

The Making of a Sino-Marxist World View

**Perceptions and Interpretations of
World History in the People's
Republic of China**

Dorothea A.L. Martin



**The MAKING
of a
SINO-MARXIST
WORLD VIEW**

Studies on Contemporary China

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CHINA'S SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES

George T. Crane

WORLDS APART RECENT CHINESE WRITING AND ITS AUDIENCES

Howard Goldblatt, editor

CHINESE URBAN REFORM WHAT MODEL NOW?

*R. Yin-Wang Kwok, William L. Parish, and Anthony Gar-On Yeh
with Xu Xueqiang, editors*

REBELLION AND FACTIONALISM IN A CHINESE PROVINCE ZHEJIANG, 1966–1976

Keith Forster

POLITICS AT MAO'S COURT GAO GANG AND PARTY FACTIONALISM IN THE EARLY 1950s

Frederick C. Teiwes

MOLDING THE MEDIUM THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE *LIBERATION DAILY*

Patricia Stranahan

THE MAKING OF A SINO-MARXIST WORLD VIEW PERCEPTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF WORLD HISTORY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Dorothea A. L. Martin

Studies on Contemporary China



The MAKING of a SINO-MARXIST WORLD VIEW

**Perceptions
and
Interpretations
of World History
in the
People's
Republic of China**

DOROTHEA A. L. MARTIN



An East Gate Book



Routledge

Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

An East Gate Book

First published 1990 by M.E. Sharpe

Published 2015 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 1990 Taylor & Francis. All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notices

No responsibility is assumed by the publisher for any injury and/or damage to persons or property as a matter of products liability, negligence or otherwise, or from any use of operation of any methods, products, instructions or ideas contained in the material herein.

Practitioners and researchers must always rely on their own experience and knowledge in evaluating and using any information, methods, compounds, or experiments described herein. In using such information or methods they should be mindful of their own safety and the safety of others, including parties for whom they have a professional responsibility.

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Martin, Dorothea A. L., 1946–

The making of a Sino-Marxist world view: perceptions and interpretations of world history in the People's Republic of China / by Dorothea A. L. Martin.

p. cm. — (Studies on contemporary China)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-87332-656-3

1. China—Historiography. 2. Historiography. I. Title.

II. Series.

DS734.7.M365 1990

907'.2051—dc20

89-49161

CIP

ISBN 13: 9780873326568 (hbk)

To my mother, who taught me that respect, even for one's elders, must be earned, and to the memory of those who died in and around Tiananmen, earning the respect of their elders.

"Who controls the present controls the past. Who controls the past controls the future."

—George Orwell, 1984



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Contents

<i>Abbreviations</i>	viii
<i>Note on Romanization</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>One</i>	
Introduction	3
<i>Two</i>	
Writing World History in the People's Republic of China	20
<i>Three</i>	
The English Bourgeois Revolution and Modern World History	41
<i>Four</i>	
The Experience of the Paris Commune	67
<i>Five</i>	
Reflections in the Third World	88
<i>Six</i>	
Conclusions and Perspectives on New Directions	105
<i>Notes</i>	111
<i>Bibliography</i>	121
<i>Index</i>	137

Abbreviations

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
GMRB	<i>Guangming ribao</i>
HQ	<i>Hong qi</i>
JFJB	<i>Jiefang junbao</i>
QGXSMB	<i>Quanguo xin shu mu</i> (National bibliography)
QGZSM	<i>Quanguo zong shu mu</i> (National cumulative bibliography)
PRC	People's Republic of China
RMRB	<i>Renmin ribao</i>
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
UNESCO	United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization

Note on Romanization

The pinyin system of romanization is used throughout the text. This applies also to Chinese journals in English that were previously romanized using other systems. For example, all references to the *Beijing Review* are written as such even though prior to 1979 this journal's title was romanized as *Peking Review*.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Preface

THE SUMMER of 1989 will long be remembered in Chinese history as the time when the reform-minded post-Mao leadership in China declared martial law and brutally repressed the student and worker demonstrations in the streets of Beijing. Students, teachers, journalists (both print and electronic), and others had raised demands for freedom of speech and press. Much of the world was watching when the tanks rolled into the city center, crushing both the demonstrators and their demands. Almost immediately, the Communist Party leaders began to “rewrite” the history of what happened in and around Tiananmen Square in the first week of June. The tight control that government authorities seek over news and commentary is revealed all too clearly in the quick reversal in the coverage of the events, as patriotic demonstrators became hoodlums and counterrevolutionaries. Such actions astounded foreigners who witnessed both the events and their re-interpretation by Chinese authorities.

Many China-watchers felt (and some still feel) that the use of the People’s Liberation Army against patriotic student protesters would undermine the legitimacy of Li Peng’s government and even of the regime itself. But swift efforts to recast the events of June 4, 1989, have attempted to control the damage done to the image of the current leaders as both reformers and protectors of socialist revolutionary China. Outsiders ask: “How can the Chinese people believe what the government is now saying about the ‘Democracy Movement’ and about who died in Tiananmen?” This study partially addresses this question by examining the extent to which official views of history are altered to meet particular political needs, with specific reference to the area of

world history. The recent rewriting of current events may seem to have little to do with writing history in any serious or authentic sense, especially since textbooks (both Chinese and world history) do not include post-1949 materials. Yet, the rewriting and reinterpretation of world history has been done for reasons as obviously and immediately political as those that pertain to the summer of 1989.

I am much indebted to the Chinese scholars I have interviewed during research trips to China. These interviews, however, were unofficial and off the record and, given the current state of affairs for Chinese intellectuals, their names and academic affiliations will remain anonymous. I hope one day to give proper credit to these scholars who helped clarify the written materials used in this study and offered their own insights into the central questions of this work. I am especially grateful to Dr. Stephen Uhalley, who first suggested this topic to me, for his careful reading of the chapters in progress. The staff of the Universities Service Centre in Hong Kong also helped me during a year and a half of research there. Thanks go also to Patricia Polansky, the Russian bibliographer at Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, for her help in tracking down the Russian form of names transliterated into Chinese from the Russian. Dr. Jonathan Unger is thanked for the loan of several textbooks from the 1950s that were invaluable sources for my research. The technical assistance of Dr. John Hayes and Mr. Frank Parker helped me convert different word processing systems to suit my needs.

While I am appreciative of the help given by these and others, it goes without saying that any errors of fact or interpretation are my responsibility.

**The MAKING
of a
SINO-MARXIST
WORLD VIEW**



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Introduction

THE GENRE of historical writing that attempts to encompass the world is a relatively new development and, even today, is in its nascent stages. "The simple truth," wrote Barraclough, "is that the study of world history is still only in its beginnings; only our realization of the inadequacy of our traditional approach to the past in the conditions which confront us today has compelled us to give it serious attention." Most historians, aware of the difficulties and problems they face within their own special areas, shy away from a "big picture" that takes into account the plurality of states, cultures, economies, and so forth, in human history. Some fundamentally question the benefits or even the possibility of global history. Others, however, perceiving global or universal history as something more than a compilation of national histories, are beginning to raise questions that attempt to reinterpret the past from a global point of view.

This new approach has its roots in the European Enlightenment. It is an approach that differs from the universal view of the Judeo-Christian tradition, which allowed Europeans to view all human history as beginning with the creation (calculated to have occurred on October 23, 4004 B.C.) or, for that matter, from the Confucian view of the central kingdom and its barbarian periphery.

The first Western movement toward a new global view came after nearly two hundred years of increasing contact with the non-European world, in the eighteenth century's Age of Reason. In the century prior to Voltaire's time, the infusion of informa-