiwanese textbooks do not question imperialist practices per se; they just convey the image that China in the past was too weak or backwards to play the game of power struggle. Now (i.e. 1950s–1980s), however, national unity, progress, and a strong KMT rule enable the ROC to compete.

The depiction of Russia is divided into two parts. Peter the Great in Tsarist Russia is lauded as a reformer, an image going back to KANG Youwei’s 康有為 (1858–1927) biography of the Russian Tsar³⁰ handed to the Guangxu 光緒 emperor (r. 1875–1908). Peter’s strategy to modernize Russia was to travel and send informants to Western Europe to learn and bring their knowledge back to their own country. Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union, in contrast, are described as an aggressive, dangerous force whose domestic economic policies failed, and thus bringing havoc to the Chinese mainland by leading it astray toward communism.

The rule of the Communist Party on the mainland is one of the main concerns of the KMT on Taiwan and shapes historical education decisively under the

27 Note how the description of the interdependence of trade monopolies and imperialism is at its core not so different from the Marxist take on it.

28 Zhongxue biao zhun jiaokeshu lishike bianji weiyuanhui 中學標準教科書歷史科編輯委員會 (Secondary school standard textbook history editing committee) and XIA Deyi 夏德儀: *Chuji zhongxue biao zhun jiaokeshu: Lishi* 初級中學標準教科書: 歷史 (Junior secondary school standard textbook: History) vol. 6, Taipei: Taiwan sheng zhengfu jiaoyuting 1958, pp. 22–23.

29 Ibid., p. 23.

30 See Don C. PRICE: *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution 1896–1911*, Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press 1974, pp. 33 ff.

catchphrase “oppose communism, resist Russia” (*fan gong kang E* 反共抗俄).³¹ The aforementioned “Temporary provisions” were already added to the constitution in 1948 on the mainland during the Civil War.³² The KMT had also taken the 1948 republican era curriculum standard (*Xiuding zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 修訂中學課程標準) with them to the island, and it already bore the nucleus of history education for the following decades. In so far, history education in Taiwan is to be seen as a continuation of history education of the Republic before its retreat to the island.

The 1952 curriculum, as well as the standardized history teaching material based upon it, incorporated the *fan gong kang E* policy. Apart from the abovementioned responsibility to reconquer the mainland, requirements are given that teachers should:

說明共匪一面倒的投靠蘇俄。

Explain that the communist criminals have all sold themselves to Soviet Russia.

說明自由世界對共匪封鎖禁運之必要。³³

Explain the need that the free world should cut off the communist criminals.

The blame for the communist rule over the mainland is assigned to Russia as the “troublemaker”.³⁴ The negative image of the Russians in China goes back to the 17th century.³⁵ The two countries look back on a long history of “cross-border distrust”,³⁶ during which Russia was perceived as expansionist and potentially threatening. Putting the blame on Russia, however, the textbooks make a future reunification with the mainland feasible and desirable. Russia is stylized as an archenemy,

31 This is not the first policy to protect the ROC in Taiwan from forces deemed threatening. When the KMT took over Taiwan from the Japanese colonial rulers in 1945, they had begun a policy of “removing Japanization” (*qu ribenhua* 去日本化, i.e. decolonization after Japanese rule 1895–1945).

32 On the “mutual hostility” between Taiwan and Soviet Russia, see Lung-chih CHANG’s contribution to this volume.

33 Taiwan sheng zhengfu jiaoyuting 臺灣省政府教育廳 (Taiwan provincial government department of education): *Taiwan sheng Guomin Xuexiao ge ke jiaocai tiaozheng shuoming kecheng biao zhun* 臺灣省國民學校各科教材調整說明課程標準 (Taiwan province primary school curriculum standard readjusted and explained for all subjects), Taipei: Taiwan shudian 1952, p. 16.

34 Cf. Aleksandrs DMITRENKO’s contribution to this volume.

35 T. A. HSIA: “Demons in Paradise: The Chinese Images of Russia”. In: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 349, *Communist China and the Soviet Bloc*, Sep. 1963, pp. 27–37.

36 Sayana NAMSARAEVA: “Déjà vu of Distrust in the Sino-Russian Borderlands”. In: Caroline HUMPHREY (ed.): *Trust and Mistrust in the Economies of the China-Russia Borderlands*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2018, p. 40.

and the aggression of Western countries is played down. For example, in the discussion of the Opium Wars, teachers are motivated to lay special emphasis on the attack of the Russian Tsar (俄帝侵略我國的史實).³⁷ This is rather far-fetched as Russia was not directly involved in the wars. Russia did, however, act as a mediator between Britain, France, and the USA on the one side and the Qing dynasty on the other, in the Second Opium War.³⁸ The tradition of mistrust of Tsarist Russia becomes reinforced by the animosity toward communism, and the country was thus scapegoated.

With respect to domestic history, it, too, becomes increasingly full of anti-communist propaganda. The teachers are supposed to explain to the students on many occasions how the “communist criminals” (*gongfei* 共匪) have gone astray. Early instances of these misdemeanors allegedly happened as early as the genesis of the Chinese people (中華民族的構成). The mainlanders “abandoned the concept of [a] national population” (廢棄國家民族觀念), and made the mistake to become the marionette of Soviet Russia (甘作蘇俄傀儡之錯誤). They also abandoned traditional morals and culture, replaced them by Marxism-Leninism and affronted them by practices such as viewing STALIN as their father figure³⁹ (「不愛爸爸愛斯大林」).⁴⁰ The “communist criminals [...] enslaved the people” (*nuyi renmin* 奴役人民), but their attack will ultimately fail.⁴¹ Domestic history and world history are all equipped with the many mistakes the communists on the mainland committed. The creation of the script, for example, is juxtaposed with the mistakes to use abbreviated characters (*jianhuazi* 簡華字) and to write horizontally from left to right (*hengxie zuoqi* 橫寫左起).⁴²

After the Sino-Soviet split (discussed in greater detail below), the *Fan gong kang E* policy was replaced by the policy of “resist communism, recover the [lost]

37 Jiaoyubu (ed.): *Xiuding zhongxue gongmin, guowen, lishi, dilike kecheng biao zhun* (1952), p. 21.

38 S. C. M. PAINE: *Imperial Rivals: China, Russia, and Their Disputed Frontier*, Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe 1996, p. 60 ff.

39 On the personality cult of STALIN, which stylized him as the “father” of the citizens of the Soviet Union, see: Graeme GILL: “The Soviet Leader Cult: Reflections on the Structure of Leadership in the Soviet Union.” In: *British Journal of Political Science* vol. 10 no. 2 April 1980, pp. 167–86, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000712340002088>.

40 Literally speaking, not loving daddy but loving STALIN. Not loving the father is a severe offense in Confucianism.

41 Taiwan sheng zhengfu jiaoyuting 臺灣省政府教育廳: *Taiwan sheng Guomin Xuexiao ge ke jiaocai tiaozheng shuoming kecheng biao zhun* 臺灣省國民學校各科教材調證說明 (Explanation of the Taiwan province primary school all subjects teaching material regulations), Taipei: Taiwan shudian 台灣書店 1952, p. 16. This is a handbook for textbook authors and teachers aimed at fostering the students’ “national spirit” (*minzu jingshen* 民族精神, cf. p. 1).

42 Ibid.

country” (*fan gong fu guo* 反共復國). The hostility toward Russia in the ROC textbooks decreased as the USSR fell out of the equation, but the policy remained active until 1980, when CHIANG Ching-kuo (JIANG Jingguo 蔣經國, 1910–1988), replaced it with the policy of the “three principles of the people” (*Sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義).⁴³

The general tone in Taiwanese education material remained anti-communist and the description of the USSR remained focused on its failures, especially economically. The 1971 textbook (after the introduction of compulsory 9-year education 1968) concludes that “Communism is not at all a good doctrine” (共產主義絕對不是一種良好的學說).⁴⁴ Let us now examine the main historical narratives of these “communist criminals”.

World History in the PRC: All-encompassing Class Struggle Narrative and the Development from a Soviet Protégée to a Progress Oriented Technocracy

Since the early 20th century, Marxism had a wide appeal among Chinese intellectuals. It offered the possibility to reject the West⁴⁵ and instead of, as would have been the case with nationalism, “being the laggard, following in western footsteps, a communist China, with Russia, could seem to be at the head of the queue.”⁴⁶

The establishment of the PRC came hand in hand with massive aid from the Soviet Union, including the involvement of Russian teachers and professors in historiography and the construction of the education system. The signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance (中蘇友好同盟互助條約), which included that both sides agree to common ideological values, that they shared a history of revolutionary cooperation, and that China would receive Russian aid, was followed by a “honeymoon period”.⁴⁷ Soviet advisors were sent to China. Educational specialists contributed significantly to building up the educational system as a whole and especially tertiary education, including teacher training. Chinese engineers, workers, and students traveled to the USSR to receive

43 Cf. Lung-chih CHANG’s contribution to this volume.

44 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 4 (1971), p. 36.

45 As MARX and ENGELS were westerners, too, the West without communism is meant.

46 Joseph R. LEVENSON: *Confucian China and its Modern Fate: The Problem of Intellectual Continuity*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1958, p. 134.

47 Q. Edward WANG: “Between Marxism and Nationalism: Chinese Historiography and the Soviet influence, 1949–1963”. In: *Journal of Contemporary China* 9 (23) 2000, pp. 95–111, p. 97.

training there⁴⁸ and Marxist historiographical writings were translated into Chinese. While the application of Marxist historiography to domestic history posed a challenge in China,⁴⁹ it was wholeheartedly adopted for world history.

The PRC history teaching aims (*mubiao* 目標, just like that in the ROC) in the first PRC history curriculum standard clearly set the scene for a Marxist history teaching. It states the students should:

[...] 懂得历史是劳动人民创造的，与阶级斗争是推动历史前进的动力；逐步培养其历史唯物主义的观点与革命的战斗意志。

[...] understand that history is made by the working people, and that class struggle is the force that pushes history to advance. [History teaching aims at] step-by-step training [the students'] standpoint of historical materialism and [their] determination [to partake in] revolutionary struggle.⁵⁰

World history textbooks in the 1950s were compiled with Soviet help following this maxim. The protagonists, of course, are the common people, the lower strata of society, the peasants, the workers, and the proletariat. They are anonymous (with rare exceptions of a few revolutionaries, such as Sten'ka RAZIN,⁵¹ LENIN)

48 Jan-Ingvar LÖFSTEDT: *Chinese Educational Policy: Changes and Contradictions 1949–79*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell 1980, p. 62.

49 WANG: “Between Marxism and Nationalism” (2000), pp. 101–102, *passim*.

50 1950 “Xiaoxue lishi kecheng zhanxing biao zhun (caonan)” 小学历史课程暂行标准（草案）(Preliminary curriculum standard for primary school history teaching (draft)). In: Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo 课程教材研究所 (ed.): *20 Shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun jiaoxue dagang huibian, lishi juan* 20 世纪中国中小学课程标准教学大纲汇编, 历史卷 (Collection of 20th century Chinese secondary and primary school curriculum standards and syllabi, History volume), Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe 2001, p. 104.

51 Stepan (“Sten'ka”) RAZIN (~1630–1671) and the uprising led by him are hailed by PRC textbooks; just like in their Soviet models. The book concerns how the multiethnic and multilingual oppressed (*yazha* 壓榨) common people of Russia united under RAZIN and were able to kill rich merchants, nobles, and chase away the Tsar's governors. They democratically elected leaders from among their ranks. Ultimately, the uprising was suppressed, and RAZIN was killed by an enormous army of the Tsar. The 1957 textbook concludes that the Russians will remember the heroic deeds of the rebels forever. Cf. WANG Zhijiu 王芝九: *Chuji Zhongxue Keben: Shijie Lishi* 初級中學課本: 世界历史 (Junior secondary school textbook: World history) vol. 2, Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe 1957, pp. 21ff. On RAZIN's image in the USSR, see Dietmar NEUTATZ: “Die Umdeutung von Razin und Pugačev in der Sowjetunion unter Lenin und Stalin” (The reinterpretation of RAZIN and PUGAČEV in the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin). In: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Ost-europas, Neue Folge* (Yearbooks for East European history) vol. 65.1 *Kosakische Aufstände und ihre Anführer: Heroisierung, Dämonisierung und Tabuisierung der Erinnerung* (Cossack uprisings and their leaders: heroization, demonization and tabooing of memory) 2017, pp. 113–131.

and create an all-encompassing positive impetus on history. The peasants are a mighty force, illustrated by peasant uprisings. While rebellions and revolutions are emphasized in general, the peasants' role in them is especially underlined. The focus on peasants represents MAO Zedong's ideology. He was aware of the importance of the peasants for the Chinese revolution and gave them a key position in his teachings as China did not have the large numbers of workers like industrialized Europe. Marxism was not only adapted to the situation in China in general, but the textbook spoke to domestic current affairs in particular. MARTIN points out that in the 1950s, the reorganization of the Chinese peasants was underway, and the textbooks were intended to encourage this process.⁵²

The kings, feudal lords, landowners, the bourgeoisie as well as capitalists are the antagonists, sometimes bundling several of these characteristics into one specific group of people. They are nameless and exploit and oppress the people for their own benefit. If they make concessions to the people, they betray them later. All this is especially true for Western, and also for Russian history.

The PRC textbooks and curricula make it clear that the greed of the Western bourgeoisie and the capitalists does not stop at their borders. This is how international conflicts are explained. The bourgeois and capitalists wrought havoc (economic crisis), started the wars and established oppressive regimes (esp. fascism). In the case of colonialism, the victims are outside of the country of origin, but in the case of peasant serfdom etc., the victims are the compatriots, showing: you cannot trust the bourgeois, capitalists, or the feudal lords; you should only trust the members of your own (proletarian) class, whichever nation they belong to.

The PRC did not simply adopt the teaching of MARX and ENGELS as state doctrine, but subscribed to Leninism, which viewed imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. The liberation struggle of colonized countries is equated with the liberation struggle of the proletariat. In this way, an international solidarity against Western capitalist exploitation is created. Furthermore, Marxist internationalism had already interested Chinese migrants and intellectuals decades before the proclamation of the PRC.⁵³ The class is presented to the students as reference group that transcends all national borders. They should feel solidarity with the proletariat all over the world. Admittedly, patriotism ("patriotic thinking" 爱国主义的思想) is encouraged in the curriculum standards, but class belonging supersedes national

52 Dorothea A. L. MARTIN: *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View: Perceptions and Interpretations of World History in the People's Republic of China*, Armonk / London: M. E. Sharpe 1990, p. 49.

53 Ironically, MARX himself saw Chinese migration as a threat. Cf. Gregor BENTON: *Chinese Migrants and Internationalism: Forgotten histories, 1917–1945*, London and New York: Routledge 2007, pp. 5, passim.

belonging. Although some enemies might be found outside of China, the most important ones are actually inside of China, the landowners, the bourgeoisie, etc.

Just as it is the case with the ROC, so do the PRC textbooks and curricula differentiate between Russia before and after the October Revolution of 1917. The common people of Tsarist Russia were tortured by an oppressive nobility like in any other Western country. The Revolution, then, is a turning point. It established socialism and transformed Russia into the only foreign country that the teaching materials refer to as generally positive: The Soviet Union. While in the other countries, the respective classes act as separate agents in world history, the USSR can now be referred to as being peaceful on the whole as it has overcome class differences.

The two main patriotic elements that exist in the 1950s textbooks are the security of the borders and the unity of a multiethnic and multilingual people. The country is to be defended against foreign enemies (as mentioned above, this enemy is never the foreign country's common people, but the bourgeoisie or the ruling elites); secure borders make the economy thrive. The people inside a country have the ability to unite, transcending different ethnicities and languages. It is the greed of the bourgeoisie, which keeps different countries in opposition.

Innovation only comes from the common people. No members of the elites can act as reformers, and therefore, Peter the Great is not mentioned. In the life of revolutionaries, their peasant or proletarian background is emphasized. This brings us to the last important difference: What is listed as achievement for all people in the Taiwanese textbooks is described as belonging to the bourgeoisie or benefiting them in the PRC books, such as the Renaissance or all revolutions before 1848.

While the Marxist stages of development (primitive society, slave society, feudalism, capitalism, communism) are universal for all countries and are validated in the textbooks, and the different classes are well differentiated in Western history, the terms capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism appear in connection with the term “West” (*xifang* 西方) in the curriculum standards, thereby implying that they are Western inventions.⁵⁴ The curriculum standards, however, are much more schematic and clear-cut black and white than the actual textbooks.

After all, this “honeymoon period” of the PRC and the USSR did not last long. While in the realms of politics, De-Stalinization and the refusal to grant China access to nuclear technologies led to the Sino-Soviet split (progressing gradually

54 Such as in the 1956 “Xiaoxue lishi jiaoxue dagang (caoan)” 小学历史教学大纲（草案）(primary school history syllabus (draft)), pp. 118–119, or the 1963 “Quanrizhi zhongxue lishi jiaoxue dagang (caoan) 全日制中学历史教学大纲（草案）(Fulltime system secondary school history syllabus (draft)), p. 317. Both in: Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (ed.): *20 Shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun jiaoxue dagang huibian, lishi juan* (2001).

from 1956–1966), in the realms of historiography, it was the inapplicability of Marxist historiography to Chinese history that led to disenchantment with the wholehearted adoption of all of Soviet-Russian historiography. While in the curriculum standards of the 1950s, the role of the USSR is idolized with keywords such as “heroic” (or “hero” *yingxiong* 英雄) and their leadership is overly emphasized (“under the leadership of the Soviet Union” *Sulian wei shou* 蘇聯為首, the USSR “leads” *lingdao* 領導, etc.), especially in the defeat of Fascism (*Faxisi* 法西斯), these keywords disappear altogether in the 1963 curriculum standard.⁵⁵

WANG describes this “ideological rift” with the USSR and the liberation of the Chinese Marxists “from the domination of Soviet culture” as the manifestation of Chinese nationalism,⁵⁶ especially because he discusses the discourse on the periodization of Chinese history. With regard to world history, however, the general Marxist interpretation inherited from the Soviet Union prevailed; only the role of the USSR itself came to be estimated differently.

After the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976 (during which no curricula were published) and the death of MAO Zedong, the next curriculum was published in 1978 and shows the completion of a PRC self that is independent from the Soviet Union and outspokenly criticizes the former idol. The USSR was no longer the leader of the peaceful camp, but it became part of the problem by degenerating into socialist imperialism. It is now being likened to the USA. While in the 1950s, an ideal image of the USSR as “grand Autre” was juxtaposed to a demonized image of the USA, they are now depicted in an equally negative manner:

[...] 如苏联蜕变为社会帝国主义，美帝国主义日益衰落，苏美争霸是世界不得安宁的根源，第三世界的觉醒和壮大等。⁵⁷

[...] the transformation of the USSR into socialist imperialism, the increasing decline of American imperialism, and the scramble of the USSR and the USA for supremacy are the reason why the world cannot be at peace and why the third world wakes up and becomes strong.

MAO Zedong is progressively characterized as the guardian of Marxism-Leninism. Following the death of STALIN, a 1979 book explains, the USSR under

55 1963 “Quanrizhi zhongxue lishi jiaoxue dagang (caoan). In: Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (ed.): *20 Shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun jiaoxue dagang huibian, lishi juan* (2001), pp. 239 ff.

56 WANG: “Between Marxism and Nationalism” (2000), pp. 110–111.

57 1978 Quanrizhi shinianzhi xuexiao zhongxue lishi jiaoxue dagang 全日制十年制学校中学历史教学大纲 (Secondary school history syllabus for the full-time ten-year school system). In: Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (ed.): *20 Shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun jiaoxue dagang huibian, lishi juan* (2001), pp. 327–385, p. 329.

KHRUSHCHEV restored capitalism. Since 1956, the book continues, imperialists and reactionaries in many countries turned against the people and the concept of socialism. In order to protect the principles of Marxism-Leninism, chairman MAO led the whole party and the whole population to stop revisionism (*xiuzhengzhuyi* 修正主义)⁵⁸ and to stop the Soviet traitors. In this way, he leads the way for the proletariat and revolutionaries of the whole world. This passage of the history revision book is actually from the section on domestic history (*Zhongguo lishi* 中国历史). I include it here because the world history section of the same book ends in 1945, and to show how the negative image of the USSR is employed to legitimate Chinese domestic policy. The book specifically evokes this global conflict scenario to come to speak of MAO Zedong's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" (关于正确处理人民内部矛盾的问题) in which he criticized the USSR for being too repressive, which was the starting signal for the Hundred Flowers Campaign.⁵⁹

Multilayered metaphors in the PRC history textbooks do not stop there. Dorothea A. L. MARTIN demonstrates how the description of the English "Bourgeois" Revolution (more details follow below) changed to accommodate criticism of the USSR since the Sino-Soviet split from 1962 onwards. The restoration of the house of Stuart, described as the "old ruling class seeking to regain power" became a metaphor for Soviet "revisionism".⁶⁰ After the end of the Cultural Revolution, MAO's death, the rehabilitation of DENG Xiaoping, and the beginning of the Reform and Opening (*gaige kaifang* 改革开放) policy, the narrative changed. Textbooks of the late 1970s and early 1980s cease to devote extra space to the restoration of the house of Stuart, and in general, the "emphasis on the threat of class restoration [...] is drastically toned down".⁶¹ This change in the depiction of English revolutionary history also reflected the amelioration of the relations with the USSR.

While still keeping its maximum distance to the USSR, the PRC began rapprochement with the West. In 1971, MAO and U.S. president NIXON met. In the same year, the PRC replaced the ROC in representing China at the United Nations.

58 HSIA argues that "Mao's polemics against the 'revisionists' met with greater welcome in Communist China than did his former policy of 'leaning to one side'", especially because of the long record of hostilities between Russia and China. HSIA: "Demons in Paradise" (1963), p. 27. The negative image of Russia (inherited from the Qing dynasty and the ROC) was the rule while the short-lived friendship with the USSR is the exception.

59 Beijing jiaoyu xueyuan jiaocai jiaoyanbu 北京教育学院教材教研部 (Beijing Institute of Education teaching material teaching and research office, ed.): *Beijingshi zhongxue keben: Lishi fuxi cankao ziliao* 北京市中学课本: 历史复习参考资料 (Beijing city secondary school textbook: History revision reference material), Beijing: Beijing chubanshe 1979, pp. 181–182.

60 MARTIN: *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View* (1990), pp. 53, 55.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

In 1978, after MAO's death, DENG Xiaoping's Reform and Opening policy was initiated, and the related "Four Modernizations" (*si ge xiandaihua* 四个现代化) were inscribed in the curriculum standard in 1980.⁶² Not only was the education system reformed (beginning with the reinstallation of the college entrance examinations *gaokao* 高考 in 1977), the general climate for intellectuals improved,⁶³ and the image of the West in the textbooks also changed. The West was no longer only seen as an imperialist and capitalist aggressor, but also as an important contributor of technological and scientific innovations. The image of the Industrial Revolution, for example, changed completely. The suffering of the workers took the backseat while the invention of new machinery and the improvement of infrastructure were praised.⁶⁴ It was then that world history in the PRC was no longer used to legitimize Soviet support, but Westernization. This Westernization, however, as Alisa JONES demonstrates, was limited to the modernization of technology and science and excluded the introduction of Western values.⁶⁵

62 Abbreviated "*si hua*" 四化. 1980 "Quanri zhi shi nian zhi xuexiao zhongxue lishi jiaoxue dagang" 全日制十年制学校中学历史教学大纲 (Secondary school history syllabus for the full-time ten-year school system). In: Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (ed.): *20 Shiji Zhongguo zhongxiao xue kecheng biao zhun jiaoxue dagang huibian, lishi juan* (2001), pp. 386–439, p. 386.

63 The reforms in the PRC education system after MAO's death have been discussed by Edward VICKERS and ZENG Xiaodong: *Education and Society in Post-Mao China*, New York: Routledge 2017. They point out that PRC education system was not always homogenous. Especially in the first years, achieving universal education was a great challenge and had to periodically be shelved to pursue the aim of elite schooling for the few. Differences between the provinces or rural and urban environments persevere until today. See also: Suzanne PEPPER: *Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th-Century China: The Search for an Ideal Development Model*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996; Stewart FRASER (comp., ed.): *Chinese Communist Education. Records of the First Decade*, New York: Wiley 1965. The two juxtaposing forces or approaches in the Chinese government that also compete in the management of the education system have been labeled "red" and "expert" as they represent diehard communist ideologists versus utilitarian technocrats. Their competition has been described as a main driving force behind policy changes in the PRC. See Ann KENT: "Red and Expert: The Revolution in Education at Shanghai's Teachers' University, 1975–76". In: *The China Quarterly* no. 86, 1981, pp. 304–321.

64 SHOU Jiyu 寿纪瑜, YAN Zhiliang 严志梁, CHEN Qi 陈其: *Chuji zhongxue keben: Shijie lishi* 初级中学课本: 世界历史 (Junior secondary school textbook: World history), Hubei: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe 1988, pp. 50–52.

65 Alisa JONES: "Changing the Past to serve the Present". In Gi-Wook SHIN and Daniel C. SNEIDER (ed.): *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories*, London and New York: Routledge 2011, p. 84.

Comparison of Historical Events

To illustrate the different images of Russia and the West presented in ROC and PRC textbooks, the following pages attempt a comparison of individual historical events in textbooks of the two regimes. The chosen events are described in both the ROC and PRC textbooks and illustrate the different roles ascribed to the various “others” in the respective “Geschichtsbild”. Another important difference between ROC and PRC textbooks lie in the *choice* of events. For example, the PRC books place an important emphasis on the Paris Commune of 1871,⁶⁶ an event that is not mentioned in the ROC books at all. However, only examples of historical events that can be found in both are presented here.

Antiquity

Both the ROC and the PRC world history textbooks provide the students with canonical knowledge about antiquity. The striking difference, however, is the focus on different agents in history, symbolized also by the use of different illustrations, and different assessments. The ROC books do not question traditional authorities and rely on a history of “great men”. The Marxist books of the PRC, in contrast, provide the viewpoint of the lower classes and describe social and economic dynamics.

The discussion of antiquity in the ROC books is dominated by the description of the national character of the historic groups and ethnicities and by a focus on providing a nomenclature of Western achievements. The first great achievement is democracy, introduced in the discussion of Greece. It does not mention, however, that the Greeks had slaves or that other certain prices that had to be paid in order to keep up such a societal structure:

雅典人熱愛自由，實行民主政治，國家的大事由人民決定或由人民選出的代表來管理。⁶⁷

The Athenians loved freedom and practiced democratic politics. Important affairs of the state were managed by the people or by representatives elected by the people.

66 MARTIN analyses it: MARTIN: *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View* (1990), pp. 67 ff.

67 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 4 (1971), p. 15.

As philosophy is discussed, it is made clear that “Greek culture is the major source of Western culture” (希臘文化是西方文化的主要泉源).⁶⁸ The students are then introduced to the names of famous ancient Greek philosophers (the “three philosophers” Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle) without learning anything about their teachings. A parallel is drawn between the West and China:

蘇格拉底和我國的孔子約為同時，有人稱蘇氏為「西方的孔子」，稱孔子為「東方的蘇格拉底」。他們兩人的學說，也有很多相似相通之處。⁶⁹

Socrates and Confucius from China roughly lived at the same time, some people call Socrates the “Western Confucius” and Confucius the “Eastern Socrates”. The teachings of the two also have many common points.

This comparison of Socrates and Confucius goes back to FENG Youlan’s (1895–1990) “History of Chinese Philosophy” (*Zhongguo Zhexue Shi* 中國哲學史, first published in 1931) in which he likens Confucius’ teachings with the teachings of the Greek Sophists (*zhizhe* 智者) and the influence of Confucius in the Chinese historical perspective to the influence of Socrates for Western thought.⁷⁰

As we proceed toward the culture of Rome, the category “Indo Europeans [!]” (印歐民族) is introduced to describe not only Greeks and Romans, but also the ancestors of contemporary European nations. While the Greek are described as lively, passionate, and imaginative (活潑熱情和富於幻想), the Romans are depicted as earnest, down-to-earth, and said to determinedly put things into practice (腳踏實地, 著重於力行實踐). Therefore, volume 4 from 1971 argues that the Romans’ contributions lie mainly in the realms of law and politics as well as other practical issues (所以羅馬人對於文化的貢獻, 也偏重於法律和政治等實際問題).⁷¹

The aspect of law leads to a characterization of the Western world in general:

法律：西方人重視法治，各國皆有其成文法或不成文法，為全國人民所一致遵守，這種習慣和觀念，全是導源於羅馬。⁷²

Law: Westerners attach great importance to the rule of law. Each country has written or unwritten law, by which all citizens completely abide. This habit and concept originated entirely from Rome.

68 Ibid. p. 16.

69 Ibid. pp. 17–18.

70 FENG Youlan 馮友蘭: *Zhongguo Zhexue Shi* 中國哲學史 (History of Chinese Philosophy) vol. 1, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1992, p 71. Compare also BODDE’s English translation: FUNG Yu-Lan: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, tr. by Derk BODDE, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1952, p. 49.

71 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 4 (1971), p. 24.

72 Ibid.

The introduction of codified law is listed explicitly as an achievement. Implicitly, it is added to the list of characteristics of a successful nation. The abidance by law becomes an imperative for the Taiwanese students.

One of the illustrations is the Roman emperor Augustus (fig. 4-1),⁷³ namely a black-and-white picture of the Augustus of Prima Porta statue preserved at the Vatican Museums. It illustrates how the Taiwanese books concentrate on a historical narrative of “great men” that does not put into question the power structures in a state. They convey a classicist image of Western history (inherited from the Renaissance and enlightenment historians) that sees these early achievements of civilization as a basis of future progress.



Figure 4-1: Augustus of Prima Porta

This photograph of Augustus of Prima Porta was taken by James ANDERSON (1813–1877) about 1845–1855. This or a similar photo must have been the template for the ROC textbook illustration, as Augustus has the staff in his hand, which is not part of the statue itself.⁷⁴

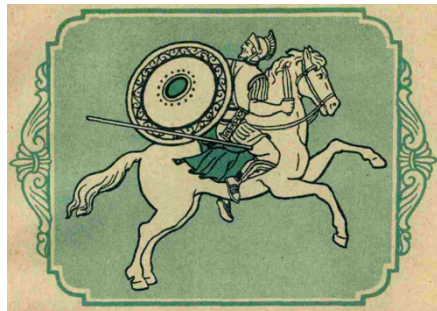


Figure 4-2: Spartacus

Spartacus the slave as cover image of the PRC world history textbook by LI Gengxu. The image goes back to a fresco in Pompeii⁷⁵ and can also be found in German Democratic Republic history textbooks for the 5th grade.⁷⁶

73 Ibid., p. 23.

74 Digital image courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program. Available online: <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/41131/james-anderson-augustus-of-prima-porta-british-about-1845-1855/> (last access 2020, March 3).

75 Brent D. SHAW (transl., ed.): *Spartacus and the Slave Wars: A Brief History with Documents*, Boston and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2001, p. 15.

76 Cf. Dieter BEHRENDT, Hans FRIEDRICH and Hannelore IFFERT: *Geschichte (History) 5*, Berlin: Volk und Wissen 1973, p. 115.

The PRC books set a tone that is strikingly different. Already the title image of “World history for junior secondary school”⁷⁷ shows that in PRC history textbooks, the lowest people in society are the heroes of history: The cover shows the image of the slave Spartacus on a horse with shield, short sword, and helmet, the spear that wounded him sticking in his thigh (fig. 4-2). Karl MARX himself had already expressed his appreciation of Spartacus. LENIN expanded on this and constructed a class struggle narrative for antiquity according to which ancient Rome was characterized by a struggle between slaves and masters. Spartacus then began to play a key role in Soviet historiography under STALIN.⁷⁸

Following this Soviet take on antiquity in the framework of stages according to historical materialism, slavery is the important characteristic of not only ancient Rome, but also Egypt and Greece. This second stage of human development (after primitive communism) is illustrated in the PRC books with a slave in shackles and a Roman slave collar (fig. 4-3).⁷⁹ The inhumane treatment of the slaves is discussed, and it is explained that the ancient Roman society was very unequal with clear differences between nobles, citizens and slaves. The achievements of the West that are hailed in the ROC textbooks are deconstructed in the PRC books to show that they happened because of the exploitation of the working (or later in history, colonized) people. The slave uprising led by Spartacus is described, setting the scene for the narrative focus of PRC history on the heroes among the commoners or low strata of society, and their ability to rise as well as to start revolts and revolutions.

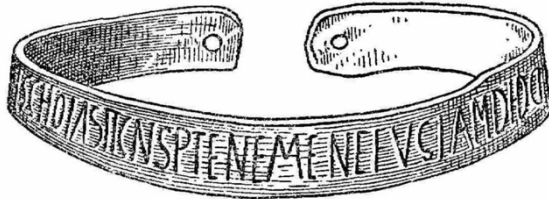


图 34 奴隶带的项圈，上面写着：“捉住我，不要耻我逃走。”
上面还有奴隶所有者的名字

Figure 4-3: Slave collar

77 Li Gengxu 李庚序: *Chuji zhongxue keben: Shijie lishi* 初级中学课本: 世界历史 (Junior secondary school textbook: World history) vol. 1, Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe 1957 (first published 1955).

78 SHAW, *Spartacus and the Slave Wars* (2001), pp. 14–17.

79 LI: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 1 (1957), p. 72. The image of the slave collar bears striking resemblance to an illustration from Hutton WEBSTER: *Ancient History*, Boston, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1913, see https://etc.usf.edu/clipart/80200/80292/80292_collar.htm (last access 2020, June 5).

The (Italian) Renaissance

Also in the description of the Renaissance (*wenyifuxing* 文藝復興), striking differences can be seen between the ROC and the PRC books. However, there is one important similarity that shows how China in general wants to reclaim its importance vis-à-vis the mighty West, whose hegemony rests on developments that already began during the Renaissance. Both regimes highlight the stimulus by China or Asia.

The 1971 ROC textbook writes that while Europe was dwelling in the Dark Ages, Asian culture prospered:

如果把此時的東方和西方作一比較，顯然是亞洲超過了歐洲。⁸⁰

If one were to compare East and West at that time, Asia would obviously have surpassed Europe.

The Middle Ages ended thanks to the Crusaders and the campaigns of the Mongols, who are clearly presented as a part of the Chinese nation. The travels of Marco POLO and the influence of his travel report are also mentioned in this light. Although both the Crusades and the Mongol invasions were acts of war claiming many casualties, they are seen as positive, because they led to the contact between European and Asian cultures. Indirectly, China takes credit for Europe's progress toward modernity:

十字軍東征和蒙古西征，[...] 使東西文化發生了密切的接觸。由於比較進步的東方文化輸入西方，形成了一股動力，促成了啟迪近代歐洲文化昌明的文藝復興運動。⁸¹

The eastward march of the Crusaders and the westward march of the Mongols, [...] made Eastern and Western culture come into close contact. The relatively advanced culture of the East entered the West, which led to an impetus that facilitated the Renaissance movement of the flourishing enlightened Modern European culture.

The Renaissance is, for the ROC, the beginning of “Modern Europe” and of a development toward the Reformation, maritime navigation, colonialism and the industrial revolution. These four “movements” lead Europe “from backwardness to progress, from darkness to light, from reservation to openness, from poverty to prosperity” (由落後轉為進步，由黑暗轉為光明，由閉塞轉為開放，由貧乏轉為繁榮)⁸² Until the 19th century, Europe had reached a status of hegemony

80 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 4 (1971), p. 39.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

over the entire world (世界的霸權地位). In short, the textbook argues that Europe attained hegemony thanks to Asia as a whole and China in particular.

As in other sections of the ROC book, the reasons why a certain event or period came into being, are neatly enumerated.⁸³ The three reasons given for the Renaissance are the stimulus (*ciji* 刺激) by the Eastern Culture, the rise and prosperity of the cities and commerce, and the introduction of paper making and printing technology from China (via the Arabs). A great number of achievements of the Renaissance are enumerated such as the new thought of Humanism (*renwenzhuyi* 人文主義) that focused on man and not god. Other achievements such as art and science are also noted while many Renaissance figures are enumerated with their achievements (PETRARCH, LEONARDO DA VINCI, etc.). Vernacular literature (“topolect literature” *fangyan wenxue* 方言文學) developed and developed into nowadays’ national languages (DANTE, CERVANTES, SHAKESPEARE, LUTHER). Translating “Renaissance” as “再生 [*zai sheng*] Re birth [sic]” or “新生 [*xin sheng*] New-birth [sic]”, the book explains that it was not only a movement to revive ancient times (*fugu yundong* 復古運動) but also wanted to be a movement of rebirth (*xinsheng yundong* 新生運動), in the course of which the thought of the people was liberated; literature, art, science, technology, and other more generalized views of life (*rensheng guan* 人生觀) were renewed and opened up new prospects.⁸⁴

The PRC textbooks, in contrast, view the Renaissance as “bourgeois culture” (*zichan jieji wenhua* 資產階級文化). On the one hand, the book acknowledges that science, technology and the arts were freed from the constraints of the church; the “superstition” (*mixin* 迷信)⁸⁵ of the church was overcome by “enlightenment” (*qifa* 启发). As the bourgeoisie tried to revive the culture of antiquity, the term “Renaissance” (*wenyi fuxing* 文艺复兴, different to the ROC books, no English terms are used) was coined. LEONARDO DA VINCI and his Mona Lisa are mentioned, with pictures; a common ground of the PRC and ROC books.

On the other hand, as the PRC books lay out, the beginning of the division of labor in the wool handicraft industry during the Renaissance constituted the earliest capitalist production mode and gave rise to the bourgeoisie (*zichan jieji fenzi* 資產階級分子) who were in control of society. They wanted to use the developing

83 A characteristic of liberal “Whig” historiography.

84 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 4 (1971), pp. 50ff.

85 This praise of overcoming “superstition” *mixin* 迷信 resonates with campaigns against a wide range of popular (religious) practices that were either seen as potentially subversive or simply a “misallocation of resources badly needed for industrial development”. The impulse to limit or eradicate “superstition” precedes the PRC. JOHN WILLIAMS: “Superstition”. In: CHRISTIAN SORACE, IVAN FRENDESCHINI, NICHOLAS LOUBERE: *Afterlives of Chinese Communism: Political Concepts from Mao to Xi*, Acton: ANU Press 2019, pp. 270, 272.

science and technology to increase their riches. The new culture⁸⁶ and the liberated science remained in the hands of the few members of the bourgeoisie, not in the hands of the laboring people. As the workers (*gongren* 工人) were exploited, the first uprising (*qiyi* 起义) of workers in history took place in Italy in 1378.⁸⁷

Another development which fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie and was thus only used for the benefit of their own social class was the invention of printing by the Chinese, of which the Europeans learned through the Mongols (a clear parallel to the ROC books). In the 15th century then, the German GUTENBERG improved printing by developing a “hand printing machine” (*shou yao yinshuaji* 手搖印刷机) for movable type.⁸⁸

In contrast to the ROC textbooks, single achievements or artists (except Leonardo DA VINCI) are not hailed in the PRC textbooks of the 1950s as they concentrated on a rather dogmatic Marxist presentation of history. This view, however, shifts notably during the Reform and Opening policy, when in the 1984 World history textbook, the scientific and cultural achievements of DANTE, SHAKESPEARE, GALILEI, and COPERNICUS are lauded.⁸⁹ The political rapprochement with the West comes hand in hand with a convergence of PRC and ROC images of the West and paves the way for a friendlier relationship between the two beginning in the late 1980s.

Reformation

In the ROC books the Reformation (*zongjiao gaige* 宗教改革, lit: “religion reform”) is described as leading toward the development of new culture and the rise of nation states (*minzu guojia de xingqi* 民族國家的興起). The emergence of nation states is one of the main narratives in the world history textbooks and is well in line with the nationalist state ideology. That corrupt practices of an overly powerful Catholic Church were exposed and ended by the Reformation is just one of three outcomes. The other ones are the birth of national consciousness (*minzu yishi* 民族意識) as the sovereigns became independent of the Pope and the abolition of certificates of absolution and other economic activities that had hitherto benefitted

86 I suspect this to also be a critique of the Republican May Fourth Movement / New Culture Movement and HU Shi and other liberals who equated it with the Renaissance.

87 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), pp. 6–8.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

89 SHOU Jiyu 寿纪瑜 (ed.): *Gaoji zhongxue keben: Shijie Lishi* 高级中学课本: 世界历史 (Higher level secondary school textbook: world history) vol. 1, Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe 1984, pp. 136–39.

the Church. Now, the lords were able to acquire great wealth, which is seen as a development toward self-determination.⁹⁰

In stark contrast, in the PRC books, the Reformation is seen in the context of social inequalities and exploitation and as a consequence of economic pressure. In a scattered Germany, feudal lords raise many taxes and seize land of the peasants, who then have to borrow money from loan sharks (*gaolidaizhe* 高利貸者) in order to pay their taxes. Additionally, the Catholic Church forces the peasants to pay a share of their harvest as taxes and uses several ways to cheat the people out of their money (*pianqian* 骗钱, such as letters of indulgence) or to suppress them (such as tribunes against heretics).

This leads to the people and Martin LUTHER opposing the church. As in other passages, the role of workers and especially peasants and their revolutionary force is emphasized. As the handicraft workers in the cities suffer from heavy taxation by the nobles, they begin a revolt. They realize that they need to join forces with the peasants.

The PRC book points out that it was especially the bourgeoisie who opposed the economic practices of the Catholic Church and wanted *their* church to replace it. As an outcome of the Reformation, the beneficiary of taxation and exploitation changes while the injustice prevails. The Catholic “feudal church” is replaced by a “new” “bourgeois” church: Protestantism (*xinjiao* 信教, lit. “new teaching”).⁹¹ By labelling Protestantism as “bourgeois”, the PRC book delegitimizes it. This rhetoric of delegitimization is employed to virtually all events that are listed as (Western) “achievements” in the ROC books. All social and political movements before the establishment of Communism by MARX and ENGELS are labeled “bourgeois”.

Seafaring and Colonialism

The description of seafaring and colonization (*hanghai he zhimin* 航海和殖民) is discussed in a positive way in the ROC textbooks. The discovery of new routes, establishment of trade relations and colonization elevated Europe from poverty, made it prosperous and thus connected the continents. For Western history as a whole, this meant that the Mediterranean period (*Dizhonghai shidai* 地中海時代) ended and the Atlantic period (*Daxiyang shidai* 大西洋時代) began, in which the countries bordering the Atlantic Ocean attained the superior status. With the rise of the cities and the development of mercantilism, which replaced the manorialism

90 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi*, vol. 4, (1971), pp. 55ff.

91 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), pp. 13–16.

of the feudal Middle Ages, the demand for products increased, which had to be imported to Europe from elsewhere. Unlike in the PRC textbooks, the hardship suffered by the colonized people is downplayed in the ROC books, that is, unless it specifically concerns China.⁹²

The PRC textbooks criticize colonialism as a whole. They make it clear that the discovery of new sea routes to India and the Americas was, like most “achievements” in Western history, motivated by greed, as the Europeans were hoping to find gold in India and China.⁹³ A map shows “the 15th and 16th centuries’ discovery of new sea routes and the plundering of colonies” (*shiwu shiji dao shiliu shiji xin hanglu de faxian he zhimindi de lüeduo* 十五世紀到十六世紀新航路的发现和殖民地的掠夺).⁹⁴ Not only the routes of the Western explorers Bartolomeu DIAS, Vasco DA GAMA, COLUMBUS, and MAGELLAN are drawn on the map. They are also put into perspective with reference to the routes that the Chinese explorer ZHENG He 郑和 took 1405–1433. Relevant places of origin and of destination are marked, but not only the ones of the Western explorers (such as the European countries of departure, Africa with the Cape of Good Hope or the Caribbean Island of San Salvador), but also the Ming Empire with Liujiagang 刘家港, ZHENG He’s point of departure.⁹⁵ By inserting Chinese into Western history, the Chinese historiographer validates the Marxist theory of history for China by showing that the same historical stages were completed there (or even earlier) in order to legitimize the rule of the Communist Party today. This was an important objective of the Chinese historians and the reason for dispute with Soviet historians.⁹⁶

The rhetoric describing the colonial activities of Spain and Portugal creates a cruel and unjust image in the PRC books. The agents of wrongdoing who occupy and plunder gold and silver are the kings, not the common people. Colonialism is seen as a global phenomenon: The submission of the people in Central and South America, the enslavement of Africans who are brought there to lead an inhumane life (*feiren de shenghuo* 非人的生活)⁹⁷, leads to the installation of the Portuguese and Spanish in Asia (India, Macau, Philippines). In all these colonies in the “East” (“Dongfang” 东方, the book uses quotation marks), exploitation (*boxue* 剥削),

92 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 4 (1971), p. 60 ff.

93 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 8.

94 Note the partially abbreviated orthography in the books that were published after the “Chinese Character Simplification Scheme” (*Hanzi jianhua fang’an* 漢字簡化方案) of 1956 and before the promulgation of the “List of simplified characters” (*Hanzi jianhua zongbiao* 汉字简化总表) 1964.

95 *Ibid.* p. 10.

96 Cf. WANG: “Between Marxism and Nationalism” (2000). The emancipation of the Soviet view on Chinese history is labelled as “nationalism” by WANG.

97 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), pp. 11–12.

persecution (*pohai* 迫害), and massacres (*tusha* 屠殺) take place. The resources extracted from the colonies enabled the Europeans' capitalist development.⁹⁸

A striking difference of the ROC textbooks in comparison to the PRC textbooks is that the effects of colonialism on China are discussed in the books on domestic history (usually titled *Zhongguo Lishi* or *Benguo Lishi* 本国历史). The ROC books seem to aim at avoiding a connection with other oppressed people. However, even in the ROC textbooks, the hardship suffered by the colonized, with regard to China, is acknowledged. In the textbooks, becoming the victim of colonialism is seen as an impetus for modernization and self-strengthening. In the PRC textbooks, however, in accordance with Leninism, colonization is seen as the epitome of the struggle against capitalist oppression and the aforementioned solidarity among all colonized people is evoked. In so far, it is possible to say that the ROC and the PRC history textbooks find different explanations for the Chinese trauma of a hitherto "all under heaven" falling victim to the colonialism of "Barbarians".⁹⁹

England

English history provides a good example for the comparison of the view on political and economic developments in the West. Already the placement within greater historical dynamics stands for the different conceptions of the role of England for world history.

In the ROC books, England features as an important element in the chapter on absolutism (*junzhu zhuanzhi* 君主專制), which in turn is seen as an important stepping stone toward the formation of nation states, as it fostered the development of "national consciousness" (*minzu yishi* 民族意識). England is presented as a "nation state" (*minzu guojia* 民族國家) that was mainly established by the Anglo-Saxons.¹⁰⁰ The section on the English monarchy is, like many other chapters in the book, full of personal names. The Taiwanese students are introduced to the Tudors, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth I, all with corresponding pictures. The Puritan Revolution (*qingjiaotu geming* 清教徒革命) and the English Revolution ("Glorious Revolution", adopting the British term: *guangrong geming* 光榮革命 1688/1689) are discussed, climaxing in the English Constitution (*Yingguo de yihui zhengzhi* 英國的議會政治), with the parliament and constitutional monarchy as important

98 Ibid., p. 11.

99 Note CHEN and CHEN's discussion of orientalism and the discursive Other (after SAID and BHABA) in the ROC curriculum standards. CHEN/CHEN: "Guozhong Lishi Kegang zhong de Ouzhou yixiang" (2018), pp. 27–55.

100 Ethnic categorizations play a prominent role in the ROC books, much unlike the PRC books.

(Western) political achievements.¹⁰¹ This is an important difference to the description in the PRC books.

In the PRC books, the rise of centralized nation states (*zhongyang minzu guojia* 中央民族国家) is acknowledged, too. However, social inequalities and economy as well as class dynamics are part of the main focus. Even the concentration of power in the hands of the English king is seen as an evil scheme of the “new nobility” (*xin guizu* 新贵族),¹⁰² industrials and landowners. As they acquired great wealth, they stood against the nobles and feudalism in general. History is not necessarily narrated as the ever-progressing enumeration of achievements as in the ROC books, but as a struggle between the classes for economic resources.

In contrast to the ROC book, the Hundred Years’ War between England and France plays an important role in the PRC book in order to show that peace is impossible under feudalism or a monarchy. The classes and social inequalities drive the main narrative. Something like national character or other ethnic specific tendencies do not appear. Instead, the kings and the nobility, of both France and England, appear as greedy and oppressive – which is the reason why France and England found themselves in this long succession of wars. The general term of the “ruling class” (*tongzhi jieji* 統治階級) is employed. Especially the peasants, but also the masses of the people in general, are portrayed as heroic. They are the driving force behind upheavals, revolutions and innovation, and fight for their equality and against constant oppression and precarious living conditions. The unity of peasants¹⁰³ and poor people is able to “terribly frighten” (*xiahuai* 吓坏) the nobility (*guizu* 貴族), especially in France, but also in England. In English history, the fact that the English king first accepted, but then did not grant the peasants their demands, i.e. the “ruling class” “shamelessly” (*wuchi* 無恥) betrayed (*pian* 騙) the peasants, is a further example of the depravity of the elites who continue to exploit the poor who in turn were forced to dwell in a state of serfdom (*nongnu* 農奴).¹⁰⁴

For the PRC books, the progression of history according to the Marxist stages is key, and so is the establishment of capitalism in England. Three main conditions (*tiaojian* 条件) enabled it, implying that capitalism was invented in England and that capitalism is English per se. Those three conditions are: the manufacturers

101 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 4 (1971), pp. 69–72.

102 I. e., merchants who were given titles and fiefs for their help in the civil war.

103 As mentioned above, MAO put special emphasis on the role of the peasants. MARTIN: *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View* (1990), p. 49.

104 LI: *Shijie lishi* vol. 1 (1957), pp. 136–137.

(*gongchang shougongye* 工場手工业),¹⁰⁵ the enclosure movement (*quandi yundong* 圈地运动), and overseas plundering (*haiwai lüeduo* 海外掠夺).¹⁰⁶ The birth of capitalism heralds the beginning of Modern History:

近代历史是资本主义从确立到衰落，无产阶级从兴起到壮大的历史。资本主义是在英国最先确立的，无产阶级是在英国最先出现的。¹⁰⁷

Modern History is the history from the establishment to the decline of capitalism, and from the rise to strength of the proletariat. Capitalism was first established in England, and the proletariat also first appeared in England.

The question whether or not the birth of capitalism was to be considered the starting signal for Modern History, had been matter of considerable debate among Soviet historians of the early 1950s, some argued for the French, some (like Aleksei Vladimirovich EFIMOV, 1896–1971) for the English Revolution. The PRC more or less fortuitously decided to follow EFIMOV's view, even before the matter was officially decided in favor of the English (“Bourgeois”) Revolution in 1956.¹⁰⁸

The PRC books describe the economic development in detail. The manufacturers, in the case of England especially in the wool industry, constitute the beginning of capitalist production (英國的資本主文生产开始盛行) in the 16th century. The enclosure movement is presented as an evil scheme of the government: (new) nobles just take the land of the peasants, enclose it with fences and convert it into pasture areas.¹⁰⁹ The peasants, formerly able to earn a comfortable living by selling wool to the textile workshops,¹¹⁰ are forced to lead a vagrant life, are criminalized (also branded and executed), and driven to the manufacturers in the cities to work. In this way, the nobles not only acquire pastures for the sheep for the

105 Cf. “manufacture” (Manufaktur) in: Karl MARX, *Das Kapital* I.I. Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1867, pp. 318 ff. Accessed online: Deutsches Textarchiv, http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/marx_kapital01_1867/ (last access 2020, June 4).

106 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), pp. 16–17.

107 Zhejiangsheng zhongxiaoxue jiaocai bianji weiyuanhui 浙江省中小学教材編輯委员会 (Zhejiang province secondary and primary school teaching material compilation committee, ed.): *Chuzhong Lishi* 初中历史 (Junior secondary school history) vol. 4: *Shijie Jindai Xiandai Shi* 世界近代现代史 (Modern and contemporary world history), Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe 1958, p. 1.

108 MARTIN: *The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View* (1990), pp. 45, 50. Compare with EFIMOV's textbook *Novaia istoriia, pervaiia chast'* (Recent History, part one), described in: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (ed.): *Teaching the Social Sciences and the Humanities in the U.S.S.R.*, 1959, pp. 10 ff.

109 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 18.

110 Zhejiangsheng zhongxiaoxue jiaocai bianji weiyuanhui: *Shijie Jindai Xiandai Shi* (1958), p. 1.

production of wool, but also cheap labor for their wool handicraft industry.¹¹¹ Capitalist production and the accumulation of capital began in England on the ground of bitter exploitation (从殘酷剝削中积累資金).¹¹²

The aforementioned described plundering of the overseas colonies by the English bourgeoisie is the last link in the chain to enable the development of capitalism, as the PRC books point out. The trading companies (*maoyi gongsi* 贸易公司), such as the East India Company, are just “overseas plundering organizations” (*haiwai lüeduo jigou* 海外掠夺机构).¹¹³ In India, the English levied heavy taxes, bought all the grain and sold it at an appallingly expensive price. Great famines took place and millions of people starved to death in the 18th century.¹¹⁴ The English furthermore “poisoned” (*duhai* 毒害) China with Opium. Silver from China and other valuables were used by England to accumulate capital. Even as a victim, China is credited for a contribution to the progression of world history.¹¹⁵

The economic dynamics now called for political change. Against the backdrop of the birth of capitalism, the PRC books come to describe the English Revolution as “English Bourgeois Revolution” (英国资产階級革命). According to the PRC books, this revolution was not as positive as Western and Taiwanese historiography would perhaps want us to believe. England was still in a political state of backwards feudalism, reigned by a king who not only oppressed the workers, but also extracted taxes from the bourgeoisie. Absolutism posed a serious impediment to capitalism reaching the next level. Therefore, the bourgeoisie began to fight with the king. Initially on their own, the bourgeoisie was easily defeated. But then, they joined forces with the poor: peasants, workers of the manufactures. These poor fought a heroic war, defeated the king’s army and arrested and executed the king. The bourgeoisie depended on the masses of the people for their victory, feudalism was smashed (*cuihui* 摧毁). Strong and pictorial language describes the nameless heroes of the lower strata of society. The bourgeois government that was established, however, was built on the enslavement of the people (却騎在人民头上奴役人民). Although such a slave society is long gone, the vocabulary suggests that the same inequality prevailed. The peasants who had helped the bourgeoisie win still did not receive any land. Even worse, the enclosure movement sped up, peasants who owned the land they tilled completely disappeared. English colonies

111 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 18.

112 Zhejiangsheng zhongxiaoxue jiaocai bianji weiyuanhui: *Shijie Jindai Xiandaishi* (1958), p. 1.

113 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 18.

114 Zhejiangsheng zhongxiaoxue jiaocai bianji weiyuanhui: *Shijie Jindai Xiandaishi* (1958), p. 2.

115 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 18.

were expanded, the bourgeoisie added to their riches by increasing their exploitation and oppression of people in England and also, more generally, the world.¹¹⁶

The English Bourgeois Revolution is one of many examples of how the PRC textbooks deconstruct and delegitimize Western “achievements” by arguing how they were made possible by the lower classes of society but only benefitted the ruling elites. These elites twisted the accomplishments of the common people to make them serve their own needs. Be it in terms of the English Revolution or the French Revolution, the resulting political changes are rejected by the PRC books as “bourgeois”.

The World Wars, Soviet Russia, and U.S. Intervention

The ROC and the PRC name different reasons for breakout of the two world wars (apart from the tangible event of Franz Ferdinand being murdered etc.). In the ROC books, the preconditions for WWI were exaggerated nationalism, economic competition, and the forming of alliances against other countries. This exaggerated nationalism was, for example, Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism that aimed at uniting these ethnic groups and expanding their territories. Economic competition denoted the competition between the industrially advanced European nations for the market, resources, and, as both were to be found there, colonies. The alliances that many countries made for their own security finally drew everybody into the war, as the allies were obliged to help each other.

The Wilsonian approach is rather obvious in this presentation by the ROC books: All countries must be in one union, all kind of fragmentation, exclusion or building of individual groups might lead to war. WILSON himself is credited as a great idealist politician and the League of Nations initiated by him as a very positive idea that was simply not carried out well enough. The later success of the United Nations is already foreshadowed. The blame for the negative outcome of the Paris Peace Conference after WWI is seen on all politicians, excluding WILSON. CLEMENCEAU and LLOYD GEORGE only saw the benefit of their own people and selfishly sought revenge in the form of reparations.¹¹⁷

In the PRC history textbooks, the growing “contradiction” (*maodun* 矛盾)¹¹⁸ between the imperialist countries eventually led to WWI.¹¹⁹ The textbooks state

116 Zhejiangsheng zhongxiaoxue jiaocai bianji weiyuanhui: *Shijie Jindai Xiandai Shi* (1958), p. 1.

117 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 5 (1971), pp. 23–33.

118 Contradiction is a key concept in MAO Zedong’s teachings, cf. his essay “On Contradiction” (*Maodun lun* 矛盾論, 1937).

119 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 75.

that actors like the USA did not join the war to bring peace, but to contend for supremacy. The common people, especially the workers and peasants who were forced to fight or work in arms factories, did not win anything. Therefore, LENIN called for turning the international war into a national one, i.e. into a revolution against the capitalists.

The Russian Revolution is a crucial interlude before, and leading to the end of, WWI¹²⁰ and the main achievement in world history. This is illustrated by the 1947 painting “V. I. LENIN proclaims Soviet power” (列宁宣布苏维埃政权成立) by Vladimir SEROV (1910–1968)¹²¹ which is also the cover image of the PRC world history book remaining the standard for the next decades (fig. 4-4). This painting is also symbolic for Chinese-Soviet relations and their increasingly diverging interpretations of Marxism. It was the first version of SEROV’s representations of LENIN’s proclamation, and behind LENIN, we see STALIN, Felix DZERZHINSKY and Yakov SVERDLOV. It was gifted to MAO Zedong by the USSR and the scene found its way onto the face of numerous stamps, posters, and other media formats in both China and the USSR. When the USSR de-Stalinized, and DZERZHINSKY and SVERDLOV fell into disgrace, SEROV repainted the scene and replaced the three with nameless figures.¹²² The first version of this painting, remaining on the cover of the world history books and in the most important Chinese museum, symbolizes how the PRC held fast onto Stalinism, developed its own Marxism “with Chinese characteristics” and split ties with the USSR.

120 The PRC book states more precisely that the success of the October Revolution and the establishment of socialism lead to the end of WWI because the Germans and the Austrians hear about peace in Russia and “everybody opposed to continue fighting and demanded peace” (大家都反对继续作战, 要求和平), see WANG: *Shijie Lishi*, (1957) p. 88.

121 Inside WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), it is on page 85.

122 Chang-Tai HUNG: “Oil Paintings and Politics: Weaving a Heroic Tale of the Chinese Communist Revolution”. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 49 no. 4, Oct. 2007, pp. 783–814, p. 807. The painting is now kept at the Chinese National Museum (中国国家博物馆). A digital reproduction can be accessed at: http://www.chnmuseum.cn/zp/zpml/201812/t20181218_25510.shtml. (last access 2020, June 5).

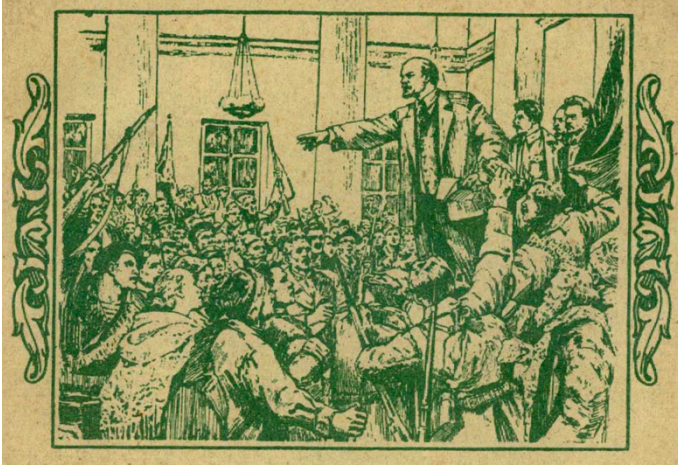


Figure 4-4: LENIN proclaims Soviet power

Title image of WANG Zhijiu's *Shijie Lishi* (World history) after SEROV's 1947 painting "V. I. Lenin proclaims Soviet power".

According to the PRC books, the establishment of Soviet Russia is crucial for the end of WWI. The October Revolution marks the beginning of the section on contemporary (*xiandai* 现代) history. However, as a prelude to that, the emergence of "scientific communism" with the works of MARX and ENGELS, as well as its tryout in the Paris commune, which gives a first taste of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is seen as one of the reasons why moribund capitalism enters the last stage and with it, the War breaks out as some sort of final convulsion.

The inter-war period as described in the 1971 ROC-textbook is characterized by the Great Depression and the establishment of dictatorships. The Depression leads to the decline in democratic nations, such as England, France, and especially the USA. The USA, terribly hit by the crisis, kept to itself, which only changed after ROOSEVELT was elected president. This is a clear call for U.S. intervention. The ROC books define dictatorships as states in which one person has all the power, the people are restricted in their freedom and they aim at invading other countries. The books talk about the Communist Party in Russia, the Fascist Party in Italy, and the National Socialist party (*Guoshedang* 國社黨, also "Nazi" *nacui* 納粹) in Germany.¹²³ It goes without saying that this alignment of Soviet Russia with the Fascists and National Socialists is diametrically opposed to the presentation in PRC textbooks.

123 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 5 (1971), p. 41.

The anti-Soviet ROC-books present a negative view on the Soviet Union. They imply that the Russian people were tricked into supporting the Soviets by promising them a dictatorship of the proletariat, while it really turned out to be a dictatorship with all the power in the hands of LENIN, and later STALIN, not even in the hands of the Communist Party. Furthermore, the ROC books argue, communism as an economic system did also fail. They describe how LENIN began to govern according to communist theory, and how it failed to work; peasants and workers became lazy and their work slowed down, the economy went bankrupt and many people starved to death. Two aspects, however, are acknowledged, namely that Soviet Russia sought to make peace with Germany toward the end of WWI, and that the era of the Russian Empire, a longtime enemy of the ROC, came to an end.¹²⁴ This could be seen as an analogy to the end of the Qing empire, which is undoubtedly seen in a positive light by the KMT.

According to the ROC books, the National Socialists in Germany were able to rise to power because the Weimar Republican government did not rest on a secure basis, and rightist conservatives and leftist communists fought for power. The Versailles Treaty humiliated and finally angered the Germans as the reparations they were forced to pay led to the degradation of the economy, as well as the rise of poverty and unemployment. Similar to China after the Versailles Treaty, Germany suffered from “inner trouble and foreign aggression” (*nei you wai huan* 內憂外患: This catchphrase is often used to describe China’s situation;¹²⁵ using it for Germany creates a certain solidarity), i.e. the treaty from the outside and the Communists from the inside. Thanks to these preconditions, the Nazis were able to win a mandate and form a government with HITLER.¹²⁶

As presented in the ROC books, WWII had to take place to restore the Western Democratic order and liberal economy – i.e. the ideal state of the world. The image of ROOSEVELT being sworn as president¹²⁷ resonates with the paintings of the proclamation of kings and emperors of nation states earlier in the book, providing him with legitimacy. With ROOSEVELT and his New Deal, the economic crisis was ended, and the “Western traditional democratic system was not destroyed” (西方的傳統民主制度未受破壞). The U.S. ended their separatism and found their way back to Wilsonian idealism. The success of the USA proved that democracy stood up to the challenge. Thanks to the U.S.’ participation in WWII, the atomic bombs were launched, and Japan capitulated. The considerable anti-Japanism and pro-Americanism are visible by the choice of images. They show one of the atomic

124 Ibid., pp. 34–37.

125 Cf. DMITRENKO’s contribution to this volume.

126 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 5 (1971), p. 41.

127 Ibid., p. 46.

bomb's detonation, the signing of the capitulation by Japan, Eisenhower, American flags, and Allied airplanes. The KMT legitimizes its rule by siding with the winners.¹²⁸ The book ends with laudations of postwar achievements, such as the founding of the United Nations and the progress of science and technology, illustrated by the landing on the moon.¹²⁹ It leaps to the eye that these are all Western achievements.

According to the PRC textbooks, in contrast, capitalism pulled the world into WWII. The “contradiction” between the capitalist countries led to the economic crisis and the Fascist “attack”. The Great Depression is depicted to have happened because the capitalist countries’ markets were weakened due to the establishment of socialism in Russia, and because of the liberation struggle of the colonized and semi colonized countries. Economic reasons facilitate the rise of the Nazis in Germany. They are called “fascist” (*faxisi* 法西斯) to avoid all association with socialism. The decrease in industrial production, trade, and increase in unemployment hit Germany especially hard; the struggle of the German proletariat grew in intensity day by day while the contradictions with other countries, such as England, France and the U.S. also increased. The establishment of HITLER’s regime was a scheme of the bourgeoisie to oppress the people:

为了加强压榨人民，为了准备新的战争，德国资产阶级捧出代表壟斷資本家集团利益的希特勒，让他建立法西斯的恐怖性专政。¹³⁰

In order to exploit the people and to prepare a new war, the German bourgeoisie supported the representative of the interests of the monopolistic capitalist group, HITLER, and let him establish a terror dictatorship.

The 1950s PRC books clearly take sides with the USSR against the West; while all Western countries either support or at least tolerate the fascists and their attacks (Japan in China, for example), only the Soviets urge the League of Nations to

128 Japanese colonization was estimated differently by Taiwanese and KMT mainlanders that came to the island after 1945. The former saw it in a much more positive light but were not able to articulate that during martial law and White Terror. Today, after martial law was lifted in 1987, and as Taiwan’s history education started to undergo “Taiwanization”, these views can be expressed. Compare Polina RYSAKOVA’s contribution to this volume.

129 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi* vol. 5 (1971), pp. 62, 83, *passim*.

130 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 98.

restrain them. They also support the “Spanish people’s struggle against fascism”¹³¹ and the Chinese war of resistance against Japan.¹³²

In the description of the outbreak of WWII, the PRC books unmask Western (capitalist) hostility toward the USSR and reluctance to step in for world peace. They argue that the West is only mindful of its own advantage. It is described how the capitalist world was divided into two camps: Germany, Italy and Japan on one side versus the USA, England and France on the other. The latter did not intervene as Germany attacked Poland, in the hope that the Germans would eventually also conquer the USSR. However, the contradictions between the capitalist countries (i.e. all except the USSR) were so strong that war broke out between them. Poland was overrun by Germany, but the Polish people continued their struggle against fascism, the PRC book claims. The Soviet Union did not want to join the war as it was peace loving but had no choice but to defend itself against Germany, which the Red Army, in turn, did “heroically” (*yingyong de* 英勇地).¹³³

In countries which were attacked by fascists, like in France, members of the bourgeoisie act as traitors (*maiguozei* 卖国贼) and surrender to accept fascist military rule and to establish a puppet regime. Only the people patriotically resist the foreign invasion, mostly under the leadership of the communist parties and communism in general.¹³⁴ In this way, the PRC books also delegitimize the former KMT rule on the mainland, alluding to the puppet regimes installed there by the Japanese.

The Second World War is said to have ended when the Soviets take Berlin and join the Chinese people to defeat Japan in China. The atomic bombs are not mentioned. After the war, the Soviet Union and China develop their socialist governments and societies further and make great progress. The oppressed nations in Asia and Africa strive for and already partly achieve their freedom at that time.¹³⁵ An important characteristic of history textbooks in the PRC: Most of them end with the Second World War and the establishment of the PRC. It is to be repeated that the exaltation of Soviet activities decreases and comes to an end with the Sino-Soviet split.

131 “西班牙人民的反法西斯斗争”. The book does not provide any detail, but from the dates it is clear that the Soviet involvement in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) is meant. See: WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 99. On the Soviet activities in Spain, see: John MCCANNON: “Soviet intervention in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–39: A Reexamination”. In: *Russian History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (summer 1995), pp. 154–180.

132 WANG: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 2 (1957), p. 99.

133 *Ibid.*, pp. 99–102.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

135 *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 107.

Conclusion

Some important differences can be described in the description of world history and the respective perceptions of Russia and the West in ROC and PRC textbooks. If they had to be summarized in one keyword each, the fitting ones would be “appropriation” vs “deconstruction” of the West (fig. 4-5, 4-6) and “demonization” vs “idolization” of Russia.



Figure 4-5: Qianlong-era vase

The cover of XIA et al.'s *Lishi* (History) for junior secondary schools vol. 5 in the editions of 1971 and 1973 from the ROC bears a photograph of a copper-padded porcelain vase painted with Western figures from the Qianlong era, Qing Dynasty (清 - 乾隆 - 銅胎畫琺瑯西洋人物觀音瓶) preserved in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan. The Western figures on it illustrate the aspect of “appropriation”.¹³⁶



图 33 带着脚镣工作的奴隶

Figure 4-6: Slave in shackles

The picture of a slave in shackles from LI's *Shijie Lishi* (World History) illustrates that in the PRC books, Western achievements are demasked as benefiting the ruling classes and having been accomplished by exploiting the lower classes.¹³⁷

136 XIA et al.: *Guomin Zhongxue Lishi*, vol. 5, title page. Image source: National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院 OPEN DATA, Taiwan, <https://theme.npm.edu.tw/open-data/DigitImageSets.aspx?sNo=04014126> (last access 2020, March 3).

137 LI: *Shijie Lishi* vol. 1 (1957), p. 72.

The ROC appropriates Western achievements by learning about them, internalizing them, and integrating them into their own worldview, such as democracy, law, scientific, artistic, and technological progress and, most importantly, nationhood. The ROC books not only accept the normative framework of the West as “grand Autre” but also see it as a model for the future self, as LACAN’s lowercased “other”. The PRC deconstructs Western wealth, power, and hegemony by showing that they actually only belong to a tiny upper stratum of Western society; that they have been achieved by brutal exploitation; and that they caused great pain to the world. It aims at also deconstructing the power imbalance between “East” and “West”, likening the exploitation of colonized peoples of the “East” to the oppression of proletariat all over the world (Leninism). With the Reform and Opening policy, however, Western technological innovation was increasingly seen in a positive light.

For Soviet Russia, the situation is juxtaposed – in the 1950s. The ROC demonizes the Soviet Union, while the PRC idolizes it. The demonization serves the aim of legitimizing the recapturing of the mainland by the KMT whereas the idolization caters to the legitimization of Marxism in China by a communist party that identified the self with the USSR.

Considering Tsarist Russia, the ROC presents Peter the Great as a reformer, an image that goes way back to the times in the 19th century when Qing intellectuals demanded modernization. The PRC, in contrast, treats Tsarist Russia like all other European countries and focuses on the exploitation of poor and working people by the nobility. The books of both the ROC and the PRC, however, also show that the Sino-Russian relationship had always been a difficult, if not dangerous one.

The image of the USSR in the PRC textbooks is subject to dramatic changes. The curricula were significantly altered as policies and the Sino-Soviet relations bettered or, for the most part, worsened. Marxism with Chinese characteristics evolved into a doctrine of its own and led to severe clashes with the Soviet Union. The PRC had a veritable “coming of age”, dropping the former laudations of the USSR, and gradually bringing in overt criticism in the history books before stylizing itself as the only legitimate communist country. The 1980s, however, were to see an appeasement between the two powers.

In the long run, the different approaches to world history can be seen as different reactions to the trauma of China’s forced opening to the West in the 19th century, humiliated by the Opium Wars and the unequal treaties. The traditional concept of a Chinese empire which literally represented “all under heaven” had to be discarded. The ROC in Taiwan ultimately sided with the West as the winner and accepted Western norms. The PRC, in contrast, rejected these values and presented itself as the leader of the opposing camp.

