Transnationalizing
the History of Education

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Transnational Perspectives in Historical Educational Research

Eckhardt Fuchs

It has been confirmed for more than a decade: historical educational research is said to be in crisis. In that respect it was characterized by de-institutionalization; thematically and methodologically it had allegedly lost touch with international developments. A review of the history of the field appears to confirm this dictum. If the scientification of historical educational research after 1945 is characterized by an institutional expansion phase that reached its peak in the 1970s, a downturn which continues to the present followed in Europe and North America a decade later. The reasons for this are multiple, but especially the curriculum changes in teacher training and shifts within the discipline of pedagogy led to historical educational research receiving far less recognition within its own discipline than was the case at the turn of the century. These crisis indicators, however, are in contrast to the impressive results of historical educational research. In the wake of the paradigm change in social and cultural studies in the humanities, it presented numerous studies that far exceed the traditional historiography of education and classical historiography. They proceed in a more pluralistic way and therefore broke through the formerly calcified fronts of the cultural debates. Demands for theoretical and disciplinary self-reflection, and for international comparison and transnational perspectives receive a positive echo and lead to new research approaches.[1] Above all, in

1   D. Tröhler, Historiographische Herausforderungen der Bildungsgeschichte, in: Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education 1 (2011), 9-22; E. Fuchs, Historische Bildungsforschung in internationaler Perspektive: Geschichte – Stand – Perspektiven, in: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 56 (2010) 5, 703-724; M. Caruso/H. Kemnitz/J.-W. Link (eds), Orte der Bildungsgeschichte, Bad Heilbrunn 2009; E. Fuchs, Die historische Bildungsforschung im Spiegel ihrer Fachzeitschriften – ein Überblick, in: Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung 14 (2008), 269-296.

respect to the embedding of historical educational phenomena in global or transnational contexts, the aim of connecting to current trend in historical research placed in context, namely historical examination in the context of de-territorialization, de-governmentalization, and de-nationalization.[2] In the course of the "spatial turn," the category of space also receives increasing attention in the field of historical educational research.[3] It interesting to note that the representatives of a transnational analysis of the educational history do in fact retain historical literature as contextual frame of reference. Its analytical approach, however, is acquired from political and social sciences. In that way, they react to the fact – if not always self-reflexively – that the historical research representatives of transnational and world and global historical approaches still struggle with their theoretical sources and methodological instruments and lead to an ever increasing number of topics, approaches and interpretations about an vast diversity of studies, which appear to have no conceptual or methodological nucleus. In contrast, conceptually challenging models for the explanation of globalization and transnational processes can be found in the social, political and educational sciences. These also affect the field of education and therefore offer attractive interpretation possibilities of historical educational phenomena for educational historians who are already favorable towards social and political sciences due to their discipline.

1. On the one hand, the social-scientific reconstruction of globalization processes focuses on the process of networks and dissolution of borders in an international system determined by national states. On the other hand, it refers to a global connection through a macro-sociological approach that with the world society produces a new form of social organization with specific structural characteristic and constitutes the requirements for other social phenomena as a system.[4] An institutional-historical approach in which organizations function as the main supporters of the globalization process is preferred for the analysis of international and global processes in the field of training and education. In that respect, based on the world-systemic, neo-institutional approach, macro-sociological studies have diagnosed the formation of world-wide networking and interdependencies of global trends in the field of education diagnosed the development of dynamic world culture in an empirically convincing way.[5] The institutional re-alignment con-

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2   An overview of the historiographic literature on this subject can almost no longer be achieved. For a summary, see M. Middell / K. Naumann, Global History and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalization, in: Journal of Global History 5 (2010), 149-170; G. Budde/S. Conrad/O. Janz (eds), Transnationale Geschichte. Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien, Göttingen 2007.

3   Cf. C. Burke / P. Cunningham / I. Grosvenor, "Putting Education in its Place": Space, Place and Materialities in the History of Education, in: History of Education 39 (2010) 6, 677-680; E. Fuchs / S. Kesper-Biermann / C. Ritzi (eds), Regionen in der deutschen Staatenwelt. Bildungsräume und Transferprozesse im 19. Jahrhundert, Bad Heilbrunn 2011; R. Lowe / G. McCulloch, Introduction: Centre and Periphery – Networks, Space and Geography in the History of Education, in: History of Education 32 (2003), 457-459.

4   F: J. Lechner / J. Boli (eds), The Globalization Reader, Malden, MA 2000; D. P. Baker / G. K. LeTendre, National Differences, Global Similarities: World Culture and the Future of Schooling, Stanford 2005.

5   J. W: Meyer, Weltkultur: Wie die westlichen Prinzipien die Welt durchdringen, Frankfurt am Main 2005; McNeely / Y.-K. Cha, Worldwide Educational Convergence through International Organizations: Avenues for Research, in: Educational Policy Analysis Archives 14 (1994) 2, 11. (http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/677/799).

nected to this development rests on the fact that an educational semantics and structure valid world-wide that has become consensus reproduces itself in interaction with various national systemic manifestations.

2. While international regime research long accepted in political science has traditionally limited itself to national politics, an expansion of research to non-national actors and global political networks can be observed as explanation of international political systems since the 1990s. In relation to the globalization in the field of education, international educational organizations shifts into the focus of research. Here the starting point is formed by a new concept of international political regiment from political scientific internationalization research that views a new actor on the international stage in international organization next to the traditional national policy. Correspondingly, in this perspective the creation and functional mechanism of the system of multilateral education wins a central significance in the context of the analysis of international educational policy.[6]

3. Third, attempts to unite transfer history and comparison or analytically bring them closer to global educational processes come from comparative education.[7] Here the concept of "lending and borrowing" has achieved particular appeal. For example, Gita Steiner-Khamsi defined three phases for transnational transfer relationships: reference to an external model (externalization or reception), its modification on its own location (re-contextualization or implementation), and its slow metamorphosis into a local model (internalization or indigenization).[8] Other authors distinguish different phases; what is shared is attempt to develop analytic criteria for transfer processes and make them methodologically manageable.[9]

6   K. Mundy, The Evolution of Educational Multilateralism from 1945 to 2005, in: E. Fuchs (ed.), Bildung International: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen, Würzburg 2006, 181-199; K. Mundy, Educational Multilateralism and World (Dis) Order, in: Comparative Education Review 42 (1990), 448-478; K. Mundy / L. Murphy, Transnational Advocacy, Global Civil Society? Emerging Evidence from the Field of Education, in: Comparative Education Review 45 (2001), 85-12; J. Jones, The United Nations and Education. Multilateralism, Development and Globalisation, London 2005; C. Chabbott, Constructing education for development. International organizations and education for all, New York 2003.

7   D. Crook/G. McCulloch, Introduction: Comparative Approaches to the History of Education, in: History of Education 31 (2002), 397-400; J. Beech, Redefining educational transfer: international agencies and the (re)production of educational ideas, in: J. Sprogoe/T.Winther-Jensen (eds), Identity, Education and Citizenship – Multiple Interrelations, Frankfurt a. M. 2006, 175-196; J. Beech, The Theme of Educational Transfer in Comparative Education: A View over Time, in: Research in Comparative and International Education 1 (2006) 1 (web-print).

8   G. Steiner-Khamsi / T. S. Popkewitz (eds), The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending, New York 2004; G. Steiner-Khamsi, Re-Framing Educational Borrowing as a Policy Strategy, in: M. Caruso / H.-E. Tenorth (eds), Internationalisierung. Semantik und Bildungssystem in vergleichender Perspektive, Frankfurt a. M. 2002, 57-89; G. Steiner-Khamsi, Vergleich und Subtraktion: Das Residuum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Globalem und Lokalem, in: H. Kaelble / J. Schriewer (eds), Gesellschaften im Vergleich. Forschungen aus Sozial- und Geschichtswissenschaften, Bern et al. 1998, 369-397.

9   D: Phillips, Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives, Oxford 2004. For the various forms of "diffusion" see F. Dobbin / B. Simmons / G. Garrett, The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?, in: Annual Review of Sociology 33 (2007), 449-472; M. Tanaka, The cross-cultural transfer of educational concepts and practices: a comparative study, Oxford 2005; S. Yamada, Educational Borrowing as Neotiation: Re-Examining the Influence of the American Black Industrial Education Model on British Colonial Education in Africa, in: Comparative Education 44 (2008) 1, 21-37; R. Cowen, Acting Comparatively

Historical educational research dedicates increasing attention to the historical dimension of this transnational process, the multi-lateral interrelations, transfer relationships and interdependencies. Although an "intensive reprocessing of educational history – as history of ideas, actual history, and social history – under the aspect of globalization"[10] remains to be completed, historical educational research slowly approaches these concepts and trends developed in other discipline.[11] This occurs most often where comparative-international educational studies overlaps institutionally with historical educational research and where they dock onto existing research on internationalization processes. While Bernd Zymek already researched the internationalization processes in the area of education in 1975,[12] applying the theoretical and methodological program of an internationalization of education from a historical perspective, Jürgen Schriewer has raised the research concerning internalization of education to a new level since the 1990s.[13] Since then it has grown continually,[14] and particularly in the context of the history of monitor systems, has turned to transnational questions regarding history of education.[15] This program expanding traditional comparative educational studies by a historical dimension has been in the meantime satiated[16] by the first empirical studies, and with its theoretical goals, moves beyond traditional topics like the international reception of leading educators or bilateral educational relations. Attempts to connect global history and transnational approaches from historical studies and network analysis with educational history

upon the Educational World: Puzzles and Possibilities, in: Oxford Review of Education 32 (2006), 561-573.

10   A. Scheunpflug, Stichwort: Globalisierung und Erziehungswissenschaft, in: Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissen-schaft 6 (2003) 2, 159-172. Initial attempts can be found in A. Acevedo / S. Quintanilla, La perspectiva global en la historia de la educación, in: Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa 14 (2009), 7-11; K. Myers / I. Grosve-nor / R. Watts (eds), Education and Globalisation, in: History of Education 37 (2008), 737-741.

11   E. Fuchs (ed.) Bildung International: Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen, Würzburg 2006.

12   B. Zymek, Das Ausland als Argument in der pädagogischen Reformdiskussion. Schulpolitische Selbstrechtfer-tigung, Auslandspropaganda, internationale Verständigung und Ansätze zu einer Vergleichenden Erziehungs-wissenschaft in der internationalen Berichterstattung deutscher pädagogischer Zeitschriften, 1871–1952, Ratin-gen/Kastellaun 1975.

13   From the numerous publications see J. Schriewer, Welt-System und Interrelations-Gefüge. Die Internationalisie-rung der Pädagogik als Problem Vergleichender Erziehungswissenschaft. Antrittsvorlesung 7. Dezember 1992, in: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Philosophische Fakultät IV, Heft 34, Berlin 1994; id., Multiple Internationalities: The Emergence of a World-Level Ideology and the Persistence of Idiosyncratic World-Views, in: Transnational Intellectual Network. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities. Ed. C. Charle / J. Schriewer / P. Wagner, Frankfurt am Main/New York, 2004, 473-533.

14   M. Caruso / H.-E. Tenorth (eds), Internationalisierung. Semantik und Bildungssystem in vergleichender Perspek-tive, Frankfurt am Main 2002; B. Zymek, Regionalität und Internationalität, Mobilisierung und Egalisierung, in: Dietrich Benner und Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (ed.), Bildungsprozesse und Erziehungsverhältnisse im 20. Jahrhun-dert. Praktische Entwicklungen und Formen der Reflexion im historischen Kontext (= 42. Beiheft der Zeitschrift für Pädagogik), Weinheim / Basel 2000, 93-115; B. Zymek, Zwei Seiten der Internationalität. Profilbildung und Kooperation von Schulen in regionalen Bildungslandschaften, in: Bildung und Erziehung 59 (2006), 251-268.

15   J. Schriewer / M. Caruso (eds), Nationalerziehung und Universalmethode. Frühe Formen schulorganisatorischer Globalisierung (= Comparativ 15 [2005] 1).

16   E. Fuchs / J. Schriewer (eds), Internationale Bildungsorganisationen als Global Players in Bildungspolitik und Päd-agogik (= Zeitschrift für Pädagogik 52 [2007] 2); E. Fuchs, Children' Rights and Global Civil Society, in: Compara-tive Education 43 (2007), 393-412; M. Depaepe, Die europäische Dimension in der pädagogischen Historiogra-phie: Rhetorik und Realität, in: Zeitschrift für pädagogische Historiographie 10 (2004), 3-9.

led to the first case studies.[17] Particularly in the area of gender research and research regarding education in colonial contexts and colonial educational missions, studies have appeared that emphasize transnational relationships, transfer and exchange relationships and mutual influences and therefore take new actors and spaces into account.[18]

The four articles chosen here appropriate some of the models and research topics named above and attempt to analyze transfer processes in the area of education from regional and thematic perspectives. With regard to Chinese educational elites, Barbara Schulte investigates the ways and actors through which Western educational knowledge (largely via Japan) reached China. With recourse to the "borrowing-lending model," she demonstrates how Chinese intellectuals negotiated differing concepts of "modernity" and "tradition," mediated between local traditions and globally circulated ideas, and developed strategies, to integrate and "siniologize" new educational knowledge that was received and spread through various actors and channels – in particular translations and intellectual mobility –in the educational-political and societal context. Proceeding from the historical description of this transfer processes, Schulte criticizes theoretical considerations regarding diffusion processes from political science and appropriates the concept of "externalization" from Jürgen Schwiewer. This concept links to Niklas Luhmann's sociology of knowledge model of self-referential reflection systems and works with the assumption that these systems or actors – in this case the "educational systems" – have a constant need for external references in order to define and legitimate the action patterns for its own system. This "externalization" can refer – according to Schriewer – to "world

17   B. See Bagchi/E. Fuchs/K. Rousmaniere (eds), Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational Exchanges and Cross-Cultural Transfers, New York 2012 (in press.); J. Goodman, International Citizenship and the International Federation of University Women before 1939, in: History of Education 40 (2011) 6, 701-722; R. Cortina/S. San Román (eds), Women and Teaching. Global Perspectives on the Feminization of a Profession, New York 2006; E. Fuchs/D. Lindmark/C. Lüth (eds), Informal and Formal Cross-Cultural Networks in History of Education (= Paedagogica Historica 43 [2007] 2); E. Roldán/T. Schupp, Bridges over the Atlantic: a Network analysis of the introduction of the Monitorial system of education in early-independent Spanish America, in: Comparativ 15 (2005), 58-93; M. del Mar del Pozo Andres, The Transnational and National Dimensions of Pedagogical Ideas: The Case of the Project Method, 1918–1939, in: Paedagogica Historica 45 (2009), 561-584; F. Werle (ed.), Educacao rural em perspectiva internacional. Intituicoes, practicas e formazao do prodessor, Brasil 2007.

18   P. Altbach/G. P. Kelly (eds), Education and Colonialism, New York 1978; D. Lindmark (ed.), Education and Colonialism: Swedish Schooling Projects in Colonial Areas, 1638–1878, Umeå 2000; C. Whitehead, Oversea Education and British colonial education 1929–63, in: History of Education 32 (2003), 561-575; A. I. Madeira, Framing concepts in colonial education: a comparative analysis of educational discourses at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, in: J. Sprogoe/T.Winther-Jensen (eds), Identity, Education and Citizenship – Multiple Interrelations, Frankfurt a. M. 2006, 225-238; H. Fischer-Tiné, National Education, Pulp Fiction and the Contradictions of Colonialism: Perceptions of an Educational Experiment in Early-Twentieth Century India, in: H. Fischer-Tiné/M. Mann (eds), Colonialism as Civilizing Mission, Cultural Ideology and British India, London 2004, 229-247; H. J. A. Bellenoit, Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India,1860–1920, London 2007; T. Allender, Learning Abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India, 1813–1919, in: Paedagogica Historica 45 (2009) 6, 707-722; J. Tschurenev, Incorporation and Differentiation: Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in the Early Nineteenth Century India, in: C. Watt/M. Mann (eds), Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia. From Improvement to Development, London 2011, 93-124; J. Goodman/G. McCulloch/W. Richardson (eds), 'Empires Overseas' and 'Empires at Home': Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education, Abingdon 2009; J. Goodman/J Martin (eds), Gender, Colonialism and Education: The Politics of Experience, London 2002.

situations" or "traditions" but always aims to convey actions with a legitimating "additional meaning."[19] In the case of China, Schulte demonstrates the differing externalization strategies in relation to the respective recourse, to the "world situation" as well as to the own traditions that are differentiated in dependence to the actors and the specific temporal-societal context and also produce different "additional meanings" in that way. The externalization concept is also the theoretical basis for the essay by Liou Wei-chih who argues that knowledge transfer played a key part in the emergence of academic disciplines and the reform of traditional academic cultures in many non-western countries during the 20th century. Taking the example of Taiwan, she identifies the actors of this transfer, the "mediators of knowledge", focusing on the nine Chinese students of education who gained their academic qualifications in Germany between 1920 and 1949. In analyzing the content of their dissertations she not only shows to what extent the process of reception of German education and German education philosophy was shaped by the students' reference to their own Chinese background. More importantly, she investigates how the transfer of German concepts was introduced to Taiwan after 1949 – to where four of the students immigrated after the revolution in mainland China, gaining important positions in academia or within the educational system – and how this transfer contributed to a modernization process within the education field in Taiwan. This reform was characterized by the efforts to harmonize western and Chinese culture, based on the cultural and philosophical assumptions of German "cultural pedagogy". This was not restricted to their scholarly work; all of them internalized their once "foreign" knowledge and used it in their professional practice. After all, the reception of German educational concepts and their transfer to Taiwan can be interpreted as part of a long history of European-Asian educational relations in general.

In his article Tim Allender also appropriates the concept of "lending / borrowing" and the externalization model in order to examine intellectual transfer processes between India and the English colonial power. Here Allender starts with the hypothesis that transnational processes depend directly on the ever-changing form of governmental intervention measures. Using the example of school system reform and the corresponding instructional materials, Allender demonstrates that the gradual introduction of Western scientific or secular models into instruction depicts a conflicting process. If one initially tries to integrate and take indigenous religious traditions into account, it can soon be observed that on the one hand governmental resources are missing to train teachers for this knowledge transfer, on the other hand, networks of indigenous school and therefore traditional teachers at local levels are largely ignored. This led to the existence of a parallel set of knowledge that was taught in schools. In the course of the 19th century the chang-

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19   See J. Schriewer, The Method of Comparison and the Need for Externalization: Methodological Criteria and Sociological Concepts, in: J. Schriewer / B. Holmes (eds), Theories and Methods in Comparative Education, Frankfurt a. M. 1988, 25-83; id., Fortschrittsmodelle und Modellkonstruktionen. Formen der Internationalisierung pädagogischen Wissens, in: J. Büschenfeld / H. Franz / F.-M. Kuhlemann (eds), Wissenschaftsgeschichte heute. Festschrift für Peter Lundgreen, Bielefeld 2001, 302-327. The reference can be found in: N. Lumann / K. E. Schorr, Reflexionsprobleme im Erziehungssystem, Frankfurt a. M. 1999.

ing character of knowledge transfer took place in front of the background of changing colonial policies: mutual exchange relations lead to a one-way-street that affected educational policy. Secular Western knowledge was then translated and transferred to governmentally accepted school books that left little room for indigenous knowledge. In the end, this forced transfer of a strict interventional colonial policy did not have the desired success but did lead to centuries-old traditions of social and intellectual reproduction being perpetuated on the local level but also in relation to the caste system.

The role of language and translation, which became central to knowledge transfer in China as well as in India, is also the focus of the article by Almut Steinbach. Based on the example of Sri Lanka and the Federated Malay States under British colonial power, Steinbach examines British language policy in relation to the school system. Here Steinbach searches for the motives of educational politicians and the type of implementation processes. It becomes clear that, on the one hand, the concept of civilization mission played a role in the introduction of English language, as well as the goal of training loyal workers for colonial administration and British companies. In addition, the indigenous population's need to learn English in school grew because this promised social advancement, political participation, and greater career possibilities. That is why many indigenous people integrated English as their everyday language. Parallel to that, in Sri Lanka introduced educational reforms already in the early colonial times, leading to the introduction of national English-language schools, which also simultaneously provoked strong discussions about the future role of indigenous elite within the colony. The four Federated Malay States, however, offer a different picture. In the context of indirect British rule and the strong role of missionary schools, English was only introduced very hesitantly and schools using the local language were promoted. It can generally be asserted that the introduction of English was generally dependant on the degree of governmental influence and a coherent language policy did not exist.

Although the history of language policy in the British colonies or the knowledge transfer to China via Japan or to Taiwan via China represent well-researched fields, in particular in the Area and Postcolonial Studies, the articles presented here thoroughly open up new perspectives. This concerns topics – education and schooling – as well as approaches that go back to theoretical models and concepts from social and educational sciences. Globalization studies confirm that the historical dimension of the inherently paradoxical globalization process, the multitude of local appropriation logics and the mechanisms of world-wide diffusion are not able to comprehend thoroughly enough.[20] The macro-sociological background allows an (educational-) historical approach that historically analyzes the relationship of de-territorialization and re-territorialization, of de-governmentalization and re-governmentalization, of de-nationalization and re-nationalization, and takes into account the overlapping of different, in part competing spatial concepts.

20   M. Caruso, World systems, world society, world polity: theoretical insights for a global history of education, in: History of Education 37 (2008), 825-840; F. Waldow, Undeclared Imports: Silent Borrowing in Educational Policy-making and Research in Sweden, in: Comparative Education 45 (2009), 477-494.

Here the content-based and conceptual-methodological lines of intersection between transnational historical scholarship and historical educational research can be defined.[21] A strong orientation of educational-historical research around the historiographical debates through cultural transfer, trans-locality, transnational or interwoven history, but also close attention to social-scientific concepts on the part of historians can promote new views for research on the respective objects of study.

21   As an example of collabrative projects, see E. Fuchs, Der Völkerbund und die Institutionalisierung transnationaler Bildungsbeziehungen, in: id./M. Schulz (eds), Globalisierung und transnationale Zivilgesellschaft in der Ära des Völkerbundes (= Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 54 [2006]), 888-899; M. Caruso, Zweideutige Verweise. Preußen als Vorbild argentinischer Schulreformen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Projekts von Carlos Saavedra Lamas, in: S. Carreras/G. Maihold (eds), Preußen und Lateinamerika. Im Spannungsfeld von Kommerz, Macht und Kultur, Münster 2004, 285-304.

Closing Down an Intellectual Interchange: The Gifting of Text to Colonial India

Tim Allender

RESÜMEE

Dieser Artikel untersucht Prozesse von Erkenntnistransfer unter staatlicher Vermittlung. Er überträgt erstmals den überzeugenden theoretischen Ansatz von Schriewer, Martínez (2004) und anderen auf einen speziellen Kontext kolonialer Bildung in Britisch-Indien. Der Artikel nimmt einen Einzelaspekt des Kolonialdiskurses in den Blick, nämlich Schul(buch)texte, um an ihnen exemplarisch einen allgemeineren Zusammenhang zu verdeutlichen. Indem er seinen Gegenstand während Schlüsseletappen der britischen Herrschaft analysiert, lotet der Beitrag aus, wie der Staat Erkenntnistransfer nach seinen eigenen Regeln steuert. Er berücksichtigt die Rolle kommunaler, klassenbedingter und regionaler Befindlichkeiten, sieht aber im Herrschaftsgeschäft des Empire auch, wie der wechselnde Charakter kolonialer Macht ein stärkeres Metanarrativ organisierte. Dieses Narrativ unterstrich „Bildungsdefizite", die „Maßnahmen" erforderten, und war vor allem für das „Mutterland" Großbritannien sichtbar. Auf diese Weise entstanden falsche imperiale Dualitäten und der einst fruchtbare intellektuelle Austausch zwischen Ost und West verstummte.

The phenomenon of 'purposeful' borrowing but not copying in colonial India finds several levels, some that can be conceptualised using the orthodox interplays of imperial and domestic, or more recent centre-periphery models of change, or as a response to overused globalisation critiques that focus on the importance of imperial networks and transnational frameworks in bringing about change. Most recently, new notions of 'local' in postcolonial research have emerged that are useful in rethinking the transferral of knowledge, most especially how particular localities and neighbourhoods articulate

global processes.[1] The conceptual repertoire about processes of intellectual transfer has destabilized earlier assumptions about colonial authority and power, most particularly how this relates to the actual interchange of ideas and the building of knowledge. However, the nation-state remains paradigmatic in locating educational spaces and cross-national nodes of intellectual transfer. It also continues to be a determinant in defining refuges for 'other' belief systems and their philology.

The pedagogical, institutional, politico-cultural and sociological considerations presented by the colonial education project in India are too vast to be considered in an article or even in any one book. Instead, this article is about the more specific territory occupied by the colonial schooling text in India in the mid to late nineteenth century. It illustrates the process of 'gifting' the school text to India as an Asian colonial domain, and frames it in terms of the primary Anglo/India binary. The article is informed by Derrida's notions of deconstruction that see any text as unstable in meaning, revealing also what has been suppressed whilst covering over that which has been disclosed.[2] The article shows how transnational processes directly relate to changing modalities of state intervention. For example, early and effective knowledge interchange was at its most functional at a time when state power was weak in the early colonial phase. Yet, in the high imperial age of strong state intervention in the late nineteenth century, the school text was transformed. By this time it was both emblematic and part of the process of the intellectual disengagement between East and West.

This article builds on the work of Schriewer and Martinez which has taken a broad historical perspective of some 70 years. They compare Spain, Russia / Soviet Union and China in their analysis of the degree and the dimensions of the internationalisation of educational knowledge between the 1920s and the 1990s. In the study they suggest education, like the other social sciences, can be considered an 'idiosyncratic' form of theory and knowledge production because it is inevitably shaped by historical and cultural factors.[3] This article, studying a non-European example, takes a similarly broad time perspective and also does not draw on any one theoretical model. However, it is informed by the 'borrowing' in education schema offered by Phillips and Ochs, particularly their theorisation regarding 'externalising potential', the significance of context and the 'indigenisation' of policy exported from external domains.[4] Using the school text this article demonstrates that the transculturation, diffusion and reception processes of knowledge transfer fundamentally reflected the changing power relations that emanated from the colonial state itself.

1   H. Donner / G. De Neve, Space, Place and Globalisation, ch. 1, in: H. Donner / G. De Neve (eds) The Politics of Place in Urban India, London 2006.
2   J. Derrida, Dissemination, Chicago 1981.
3   J. Schriewer / C. Martinez, Constructions of Internationality in Education, ch. 2, in: G. Steiner-Khamsi (ed.) The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending, New York 2004, 31. These authors draw on Schriewer's earlier work including E. Keiner / J. Schriewer, Innovation along the Lines of Tradition: On Continuity and Change in National Styles of Educational Theorizing, in: Revue Suisse des sciences de l'education, 22, 27-50.
4   D. Phillips / K. Ochs, Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education; Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices, in: Comparative Education 39 (2003) 4, 451-461.

The paper argues that colonial India was a unique intellectual territory, where centuries of accommodative invasion by highly literate races had established deep traditions of transcultural transfer amongst elites well before the arrival of the British. In a sporadic and unsystematic way, early European orientalists extended this vibrant tradition. However, it was the colonial state itself, serving its own sense of imperial mission, that artificially simplified the colonial binary, mostly by normalising new bureaucratic structures that progressively restricted multi-dimensional avenues of knowledge exchange. This paper argues that the importation of Western schooling models, and their mediating school texts in the latter nineteenth century, created a false sense of Eastern intellectual deficit. The West identified 'remedies' for the classrooms of the raj but without the capacity to adequately convey and control stable Western, textual meaning. This process was at the cost of disengaging local intellectual contributions and formal East/ West intellectual collaboration retreated to refuges in a few tertiary level institutions and associated academic organizations.

This article's analysis is selective and scholars may identify other material that could be equally discussed. However, this selectivity does not disrupt the business of identifying the processes at work. Such selectivity also admits 'thick descriptions' and their context, an approach that expert scholars of cross-national comparison consider important.[5] The article is divided chronologically into seven key areas. It begins by examining the pre-British heritage and then looks at emerging orientalist scholarship against a backdrop of ambivalent and ambiguous state approaches to Eastern knowledge. These unreconciled approaches then led to a politically charged debate concerning the rubric of parallel knowledge. The Evangelical revival in England directed the resolution of this debate in favour of privileging mostly Western knowledge only. Finally, the British were left to their own devices and a misplaced faith in their capacity to translate, to transcend communal barriers and to produce school texts containing stable and agreed Western dominated knowledge.

Early Colonial India: New Knowledge Impulses

India, in the early nineteenth century, was a diverse, vibrant and complex intellectual domain. Earlier Eastern interlopers, Portuguese and other European interchanges interposed new intellectual layering, mostly a byproduct of their search of commerce and territory. The use of text was already a strong part of traditional societies on the subcontinent and script was a strong symbol of socio-religious standing that indicated power as well as significant exclusionary spaces. In the south, Brahmanical elements, justifying Hindu cultural expansion, used Sanskrit text to convey a rich tradition of poetry and drama as well as scientific, technical, philosophical and religious texts sourced back to as

5   G. Steiner-Khamsi / J. Torney-Purta / J. Schwille (eds), Introduction, New Paradigms and Recurring Paradoxes in Education for Citizenship: An International Comparison, Amsterdam 2002, 34.

early as 1500 BC.[6] In the north, in Mughal times, emporer Awrangzeb's daughter, Zinat al-Nisa, was celebrated and credentialed for her *naskh* script calligraphy of the sacred words of the Koran even though there were many others at court skilled in this also.[7]

The religious impulse was the influence that repositioned early cultural transmission with the West. A new tradition of borrowing was framed by the work of comparative religious scholars whose purpose was to attain 'enlightenment.' These included Mirza Zulfigar- a Patna scholar of the seventeenth century- who melded elements of Christianity and many Eastern religions in his writings to discover 'truth' in all religions.[8] In the other direction Italian Jesuits predated the British in exporting their ideas, although with the simpler purpose of appropriating Indian religious beliefs.[9] And more famously, Ram Mohan Roy, pursued a deeper intellectual enterprise of borrowing from Christianity, and chiefly Hinduism, to establish the *Brahmo Samaj's* credo of theism.[10]

In the early period of British colonial rule text again intervened, this time formalising strategic colonial contours of thought. Much earlier, Indian understandings of calculus, mathematics and rational thought had produced exchanges with ancient Greek scholars including Pythagoras and Herodotus. But for the British the purpose of understanding Eastern text in the early nineteenth century had the macro state goal of gathering information to shore up the relatively weak colonial power. As a result, in the 1820s, state concerns about information gathering in a colonial domain that might yet reject it, served to externalise the potential of Eastern scholarship and language on the subcontinent. Difficult legal cases, such as that of Resident of Delhi, Sir Edward Colebrooke, relied on access to information from indigenous intermediaries using their extensive networks of local gossip.[11] At a second level there was a dedicated intellectual pursuit on the part of top ranking European academics- later labelled orientalists- to explore firsthand the rich field of Eastern scholarship and to find ways to work with Eastern intellectuals to build new knowledge. These included such luminaries as William Adam, H. T. Prinsep and J. C. C. Sutherland. Academic adventurers under the early raj also knew that what counted as knowledge was embedded in language. Translating text therefore was a primary objective and the building of dictionaries was an essential bridge: whether it be through the agency of Native Education Societies set up in Maharashtra and Madras, or the usually single-handed efforts of Europeans in north India.

In India in the 1820s and 1830s the work of orientalists borrowing from Western thought developed powerful new discourses, this time concerning secular knowledge. For example, in the 1830s, Lancelot Wilkinson's work with the pandits (Hindu teachers)

6   F. Watson, India, London 1993, 84.

7   This 1670 copy of the Koran is now part of the Nasser D. Khalili Private Collection, London.

8   H. J. A. Bellenoit, Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860–1920, London 2007, 15.

9   I. G. Zupanov, Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century India, New Delhi 1999, 115-7.

10   F. Watson, India, 137-8.

11   K. Prior / L. Brennan / R. Haines, Bad Language: The Role of English, Persian and other Esoteric Tongues in the Dismissal of Sir Edward Colebrooke as Resident of Delhi in 1829, in: Modern Asian Studies 35 (2001) 1, 75- 112.

of Sehore had produced lively scholarship where comparisons were made between the Eastern Siddhantic and Puranic systems of Astronomy with the one offered by Copernicus.[12] Apart from its mythological literature, in the middle ages India already had a parallel scientific understanding of this subject that was well in advance of the West. For instance Brahmagupta, head of the astronomical observatory in the holy city of Ujjain (central West India), wrote the *Brahmasphutasiddhanta* (The Opening of the Universe) as early as 628 to be built upon four hundred years later by Bhāskara (1114–1185) at the same institution in his work *Siddhāntaśiromani* (Head Jewel of Accuracy). And, in the early nineteenth century, rather than producing much new scholarship, the significance of the fieldwork executed by Wilkinson at Sehore, and other like studies, was that it revealed to the West the vitality of Indian intellectualism and its responsiveness to ideas from foreign domains.

These sensitive and intelligent collaborations that did not assign primacy to either knowledge system. But they were not served well by new Western printing presses that sought to disseminate mass information. In stark contrast, these printing presses served a more mundane raj agenda of identifying Eastern 'deficiencies', requiring knowledge from the West for 'remedy.' In 1838 the Ludhiana mission printing presses North Western Provinces (NWP) alone produced 68,000 volumes of Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Persian and Kashmiri text after just three years in operation.[13] Evangelising agendas were one purpose but medical matters was another key influence. The fear of epidemic hurried government into circulating suitable pamphlets on vaccination. Others were produced to protect against perceived Eastern deficits regarding hygiene and *dhai* (midwifery) procedures.[14] These texts were part of the instrumentalist purpose of the English Utilitarian experiment in India. Most significantly, their Western mien set the scene for the development of school textbooks for the young for the next two generations.

Schooling and Secular Knowledge

As far as the formalities of colonial education were concerned, early British rule was to be reconciled by an outward respect for Indian laws, religion and institutions. But formal state articulations of the veracity and integrity of colonial versus local intellectualism, and therefore the capacity of each to sponsor knowledge transfer, was more ambiguously framed. The 1813 Charter Act declared its support for a

> *revival and improvement of [Eastern] literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.*[15]

12   C. Bayly, Empire and Information, Cambridge 1997, 257-60.
13   Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District, 1888–1889, Calcutta n. d., 74-6. H. Oberoi, The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition, ORT JAHR 220.
14   Financial Commissioner to Sec. to the Chief Commissioner, October 7, 1857, 'Press Lists of Old Records of the Punjab Civil Secretariat (General Department)…, first edition, OIOC.
15   L. Zastoupil / M. Moir, The Great Indian Education Debate, Surrey 1999, 7.

This uncomfortable and ill-defined comparative between East and West was felt most at the highest institutional levels. The Calcutta Madrasa and the Hindu College, also in Calcutta, provided an awkward but influential political, cultural and diplomatic knowledge transfer at the highest academic levels where local scholarship was keenly defended by Indian agitation against any hint of undue official interference. There were other controversies that occupied the colonial educational consciousness, most noteworthy those that surrounded Macaulay's Education Minute of 1835 that imposed English as the medium of instruction in government funded schools.

Operating independently of these macro-state institutions were those orientalists who worked at the village school level rather than in the big city schools and colleges. They externalised the potential of poor village children by sympathetically tapping into their interests and perceived subject preferences. The influence of Lancelot Wilkinson and H. H. Wilson was instrumental in encouraging imaginative local European officials in north India to sharpen their observations and to assemble their texts. For example, Henry Reid the DPI (Director of Public Instruction), NWP, noticed 'native' boys' 'great aptitude' for Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry using Hindi and Urdu translations of Western works. And the rest of the curriculum was rendered using texts in local language transferring Indian knowledge that dwelt on ethics and story telling as well as practical lessons. In this way by 1859 over 15,000 boys were reading *Gyán-Chalísí* (moral proverbs), *Bháratwarshuyittihás* (History of India), *Surajpúrkíkahání* (village story) and *Kisánopdesh* (village tenures and accounts).[16] In the south the work of the Madras School Book Society had settled on a broader principle, although with more Western mediation

> *all school books should be written… by a person residing in this country who is well accustomed with the manners, customs and habits of thought of the people and with all local peculiarities, are able to make use of illustrations and examples taken from the daily occurrences of Hindu and Mahammadan life and from objects with which the people are familiar.*[17]

Eventual 'engraftment' of Western knowledge onto poor schoolboys, once delicate language barriers were navigated, was the final goal. As well, it was to give them the opportunity to graduate to higher levels of schooling, preventing high schools and colleges being monopolised by the wealthy as departmental officials rightly identified had happened in England. These early educators knew that active indigenous participation in formal government schooling could only be galvanised if secular knowledge from the West was not seen as a broader assault on India's religions. But disrupting these thoughts and the real prospects of success in achieving some form of knowledge confluence, was a hostile missionary response. So much so that the progressive views of at least one Direc-

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16   H. S. Reid (DPI NWP) Report on Public Instruction in the NWP, 1859/60'V/24/908, 11, 37.
17   A. J. Arbuthnot (DPI Madras) 1859 'Selections from the Records of the Madras Government' OIOC V/24/835, 16-19.

tor of Public Instruction (DPI) in north India were leaked to the press in London in a misguided effort to expose their perceived naivety.

> *At the moment the natives have perfect confidence in our schools. They know that we teach Geography, arithmetic and History, nor do …[they object to] the puzzles which some amongst ourselves are so fond of propounding as to the inconsistency of Geography as taught by us with the doctrines of the Hindoos...If secular science be a good thing, if Arithmetic and Geography and History be true, those who profess such a reverence for Christianity should not allow themselves to fear that these true and good things will be found obstacles to the progress of Christianity.*[18]

Parallel Knowledge

At the time of the Great Revolt in 1857 these two conflicting approaches regarding knowledge transfer were brought to a head. At an institutional level, government was never to find even a fraction of the funds necessary to prepare teachers for the delicate work of effective Eastern and Western knowledge transfer. Furthermore, the vast network of indigenous schools continued to be ignored and with them the many traditional teachers, pandits and maulvis (Muslim religious teachers), who might have provided the academic bridge the British were looking for. Preoccupation about finding a workable point of access for Western knowledge in the lower order government and mission schools also ignored the powerful socio-religious dimension to learning on the subcontinent. In this regard Geography and Astronomy were particularly problematic. This was because parallel indigenous knowledge systems were most developed in these subject domains where Eastern mythology was privileged alongside 'scientific' thought. Such duality was not permitted by the post Renaissance mind of the Western educator. Yet, this duality endured, as it had done for many centuries, amongst traditional Eastern intellectual stakeholders. There was also an intermixture of ethics conveyed by ancient texts, principally the *Bostan* and the *Gulistan*.[19] This academic tension internalized local Indian responses to the colonial *modus operandi*, producing powerful indigenous sites of resistance. As will be discussed separately below, these included the traditional authority to translate, classroom script and the knowledge base itself which the British were never able to surmount.

In late 1857 a controversy erupted in Calcutta over the rubric of parallel knowledge. In this city printing textbooks was now a recognised business. Local publishing house proprietors mustered their booklists for official approval as 'authorised' schooling texts. This

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18   W. Arnold to D. McLeod May 26, 1858 no. 127 OIOC P/202/11; J. Lawrence to Trevelyan (?) December 1858 n. d. J. Lawrence Coll. OIOC MSS Eur.F.90 vol 13 f. 54.

19   The Bostan and the Gulistan are two critically important texts written by Sheikh Sa'adn in the twelfth century. Together they constitute the primary textbooks for any child learning Persian from the age of five years of age upwards. They also are the primary textbooks for training in ethics and morals.

was in the wake of Wood's Education Despatch of 1854 that had seen many new schools established to meet the new raj aspiration of educating 'the great mass of the people.' If these proprietors were successful they could make their fortunes in just a few years. But any rebuff could just as easily peel away the veneer that an agreed knowledge was possible and that it was readily transferable to any classroom of Indian schoolchildren.

One such example was Shreenanth Dey, proprietor of the Serampore Press in October 1857. His Geography text was rejected, not because of its Western content, but because it also explicitly rejected Hindu mythology. This was potent symbolism. The raj had just emerged from the Great Revolt, itself at least partly the product of pork and beef fat lubricated rifle cartridges. With tensions still running high any symbolism suggesting further Western prejudice was just too risky. To solve this political problem the eminent Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, Ishwar Bidyasaugor, was brought in by the state to give his intellectual imprimatur to the rejection of an otherwise well-prepared Western Geography text.

The episode was reflective of the *realpolitic* of India in the mid nineteenth century that had led to a cautious approach from the Viceroy's government in Calcutta. The sensitivities at the metropolis in favour of Western knowledge only were also well known to protagonists on the subcontinent. The horrors of the Revolt had given those at Westminster and key missionary lobbyists more clout to argue for a strident imposition of the Western imperial mission to counter a now externalized Eastern malignancy. This set up a significant point of difference between experienced officials in Calcutta and their superiors in London which directly impacted on school texts as a mediating agency of knowledge transfer between East and West.

Most significantly, those involved in the education trade were cognizant of these differences. Encouraged by this and not to be put off by his rejection, Shreenanth Dey, the Geography textbook's publisher, wrote to the leading Evangelical philanthropist of the age, Lord Shaftesbury, asking mischievously, should the mighty raj really see the world as "six seas of milk, with Benares at the centre of the Earth, [with] the earth itself on a tortoise's back?"[20]

Shaftesbury's public tirades in response to this letter made it into the press in London and in India. He accused the government of India of being acquiescent in encouraging dangerous Eastern medieval superstitions in government schools of the kind that had led to the cruelties of the Great Revolt.[21]

Although religious 'neutrality' in government schools was affirmed in 1858, a much more powerful unofficial battle concerning cultural transferal was won. The Dey episode and other like contests now closed down effective Eastern intellectual contributions to the formal business of raj schooling of Indian children. Shaftesbury's intervention forced

20   Shreenanth Dey, Proprietor of Tomohur Press, Serampore, Church Missionary Society (CMS) Archive, CI 1 O 9/2 Birmingham University.
21   The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury's Great Speech on Indian Cruelties Delivered at Wimborne, London [1857]) reproduced in extract form in The Times Monday, November 2, 1857 and also in the Friend of India (n. d.).

a reluctant subject-by-subject defence by educational authorities in India that affirmed one Western knowledge, and which now no longer admitted Eastern mythological duality. There were plenty of educational authorities in India who were willing to accept the stark Western line of Shaftesbury and others on this issue. But there were others who were more aware of the complexities of knowledge transfer in India over the previous two generations, who were not swayed by such simplistic arguments about the need to protect India from her own scholarship or the capacity of her school students to pursue Western knowledge as well.

The enterprising Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, F. J. Halliday, deliberately put forward the following problematic

> *In literature we have habitually enforced the study of Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Pope and Johnson…not usually considered favourable to superstitious errors…[or for] timid deference to religious imposture or idolatry.*

And citing chapter six of James Mills' *History of India*, where reference was made to the fear of high caste Hindus coming into contact with dead bodies, he challenged the casual observer in London to

> *Repair to the [Calcutta] Medical College, and see Hindus of highest castes sedulously engaged in dissections, handling bones and entrails with entire indifference.*[22]

Halliday's assertions referred to education in elite schools and colleges rather than to the less commodious lower schools where Dey's Geography text was intended. But he and others like him knew the Evangelical revival in England now filtered to India a much stronger purpose of Western intellectual imposition.

Similar dilemmas about the duality of knowledge faced other provincial departments in this period. The response was the formulation of bifurcated West/East curriculums that could only teach a limited content and which effectively solidified Western intellectual hegemony. These developments perplexed and discouraged those Indian intellectuals who had remained interested in knowledge exchange with the West. Afterall, was it not true that their study of Western Science, and its melding with Eastern literature and belief systems, was part of a broader intellectual enterprise? Did it not represent more of a meta-cognition than those Britishers whose Scientific scholarship was separated out from the metaphysics of their personal Christian beliefs?

Textbook Committees: The Western Platform

The 1860s saw the full implementation of the Western bureaucratic dictums of Wood's 1854 despatch. Unitary curriculums, lower, middle and upper schools, and a bureaucracy

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22   Minute of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, February 22, 1858, Church Missionary Society MSS, Birmingham University, CI 1 O 9/2.

that connected normal and mission schools using the mechanism of grant-in-aid, were established in each province with minor variations between them. Attention now turned to the motley range of school textbooks available in the early 1870s. These textbooks had been written mostly on English models and in some cases were directly imported from the metropolis. However, they were contested terrain as agencies for the transmission of knowledge, used by the British to establish brittle forms of Western intellectual dominance over a linguistically diverse subcontinent. They disabled the remnants of effective East/West intellectual cooperation, confirming to most indigenous intellectuals a new age of imperial imposition by a raj much more confident about its own powerbase. The process was also given greater impetus when John Murdoch, provincial secretary of the Christian Vernacular Education Society in Madras, raised new anxieties, this time claiming that all Christian allusions had been struck out of government school texts whilst '…every incalcation of idolatry has been retained.'[23]

Murdoch's views were largely set aside but they influenced more concerted efforts to formalise the imposition of Western secular knowledge on the subcontinent. As mentioned above, Government of India policy since the Revolt had been for religious neutrality in all of its schools. This meant no bible classes. But speculative Western measures of 'success' were imposed in the late 1860s in the form of province-wide school exams, Payment by Results and pupil teachers. And cramming and rote learning for exams began exposing a system that was not really working outside elite city-based schools.[24]

As a result textbook committees were set up in all provinces in 1873. Their focus was finding ways to engage deeper secular knowledge, via revised textbooks, in humanity subjects taught in 'elementary' boys' schools. Earlier accommodative approaches to include deeper Eastern knowledge in lower-order schooling had largely disappeared. And without a network of strategically placed indigenous scholars and educators to help in the process, the task now fell impossibly onto the British. This immediately raised the difficult question of language. Teaching in local language first was seen as giving clever students speedier access to Western knowledge because it could be used to draw upon the experiences and contexts familiar to them. But the state-imposed burden for this fell on the text not the classroom teacher. This was because there were not enough teachers proficient in English who understood local experience and there were not enough Indian teachers that the British were prepared to accept as sufficiently 'trained' to teach Western knowledge. And, unlike England, the government inspectorate remained unresponsive to the pedagogical concerns of the classroom.

Western necessity now directed some shifting on how the British viewed India's linguistic heritage. The classical languages of the Arabic, Sanscrit and Persian remained totemic. And up until the 1860s British doubts about the capacity of local language to convey

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23   Dr John Murdoch, On the Idolatrous and Immoral Teaching of Some Government and University Textbooks, incld. in DPI to sec. of the Government of Madras, July 31, 1874 no. 1295 OIOC P/1000; John Murdoch, Hints on Government Education in India, with Special Reference to Schoolbooks, Madras 1873.

24   For a deeper dicussion of the phenomenon of 'cramming' for exams see S. Seth, Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India, London 2007, 22-26.

complex Western thought lingered. But, suddenly, teaching in local language first was privileged because it was seen as the best means to encourage deeper thought on Western topics and the building of literacy. When setting up its 1873 provincial textbook committees the Viceroy's government asserted

> *For while the more advanced student may be required rapidly to acquaint himself with a variety of new ideas and reference things which open out fresh lines of thought…all facts that are above his head or beyond his experience, are a set of isolated expressions carrying no meaning at all and raising no associations.*

And of using local language to engage the parochial to build literacy

> *…allusions to scenes or ideas which boys of this country cannot possibly realise or appreciate is apt to hinder progress in mastering language itself which is the main object of [elementary] education.*[25]

Such large leaps in rationale that ignored the teacher and classroom pedagogy were bound to restrict possible outcomes. Furthermore, Western built content was the only tangible left to deliberate. This was strongly reflected in the musing of the 1873 committees, where mostly facile findings were reached. For example, the Bombay textbook committee, urged that boys be taught simpler prose rather than complex poetry, and then argued against Sir Walter Scott in favour of Milton 'irrespective of the difficulty.'[26] The NWP committee, seeking to free itself from the tedium of identifying any 'immoral' books, worried about teaching the history of the subcontinent from a Muslim or a Hindu perspective.[27] Only in Bengal was the focus on delegating the writing of cheap local language texts to scarce community members who knew the tastes and feelings of village boys and who were prepared to cooperate with government in this enterprise.[28]

By the 1870s Western moral boundaries concerning the subcontinent had also changed and this was another key influence in restricting a once vibrant East/West interchange. For example, in 1839, translations from Sanscrit into Tamil of *Inbasagaram* (Ocean of Happiness), about how to achieve 'sexual happiness' and how to detect pregnancy, had been commended to government bookkeepers for resurrecting ancient Eastern knowledge without further controversy.[29] But two generations later, using established Indian literature outside the known parameters of classical religious and ethical works conveyed risks to the morally energised administrator of the high imperial age. Sanscrit works translated into the Tamil that missionaries in the south could read, were presented as examples of Eastern prurience. The *Madana Nul* about the intricacies of female sexual

25   Government of India to all Provincial Governments, March 29, 1873, no. 143, Education Proceedings OIOC P/279.

26   Government of Bombay to Government of India, March 13, 1874 no. 29, Education Proceedings OIOC P/1000.

27   Government of Bombay to Government of India, March 31, 1874 no. 1528, Education Proceedings OIOC P/1000.

28   Government of Bengal to Government of India, July 2, 1874 no. 3225, Education Proceedings OIOC P/1000.

29   Thandavaroya Mudallar to Ramasamy Pillai Avurgal, College Book Keeper, March 18, 1839. Madras Education Proceedings (1873) OIOC P/279.

pleasure clearly cut across the Victorian moral mindset. The *Koka Sastra*, building on the *Kama Sutra*, was also seen as representative of the recently degenerate and 'licentious' Brahman whose teaching on sex departed, it was assumed, from traditional Eastern cannon.

> *This abomidable book, it is said, describes various modes of sexual congress, and teaches many approbrious modes of lascivious enjoyment…it pretends also to give indubitable marks to determine whether the virgin zone has been unloosed; and proceeds to other inquiries which can be perused only by the most dissolute.*[30]

The argument here was that degenerate medieval interventions had diverted a purer vedic past. Ironically, a study of the ancient erotic carvings in the temples of Khajuraho, 350 miles southeast of Delhi, or ancient courtesan literature, could break down this stereotype of malevolent medieval intervention. But the anxieties it now produced was a trademark of an era where education departmental personnel worried about the frailty of Eastern scholarship, mostly as an unstable corpus of knowledge that was unable to regulate such turpitude. As a result, Western cultural transmission in schools in the 1870s was to adopt the prosaic of controlling Eastern intellectual 'lassitude'. This mostly admitted references to the East that were mundane, denying a complexity and profundity that might have otherwise engaged intelligent schoolchildren.

Translation

The new dependency by this time of the state on Westerners only to translate school texts exposed basic power plays at work between departmental personnel and other senior government educators. A functional translating tradition conducted by Eastern and Western scholars for schools might well have led to new learning, where intellectual pilgrimages could occur across colonial, gender, linguistic and communal boundaries. However, the limited number of Western scholars resident in India could not render alone, in a timely manner, sufficient school texts. These needed to be in the respective mediums of instruction of each province and sub-province and in every subject that taught Western knowledge.

By the late 1870s, short cuts were attempted and these resulted in an unofficial inversion of the colonial directed transmission process. The cooperation of indigenous students enrolled in government and mission colleges was sought and students reading engineering, law and arts were recruited to translate school texts.[31] Students resisted because of the obvious distraction that this would create from their pursuit of obtaining credentials usually for a *naukari* (government job). But also because many came from elite families

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30   W. Yorke to Sec. Government of Fort St George, December 7, 1872, Madras Education Proceedings (1873) OIOC P/279.

31   A. J. Arbuthnot 1859 (DPI Madras) 'Selections from the Records', 19.

who were unwilling to transfer their traditional custodianship of such learning to an imperfect raj that was willing to bypass Eastern scholarship and language whenever it could to introduce a problematic Western curriculum. Furthermore, helping in the writing of texts whose purpose was to cover over a vibrant Eastern scholarship, already externalised by the British forty years earlier, was inimical to them.

Capable colonial academics were also sympathetic to this view. At Government College Lahore the linguistic expert Gottleib Lietner encouraged sober academic detachment even though his college specialized in teaching at tertiary level in local languages.[32] And this forced education departments into attempts at translation by non-expert committee.

> [third and fourth school Reader were] carefully examined by gentlemen possessing special knowledge of the various subjects treated of, amongst others by Mr Baden-Powell, Dr Center, and Capt. Marshall. Mr Baden-Powell kindly offered to write lessons on trees and plants and on simple agricultural processes. In order to secure thorough accuracy of idiom, the book has been repeatedly revised and some of the best native scholars have been consulted… who were kind enough to have the book read out to them by a native scholar whom I [the DPI] deputed for the purpose. They considered the whole sentence by sentence.[33]

These stereotyped productions and their piecemeal methodology were easy to attack. But the cleavage between college and department was unfortunate. College libraries contained many translated works, executed by earlier students as part of a higher intellectual enterprise before the Revolt of 1857. These included Delhi College's 68 Urdu translations which ranged from treatises on Arithmetic to works on Geometry and Astronomy. The contribution to Western scholarship of one work in particular, that of Y. Ramachandra on differential calculus, was so strong that it was published in Europe for the use of Western scholars.[34]

Fragmenting the School Text Script

By the 1880s the impasse confronting the British over an agreed colonial text for the classroom gave way to intensifying political realities generated by the local domain, driven variously by British and Indian imperatives. Translating text, as a function of transmitting Western knowledge, and creating a pretext for then teaching English, had been well

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32   W. R. M. Holroyd, 'Report on Popular Education in the Punjab…1880/1', OIOC V/24/933, esp. clauses xlii, xliii, xlv, xlvi, l, liv, lvii.

33   Director to the Sec. to the Government of the Punjab, February 6, 1878, no. 14, OIOC P/1148.

34   'Memorandum no. 19A', General Department NWP January 6, 1854, in Selections From the Records of Government, North Western Provinces, Agra 1855, vol. iii, 427, OIOC; N. Gupta, Delhi Between Two Empires, Delhi 1981, 7, 73; Y. Ramachandra, A Treatise of Maxima and Minima Solved by Algebra, Calcutta 1850 (reprinted London 1859).

imbedded in the colonial education stratagem. This could be pursued using the spoken word but deciding on what script was to be used for the written word in texts, and in the classroom proper, was more difficult. In the north Urdu was decided on as the medium of instruction. This language was used by elite Hindu and Muslim men, who used it as a signifier of social status. However, it was written in different forms: devanagari for Hindus and Persian for Muslims. As well, classroom script as a religious signifier grew in significance in the 1880s as the Hindu polity in particular responded to the influence of local reform movements, most notably Arya Samaj led by the Hindu ascetic Dayanand Saraswati.[35] Teaching in Hindi as the 'vernacular of the people', or at least Urdu in the devanagari script, became a central part of the Arya Samaj's politics whilst Muslims still clung to their insistence on the Persian script.[36] This communal divide, played out in the classroom as well, deepened as the century progressed, with serious controversies erupting in the NWP by 1900. And in Bombay a different dispute emerged over Hindi or Gujarati classroom script.[37]

The wide-ranging Hunter Education Commission of 1882 was impressive in its scepticism of departmental capacities to effectively engage in lower-order schooling or to acknowledge powerful indigenous schooling traditions. But its unresponsive findings on school texts reflected the irreconcilable divergence between East and West that had occurred by this time and which now faced government; a problem that was emblematic of a failing colonial education project itself. Provinces like Madras preserved the hegemony of the English textbook for its core middle schools whilst in Bengal and Bombay texts were in the various primary local languages. But European dominated University Senates directed these various policies by prescribing favoured textbooks for their problematic matriculation exams. Suddenly, European educational precepts were transferred in template form. Textbooks were now to convey what earlier committees had recommended:

> *Reverence for God, parents, teachers, rulers and the aged:[the] good citizen, and universally admitted principles of morality and prudence; cleanliness of habits, politeness of speech…and bodily exercise.*

Hunter acknowledged that at the lower school level '…the Indian knows nothing of hedge-rows, birds nesting, hay making, being naughty and standing in the corner' and he was critical of English medium adaptations that merely transmogrified 'Harry into Ram or apples into mangoes'. But the commission, perceptive in other matters, merely demonstrated that the embryonic frameworks for knowledge transfer offered by orien-

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35   K. Jones, Arya Dharm Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab, Delhi 1989, 40. See also pp. 15, 17-8, 24, 30, 36, 38. Saraswati called for the abolition of sati, caste and idol worship as well as the rejection of raj governance.

36   'Answer of the Lahore Arya Samaj to the questions suggested by the Educational Commission,' in W. W. Hunter, Report of the Provincial Committee for the Punjab of the Hunter Education Commission, 466.

37   F. Robinson, Separatism Among Indian Muslims, Cambridge 1974, 43; K. Kumar, Quest for Self-Identity: Cultural Consciousness and Education in Hindi Region, 1880–1950, in: Economic and Political Weekly, 23 (1990), 25, 1248.

talists two and three generations earlier, and its Indian precursors, had been lost to the colonial state. [38]

Selling Texts

Business in selling textbooks boomed in the early twentieth century. For example, in the quinquennium 1912 to 1917 1,522 books received official review in Bombay alone and in the NWP a staggering 5,050 books were submitted with 1,474 subsequently obtaining approval.[39] Their number was partly due to the government's concern of keeping its patronage networks in education open. More significantly, this was also a symptom of just how little intellectual resolution had been achieved as to what made up a good textbook, and in what language and script, and with mission schools demanding yet other texts. Languid methods of government vetting by fragmented committee processes were tolerated in a thinly veiled government quest for control over what was taught in schools as the national resistance movement grew more pressing.

By this time many of these texts were, in fact, crib books known as 'keys' designed for students wishing to pass the government exam with poorly trained teachers, now fiercely accountable by results, complicit in the restriction of knowledge transfer.

> *They are not limited to English works, but attempt explanations of vernacular textbooks as well-generally a string of synonyms. Their number and high price indicate their popularity….teachers do not suppress the use of these works, even encourage them… not only all pupils but the teacher studies the daily lesson from keys to a textbook-neither the teacher or pupils have ever seen the original work-just sufficient to memorise the key.*[40]

This was not helped by classroom practices that were necessitated by very poor government funding. During WW1, the DPI of Bengal, W. W. Hornell feared the entire colonial education project was slipping from British hands. He complained that in 95 % of classrooms in his province, cramming for exams rather than engaging in more effective learning at the hands of a competent teacher was the norm.

> *The class…of between 40 and 50 children…is usually arranged in the form of a square and the teacher sits in the middle. The teacher sits and gives one long monotonous lecture to the class, of which the boys as a rule take no notes, nor indeed do many of them listen. If he is questioning the boys or hearing work he walks around the inside of the square. He stands opposite one boy for anything up to 10 minutes, he will hear that one boy read and address all the questions to him. As a fact the teacher confines his attention almost*

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38   W. W. Hunter, Report Of The Indian Education Commission, Calcutta 1883, 230, 339-40, 346.
39   H. Sharp, Quinquennial Education Report 1912–1917 OIOC V/24/4431, 214-5.
40   H. Sharp, Quinquennial Education Report 1907–1912 OIOC V/24/4431, 91.

entirely to some 5 or 10 boys, and gives very occasional recognition to some 5 or 10 others. The rest never get taught at all.[41]

Whilst more elite schools probably offered a better pedagogical fare, the textbook as the transmitter of even just Western knowledge, was bypassed and its enforced meaning became more unstable.

By the early twentieth century, in the face of these bewildering problems, visual rather than textual transferrals of knowledge became the focus of government. Whilst serving a smaller clientele, a significant slice of state education funding was devoted to building and developing Schools of Art and Museums. European directors reorganised institutions such as the Indian Museum in Calcutta 'along modern lines', using a staff skilled in Western ethnography. There were also strong attempts by Lockwood Kipling and others to preserve traditional craft knowledge and unadulterated Eastern architecture in this period. They did this by assembling 'art pattern books' before the artisan links of previous centuries were lost.[42]

But even in the teaching of art, Western hegemony was established by the twentieth century. As Henry Sharp, author of the 1912–1917 Quinquennial Education Report, directed:

The shortcomings of Indian methods must be corrected by studies from life upon Western methods. Decadent tendencies require an infusion of energy and accuracy, but without undue influence on the traditional bent of the Indian learner in the matter of essential principles.

Interestingly, too, Sharp believed Indian students could not be expected to imitate the style of Indian art because they were so accustomed to Western drawings in their textbooks.[43] This ignored the work of Abanindranath Tagore (later leader of the Indian modern art movement), who was already exhibiting at South Kensington along with his students. He was become the leader of the Indian modern art movement in the twentieth century.[44] But assumptions about the one directionality of knowledge transfer, even if now seen as occasionally adulterating the East, were well ingrained in the colonial educational psyche.

There were, of course, important centres of Oriental learning such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal whose flagship journal was the *Bibliotheca Indica*, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay and the India Research Society of Calcutta. The longstanding Sanscrit College in Calcutta continued its highly specialised work too. By 1917 university academics were publishing impressive works as part of a world academic community on compara-

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41   H. Sharp, Quinquennial Education Report 1912–1917 OIOC V/24/4431, 98.

42   H. Sharp, Quinquennial Education Report 1905–1912 OIOC V/24/4431, x. Lockwood Kipling (father of Rudyard) served at the The Jamsetjee Jeejebhoy School of Art School of Art in Bombay and then as principal of Mayo School of Art in Lahore.

43   H. Sharp, Quinquennial Education Report 1912–1917 OIOC V/24/4431, 151-2.

44   'Mr King, House of Commons Asks' December 1, 1915 L/PJ/6/1308.

tive Western and Eastern literature, science, medicine and ancient Eastern scholarship. There were also signs that appropriate pedagogic research had finally begun, including Robindra Guha's work at Ananda Mohan College (East Bengal) on school strategies for teaching in Bengali. The work of John Dewey in Chicago was tentatively referenced by Michael Sadler in his Calcutta University Commission as offering new possibilities for teacher training in India.[45] But transmission of knowledge at this level, though to be largely untouched by the political maelstrom that was about to grip the subcontinent, equally had little impact on even those in school during the last years of the raj.

Conclusion

The Western imposed school text in India internalised multiple local responses over the long period of colonial rule. These responses were heavily dependant on communal, class and regional sensitivities. But it was the changing nature of colonial power itself that organised a stronger meta discourse. Local actors were highly sensitive to the changing politico-cultural purposes of borrowing across the East/West colonial boundary. At first, in the 1820s, the purpose had been to establish an acceptable nexus between culturally predicated knowledge forms. But this process was transformed by the state to one of direct imposition of Western knowledge by the end of the century.

Direct colonial interventionist strategies in controlling and regulating the 'schooling' of the young via a school text was alien to the softer patronage networks that had directed education in pre-British times. Instead, the rise of the school text resulted in the codification of knowledge agreeable to the state. As the state's power became entrenched, the classroom text increasingly replicated European knowledge at the expense of the East, whilst reinforcing inequality and those stereotypes that marginalised most Indians from the colonial education project. Furthermore, it encouraged most communal, class and caste communities to continue centuries-long traditions of social and intellectual reproduction that were well beyond the reach of the British. Fragmented indigenous ecumenes devised their own education approaches that filtered Western knowledge partly to better serve the rising national movement. On the surface colonial textbooks offered a semblance of being part of a broader intellectual and knowledge transfer process. But their social function became one of producing a select group of school children as worthy agents of the raj, cutting off in the process Indian intellectuals and educators who were otherwise powerfully credentialed in local communities.

In the final stages of British rule, leading colonial educators including Sir Philip Hartog, (who wrote about examinations and their bearing on national efficiency) were at a loss to explain the unwinding of the Western hold on Indian education. The French in Indochina could claim greater success in elevating literacy rates even though their rule had not begun there until 1859. British displays of power and a determination to impose

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45   M. Sadler, Calcutta University Commission, Calcutta 1919, vol. 13, 120-193; vol. 5, 75.

Western bureaucratic normalcy on the subcontinent ultimately constructed politico-cultural barriers and energised sites of indigenous resistance to the state-directed agenda of nominal transculturation. It was not to be until the twentieth century that a local desire for the importation of more authentic forms of world knowledge, independent of the raj, finally saw a more sustainable and permissible influence from the West on an emerging India.

Imperial Language Policy in the Nineteenth Century.
A Study on the Spread of English under Early British Rule in Ceylon and the Protected Malay States

Almut Steinbach

RESÜMEE

Heute ist Englisch, basierend auf der Anzahl der Sprecher und vor allem aufgrund seiner Verbreitung in allen modernen Medien, als Weltsprache anerkannt und als globales Kommunikationsmittel aus unserem Alltag nicht mehr wegzudenken. Die Untersuchung konzentriert sich auf die Anfänge des Englischen als imperiale Sprache und analysiert am Beispiel von Süd- und Südostasien seine Verbreitung im19. Jahrhundert. Dabei zeigt sich, dass mit Bildungspolitik in den Kolonien immer auch der Versuch verbunden war, sprachpolitische Entwicklungen und damit einhergehende Aufstiegschancen der Kolonisierten zu steuern. Da sie jedoch nur ein Element in einem komplexen und keinesfalls immer kohärenten Gefüge von imperialer Politik in London, Entscheidungen „on the spot" und „local agency" war, konnte sie nur bedingt Wirkung zeigen. Dennoch lässt sich in den Quellen zur Bildungs- und Sprachpolitik besonders gut nachlesen, welche Rolle einerseits die Zivilisierungsmission und andererseits eher wirtschaftlich orientierte Herangehensweisen im politischen Denken und im kolonialen Handeln spielten.

On December 20th 2001 the headline of *The Economist* read 'The triumph of English. A world empire by other means.'[1] The recognition of English as a world language is unchallenged today as some 380 million people speak it as their first language and perhaps two-thirds as many again as their second. A billion are learning it and it is without a

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1   The triumph of English. A world empire by other means, in: The Economist, December 20, 2001, Print Edition Christmas Special.

doubt the most important language in international business, politics and diplomacy as well as the language of the world wide web.[2] Many reasons have been cited for the triumph of English which although today seen as a natural outcome of a long process, could not have been foreseen two hundred years ago. Concerning the question why English became a global language, usually two major factors are mentioned, the spread of the British Empire especially during the 19th century and the rise of the new American world power in the 20th century.[3]

This article will focus on the British Empire and more specifically on imperial language policy. The question will be raised whether the British language policy as it was implemented in the school system in the colonies can be seen as part of the explanation given above or whether it stands in contrast to the development of English as a global language. In the later case other factors which can but do not have to be part of an active imperial language policy such as the status of English, the labour market in the colonies, local demand for English schooling, or the work of other than state agents such as missionaries would have to be studied when the spread of English in the British Empire is discussed. The article will also try to analyse the motives of policy makers and have a closer look at the discourse and the implementation process to establish the link but also the discrepancy between the two. One of the fundamental justifications for using and diffusing the language of the colonizers was the concept of the "civilizing mission". The idea that language could play an important role in civilizing the colonized peoples was in no way limited to the British. The French are well known for the relation they saw between the two. Jeffra Flaitz for example writes about France:

> *In its own heyday, namely in the 16th-19th centuries, the French language was touted and consciously promoted as a vehicle of French culture and ideology. France was, it is well known, a powerful and advanced nation at the time. The French language, moreover, was said to have a 'mission civilisatrice'. In a word, the association between French language and ideology was not only recognized, but openly accepted, justified, and exploited.*[4]

The British took longer to include language as a central theme into their discourse on how to treat the native peoples of their colonies. Although we find statements in favour of anglicisation from the late 16th century onwards they are rather sparse[5] and it is only in the beginning of the 19th century that language becomes a serious subject for policy makers in the colonial context. A closer look at the sources will nevertheless tell us, that honourable intentions considering the "improvement" of the natives were only one side

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2   Ibid., 1-2.
3   D. Chrystal, English as a Global Language, Cambridge 1997, 8.
4   J. Flaitz, The Ideology of English. French Perceptions of English as a World Language, Berlin / New York / Amsterdam 1988, 2.
5   For example Samuel Daniel, Musophilis, dated 1599, "And who in time knows whither we may vent, The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores, This gain of our best glory shall be sent, To enrich unknowing nations without stores?, Which worlds in the yet unformed Occident, May come refined with the accents that are ours", quoted from Chrystal, English, 65. All original sources are quoted unchanged with relation to spelling and grammar.

of the coin and probably presented only a minor motivation in the process of spreading English around the world. More practically orientated approaches – such as the need to develop a cheep labour force for the British administration and British enterprises in the respective colony – very often figured more prominently on the imperial agenda.

We are presented with a very different picture again when studying the motives of the local population and their demand for English language schooling. Although the motives of the colonizers were reflected and sometimes adopted by certain native elites, other reasons for the appropriation of the imperial language can be found in the sources. English soon became a vehicle to social status, a successful career, political participation and at an early stage in Ceylon and at the end of the 19th Century in the Federated Malay States a precondition for integration into the colonial society.[6]

Two case studies, Ceylon which had become a crown colony in 1802 and the Protected Malay States, later Federated Malay States[7] which came under the influence of British rule during the last third of the 19th century, will be focussed on to provide some clues. They are not, of course, representative of the British Empire as a whole but linking them to developments in India where many currents originated, will help to put them into a wider context. Comparisons between the colonies will allow for an analysis of parallels and differences as well as influences between the different areas of the British Empire. They will also sharpen our eyes for the role of specific circumstances each locality presented.

The statements of two British civil servants responsible for questions of language policy, one in Ceylon and one in the Protected Malay States give us a first idea of language policy in the British Empire and the different direction it could take. In a letter to the American Mission in Ceylon dated 14 December 1829, Wiliam Colebrook, head of the Commission of Eastern Inquiry, wrote:

> And we have not failed to notice with satisfaction the importance you very justly attach to the cultivation of the English language as the medium for the acquirement of the most useful knowledge by the natives.[8]

Frank A. Swettenham, in contrast, who had served in the Protected Malay States for several decades, stated in a talk delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute in London in 1896:

> I do not think we should aim at giving Malays the sort of higher education that is offered by the Government of India to its native subjects, but I would prefer to see the establishment of classes where useful trades would be taught. It is unfortunate that, when an Eastern has been taught to read and write English very indifferently, he seems to think that from that moment the government is responsible for his future employment, and

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6   For a more detailed discussion on the chances and limits of integration see also: A. Steinbach, Herrschaftssprache als Ressource imperialer Integration, München 2009.

7   Federation took place in 1896.

8   Colonial Office Records 416/6, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

in consequence the market for this kind of labour is overstocked, while many honour-able and profitable trades find difficulty in obtaining workmen, because of the prejudice against anything like manual labour.[9]

These two statements could, of course, be described as personal opinions of two individuals but the wider context in which they were made shows that they are probably rather representative of their time. Wiliam Colebrook's suggestions were discussed widely and controversially but the head of the Colonial Office, Viscount Goderich, approved of them and especially mentioned the introduction of English when designing a programme of improvement for the natives of Ceylon which was soon implemented.[10] Frank Swettenham, on the other hand, only expressed a widespread attitude of British civil servants in Malaya and other colonies of the Empire in the late 19th century. Looking at the Indian experience with anglicization and the local response to it many of them gave up the idea that English and the spread of western ideas via the language would lead to a loyal and prosperous colony.[11] As in Ceylon the most widely accepted policy was implemented. State schools in Malaya were in most cases vernacular ones. These two fundamentally different points of view shall now be looked into in more detail providing a rough outline of the development of colonial language policy in the 19th century.

During the first three decades of British rule in Ceylon there was nothing like a coherent language policy. Policies and politics in general depended strongly on the particular governor in power who was responsible for the direction the British administration took. For two of them, Governor Sir Frederick North, the first governor of Ceylon, who arrived in 1799, and the third Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, education became a veritable passion. Both of them favoured the idea of offering English schooling alongside vernacular education. Their motivation was twofold. North's letters tell us that on the one hand the spread of the Christian faith and the consequent 'contentment, tranquillity and morality' amongst the natives were at the root of his interest in educational matters and the spread of English. On the other hand, Governor North did not forget to mention that lower levels of the British administration could be cheaply filled with English educated natives, providing an argument that would be used in favour of English schooling throughout the period of colonialism in British South and South-East Asia.[12] Sir Robert Brownrigg's arguments were similar to those of North. He also specifically mentioned the role of

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9   F. A. Swettenham, British Rule in Malaya, Talk at the Royal Colonial Institute, 31 March 1896, in: Honourable Intentions. Talks on the British Empire in South-East Asia delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute 1874–1928, ed. P. H. Kratoska, Singapore 1983, 186.

10   Goderich to Governor Horton, London 4 May 1832 und London, 14 September 1832, both in Colonial Office Records 55/74, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

11   Many more examples could be cited. H. B. Collinge, Inspector of Schools in the State of Perak e.g. used even more drastic words. He said: "It is the mere smattering of English and English ideas that is harmful, and which in India causes the country to swarm with half-starved, discontented men, who consider manual labour beneath them, because they know a little English." Quoted from A. Pennycook, The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language. London / New York 1994, 87.

12   K. H. M. Sumathipala, History of Education in Ceylon 1796–1965, in: The Ceylon Historical Journal 13 (1968), 2; H. A. Passé, The English Language in Ceylon, in: University of Ceylon Review 1 (1943) 2, 53.

English schooling in making the Ceylonese loyal subjects and to tie them closer to the British government.[13]

North's and Brownrigg's commitment to education can be seen as part of the broader movement of the Evangelical Revival whose most prominent representative in the colonial context of the time was Charles Grant. His *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals* included chapters on English and its potential as a key which would open to the natives of India a world of new ideas.[14] It is remarkable that in Ceylon state money went into education in general and English education in particular long before the renewed Charter of the East India Company included sums to be spent on education in 1813 and even longer before the mother country, England, for the first time decided to put together a budget for education in 1833.[15]

A period of neglect followed after Governor Brownrigg had left the island. Thus was the situation when in 1829 the Commission of Eastern Inquiry arrived, sent out by the British Parliament, to investigate the affairs of the colony.[16] Although the original motives for the appointment of the commission were of economic character, more culturally orientated matters were included into the questionnaires that Colebrooke and his colleagues sent around the island to gather the information needed for their reports. Concerning questions of religion and education mainly the church and the missionaries were consulted but some government officials including the occasional Ceylonese employee were interviewed as well. The answering letters present us with very diverse opinions and practices. We find that the American mission was far more open to English education than its British counterparts, we also find that the means for education were lacking in all corners of the island and that more commitment of the state in these matters was asked for, a claim that doesn't seem to have changed over the centuries.[17]

Wiliam Colebrooke's work and his final report on the administration of Ceylon clearly showed his preference for English. The reasons he gave were, on the one hand, the old

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13   R. T. Ruberu, Education in Colonial Ceylon. Being a Research Study on the History of Education in Ceylon for the Period 1796 to 1834, Kandy 1962, 117 and 135-135.

14   Ch. Grant, Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals' dated 1792, in: The Great Indian Education Debate. Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781–1843, ed. M. Moir / L. Zastoupil, Richmond 1999, 84-85.

15   For India see: 'East India Company Charter Act of 1813, Section 43', in Moir / Zastoupil 1999, 90-91. For England see: G. Niedhardt, Geschichte Englands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, München 1996, 54.

16   G. C. Mendis, vol. 1 of The Colebrook-Cameron Papers: Documents on British Colonial Policy in Ceylon 1796–1833, Oxford 1956, xiii.

17   The letters of the Commission and the answering letters are collected in: Colonial Office Records 416/6, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office). In a publication of the American mission, which was sent together with the report, their aspiration concerning the establishment of an English college was laid out. Right at the beginning of it one of the principal objects of the college education was outlined: 'A leading object will be to give native youths of good promise a thorough knowledge of the English language. The great reason for this is that it will open to them the treasures of European science and literature, and bring fully before the mind the evidences of Christianity. A knowledge of the English language, especially for those designed for native Preachers, is in this point of view, important almost beyond belief. Their minds cannot be so thoroughly enlightened by any other means.'

arguments concerning the need for an English-speaking labour force which could replace higher paid British civil servants and thereby save the colonial government money and, on the other hand, the also often used concept of a broader programme of improvement by ways of anglicisation.[18] Referring especially to the principles and the work of the American mission, Colebrooke recommended, even before his colleagues in India had settled this question in the Orientalist-Anglicist debate,[19] that English should be the medium of instruction and that English should become the sole language of the government, the administration and of all courts of justice in the island.[20] Almost all of the suggestions of the Colebrooke-Cameron commission concerning the education system were put into practice. Until 1841, forty government schools were established 34 of which were English schools. In the same year, 2062 students were taught; 254 of them were girls.[21] A catalogue of rules which implemented Colebrooke's proposals to develop an island-wide system of English government schools was published in 1837 by the newly founded school commission.[22]

Although these steps were taken without hesitation the intensive discussion of Colebrooke's reports in letters to the Colonial Office and in the local Press suggests that neither the British minority nor the Ceylonese elite who made actively use of this new forum and participated in the discourse completely agreed on the measures taken. It is interesting to see that not so much the teaching of English in itself was debated but it was felt that this could be the first step to a new structure of society – much wished for by some and dared by others. The newly acquired qualification of natives together with the opening of the Civil Service seemed to be the crucial point. One of the first representatives of the British Government to oppose the steps suggested by Colebrooke was Governor Barnes. He did not see the need for a system of English medium education and was even more decidedly against the opening up of the Civil Service. The arguments he presented stood in direct contrast to those the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission used in its reports. Barnes wrote shortly before he left his job and the island of Ceylon:

> *Whatever Utopian ideas theorists may cherish of universal fraternity without regard to colour, religion or civilization, or whatever notions Levellers may wish to see adopted, I am decidedly of opinion that this people cannot nor ought to have under existing circumstances any greater share in the Government than they have at present. I am not of those personas who think that black and white people can ever be amalgamated in the*

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18   Report of Lieutnant-Colonel Colebrooke Upon the Administration of the Government of Ceylon, quoted from Mendis, Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, 70-72; Commissioners of Inquiry to the American Mission in Jaffna, Colombo 14 December 1829, Colonial Office Records 416/6, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

19   Moir and Zastoupil, Indian Education Debate.

20   Mendis, Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, 70-75.

21   Ceylon Blue Book, 1841, quoted from Sumathipala, History of Education, 12.

22   Prospectus of General Rules and Suggestions intended to promote uniformity of system in the management of the Government Schools in the Island of Ceylon, Colonial Office Records 54/156, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

situations of society so as to do away with those distinctions which at present exist all over the world.[23]

And he continued his critique of the Colebrooke's and Cameron's suggestions:

I should be glad to know where you would propose to draw the line; admitted to one situation they would have an equal claim to another, so that unless you contemplate the supercession of all European authorities, not excepting the Governor, I do not see where you could stop. My opinion is that the line is now well defined, that the natives are perfectly content, and that it ought not to be invaded.[24]

A very different point of view was taken by some of the readers of the Colombo Journal, a newspaper which although published by the British Government of Ceylon included in its publications a high number of letters to the editor which present us with a very diverse set of opinions and reactions to the Colebrooke-Cameron reports. Although the letter writers use pseudonyms it is from the contents and from the style of writing possible to say that many British citizens of Ceylon some representatives from the group of the Burgher minority as well as some Singhalese and Tamils participated in the debate. A letter signed "A Native" which was possibly but not necessarily written by one, stated many of the arguments against positions such as the one of Governor Barnes. To strengthen his idea of a diffusion of knowledge and civilization through the opening up of chances in ways of careers and integration he quoted from Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras who had published the famous 'Minute on the Employment of natives in the Public Service' dated from 1824. "A Native" wrote:

What is in every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge, but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power; or what is even the use of great attainments, if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purposes, the service of the community, by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various duties of the public administration of the country.[25]

More practically oriented was a second paragraph of his letter. He adopted some of the ideas former British Governors had already used in their argumentation in favour of the integration of natives into the Civil Service:

I say, it will be advantageous to government, because, the native, from the simplicity of his living will be satisfied with a salary adequate to his expenditure and, it would besides supersede the necessity of interpreters. I say it will be beneficial to the governed, because, when the natives find, that a door has been opened for promotion, they will not be de-

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23   Quoted from Mendis, Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, xlix.

24   Ibid.

25   The text is quoted from Munro without further information on the sources. "A Native", letter to the editor, Colombo Journal February 29, 1832, Colonial Office Records 59/1, Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

ficient in zeal to pursue the road to useful knowledge […] and the bond of attachment towards the Government will be strengthened.[26]

Apart from these statements which tried to paint the picture of a new society in Ceylon some of the letters were also very concrete in what kind of support they asked from the government to follow Colebrookes recommendations. Several letters arrived which were of a Kandyan providence. The Singhalese writers were thankful for the chance to make their needs known to a wider public and among other things presented suggestions for the improvement of the Kandyan Province - the mountainous part of Ceylon which had been the last to come under British influence - by establishing a new government school. One of the letters read:

Sir, – The Inhabitants of the Kandyan Country and particularly those who have acquired some knowledge of the English language have with great pleasure hailed the liberty which the Government has been pleased to extend towards the inhabitants of this Colony to speak their sentiments through the medium of your Journal and suggest measures for the improvement and prosperity of the Colony […] No less than 17-years have elapsed since the establishment of the British Government in the Kandyan Provinces but to the great misfortune of the Kandyans, no public institution has been yet established in Kandy by Government […] Education is justly considered one of the surest means of civilizing the inhabitants of any Country, of improving their morals and enlightening their minds, and until Government shall patronize an Institution for education the children of Kandyans, the amelioration of the People of the upper Country cannot be expected.[27]

These kinds of statements were countered by more restrictive letters which can be summarized by one remark made by "No Pedagogue" which was published on May 19, 1832. By arguing that 'we should be more anxious to teach many than to teach much'[28] he put into words a principle which many British Civil Servants would favour in the second half of the 19th Century.

A crucial role in the field of language policy was finally played by the missionaries who not only took part in the discussion but who also prevented the school system from becoming a purely English language institution. The principle of English medium classes was introduced to government schools but it was not possible for the British government to force mission schools to accept it. Since there were at this time no grants-in-aid, meaning that the government did in no way sponsor the missionary schools on a regular basis, they had no influence on the language policy adopted by this fast growing sector of the

26   "A Native", letter to the editor, Colombo Journal February 29, 1832, Colonial Office Records 59/1, Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

27   "W. G.", letter to the editor, Colombo Journal April 7, 1832, Colonial Office Records 59/1, Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

28   „No Pedagogue", letter to the editor, Colombo Journal May 19, 1832, Colonial Office Records 59/1, Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

Ceylonese school system. Altogether there were 325 missionary schools accounted for in 1841 only 21 of which taught in English. Another 15 favoured a bilingual approach. [29] The effort to win the missionaries over to English schooling failed and there was a revision of the politics of anglicisation beginning in the late 1830s, with the initiatives of Governor Steward Mackenzie who based his arguments in favour of vernacular education on financial factors as well as on new studies about the importance of schooling in the mother tongue. Nevertheless, the favourable approach towards English during the early British days in Ceylon had irreversible implications on its development. English became the key to social rise and prestige in general and to any kind of white colour job and political participation in particular. In addition to that a large proportion of the Burghers, the descendents of mixed marriages of members of former colonial powers and the native population adopted English as the language of their households so that it became their mother tongue only one or two generations later. [30] Altogether it can be said that during the first third of the century in some circles of the colonial government and certainly in Ceylon, English was believed to be capable of improving, assimilating and integrating the native population. English schooling was seen as part of a broader programme of civilization such as Charles Cameron, the second Commissioner of Inquiry for Ceylon, described it:

> *The peculiar circumstances of Ceylon, both physical and moral, seem to point it out to the British Government as the fittest spot in our Eastern dominions in which to plant the germ of European civilization whence we not unreasonably hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of those vast territories.* [31]

The situation in the Malay States presented itself in a very different way. The four states, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang were governed by the concept of indirect rule. A British resident was to advise the Sultan of each of the four states. As part of the agreement with the Malay Sultans the British government had accepted in the Pangkor Agreement of 1874 not to interfere with religious and traditional matters. The language policy was formed according to this concept. Statements of British administrators in the Protected Malay States such as the quotation used at the beginning of this paper show, however, that consideration for and tolerance of the Malay culture were not the main reasons for the reluctance to promote English medium education in the Malay States. The question is: How can we explain this change of mind that led the British government to retreat for the most part from its commitment to the spread of English which was promoted so fervently in other parts of the empire during the beginning of the 19th century?

29   Sumathipala, History of Education, 12.
30   M. Roberts/I. Raheem/P. Thomé, People Inbetween. The Burghers and the Middle Class in the Transformations within Sri Lanka, 1790–1960s, vol. 1, Ratmalana 1989, 56.
31   Mendis, The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, xxxvi-xxxvii.

Frank Swettenham like many of his colleagues referred to India when he explained why he was against too much English schooling and it is indeed India that more than any other colony and probably more than London itself influenced developments in the imperial language policy of the 19ᵗʰ century. About the importance of India in terms of ideas and currents in general Thomas Metcalf writes:

> *The British Raj in India did not of course exist by itself, or solely in its relationship to Great Britain as the metropolitan power. It participated as well in a larger network of relationships that defined the entire British Empire. Ideas and people flowed outward from India above all to East and South Africa and to Southeast Asia.*[32]

To get a better picture of the motives that led British officials in the Protected Malay States to promote practically orientated vernacular education instead of English medium education we have to look at the situation in India. Luckily the subject of language policy in India is rather well researched and I can content myself with referring to some of the results of this literature. Lynn Zastoupil remarks that the impression of finality created by Macaulay's famous minute of 1835 in favour of anglicisation has to be questioned. Macaulay, law member of the governor-general's council, had supported the view that 'a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia' and that it was the duty of the British to spread the English language in India.[33] A closer look at the policy implemented after 1839 leads Zastoupil to the conclusion that even at the high time of anglicism it was a compromise between English and vernacular education that was actually realised.[34] Other authors have collected a large number of statements promoting vernacular education in India from the 1840s showing a situation similar to that in Ceylon.

As mentioned above less than a decade after the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission had finished its work in the island of Ceylon a different set of opinions and ideas with regard to the education system started to prosper in the Crown Colony. Governor Steward Mackenzie wrote to the Colonial Office several times to ask permission from London to invest part of the education budget into the translation of English books into the local languages. A lack of suitable schoolbooks and other publications was the reason for his pleads. In his letters to the minister he referred to a statement of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Galle which read:

> *It has been held by some Gentlemen that the English language should be made the medium of communicating knowledge to the Singhalese and certainly could the Singhalese be taught that language. The whole evil connected with a want of books would be removed, but for very many years yet to come the ignorance of English will be the rule and the knowledge for it the exception, for the means of learning that language are not within*

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32   T. Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, Cambridge 1995, 215.

33   T. B. Macaulay, 'Minute recorded in the General Department, dated 2 February 1835', quoted from Moir / Zastoupil, Indian Education Debate, 165.

34   Moir / Zastoupil, Indian Education Debate, x.

their reach, and of the few who do learn a little the knowledge acquired is not in general such as to enable them to read English books with pleasure. It cannot be estimated that more than 1500 Singhalese children have the means of obtaining instruction in English, if therefore the blessings of education are to be communicated to the Singhalese, the native languages must be the medium.[35]

However, the responses he got were not of the kind to support his initiatives. Lord Russel was loyal to the ideas of anglicisation. He wrote:

I adhere to the opinion […] that it would be unnecessary for the Government to direct its attention and to devote the funds available for education to instruction in the native languages – that the preferable plan would be to encourage the acquirement of the English language by conveying instruction in that language, to the scholars both male and female, in all schools conducted by government.[36]

Although Mackenzie was not successful in convincing the Colonial Office of his plans, his ideas were taken up again during the 1840s and without actively searching for a consent with the London authorities more and more Singhalese and Tamil medium schools were founded or in case of a missionary schools funded by the British government in Ceylon. The following graph (p. 44) shows the development of the implementation process in Ceylon:

It seems that by the middle of the nineteenth century vernacular education had taken the upper hand in both Ceylon and India. The main reason for this change of mind was of a pragmatic nature. The filtration theory designed by Macaulay was simply not feasible and too expensive. In addition the results of English medium education where it took place were in many cases unsatisfactory. Complex contents of the different subjects were often taught without a good foundation in the foreign tongue, a teaching method that led to confusion and little transfer of knowledge.[37] The 1854 Despatch in a number of ways articulated a position on language policy that had already become the standard view in India. A passage of it reads:

We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population […] It is indispensable, therefore, that, in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people – whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a higher order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the dif-

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35 Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Galle, dated August 5, 1840, in: Governor Mackenzie to the Lord Russel, Galle, August 10, 1840, Colonial Office Records 54/181, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

36 Lord Russel to Governor Mackenzie, London, December 20, 1840, Colonial Office Records 55/81, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

37 A. Pennycook, English and the Discourses of Colonialism, London/N. Y. 1998, 81-82.

ficulties of a foreign language – can only be conveyed to them through one or other of those vernacular languages.[38]
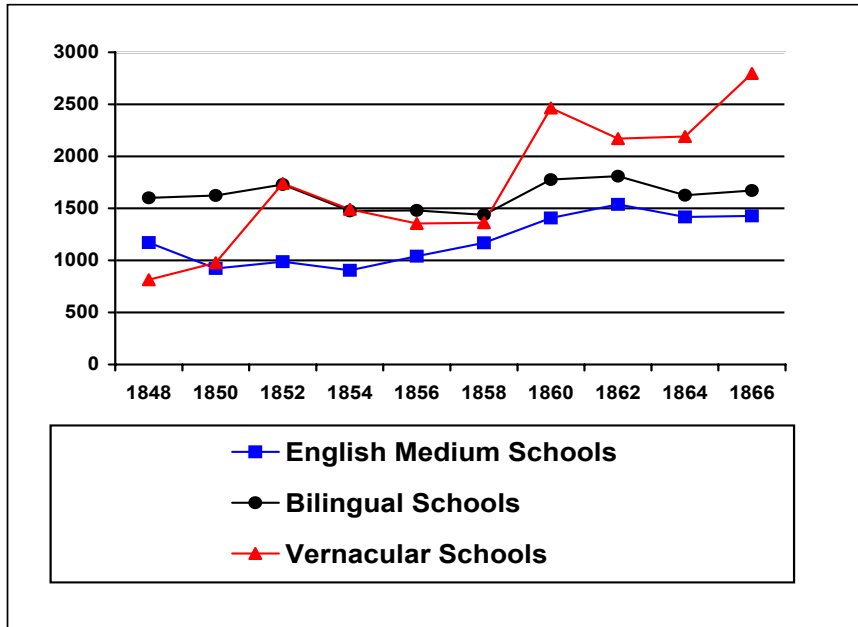
Graph: Number of Pupils according to the Language of Instruction, 1848–1867[39]

English, of course, did not vanish from the education system on the subcontinent. It remained necessary 'for those who desired to obtain a liberal education to begin by the mastery of the English language as a key to the literature of Europe.'[40] In short, it was and in many cases still is the language of higher education in India. A similar compromise was reached by the Morgan Commission in Ceylon in the 1860s. From this time onwards a policy of strengthening the primary school system working in the local languages became officially accepted. English medium schools financed by government were supposed to be the exception rather than the rule. The Commission based its recommendations on the results of questionnaires once again sent around the island but this time addressing a more representative group than at the time of Colebrooke and Cameron. It is also inter-

38   Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council, No. 49, dated 19 July 1854, quoted from Pennycook, Discourses of Colonialism, 88-89.
39   The numbers of male and female students were added for this graph. Institutions of Higher Education were integrated into the category of English medium schools because their language of instruction was English. The numbers are based on an overview with regard to the development of schools in Ceylon from 1848 to 1867. 25th Report of the Central School Commission for the Instruction of the Population of Ceylon 1867-1868, p. 50, Colonial Office Records 54/442, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).
40   Ibid., 89.

esting to see that the Morgan Commission strongly considered the solutions presented by the British government in India. They especially referred to a statement by the Chief Secretary of Government in India, Arbuthnot, who before acquiring that position had served as Director of Education in Madras. He had remarked:

> That the English Language is confessedly a very difficult one for foreigners, and that it is only after long and laborious practice in speaking, reading and writing it, that any thing like a ready command of it is to be acquired. It is also in every respect most alien, in regard to form and construction, to the languages of India; and, notwithstanding the remarkable facility which the Natives of this country evince in the acquisition of languages, it is well known that comparatively few of the most advanced native scholars acquire that readiness and accuracy in speaking or writing the English language of Europe. It is one thing to acquire such a smattering of English as is very commonly possessed by domestic servants, and many of the subordinates in the public offices in this Presidency. It is another thing to acquire such a command of the language as shall qualify the student to receive with facility and in an intelligent manner, instruction imparted through its medium.[41]

These arguments were without a doubt also known by the British civil servants who worked in the Straits Settlements at the time ruled over by the East India Company. Personal and professional links between the British civil servants in the two colonies were kept tight even once the Straits Settlements became a Crown Colony. And because of the proximity and the administrative links between these areas of the British Empire and the Malay Peninsula as a whole these views spread in the Protected Malay States soon after they had come under British influence.

There is, however, something else that can be felt when reading Swettenham's explanation more carefully. It is not so much a disillusion with reference to the feasibility of anglicisation; it is a certain dismay concerning the outcome of English schooling in India. In the 1860s and 1870s we find more and more statements particularly in India which refer to an 'evil tendency which has shewn itself more especially in the immediate vicinity of the Presidency Towns to substitute a study of the English language in place of the acquisition of general knowledge through the vernacular,'[42] a tendency that spread because of the need to learn English in order to become clerks, copyists, salesmen or to get any other white colour job. Similar statements concentrate on the responsibility of the government which was no longer capable of providing as many jobs as would have been required to content all English educated applicants. Griffin, the Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, wrote in this context: There is the danger that such people, 'becoming unfit for their own natural and hereditary professions, remain

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41   Report of a Sub-Committee to the Legislative Council Ceylon, Colonial Office Records 54/432, National Archives of the United Kingdom (Public Record Office).

42   A. M. Montreath, Under Secretary to the Government of India, 'Note on the State of Education in India', dated 1862, quoted from Pennycook, Discourses of Colonialism, 90.

discontented and disloyal members of the community'[43]. It was this argument that was echoed by the British civil servants in Malaya and many other colonies.

The result was that a policy of vernacular education gained the upper hand in most parts of the British Empire and certainly in the Protected Malay States. Apart from rare cases of government English medium schools English education was left to the missions. Again the American missions were especially active in this field.[44] Contacts between the government and the mission were generally friendly as can be seen from the British reports and the memories of American missionaries.[45] The British were especially impressed with the mission's work in female education, a field which although approached by government schools was more successfully provided for by the missionaries.[46] The American Methodist Mission went so far as to provide carriages, rickshaws and bullock carts to take girls to school who would otherwise not have been granted permission by their worried parents.[47] Besides the American Mission there were also British Protestant as well as some French Catholic missionaries who made use of the lack of public English schooling to attract more pupils. They very often opted for a compromise offering most of their schooling in the mother tongue of their pupils but also established English medium schools. Together the missions offered most of the English education in the Protected and later in the Federated Malay States.[48] They were, however, as a consequence of the agreement mentioned above banished from the rural areas. Their schools were concentrated in the towns where the greatest demand came from the Chinese and the Indian communities.[49] Apart from the demographical disadvantage of the Malays who mainly lived in the rural parts of the states the strong tradition of Islam in the Malay community resulted even in the towns in a greater reluctance to enter Christian schools.[50] In view

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43   Government of India, vol. 2 of 'Selections from Educational Records of the Government of India, Development of University Education, 1860-1887', Delhi: National Archives of India, 1963, 202-203, quoted from Pennycook, Discourses of Colonialism, 91.

44   J. W. Roxborough, A Short Introduction to Malaysian Church History, Kuala Lumpur 1987, 8. Chinese did play a role as the medium of instruction in the beginning of the mission's work but was soon replaced by English. D. F. Cooke, Some Aspects of the History of the Mission Schools of Malaya (with Special Reference to the Development of the Grants-In-Aid System) (master's thesis, University of London 1963), 154. Apart from teaching in English the Americans put a great emphasis on teaching the language itself. Oral reports, the performing of simple plays and the telling of short stories to improve oral skills were part of these lessons as well as the study of literature and written assignments. H. H. Peterson, The Development of English Education in British Malaya' (master's thesis, University of Denver 1942) 112-113.

45   For example Annual Report, Federated Malay States 1901, 20, National Archives of Singapore and Reverend Peach: Recollections of Malaya, Royal Commonwealth Society, British Association of Malaya IV/26 1963, 10, Cambridge University Library.

46   Annual Report on Selangor 1900, 57-58, National Archives of Singapore.

47   K. Watson, The Contribution of Mission Schools to Educational Development in South East Asia, in: Education in the Third World, ed. J. K. P. Watson, Worcester 1982, 79.

48   Ibid., 77-79; Roxborough, Malaysian Church History, 8.

49   Statistics for school attendance for the whole of the Federated States were published in the Annual Reports on Education for the Federated Malay States, starting in 1920. Earlier reports also note the difference in attendance, such as the Annual Report on Perak 1901, 36, National Archives of Singapore. Because the greater number of students was of Chinese origin some of the Mission's schools were also called Anglo-Chinese Schools. Cooke, History of Mission Schools, 153-154.

50   Watson, Mission Schools, 85.

of the spread of English this policy had severe consequences. Except for some Malays of aristocratic descent who received English classes provided for by the British government, the mass of the Malays was left in ignorance of the colonial language and excluded from the advantages related to its acquisition. In the Protected Malay States of the 19th century anglicisation was not wanted by most of the British civil servants and in consequence only supported by the government on a very small scale; where it did take place it often strengthened inequality between the different classes of society as well as between the different ethnicities.

In response to the question asked at the beginning of the article I must start by saying that easy answers cannot be provided because of the lack of a coherent language policy in the 19th century. What we can gather from the case of early British rule in Ceylon and parallel currents and practices in India, however, is the fact that the state's commitment to English was important for the spread of the language in these areas. The potential that British colonial administrators attributed to English as the medium of "improvement" and civilization on the one hand and the way to a cheap local work force for the lower levels of the public and private sector on the other hand, convinced the colonial government to further and promote anglicisation and to invest in it. The irreversibility of this development can be seen in Ceylon where local demand was increased by the experience of social and professional success based on English schooling and remained high once public English medium schools were no longer easily available after a reform in 1869. It is also obvious that English started very early on to conquer the public spaces in Ceylon thereby becoming the one and only common instrument of communication for Singhalese and Tamil elites. The role it played made it extremely difficult to replace after independence, a process which led to harsh controversies and which played a role in the upcoming civil war. In Malaya Malay had always kept certain functions even after having been replaced by English as the language of political affairs and administration in the Federated Malay States after federation. And even though the imposition of Malay as the national language after independence was seriously criticized by the immigrant societies in Malaya and created a lot of tension it was successful in the end.[51]

What is interesting though is the fact that although the policy of anglicisation within the state funded school system was much more restrictive in the Protected Malay States the proportion of English speaking inhabitants in this area did not differ enormously from the proportion of English speaking Ceylonese by the time the two colonies became independent.[52] In this outcome and more generally in the great success of English today as

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51   Some compromises were necessary such as the acceptance of English as an equal counterpart to Malay for the first ten years after independence. M. Frey, Drei Wege zur Unabhängigkeit. Die Dekolonisierung in Indochina, Indonesien und Malaya nach 1945, Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte 50 (2002), 428.

52   In Ceylon about 6 per cent were literate in English at the time of decolonisation. J. E. Jayasuriya, Education Policies and Progress during British Rule in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) 1796–1948, Colombo 1971, 541; It is very difficult to find information on the percentage of English speakers in the former Federated Malay States. Figures for the enrolment of children in English schools hint to a similar situation as the one in Ceylon. Loh Fook Seng, Seeds of Separatism, Educational Policy in Malaya 1874–1940, Kuala Lumpur 1975, 106-107.

a world language other aspects of British colonialism such as the status of English as the language of the administration, the role it played in the business sector, in institutions of political participation and in the press, local agency and demand for it or finally its prestige in general probably had a bigger share than imperial language policy with regard to the education system ever had.

Between Admiration and Transformation: Paths of Western Education into Early 20ᵗʰ Century China

Barbara Schulte

RESÜMEE

Die gegenwärtige Forschung zu Bildungstransfer beschäftigt sich zunehmend mit der Rolle von lokalen Akteuren in Transferprozessen und der damit verbundenen Wandelbarkeit von Bildungsmodellen und -konzepten. Der vorliegende Beitrag beleuchtet Akteure und Objekte von Bildungstransfer im China des ausgehenden 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts, als China in wachsendem Maße als Teil einer Weltgesellschaft gedacht wurde. Nach einem Überblick über die unterschiedlichen chinesischen Rezeptionsphasen jener Zeit wendet sich der Beitrag der Frage zu, mit welchen semantischen Ressourcen chinesische Bildungsakteure agieren konnten und welche Rolle dabei vermittelnde Instanzen wie Übersetzungen oder „dritte" Länder wie Japan spielten. Abschließend werden diese Phänomene unter Rückgriff auf theoretische Zugänge zu Rezeption und Aneignung konzeptualisiert.

Current research on 'educational borrowing' has not only led to a growing awareness of local agency but has also revealed the flexibility of educational models and concepts and their in-built capacity for change.[1] It took comparative educationists some time to acknowledge that attempts to copy educational models were futile endeavours, even if copying was the original intention of the actors involved. Earlier studies on educational transfer were still based on the assumption that models could be transplanted from one context to another, interpreting unexpected results as deviations, deformations, or even failures. Since transfer in education was closely linked to educational policy making, unintended outcomes were seen as resulting from insufficient policy design or lax implementation procedures. As Gita Steiner-Khamsi critically remarks in her study on edu-

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1   See e.g. the inspiring volume The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending, ed. G. Steiner-Khamsi, New York 2004.

cational vouchers in Mongolia, 'the remedy would be to improve the design of policy;' processes of local reinterpretation and adaptation were largely ignored.[2]

More recent research on the emergence of an educational 'world culture' admits that many transfer processes do not lead to sameness but create 'differences'. However, according to this neo-institutionalist approach, these differences are seen as 'variation in local educational practices'[3] rather than representing new cultural forms in their own right. While Francisco O. Ramirez does use the term 'creolisation'[4] to describe the processes at the local level, it is worth asking what is meant by the term. In practice, many researchers who argue along the 'world culture' line treat creoles as variations of underlying commonalities. Thus, the outcome of educational transfer is simply regarded as the original model in some kind of 'cultural disguise'. However, 'creolisation' can be used more radically, as Ulf Hannerz and others have shown convincingly.[5] This more radical usage reveals the transformative power of transfer or interaction. It means that the act of perceiving, selecting, and transferring a model occurs in a setting that not merely influences but transforms and thus recreates both the agents and objects of transfer. Furthermore, these agents and objects, even at the beginning of the transfer process under study, represent by no means unified, homogeneous cultural wholes but have themselves to be seen as the outcomes of previous processes of educational, or more broadly, cultural transfer.

In this contribution, I will look at these agents and objects of educational transfer in the virtual space of 'China and the world', which began to emerge among Chinese elites towards the end of the 19th century. The contribution will trace the paths that 'Western' educational ideas and models followed on their way into China in the early 20th century.[6] It will be shown that educational borrowing took place both through individual actors and against the background of these actors' collective experiences, which were fed by 'traditional' world views as well as by the will to move their country into 'modernity'.

Both 'tradition' and 'modernity' were already highly hybrid concepts at the time. Tradition is understood here as the institutionalised (and repeatedly reconstructed) Confucian tradition, which in Chinese is also called the 'great tradition' (*da chuantong*) and is differentiated from the 'small tradition' (*xiao chuantong*), which encompasses the everyday lives of the non-elite population and is also shaped by Daoism and Buddhism. By modernity, I mean a largely imported modernity coined by Western ideas. This, however, does not preclude the existence or emergence of a Chinese modernity in the sense

2   G. Steiner-Khamsi, Vouchers for Teacher Education (Non) Reform in Mongolia: Transitional, Postsocialist, or Anti-socialist Explanations?, in: Comparative Education Review 49 (2005) 2, 149.

3   F. O. Ramirez, Toward a Cultural Anthropology of the World?, in: Local Meanings, Global Schooling, ed. K. M. Anderson-Levitt, New York 2003, 239–254, here 247.

4   Ibid.

5   See e.g. U. Hannerz, Kokoschka's Return: or, the Social Organization of Creolization, in Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places, ed. Ulf Hannerz, London 1996, 65–78.

6   In this article, the 'West' depicts less a geographic entity than a Chinese category of perception. In the 19th and 20th centuries, these were mainly Germany, England, France, Russia/the Soviet Union, the USA, and, to a lesser extent, the Latin American countries. At a later stage, these were complemented by Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, the 'West' and 'Western' are largely to be read with quotation marks.

of Shmuel Eisenstadt's idea of multiple modernities. There were contesting visions of modernity, as much as there was no one 'genuine' tradition on which Chinese intellectuals could draw. Rather, in China – as in the rest of the world – 'modernity' and 'tradition' were open to interpretation and negotiation. There were no clear-cut boundaries: modernisers could be eclectically traditional, while traditionalists could be surprisingly modern. By highlighting specific Chinese reformers and educators, I will depict how these actors responded to and shaped the modernisation processes in China, how they mediated between local traditions and globally circulating ideas, and how they eventually transformed and appropriated these ideas within what they perceived as the Chinese context.

Transferring educational knowledge is a complex process. (By educational knowledge, I mean educational concepts and programmes as well as institutionalised knowledge, such as organisational models of modern education systems.) Not only is the background against which transfer occurs important for our understanding of the process, but also the language – or rather, the change of language – is a crucial issue when analysing transfer processes. How does 'imported' educational knowledge find its way into the new context, and how is it understood in its new environment? And what happens to this knowledge if it, on its long journey from the West to China, takes a detour in Japan? I will therefore progress in three steps. First, I will present, at a very general level, the various phases that Chinese intellectuals and reformers went through when adopting foreign knowledge. Second, I will shed light on the different perspectives of adoption: the semantic breeding-ground for new knowledge in the China of the late 19th and early 20th centuries on which the Chinese actors performed in various ways and with sometimes divergent interests;[7] the changes in the vocabulary that hint at conceptual shifts when dealing with foreign knowledge; the role of translations, important paths of knowledge transmission, that can draw attention to interferences, transformations, and processes of appropriation taking place between language of origin and host language; and the crucial position of Japan as a mediator between China and the West. Third, in a short conclusion, I will approach the described phenomena from a more theoretical perspective by regarding them as instances of externalisation – gaining supplementary meaning by referring to external points of reference.[8]

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7   The category 'reformers' should be understood in a broad sense. While traditional estate hierarchies became increasingly fuzzy towards the end of the 19th century, a new group emerged that was willing to modernise and to reform the country. Paula Harrell calls this group 'gentry-merchant-reformers': "… this was a new social elite, still prizing rank and privilege within the traditional power structure, yet actively engaged in the modernizing sector as well, and possessing a political independence born of economic self-sufficiency and a mastery of new skills and information." See P. Harrell, Sowing the Seeds of Change. Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895–1905, Stanford 1992, 3.

8   For a detailed elaboration of the concept of externalisation, see J. Schriewer, The Method of Comparison and the Need for Externalization: Methodological Criteria and Sociological Concepts, in Theories and Methods in Comparative Education, ed. J. Schriewer / B. Holmes, Komparatistische Bibliothek, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1990, 25–86.

The Chinese Encounter with Foreign Knowledge

The opium wars and the forced opening of China in the 19th century are often associated with China's previous isolation from the rest of the world, which was only occasionally interrupted by China's relations to her tributary states. This isolation is thought to have ended abruptly and painfully through the advent of the West. However, as Tu Wei-ming has pointed out, this view of the 'Middle Kingdom' neglects all the repeated crises and anxieties which the country had gone through historically and were subsumed under the telling phrase wang tianxia, the 'demise of China' (literally: 'demise of the country beneath heaven').[9] The Chinese experiences with foreign rule enforced this perception of crisis, such as during the last imperial dynasty, the Manchurian Qing dynasty, but also, and certainly more brutally, under the Mongols in the 13th and 14th centuries. Nevertheless, the encounter with the West from the second half of the 19th century onwards was novel in a particular sense. Suddenly, Chinese elites were confronted with alternative concepts of the world that profoundly questioned their own concepts or even replaced (parts of) them. This took place at a much higher speed than, for example, the import of Buddhism in the preceding centuries. The abolishment of the examination system in 1905 reveals how fundamental the conceptual changes of the time must have been. The examination system, which had been in place for centuries and had determined both education and the foundation of the Chinese state, was replaced by educational systems that drew their inspiration from Japan and the West.[10]

The adoption of the new in confrontation with the West took place in different phases, each displaying its own characteristics. I will give a brief overview over this development, drawing, firstly, on Marianne Bastid's analysis of how Chinese elites adopted foreign educational ideas and practices, and secondly, on how an actor of that time, the famous reformer Liang Qichao (1873–1929), characterised these phases.[11] In the first fifty years following the first opium war (1839–1842), the political actors in China were mainly interested in importing technological and military knowledge from the West. In doing so, they were following a practice that was already observable in the 17th century when dealing with the Jesuits: they sharply distinguished between knowledge in the natural

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9   Cf. Tu Wei-ming, The Enlightenment Mentality and the Chinese Intellectual Dilemma, in Perspectives on Modern China: Four Anniversaries, ed. K. Lieberthal et al., New York / London 1991, 103–118. On the relations between China and the West prior to the opium wars, see also D. E. Mungello, The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800, Lanham etc. 1999.

10   On the decline of the Chinese examination system, see the seminal work by W. Franke, The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System, Cambridge, Mass. 1960; on the examination system as social practice and mechanism of ideological reproduction, see the excellent study by I. D. Man-Cheong, The Class of 1761: Examinations, State, and Elites in Eighteenth-Century China, Stanford 2004.

11   M. Bastid, Servitude or Liberation? The Introduction of Foreign Educational Practices and Systems to China from 1840 to the Present, in: China's Education and the Industrialized World. Studies in Cultural Transfer, ed. R. Hayhoe / M. Bastid, Armonk / New York 1987, 3–20; Liang Qichao, A Broad Discussion of China's Evolution in the Last Fifty Years [Wushi nian Zhongguo jinhua gailun], originally published in February 1923. The article can be found in Liang Qichao, Collected Works from the Studio of the Ice Drinker [Yinbing shi heji], vol. 5, article collection 2, Beijing 1989 [1936]), 39–48. I am grateful to Xiaoqing Xu for drawing my attention to this article.

sciences and in technology, on the one hand, and, on the other, the concomitant doctrines of religion and ideology. This culminated in the famous maxim as coined by the reformer Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909), 'Chinese essence and Western functions' (in short: Zhongti Xiyong): certain elements which were thought to be useful should be selected and adopted, while the socio-cultural context where these elements originated was rejected or at best ignored.

Although the focus in this period was on Western (military) technology, the overwhelming presence of the Western world in China produced a shock nonetheless. Even in this first phase, more changes occurred than just the introduction of a few new technologies. At least beneath the surface, Chinese elites had to admit that the Western 'barbarians' did not only possess superior military technologies, but that they also embodied an alternative and competing vision of 'civilisation'. Therefore, the motto 'Chinese essence, Western functions' did not just express the Chinese consciousness of being culturally and spiritually superior; it served also as a shield against these alternative representations of the world. There was the constant fear of losing supremacy in terms of civilisational achievement, as can be illustrated by the following event reported by Liang Qichao:

> *I remember that in the second year of the Guangxu Period [1876; BS], there was a diplomat with the name Guo Songtao serving in England. He kept a travel diary, in which there was a paragraph which read roughly as follows: 'The barbarians today are not the same as in earlier times, they also have a civilisation that is more than two-thousand years old.' Goodness gracious, when this book arrived in Beijing, it aroused the fury of the imperial officials, every day they presented complaints to the throne, until finally the printing plates were destroyed, and only then was it all settled.*[12]

The strategies to implant Western knowledge into Chinese minds were threefold: firstly, new school subjects (mainly the natural sciences) were introduced. Secondly, special 'modern' institutions were established to transmit Western knowledge. However, these institutions did not replace the already existing schools, and at least initially, the graduates of these modern schools were denied access to elite networks and thereby to important political posts. Thirdly, and importantly, Chinese students were sent abroad – mainly to the United States, to England, France, and Germany (and later on to Japan). These overseas programmes constituted crucial steps towards the systematic adoption of foreign knowledge, and they were widely propagated by the reformers. According to Zhang Zhidong, one year of overseas study was equivalent to five years of studying Western books or to three years of study within China.[13] As with the graduates from modern schools within China, the Chinese graduates from abroad had some difficulties with integrating themselves into the local Chinese networks upon their return. To leave

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12   Liang, A Broad Discussion, 43.
13   Zhang Zhidong, Overseas Study, Second Part [Youxue di er], in Zhang, Encouragement to Study [Quanxue pian], part 2 (Waipian), ed. Xie Junmei, with critical comments by Li Zhongxing, Zhengzhou 1998 [1895]), 116–119, here 116.

the country often meant to leave those circles that paved the way towards prestigious administrative or political posts.[14] However, there is reason to assume that international mobility did not cut ties with the homeland for a long time. Actors who were educated along Western standards soon succeeded in building up their own social networks.[15]

According to Liang, in 1895, when the Chinese army was defeated by the Japanese troops, a second phase began. In this phase, administrative reforms were launched that were inspired by the West and were not only to transform the political system but also the foundations of economy, law, and education. In the educational sector, we can see the beginning of this phase with the establishment of the *Jingshi Daxuetang* in 1898, the predecessor of Beijing University and the first Chinese university to be modelled after Western standards. In regards to modern technical sciences and engineering, Shanghai was even earlier: in 1896, Sheng Xuanhuai (1844–1916), entrepreneur, pedagogue, and political consultant, founded *Nanyang College*, which became an important location for internationally mobile modernisers and reformers, and which was later to become the famous Jiaotong University.

According to Marianne Bastid, entire systems of education were 'imported' from abroad and put into operation during this second phase. Education thereupon was considered the foundation of a strong nation and as prerequisite for the nation's survival. Thus, the function of education was seen in much more dramatic terms. While already the above-mentioned reformer Zhang Zhidong remarked that 'knowledge alone can save us from destruction, and education is the means to secure knowledge,'[16] reformers were now much more willing to discard Chinese knowledge altogether in favour of Western science. In their quest for suitable educational models, they were guided more by political than by pedagogical considerations: if there was a country that was particularly admired or particularly feared, the educational system of this country would be examined and 'copied'. At the beginning of the 20th century, this was the Japanese education system, which exerted an immense influence until the 1920s. Then, following calls for more democracy and liberalisation, the US-American system was adopted, which was partially due to the effects of the May Fourth Movement. In this patriotic-revolutionary movement, students and intellectuals not only protested against the loss of national sovereignty, but also advocated a 'new culture' that rejected the Confucian tradition and that should be accessible for everyone both in terms of ideology and language. However, traditionalists were sceptical and mistrusted this new import of educational ideals. To them, these ideals looked too individualistic and too far away from the needs of society.

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14   On this topic, see e.g. J. W. Sacca, Like Strangers in a Foreign Land: Chinese Officers Prepared at American Military Colleges, 1904–1937, in: The Journal of Military History 70 (July 2006), 703–742.

15   See N. Vittinghoff, Social Actors in the Field of New Learning in Nineteenth Century China, in: Mapping Meanings. The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China, ed. M. Lackner / N. Vittinghoff, Leiden 2004, 75–118.

16   Y. C. Wang, Intellectuals and Society in China 1860–1949, in: Comparative Studies in Society and History 3 (1961) 4, 395–426, here 396.

They could not see how these ideas could be integrated into the traditional alliance between education and politics.[17]

According to Liang's (probably exaggerated) characterisation of this second phase, the reformers of the time – including himself – were trained well in the classics, but did not know a single non-Chinese word:

> They [the reformers; BS] could not tell the people: 'What is this foreign knowledge, how can we get it,' they could only appeal to them every day: 'The old things are not enough, the many good things of the foreigners should be studied.'[18]

While from Liang's point of view reforms at the political level completely failed, in the educational sector the reformers achieved some results by abolishing the examination system, designing a Western-oriented educational system, and establishing new schools and universities.

With the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Chinese society experienced profound transformations that went beyond the changes of the previous period. This is why Liang Qichao sees the May Fourth Movement as the beginning of the third phase – in contrast to Marianne Bastid, who lets this third phase commence a few years later. Liang's view can be supported by looking at the main actors of the time, whose constellation changed radically with the May Fourth Movement. Actors began to perform outside the spheres of direct political intervention and thus constituted and shaped a newly emerging, modern public: many modernisers became active in public education and in the media. Among them there were many who demanded a complete westernisation; Zhang Zhidong's maxim of the 19ᵗʰ century, 'Chinese essence, Western functions', was turned into a call for 'Western essence and Western functions'. These more radical demands were fuelled by the overt disappointment of many intellectuals: in their view, after the revolution of 1911 when the imperial dynasty was replaced by the Republic, most changes were not only extremely slow but also exceedingly superficial. As Liang complains, 'if you take the old psychology and wish to establish a new system on top of it, then this will not work, you have to gradually shake awake the whole character.'[19]

The diversification of actors, of modes of adoption, and of the corresponding arenas for discussion and implementation was typical of this third phase. For the educational arena, this is particularly true in the second half of the 1920s. During this time, we can find occasional copies of foreign ideas and models, but no more attempts at wholesale take-overs as was the case when the Japanese and the American system were adopted. Politicians and educators were no more subject to ready-made blueprints but felt free to experiment with different ideas. Therefore, this phase can be seen as the most creative

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17   This was despite the fact that in American pedagogy the service to society enjoyed great attention. For instance, the child in the conceptions of John Dewey, who was widely heard and read in China, is an individual tightly integrated into society; see e.g. A. Ryan, Deweyan Pragmatism and American Education, in: Philosophers on Education. Historical Perspectives, ed. A. Oksenberg Rorty, London / New York 1998, 394–410.

18   Liang, A Broad Discussion, 44.

19   Ibid., 45.

time of adoption and adaptation, whereas critics blame this period for its chaos and lack of principles, more or less for the same reasons.[20] Certainly, social unrest – caused by a starving population and by the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists – as well as the external threat by Japan restricted the range and the ways how new ideas could be implemented. But at the same time, many Chinese intellectuals showed an increased patriotism and were fervently engaged in founding public schools, vocational schools, colleges, and universities. These new institutions were again influential for the further development of Chinese education.[21]

The Semantic Breeding Ground for New Knowledge

How were the actors able to process all the new ideas, concepts, and theories that virtually flooded China at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century? As is the case with any kind of semantic processing, the actors – decision-makers in (educational) politics and economy as well as those representing a broader public, such as journalists, writers, teachers, and students – did not establish completely novel categories of perceiving and understanding the world. Rather, while encountering the new, they drew first on existing, often 'traditional' concepts and gradually expanded them. This turned out to be an effective and highly flexible strategy to adopt and categorise the new without discarding the old altogether. Ideas and things that seemed rather new at first glance could thus be interpreted within a logical framework that was grounded in socio-cultural context. In what follows, I will present some examples to illustrate this strategy.

Many intellectuals experienced the second half of the 19th century as a chain of catastrophes and a period of humiliation and shame. How could they explain the rapid changes that they were witnessing? Which strategies did they choose to push through their own understanding of change? A prevalent figure of thought that reappeared again and again after the opium wars was the assumption that inner chaos leads to outer catastrophes (*nei luan wai huan*). The logics of this assumption can be traced back to the Confucian classic of *The Great Learning* (Daxue), which had been written at around 500 BC.[22] According to this text, the country and the world can only be in order if every member – state, family, individual – had been self-cultivated. This logic was at this time reactivated: particular groups or constellations, such as the government, but also certain structural or institutional arrangements, could be made responsible for the obvious outer 'disorder'. For example, reformers like Zuo Zongtang (1812–1885), Shen Baozhen (1820–1879),

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20 E.g. Wu Junsheng, Chinese Education Needs a Kind of Philosophy [Zhongguo jiaoyu xuyao yi zhong zhexue], in: Wu Junsheng, Essays on Education and Culture: A Selection [Jiaoyu yu Wenhua Lunwen Xuanji], Taibei 1972, 45–54, originally published on November 5, 1934, in the educational supplement to the newspaper Dagong-bao. I am grateful to Meiyao Wu for this reference.

21 See also R. Hayhoe, China's Universities, 1895–1995. A Century of Cultural Conflict, New York 1996.

22 See Daxue [The Great Learning] in: Wing-tsit Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, Princeton 1963, 86–87.

and Ding Richang (1823–1882) used this thought figure to argue for 'ordering' measures like a more careful selection of government staff or a restructuring of the government, but also for a stronger emphasis on commerce, technology, or military.[23] Later reformers like Zhang Jian (1853–1926), Zheng Guanying (1842–1922), and the educators Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940) und Huang Yanpei (1878–1965) extended this argument to the educational sector and linked it with calls for vocational and mass education. Many of these reformers regarded themselves as good Confucians since they could draw on traditional arguments to put forward their reform agenda.

Morally, the reformers used the term 'shame' (*chi*) to express their feelings about China's inferiority vis-à-vis the West and about the humiliating failure of an entire nation.[24] 'Shame', just like the concept of 'inner chaos', sought the reasons for China's break-down not only in the foreign aggression but also in domestic patterns of behaviour and weaknesses – identified mainly as the population's low level of education and the country's military and economic instability. At the same time, the traditional concept of 'shame' implied change: change through 'regeneration' (*zizhen*) and 'self-strengthening' (*ziqiang*) both of the individual and of the whole nation. These processes already inherent in the concept of 'shame' provided the ground for the 'self-strengthening movement', which sought to put China at eye-level with the other nations. Thus, 'shame' and 'humiliation' served as instruments of national mobilisation.[25]

However, the attitude of many Chinese modernisers towards 'tradition' – particularly those of the closing 19th and beginning 20th century – was highly ambivalent. While many traditional thought figures might have helped to understand and tackle acute problems, the tradition as such was also an object of ardent attack, if not hatred. How did this two-fold approach towards 'tradition' take place, and how can we explain the underlying ambivalences?

The most severe attacks on the Chinese tradition by modernisers and reformers were linked to the question of practical use: of what use was a tradition that ignored, in the eyes of these reformers, the practical needs of the major part of the population? How legitimate were studies that were exceedingly concerned with moral and aesthetical issues? How helpful was the Confucian ignorance of, neglect of, or even contempt for the natural sciences and technology, economy and business, and any for-profit activities? This 'tradition', criticised as too detached from 'reality', was often held responsible for China's stagnation in economic, technological, and military terms, and for its assumed inferiority regarding the West. At the same time, however, a Chinese tradition from the

23   See D. Pong, The Vocabulary of Change: Reformist Ideas of the 1860s and 1870s, in: Ideal and Reality. Social and Political Change in Modern China 1860–1949, ed. D. Pong / E. S. K. Fung, Lanham 1985, 25–61.

24   Ibid., 31 ff.

25   Even today, 'shame' and 'humiliation' enjoy high popularity when patriotic sentiments are in need. They can be part of a virtual 'shame' celebration which becomes evident in a number of recent book titles. William A. Callahan remembers how a Chinese colleague of his quoted from an Atlas of Shame (the correct title of which turned out to be Atlas of the Century of National Humiliation in Modern China); see W. A. Callahan, National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism, in: Alternatives: Global, Local, Political 29 (2004) 1, 199–218.

17th century, the so-called 'concrete studies' (*shixue*), provided the actors with a highly useful, alternative concept. Within this strand of tradition, emphasis was placed on 'practical use'. This practical outlook on the world was to help statesmen and elites to settle worldly matters pragmatically (*jingshi zhiyong*), and it was based on the assumption that any kind of knowledge should be useful for the community or the country (or, later on, the nation, to use this 19th century term). While the 'wise man' (*shengren*) had long been conceptualised as lending his ear to the people,[26] it was through this newly activated concept that elites and intellectuals could reconstruct themselves as being responsible *and* useful for society by judging things from the perspective of their 'usefulness'.

Various reformers of the 19th century fell back on this concept of jingshi zhiyong and enlarged it by an additional dimension: a stronger orientation towards the outside by 'opening one's eyes and seeing the world.'[27] Accordingly, detailed descriptions of the non-Chinese, mostly Western world were published during this time, either as original works by Chinese authors or as translations from other languages. Two of the most known of these works are the *Gazetteer of the Four Continents* (*Si Zhou Zhi*), published in 1839 by the imperial minister Lin Zexu (1785–1850), and the *llustrated Gazetteer of the Countries Overseas* (*Hai Guo Tu Zhi*), which was published a few years later by the reformer Wei Yuan (1794–1857) and consisted of initially fifty and eventually one hundred volumes.

This orientation towards regions outside China, alongside of the idea of 'practical use' (*yong*), made reform-minded intellectuals aware of inherent problems of the educational and economical systems – and of their intimate relationship with each other. In a communiqué issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1864, the reformer Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) stated that 'what is needed is not studied, and what is studied is not needed.'[28] This phrase, which was reiterated numerous times by various reformers in the decades to follow, linked the idea of practical use to the problem of human resources, and to the potential exploitation of these resources through education. The relationship between the individual and the entire whole – country, culture, or nation – underwent a critical revision. While in the Confucian sense, it was above all the moral perfection of, first, the individual, then of the family and finally of the community which secured the order for Man and Heaven,[29] this logical chain was revaluated, from a moral point

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26   This is already evident in the Chinese character of sheng, which contains the characters for 'ear' and 'mouth'.

27   See Wu Zukun, Variations on Topics of Modern Patriotism: Saving the Home Country, Learning from the West, and the Movement of Overseas Students [Jindai aiguozhuyi de zhuti bianzou: Jiuwang tucun, xiang Xifang xuexi he liuxue yundong 9, in: Changbai Xuekan 1 (1995), 78.

28   Li Hongzhang, Jiangsu xunfu Li Hongzhang yuanhan [The Original Letter by Li Hongzhang, Provincial Governor of Jiangsu] [1864], in: Chouban Yiwu Shimo: Tongzhichao [Chronicle of Barbarian Matters from the Beginning to the End [of the Qing-Dynasty]: Tongzhi-Period], vol. 5, section 25, Taibei 1963, 621–625 (originally 4–12), here 624.

29   See e.g. the above-mentioned classic Daxue [The Great Learning], according to which world peace can only be achieved through a process of individual cultivation; see Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (see note 22), 86–87.

of view: thereupon, to strive for personal profit, not for moral perfection, was, in an accumulated form, to bring benefit to the entire country.[30]

A growing number of reformers joined in to value the idea of personal profit, which was embodied, above all, by the Chinese merchants. The argument of ‚practical use' served as a central thread in the discourse of these modernisers. For example, in 1877, the reformer, philologist, and political consultant Ma Jianzhong (1844–1900) wrote a letter to the above-mentioned Li Hongzhang in which he advised to go against the ‚tradition' and ‚rank practical use first.'[31] The reformer Wang Tao (1828–1897) even called commerce the basis of the Chinese state,[32] and his contemporary Chen Chi (1855–1899) saw commerce as the origin of all things; the destiny of a country was dependent on the well-being of commerce.[33] For the above-mentioned reformer Zheng Guanying, commerce was the ideal instrument to control the West – in much more effective ways than through military action.[34] Zheng even reversed the traditional hierarchy of estates and professions – scholars, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants – by commenting that only flourishing commerce enabled the scholars to study, the peasants to cultivate their fields, and the craftsmen to work: without commerce, science would be without importance, the variety of food would be restricted, and the products from handicraft and industry would have no market.[35]

Like many of his reform-minded contemporaries, Zheng projected the question of practical use on to the realm of education. It became more and more obvious that even if at the judiciary and technological level all requirements were met to advance commerce and industry, this was of only limited use if no qualified personnel was available to enhance productivity. Thus, Zheng linked the survival of the nation to the quality of its educational system – or to the question if ‚relevant' education was offered at all: ‚Whether the country flourishes or perishes, this depends on the supply of qualified personnel.'[36] This led to a debate about what kind of education was of practical use at all. At the same time, the traditional educational ideals of self-cultivation and of mastering aesthetical issues were increasingly criticised. Through the argument of ‚practical use', the out-dated

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30 This was the standpoint, for example, of the well-known diplomat Xue Fucheng (1838–1894); see Liu Guilin, Zhongguo Jindai Zhiye Jiaoyu Sixiang Yanjiu [Research on the Idea of Vocational Education in Modern China], Beijing 1997, 17.

31 Ma Jianzhong, Shang Li Boxiang yan chu Yang gongke shu [Letter to Li Boxiang on Studies Overseas] [Summer 1877], in: Feng Guifen & Ma Jianzhong, Cai Xixue Yi: Feng Guifen Ma Jianzhong Ji [The Debate on Using Western Science: Collected Writings of Feng Guifen and Ma Jianzhong], with comments by Zheng Dahua, Shenyang 1994, 155–160. See in particular the chapter Shike zhai jiyan [Recorded Words from the Shike Quarter]. (Li Boxiang is a pseudonym of Li Hongzhang.)

32 Wang stated this in a letter from the beginning of the 1870s; see Wang Tao, Dai shang Guangzhoufu Feng taishou shu [A Letter to Feng Zili] [1870s], in: Wang, Taoyuan Wenlu Waibian [Complement to the Collection of Taoyuan], compiled by Chu Liu, Shu Jin & Feng Lei, ed. Zhang Dainian, Shenyang 1994, 390–401.

33 See Chen Chi, Shangwu [On Commerce] [1897], in Chen Chi, Chen Chi Ji [Collected Works of Chen Chi], part Yongshu [Practical Words], ed. Zhao Shugui/Zeng Liya, Beijing 1997, 83–84, here 84.

34 See e.g. Zheng Guanying, Shangzhan [Commercial War] [1895], in: Zheng Guanying, Shengshi Weiyan [Words of Warning to a Prosperous Age], Zhengzhou 1998, 292–298.

35 Zheng Guanying, Shangwu er [On Commerce, Second Part] [1895], in: ibid., 303.

36 Zheng Guanying, Yiyuan shang [On the Parliament, First Part] [1895], in: ibid., 95–99, here 97.

examination system could be critically revised (and finally abolished), and new ways in education could be tested that had a stronger orientation towards ‚application‘ and ‚practical use‘. These were, in a first step, schools that were attached to newly founded factories or shipyards, the flagships of Chinese modernisation and industrialisation, and, in the following decades, genuine vocational schools.

The concept of *jingshi zhiyong* functioned as a perfect catalyser for those Western ideas that originated in Western utilitarianism and pragmatism.[37] Utilitarian and pragmatist ideas could, with the help of this concept, be understood and handled as a continuation of the Chinese tradition and could thus become anchored in the already present semantic world. The concept also helped to view education, that is, both knowledge acquisition and character formation, as something that could be useful – or not.[38] Consequently, Western utilitarianism and pragmatism as adapted through this filter exerted an enormous influence on the emerging Chinese modern pedagogy. It enabled the promoters of 'practical' educational models, such as vocational schools, to gain wider acceptance for their ideas.[39] One of the most influential and ardent essays in favour of 'utilitarianism' in Chinese education was written by the above-mentioned Cai Yuanpei, a former student at the University of Leipzig and Chinese Minister of Education upon the foundation of the Republic in 1912. In this article, which was published almost simultaneously in one newspaper and two journals, Cai emphasised the role of a strong economy for the country and its population, which he considered at least as important as military strength. Cai saw utilitarian education as a device to complement and support policies that ensured the welfare of the country. With references both to the United States and to Europe, he regarded utilitarianism (*shilizhuyi*) as the ideal solution for China's problems:

> *The resources of our country are not exploited, the organisations in industry and commerce are still in their infancy, unemployment has reached a high rate, and the country is utmost poor. Therefore, it is our urgent task* [to install; BS] *a utilitarian education.*[40]

Shortly after, from 1913 onwards, utilitarianism was conceptually modified and enlarged: the term used hence, *shiyongzhuyi*, concentrated less on personal profit but denoted an attitude that was oriented towards reality and that was concerned with applicable knowledge; it is close to the Western term of 'pragmatism'. In August of 1913, the above-mentioned Huang Yanpei, then director of the Educational Office in the province

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37   There was another 'traditional' method from the 18th century which paved the way for the reception of pragmatism: the kaozhengxue (literally: 'learning on the basis of studying the evidence'; evidential learning). Due to limited space, I will not elaborate on this.

38   This is also stated by Marianne Bastid; see M. Bastid, L'argument économique dans les réformes de l'enseignement en Chine au XXe siècle, in: Interchange 19 (autumn/winter 1988) 3/4, 19–31.

39   Cf. Shu Xincheng, Materials on the Chinese History of Modern Education [Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao], vol. 1, Beijing 1961.

40   See Cai Yuanpei, Opinion about Progressive Education [Duiyu xin jiaoyu zhi yijian], in: Cai Yuanpei, Collected Works [Cai Yuanpei quanji], vol. 2 (1911–1916), Hangzhou 1997, 9–19, here 10. The article was originally published in the following periodicals: on February 8, 9, and 10, 1912, in the newspaper Minlibao, on February 10, 1912, in the journal Jiaoyu Zazhi (vol. 3, no. 11), as well as in April 1912 in the journal Dongfang Zazhi (vol. 8, no. 10).

of Jiangsu and later on the founder of the *Chinese Association of Vocational Education*, published his famous essay 'Discussion about Using Pragmatism in School Education' in a supplement to the *Educational Journal* (*Jiaoyu Zazhi*).[41] In this essay, he criticised the traditional distance between learning at school on the one side and, on the other, reality and the professional world. He called for a greater applicability of the things learned at school and also for a more child-centred approach in teaching. Every primary school should use pragmatist materials and methods, and teachers should take as their starting point real-life situations: the 'education of [written] characters' (*wenzi de jiaoyu*) should be replaced by an 'education of [material] things' (*shiwu de jiaoyu*).[42] This momentous stance had weighty consequences: Western pragmatism and traditional conceptions of ‚practical use' formed a union to question the central position of writing (*wen*), which had lain at the heart of Chinese culture (*wenhua*) for many centuries.

Like Cai Yuanpei, Huang emphasised the importance of a strong economy and industry and even designed concrete plans for establishing industrial schools and for integrating 'industrial education' (the predecessor of 'vocational education') into the general school curriculum. Also like Cai, he referred to developments abroad to support his argument: he both drew on information about Western educational systems and on the advice given by the US-American pedagogue Paul Monroe (1869–1947), then director of the International Institute of Teachers College at Columbia University. In fact, after one year, Huang wrote rather favourably about the effects of his ideas on the primary schools in Shanghai and some other provinces: at these schools, 'pragmatism' was not just a word but had been deeply ingrained in the minds of the teachers.[43]

What do these examples tell us? First and foremost, they show that the Chinese actors who promoted ‚modernity' and who were engaged in changing their country were not simply on the receiving side. They did not just dismiss ‚Chinese' ideas and replaced them by Western ones. Neither did they dress these Western ideas in Chinese costumes just to gain acceptance (though sometimes this might have been their motive). Rather, they handled their ‚tradition' creatively and thus successfully sinicised the imported ideas. This is mirrored in most of the journal articles that deal with ‚pragmatism'. To be sure, many authors drew on non-Chinese thinkers from Seneca to Spencer and ignored, or even discarded, the Chinese tradition in these passages.[44] However, often within the same article, they would explicitly refer to the Chinese classics in order to present these modern ideas as variations of the already existing, or at least to reveal parallels with the

41   Huang Yanpei, Discussion about Using Pragmatism in School Education [Xuexiao jiaoyu caiyong shiyongzhuyi zhi shangque], in: Jiaoyu Zazhi 5 (1913) 7 (supplement), 55–82.

42   Ibid., 59.

43   Huang Yanpei, Shiyongzhuyi chanchu zhi di yi nian [The First Year of Pragmatism], in: Jiaoyu Zazhi 7 (1915) 1, 14–18.

44   E.g. the article on pragmatism by a pedagogue and publisher of school books, Zhuang Yu (1876–1938). The article was published in the same issue as Huang's article; see Zhuang Yu, Caiyong shiyongzhuyi [Using Pragmatism], in: Jiaoyu Zazhi 5 (1913) 7, 87–95.

past.[45] The entire argument around 'practical use' and 'applicability' of the beginning 20th century can thus be set in relation to similar debates of the 19th century and can be traced back to even earlier philosophical precedents that placed 'practical use' above questions of moral and aesthetic self-cultivation and emphasised the elites' moral and social responsibility within society. While one part of the Chinese tradition was certainly – and fervently – attacked, other traditions served as means to reflect upon, and argue for, an up to then Western-framed modernity. The traditional idea of 'practical use' was particularly apt to give voice to the experiences that the Chinese reformers had with foreign models in education and industry – which to them appeared much more effective and promising than their own out-dated models. Finally, the idea of 'practical use' turned out to be highly compatible with the patriotic concern with the welfare and survival of the nation. Marianne Bastid points out that this argument often went hand in hand with the argument of 'wealth and strength' (*fuqiang*). Both arguments were to help China to survive or even become stronger in an 'âge de compétition intellectuelle internationale.'[46]

How to Do Things with Words: Changing Vocabulary, Powerful Translations

If the Chinese tradition was a target – and a medium – of reform-minded intellectuals, the Chinese language was another. In this period of great political, economic, and conceptual upheaval, the Chinese language was profoundly transformed. Language is as much a mirror of reality and its changes, as it is a creator and transformer of these realities. Several factors and actors were part of this process.[47] In the following passage, I will concentrate on the efforts and strategies of the Chinese actors (although Western actors, among them missionaries, also contributed to the Chinese language change).

Even before modern colloquial Chinese (*baihuawen*) was propagated in the course of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and began to replace the classical style, many intellectuals were active in finding or coining new terms. This was done for mainly two reasons: Either the existing classical terms were considered as semantically bounded and thus not apt to transport any new meaning; or the respective terms were simply 'missing'. Genuinely Chinese efforts of creating or finding words can be found, above all, in the early

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45   Also Zhuang Yu (mentioned in the preceding note) quotes traditional phrases in some passages to illustrate the use of learning and action; see ibid., 91.

46   Bastid, L'argument économique (see note 38), 20.

47   For an overview with some examples and bibliography, see B. Schulte, Social Hierarchy and Group Solidarity: The Meanings of Work and Vocation / Profession in the Chinese Context and their Implications for Vocational Education, in: International Review of Education 49 (2003) 1 (special issue), ed. Mark Bray, Dordrecht 2003, 213-239, in particular 215 ff.; detailed studies on this subject can be found in L. H. Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity: China, 1900–1937, Stanford 1995; New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge and Lexical Change in Late Imperial China, ed M. Lackner / I. Amelung / J. Kurtz, Leiden et al. 2001; Mapping Meanings. The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China, ed. M. Lackner / N. Vittinghoff, Leiden et al. 2004.

Chinese translations from Western languages, such as those by Yan Fu (1854–1921)[48] and Ma Xiangbo (1840–1939)[49] or generally by the *Tongwenguan*, a famous institution that translated Western works and that was founded in Beijing in 1861.

Spectacular word creations aside, changes in word usage can also give a hint at changed perceptions or new priorities. Words obtain an almost performative character if through their unusual or unexpected appearance, they help trigger change. For example, while in 1844 the situation of the country was characterised as a 'changed situation' (*bianju*),[50] only thirteen years later the Foreign Ministry called it a 'completely new situation' (*chuangju*). This could not only express the prevalent threat more vividly; such vocabulary also provided the reformers with an effective arsenal of instruments to legitimise their actions. A 'completely new situation' or 'hitherto unknown changes' clearly demanded completely new approaches and reform efforts. Among other things, these reform efforts aimed at the construction of shipyards and factories, and consequently at raising human resources through technical and vocational schools, with profound consequences for the educational landscape.

A further sign of change at the language level was the immense number of slogans that contained those messages that were thought most urgent and permeated the Chinese society. The slogans represent highly effective unions of old and new: while many words in the slogans and, even more so, their messages were new, their form drew on the typical four-character construction of the classic language, which was considered rhythmical and thus guaranteed the population's attention and perhaps acceptance. (Even today they are a popular form of propaganda.) The propagated slogans reveal which topics were considered particularly relevant and necessary to transmit. One set of topics was concerned with the survival of China as a nation: 'save the nation and secure its existence', 'outfox the enemy in a bout' (i.e. to win through diplomatic procedures), or 'strive for sovereignty with all means'. Furthermore, there were topics which centred around the importance of (Western) science and industry: 'open the path to knowledge to the people', 'education to save the country', 'study abroad', 'import new knowledge', or 'industry to save the country'. Also, many slogans appealed to the re-education of the (rural or poor) population that was considered rude, uncivilised, and in bad physical condition: 'change customs and habits', 'spur on the martial spirit of the people', 'engage in physical education', or 'eradicate superstition'.[51]

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48 Yan Fu translated e.g. works by Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Darwin. See B. I. Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West, Cambridge, Mass. 1964; David Wright, Yan Fu and the Tasks of the Translator, in: Lackner / Amelung / Kurtz, New Terms for New Ideas (see preceding note), 235–255.

49 Ma Xiangbo suggested, for example, a new system of nomenclatures for the modern sciences that was based on the Latin roots of the Western terms; see J. Kurtz, Coming to Terms with Logic: The Naturalization of an Occidental Notion in China, in: Lackner / Amelung / Kurtz, New Terms for New Ideas (note 47), 147–175, here 165. See also Ma Xiangbo and the Mind of Modern China: 1840–1939, ed. R. Hayhoe/Yongling Lu, Armonk/New York 1996.

50 The expression was coined by the scholar Huang Junzai; the observation was made by Pong, The Vocabulary of Change (note 23), 28 f. (without further references).

51 See Wu Zukun, Variations on Topics of Modern Patriotism (note 27).

The greatest influence on the Chinese language – in particular, on its modern vocabulary, which coined the language of modern science – came from Japan. This happened primarily through Chinese students who studied in Japan and, often for reasons of convenience, adopted the Japanese terms directly since they were written in Chinese characters. It has been repeatedly criticised that Chinese translators lacked creativity and sensitivity (towards their own language) by simply and massively taking over all these Japanese terms.[52] However, these so-called 'return graphic loans' had a great advantage: since these terms that were now re-imported from Japan were originally Chinese and were based on Chinese syllables and characters, they could convey the new and the modern without over-stretching the Chinese language phonetically or graphically – and nonetheless made the adopted terms appear new and modern! Therefore, it is no real surprise that most intellectuals would resort to this possibility.[53] Moreover, the modernisation of the Japanese language had been, according to Michael Lackner, much more systematic and centralised so that the new set of neologisms seemed much more coherent than their Chinese counterparts (if they existed), which were based on rather uncoordinated efforts of individuals and often controlled by Western institutions.[54]

The Japanese influence was so overwhelming that even the name for China was at times borrowed from the Japanese although, without doubt, the Chinese possessed a name for their own country: instead of *Zhongguo*, 'Middle Land', some writers would use the term *zhina*, Japanese *shina*, which originated in Sanskrit and which probably reflects the phonetic sounds of the Qin Dynasty, just like the English term *China*. While later on the term *zhina* or *shina* became a token for Japanese aggression and humiliation to many Chinese, the associations with this term were different at that time. It was above all the perceived scientific and neutral character of the term which made it attractive to the Japanese speakers: *shina* did not, like *middle land*, attribute a certain (central) status to the country, nor did it refer to a specific Chinese government or dynasty as had been the case with many Japanese names for China in the past. Rather, in the eyes of many Japanese and, occasionally, Chinese, shina represented a correct, scientific name for the geographical entity of China.[55] This example illustrates how far some Chinese intellectu-

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52   Already in the 1930s, the Chinese philosopher Zhang Dongsun (1886–1973) complained about the 'loss of creativity in the Chinese language'; see M. Lackner,'Wortfindungsmühen der Chinesen. Integration westlicher Wissenschaft, in: Gegenworte. Zeitschrift für den Disput über Wissen 7 (2001), 75. See also the analysis in Sun Jianguo, Investigations on Questions of Chinese Translations from the Japanese at the End of the Qing and the Beginning of the Republic and on the Diffusion of Western Science [Qing mo Min chu Riwen Zhongyi yu zhuanfan xixue wenti yanjiu], in: Henan Daxue Xuebao (Shehui Kexueban) 6 (2001), 59–64.

53   On Japanese neologisms, see the detailed analysis in: Liu, Translingual Practice (note 47).

54   See Lackner, Wortfindungsmühen der Chinesen, 74 (note 52); see also the article by Viviane Alleton, who emphasises the democratic character of the Japanese translation processes: V. Alleton, Chinese Terminologies: On Preconceptions, in: Lackner / Amelung / Kurtz, New Terms for New Ideas (note 47), 15–34.

55   There is a detailed analysis of the term shina in the chapter: The Sino-Japanese Controversy over Shina as a Toponym for China, in: J. A. Fogel, The Cultural Dimension of Sino-Japanese Relations. Essays on the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Armonk/New York/London 1995, 66–76. Fogel mentions an article written by Su Zhongxiang (without further references), according to which zhina was not derived from the Qin Dynasty but from the name of the old model state Jing.

als were prepared to go in order to keep abreast of changed realities: for them, China was now a nation among others, engaged in the 'survival of the fittest' and in need of a new name that was able to convey this new situation.

Translations signified a changed perception of (changed) realities, and they provided useful tools to integrate and appropriate foreign knowledge. However, it would be erroneous to assume that there was some kind of 'master plan' for all these translation activities.[56] At the beginning of the 'translation boost', a great thirst for knowledge was facing a rather meagre number of translated works. For example, the reformer Kang Youwei (1858–1927) complained that what had been translated so far was by no means enough to transmit the knowledge that was needed to modernise the country.[57] In order to fill this gap, many reform-minded intellectuals started to translate anything that they came across at an astonishing speed. In Chinese, these somewhat hectic translation activities were known as 'Liang Qichao style', referring to the above-mentioned reformer Liang Qichao whose translation maxim read: 'it's alright as long as it's much and fast.' Liang was convinced that, when studying the Japanese language, the first good results would show only after a few days, and after a few months the language could be mastered.[58] But not only at the level of style, but also with regard to the chosen topics, rather disparate ideas were rendered interchangeable in these rather foggy translation activities: constitutional monarchy and revolutionary ideas, Marxism and anarchism or nihilism etc. Often, the considerations, ideas, or ideals of the translator were more important than the original text, which frequently provided just some kind of trigger for the 'translation' work.

What seems rather chaotic from the present point of view might have just been due to the laws of the translation and book market of the time. This market was highly profitable and produced its own dynamics. Between 1896 and 1911, after the Japanese victory over the Chinese army and prior to the Republic, there were ninety-five publishing houses which were specialised solely on translations from the Japanese. Most of the books that were translated at this time were about politics, economy, or social sciences, followed by books about world history and language.[59] Anything that could be sold would be translated. In particular, these were books that fuelled the awakening national consciousness in China. Therefore, as it is often the case, it was less the scientific criteria than the laws of the market which ruled the translation of Japanese books. In addition, the educational reforms of the Qing government further stimulated the translation market through a decree to translate Japanese textbooks. (This also guaranteed the

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56   On the topic of translations, see in particular Sun, Investigations on Questions of Chinese Translations (note 52).

57   Ibid., 60.

58   He contrasted this to the English language; to master the English language, one would need five or six years of study. See Liang Qichao [here under the pseudonym Ai Shike], On the Advantage of Studying Japanese [Lun xue Ribenwen zhi yi], in: Qingyibao 8, 10 (February 21, 1900), 579–581, here 580.

59   See Sun, Investigations on Questions of Chinese Translations (note 52). According to statistical data provided by Tan Ruqian, about sixty per cent of all translated books until 1925 were translations from the Japanese; see Comprehensive Index of Japanese Books Translated in China [Zhongguo yi Riben shu zonghe mulu], ed. Tan Ruqian, Hongkong 1980. I am grateful to Xiaoqing Xu for this reference.

predominant role of Japanese knowledge – or Western knowledge transmitted via Japan – at Chinese schools.)

As a result of these market dynamics, exactness or linguistic subtleties of translations were of minor importance. Rather, the publishers were looking for translation styles that could catch the readers' attention. It was for this reason that publishers often preferred well-known writers, even if they were no professional translators. There is an illustrative anecdote by Zhang Xichen (1889–1969), founder of the women's journal *The New Woman* (*Xin Nüxing*) and at times writer for the renowned *Journal of the East* (*Dongfang Zazhi*):

> When I went to Mr. [Du] Yaquan [chief editor of the Journal of the East], *he asked me if I knew a bit of Japanese. I replied that I had studied it a little in the past, but that I had never been good at it, and now I was out of practice and it had all been such a long time ago that I had forgotten a lot. What a surprise when the first piece he gave me after I had joined the company was something from a Japanese journal, with the task to translate a biography about the discoverer of radium, Madame Curie.*[60]

However, even if translators devoted much time and energy to issues of translation, the process of translation was still an act of re-presenting and re-framing things in a new context – a context with home-grown semantic valencies, which provided no simple equivalences; it would not just mirror but transform the translated knowledge. This was particularly the case with issues that to many Chinese seemed semantically incongruous, such as the idea of 'industrial education' or, later on, 'vocational education'. To link two separate semantic worlds – education and work – required innovative word creations. Until the beginning of the 20th century, *shiye jiaoyu* (literally: 'education for the real and concrete professions')[61] was generally used to translate *industrial education*, although a direct translation (*gongye jiaoyu*) would have existed, but was rarely used. Why did translators choose this term? One reason might have been, again, the Japanese reception of *industrial education*. Japanese translators were hesitant to make use of a literal translation since they wanted to emphasise the agrarian character of Asian countries. Another reason, however, was specific to the Chinese situation: the components 'real' or 'concrete' as contained in *shiye jiaoyu* offered a semantic bridge to the earlier discussions about 'concrete studies' and 'practical use'. Thus, the term could evoke associations that made the idea appear more compatible than a literal translation might have achieved.

Other terms that were chosen to translate 'vocational' or 'industrial education' reflected similar efforts to ground the idea in cultural context. Liang Qichao used both *shixue*

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60   Sun, Investigations on Questions of Chinese Translations (note 52), 63. The article was in fact published, with the cooperation with Zhang Xichen, notwithstanding his lacking knowledge of Japanese; see Gao Lao [pseudonym of Du Yaquan], A Short Biography of Madame Curie, the discoverer of radium [Leiding famingzhe Juli Furen xiaozhuan], in: Dongfang Zazhi 8, 11 (May 1912), 11.

61   Shiye was then often used as synonym for 'industry', but encompassed much more; for a detailed discussion of this and related terms, see the chapter Begriffsklärung: "Industriebildung" und "Berufsbildung", in: B. Schulte, Zur Rettung des Landes: Bildung und Beruf im China der Republikzeit, Frankfurt a. M. 2008.

('concrete studies') and *yixue* ('the study of the arts'), thus referring not only to the Chinese pragmatist tradition but also to the tradition of manual arts and techniques. The above-mentioned Yan Fu, on the other hand, coined the term *nonggongshangxue* ('the study of peasants, craftsmen, and merchants'), keeping the traditional hierarchy of professions and estates alive. Eventually, and after intensive fights about the proper position of 'vocational education' within the Chinese society, *shiye jiaoyu* was replaced by *zhiye jiaoyu*, the modern translation for 'vocational education'. This signified a shift in priority: while the former term focussed on the education of expert personnel vis-à-vis the international competition of industries and technologies, the latter term concentrated on the education of the uneducated, unemployed (or unemployable) masses that were facing 'existential problems' (*shengji wenti*).

Thus, translation can be seen as both mirror and means of re-orientation that was taking place among certain actors at certain times. In no way was it a uniform process: market forces and coincidences governed translation processes, as did the contesting visions of the actors engaged. One could even go so far as to argue that translation work constituted a somewhat hidden battlefield of modernity – hidden because the processes of re-presentation and appropriation that accompany translation have often been underestimated or neglected.

Bridging China and the West: Japan

While from a Chinese point of view, Japan was facing a similar oppressive situation as did China at the time of the opium wars, this perspective changed dramatically with the Japanese victory over China in 1895. The former student of China had evidently become a model student of Western modernisation and a teacher for a China that was lagging increasingly behind. 'Japan as teacher' (*yi Ri wei shi*) was therefore a motto that was frequently propagated by many actors, among them the above-mentioned reformers Zhang Zhidong, Li Hongzhang, Kang Youwei, and Liang Qichao, but also renowned (and politically diverse) figures such as Sun Yatsen (1866–1925), Jiang Kaishek (1887–1975), and Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), the latter a co-founder of the Communist Party.[62] Following this motto, at least 25,000 Chinese students travelled to Japan between 1898 and 1911. This has been characterised as 'the first truly large-scale modernization-oriented migration of intellectuals in world history' and as 'probably the largest mass movement of students overseas in world history up to that point.'[63] Prior to the Japanese victory, hardly any Chinese would have had the idea to go to Japan for study.

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62   See Li Xisuo, The View on Japan of the Chinese Students in Japan in the Fifty Years Following the Sino-Japanese War and its Influences [Jiawuzhan hou 50 nian jian liu Ri xuesheng de Ribenguan ji qi yingxiang], in: Shehui Kexue Yanjiu 1 (1997), 102–109, here 103.

63   The quotations are from M. B. Jansen, Japan and China. From War to Peace, 1894–1975, Chicago 1975, 149; and Jansen, Japan and the Chinese Revolution of 1911, in: The Cambridge History of China, vol. 11: Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 2, ed. J. K. Fairbank / Kwang-ching Liu, Cambridge 1980, 339–374, here 348. Quoted by D. R.

At the time of this massive student migration, more than fifty reports on Japan were published by the returnees,[64] who thus shared their experiences with a broader public. In this way, the returned students did not only serve as transmitters of ideas, but they themselves put these ideas – or rather, their appropriated forms – into action by taking over posts in the government. The educational sector was of particular importance in the accounts of the returnees. For example, almost every Chinese who intended to go to Japan read the diary about the *Journey to the East* (*Dong You Riji*) by the above-mentioned Zhang Jian. In this account, Zhang underlined the utmost importance of education in the global competition of civilisations. Zhang saw the key to Japan's strength in its successful performance in the global competition. As the most important factor that would advance the national self-strengthening of the country, he identified education, followed by industry and handicraft, and, thirdly, the military.[65] By his influential account and through his reference to the successful example of Japan, Zhang Jian linked education with industry and handicraft and thus paved the way for a revised understanding of the tasks of education and a broader acceptance of vocational education.

National strength was one of the main motivations to look at Japan – which became evident in the popular phrase ‚study in Japan to strengthen the country' (*liu Ri er qiang guo*). Reformers liked to dramatise the disastrous consequences if one did not follow this maxim: if one did not learn from Japan, one was destined to fail. For example, Liang Qichao saw the reasons for the weakness of the Qing government in the lacking knowledge of the Japanese situation.[66] Yan Fu even made the survival of the country dependent on whether sufficient attention was paid to Japan: 'The path to survival or extinction depends on this, striving for self-strengthening depends on this.'[67] The Japanese example was so impressive mainly for one reason: it raised the (at first glance) incomprehensible and painful question how such a small country like Japan, which until recently had been looked down upon by the Chinese, could have become so strong, while China seemed to be in constant agony. To be sure, there were also basic doubts as to whether the 'yellow race' was capable at all to keep pace with the 'white' one.[68] However, the Japanese example revealed to the Chinese that it was possible after all to come to strength on one's own account – through mastering the relevant knowledge. Thus, Zhang Zhidong argued that

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Reynolds, China, 1898–1912. The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan, Cambridge, Mass., 1993, 42. Of course, many Chinese went to Japan not just for knowledge acquisition but also for political reasons: numerous political activists against the Qing government chose Japan as temporary exile.

64   See Li, The View on Japan (note 62), 103.

65   Ibid., 103–104.

66   Liang Qichao, Epilogue to the Notes on Japan [Riben guozhi houxu], in: Liang, Collected Works, vol. 1, article collection 2 (note 11), 50–51.

67   Quoted in: Li, The View on Japan (note 62), 103.

68   Of course, this was heavily influenced by Western conceptions of 'race'. On the Chinese and Japanese reception and adaptation of Western racial ideologies, see The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan, ed. F. Dikötter, London 1997.

Japan is a small country. So how could it rise so swiftly to power? Some twenty years ago, Itō [Hirobumi], Yamagata [Aritomo (1838–1922)], Enomoto [Takeaki (1836–1908)], and Mutsu [Munemitsu (1844–1897)] went overseas as students. They were followed to Germany, France, and Britain by more than a hundred others who, like themselves, were incensed by Western intimidation of their country. Some studied politics and administration, or industry and commerce, while others undertook naval or military training. Upon completing their studies and returning home, they were employed as generals and government ministers. Once political changes had taken hold, Japan emerged as the greatest power in the East.[69]

Within a short period of time, Japan had become an important bridge between China and the West as well as the main transmitter of Western knowledge. From now on, translations of Western works almost always took the detour via Japan – in contrast to the situation prior to the Sino-Japanese war. This detour was seen as a practical path towards Western knowledge that saved time and money, as Zhang Zhidong explained:

*Study should be in Japan (*Dongyang*) rather than in the West: 1) Japan's closeness would save on our costs, allowing more persons to be sent. 2) Its proximity to China would facilitate the supervision of our students. 3) Japanese writing (*Dongwen*) is similar to Chinese writing (*Zhongwen*), making it easier to understand. 4) The number of Western books is enormous, not all of them essential to Western learning. The Japanese (*Dongren*), who have sifted through these, have weeded out the less important works. […] Since China and Japan have similar circumstances and customs, this would facilitate our imitation [of the West]. We can reap twice the results with half the effort (*shi ban gong bei*). What could be better than that?*[70]

The – albeit hesitant – admiration of Japan went hand in hand with the fear of the increasingly aggressive Eastern neighbour. Japan's strength and belligerence were connected to its 'healthy Japanese national spirit'. This stood in sharp contrast with the weak, sick, and retarded character which the Chinese intellectuals attributed to the Chinese nation and which in their eyes impeded the application of useful knowledge.[71] In this discourse, China became ‚the sick man of Asia' (*Dongya bingfu*)[72] – just as Turkey was ‚the sick man of Europe'. Keys to regeneration from this bad state of health were the formation of a ‚military spirit' or even militarisation of the society, physical education and hygiene,[73]

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69   Zhang, Overseas Study (note 13), 116; the translation is taken from Reynolds, China, 1898–1912 (note 63), 43–44.
70   Ibid., 117; the translation is taken from Reynolds, China, 1898–1912 (note 63), 44.
71   These Chinese projections on Japan are analysed in Li, The View on Japan (note 62), 104 ff.
72   See e.g. Callahan, National Insecurities (note 25), 202 ff.
73   Hygiene and physical strength played an important role in the intellectual discourse of Chinese educators in the early 20th century. For more information, see B. Schulte, Zum Schutz von Körper und Land: Repräsentationen von Hygiene auf der Reise durch chinesische Köpfe und Körper, in: Dem Anderen begegnen. Eigene und fremde Repräsentationen in sozialen Gemeinschaften, ed. J. Baberowski / D. Feest / M. Lehmann, Frankfurt a. M. 2008 (in print).

and education. All these measures were considered 'Western' instruments that were successfully mastered by the Japanese.

Thus, Japan was not just a model by itself, but became an instrument for westernisation. By way of this argument, Zhang Zhidong and many other intellectuals ignored the relativity and contingency of knowledge. For them, (Western) knowledge was an absolute variable whose essential elements could be selected and digested according to objective criteria, irrespective of the 'receiving' context. In his blind confidence in the Japanese success in translating and transferring foreign knowledge, Zhang anticipated later Chinese arguments that would propagate the Soviet way. Chen Boda (1905–1989), Communist chief ideologue and expert on propaganda, used an almost identical argument in 1953 to legitimise the Chinese reference to the Soviet Union:

> …*when we advise studying the Soviet science, we do not mean to say that the works of British and American scientists may not be used as reference, they may and should be. However, generally speaking, the good things in British and American science have already been absorbed by the Soviet scientists; hence, the quickest and best way is to learn from the Soviet Union.*[74]

This view on knowledge as some kind of recipe with concrete prescriptions and concrete effects not only resulted in disappointment and perceived 'failures' on the Chinese side if the knowledge acquired was not as effective as was expected; it also exerted an enormous pressure on the side of the 'donor' who in the Chinese eyes had to be 'a sort of magician', 'capable of giving them the one current answer to all sorts of complex problems in pure and applied science in a few minutes'.[75]

Interestingly enough, the transformative power of travelling knowledge has not been fully acknowledged. It has been researched only insufficiently what Japan and the Soviet Union contributed to the Chinese path towards Western knowledge, although such an analysis would shed light on the Chinese specificity of this process. Even within China, where, at times, there is increased emphasis on the specifically Chinese and distinctly non-Western path towards modernisation,[76] analyses are missing that take into account the various forces that, in the end, produced 'Western knowledge in China'. The Japanese creativity in adopting and adapting Western knowledge has been as much neglected as the question of how 'Western' this knowledge was when it arrived in China. This neglect of the Japanese contribution is all the more astonishing – but perhaps also understandable – if one considers the fact that even socialism was discovered in Japan (by the end of the Qing dynasty) and that it was via Japan that the Communist Manifesto and

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74   Quoted in R. F. Price, Convergence or Copying: China and the Soviet Union, in: China's Education and the Industrialized World (note 11), 158–183, here 161.

75   Thus characterised by Klochko, a Soviet chemist who had taken flight to Canada in 1961; quoted in L. A. Orleans, Soviet Influence on China's Higher Education, in: China's Education and the Industrialized World (note 11), 184–198, here 188.

76   Among others, Mao Zedong (1893–1976) was a convinced advocate of 'Chineseness'.

other writings by Marx and Engels found their way into China (towards the beginning of the Republic).

Why look abroad?

Much has been written about why countries look at one another, and what makes them adopt (or reject) conceptual, institutional, or policy models from the outside. In this concluding section, I will not present yet another theory to explain these phenomena, but I will discuss the processes that have been analysed so far within the existing theoretical frameworks. Frank Dobbin et al. have summarised diverse theoretical approaches towards what they call 'policy diffusion' across the world.[77] They distinguish between four different approaches, which focus on social construction,[78] coercion,[79] competition,[80] and learning.[81] Each of the approaches asks important questions; but it is hard to understand why one would have to decide between, say, the perspective of coercion (of states to adopt a policy) or the focus on competition (between states to adopt a policy) since both may take place at the same time. (The authors come to a somewhat similar conclusion.) Moreover, other important questions are marginalised or even missing in these approaches. Firstly, the perspective of the actors themselves – those persons that operate what is called, perhaps diffusely, 'diffusion' – is underexplored. How do actors perceive and construct the 'need' of their society or their nation (given that 'need' can never been objective)? What are their private, business, or career interests in promoting change (or non-change), and how are these interests intertwined with broader 'cultural' or 'societal' options? What are the power relations between these actors (irrespective of the power relations between the respective countries)? What are their social networks?[82] Secondly, all four approaches may explain why a certain policy becomes 'hegemonial' so that it enjoys wide diffusion; but they are much less able to explain why certain other policies or models enjoy, at certain times and in certain regions, a popularity that super-

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77   F. Dobbin / B. Simmons / G. Garrett, The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?, in: Annual Review of Sociology 33 (2007), 449–472.

78   'Constructivists' investigate why certain policies become socially and globally accepted; they assume that followers of certain policies are principally willing. For education, see e.g. the seminal study by J. W. Meyer / F. O. Ramirez / R. Rubinson / J. Boli-Bennett, The World Educational Revolution, 1950–1970, in: Sociology of Education 50 (1977) 4, 242–258.

79   This approach is based on the assumption that policy change is seldom voluntary, but a result of (political, economic, military etc.) coercion.

80   'Competition' theorists maintain that states adopt the policies of their direct competitors in order to keep pace with them.

81   'Learning' theorists argue that decisions for certain policies are taken on the basis of previous experiences and their evaluation (which does not preclude a posteriori 'wrong' decisions).

82   Dobbin et al. attribute "social network connections" to "early sociological accounts of diffusion", while "constructivists point to the cultural theorization of practices." Why one should be replaced (and not complemented) by the other remains unclear. In another passage Dobbin et al. do mention the role of "simple network connections" and note their importance for the "learning" theorists. See Dobbin et al., 'The Global Diffusion of Public Policies (note 77), 451, 453, 461.

sedes that of the 'hegemonial' model. Can this be simply explained by 'local variation', 'psychological proximity' of certain regions, or 'retarded development'? Moreover, it is even more difficult to explain why international models are sometimes dismissed altogether. Rejection or even resistance are given only scant consideration in these theoretical approaches (for example, as some kind of temporary situation). Thirdly, theories of 'diffusion' (as well as many on 'transfer') talk about the diffused 'object' as if it was solid and remained unchanged in the process; or, to put it differently: as if actors throughout the world thought about and handled these 'objects' in the same way. We have seen that this is seldom the case. This observation is crucial since different handling transforms the 'object' fundamentally. Finally, and shortly: there is no space for coincidence.

Jürgen Schriewer's elaboration of the concept of externalisation (based on Niklas Luhmann's theory of self-referential systems) provides an important complement in this regard.[83] The concept is based on the assumption that there are times when the available semantic resources are felt to be not sufficient to make one's thinking and acting *meaningful*. In such a situation, actors *externalise* to things that lie outside their present horizon – to foreign societies, i.e. 'world situations', or to things of the past, i.e. 'tradition' – in order to gain supplementary meaning. In a case study on the Soviet Union, Spain, and China, Schriewer and Martinez make it clear that

> externalizations to 'foreign examples' or to 'world situations' do not aim primarily at a social scientific analysis of cultural configurations; they instead involve the discursive interpretation of international phenomena for issues of educational policy or ideological legitimization. Similarly, externalizations to 'tradition' are not directed at historicizing educational theory traditions or experiences, but rather react to the need to reinterpret and actualize these traditions' theoretical and/or normative potential in the face of urgent present-day concerns.[84]

The concept of externalisation is complementary to the approaches discussed above because it does not negate global mechanisms of diffusion and transfer. However, it changes the perspective: now, 'diffusion' is not something that takes place for (exclusively) this or that reason; it might take place for any of the reasons discussed above, but its actual contents, forms, and meanings are shaped by the needs of the 'receiving' system, with all its real-world consequences for policy making, institution building, and social practices. Schriewer and Martinez use Luhmann's metaphor of the 'floodgate' to illustrate how externalisation works, and how this results in a high degree of autonomy of each system, irrespective of actual global power constellations. Such floodgates, or externalisations,

> 'filter' the reception and description of an international environment according to the changing problem configurations and reflection situations internal to a given system. Their potential for selection and interpretation disrupts the seemingly objective order of

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83   See J. Schriewer, The Method of Comparison and the Need for Externalization (note 8).

84   J. Schriewer/C. Martinez, Constructions of Internationality in Education, in: The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending, ed. G. Steiner-Khamsi, New York 2004, 29–53, here 32.

standing involved in an 'integrated world stratification system', as it is stated by world system models, and rearranges it according to a given system's internal needs for 'supplementary meaning'.[85]

Schriewer and Martinez further observe that this need for 'supplementary meaning' does not only vary across societies but also, within one and the same society, over time – and I believe also across actors (or factions of actors). Looking back at the Chinese references to 'world situations' and 'tradition(s)', we can observe clear shifts in the externalising strategies. Chinese educators and reformers externalised both to 'world situations' and 'tradition', but differently at different times. As we have seen, Chinese externalisation towards 'world situations' (in particular those of the West) began when the actors were dissatisfied by what the Chinese tradition could offer them. However, the 'West' was not uniform: Chinese references to the situation abroad clearly showed certain conjunctures – depending on what was regarded as the 'fitting supply' for the respective 'demand' for supplementary meaning. Thus, one might talk of 'psychological proximity' between certain societies at certain times, but only if one accepts the premise that this 'proximity' is being constantly re-constructed according to the internal configuration within a given society.[86] Chinese actors chose Western powers like the United States, England, France, or Germany, as well as Japan (and to a lesser extent the Philippines) as reference societies in order to make their new situation or new ideas meaningful (and in order to legitimise them).

Again, vocational education is a good example. The United States were utilised as well as France or Germany to fill this concept with meaning – but with different meaning each time. While the United States served mainly to argue for a type of vocational education that was integrated into secondary schools, France was used to promote polytechnic schools; Germany, in contrast, showed that it was possible to pass on traditional, strongly profession-oriented modes of vocational education within a modern education system. Both Germany and Japan would sometimes serve as models that could provide alternatives to the United States – Japan because it was a (successful) East Asian nation with strong Chinese influences, Germany because it was regarded, just like China, as a 'cultural nation' which nonetheless showed (military, political) strength. So in a way, both reference societies represent some kind of constructed 'psychological proximity'. Often, these utilisations of other countries were highly contested among actors, who had their own interests to promote a certain model and discard another. Sometimes, non-Chinese actors would intervene to promote 'their' model and outplay it against other models (such as comprehensive schools vs. vertically tiered schools).

Here is also where the networks come in: if certain institutions were made strong among Chinese intellectuals through social networks, then the ideas and concepts from these

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85   Ibid.
86   Equally, the constructivist view point – some countries 'appear to be doing best', therefore they are copied – is acceptable if one assumes that 'good performance' is construed upon the discourse of the observing ('copying') actors.

institutions were much more likely to become accepted within the Chinese intellectual community. A good case in point is Teachers College at Columbia University. In a case study on the members of the Chinese Vocational Education Society, it turned out that almost sixty per cent of those who studied in the United States chose Teachers College as their place of study.[87] The dominance of this institution among Chinese intellectuals even led the Prussian minister of education, Carl Heinrich Becker, who in 1931 was heading the League of Nations educational mission to China, to complain about 'the influence of American pedagogy on China, in particular the dissolution of all real knowledge in chitchat about the methods and the psychology of education.'[88] Becker judged the effect of Teachers College on Chinese education to be 'simply devastating.'[89]

Shifting the focus back to the 'receiving' system also opens space for seeming 'coincidences'. In her analysis of how the Soviet star was appropriated in Mongolia, Ines Stolpe illustrates how the five edges of the star coincided with the Mongolian concept of the five different kinds of grazing cattle, thus producing a highly successful new symbol.[90] As this very visual example reveals, it is important that ideas and concepts can *resonate* within their new environment to be successful in the long run. Deweyan pragmatism found a friendly environment in China not only because there were personal connections between Dewey and many Chinese educators, but also since traditional resources offered a specifically Chinese, and therefore culturally accessible, way to understand pragmatism. The concept of 'vocational guidance' found its advocates in China not only because of the global triumph of psychology or because of some general American influence, but also because it coincided with the Chinese wish to define each person's place in society; vocational guidance looked like an efficient instrument to do exactly this, thus emphasising more the needs of the society rather than those of the individual.

While a perceived internal stagnation made it more likely that global trends or popular export models would find their way into Chinese education, more differentiated evaluations of non-Chinese models – or even disappointment with them – increased the visibility and the value of traditional references. Thus, there is no linear development from 'reference to tradition' to 'reference to world situations', but the pendulum seems to swing back and forth. Beginning in the 1920s, Chinese intellectuals increasingly referred to the 'tradition' as providing a solution to China's problems of modernisation. However, this was no simple revisionism or a step back into the past, but a reflection of the present, acute problems of Chinese society, which it shared, according both to Chinese and non-Chinese intellectuals, with many modern societies: the lack of spiritual values in a world

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87   See Schulte, Zur Rettung des Landes (note 61), 105 f.
88   C. H. Becker: Carl Heinrich Becker in China. Reisebriefe des ehemaligen preußischen Kulturministers 1931/32, Münster 2004) (= Berliner China-Studien/Quellen und Dokumente), 133 (seventh letter).
89   Ibid., 151 (eighth letter).
90   See I. Stolpe, Die Mongolisierung des Sowjetsterns. Ein Beispiel für die Rolle des Zufalls beim Transfer von Symbolen, in: Transfer lokalisiert. Konzepte, Akteure, Kontexte, ed. B. Schulte, Leipzig 2006, 30–43.

overtly determined by material and technological criteria.[91] These critical reflections on the nature of Western modernity gave rise to Contemporary Neo-Confucianism, which is – paradox as it may sound – a highly modern tradition. Coming back to the concept of 'creolisation', this means that creolisation works both ways: 'imported' ideas, concepts, and institutions are surely domesticated; but local traditions are equally transformed through their interaction with global trends. The latter are as little 'authentic' as the former are simply 'global' or 'international'.

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91   One of the best known Chinese intellectuals of the time was Carsun Chang (1887–1969) who together with Rudolf Eucken wrote Das Lebensproblem in China und in Europa, Leipzig 1922.

The Transfer of German Pedagogy in Taiwan (1940–1970)

Liou, Wei-chih

ABSTRACT

Wissenstransfer spielte eine zentrale Rolle im Prozess der Herausbildung akademischer Disziplinen bzw. der Reform der traditionellen Wissenskulturen in einer Vielzahl nichtwestlicher Länder im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Beispiel für solch einen Modernisierungsprozess bildet der Einfluss der deutschen Bildung und Pädagogik auf Taiwan. Der Aufsatz beginnt mit einer Analyse der neun einzigen chinesischen Pädagogikstudenten, die ihre akademischen Grade in Deutschland zwischen 1920 und 1949 erwarben, danach nach China zurückkehrten und nach 1949 in Taiwan als „Wissensmediatoren" fungierten. Es wird gezeigt, wie diese Pädagogen versuchten, nach dem Vorbild der geisteswissenschaftlichen Tradition der deutschen Erziehungswissenschaft die taiwanesische Pädagogik und das Bildungssystem, das bis dahin vom amerikanischen Wissenschaftsparadigma dominiert war, zu reformieren. Dies war mit dem Anspruch verbunden, anhand der kulturellen und philosophischen Annahmen der „Kulturpädagogik" westliche und chinesische Kultur in Taiwan miteinander harmonisch zu verbinden und angesichts der politischen Ereignisse in China 1949 neue Lösungen für den Bildungsbereich zu suchen. Der Analyse liegen die theoretischen Annahmen des Wissenstransfers von Steiner-Khamsi und Schriewer zugrunde.

Knowledge transfer played a crucial role in the process of modernizing academic disciplines in many non-Western countries during the 20th century. Many of them began either to modify the old or to establish an entirely new tradition of academic disciplines; this essay will address the specific case of pedagogy in China and Taiwan.[1] Its analysis

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1   Due to the specific historical context in China and Taiwan, the transfer of Germany pedagogy in this article was researched geographically in China before 1949, and after 1949 in Taiwan.

of knowledge transfer will be based on Jürgen Schriewer's theory of externalization[2] and Gita Steiner-Khamsi's three-tiered model. While Schriewer's analysis focuses on describing the first phase of reception (externalization), his explanatory approach and theory of self-referential systems is extended to a three-tiered model by Steiner-Khamsi. Steiner-Khamsi develops the theory of externalization by organizing the receptive process along a temporal axis with three different phases: the active reception phase (externalization), the implementation phase (re-contextualization), and the indigenization phase (internalization).[3]

The following study on the reception of German pedagogy in Taiwan will primarily examine the transfer factors of "impulses" (which impulse factors, as related to external demands and inner requirements, incite a country to introduce education reform in accordance with a foreign example?) and "transnational attractiveness" (what renders a particular foreign theory and practice of education especially attractive – is it the context of the self or the superiority of the foreign education theory?). Particular weight is given to the mediators of the transfer process and the results of the transfer: externalization, re-contextualization or internalization.

1. Historical Background

1.1. The Reception of German Pedagogy in the 1904 School System

The emergence of a modern education system in China prior to 1919 took place subsequent to several defeats in wars against the West. The cultural and political systems in China, which had been running steadily for thousands of years, came under the pressure of modernization, envisaged, for instance, in the development of a modern school system in accordance with the foreign model.[4] At the beginning of the modernization process in the education system, and during the school system reform of 1904, the Chinese wished to adopt foreign models to a limited extent only. According to the cultural and political reform idea of the "Ti-Yong Theory" (as a leading ideology or "solid Chinese

2   J. Schriewer, 'Vergleich als Methode und Externalisierung auf Welt: Vom Umgang mit Alterität in Reflexionsdisziplinen', in Theorie als Passion, hrsg. von D. Bäcker, Frankfurt a. M. 1987, 629-668; J. Schriewer, Konstruktion von Internationalität: Referenzhorizonte Pädagogischen Wissens im Wandel Gesellschaftlicher Systeme (Spanien, Sowjetunion/Russland, China), in: Gesellschaften im Vergleich: Forschungen aus Sozial- und Geschichtswissenschaften, ed. Hartmut Kaelble / J. Schriewer, Frankfurt a. M. 1999, 151-258; J. Schriewer, Multiple Internationalities: The Emergence of a World-Level Ideology and the Persistence of Idiosyncratic World-Views, in: Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities, ed. Ch. Charle / J. Schriewer / P. Wagner, Frankfurt a. M. 2004, 473-533.
3   G. Steiner-Khamsi, Vergleich und Subtraktion: das Residuum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Globalem und Lokalem, in: Vergleich und Trasfer. Komparatistik in den Geschichts-, Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften, ed. H. Kaelble / J. Schriewer, Frankfurt a. M. 2002, 380-397.
4   R. Reinbothe, Kulturexport und Wirtschaftsmacht: Deutsche Schulen in China vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, Frankfurt a. M. 1992; Huayuan Xue, Ti-Yong-These in the late Qing-Dynastie 1861–1900 (in Chinese), Taipei 1991; Refan Zhang / Changshu Wang (ed.), Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education (in Chinese), Jinan 1997.

substance"),[5] Chinese teaching was intended to serve as intellectual substance whereas western knowledge was merely for practical use. The modernization of education, that is, "externalization" in line with the foreign model, only occurred – so claimed the Ti-Yong theory – on the level of institutionalization; in other words, with reference to foreign ways of structuring education. The school system of 1904 can therefore be characterized as a combination of the cultural and political ideas of the Ti-Yong theory, of the Japanese education model (in terms of modernization and organization) and Hebartian education concepts (as a useful "Western practice").[6] This leads us to conclude that the superiority of the foreign education model (Japan) and foreign theories and methods of education (from Germany, but conveyed through Japan) were "perfectly" interwoven in the school system of 1904 with the Chinese concept and the autochthon leading ideology of the time. The reception of Japanese Herbartianism in China, which to a great extent occurred at the institutional or methodological level, was an excellent example of "Western use" as well as being useful and significant for the first step towards modernizing education in China.

This early externalization of the Chinese education system can be considered a special variant of externalization that occurred between the poles of Western modernization and the preservation of tradition as a result of its emphasis on "Chinese substance" and "Western use", as Schriewer put it.[7] Here, Chinese tradition played a more important part than the ideas from abroad. In this specific external and internal context, the Chinese decided to adopt the Japanese education model, which they took to be successful and attractive, and thus the example of Herbartian education in order to maintain the functionality of the Chinese system of rule and, at the same time, to take steps towards modernization.

The Japanese model was implemented selectively and adapted to the leading ideology of the time and the local milieu. The focal points of implementation were – alongside organizational aspects – the western subjects that would be taught or the teaching methods, for example. Herbart's theory, on the other hand, did not appear to be important.[8] Re-contextualization was carried out entirely in accordance with the Chinese view of the various difficulties.

5   The Chinese adopted an official political-reform, as well as fundamentally cultural-philosophical, response in 1898: "China's teachings are the intellectual substance (ti), Western knowledge serves only for practical purposes (yong)." This was also termed the "Ti-Yong Thesis" (zhongti xiyong).

6   Guping Zhou, The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China (in Chinese), Guangzhou 1996, 14-26, 36-39, 88-101; Hiroshi Abe, Borrowing from Japan: Chinas First Modern Educational Systems, in: China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer, ed. R. Hayhoe/M. Bastid, Armonk 1987, 57-80; Daozhi Wei (ed.), A Chinese-Foreign Exchange History of Education (in Chinese), Changsha 1998, 102-107; Jinchou Zheng and Baoque Qu, The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20th Century (in Chinese), Beijing 2002, 12.

7   Schriewer, Konstruktion von Internationalität, 162-165.

8   Zhou, The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China, 71-101. Abe, Borrowing from Japan: Chinas First Modern Educational Systems, 66. Zhang / Wang, Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education, 98-99.

1.2. The Reception of American Pedagogy in the 1922 School System

The reception of American pedagogy in China had its heyday during the development of the 1922 school system. The societal situation within the country as a whole was primarily influenced by the epochal May Fourth Movement,[9] in which Chinese tradition was overthrown and the new Chinese intellectuals were striving for democracy and (faith in) science.[10] Further, John Dewey's lecture tour in China (1919–1921)[11] and the influences of other American education experts in the areas of school evaluation, assessment and educational psychology[12] contributed significantly to China's decision to set up a completely new school system in which "traditional" education – including the traditional Chinese and even the Japanese Herbartian concepts – was to have no place.

In the 1922 school system, the aims (in fact, education does not have aims; rather, it merely follows "general principles"), the organizational design (the 6-3-3 Plan), the school administration, which was regulated by the pupils themselves (democratically), the child-oriented curricula (regarded as anti-traditional and not adult-oriented) and the teaching methods (the project method and the Dalton Plan) followed the political ideas of the May Fourth Movement with a tendency towards Dewey's Progressive Education.[13] During this phase, American pedagogy was first received – as was the case in the 1904 school system – via the Chinese context-specific "problem awareness and particular value preferences"[14] as per the May-Fourth era. This meant that the American education model and the Dewey Theory appeared particularly attractive due to such values as "rational scientific thinking" and "democracy", values that were equally striven for in China. The Chinese regarded and perceived them as a "modern" Weltströmung "in accordance with the truth", or as "scientific method in its purest form".[15] The reception of American pedagogy in China thus found a form of externalization that occurred simultaneously and in great detail with reference to organization (the 6-3-3 school system), values (science

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9   The May Fourth Movement, initiated in 1919, was a movement of patriotic students and young intellectuals against the imperialism of the victorious powers from World War I and thereby was also directed against the warlord feudelism in Peking. Their primary concern was to provide China with justice and the respect of the international community. The problem for the followers of this movement was that due to the political unrest, economic underdevelopment and diplomatic humiliation, the old Chinese culture was no longer in a place to produce a completely new and, at the same time, strong nation.

10   Zeho Li, Modern History of Ideas in China (in Chinese), Taipei 1991, 359, 403-409; Hao Zhang, Essays on Our Time (in Chinese), Taipei 1991, 140-160; Yingshi Yu, Hu Shi in the modern History in China (in Chinese), Taipei 1984, 16-18; Guorong Yang, Positivism and Philosophie in modern China (in Chinese), Taipei 1995, 130, 221.

11   Junsheng Wu, Essays on Education and Culture (in Chinese), Taipei 1972; R. D. Findeisen, Vier westliche Philosophen in China: Dewey und Russell, Bergson und Nietzsche, in: Minima Sinica 1 (1992), 1-36; J. Chen, China and the West: Society and Culture 1815–1937, Bloomington 1979, 182-183; Yu, Hu Shi in the modern History in China, 43-50; Li, Modern History of Ideas in China, 115.

12   For example, P. Monroe, G. R. Twiss, W. A. McCall were invited to China between 1921–1922.

13   Zheng / Qu, The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20th Century, 264. Wu, Essays on Education and Culture, 535-566. Zhang/Wang (ed.), Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education, 263. Zhou, The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China, 228-244.

14   Schriewer, Konstruktion von Internationalität, 162.

15   Zhang, Essays on Our Time, 140; Guorong Yang, Development and Transcendence of Scientism in modern China (in Chinese), Taipei 2000, 130.

and democracy) and scholarliness ("in accordance with the truth", "scientific method in its purest form"), as the context and societal milieu in China turned out to be highly suitable for this reception. Under these circumstances, American pedagogy was re-contextualized along the lines of Chinese political ideas and value preferences. The consequences include, for instance, the emphasis on teaching methods that emerged with the new scientific nature of pedagogy in China and its orientation towards this positivistic paradigm.[16]

Secondly, the reception of American pedagogy in China is a good example of knowledge transfer that occurred without any careful consideration of the fundamentally different contexts of both countries. As a result, it was teaching methods or external organizational structures that were primarily adopted. The specifics of Chinese culture were intentionally dismissed and the large cultural differences between China and the USA were neglected.

Although the 1922 school system was – for the first time in Chinese history – primarily initiated by educationists, and although significant specialist journals and associations, guest lecturers and numerous scholars who had been trained in the USA all contributed to introducing this system as mediators in the transfer process,[17] the sociocultural differences between the two countries were not taken into account during the externalization phase. It was merely a matter of implementing modern ideas and movements that were regarded "academic". This is an extreme example of knowledge transfer in which the foreign education model and theory were adopted and the future of the local culture and tradition was ignored. There was evidently hardly any scholarly or cultural reflection on this process of transfer. China's education system, which was lacking a consistent philosophy and thus solid objectives, was not in a position to criticize foreign methods and systems in accordance with consistent criteria. Indeed, the cultural crisis suffered by China at the time was a reflection of this problem in Chinese education.

1.3. The Reception of German Pedagogy in PhD Theses by Chinese Doctoral Students in Germany (1928–1943)

Between 1924 and 1936, nine Chinese educationists were studying in Germany (see Table 1).[18] Six of them were writing their theses at the University of Berlin, supervised by Spranger, Bäumler and Wichmann; the other three at the University of Jena supervised by Petersen, in Munich by Fischer, and in Cologne by Schneider. Under the supervision of the leading German educationists of the time, they were aspiring to doctorates in

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16 Zhou, The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China, 204-09, 212-18; Wei (ed.), A Chinese-Foreign Exchange History of Education, 228. Wu, Essays on Education and Culture, 559. Zheng / Qu, The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20th Century, 24; Zhang / Wang, Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education, 270.

17 Wu, Essays on Education and Culture, 549-550.

18 On the beneficial educational policy conditions see Hong Meng, Das Auslandsstudium von Chinesen in Deutschland (1861–2001): Ein Beispiel internationaler Studentenmobilität im Rahmen der chinesischen Modernisierung, Frankfurt a. M. 2005, 94-117.

the areas of education reform, empirical pedagogy, comparative education, cultural philosophy and cultural education, and Germany's National-Socialist education and school education practice. This first and only group of Chinese educationists who took their doctoral degrees in the first half of the 20th century in Germany constituted the first direct reception of German education in the history of China.

The knowledge transfer that was achieved via these nine Chinese students doing their doctoral degrees in Germany showed that they also fulfilled other functions external to scholarly knowledge including, as Schriewer put it, as 'a resource for international reflection on reform',[19] either with regards to topics, procedures, or interpretation. The strong influence of Nationalism, which emerged in China in the 1930s and 1940s, thus cannot be ignored in the theses of Zeng (1937), Tien (1939) and Xiao (1943); nor can the objectives of Chinese education in the theses of Xü (1928) and Wang (1937). The thesis by Wu (1938), which addressed the farmer formation education in National-Socialist Germany, seemed to have nothing to do with China, and yet it complied fully with the political needs of the Chinese national government.[20]

These scholarly resources demonstrate that almost each Chinese doctoral student made reference to an awareness of the problems in China that had developed before the work on their theses. On the one hand they organized their theses in such a way as to glean new insights in the field of education in the arts and humanities, comparative education or educational psychology. On the other, the specific structure of their dissertations served to reinforce old convictions. For example: The apparently purely philosophical subject-matter of the two Spranger disciples Ma (1940) and Zhang (1941) on the cultural cycles theory or Spengler's philosophy of history was in fact connected to a concern for the fate of China, theoretically, insofar as the assessment of China's historical level of development – which was perceived as false – was rejected and hope in the country's future was inspired on a psychic and subjective level. Their general societal view of the problem was reflected, for instance, by Xü's method of constantly referring back to the educational facts and circumstances within China; or by Tien, who initially spent two-thirds of his thesis depicting the historical context of the German school system and ultimately attached a comparative chapter on China and Germany. The predominant objectives that they had pursued prior to their PhD studies in Germany, such as developing a synthesis of Western and Chinese pedagogy, demonstrating the problems inherent in modern Chinese education via a comparison of the German historical experience, and ascertaining the nationalistic tendency within China, were thus reinforced.

19   Schriewer, Konstruktion von Internationalität, 160-162.
20   For an extensive analysis of these dissertations see Liou, Wei-chih, "Aus Deutschem Geistesleben…" Zur Rezeption der deutschen Pädagogik in China und Taiwan zwischen 1900 und 1960, Leipzig 2006, 163-241.

2. The Transfer of German Pedagogy in China and Taiwan via the PhD Students' Research in Germany (1940–1970)

2.1. Presenting and Interpreting German Pedagogy in China

In order to ascertain how German pedagogy contributed to the development of Chinese pedagogy and to education itself in China and Taiwan via the Chinese educationists in question here, we will examine the contribution of four educationists who settled in Taiwan subsequent to 1949 – Xü, Wang, Wu, und Tien.[21] Before discussing their occupation and their effects on educational practice in Taiwan, their presentations and interpretations of German pedagogy will be explained by means of four categories.

Philosophy of Education and the History of Pedagogy

As Chinese pedagogy had been focusing on teaching methods and the pragmatic paradigm ever since the 1920s, the emphasis placed on the philosophy of education and the history of pedagogy is highly significant. Let us base the explanation on the example of Tien. The history of pedagogy was a focal point of Tien's work. His book, A History of Pedagogy, 1956, takes this idea as its starting point and seeks to contradict the one-sided views of Chinese education since the May Fourth Movement. Tien addressed the history of pedagogy in such a manner as to emphasize the historical context and to constantly relate Chinese with Western history. As the question of a fixed educational ideal gained central importance for the Chinese during the first half of the 20th century, the method of this book was of huge significance as far as the historical development of modern Chinese education was concerned. Tien attempted to explain the history of education following the ideas of cultural education. In doing so, he highlighted the inevitable connections between education, culture and society. Further, the societal, cultural and political contexts of the education system were emphasized in order to reach a comprehensive and standardized understanding of the subject matter.[22] In the last two chapters, the education system and China's educational concepts were compared with those of Western countries. In doing so, Tien attempted to explain the characters of both cultures. He placed the emphasis on the Chinese history of pedagogy. It is only when he explains the Chinese theories of education that he takes the example of the West as a further extension of the topic from a comparative point of view. This suggests that, for Tien, the Chinese history of pedagogy was more significant than its Western counterpart.

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21   After completing their degrees, eight of the nine educationists who received their doctorates in Germany went back to China. The only one who did not return to China and stayed in Germany was Xiao, who received his doctorate under Bäumler in 1943 on „Jugendformationerziehung". Due to the political upheaval of 1949 and the dominating political ideology thereafter, there was almost no technical pedagogical research on the Chinese mainland until the 1970s. The educationists in this article, who remained in China after 1949, thus most likely had no place for a continuation of their academic work.

22   Peilin Tien, History of Pedagogy (in Chinese), Taipei 1956), foreword.

The historical comparison proved to be of an optimistic nature in Tien's work, as the path of Chinese, humanism-based culture towards science and technology had been easier than that of western, materialist cultures in their return to the humanist direction.[23] Chinese educational theories had been assessing the new western elements for half a century. They attempted to integrate the new, and – whenever they continued it – they would have an ideal future, according to Tien, who envisaged the subject of educational philosophy as a central area of teaching at the Institute of Education – which he founded in 1955 – at the National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU). Tien pointed out that the Herbartian philosophy of education was the only scholarly form of pedagogy, agreeing that the theoretical foundations of educational science could not be regarded in isolation from philosophy. The focus of the Institute of Pedagogy at the NTNU was thus laid on either Chinese or Western philosophy.[24]

Tien's article of 1961, 'Western Trends in Pedagogy of the Modern Era' was highly significant. Tien began by depicting the opposing trends of the time, particularly the dichotomies between individualism and society, realism, technocracy and humanism, and between material achievements and spiritual needs. The various trends in pedagogy reflected the spirit of the time and therefore also contained various insights on raising children. Tien subsequently explained important movements such as the workers', the women's and youth movements, which were clearly in favour of the education theories. He then began to explain the trends in pedagogy by dividing them into two principal directions of thought, the first constituting a rather passionate and emotional striving for the highest ideal and including free school communities, child-oriented learning, home schooling (Berthod Otto School) and art education. The other trend, continued Tien, that of vocational colleges, the pragmatic education movement and cultural education, gives rise to rather more rational and gradual improvements.[25] This article was well-respected later on account of Tien's systematic and well-organized explanation of the background, the historical context and the various trends: "This article is one of the most thorough and important articles on western trends in pedagogy. Cultural education in particular is depicted in great detail from its philosophical foundations up to the theory of education. It is only since the appearance of this article that Chinese and Taiwanese educationists have been able to completely and correctly understand these trends. Later, an increasing number of articles appeared on cultural pedagogy that seized growing attention in Taiwan and became more widespread."[26] We may infer from this that the concepts offered by western trends in pedagogy made an important contribution at a time that was not at all conducive to academic research and where Chinese and Taiwanese educationists were striving to learn about western education theories.

23   Ibid., 232.
24   Peilin Tien, Education and Culture (in Chinese), Taipei 1976, 352.
25   Ibid., 415-473.
26   Lianggung Yang / Zhengzhuo Wu, Educational Thoughts in the Last 70 years, in: Chinese Education in the Last 70 years (in Chinese), ed. Weifan Guo, Taipei 1981, 1-49.

Tien claimed that, in the first half of the 20th century, Chinese education and pedagogy oscillated between education trends from abroad with the emphasis on science and technology on the one hand, and – on the other hand – national education, which focused more on Chinese national issues and culture. He maintained that several education reforms were not successful on account of the fact that this divide and contradiction had still not been overcome. He concluded that both trends, national culture and western knowledge, must be harmoniously integrated and synthesized.[27]

Cultural Education

After 1949, the meaning of education within the arts and humanities was especially popularized in Taiwan by Wang and Tien, especially in relation to the cultural education theory of Eduard Spranger. Spranger's opinion of the significance of education was often cited in this regard:

> *Education is the uniform, consistent and culturally influenced shaping of an individual that renders him open to further development, capable of objectively valuable cultural participation and able to experience (and understand) objective cultural values.*[28]

And further:

> *Education is the dynamic absorption of all objective values that may be correlated to the disposition and the life-cycle of a developing mind, to the experience, attitude and the creative ability of a person, aiming towards a complete, objectively capable and internally satisfied personality.*[29]

The normative dimensions of pedagogy were thus emphasized in reference to cultural education, a direction that had been overshadowed by the positivistic paradigm in China for decades.

Tien explained that education must establish values, whether pertaining to personal development, the progress of a community, achieving an ideal or reaching a goal. Even if education were regarded purely as technology, it would still have a goal to aim for via the technology. Strictly speaking, pedagogy was therefore not a descriptive undertaking, but a normative form of scholarship. While this may indeed have been considered a weak point in pedagogy, at the same time it also represented one of its specialities.[30] Tien elaborates on Spranger's concept of the individual being filled with cultural values during the education process, in turn enriching these cultural values with his own creative input. Spranger had thus, Tien continued, linked individual performance brought about by education with cultural values and national virtues.[31] Tien was an enthusiastic supporter

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27   Tien, Education and Culture, 348-349.
28   Spranger (1923/1973), GS II, 276-277.
29   Ibid.
30   Tien, Education and Culture, 9.
31   Ibid., 46.

of cultural education, which, he claimed, simultaneously acknowledged both the status of the (subjective) individual and that of the (objective) culture. Culture cannot, he continued, exist without individuals. Both are intimately interwoven; they are tangible and in flux. Cultural education is therefore, he concluded, an important trend.[32]

Humanism as an Educative Ideal

When Eduard Spranger, the mentor of both Tien and Wang, died in 1963, four Chinese students who had completed their doctoral degrees in Germany had long since relocated to Taiwan. Not only was the entire world politically divided; so were the home countries of both German cultural education and of the Chinese educationists. Now older, they were unable to return to their true homeland of China; the cultural ideals of the nation had been destroyed by the Chinese communists. Humanism and its connections with education and an ideal future world were deeply ingrained in the minds of these four educationists. The last publications of Xü and Wang therefore explicitly addressed humanism, which both considered a future ideal.

At the same time, for them, the cultural crisis and the crisis of religion and meaning also constituted a crisis for education. Spranger's thoughts from the beginning of the 20th century still rang true half a century later: the ambiguity surrounding the aims of culture resulted in a lack of educational aims. Practitioners in the education system often had to be content with the most prominent issues of practical work and organization. Spranger considered education the only possible solution to the crisis; he claimed that it was a matter of inner revolution, not of economical and social revolution. A deeper idea of culture needed to be developed: education in Spranger's view – as the process of developing a 'disposition' – was impossible in the absence of a world-view (*Weltanschauung*).

For our Chinese educationists, the process of developing a disposition and a world-view had to be derived from humanism. A newspaper article in 1963 entitled "Letter to a German Friend" was the last published work by Xü. Here, he depicted how in his youth he had been a disciple of Dewey and – like other young people of the time – an enthusiastic follower of Marxism and other conceptual trends that had reached China. It was, however, this blind passion for the new and for change that later ultimately brought about China's downfall. This personal and at the same time national tragedy derived – Xü continued – from the failure of China's youth to recognize and thus to solve the problems inherent to their country. The failure of Chinese modernization was not a consequence of some theory or other; rather, the Chinese had lost direction.[33] In his later years, Xü would often reflect on how people might succeed in choosing the right path in the future. He emphasized that combining education with charity, religious brotherhood, the spirit of Chinese culture and the western natural sciences would be the best way out for the Chinese – and indeed for all people.

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32   Ibid., 90.
33   Xü (1963). Letter to a German Friend, in: Chungyang Ribau, 10.25.1963, 6th Edition.

Wang's final work, *Humanism and Education*, 1983, equally addressed humanism. In view of the dominance of materialism and communism across the world, he claimed, one should refer back to humanism in order to rebuild human subjectivity and overcome cultural crisis. Chinese culture is based not on religion but on an ethos, which renders it a typical humanist culture. Wang emphasized that the fall of a culture is not a result of its aging but rather – as Spranger put it – the greatest cultural crisis arises from the cultural subject no longer being content with the culture surrounding him; he no longer believes in it; he dismisses its values as ascertained by historical research. Wang regretted the incapability of the Chinese to uphold the good old assets, the core features of culture and the spirit of humanism, and – unlike the Japanese – to adopt extracts of Western culture. Future solutions were not to be found in western materialism or power politics, nor would they arise from an anti-humanitarian communism; Chinese humanistic culture, he claimed, is the only way out. "China", however, was not to be understood as communist China, but – according to Wang's conviction – rather as a China built on Sun Yatsen's *Three Principles of the People*: ethos, democracy and scholarship.[34]

Wang maintained, however, that humanism should be defined by sources of Chinese culture. Wang discussed the characteristics of the Chinese people, something that had already been a major topic of debate in the 1930s and 1940s. He summarized various opinions on the Chinese and on foreigners by means of this issue. According to Wang, there were more advantages to the Chinese people than disadvantages. He emphasized that the Chinese had to believe in their traditional system of values, otherwise they would lose their will to revive their culture. The most important and pressing task in the area of culture and education was therefore to reinforce the confidence of the Chinese in their own traditional system of values and to strengthen the will for cultural revival.[35] Wang assigned priority, however, to finding a way out of the crisis that had arisen via institutionalization, the positivistic trends in academia, the problem of religion versus science, and the dilemma surrounding education.[36] Wang attempted to integrate Spranger's ideas with those of Confucius. He claimed that Spranger's views on the conscience that could be aroused in individuals by education, and which could put an end to the contemporary cultural crisis, were based on the same approaches as Chinese Confucianism. The Chinese, he continued, should make efforts towards synthesizing these two humanistic directions.

Much like his supervisor, Spranger, before him, in his old age Wang too considered humanism the solution for people and the world at large. In the last years of Wang's life, China was controlled by a communism that strictly rejected traditional Chinese culture. For numerous Chinese intellectuals this situation meant the fall of the Chinese people

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34   Wenjun Wang, Humanism and Education (in Chinese), Taipei 1983, foreword. The "Three Principles of People" (sanmin zhu-i) are public welfare, public rights and citizenship. They were developed by Sun Yat-sen.

35   Wang, Humanism and Education, 247-264.

36   Ibid., 298-302.

and their culture. For an educationist, the only solution appeared to lie in instructing young people in the spirit of humanism and *pedagogical love*.

The Concept of Pedagogical Love

Pedagogical love (*pädagogische Liebe*) according to Spranger is an important characteristic of a teacher and a significant moment in the process of education and instruction. It is a lever between teachers and young people that awakens the latter's longing for the higher values of the objective world. Tien and Wang always emphasized and explained this concept of Spranger's in great detail.

The idea of *pedagogical love* should be of central importance to the teacher. Wang explained Spranger's writings on the subject:[37]

> *Education is, therefore, the will carried by love given from one soul to another to unfold from within the former's complete sense of values and the ability to shape them.*
> *The love that receives, that dedicates itself to the true wealth of values inherent in the beloved; love that gives, that wishes to enrich the other's soul with its cornucopia of merit; and the unfolding community of values in which giving and receiving remain balanced between two personal worlds of worth.*
> *The teacher, on the other hand, is filled with love for the objective intellectual values already shaped, even if he is no creator himself, and he strives to convert these objective values back into subjective life and experience. Above all, he wishes to activate them in the attitudes and abilities of developing souls. For him it is therefore a matter of progression from the object to the subject. He would like values to be borne of souls; he would like them to be experienced appropriately by developing persons.*[38]

Tien made *pedagogical love* the aim of studying education. He demonstrated that the aim of such a course constituted three aspects: building a basis for further educational theories, composing directions for developments in educational practice, and, thirdly, drawing on pedagogical love. Over the course of history, claimed Tien, there had been so many educationists and significant personalities that we could be moved and inspired by their work and *pedagogical love* to equally commit ourselves to such an undertaking, following their examples.[39]

In 1965 Wang published the book *Theory and Practice of Class Leadership at High Schools*. In this book, Wang was able to combine his own practical experience, his understanding of the psychology of youth *(Psychologie des Jugendalters)* and Spranger's theory of the *Types of Men (Lebensformen)* as well as the ideals of Chinese culture and the concern for the social situation and world conditions. Unlike Wang's other works, this book is written in a lively style. Wang emphasized, in accordance with Spranger, how young people could be suitably brought up with the right mindset to harbour their own, correct, views

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37   Wang, Theory and Praxis of the Class Leadership at Heigh Schools (in Chinese), Taipei 1965, 220-221.
38   Ibid.
39   Tien, History of Pedagogy, 10-14.

of life and the world. In doing so, he expressly underlined the fact that pedagogical love should not be forgotten in class leadership. A teacher without pedagogical love, he claimed, would render education impossible. For Wang, pedagogical love even meant love of the young people themselves as well as love of the nation and culture. The teacher was the link between both, and was therefore in a position to encourage a close connection between them. Young people, he claimed, are infiltrated by national culture to such an extent that it even inspires their will to create. A new generation was thus raised, and the nation and its culture were thus reinforced. Could there be a greater love?[40]

As a result of their efforts, the Sprangerian concept of *pedagogical love* became widespread amongst the students of Wang and Tien, and had a lasting impact.

2.2. Work and its Effects in Practice

The four educationists in question here held many important political posts. For educationists, a university professorship, educational administration and a school headmaster post are all offices providing the opportunity to implement their specialist knowledge. In China / Taiwan it was usual for scholars returning from research periods abroad to be appointed to important positions. Once back in China/Taiwan, the four educationists took on the following occupations:

University professorships: All four became professors; three of them (Tien, Xü and Wu) were made deans or heads of research institutes at the universities. Tien also became the rector of the State University of Henan. After 1949, Tien, Wang and Wu worked and taught together at the NTNU and at the National Cheng-Chi University (NCCU).

Educational Administration: They also took on important responsibilities in the area of education. Wang, Xü and Wu became Heads of Education Offices at the provincial level. At the level of central government, Tien was Deputy Minister of Education from 1946 onwards, and Wu became Head of the Department for Middle Schools at the Ministry of Education in 1947.

Headmaster posts: Xü and Wang became school headmasters. Xü was also director of the 'Experimental School' affiliated with the University of Zhongyang. Wang founded a school immediately upon his return from Germany in 1937.

University Posts

Tien's founding and leadership of the Institute of Education at the NTNU in 1955 is an important example of his work at the university level. This post was particularly significant because it was during this appointment that Tien contributed to the development of education and teacher training in Taiwan. In 1955, several years after the turbulent unrest in China and six years after the national government had settled in Taiwan, which had been a Japanese colony for 50 years (1895–1945), and while the fundaments of modern Chinese education were, for the most part, being destroyed by communism in

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40   Wenjun Wang, Theory and Praxis of the Class Leadership at Heigh Schools, 220-222.

mainland-China, the Institute of Education at the NTNU was established under Tien's leadership. There was not much funding available and only a little support in the way of equipment. Nevertheless, even under these circumstances, Tien had to make an effort to continue pedagogical research in Taiwan, which seemed to be the only place in which Chinese pedagogy could be further developed.

Tien initially underlined the importance of a detailed and correct understanding of Western educational theory and practices in order to improve the Chinese/Taiwanese education process, which indeed had almost entirely been adopted from the West. The Institute of Education at the NTNU therefore held lectures in which English, French, American and German educational theory and practices constituted an important component.

He explained that research in pedagogy could not be isolated from philosophy, and, as a result, the focus of the Institute of Education at the NTNU was initially placed on Chinese and Western philosophy. With these basics, students were able to gain an in-depth understanding of the theory and practice of education. Tien directed the Institute for 14 years and, following his retirement in 1971, continued to develop in the same direction. Tien's legacy is one of enduring influence, not least demonstrated in the fact that he drew countless young educationists, schoolteachers and school administrators to the institute in Taiwan.[41]

Headmaster Posts

The school leadership conducted by Spranger's pupil, Wang, is another important example of the reception of German pedagogy in China. When war broke out between Japan and China in 1937, Wang began an explorative journey through the north-west provinces of China in order to examine their local education system on behalf of the Board of Trustees for the Administration of the Indemnity Funds remitted by the British Government, amongst other commissioners. Following this tour, the decision was made to establish a 'model school' under Wang's leadership in the province of Qinghai. At the time, the province was severely lacked infrastructure; before the year 1936, for instance, there were only three modern high schools on account of the fact that the population was small and spread over a wide area, and due to an underdeveloped economy. In 1938, Wang began to set up and direct a boarding school, Huangchuan High School, which incorporated nine school years, a primary school and a kindergarten. Wang set the

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41 For example, the following students of Tien form the backbone of teaching in Taiwan: Jia Fuming, later received her doctorate in the USA in pedagogical psychology and acted as the head of the NTNU Institute; Huang Kuenhui, received his doctorate in the USA in educational administration and acted as the head of the Institute of Education at the NTNU and the Education Office in the province of Taiwan; Lin Qingjiang, received his doctorate in England in social pedagogy and was later the Minister of Education in Taiwan; Guo Weifan, received his doctorate in France in special education and later acted as Minister of Education; Zheng Zhongxin, wrote his Master's thesis on Spranger's educational theory under Wang Wenjün and received his doctorate in Germany in 1968. After Zheng's return, he became a professor at the Institute of Education. These students of Tien have had and continue to have a great influence on educational theory.

school's goal as consisting of raising a whole person, thus simultaneously educating the individual and society as a whole. Alongside Spranger, Pestalozzi, Kerschensteiner and the significant educationist Cai Yuanpei (1867–1940), Wang placed the focus on the 'Three-H Principle' (head, heart and hand), self-education (self-confidence, autonomy), work, community education, love of one's roots, academic education, aesthetic education (Cai, Kant and Plato), and the emergence of a life- and world-view. This school was to work along the principle of *pedagogical love*, not only conveying the knowledge contained in books but acting in accordance with the educative ideal that Wang knew and treasured from his studies and early experiences.[42]

As Wang had established this school on a solid foundation from the first, it continued, even after 1949, to enjoy a very good reputation, to develop further, and remains a renowned school in China today.[43] Even if Wang was to learn no more about it after 1949, during the war he had, in an isolated location, established a school that worked in accordance with the educative ideals he had procured from leading Chinese and German educationalists, and which he linked to his early experiences in teaching practice. He had thus been a significant player in the transformation of German pedagogy in China.

Work with Political Parties and Youth Organisations

Prior to 1949, Tien, Wang and Wu worked with young people and political matters in the national party KMT. The three educationists formed a small circle dedicated to youth work and the next generation of the KMT. Within a short period of time, for instance (1942–1946), they had occupied in alternation the post of director of the training office of the Department for Central Organization. Tien and Wu were both members of the Central Committee for the *Young People's Union for the Three Principles of the People* in the KMT. After 1949, only Wu remained active in political party-related and youth work in Taiwan. The other two worked primarily as university professors.

Wu's commitment to working with youth and the next generation of the party was a continuation of his studies in Germany. His curriculum vitae shows that he became involved in party and youth work immediately upon his return to China. The organizations in which he was a member, such as the *Young People's Union for the Three Principles of the People*, the *General Association of the Scouts of China*, the *Young People's Union towards Anti-Communism and Redeeming the Chinese Nation,* and the *Academy for Conducting the Revolution (KMT)*, played an important part in cooperating closely with schools and universities in the youth work of the KMT and the national government in China and Taiwan.

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42   Wenjun Wang, My Life in Qinghai (in Chinese), in: Bulletin of Graduate Institute of Education NTNU 23 (1981), 1-24; Wenjun Wang, Zhu Jiahua and the Education of Ethnic Minority (in Chinese), in: Zhu Jiahua Shiansheng Shishi Jiniance, Taipei 1963, 427-431; Ministry of Education R. O. C., The Second Yearbook of Chinese Education (in Chinese), Taipei 1991, 404, 444.
43   Mingyuang Gu, Lexicon of Pedagogy (in Chinese), Shanghai 1998, 594.

In accordance with guidelines set by Wu, training within the Scout Organization became an official component of the middle-school curriculum.[44] The "Young People's Union Towards Anti-Communism and Redeeming the Chinese Nation" was also highly influential: Wu was vice-president of the organization from 1952 onwards and, during this time, Chiang Jingguo, son of Chiang Kaishek and former president of Taiwan was the director of the Union. The "Academy for Conducting the Revolution (KMT)", the highest and most important elite training centre of the KMT, worked on selecting elites from all social classes such as school headmasters and teachers who participated in the training events and would be able to propagate the political ideas of the KMT at a later stage.

Xü was an exception to the rule insofar as he verifiably did not hold any party office. He did, however, hold nationalistic lectures for soldiers and students with great commitment during the Sino-Japanese War. This demonstrates a dramatic change in attitude compared with his earlier liberal stance, as can be witnessed in his dissertation (1928 under Petersen at Jena), in which Xü addresses reform education and the separation of politics and upbringing. When Xü was studying in Germany he was deeply influenced by Johann Gottlieb Fichte and his appeals to the German nation. Xü too wished to shake up the Chinese nation in accordance with Fichte's example. Soon after the Sino-Japanese War had broken out in 1937, he sank all trading vessels owned by his family business for several generations in order to place obstacles in the way of the Japanese warships that were steering down the river into the outback. He thus lost his personal wealth and subsequently lived a modest life. During the war (1937–1945) he initially directed the Experimental School of Zhongyang University, which was moved into the western provinces. He was later appointed Dean of the Faculty of Education at the same university. There, in Sichuang, he offered lectures and seminars on the history of pedagogy in China, the history of Western pedagogy, the history of ideas in Chinese pedagogy, the problems inherent in the Chinese education system, the philosophy of education, and modern thinking in pedagogy.

During this uneasy period, when the theory and practice of education were strongly influenced by Dewey, his pupils were nevertheless able to encounter Dilthey, Natorp, Spranger and Litt, gaining insights into cultural pedagogy. Influenced by Fichte, Xü held lectures for students at the Chongqing universities. He encouraged young students to redeem the Chinese nation using their academic skills, their personalities and other virtues. He often held lectures for soldiers and called for the rebuilding of Chinese culture and the removal of want and suffering. After 1941 he worked at the Ministry of Education at Chongqing.[45]

What did their participation in nationalist and party-political youth work mean to the four educationists who received their doctorates in Germany? This question points towards the characteristics of Chinese intellectuals, most of whom at the time considered political or party-based commitments to be inevitable and necessary tasks towards 're-

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44   Huanchen Wang, Dr. Wu Zhautang (in Chinese), in: Taiwan Jiaoyu Yuekan 9 (1994), 11-14.
45   Shengde Chen, Biography Xü Keshi (in Chinese), in: The Academia Historica Journal 9 (1990), 220-221.

deeming the nation', almost certainly in view of the fate of China and their own ideological decision to reject Marxism. Because the Marxist Chinese communists took action against the traditional Chinese culture, propagating the class conflict, communism was in a position – in their view – to destroy the Chinese nation. The four educationists decided on the political ideology of the 'Three Principles of the People' by Dr. Sun Yatsen, which represented the possibility of eclectically harmonizing Chinese culture with the essence of Western ideas for them.

Restricted Time Available for the Work

The four educationists held various offices, some of them only for a very short time, as can be ascertained despite the lack of comprehensive details regarding the time they spent committed to these activities. It is striking that the various places in which they worked were far apart. Xü, for example, directed the process of moving the Experimental School from Nanjing, in a coastal area, to Gueyang in the southwest outback, via Changsha, during the Sino-Japanese War. He subsequently worked in Chongqing in the province of Sichuang, the provisional capital of China during the war. Wang worked in Qinghai for seven years, one of the most difficult provinces to access and thus not influenced very much by the central government. At the end of the war in 1945, he was appointed Director of the Education Office in his home province of Hubei. After 1949 Wang relocated to Taiwan. Tien underwent a similar experience. He worked in Yunnan in the southwest, in Sichuang in the west, in Shanxi in the northwest, and in Henan in the north of China. After the war, Tien proceeded to Nanjing and later to Taiwan. The war conditions were the underlying reason for this mobility. The destruction of the locations in which they worked, the necessity of taking over posts in the short-tem and the wartime conditions lead us to conclude that their situations were not conducive to academic work; in fact, quite the contrary must have been the case.

Wang, a pupil of Spranger, is a particularly good example of the unsuitable working conditions for scholarly research.

1. Once Wang had translated and sent to print Eduard Spranger's Book *The Problem of Cultural Morphology (Das Problem der Kulturmorphologie)* in 1942, the manuscript was burnt in an enemy attack. Even Wang himself did not have a single copy.[46]

2. In 1958 Spranger's *Psychology of Youth (Psychologie des Jugendalters)* was published in Taipei in the Wang translation. Why was it published so long after the German original and so long after Wang's PhD in Germany? In the foreword, Wang explains that as early as after his return in 1937, he had harboured the wish to translate his supervisor's work. He translated two chapters, but his wish was to remain unfulfilled for some time due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and his task of founding and directing a school in the province of Qinghai; as well as later, due to his post-war work as Director of the Education Office in the province of Hubei. After 1949 he no longer felt inclined to continue

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46   Wenjung Wang, Humanism and Education, 289.

the translation in view of the catastrophic collapse of the nation. It was not until Tien had invited him to give a lecture on Spranger's humanities-oriented psychology at the Institute of Education at the NTNU, in order to popularize the creativity and originality of Spranger's psychology in Taiwan, that he resumed translating – under difficult conditions (without a proper encyclopaedia, for instance) – using the 24th edition of the book that was published in 1955. He thus finally fulfilled the wish he had been harbouring for more than 20 years.[47]

3. The Levels and Significance of Reception

3.1. Levels of Reception of German Pedagogy

In their academic work, the educationists examined in this study acted purely as mediators, educators and sources of inspiration based on their experiences during their doctoral research in Germany. They taught German pedagogy, broadened the horizons of the next generation of Chinese / Taiwanese educationists, and made proposals in the field of education. This is how German pedagogy was transferred and received in China/Taiwan. This transfer and reception were also evident in the significance they attributed to a harmonizing synthesis of Chinese and Western cultures and the resulting Chinese pedagogy.

In their texts, the Chinese education theories and practices were often merged with those of the west, although in doing so the emphasis was always especially placed on the traditional educational theory and practice of China. This could be a result of the fact that they had, under the nationalistic influence in China/Taiwan at the time, already decided on the special path of Chinese culture and education that constituted a mixed essence of their own and Western culture and education, even long before their doctoral research in Germany. Their experiences whilst researching in Germany corresponded – as Schriewer put it – with their method of processing experience and their value preferences,[48] for they underlined that education and instruction should and must be derived from one's own culture. Their experiences in Germany were therefore illuminating and encouraging for Chinese pedagogy, which found itself in a modernization process, for they reinforced the convictions of the Chinese educationists.

Their work, however, was not restricted to the field of German pedagogy. Its reception also led to new ideas for their own cultural debates and research questions, which were closely interwoven with their entire lives back in their home country. With the help of German education theories, especially cultural education, they were given the unique opportunity to reflect more deeply on the problems inherent in Chinese culture and education, and to explore new paths. Their scholarly penetration and teaching of German pedagogy was followed by the recontextualization of the latter in China/Taiwan accord-

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47   Wang, Psychology of Youth (in Chinese), Tapei 1958, foreword.
48   Schriewer, Konstruktion von Internationalität, 162.

ing to the current conditions; once they had themselves processed and internalized the knowledge they had gleaned there, they put these insights into practice using a synthesis of their own and German education theory, thus attaining the three levels of knowledge transfer: externalization, recontextualization and internalization.

3.2. Internalization

When the educationists in question here had finished their research in Germany and returned to China, their country was in the throes of the Sino-Japanese War. At this point, many other Chinese scholars studying abroad also returned, including the nine mentioned here, with the exception of Xiao. They belonged to the third generation of modern Chinese intellectuals.[49] The first and second generations introduced new and revolutionary ideas from the West, participating in political uprisings and cultural movements. They were deeply influenced as pupils of both generations. Nevertheless, unlike their predecessors they contributed to the modernization of China in their professional areas of work: physics, chemistry, or law. The educationalists in our study too – at least the four who relocated to Taiwan – worked all their lives in the field of education and instruction. For the first time in Chinese history, professional academics were contributing, within their various specialist fields, to the country's development, unlike the traditional erudite civil servants over China's long history, selected on account of civil service examinations demanding no more than familiarity with the classics.

Wang's practical training in schools in accordance with Pestalozzi and Spranger and his teaching and research in Taiwan, which he continued until he was well advanced in years, constitute a significant *internalized Reception* of German pedagogy. Tien's contribution towards disseminating German cultural education, his administrative work in training the next generation in the areas of education administration, educational research and school practices in Taiwan was all clearly even more influential than that of Wang. Tien put his convictions from his studies in Germany into practice with consistency and confidence. Xü's work as headmaster, university professor and dean during the war and the lectures he held in line with Fichte in front of soldiers and students are examples of an internalized reception.

All his life, Wu was committed to political youth work for the party alongside his scholarly work. Whether or not we may agree with his political ideology or his decisions, his work nevertheless remains a consistent, decisive and internalized continuation of his convictions regarding formation education that he had learnt and been inspired by while working for Bäumler in Germany. This indicates that in the specific Chinese contexts, more scope was given to formation education. Wu's example is thus also one of internalized reception of German pedagogy.

49   On the generations of modern Chinese intellectuals see: Zeho Li / Vera Schwarcz, Six generations of modern Chinese intellektuals, in: Chinese Studies in History 17 (1983/84) 2, 42-56; Qisheng Wang, Study Abroad and Nation Salvation (in Chinese), Guelin 1995; Yusheng Lin, The May Fourth Movement: Transcendence and Continuation, in: Reflexion on the May Fourth Movement (in Chinese), ed. Yusheng Lin / Zeho Li, Taipei 1989, 28-45.

The level of work conducted by the four educationists reveals that they not only addressed German pedagogy from a theoretical or scholarly point of view; they also internalized and practiced it.

3.3. Historical Assessment

A historical assessment should initially consider the contemporary framework of their life conditions, which – generally speaking – were not ideal. They were born into a time of the first turbulent, spiritual, institutional and material upheaval; that is, into a cultural revolution. When they were young they experienced the divide between old and new, western and Chinese values and norms. Their mentors instructed and even demanded that they dismiss Chinese culture and become the motors of a complete westernization of the country. Their initially liberal tendencies soon changed due to the increasingly critical circumstances of the nationalistic orientation. When they were conducting doctoral research in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, Germany was ruled by the National Socialist ideology that would soon lead to worldwide disaster. The Chinese educationists in training were learning in a Germany that was in a state of radical academic change. Following their studies, most of them returned to China, only to be greeted by the Sino-Japanese War, which was to last eight years and which hung like a black cloud over their early years in academia. Things became even worse when the end of the Anti-Japanese War was followed by the Civil War (1945–1949), and they were therefore forced to leave their home country, never to return. This time, Chinese tradition and culture were destroyed by the Chinese themselves.

From this point of view we must bear in mind that it was almost impossible for them to break through this historical framework on their own. It is therefore understandable that the German pedagogy presented and interpreted in their publications was still thematically more loosely organized, less creative and original, and that they did not develop an autonomously systematic structure of pedagogy. They strove towards building a pedagogy that was interwoven with the Chinese culture. At best, they were able to compare and combine the Chinese and Western – mostly German – education theories. Combining the inner connection with a creative and original *Verschmelzung der Horizonte* (melting of horizons) and developing one pedagogical theory, as their mentor Cai Yuanpei had already achieved at the beginning of the 20th century, would have been an unrealistic tall order.

The reception of cultural pedagogy by Tien and Wang, however, opened up new elements for Chinese education, for it allowed a comprehensive elaboration of higher educative ideals and of the hidden internal driving forces behind education. Despite American pedagogy, which was still dominant in Taiwan in particular, things had changed: The emphasis was no longer placed on teaching methods and instruments. Now, the focus pointed towards unfolding both subjective and objective culture and the creation of new cognitive values.

This great challenge presents even greater difficulties for Chinese/Taiwanese educationists currently, as the horizons of an educationist given specialist training have become increasingly narrower. Nevertheless, the envisaged goals can only be achieved on the basis of a deep and wide understanding of both cultures, especially of both intellectual worlds. It is a long road and one that would overwhelm individual educationists, as the challenge lies not only in learning techniques or gaining certain skills, but also in the deeply rooted origins of both cultures.

For over 700 years, the Chinese have integrated and internalized Buddhism, a *foreign* religion / world view, into their culture. Nowadays, the Chinese and Western cultures and civilizations are even more heterogeneous than in the past. The challenges have therefore become greater and are more difficult to surmount. Nevertheless, we should remember the efforts of the Chinese educationists in this study and the contribution of German pedagogy, accepting the tasks and challenges they bring to its Chinese / Taiwanese counterparts.

Table 1: The Nine Chinese Pedagogues with German Doctoral Degrees

	Xü Keshi	**Liu Jün**	**Zeng Jing**
Year of birth	1896	1899	1912
Place of birth (province)	Hexian (Anhui)	Jiyuan (Henan)	Tsungien (Jiangxi)
Family origins (father's occupation)	Professor	Headmaster	Senior member of staff at a lyceum*
Education in China	Teacher Training College in Peking (1914–1919)	University of Peking (1918–1922)	High school completion qualification (1930)
Subjects of study in China	Pedagogy	Philosophy, German philology	None
German language skills prior to studying in Germany	No information available	Degree in German	Basic skills**
Previous work experience and studies abroad	University department tutor and director, Chair of the department for primary and middle schools (1919–1924)	Tutor of philosophy at the Xinmin University in Peking (1922–)	None
Year (age) upon leaving for Germany	1924 (28)	1924 (25)	1930 (18)
How studies were financed	Scholarship from the local council of the province Anhui	Scholarship from the local council of the province Henan	Self-financed
Subjects of study	Included education science and philosophy	Included pedagogy and philosophy	Included pedagogy and philosophy

Year (age) when completed PhD	1928 (32)	1928 (29)	1937 (25)
University	Jena	Munich	Cologne
Supervisor	Peter Petersen	Aloys Fischer	Friedrich Schneider
Topic of doctoral thesis	"The Situation of Chinese Education with a View to European Reforms"	"The Pupil's Image of the Teacher, with Particular Consideration of Contradictory Reactions on the Part of the Pupil"	"The Chinese Education System Since the 1911 Revolution"
PhD Assessment level	Good***	Good****	Sufficient*****
Work after PhD	Professional career in Taiwan	Tutor at Peking University	Tutor at a university in the Province of Jiangxi
Location after 1949	Taiwan	China	In China until 6.11.1949; no further information available******

*   Jing Zeng, 'Mein siebenjähriger Studienaufenthalt in Deutschlan', in: Ostasien Rundschau 20 (1939) 1, 13.
**   Ibid.
***   Universitätsarchiv Jena, Inventory M, No. 592.
****   Archiv der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, O-NP SS1928.
***** Archiv -der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, O-NP SS1928.
******Universitätsarchiv Köln, Zug. 44, No. 567.

	Wang Wenjün	**Ma Bingwen**	**Zhang Jian**
Year of birth	1903	1907	1912
Place of b-irth (province)	Huangang (Hubei)	Trinidad, British West Indies, after 1919 he grew up in Guangdong	Nanpi (Hebei)
Family origins (father's occupation)	Headmaster of a grammar school and local government council	Businessman	President of Finance
Education in China	University of Peking (1919–1925)	Yianjing University in Peking (1928-–1932)	Zhongguo College in Peking (1931–1935)
Subjects of study in China	Included German Philology and German Studies	Philosophy	Philosophy, Pedagogy
German language skills prior to studying in Germany	University degree in German	No information available	No information available

Previous work experience and studies abroad	Teacher at a Gymnasium, a Realschule, and an Oberrealschule (1925–1932)	None	Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan (1935–1936)
Year (age) upon leaving for Germany	1932 (29)	1933 (26)	1936 (24)
How studies were financed	Scholarship from the local council of the Province of Hubei	Self-financed	Self-financed
Subjects of study	Included philosophy and pedagogy	Philosophy	Philosophy, Heritage Studies
Year (age) when completed PhD	1937 (34)	1940 (33)	1941 (29)
University	Berlin	Berlin	Berlin
Supervisor	Eduard Spranger	Eduard Spranger	Eduard Spranger
Topic of doctoral thesis	"Rural Vocational Training Colleges in Germany up until 1933"	"Theories of Culture Cycles since 1890"	"Value Measurements in Spranger's Philosophy of History"
PhD Assessment level Work after PhD	Good* Professional career in Taiwan	Sufficient** Tutor in China (before 1949)	Sufficient*** No information available
Location after 1949	Taiwan, emigrated to USA after 1983	Trinidad, British West Indies****	No information available

*   Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 846.
**   Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 915.
***   Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 926.
**** BArchiv, N 1182/245. In 1959 Ma sent his doctoral advisor Spranger a birthday card from Trinidad. As there was no university on the island at this time, he was most likely not active as an academic.

	Wu, Zhautang	**Xiao, Yunlai**	**Tien, Pelin**
Year of birth	1905	1913	1898*
Place of birth (Provinz)	Xiuning (Anhui)	Tienmen (Hubei)	Xiancheng (Henan)
Family background (father's occupation)	School headmaster	Regional state member of parliament and professor at a commercial college	Landowner
Education in China	Tongji University at Shanghai (1923–1925)	Central University at Nanjing (1931–1934)**	University of Peking (1916–1920)
Subjects of study in China	German	Pedagogy, law and political science	Philosophy, Pedagogy

German language skills prior to study in Germany	Degree in German	No information available	Learnt German for 3 years at a preparation college***
Previous work experiences and studies abroad	Waseda University of Tokyo (1925–1928); civil servant, head of political training in the central military school (1931–1934)	Academic assistant and civil servant at the Ministry of Education (1934–1936)	Teacher at a grammar school, university department tutor and lecturer (1921–1935)
Year (age) when leaving for Germany	1934 (29)	1936 (23)	1935 (37)
How studies were financed	Self-financed	Self-financed	Self-financed
Subjects of study	Included pedagogy and philosophy	Included political pedagogy and history	Pedagogy and philosophy
Year (age) when completed PhD	1938 (33)	1943 (30)	1939 (41)
University	Berlin	Berlin	Berlin
Supervisor	Alfred Bäumler	Alfred Bäumler	Ottomar Wichmann
Topic of doctoral thesis	„Building up the Reich's Nutrition Status and its Pedagogical Influence Potential on Farming and Folklore"	„The Significance of Formation Education in Preparing for National Defence in Youth Organisations of Germany and China"	„The Problem of Standard Reforms in German Secondary Schools"
PhD assessment	Sufficient****	Sufficient*****	Sufficient******
Work following PhD	Professional career in Taiwan	Restaurant owner*******	Professional career in Taiwan
Location after 1949	Taiwan	Deutschland	Taiwan

*   Das Geburtsjahr von Tien Pelin wird in den einschlägigen Biographien in Taiwan als 11.21.1893 festgehalten. Vgl. Jia, 1989, p. 79. Hier wird dennoch die Angabe von Tien selbst, die er im Lebenslauf in seiner Dissertation geschrieben hat, aufgrund der Originalquelle angenommen.

**   Da zu dieser Zeit der 1928 in Jena promovierte Xü Keshi an dieser Universität Pädagogik lehrte, und Xiao in seiner eigenen Dissertation den Inhalt der von Xü im Jahr 1932 abgehalten Vorlesung „Allgemeine Geschichte der Pädagogik" zitierte, war er wahrscheinlich Schüler von dem auch in dieser vorliegenden Arbeit recherchierten Pädagogen Xü Keshi.

***   Tien (1960/1991), p. 40.

****   Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 871.

***** Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 933.

****** Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 883.

******* Wang (1976), S. 24.

Appendix: Curriculum Vitae and Professional Practice

Xü Keshi (after 1928)[50]

1. School Administration
 – 1928-: School headmaster in Anhui Province
 – 1947: Head of the experimental schools affiliated with the Zhongyang University in Nanjing
2. Professor at university in mainland China (1928–1949)
 – 1947: Professor of Education at the Zhongyang University in Nanjing
 – 1947: Dean of the Education Faculty at this university
3. Education Administration
 – 1947–1949: Head of the Education Office of the provincial government of Taiwan
4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1967)
 – 1949–1967: Professor of Philosophy at the National Taiwan University[51]
5. 1967 † Conferred emeritus status

Wang Wenjün (after 1937)[52]

1. School Administration
 – 1937–1945: Founder and leader of the Huangchuan High School (with an affiliated elementary school and kindergarden)
2. Official Party Participation in the Kuomintang (KMT)
 – 1945: Deputy Head of the education office of the central administration office (KMT)
3. Education Administration
 – 1945–1949: Head of the Education Office of the provincial government of Hubei
 – 1951: Head of the Publication Department in the Education Office of the provincial government of Taiwan
4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1983)
 – Professor of Education at the NTNU and the National Chengchi University (NCCU)
5. 1983: Emigrated to the USA

Wu Zhautang (after 1938)[53]

1. Professor at universities in mainland China (1938–1949)
 – Professor at the State University of Zhongyang, Delegate for the Dean of Zhongzheng University

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50 Chen (1991), S. 220-221.
51 In dieser Zeit unterzog er sich wegen schwerer Krankheiten drei chirurgischen Operationen.
52 Wang (1981), 1-24.
53 Wang (1994), S. 11-14.

2. Official Party Participation in the (KMT) and further youth work
  – 1938: Secretary General of the "General Association of the Scouts of China"[54]
  – Member of the Central Committee for the Young People's Union for the Three Principles of the People (KMT)[55]
  – 1945: Member, Group leader, later Assistant Head and Deputy for the of the Education Office of the Central Administration Department (KMT)[56]
  – 1947: Member of the People's Congress
  – 1952: Deputy Head of the Youth Union for the "Young People's Union towards Anti-Communism and Redeeming the Chinese Nation"
  – 1953: Member of the central committee for the "General Association of the Scouts of China"
  – 1958: Head of the branch office of the "Academy for Conducting the Revolution" (KMT)
3. Education Administration
  – 1947: Head of the Department for Middle Schools
  – 1951: Head of the Publication Department in the Education Office of the provincial government of Taiwan[57]
  – 1963–1964: Head of the Education Office in Taiwan Province
4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1964)
  – 1956–1964 (†): Professor and Chair of the Education Institute at the NCCU

Tien Pelin (after 1939)[58]

1. Professor at universities in mainland China (1939–1949)
  – Professor at the Southwest United University (xinan lianda)
  – Professor at the Tongji University
  – Dean of the State Henan University
  – Dean of the Northwest Agricultural College (xibei nungxueyuan)
2. Official Party Participation in the Kuomintang (KMT)
  – 1942: Head of the Education Office of the Central Administration Department
  – Secretary General of the KMT in Henan province
  – Central Committee Member of the KMT
  – Member of the Central Committee for the *Young People's Union for the Three Principles of the People* (KMT)
3. Education Administration
– 1946–1949: Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education[59]

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54   Seine Hauptaufgabe war Rekrutierung und Personaltraining der Mitarbeiter der Scouts.
55   Er war für Rekrutierung und Personaltraining des Nachwuchses der KMT zuständig.
56   1945 übernahm Wang Wenjün von Wu den Posten des Leiters.
57   1951 übernahm Wang diesen Posten von ihm.
58   Zhongguo Jiaoyu Xuehue (Verband für pädagogische Forschung in China) und Institut für Pädagogik NTNU (Hrsg.) (1976), Vorwort. Wang (1976), S. 22-28. Fang (1976), S. 195.
59   Seine Zuständigkeiten in der Nachkriegszeit: Wiederaufbau der Universitäten, Reformierung des Schulsystems,

4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1971)
  – Professor of Education, Dean of the Educational Faculty at NTNU
  – 1955: Founder and leader of the Educational Institute at the NTNU
5. Conferred emeritus status 1971, † 1975

Aufstellung des neuen Lehrplans für Volksschulen, Dämpfung der politischen Studentenunruhen.

BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

The intent of the book is to break from traditional historical research dealing with East Asia's international relations, which has concentrated particularly on the history of conflicts from the 1890s on which have resulted from the rise of Japan and China to become great powers. The point of view selected for the analysis is how ideological competition, both multilateral and unilateral efforts to instil order and the changing nature of international trade have affected the region's development. These are analysed through a central relationship that shaped the region – the complex ties between Britain and Japan. In this way the book has sought to find the broad forces that have shaped the region. The book's analysis is divided into two periods – the one extending to the start of the Pacific War and the post-war period.

The book begins with Ian Nish's analysis of research dealing with Anglo-Japanese relations. He focuses particularly on the five volumes published by the Anglo-Japanese History Project in 2000-2003. Nish also takes an overall look at the failed quest for regional order in East Asia extending from the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902 to the start of the Pacific War in 1941. The editor of the book, Antony Best, for his part, examines the Anglo-Japanese alliance, where according to him the countries' interpretations of the alliance and related interests finally led to its gradual decline. Nevertheless, Nish's and Best's interpretations of the end of the alliance differ slightly from each other. Nish placed more emphasis on how in actuality neither party wanted it to end with the Four-Power Treaty concluded at the Washington Conference in the autumn of 1921, while according to Best's interpretation they both held the view that time had as if passed by the alliance.

In his very interesting article Robert Bickers examines the Chinese Maritime Customs Service administered by Britain, on the one hand as a means of persuading Japan to adopt an open door policy in China by also recruiting Japanese into its multinational staff, and on the other hand as Anglo-Japanese competition until December 1941. For his part, Harumi Gota-Shibata approaches China's and Japan's

attitude towards international cooperation through the conflicts of interest in the negotiations to ban opium which were conducted in the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations. At the same time he shatters the simplified picture of Japan's cooperation with the League of Nations. Both Bickers's and Gota-Shibata's articles significantly diversify the picture of the development of international relationships in East Asia during the period.

The basic principle of Joseph A. Maiolo's topic area is considerably more familiar – the naval rivalry of the great powers in the period between the world wars. Deviating from the usual analysis of the topic area, he brings up the impact of the Anglo-Japanese relations in the background of the negotiations, especially both countries' common concern in the early 1920s about the superior potential of the United States' in the build-up of navies. Another very interesting fact he mentions is the dual role of the Soviet Union as a supporter of the agreement system and at the same time as an underminer of Britain's naval superiority in the mid-1930s.

In his article, Masataka Matsuura interestingly brings forth how significant an impact pan-Asianism had on Japan's political decision-making prior to the Pacific War, and how it also struck a chord with the Chinese and particularly the Indians. Thus, according to Matsuura's well-grounded interpretation, not only was Pan-Asianism an ideology employed to support expansionist policy, but also as a leading ideology it influenced it and also partly steered it.

For his part, Hans van de Ven examines the impact of the Sino-Japanese War, which began in 1937, on Western images of Japan and China. Due to the brutal bomb-ings of cities and the inhuman treatment of the Chinese in general, the former civilised Japan, which engaged in close political cooperation with Western countries, became the barbaric Japan in Western comments and images. In contrast, the uncivilised, subjugated and fragmented China became a heroic and respected nation. This did not, however, change the basic setting created already in ancient Greece, that 'East was East and West was West'. In spite of everything, China nevertheless remained as the 'other', which it had also been until then.

The Second World War was damaging to both Britain's and Japan's influence in East Asia. Britain nevertheless preserved its position in Southeast Asia until the 1960s, for which reason it was able to also hold considerable sway over matters in East Asia. Southeast Asia was important to Japan, also, as it sought to establish trade relations there to compensate for the initially strictly limited trade with continental China. At the same time, with Britain's support, Japan returned as a significant economic influencer to the region where only a few years earlier it had been forced to relinquish its political and economic benefits!

Tomoki Kuniyoshi assesses Britain's impact on the conclusion of the 1951 San Francisco peace treaty with Japan. The article indicates how, regardless of its weakened position, Britain was able to significantly influence the treaty itself, and along with it the newly created San Francisco system. The objective was to support Britain's interests in Southeast Asia and Hong Kong by creating a suitable economic and political role for Japan in the region from Britain's standpoint. As Kuniyoshi points

out, especially important was Britain's strategy of utilising the unity and power of the Commonwealth in the negotiations. This way it was able to torpedo the United States' plans for a broader security agreement with Japan. The result was three separate agreements, one of which the United States concluded with Japan.

Peter Lowe also analyses Britain's position in Southeast Asia, how with weakening resources it sought to skilfully manoeuvre to preserve its influence with the various parties while at the same time it gradually relinquished its colonial obligations. In preventing the spread of Communism, Britain emphasised so-called soft power – improvement of economic and social relations and reinforcement of governance – instead of political and military pressure.

Shigeru Akita focuses particular attention on how in the 1950s Britain sought firstly to strengthen the sterling as an international currency and secondly the Southeast Asian sterling region, economically and socially, by promoting Japan's trade with Southeast Asia. This again accelerated Japan's recovery and eventually also its rise to become a great economic power. For its part, Britain's policy also slowed the growth of the United States' influence in the region, so that according to Akita the region did not enter the age of 'Pax Americana' until the early 1960s.

Nicholas J. White also examines the congruence of Britain's and Japan's interests in Southeast Asia. Compared with Akita, he focuses more attention on the political impact of Japan's increasing trade. Britain sought on one hand to prevent Japan from becoming too dependent on trade with China, and on the other hand to strengthen the region internally against the lure of Communism. At the same time White brings up the close cooperation between local British agency houses and companies and the Japanese as brokers in Japan's exports and imports in the region, which has generally been given little attention. Both parties benefited from it. From the viewpoint of the Japanese, the British were well acquainted with the local circumstances, while the role of a broker was quite profitable for the British.

The book concludes with Akira Iriye's final comments and summary, where he brings forth the book's relatedness to the focal points of recent historical research, which emphasises non-geopolitical phenomena instead of wars. The period between the world wars is no longer examined from the viewpoint of imminent war, but more from the perspective of the day-to-day work and objectives of the period's international political actors. In like manner, the period after the Second World War is no longer dominated by the Cold War, but rather globalisation, where the Cold War can be seen as one part of it. According to Iriye, in this new perspective it is important to fix attention on international cooperation, interdependence, non-state actors and phenomena that reach beyond national borders, among others. According to him, this type of historiographical development is linked to a new type of world history and global history, which culminates in economic, social and cultural globalisation.

In all, the book answers very well to the objectives set in it, i.e. the analytical point of view in which the region's development has been influenced by ideological competition, both multilateral and unilateral efforts to instil order and the changing na-

ture of international trade. The authors are noted experts in their topic areas, and the book begins handsomely with Ian Nish's article and concludes with Akira Iriye's final comments! Naturally, a compilation is always characterised by a certain amount of disunity, but the fresh and interesting viewpoints of the articles largely make up for this. Nevertheless, the perspective of globalisation and global history mentioned in Akira Iriye's final comments could have been brought forth even more strongly in the articles. In my opinion, that way even more could have been extracted from the Anglo-Japanese relations. For example, by more broadly examining the mutual images of the British and the Japanese and their development during the period in question, it would have been possible to discuss more and on a more general level about relationships between cultures and civilisations in the riptide of differing interests. Likewise, through global history the region's other European actors, such as the Netherlands and France, would have been brought forth better, albeit in principle the articles concentrate on Anglo-Japanese relations.

Takeshi Hamashita: China, East Asia and the Global Economy. Regional and Historical Perspectives, edited by Linda Grove and Mark Selden (Asia's Transformation / Critical Asian Scholarship), London: Routledge, 2008, 224 S.

Rezensiert von
Birgit Tremml, Wien

This volume, a collection of essays, introduces the work of the Japanese historian Takeshi Hamashita on East Asia's role in world history to an international audience. His characteristic longue-durée-approach to bridge the gap between early modern developments and contemporary history based on dense data generated from a complex body of archival sources prevails throughout the book. In his path-breaking oeuvre, the historical process of the period from roughly c. 1500 to c. 1900 holds centre stage, thus becomes the framework for his analytical theses emphasizing the role of the East Asian regional system in the world economy. Similar to the California School, silver exchange is seen as the element linking China to the rest of the globe. In line with that he advocates a new spatial understanding centered on the Middle Kingdom world system and the commercial role of tributary trade. In recent years the author's leitmotiv to study East Asia from the sea ("umi kara mita ajia") has become a well-established paradigm of Asian scholarship in global history and contributed to new insights in the am-

bivalent relationship between local and central respectively official and unofficial levels of interaction.[1]

In its entirety the book reflects Hamashita's determination to show that Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) China were not closed economies but embedded in the emerging early modern world economy. Hence, it overturns Marxist theories as well as popular narratives of an anti-maritime history that would have forced a long-stagnant Asia to in the end adjust to Western capitalism. According to Hamashita the rest of the world had to adapt to China. Voids that arose from dismissing older approaches were filled with new concepts: Features of an emerging market economy, such as open ports and merchant networks that led to the emergence of financial centers were attributed to peripheral areas of the tributary system.

Reviewing a book like this is challenging due to the huge differences between the rather loosely linked chapters. The eight articles vary from light essay to scientific analysis. Moreover, one deals with articles that were – except for one – originally published in Japanese. The translations are of excellent quality not having lost any of the crucial implications of the complex Japanese scholarship, although the group of translators surprisingly did not include any professional historians. One notable value of the edition is the extensive list of tables and illustrations the author used to illustrate his thoughts. Although, some of them are cartographically slightly out-dated and others are generalizing too much, e.g. map 4.1. that creates a too linear view on the silver flows in Asia, readers will benefit from the graphic support.

Edited by two experts in Japanese history, Tokyo-based Linda Grove, professor of History at Sophia University and Mark Selden, Professor Emeritus and Senior Research Associate in the East Asia Program at Cornell University and co-editor of a volume edited by Hamashita and the late Giovanni Arrighi in 2003[2], the volume begins with an overview of Hamashita's scholarly accomplishments such as his instrumental role in relocating China and Japan in global economic history (chapter 1).

In chapter 2 on "the tribute trade system and modern Asia" Hamashita explains why a regional approach is necessary. Arguing that the limits of common geographical categories impede our understanding of a Greater South China Sea, the author revisits the Sinocentric world order under the Ming and Qing, pointing out the importance of "multilateral and multidimensional trade" (p. 19) for the emergence of one global world based on the dynamics of the tally trade that involved loyal states, as well as European trading nations. Discussing the control-aspect of the system, he anticipates that this by no means impeded the development of "mutual trade" not only because tribute was managed as commercial transactions between a selling and a purchasing party based on the silver standard, but also because even in settings were values were attributed to gifts, the play of market forces was of great importance. In addition, the emergence of private maritime merchants who operated outside the system brought new impetus to the lucrative border trade as one branch of the tributary system. Against the background of early modern transformation processes in Asia, he argues that particu-

larly close tributary states such as Japan or Vietnam imitated the system by enforcing their own subordinate tributary states. This is certainly a valuable insight into the far-reaching dimensions of Chinese cosmology however there is a tendency to jump to anachronistic conclusions. Only to mention one: His view on the impact of the Sino-centric tribute trade system on modernization processes in Japan – whose economy to my understanding developed under rather different circumstances than that of her neighboring countries – stands in sharp contrast to other research in that field.[3]

In chapter 3 ("Despotism and decentralization in Chinese governance: taxation, tribute and emigration") the center-periphery relations are emphasized, while foreign trade is analyzed from the point of view of financial and tax institutions and overseas labor migration. Tributary trade relations are perceived as an external administrative order. What I missed here was a consideration of the famous Hokkien merchants in Southeast Asian port cities in the early modern period whose role in coastal China's integration into maritime trade has often been pointed out in recent years.[4]

Chapter 4 examines the circulation of silver in East Asia up to the nineteenth century based on the premise that a world silver market was established around 1600. The author argues that silver became the backbone of European expansion in Asia. He highlights the entanglement of silver flows with gold and copper within the East Asian economies and traces the history of silver as regional currency.

Chapter 5 that chronologically goes somewhat back in time highlights the Ryukyu Kingdom of present-day Okinawa as an active maritime trading nation that served as important supplier for Ming China, a topic that has been largely neglected in world history. This relatively recent article reveals the extensive economic network of the Pacific islands until 1609 when it came under Japanese control. Hamashita shows how Ryukyu merchants served as middlemen between Southeast Asian trading hubs and China thanks to multidimensional maritime connections. While mentioning that the Ryukyu system lost importance due to increasing political influence from China and Japan, the reasons of the decline are not examined sufficiently. By and large, this section is striking for several positive and negative reasons: dealing beyond any doubt with a fascinating topic and presenting intriguing new ideas on mercantilist aspects of the tributary trade, it seems well backed by interesting primary source material. However, much to the reader's regret, it lacks concise notes on the sources used.

As becomes clear from the title of the next chapter "Maritime Asia and treaty port networks in the Era of Negotiation: tribute and treaties, 1800–1900", with this article we reach a new level of complexity in diplomatic relations that culminated in what has often been labeled unequal treaties in Asian historiography. This survey of Chinese treaty ports illuminates the crucial turn in China's diplomatic relations to bilateral agreements for the first time in its history. The five major treaty ports, Canton, Amoy, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai all benefited from their history as important port cities in the frontier trade of the tally system. Thus their success is regarded as a continuation of the traditional system.

We learn how China's historically dominant role shaped Western treaties with former tributary states and how Qing China aimed at imitating Western models of opening treaty ports in Korea.

The last three chapters are best described as a financial history of the Chinese macroregion beginning with an analysis of the relationship between silver and opium, before elaborating on the role of Hong Kong for the Chinese economy and finally making some revealing comments on the banking systems of the late-nineteenth centuries. All three surveys show how European overseas communities were connected with, or even dependent on, East Asian financial centers in the late nineteenth century. In the last chapter the author argues that it was Chinese banks that exerted an increasing influence on the economies of China's smaller East Asian neighbors Korea and Japan. It is probably no coincidence that this last essay once again picks up the initial idea of a "Chinese economy at the centre" and bridges the gap between China as historical centre to later economic developments in which it controlled the entire region.

Having acknowledged the indisputable analytical strength and the huge number of thought-provoking ideas of these essays, a few words should be said about shortcomings. My first critique concerns the editors: What I found disturbing is that in most cases it is not obvious where and when the essays have been originally published and that the book is not fully annotated. In Chapter 5, for instance, the reader learns about 59 records on Ryukyu in early modern Spanish documents (p. 80) but no clear reference is given specifying the type of source material or its location.

Some chapters do not have any notes at all. More transparency would give researchers around the globe the chance to actively engage in deepening our understanding of the region and to provide answers to the big questions raised by Hamashita.

Notes:

1 Masashi Haneda (ed.), Asian Port Cities 1600-1800. Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions, Singapore 2008.
2 Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, Mark Selden (eds.), The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspectives, London 2003.
3 See among others the renowned work of Ronald P. Toby, State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan, Stanford 1984.
4 Fundamental research has been carried out in this field by Wang Gungwu.

Niall Ferguson / Charles S. Maier / Erez Manela / Daniel J. Sargent: The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective, Cambridge: Belknap, 2010, 448 S.

Rezensiert von
Tobias Rupprecht, Florenz

Die Historiographien haben sich auf die 1970er und 80er Jahre gestürzt. Unter deutschen Zeit- und Sozialhistorikern geschieht das weiter aus traditionell nationalgeschichtlicher Perspektive – wenn auch mittlerweile meist mit einem pflichtschuldigen Verweis auf transnationale Zusammenhänge.[1] Eine Gruppe illustrer Harvard-Historiker dagegen versucht in vorliegendem Band mit insgesamt 23 Beiträgen den ganz großen Wurf eines globa-

len Blicks auf das lange „Krisen-Jahrzehnt" von 1968 bis 1980/82.

Doch schon das Signum „Krise", unter dem die westliche Geschichtsschreibung die 1970er Jahre bislang meist zu fassen suchte, wirft seine Probleme auf: Erstens sind die meisten Anzeichen, von der Öl-krise über das Ende des Wirtschaftsbooms und der Industriegesellschaft, dem Beginn der Arbeitslosigkeit bis zum Linksterrorismus, vorrangig westliche Phänomene gewesen, die sich nicht ohne weiteres auf eine globale Historisierung der Epoche übertragen lassen. Zweitens war auch im Westen die Malaise eher eine gefühlte als eine empirisch nachweisbare, wie Herausgeber Niall Ferguson mit reichlich Zahlen und harten Fakten einleitend feststellt. Für die besonders in der anglophonen Welt vorherrschende Wahrnehmung der 1970er als kriselndes Jahrzehnt hat er eine geistreiche, aber etwas reduktionistische Erklärung: Die diskursmächtigen Akademiker selbst hatten schwere Zeiten; ab Ende der 1960er Jahre kamen immer mehr und immer kritischere Studenten an die Universitäten, gleichzeitig kürzten die Staaten ihre öffentlichen Ausgaben. Status und Einkommen der Wissenschaftler litten unter dem Wandel. Während beispielsweise die technologische Entwicklung in den 1970er Jahren rasant voranschritt, übertrugen pessimistische europäische Akademiker die eigene Krise auf ihre Analysen der Zeit.

In einem ersten Abschnitt „Into an Emerging Order" fassen Charles Maier, Arne Westad und Stephen Kotkin sowie der junge Mitherausgeber Daniel Sargent die markanten Eckpunkte der Dekade auf globaler Ebene zusammen: Maier sieht – etwas im Widerspruch zu Fergusons Einleitung und mit einer deutlich westlichen Perspektive – die 1970er Jahre als dritte große, auch soziale Krise des 20. Jahrhunderts. Durch die Modernisierung der Landwirtschaft freigewordene billige Arbeitskraft und durch imperialistische Geopolitik gesicherte billige Energie besorgten den Boom der 1950er und 60er Jahre, der nun durch Ölkrise, die Industrialisierung der Dritten Welt und durch erstarkte Gewerkschaften an sein Ende gelangt war. Der Generationenkonflikt ab 1968 institutionalisierte sich in Frauen- und Minderheitenbewegungen, alte und neue Werte prallten ständig aufeinander. Was 1905–1914 und 1929–1939 noch zu Weltkriegen führte, wurde aber in den 1970er Jahren aufgrund des atomaren Overkill-Potentials vermieden. Auf die politische Weltordnung der Nachkriegszeit mit der Hegemonie der USA folgte spätestens mit der Ölkrise die Einsicht, dass auch westliche Nationalstaaten in ihrer Autonomie beschränkt sind und exogenen Faktoren, einer weltweiten „Interdependenz" unterliegen. Ein anderer Begriff, der mehr den Prozesscharakter dieser Entwicklung beschreibt, ersetzte ab den späten 1980er Jahren den der Interdependenz: die „Globalisierung". Ein wichtiges Charakteristikum der Zeit war die gestiegene Bedeutung des internationalen Bankverkehrs. Der Anteil des internationalen Finanzmarktes am Weltbruttoinlandsprodukt verzehnfachte sich im Lauf der Dekade und sein Gesamtwert war 1973 bereits doppelt so hoch wie die Reserven aller Staatsbanken und internationaler Geldinstitute zusammen. Während der scheinbar bedingungslose Fortschrittglauben der Nachkriegsjahre Auflösungserscheinungen zeigte und ein Bewusstsein um ökologische Probleme entwickelte,

vervielfachte sich die Anzahl nicht-staatlicher internationaler Organisationen. Das Ende der Dekade prägte der Aufstieg des politischen Islams und die Wirtschaftsreformen in China, deren Wurzeln Westad schon in der Kulturrevolution der 1960er Jahre mit ihrem antitraditionalen Furor ausmacht. Die Abkehr vom sowjetischen Modell der Planwirtschaft in China hatte wiederum enormen Einfluss auf sozialistisch geprägte Regime weltweit. Einige osteuropäische Staaten hielten sich mit westlichen Krediten und Technologieimport wirtschaftlich über Wasser, verloren aber jeden Rest politischer Glaubwürdigkeit. Der sowjetische Weg in die Moderne hatte als Konzept ausgedient. Für das, was die Herausgeber den „Shock of the Global" nennen, der die Welt in den 1970er Jahren getroffen habe, sei aber ein Faktor der entscheidende gewesen: die Liberalisierung des Weltmarkts.

Alan Taylor, Jeremy Adelman, Louis Hyman und Vernie Oliveiro beleuchten im zweiten, streckenweise recht zäh zu lesenden, Teil „Stagflation and the Economic Origins of Globalization" nicht nur – wie der Titel suggeriert – die wirtschaftlichen Hintergründe, sondern vor allem die historischen Bezugspunkte und (wirtschafts-) politischen Entscheidungen der beginnenden Globalisierung. Die Erfahrung der Weltwirtschaftskrise 1929 war noch sehr präsent und hatte vor allem in damals stark betroffenen Ländern Liberalisierungstendenzen lange hinausgezögert. Instabile Währungen, veränderte geopolitische Machtkonstellationen und soziale Spannungen betrafen fast alle Staaten der Welt Ende der 1960er Jahre. Aber die Reaktion auf die exogenen Strukturveränderungen war nicht zwangsläufig, sondern politisch

und ideologisch bedingt: US-Präsident Richard Nixon gab 1971 die Währungsbindung auf Anraten Milton Friedmans auf, um fehlendes Kapital aus dem Ausland beschaffen zu können. Dies sollte soziale Spannungen im Land entschärfen und die amerikanische Konjunktur beleben. Gegen die Gewerkschaften und gegen vorherige protektionistische Beschlüsse des US-Kongresses setzte er auch freie Bedingungen für die entstehenden multinationalen Unternehmen in Nordamerika, Europa und Japan durch.

Im Block drei, „International Relations in an Age of Upheaval", nehmen Lien-Hang Nguyen, Jeremy Suri, Francis Gavin und Mark Atwood Lawrence die veränderte geopolitische Lage der 1970er Jahre unter die Lupe, fördern in ihrer sehr traditionellen Diplomatiegeschichte aber wenig substantiell Neues zu Tage. Der Vietnamkrieg verschärfte drei Tendenzen, die ihren Ursprung schon in den frühen 1960er Jahren hatten: Die Hegemonie der USA erhielt einen ernüchternden Rückschlag, und die Realpolitik des im Band omnipräsenten Henry Kissinger konnte die Dominanz der USA zu Zeiten des nuklearen Patts nur durch eine geschickte föderale Außenpolitik mit Zugeständnissen an die ehemaligen Gegner UdSSR und China retten. Die Länder der Dritten Welt, wo sich allerdings Guerillabewegungen vom Vorbild der Vietcong inspirieren ließen, gewannen an Einfluss. Etwas überraschend verstärkte der Sieg Nordvietnams aber auch die Spannungen im Lager der Länder des Realsozialismus; mit den Gefechten zwischen dem Kambodscha der Roten Khmer und Vietnam sowie dem Einmarsch Chinas Ende der 1970er Jahre kam es zum ersten

Krieg unter kommunistisch regierten Staaten.

Neben dem von Kissinger gepflegten inter-nationalen System verstärkte sich in den 1970er Jahren was in Teil vier „Global Challenges and International Society" genannt wird: Institutionen und Verbände, die sich nicht an nationalstaatlichen Grenzen orientierten, gewannen deutlich an Einfluss. Glenda Sluga, Michael Morgan, Erez Manela und John R. McNeill zeigen, wie Amnesty International, internationale Menschenrechts- und Umweltschutzbewegungen oder – besonders erfolgreich – die Weltgesundheitsorganisation mit der weltweiten Ausrottung des Pockenvirus (der bis dato allein im 20. Jahrhundert 300 Millionen Menschen getötet hatte, doppelt so viele wie alle Kriege zusammen) über Staatsgrenzen und den Eisernen Vorhang hinweg agierten – und damit das realpolitische Prinzip der Nicht-Einmischung in innere Angelegenheiten fremder Staaten in Frage stellten.

Ebenfalls weitgehend unabhängig von der großen Politik passierten ideelle Veränderungen, die nur auf den ersten Blick wenig miteinander zu tun hatten. Im letzten Abschnitt „Ideological, Religious, and Intellectual Upheaval" zeigen Jocelyn Olcott und Rebecca Sheenan, wie sich im Westen klassische Geschlechterrollen veränderten und die sexuelle Liberalisierung durch die Rockmusik befeuert wurde. Der Aufstieg der evangelikalen Bewegung in den USA und des Islamismus als Identifikationsangebot in den von enttäuschten Entwicklungshoffnungen und blutigen Kriegen gebeutelten muslimischen Ländern passierten aber nicht nur in Abgrenzung zu dieser „Dekadenz", sondern bedienten sich mit großem Erfolg auch derer Mittel

zur Verbreitung ihrer nur scheinbar rückwärtsgewandten Ideen, wie Andrew Preston und Ayesha Jahal zeigen. Angst machte sich ebenfalls sowohl im Westen wie in der muslimischen Welt breit, so Matthew Conelly; in Bestsellern brachten die Evangelikalen in den Staaten ihre Armageddon-Phantasien unters Volk, der Berufsstand der Futurologen entstand und versorgte Staaten und Unternehmen mit Prognosen zur nun gefürchteten Zukunft, und immer mehr Menschen – religiöse und ungläubige in gleichem Ausmaß – suchten Halt in immer bunter werdenden Spielarten der Esoterik.

Es sind viele Dinge passiert in dieser Dekade, die ja auch immer ein etwas willkürlich gewählter Zeitabschnitt ist. Was prägte also über alle Grenzen und Kontinente hinweg die 1970er Jahre und wer war der „agent" der beginnenden (neuen) Globalisierung? Die sich abzeichnenden Tendenzen und Phänomene waren, gerade wenn man die Geschichte des gesamten Planeten ins Auge fasst, oft widersprüchlich und gegenläufig. Die einzelnen Beiträge beleuchten jeweils einen Faktor, von der Außenpolitik der Großmächte, über die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung hin zu sozialen Bewegungen und internationalen Organisationen. In welcher Gewichtung sie zueinander standen, bleibt offen. Einen negativen Eindruck hinterlässt auch die immer noch (mit der Ausnahme von Westads Beitrag) sehr nordatlantikfixierte Perspektive. Die Geschichte der Zweiten Welt, der UdSSR und ihrer Satelliten, wird wieder einmal nur als defizitär zum Westen erzählt. Dabei empfanden und empfinden bis heute die Bewohner der UdSSR die 1970er Jahre nicht als Krise wie im Westen, sondern als Goldene Jahre mit mäßiger Repression

und akzeptabler Konsumlage – und man empfand Stolz auf die globalen „Erfolge" des Sowjetimperialismus vor allem in Süd- und Ostafrika. Die internationale Anerkennung als Weltmacht nach den Helsinki-Abkommen wurde in der UdSSR als ein großer Erfolg gefeiert. Afrika und Lateinamerika mit seiner Dekade der Militärdiktaturen kommen wenig zu Wort. Dort wo über die Dritte Welt oder die Bewegung der Blockfreien gesprochen wird, geschieht das nur aus Sicht der angelsächsischen Welt, in der die Beiträger allesamt forschen und lehren. Es bleibt beim „the West and the rest".

Der Versuch von Thomas Borstelmann, den „Shock of the Global" auf einen zusammenfassenden Nenner zu bringen, ist dann zwar nicht mit allen Aufsätzen in Einklang, aber ist den schwierigen Umständen entsprechend dennoch gelungen: „A move away from certainties" könne als das Signum der Dekade gelten. Im Westen waren es klassische sexuelle und ethnische Identitätszuschreibungen, die sich auflösten und mehr Gleichberechtigung schufen; auf globaler Ebene endete eine unhinterfragte Dominanz des Nordens über die südliche Mehrheit. Massenbewegungen und nicht-staatliche Organisationen gewannen gegenüber der traditionellen Politik an Einfluss. Der Siegeszug des entfesselten Weltmarktes trug zur Einebnung alter Ungleichheiten bei, verstärkte aber gleichzeitig neue gemäß seinen ökonomischen Prinzipien.

Alex Marshall: The Caucasus under Soviet Rule (= Routledge Studies in the History of Russia and Eastern Europe), London: Routledge, 2010, 387 S.

Rezensiert von
Jan Zofka, Leipzig

Alex Marshalls Geschichte der Kaukasus-Region unter sowjetischer Herrschaft spannt einen weiten Bogen von Revolution und Bürgerkrieg 1917–1921 bis zum Zerfall der Sowjetunion 1989/1991. Das Buch liefert interessante Einblicke in die Geschichte der Region und es liefert starke Thesen, entlang derer Marshall diese Geschichte erzählt. Der Historiker der University of Glasgow benennt im Vorwort die Stereotype, Geschichtsbilder und Deutungen, gegen die er anschreiben will: Er wendet sich gegen „ethnischen Romantizismus" (S. 1) und Primordialismus, die die Bilder vom „Kaukasus" im Westen prägen. Eine Beschreibung der sowjetischen Zentrum-Peripherie-Beziehungen als „rein kolonial" (S. 3) weist er ebenso zurück, wie eine Deutung der Sowjetunion als bloßen Unfall der Geschichte (S. 1-5). Marshall formuliert den Anspruch, die sowjetischen Politiken in der Region als Versuch einer alternativen Modernisierung, „marked by both hideous distortions and great achievements" (S. 6), zu beschreiben. Im Rahmen dieser Deutungsstränge arbeitet Marshall viele spannende Details der Geschichte dieser Peripherie der Sowjetunion heraus.

Das große Dilemma der Monographie ist aber, dass die behandelte Zeitspanne sehr lang und der „Kaukasus" groß und divers ist. Marshall behandelt sowohl die Region nördlich des Kaukasus, von der vor allem Tschetschenien und Dagestan im Mittelpunkt stehen, als auch die transkaukasischen Republiken Armenien, Georgien und Aserbaidschan. Um die aufgeworfenen Fragen und Deutungen kontinuierlich und kohärent zu diskutieren, wäre eine Beschränkung wohl besser gewesen. Der Band ist chronologisch aufgebaut, aber wegen des komplexen geographischen Bezugsrahmens führt das nicht unbedingt zu einer klaren Struktur – die Kapitel springen zwischen den unterschiedlichen Schauplätzen hin und her.

Überall da, wo die Darstellung länger an einem Ort, in einer Zeit, bei einem Ereignis verweilt, wird es spannend. Ein Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Zeit der Revolution, des Bürgerkriegs und der Etablierung und Konsolidierung der Sowjetmacht bis 1941. Revolution und Bürgerkrieg beschreibt Marshall als eine komplexe Gemengelage, in der nicht einfach nur eine „rote" gegen eine „weiße" Bürgerkriegspartei gewinnt und russische Bol'ševiki mit einem Herrschaftsanspruch die Region kolonisieren. Vielmehr zeichnet der Verfasser ein differenzierteres Bild von lokalen Koalitionen, die ebenso schnell entstehen und zerfallen wie die zahlreichen temporären staatlichen Gebilde. Beispielsweise wurde im Frühjahr 1918 im Nordkaukasus die Terek-Volksrepublik gegründet. Unter Regie der Bol'ševiki fanden dort Gruppen, die bis dahin in bewaffnete Auseinandersetzungen verwickelt waren, zusammen. War der erste Kongress noch von Delegierten einer Fraktion der Terek-Kosaken domi-

niert (während gleichzeitig ein großer Teil der Kosakenverbände in der Region der Revolution feindlich gesinnt blieb), kamen ab dem zweiten Kongress auch tschetschenische und inguschische Delegierte dazu. Kontrovers wurde dort über Wahlrecht und Landreform diskutiert. Der Verfasser sieht in dieser Republikgründung „a real and vibrant, albeit unstable, form of local democratic decision making" (S. 73). Zum Auftakt des Gründungskongresses spielte man die Marseillaise und am Freitag wurde die Versammlung frühzeitig beendet, damit muslimische Delegierte pünktlich zum Gebet gehen konnten. Diese Koalition spaltete sich aber schnell wieder, bevor sich 1919 die „weiße" Armee von General Denikin in der gesamten Nordkaukasus-Region vorübergehend durchsetzte und damit auch das Experiment der Terek-Volksrepublik endgültig beendete (S. 71-80).

Die Bol'ševiki koalierten nicht nur im Bürgerkrieg, sondern auch beim Aufbau staatlicher Institutionen mit lokalen Autoritäten, wie Teilen der muslimischen Geistlichkeit oder Kosaken-Atamanen. Die Partei selbst war in der Region personell äußerst schwach und heterogen besetzt (S. 147-150). Nach 1917 kooptierte sie regionale sozialistischen Parteien und Gruppierungen, wie die ossetische Kermen, die Sozialistischen Gruppe in Dagestan oder eine Fraktion der aserbaidschanischen Hummet (S. 58-68; 140). Auch die Wege einzelner Aktivisten in die RKP (b) waren vielfältig: 1917 und in den Folgejahren traten nicht nur Sozialrevolutionäre und Anhänger der Arbeiterbewegung, sondern auch vormalige Verfechter eines Pan-Turkismus und religiöse Muslime in die Partei ein (S. 147 f.). Das spiegelte sich auch in

Einstellungen und Rhetorik von Parteifunktionären wider. Auf einem Kongress der Terek-Volksrepublik im November 1918 sagte beispielsweise das spätere Mitglied des dagestanischen „Revolutionskomitees" Said Gabiev: „I believe in our [Bolshevik] victory just as I believe in the Koran and sharia, for I know neither one nor the other contradicts the ideas of communism." (S. 80)

Die Schwäche ihrer lokalen Organisationen zwang die Bol'ševiki beim Staatsaufbau lokale Instanzen einzubeziehen. Im Prozess der Konsolidierung der Sowjetmacht blieben zahlreiche vorsowjetische Institutionen Teil der lokalen Ordnungsstrukturen. Nicht nur Moscheen waren bis in die zweite Hälfte der zwanziger Jahre geöffnet (bevor sie geschlossen und dann für die Mobilisierung im Zweiten Weltkrieg zum Teil wieder geöffnet wurden), sondern auch das islamische Recht (Scharia) koexistierte bis 1927 im Nordkaukasus auf lokaler Ebene mit den neuen Rechtsinstitutionen des sowjetischen Staates (S. 191). Außerdem unterließen es die sowjetischen Machthaber zunächst, öffentliches Eigentum, das an muslimische religiöse Institutionen gebunden war, zu verstaatlichen (S. 162). Die Einbettung der Sowjetherrschaft in lokale Bedingungen führte zu Spannungen zwischen Zentrum und regionalen Führungen: die Koalition mit vorsowjetischen Autoritäten verlieh den Parteichefs vor Ort eine gewisse Unabhängigkeit gegenüber zentralen Parteiorganen, was dort auf Misstrauen stieß. Vor allem die Geheimpolizei Tscheka verdächtigte die häufig von Neuzugängen dominierten Parteiorganisationen der Region als unzuverlässig. Nach und nach wurden die lokalen Parteiführungen ausgetauscht. In

den 1920er Jahren wurde das geschasste Personal des Parteiapparats noch auf nachrangige Schreibtischposten in eine andere Provinz versetzt, in den späten 1930er Jahren dagegen wurden abgesetzte Funktionäre meist exekutiert (S. 164-171). Ihre schwache soziale Verankerung kompensierten die Bol'ševiki bis weit in die 1920er Jahre hinein auch mit militärischen Kampagnen. Als Ziel dieser Aktionen, die nicht zuletzt die Zivilbevölkerung trafen, wurde ausgegeben, den weitverbreiteten privaten Waffenbesitz und die Existenz von bewaffneten Banden zu beenden. Selbst bei diesen „Entwaffnungsaktionen" stützte sich der sowjetische Staat aber auf die Mithilfe lokaler Autoritäten, wie in Dagestan auf muslimische Geistliche, die ihre Gemeinde zur Abgabe von Waffen aufforderten (S. 171-174).

Nach diesen Schwerpunkt-Kapiteln über Bürgerkrieg und Konsolidierung des sowjetischen Staates eilt Marshall durch die weiteren wichtigen Ereignisse und Entwicklungen im Kaukasus unter sowjetischer Herrschaft. Für die Partei-„Säuberungen" und den großen Terror 1937/38 stellt er die These auf, dass erstere in der behandelten Region in überdurchschnittlichem Maße stattfanden, während die massenweisen Verhaftungen und Exekutionen nach dem Geheimbefehl 00447 im Kaukasus ein geringeres Ausmaß als in anderen Regionen gehabt hätten. Die Verlaufsformen des Terrors seien von lokalen Patronage-Netzwerken beeinflusst gewesen (S. 232).

Ein weiteres Kapitel widmet sich der Region während des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Auf gut zwanzig Seiten behandelt der Verfasser so unterschiedliche Themen wie die Zusammenarbeit regionaler bewaffneter For-

mationen mit der deutschen Wehrmacht und die vom NKVD durchgeführten Deportationen der Tschetschenen, Inguschen, Kabardiner, Balkaren, Kalmüken und Karatschaier nach Zentralasien. Für eine Analyse der letztgenannten brutalen Maßnahmen der Sowjetautoritäten, bei denen über 700 000 Menschen deportiert wurden, von welchen knapp 200 000 starben, bleibt da beispielsweise wenig Raum (S. 262-271). Die vier Jahrzehnte nach Stalins Tod bis zum Ende der Sowjetunion fasst Marshall zu einer einzigen „finalen strukturellen Krise des sowjetischen Staates" zusammen.

Das letzte Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der Phase nach dem Zerfall der SU. Marshall betont hier die Kontinuität sowjetischer Strukturen und Eliten in den Nachfolgestaaten. Im Sturz der Präsidenten Sviad Gamsachurdia in Georgien und Ebulfez Elçibey in Aserbaidschan sieht der Verfasser Beispiele für das Scheitern der (nationalistischen) Dissidenten-Bewegung in der Region. Beide wurden nach kurzen Amtszeiten von vormaligen Parteichefs der jeweiligen Republiken abgelöst. Auch die Unabhängigkeit Tschetscheniens betrieben bis Mitte der 1990er Jahre Akteure, die in den sowjetischen Machtapparaten geschult worden waren. Der ehemalige Leutnant der Roten Armee Dschochar Dudaev propagierte dabei keineswegs den Islamismus, mit dem heute die Konflikte im Nordkaukasus identifiziert werden, sondern einen „Third Worldism" (S. 294), der sich auf eine Beschreibung der Sowjetunion als russische Kolonialmacht bezog. Erst in der zweiten Hälfte der 90er Jahre importierte die Opposition um Shamil Basaev die wahhabitische Ideologie, mit der heute um ein Emirat Nordkaukasus gekämpft wird

(S. 294-314). Im Nachwort wendet sich Alex Marshall gegen triumphierende Töne über den Zerfall der Sowjetunion. Viele „western historians and scholars" (S. 315) sähen die postsowjetischen Staatsgründungen als Rückkehr zu einer Normalität, manche gar als „Triumph of Nations" (S. 315) über den Kommunismus. Diese Sichtweise von sich befreienden Nationen übersehe die zentrale Rolle, die die sowjetischen Verwaltungsstrukturen und Politiken für die aktuellen Grenzziehungen und Nation-Building-Projekte gespielt habe. Die Interpretation der Sowjetunion als ein russisch-koloniales Empire habe es alten Nomenklatura-Funktionären erleichtert sich als nationale Führer neu zu erfinden (S. 315 f.).

Marshalls Buch ist also engagiert geschrieben und informativ – aber es ist inhaltlich zu groß angelegt. Angesichts des Kulturalismus-kritischen Impetus des Buches ist nicht zu verstehen, warum der Autor seinen Bezugsrahmen „The Caucasus" nicht hinterfragt. Marshall klärt über zahlreiche Stereotype auf, warum nicht auch über die kulturalisierenden Bilder von einer angeblichen Region Kaukasus? Außerdem sind an einigen Stellen die Darstellungen von Militäraktionen mitsamt der Aufzählung von Waffengattungen sehr detailliert geraten, obwohl sie kaum zur Argumentation beitragen. Dagegen wären die vielen spannenden kultur- und sozialgeschichtlichen Details und Anekdoten, die Marshall herausarbeitet, in einem kleineren Untersuchungsfeld und -zeitraum wohl besser zur Geltung gekommen und hätten noch stichhaltiger zu allgemeinen Aussagen verdichtet werden können.

Reviewed by
Matthew Lenoe, Rochester

In Stalin's Genocides Norman Naimark sets out to demonstrate that Joseph Stalin was not just a mass murderer but also a "genocidaire" comparable to Adolf Hitler. To make his argument Naimark employs an expanded definition of genocide that may not be familiar to some readers. Rather than rely simply on the definition of the crime by the UN's 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as "acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such," Naimark follows earlier UN resolutions and drafts of the final convention that included mass murder based on political beliefs. He points out that Soviet delegates resisted this inclusion in the final Convention, in order to avoid discussion of their government's mass murder of supposed political enemies. Ultimately, however, Naimark contends that Stalin was culpable in genocidal attacks not just on these "enemies," but also on ethnic groups. He makes a powerful, but from this reviewer's perspective flawed, case that the Stalinist regime's starvation of millions of Ukrainian peasants by hunger in 1932–1933 constituted genocide.

In addition to using an expanded definition of "genocide," Naimark foregrounds the UN Convention's inclusion in the term of intended destruction of a group "in part". At three points he cites the International Criminal Tribunal's 2004 decision that the mass execution of almost 8000 Bosnian Muslims by Serbian military units in 1995 qualified as genocide even though it was a direct attack on only a part of an ethnic group. Naimark concludes that "exterminating part of a group can be viewed as genocide when the attack places the existence of the entire group in jeopardy" (p. 26). Based on this consideration he makes a very strong case that the Soviet regime's 1940 Katyn massacre of Polish officers and the mass deportations of Koreans, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingush, and other ethnic groups can be considered genocides or attempted genocides.

Naimark makes the strongest case this reviewer has seen that the starvation of around five million Ukrainian peasants in 1932–1933 was also a case of genocide. In particular he notes that the regime blockaded famine stricken regions in Ukraine to prevent the starving from escaping, and that forced collectivization in Ukraine and "sedenterization" in Kazakhstan both aimed "to destroy particular ways of life that were closely associated with the distinctive national and ethnic cultures of the people involved." Having read very many of the published documents from the top levels of the Soviet leadership from the period in question, however, this reviewer has seen no evidence that Ukrainians were targeted as such. It "is" clear under the definitions that Naimark uses that the famine of 1932–1933 was a genocidal attack on Soviet peasants, if not on Ukrainian peasants.

It is worth noting that the United States government's historical attacks on particular Native American groups, the Australian state's past policies towards Aborigines, and the actions of many European colonial regimes all constitute genocide under the meaning Naimark employs. Discussion of the applicability of the term to specific historical events should prompt not just horror at the crimes perpetrated by Stalin and his regime, but also reflection about the crimes of democratic and Western states against peoples deemed inferior.

One of the strongest chapters in "Stalin's Genocides" explores "the making of a mass murderer." Naimark denies that the roots of Stalin's murderousness can be found in his childhood. Rather the dictator's decisions "to engage in mass murder" emerged from a "perfect storm" of mutually reinforcing influences. These included his violent experiences in childhood and the revolutionary movement, the intense political struggles of the 1920s, Communist ideology, and the Russian "backwardness" despised by the Bolsheviks.

In his conclusion, Naimark frames "Stalin's Genocides" as a contribution to the debate as to whether Stalin or Hitler was "worse," or to be more precise, as to whether Stalin's crimes were comparable to Hitler's. This debate derives largely from the polemics of right-wing commentators such as Robert Conquest who aimed to implicate the entire "Left" (as if there ever was a single "Left") in Stalin's crimes. While many European and some American leftists remained sympathetic towards and/or naive about Stalinism well into the 1950s, this is no longer the case. Outside Russia Stalin is almost universally acknowledged today to be a mass murderer. To his credit

Naimark does not charge those who disagree with him with Stalinist sympathies, and he acknowledges serious arguments against including some or all of Stalin's crimes against humanity in the category of "genocide." He does however express suspicion of what he sees as some historians' attempts to explain mass collectivization, the Terror, and mass deportations in terms of realpolitik considerations – the necessity of rapid industrialization, preparation for World War II. To my mind, this misses the point. What is most frightening to me about state-sponsored mass murder is that there are usually more or less plausible realpolitik rationalizations for them. Modern mass murder is the obverse side of cold-blooded, putatively rational raison d'etat.

I am not sure that defining some of Stalin's mass murders and forced deportations as "genocides" makes these acts more horrific or amoral than they already are. Mass murder is mass murder, and we know that Stalin was a mass murderer on an extraordinary scale. Similarly, I am not certain that there is much point to the debate about whether Stalin or Hitler was worse, or whether their crimes were comparable. They were both extraordinary criminals guilty of extraordinary crimes against humanity.

In spite of my discomfort with some of Naimark's framing, I found "Stalin's Genocides" to be a well-argued, concise, and thoughtful discussion of the definition of "genocide" and its applicability to specific historical crimes. It is also a cogent and persuasive argument that Stalin was a genocidaire. It is well worth reading for specialists and the generally educated public alike. It also will make a fine read-

ing assignment for university and college courses on genocide.

Friedrich Balke: Figuren der Souveränität, München: Wilhelm Fink, 2009, 545 S.

Rezensiert von
Helmut Goerlich, Leipzig

Die philosophische Habilitationsschrift des Weimarer Professors für „Geschichte der Theorie künstlicher Welten" befasst sich mit Souveränität nicht als mit einer notwendigen, staatsrechtlich-juristischen Figur – wie etwa in jüngerer Zeit hierzulande Dieter Grimm oder viele andere unter Aspekten der europäischen Integration, ohne diese dabei kategorial in Frage zu stellen. Sie geht vielmehr Phänomenen der Souveränität vom totalen Staat bis zum individuellen Gewissen nach und kommt dabei vielen Dingen in einer Weise auf die Spur, wie sie traditionelle Souveränitätsforschung überhaupt nicht erschließen kann. Dabei erweist sich die Arbeit als historisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchung, die auch die moderne Soziologie etwa Foucaults oder Derridas einbezieht, zugleich jedoch die großen Klassiker der Moderne wie Bodin, Spinoza und Hobbes nicht auslässt und sogar wagt, die griechische Antike aufzusuchen und zum Thema abzuklopfen; letztere wird über Shakespeares Julius Cäsar und die Rechtskonflikte der Antigone erreicht. Möglich ist die so breite Anlage der Schrift deshalb, weil der Autor die souveräne, umfassende Befugnis zur Setzung rechtlicher Ordnung und der Verfügung von Ausnahmen von dieser nicht nur der Polis oder dem modernen Staat zuordnet, sondern einen souveränen Machtanspruch auch denen, die sich ausgegrenzt in einer deklassierenden Position ohnmächtiger Minderheit befinden, zuspricht. Dabei berufen diese nicht etwa Rechte im modernen Sinne, wie sie heute dem Individuum zugeordnet erscheinen, sondern nehmen eine ontisch geprägte Disposition ihrer Gattung in Anspruch, sei es des Gewissens, eines Für-Wahr-Haltens, der vom Bewusstsein geprägten Meinung, sei es eines alternativen, dem Menschen ontisch vorgegebenen anderen Rechts. Dadurch kann die Schrift zudem auch sozialpsychologische, geschlechterspezifische und sexuelle Orientierungen einbeziehen in ein ausgespanntes umfassendes Feld der Deutung aller sozialen und politischen Beziehungen, die die menschliche Existenz bestimmen können. Deswegen ist auch gar nicht erstaunlich, dass die Arbeit Titel und Autoren einbezieht, die der Jurist fern des Themas sieht und allenfalls als Gegenstände seiner Interessen jenseits des Staates und der politischen Ordnung zu verstehen geneigt ist. Die Weite des phänomenologischen Vorgehens der Untersuchung gewinnt indes ihre Legitimation durch ihre Ergebnisse. Es geht um ein Inventar der Erscheinungen, wie sie sich heute darstellen, nicht um ein historisches Kaleidoskop präziser Bilder von geschichtswissenschaftlich und philosophiegeschichtlich oder staatstheoretisch erschlossenen Gegenständen. Auch ist der sozusagen ungeschichtliche Umgang mit historischen Gegenständen gerechtfertigt, wenn man bedenkt, dass all die damit verfügbar gemachten Topoi nur idealtypisch zu verstehen sind, hier

also weder geschichtliche Ereignisse oder Personen noch literarische Darstellungen solcher Erscheinungen mit Methoden und Wahrheitsansprüchen traditioneller engerer historischer, literarischer oder gar dogmatischer Fächer erschlossen werden sollen. Es geht, wie die Ausweisung der Professur des Autors heute sagt, jeweils um künstliche Welten, um Figurationen menschlicher Konstruktionen, nicht um die empirisch orientierte Rekonstruktion von geschichtlichen Wirklichkeiten.

Entfaltet wird das Werk – für einen biederen Juristen in seinen Schritten und Themen oft und zunehmend, höflich ausgedrückt, überraschend – nach einer Einleitung in elf Kapiteln. Zunächst findet man Herrschaftsszenen. Zuerst das Bild der Einsetzung des Souveräns bei Jean Bodin. Dann die Zuordnung von Himmel und Erde. Darauf die künstliche Unsterblichkeit des Souveräns, an Thomas Hobbes und Ernst Kantorowicz entwickelt; dabei ist die Lehre von den beiden Körpern des Königs von Bedeutung. Alsdann findet sich das Verhältnis zum Bürger als Untertan geklärt und in William Shakespeares Julius Cäsar gespiegelt, was die Rache des Souveräns als Antwort hervorruft. Dann folgt das zweite Kapitel, „Antigone" überschrieben; es spinnt das erste fort in einer Darstellung der Politik des Schreckens. Darauf folgen Hinweise auf Regelverletzungen, etwa angesichts der kraft Rechtstitels der Herrschaft über die Toten versagten Bestattung des Polyneikes, und auf Antigones Charakter als einer „Ausnahme von der Ausnahme" sowie schließlich überhaupt auf die Welt der Übertretungen. Das führt im dritten Kapitel dann zum Volk: Zunächst als Darstellung einer Form der Herrschaft, dann im Sturz des Tyrannen als Aktion der

großen Zahl. Und darauf zur Ökonomisierung des Politischen als Form der Regierungskunst und schließlich noch einmal zurück zu Antigone, die so ein Haus und dessen Recht verlässt, was in Anforderungen an die Politik im Sinne von Michel Foucault führt, die der „Parrhesia" zu genügen hat: Alles muss sich aussprechen können in Offenheit, Wahrheit, der Kritik – auch in Gefahr – als Teil der Pflicht kraft des moralischen Gesetzes. Das vierte Kapitel, angelehnt an Baruch Spinoza, widmet sich auf diesen Grundlagen erneut der Herrschaft, nun ihrem inneren Wesen. Zunächst werden Isomorphien von Herrschaftsformen verhandelt. Dann findet die Arbeit ein Maß zwischen Medizin und Meditation. Darauf erscheint das Subjekt als Rechtstitel. Dies wird an der Einzigartigkeit der politischen Philosophie Spinozas deutlich. Sie erlaubt, das Politische auf die große Zahl, später das Volk, zu beziehen und verweist damit auf die – bei Spinoza immer maßgebliche – Legitimation der Herrschaft allein durch die Beherrschten. Das fünfte Kapitel widmet die Arbeit ganz Michel de Montaigne, allerdings – und einem soziologischen Laien darum nicht verständlicher – vermittelt von Michel Foucault und René Descartes sowie anderen mehr. Das erlaubt so bizarre Abschnitte wie – im Sinne Descartes' als eine Frucht eines irrsinnigen cogito – „Ich bin ein König", „Gefahr des Diskurses", „Ich-Malerei", „Der abwesende Text im Zentrum" und „Freundschaft mit Toten" – wobei der Duktus hier immer assoziativer und nahezu unverständlich gerät. Das nächste, nicht weniger dunkle – sechste – Kapitel handelt von „Fetisch" unter den eleganten Abschnitten „Gemeinschaft des Nichtigen", „Die ungewollte Entde-

ckung", „Die Rückkehr des Königs als Fetisch", „Der Hermaphrodit oder die widerrechtliche Aneignung des Phallus" und schließlich „Das ‚moy premier' als Fetisch". Das siebte Kapitel befasst sich mit dem Subjekt des Souveräns. Es weist auf den geschichtsphilosophischen Einschnitt des Lobs und der Herrschaft des Königs in der Geschichte hin. Das führt zu Ruhm und Pathos in Gestalt von „Corps glorieux, corps pathetique", wieder im Sinne der Lehre von den beiden Körpern des Königs, die dann die Staatsräson, den Staatsstreich und das Staatstheater prägen. Das spiegelt sich dann in der Tragödie bei Jean Racine, insbesondere in seiner „Phädra", und endet in Besessenheit. Das achte Kapitel kommt zur Gegenwart in neuen Verortungen, sozusagen von Hobbes bis Martin Heidegger. Das beginnt sprachphilosophisch mit einer Spiegelung der Krankheit der Politik in der Krankheit der Wörter. Es setzt sich fort in einer Verortung der Häresie. Die Entfremdung findet man dann in Heideggers Schilderung von Bauernschuhen an Hand von zwei Bildern des Malers Vincent van Gogh. Es führt in die dem Tod Ausgesetztheit als Dasein. Politisch praktisch verweist hier die Schrift auf Entrechtung und Staatenlosigkeit, die – im Sinne von Hannah Arendt – die Gefahr des alles ordnenden totalen Polizeistaates heraufbeschwören. Dann befasst sich das Kapitel mit Heideggers „Sein und Zeit", mit der „Macht des Rufes". Das führt zu „Polis, Pol und Polarisierung" und schließlich zur „Souveränität der Geschichte", wenn nicht zu dem Souverän, „der Geschichte macht". Und das neunte Kapitel als Schlussstein verhandelt „die Sorge des Hausvaters" (Kafka), in psychologischen und literarischen Bezügen von Anomie und Angst, im Angesicht der Staatenlosigkeit, dann gespiegelt in der Erzählung von Franz Kafka und schließlich in dem Diktum „Odradek non moritur", wobei Odradek eben eine kafkaeske Figur in jener Geschichte ist und mit dieser Sentenz daran erinnert, dass nach einer verbreiteten Überlieferung der König, also der Souverän, niemals stirbt. Daran fügt sich noch ein Schluss des Buches, der zusammenfasst und verständlich macht, was undeutlich geblieben ist.

Dieser kursorische Weg durch das Buch macht vielleicht deutlich, dass es – ganz im Sinne der Ausweisung des Lehrstuhls seines Autors – erfahrene und erlesene Welten verbindet, die die Fachdisziplinen nicht zusammenbringen. Dadurch sucht es kulturgeschichtliche Einsichten zu gewinnen und so eine größere, eben Welten umfassende Orientierung zu verschaffen. Das gelingt einsichtig oft, aber nicht immer, zum Teil auch wegen der nicht ausreichenden Vorbildung – um nicht zu sagen Bildung – des Rezensenten als Leser. Es zeigt aber gewiss, in welchem Maße Versatzstücke der Politischen Theorie, der Theologie, all dies gespiegelt in verschiedenen Formen der Kunst und Literatur, eine Eigenständigkeit entfalten, sich verselbständigen und erhalten bleiben, auch wenn sie in der ursprünglichen Erscheinung ihrer Herkunft längst überholt erscheinen. In diesem Sinne ist auch die Verwendung der neueren französischen Soziologie und politischen Philosophie insbesondere von Michel Foucault und Jacques Derrida zu begrüßen. Sie liefern Sonden, um die Dinge aufzuspüren und in den erforderlichen Zusammenhang zu stellen. In diesem Sinne steht zu hoffen, dass das Buch jenseits esoterischer Leserkreise

und eines vielleicht schon eingeschränkt verständigen Feuilletons wahrgenommen und aufgegriffen wird. Schließlich sind wir darauf angewiesen, unsere Welten in dieser Welt zu verstehen, wollen wir sie angemessen interpretieren. Dies ist aber umso schwerer, je mehr Geschichte und Geschichten – letzteres auch im Sinne der Denkfiguren, Gestaltungen, ja auch symbolischen, schon völlig verborgenen Kürzel, die von ihnen zeugen – hinter diesen Welten stehen. Daher sind solche Arbeiten ungemein wichtig, weil sie letztlich zu einem besseren Verständnis der eigenen Welten helfen.

Anmerkung:

1 Thomas Raithel, Andreas Rödder, Andreas Wirsching (Hrsg.), Auf dem Weg in eine neue Moderne? Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren, München 2009; Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, Lutz Raphael, Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970, Göttingen 2008; Konrad H. Jarausch (Hrsg.), Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte, Göttingen 2008.

Frédéric Barbier (Hrsg.) : Histoire et civilisation du livre (= Revue internationale 6, 2010), Genève: Librairie Droz S.A, 2010, 442 S.

Rezensiert von
Juliette Guilbaud, Frankfurt am
Main

Diese einmal pro Jahr erscheinende Zeitschrift braucht man den Buchhistorikern nicht mehr vorzustellen. Sie verdient schon lange weitere Beachtung, besonders von Literatur bzw. anderen Geschichtswissenschaftlern. Davon zeugt auch die letzte Ausgabe von 2010. Der Band ist in vier Hauptteile sehr unterschiedlichen Umfangs gegliedert: einen ersten, historiographisch orientierten Teil (S. 7-31), ein Themendossier über den sogenannten Paratext mit acht Beiträgen und ausführlichem Namens und Titelverzeichnis (S. 33-189), fünf einzelne Studien über europäische Buchgeschichte von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts (S. 191-327) und mehrere Besprechungen (zwei Tagungsberichte und ca. 30 Rezensionen, S. 329-440).

Die zwei ersten Beiträge würdigen auf unterschiedliche Weise die Leistungen von Lucien Febvre und Henri Jean Martin auf dem Gebiet der Buchgeschichte. Im ersten Beitrag wird kritisch untersucht, inwieweit ihr Einfluss sich über die französischen akademischen Grenzen hinaus verbreitet hat. Der Aufsatz von Mario Infelise handelt nämlich von der Buchgeschichte in Italien und ihrer langsamen Entwicklung zu einem heute anerkannten akademischen Fach seit dem 19. Jahrhundert. Infelise betont, dass das bahnbrechende Werk von Febvre und Martin (*L'Apparition du livre*, Paris 1957) nur zögernd rezipiert und erst zwanzig Jahre später, zudem mit gewissen Vorbehalten, ins Italienische übersetzt wurde. Im zweiten Beitrag hat Frédéric Barbier eine Auswahl von Briefen herausgegeben, die Martin (1952–1956) als „Nachwuchswissenschaftler" von seinem Professor Febvre bekam, als sie gemeinsam an der *Apparition du livre* zusammenarbeiteten.

Bevor ich zum Themendossier zurückkomme, möchte ich die einzelnen Studien berücksichtigen. In seinem Aufsatz

(S. 193-219) schlägt François Géal vor, auf manichäische Einstellungen über das Buchwesen im katholischen Spanien des 16. Jahrhunderts zu verzichten, um dieses nuanciert neu zu analysieren: Unter den Gelehrten und Führungsschichten, ja sogar unter den Inquisitoren erwies sich das Verhältnis zum Buch wegen seiner symbolischen Kraft immer als ambivalent. In ihrem Aufsatz (S. 221-254) geht Marie Dominique Leclerc auf die im 18. Jahrhundert veröffentlichten Figures de la Bible (Bibelfiguren) aus Troyes in Frankreich ein. Das Buch zählte zu den am meisten bebilderten Werken der berühmten und beliebten Bibliothèque bleue. Leclerc untersucht die ikonografischen Quellen der 84 Holzschnitte, die der Buchdrucker Oudot 1735 für seine Ausgabe der Bibelfiguren benutzte, und kommt zu dem Schluss, dass die Hauptquelle Oudots wahrscheinlich eine Bibelausgabe des 16. Jahrhunderts sowie die Icones des Parisers Regnault war. Leclerc betont nochmals den damaligen Erfolg der Bibliothèque bleue: Es bestand eine so große Nachfrage nach solchen kleineren Werken, dass die Verleger sehr schnell arbeiten mussten, was manchmal zu bedauerlichen Fehlern wie Bildverwechslungen führen konnte. Sara Decoster (S. 255-277) geht auf Gabriel Naudé ein. Sie erläutert das Projekt des französischen Gelehrten, wie er es 1627 in seinem Werk Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque (Hinweis zur Begründung einer Bibliothek) vorstellte. Die Bibliothek wurde von Naudé als öffentliche Einrichtung konzipiert (die allerdings nicht jedem, sondern nur den Gelehrten zugänglich war). Sie sollte möglichst viel Stoff zu allen Wissensbereichen liefern. Insofern vergleicht Decoster die Bibliothek

Naudés mit den Kunst und Wunderkammern der Zeit, die in gewissem Maße auch nach Universalität strebten, sich aber in ihrer Einrichtung von der eher pragmatisch organisierten Bibliothek Naudés völlig unterschieden. Ian Maxted hat Buchdrucker und -händler auf beiden Seiten des Ärmelkanals im 18. Jahrhundert untersucht. In seinem Beitrag (S. 279-296) zieht er aufschlussreiche Vergleiche zwischen dem damaligen Buchwesen in Südwestengland und in der Region, die man heute als Basse Normandie bezeichnet. Maxted zeigt zahlreiche Regelungen der Ausbildung und Tätigkeit von Buchdruckern anhand interessanter neuer Daten. Schließlich widmet Florence Alibert den Präraffaeliten einen Beitrag (S. 297-327). Ihre Untersuchung betrifft vor allem die Versuche der zweiten Generation, Text und Bild möglichst eng zu verbinden, was William Morris in einer 1893 gehaltenen Rede voller architektonischer Anspielungen als das Ideal Book bezeichnete. Das 1896 bei Kelmscott Press gedruckte Kelmscott Chaucer darf insofern als Krönung dieses Projekts betrachtet werden, als das Buch die vollzogene Verbindung von Text (den Versen Chaucers) und Bild (aus der Zusammenarbeit von Morris mit Burnes Jones) als Ganzes darstellte. Diese Beiträge zeigen die Vielfalt der heutigen buchgeschichtlichen Forschung und ihre geographische und zeitliche Diversifizierung.

Der zweite Hauptteil und eigentliche Kern des Bandes ist ein dickes, von Françoise Waquet vorbereitetes Themendossier über den sog. Paratext. In der Einleitung betont Waquet, wie sich die Untersuchungsfelder zu diesem Thema seit Gérard Genette und seinen 1987 publizierten Seuils (erste dt. Übersetzung: Paratexte. Das Buch vom

Beiwerk des Buches, Frankfurt a. M./New York 1989) entwickelt haben. Dabei ist Genette weder der erste noch der einzige gewesen, durch den die Forschung über Paratexte entscheidende Impulse empfangen hat. Die Beiträge setzen sich mit einer breiten Zeitspanne vom 7. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert auseinander. Sieben davon betreffen Westeuropa (Italien, Deutschland, England, Frankreich). Der Aufsatz von François Déroche (S. 43-64) beweist, dass der Begriff des Paratextes auch zur Erforschung der arabischen handschriftlichen Überlieferung im 7.-9. Jahrhundert benutzt werden kann: Wichtig war nämlich damals, die Koranmanuskripte von den anderen, nicht sakralen Handschriften zu unterscheiden. Maria Gioia Tavoni (S. 65-78), die als Herausgeberin der Zeitschrift Paratesto mit Marco Santoro zu den aktivsten Forschern über Paratexte in Italien zählt, hat die Leserpraktiken des Ulisse Aldovrandi (1522–1605) am Beispiel seiner Lektüre des Goldenen Esels von Apuleius und besonders die daraus entstandenen Notizen untersucht. Tavoni erklärt, wie der italienische Naturforscher sein eigenes Verzeichnis zum Buch aufstellte, das dann auch „kollektiv" von allen Mitgliedern seines Kreises benutzt werden konnte. Nicolas Schapira (S. 79-96), der die in den Büchern selbst gedruckten Druckprivilegien während des französischen Ancien Régimes untersucht, sowie Michel Melot (S. 97-108), der Bildunterschriften als spezifische literarische Gattung analysiert, zeigen beide, dass man den Paratext vom Haupttext bzw. vom Bild nicht isolieren darf und anscheinend formale Texte (Druckprivilegien, Unterschriften, usw.) auch von großer Bedeutung sind. Françoise Jouffroy widmet ihren Beitrag

(S. 109-130) einem ungewöhnlichen Unternehmen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, dem Traité de zoologie des Professors Grassé und seinen 28.670 (!) Zeichnungen, als Beispiel für das Zusammenspiel von Text und Bild in den naturwissenschaftlichen Publikationen. Die drei letzten Aufsätze handeln vom herausgeberischen bzw. verlegerischen Paratext: Bernard Chédozeau untersucht in seinem Beitrag die Vorworte der sog. „Bible de Port-Royal" im 17. Jahrhundert (S. 131-141), Anna Giulia Cavagna die von Buchdruckern bzw. -händlern ins Buch hinzugefügten Paratexte in Italien, Frankreich, Deutschland und England (16.-20. Jahrhundert). Und schließlich analysiert Isabelle Olivero (S. 161-175) den Paratext in den französischen Bücherreihen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Alle drei Autoren heben die Bedeutung des Paratextes als Hinweis für den Leser, als Beweis der Identität seines Produzenten oder einer bestimmten Bücherreihe hervor. Die acht hier gesammelten Beiträge erläutern zweifelsohne mit Erfolg die komplexen und vielfältigen Verbindungen zwischen Text und Paratext, und zeigen, wie sich beide Kategorien kontextbezogen wandeln können.

Rezensiert von
Kerstin Lange, Berlin

Die Kulturgeschichte der klassischen Musik hat in den letzten Jahren verstärkt Aufmerksamkeit erfahren. Oper und Konzert sind in der Geschichtswissenschaft vor allem als Inszenierungen bürgerlicher Kultur untersucht worden.[1] Einen interdisziplinären Versuch hat diesbezüglich nun Derek B. Scott, Professor für „Critical Musicology" an der Universiät Leeds unternommen, der musikwissenschaftliche Analyse und Kulturgeschichte der Musik zusammenbringt. Dabei widmet sich Scott nicht der klassischen Musik, sondern untersucht, wie sich im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhundert populäre Musik herausbildete und ein Antagonismus zwischen „ernster" und „unterhaltender" Musik entstand. Ausgehend von einer Kritik an der herkömmlichen Definition populärer Musik, die oftmals vereinfacht als „breit rezipiert" beschrieben und in der Musikwissenschaft nur als zweitrangig hinter der klassischen Musik eingeordnet wird, plädiert Scott für einen differenzierteren Zugang. Er charakterisiert sein Buch als „the first book to study nineteenth-century popular music in terms of a stylistic revolution" (S. 7) und meint damit eine Untersuchung, die vor allem die kompositorischen Charakte-

ristika und stilistischen Veränderungen berücksichtigt. Die Herausbildung populärer Musik im 19. Jahrhundert sei nicht innerhalb eines hierarchischen Wertekanons klassischer Musik zu verstehen, sondern populäre Musik müsse als eigenes Genre analysiert und in ihrer Entstehung an gesellschaftliche Formationen zurück gebunden werden. Diese Zielsetzung wird anhand von vier Beispielen konkretisiert. Scott untersucht die Hochphase des Walzers in Wien, den Erfolg der US-amerikanischen Minstrel-Shows und die Figur des „Cockney" auf den Bühnen der britischen Music-Hall und schließlich die Anfänge des französischen Cabaret in Paris.

Das Buch gliedert sich in zwei Teile. Im ersten Teil des Buches befasst sich Scott mit den gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen der Produktion und Rezeption von Musik im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts. Obwohl nicht immer stringent strukturiert, werden hieraus die Kategorien ersichtlich, die die Argumentation im Folgenden leiten. Scott beschreibt Prozesse der Professionalisierung und Kommerzialisierung als grundlegende Faktoren, die zur Entstehung populärer Stile führten. Eingehend widmet sich Scott der Entstehung des Berufs des Musikers und dem Aufkommen des Phänomens des Bühnenstars. Großstädte seien Zentren einer solchen Entwicklung gewesen, in denen neue Akteure auftraten und sich neue Märkte herausbildeten. Die leitende These Scotts lautet, dass die Bedeutung der Bezeichnung „populär" sich im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts grundlegend verändert habe. Aus einer wertfreien Bezeichnung beliebter, breit rezipierter Musik, sei eine wertende Beschreibung geworden, die populäre Musik zunehmend als defizitär

kennzeichnete. Einem klassischen Musikverständnis standen zunehmend musikalische Formen gegenüber, die die kulturelle Deutungsmacht des Bürgertums herausforderten. Vor diesem Hintergrund, so Scott, habe sich eine machtvolle Dichotomisierung in „commercial music" und „serious art" (S. 4) herausgebildet, die bis heute wirke. Die Entstehung des Genres der leichten Unterhaltungsmusik gegenüber ernster Musik, müsse man daher als Prozess begreifen, bei dem die Definition dessen, was als populär bewertet wurde, in einem Spannungsfeld verschiedener Interessen ausgehandelt wurde.

Im zweiten Teil des Buches werden vier populäre Genres beispielhaft untersucht. Die ausführlichen Analysen der Notationen werden hierbei eingerahmt von Überlegungen zu den soziokulturellen Bedingungen ihrer Entstehung und schließen damit an den ersten Teil des Buches an. Im Zentrum des ersten Kapitels stehen Leben und Werk von Johann Strauss Vater (1804–1849) und Johann Strauss Sohn (1825–1899) und der Aufstieg des Walzer in Wien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Scott zeigt hier ausführlich, welche kompositorischen Neuerungen in der Harmonik, Rhythmik und Melodieführung klassische Konventionen herausforderten und einen spezifischen Wiener Stil begründeten. Erfolgreich wurde die Familie Strauss mit populärer Musik, die für den städtischen Gesellschaftstanz, für neue Formen und neue Orte städtischer Unterhaltung und Freizeit komponiert wurde. Der lokale Charakter war somit zunächst entscheidend für den Erfolg des Walzers. Ein wesentliches Merkmal populärer Musik war jedoch die Möglichkeit ihrer Übertragung und Verständlichkeit

über einen lokalen Kontext hinaus. Johann Strauss Sohnr feierte internationale Erfolge, tourte durch die USA und nahm an der Pariser Weltausstellung 1867 teil. Scott zeigt eindrücklich die musikalischen Innovationen, sowie auch das geschickte Taktieren der Familie Strauss im Umfeld neuer kommerzieller Bedingungen und Möglichkeiten.

Als zweites Genre hat Scott das seit den 1840er Jahren populäre Phänomen der Minstrelshows aus den USA ausgewählt. Auch in diesem Kapitel folgt Scott der Struktur, musikalische Analyse und gesellschaftlichen Kontext miteinander in Beziehung zu setzen. Weniger als die US-amerikanische Herkunft untersucht er hierfür den Erfolg der Minstrel-Shows in Großbritannien, wo sich die Darbietungen seit den 1840er Jahren als eigenes Genre etablierten. Minstrel-Shows waren zunächst Bühnendarstellungen, bei denen zunächst vor allem weiße Künstler die kulturellen Praktiken der Afro-Amerikaner parodierten. Sie zeichneten sich durch eine spezifische Performance und Musik aus und existierten in Großbritannien zunächst neben und in Konkurrenz zu den Aufführungen der Music Halls. Die erste schwarze Minstrelgruppe wurde 1865 gegründet. Schwarze Künstler beanspruchten für sich Authentizität, reproduzierten damit jedoch zwangsläufig die rassistischen Klischees des Genre. Scott gelingt es hier, die Gleichzeitigkeit schwarzer und weißer/blackface Minstrel-Shows und die damit einhergehende politische und kulturelle Brisanz darzustellen, an der sich veränderte gesellschaftliche Formationen des 19. Jahrhunderts ablesen ließen. Schwarze Künstler traten als neue städtische Akteure auf und beanspruchten die Öffentlichkeit

der Bühne für sich. In diesem Sinne sei Minstrel auch als erstes „amerikanisches Genre" zu bezeichnen.

Der britischen Music Hall selbst widmet sich Scott im folgenden Kapitel. Trotz ihrer Bedeutung als wichtigste Form der Unterhaltung der Arbeiterklassen sei die Music Hall in der Musikwissenschaft bisher weitgehend unbeachtet geblieben, musikalische Formen und stilistische Ausprägungen einzelner Aufführungen seien daher kaum untersucht worden. In diesem Sinne hat Scott beispielhaft die Figur des „Cockney" ausgewählt und geht im Folgenden auf deren Darstellungsformen, vor allem jedoch auch auf deren Bedeutungsveränderungen detailliert ein. „Cockney" stand zunächst sinnbildlich für die Bewohner der Arbeiterstadtteile im Londoner East End. Die Repräsentation des Lebens und des spezifischen Londoner Dialekts der einfachen Straßenhändler wurde zu einer erfolgreichen populären Bühnenfigur der Music Hall. Die Figur des Cockney sei zunächst als eine satirische Parodie gedacht worden, die dem Publikum das Leben im East End näher gebracht hätte. Die Künstler seien diesbezüglich Mediatoren gewesen. Scott analysiert vor allem die Sprache, sowie die jüdischen und irischen Elemente in der Instrumentierung, die die soziale Zusammensetzung in den Stadtteilen Londons spiegelte. Mit der Zeit entwickelten sich spezifische Darstellungsformen, die den Cockney als Figur in die populäre Kultur Londons einschrieben. Die Music Hall wurde so zur Bühne städtischer Erfahrungen.

Den Abschluss bildet schließlich die Darstellung des Cabaret in Paris in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts, dessen musikalischer Gehalt und stilistische Spezifik ebenso wie die Music Hall bisher von den Musikwissenschaften weitgehend ignoriert wurde. Auch hier untersucht Scott anhand der Analyse von Text und Musik die Entstehung und die Spezifik des Genre des „chanson artistique". Darüber hinaus zeigt er am Beispiel zweier Schlüsselfiguren des frühen Cabarets, Aristide Bruant und Yvette Guilbert, inwiefern die zunehmende Kommerzialisierung städtischer Unterhaltungskultur und die damit einhergehende Herausbildung einzelner gefeierter „Stars" die Diffusion populärer Formen an verschiedenen Orten und vor wechselndem Publikum aus verschiedenen Klassen begünstigte. Das Cabaret, so sei hier ähnlich dem Walzer festzustellen, entstand in Paris auf dem Montmartre in einem sehr spezifischen lokalen Kontext, zeichnete sich als populäre Form jedoch gerade dadurch aus, dass es Teil einer spezifisch städtischen Kultur wurde, die sich europaweit verbreitete.

Den vier Kapiteln zu den einzelnen Genres folgt am Ende des Buches keine Synthese, die die aufgezeigten Entwicklungen in den Städten noch einmal zusammenführt. Anhand der vier ausgewählten Genres wird die Herausbildung populärer Musik und ihrer spezifischen Charakteristika musikwissenschaftlich analysiert und gesellschaftlich eingeordnet. Daraus entwickelt sich jedoch weniger eine strukturierte Modellbildung, die über die ausgewählten Beispiele hinausweist und sich auf andere Genres übertragen ließe. Zu unterschiedlich sind hierfür die vier Genres und auch die Zugangweisen gewählt worden. Alle vier Beispiel zeigen zwar einflussreiche Entwicklungen in der populären Musik im 19. Jahrhundert, hätten jedoch in ihrer zeitlichen Abfolge und in der Gesamtent-

wicklung populärer Kultur in den Städten mehr kontextualisiert werden müssen. Die Hochzeit des Walzers etwa, war um 1900 bereits vorbei, so dass hier eher die Vorgeschichte populärer Tanzformen in den Städten geschrieben wurde, deren Repertoire sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts mit der Ankunft transatlantischer Tänze stark erweiterte. Der Darstellung der britischen Music Hall folgt bei Scott das Beispiel des Cabaret in Paris, ohne die spezifisch französische Entwicklung des Café-Concert zu erwähnen. Das Cabaret auf diese Weise isoliert herauszugreifen wirkt damit verkürzt und entspricht nicht der Gesamtentwicklung populärer Kultur in Paris im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Chance, die Entwicklungen in den Städten zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen, oder das Buch konzeptionell vergleichend zu strukturieren, wurde in diesem Sinne kaum genutzt.

Mit der Darstellung einer langen Entwicklung populärer Musik über das gesamte 19. Jahrhundert hinweg liefert Scott jedoch eine wertvolle Erweiterung der Perspektive. Die langfristigen Entwicklungslinien und allmählichen Transformationsprozesse, die Scott beschreibt, lassen sich vielleicht eher im Sinne einer „stillen Revolution" (Jean-Yves Mollier) interpretieren – obwohl eine solche Bezeichnung für Musik natürlich paradox erscheinen mag. Die Forschung zur Herausbildung einer frühen Massenkultur geht üblicherweise von einer beschleunigten Entwicklung des kulturellen Angebots seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts aus, die sich bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs vor allem in den westeuropäischen Metropolen verdichtete. Dabei werden stärker die Entwicklung von Presse, Literatur und das

frühe Kino fokussiert, während Untersuchungen zur populären Musik in sehr viel geringerem Maß vorliegen. Insgesamt ist die Arbeit von Scott daher eine Geschichte der populären Musik, die sowohl kulturhistorisch als auch musikwissenschaftlich einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Geschichte der populären Kultur des 19. Jahrhunderts leistet.

Anmerkung:
1 Philipp Ther, In der Mitte der Gesellschaft. Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815–1914, Wien 2006; William Weber, The Great Transformation of Musical Taste. Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms, Cambridge 2008.

John Griffith Urang, Legal Tender. Love and Legitimacy in the East German Cultural Imagination, Ithaka: Cornell University, 2010, 256 S.

Rezensiert von
Hyacinthe Ondoa, Yaoundé

Die DDR ist tot; es lebe die DDR! Zumindest als Forschungsgegenstand führt der „andere Deutsche Staat" eine andere Existenz nach dem Verschwinden des politischen Staates, erst recht in den historischen und Kulturwissenschaften. In dieser Hinsicht findet der vorliegende Band von John Griffith Urang kein unerforschtes Terrain vor. Und wie der dominante Trend der bisherigen DDR-Forschung, unterstützt durch eine „aktenkundige" Geschichtsschreibung, geht auch der Band von der Überdeterminierung der kultu-

rellen und symbolischen Sphären von der politischen Ordnung aus und deutet diese Felder als Manifestationen der allgemeinen politischen Ökonomie. Die vorliegende Untersuchung nimmt so gesehen eine bekannte Perspektive ein: Ihr Autor betont den ausschlaggebenden Einfluss der politischen Ordnung auf die anderen Bereiche des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in der DDR. Urang untersucht den privaten, affektiven Bereich, um den Zusammenhang zwischen der Struktur dieses Bereichs und der politischen Ideologie zu dokumentieren: „How may we understand the ideological stakes oft the conventions of romantic love? More specifically, how do romantic codes interact with the operation of power, the machinary of persuasion and control?" (S. 5)

In der Einführung stellt der Autor seine theoretischen Positionen dar. In herkömmlichen Liebegeschichten sei Liebe ein zweckloser Affekt. Es sei ein Affekt, der sich jeglicher Begründung, logischer, rationaler oder wirtschaftlicher Art entziehe und nur nach „eigenen Regeln" entfalte, einen eigenen Wert und eine eigene Werthierarchie besitze. Dies sei in fiktionalen Liebesgeschichten aus der DDR, wo politische Verhältnisse und Begründungen Liebesgeschichten durchaus strukturierten und die letzte Legitimationsinstanz darstellten, nicht der Fall gewesen: „The […] analysis explores these intuitions, taking a closer look at somme oft he love story's traditonal perquisites: ist capacity to act as an unmotivated motivator, ist primacy in the text's hierarchy of values, ist privileged relationship to narrative closure. Such characteristics stand out in particularly stark relief within the public culture of the GDR, where the ‚realistic' depiction of

cause and effect was mandatory, and the standard of realism dogmatically defined." (S. 3 f.)

Die historisch orientierte Analyse folgt diesem Grundsatz. Das erste Jahrzehnt der DDR-Existenz, das Gegenstand des ersten Kapitels ist, wird als seine Periode verstanden, in der politische Bekenntnisse und Wunschvorstellungen der DDR-(Kultur-)Politiker Liebesgeschichten dominierten und Literatur und Film (vergeblich) in den Dienst der politischen Ordnung zu stellen trachteten: „The trade-off for such political rigor, however, is that romance is thereby prevented from doing what it does best, namely ameliorating the tensions caused by ideological self-contradiction. Rather than obeying its own self-contained logic, romantic passion becomes subject to political doctrine: is internal structure and overall trajectory must correspond to the ambitions of socialist social engineering" (S. 33).

Das zweite Kapitel nimmt das Verhältnis zwischen Liebesgeschichte und wirtschaftlicher Produktion in den Blick. In der Ankunftsliteratur strukturiere die Liebesgeschichte das ganze Handlungsgerüst und trage zur „Ankunft" der Protagonisten bei. In den untersuchten Texten Reimanns, Wolfs und Nolls scheitern die Liebesgeschichten, weil die Liebebeziehung in Konflikt mit dem gesamtintegrativen (politischen) Projekt gerate. Dies drücke aber nicht die Kritik der jeweiligen Autoren an der herrschenden Gesellschaftsordnung aus, sondern dieses Scheitern der Liebesgeschichten habe hier eine didaktische Funktion im Sinne von Bert Brecht: „In the Ankunftsroman, the romantic framework becomes uncoupled from the love story proper and is deployed instead in the

service of the genre's overarching ideological project: to reconfigure the East German desiring imagination in line with […] the ‚neue Romantik'" (S. 65). Da hier nicht die Liebe zur ‚Ankunft' des Protagonisten führe, sondern umgekehrt die harmonische Eingliederung in die sozialistischen Produktionsprozesse Liebe erst möglich mache, spricht Urang von der Romantisierung des wirtschaftlichen Produktionsprozesses (S. 93).

Das dritte Kapitel trägt in Anspielung auf Goethes „Wahlverwandtschaften" den Titel „Corrective Affinities" und stellt die DDR als Klassengesellschaft dar. Hier werden die Bedingungen erforscht, unter welchen die entfremdeten Paare eine Versöhnung erzielen oder nicht. Untersucht werden zwischen 1968 und 1978 erschienene Filme und Texte. Wie in den vorherigen Kapiteln wird auch hier eine politische Begründung erarbeitet, die den Entscheidungen und Empfindungen der jeweiligen Protagonisten zugrunde liegen: „The terms according to which each couple chooses, abandons, then reconfirms – or fails to reconfirm – their romantic union trace the border of real and imagined socialist community in the GDR oft he 1970s" (S. 95).

Bezug nehmend auf Gendertheorien, welche die Performativität, den sozialen Konstruktionscharakter von Geschlecht betonen, untersucht das vierte Kapitel die Anthologie „Blitz aus heiterm Himmel" und zwei Romane von Irmtraud Morgner. Diese Texte, so die These, hinterfragen die Möglichkeitsbedingung von wirklicher Liebe zwischen gleichberechtigten Partnern in der DDR-Gesellschaft, die sich politisch diskursiv immer als (geschlechter)egalitär dargestellt habe.

Und ein letztes Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den sogenannten „Stasi-Romanen", welche die voyeuristische Dimension politischer Bespitzelung aufdecken, indem sie Geschichten der Unliebe (stories of not-love) erzählen.

Die hier vorgelegten Analysen zeichnen sich durch eine sehr große Kohärenz aus und sind theoretisch sehr gut fundiert, so dass sie auch für Leser leicht nachvollziehbar sind, die das politische Geschichtsbild nicht teilen, welches ihnen zugrunde liegt. Methodologisch hätte der Band allerdings noch an Klarheit gewonnen, wenn der Autor die Vielfalt der Quellen (Film, Anthologien, Romane), die auf das Konzept der Cultural Studies zurückzuführen ist, reflektiert hätte. Auf jeden Fall stellt diese Untersuchung einen erfrischenden Überblick über die Kulturgeschichte der ehemaligen DDR dar.

Hans-Günter Thien (Hrsg.): Klassen im Postfordismus, Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2010, 381 S.

Rezensiert von
Peter Birke, Bremen

Hans-Günter Thien ist nicht nur Soziologe, sondern auch Verleger des Westfälischen Dampfboots, zweifellos einer der bedeutendsten kritischen Verlage hierzulande. Wenn so jemand eine Sammlung seiner Texte über ArbeiterInnen in Deutschland „Die verlorene Klasse" nennt, mag er sich etwas dabei gedacht haben. Aber was? Naheliegend ist zunächst der Bezug auf Beaud

und Pialoux und ihre über mehrere Jahrzehnte vorgenommene empirische Analyse über die Arbeiter des Automobilwerkes in Souchaux-Beliard, einer der letzten Bastionen der oppositionellen Gewerkschaftsarbeit in Frankreich. Dieser Text, der 2004 in deutscher Sprache unter dem Titel „Die verlorene Zukunft der Arbeiter" in einem anderen sehr profilierten kritischen Verlag erschienen ist, umreist Periode und Gegenstand des Buches von Thien durchaus: die Entwicklung der Klassenverhältnisse seit den Revolten der frühen 1970er Jahre, der Verlust der öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeit für die Anliegen dieser Arbeiter in den 1980er Jahren, die Versuche, das Mosaik der „Klasse" in den 1990er Jahren „von oben" neu zusammenzusetzen, indem die von den Unternehmen und ihren Beratern gerne als „Rigidität" bezeichneten sozialen Ansprüche einer bestimmten Arbeitergeneration gezielt durchbrochen und zerschlagen wurden. Das Bild ist melancholisch: Die Arbeiter sind „verloren" oder sie haben sogar eine „verlorene Zukunft" (d. h. sie hatten früher die Gewissheit einer Zukunft, die ihnen verloren gegangen ist). Die Perspektive ist auf den ersten Blick allzu geschlossen: wer da erst vergessen und dann „verloren" wurde, was „verschwindet" oder vielleicht „erscheint" – das wäre ja erst zu klären.

Es ist ein merkwürdiger Titel für ein Buch, das sich gerade diese Klärung vorgenommen hat. Denn alle sechs in diesem Band versammelten Texte umkreisen – zwischen 1985 und 2006 erschienen und mit einigen zusätzlichen aktuellen Angaben versehen – die unterschiedlichen Dimensionen der Klassenverhältnisse. Im ersten Text des Bandes, der trotzig mit „Zur Klassenstruktur der kapitalistischen Gesellschaften"

überschrieben ist, wird es schon klar: hier ist die Klassenfrage nicht überholt, und sie kann nach Auffassung des Autors auch nicht überholt werden, solange die Grundstrukturen der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft bestehen. Auf Seite 20 zitiert Thien die fragmentarische Sprache der Marxschen „Grundrisse", die man gerne auch als Programm interpretieren kann: „Die exakte Entwicklung des Kapitalbegriffs nötig …" Der Kapitalismus ist demnach ein „allgemeiner Typus" (S. 21), der sich historisch konkretisiert, gleichzeitig aber durch die Dynamik der Inwertsetzungsprozesse bestimmt bleibt, in der sorgfältig der Charakter der Ware Arbeitskraft (als „besonderer" Gebrauchs- und Tauschwert) sowie die verschiedenen daraus sich ergebenden Klassenpositionen bestimmt werden müssen. Dabei sind zugleich zwei Motive angetönt, die bis zum Ende des Buches nicht verschwinden: einerseits das Motiv der empirischen Ausleuchtung der Klassenverhältnisse, mithin der Bezug auf das „Projekt Klassenanalyse", den Thien Mitte der 1980er Jahre hervorhebt und in dem eine quantitative Aufteilung der drei Hauptklassen der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft (Arbeiterklasse, Kapitalisten, Mittelklasse) ebenso vorgenommen wird wie über die zumindest bis 1970 wachsende quantitative Bedeutung der zuerst genannten Kategorie befunden wird (S. 46 f.) Dies ist selbstverständlich eine wichtige Beobachtung, und Thien besteht darauf, dass sie nicht alleine eine historische Anmerkung enthält. Wiederum mit Bezug auf Marx erklärt er, dass die Art, wie das Kapitalverhältnis sich je historisch darstellt (das heißt die Formen seiner Regulation und die damit verbundenen subjektiven Deutungsmuster) zwar als „strukturierte Totalität"

verstanden werden müssen, zugleich diese jedoch analytisch von der „ökonomischen Basis" unterschieden werden müssen, die das Gemeinsame der kapitalistischen Gesellschaften ausmacht. Damit skizziert der Autor das Kräftefeld, das auch Beaud und Pialoux in den 2000er Jahren beschrieben: in der Einleitung ihres Textes werden Soziologiestudierende gefragt, wie viele Arbeiter es wohl in Frankreich geben mag. Die Antworten zeigen, mehr als ein Jahrzehnt nachdem Thien dies konstatierte, eine deutliche Unterbewertung im Vergleich zu den empirischen Befunden. Der Sinn dieses etwas autoritär anmutenden Spieles ist zu zeigen, dass „Empirie und Wahrnehmung" sich gegenseitig durchdringen und einen Ausgangspunkt dafür bieten können, bei einer wichtigen Frage zu bleiben, die die meisten SoziologInnen offensichtlich schon für beantwortet halten.

Das zweite Motiv des erstens Textes bezieht sich auf diese endgültigen Antworten, auf den Versuch, die Kategorie der „Klasse" aus der Soziologie, in die sie sich infolge der sozialen Kämpfe selbst in den 1970er Jahren eingeschlichen hatte, zu verbannen. Thien schildert trefflich, dass Schelskys Behauptung, die „Aufstiegsprozesse zerstören den Klassenstatus der Arbeiterschaft" (S. 23) schon deshalb fragwürdig ist, weil sie immer wieder erhoben wird und wie eine Beschwörung des Verschwindens von etwas klingt, das nicht leicht zum Verschwinden zu bringen ist, weil die sozialen Verwerfungen und Konflikte, die vorgeblich der Vergangenheit angehören, immer wieder aufbrechen. Thien verweist an dieser Stelle auf den doppelten Charakter von Individualisierungsprozessen und (ebenfalls ein wichtiger Hinweis) auf den zwei-

felhaften Charakter der Vorstellung von autonom handelnden Marktteilnehmern, die, sobald sie in die „verdeckte" Sphäre der Produktion eintreten, die Asymmetrie des Verhältnisses zwischen Besitzern von Produktionsmitteln und Verkäufern der Ware Arbeitskraft nicht alleine wiederherstellen, sondern unweigerlich auch produzieren. Eine grundlegende Kritik an der Individualisierungsthese und der daraus abgeleiteten begrifflichen Zuschreibungen ist aus Sicht des Autors, dass sie diese systematische (und im Grunde genommen nicht schwer zu beschreibende) Trennung zwischen Zirkulations- und Produktionssphäre nicht beachtet.

Beide Motive werden in der Folge weiter bearbeitet, konkretisiert und erweitert. Bleiben wir zunächst bei den Soziologen. Ausgangspunkt des zweiten in vorliegendem Band abgedruckten Textes ist die Kritik an der These, dass die Analyse der (neuen) sozialen Bewegungen die eben skizzierte Trennung unkritisch reproduziert. An einem der Ausgangspunkte der so genannten „Sozialen Bewegungsforschung" hatte Habermas 1981 eine „Konfliktlinie zwischen den Zentrum der am Produktionsprozess unmittelbar beteiligten Schichten […] und einer bunt zusammengewürfelten Peripherie auf der anderen Seite" behauptet (S. 59). Die zuletzt genannte motley crew bilde, und mit dieser These war Habermas durchaus stilbildend, die soziale Basis der Bewegungen, die sich „postmodern" und jenseits der sozialen Kämpfe verorteten – von der Neuen Frauenbewegung bis zu den HausbesetzerInnen. Während Thien das Motiv auch in der frühen Debatte über postfordistische Vergesellschaftungsformen (mit Bezug auf Joachim Hirsch, S. 61) aufspürt, ist sein nahezu wichtigster

Sparringspartner jedoch Ulrich Beck, dem er vorwirft, aus der Individualisierungsthese eine Gesellschaftstheorie zu basteln, die im Kern die Hypostase einer bestimmten empirisch auffindbaren „modernen" Figur (namentlich der neuen Angestellten) zur gesellschaftlichen Allgemeinheit enthält (S. 71 f.) Im Zuge dieses „Tricks" verwandle sich die Fragestellung insbesondere auch der Ungleichheitsforschung, die nunmehr nicht mehr von festen Klassengrenzen, sondern von Lebenslagen (S. 72) ausgeht. Die Kritik an solchem Vorgehen wird später (in einem Text aus dem Jahre 2002) erneut aufgenommen und ist zu diesem Zeitpunkt eher noch bedeutender geworden, weil auf Grundlage der massiven Verwerfung in der Sozialstruktur der Nachwendezeit unwillkürlich „soziale Frage neu entdeckt" (S. 153 f.) und somit nach einem Instrumentarium zumindest ihrer Darstellung gesucht wurde. Insgesamt konstatiert der Autor etwas polemisch, aber durchaus nachvollziehbar, die Verwandtschaft einerseits zwischen Schelsky und Beck (in der Individualisierungsthese), andererseits zwischen Beck und Habermas (in der Beobachtung der „klassenlosen" sozialen Bewegungen), wobei übrigens – und dies ist meines Erachtens eine wichtige Beobachtung – gefragt wird, ob hier nicht sogar ein „traditionelles Bild" von der Arbeiterklasse als Folie dient, um diese zum „Relikt" zu erklären (S. 77).

In seiner „Skizze zum Lobe der Massenkultur" (1989) nimmt Thien diesen Faden ebenfalls auf. Er polemisiert gegen die Verwandlung von Klassenverhältnissen in „Gefährdungslagen" (S. 102) und dabei vor allem gegen die Vorstellung, dass die Art wie das „Kollektivschicksal unmittelbar" in „psychische Konflikte" umschlage

(Beck, ebd.), historisch neu sei. Dagegen bringt der Autor gleich eine ganze Riege der neueren bundesdeutschen ArbeiterInnengeschichte der 1980er Jahre in Anschlag: Oral-History-Untersuchungen wie die von Niethammer und anderen, die zeigen, dass dieser „Umschlag" auch als ein immergleicher und im Sinne des Autors „strukturierter" Prozess verstanden werden kann; Untersuchungen Alf Lüdtke oder Bruce Willis, die „Arbeiterkultur" als eigenständige (und zugleich zutiefst ambivalente) Artikulation von Klassenverhältnissen begreifen, Letzterer mit der Pointe, dass die „beispiellose Mobilität" der Individuen diese, wenn man so will, restringierte Eigenständigkeit, durch den großen Boom der zwei, drei Jahrzehnte nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg vermittelt, sogar zugespitzt erscheinen lässt (S. 117). Ein in allen vorliegenden Texten geäußerter, aber leider zu wenig ausgeführter Gedanke ist, dass auch die sozialdemokratische und gewerkschaftliche Arbeiterkultur mit dieser Eigenständigkeit nichts anfangen kann, sondern vielmehr lediglich als Problem begreift, dem sie eine Kopie eines Bildungsideals gegenüberstelle, das sogar innerhalb des dasselbe prägenden Bürgertums antiquiert sei (S. 120).

Die drei zwischen 1998 und 2006 erschienen weiteren Texte des Buches setzten diese kritische Würdigung an den verschiedenen Schattierungen der bundesdeutschen Soziologie fort und gehen zugleich – hier ist eine gewisse (schwache) „Internationalisierung" der Perspektive zu beobachten – auch neu entstandenen Fragen nach. Anders als in dem soeben zusammengefassten Text angedeutet, bezieht sich Thien nunmehr positiv auf die von Hirsch und Roth angestoßene Debatte über postfor-

distische Vergesellschaftung, die einige „Sachverhalte als Resultate und Kernpunkte der neueren kapitalistischen Entwicklung ins Zentrum der Analyse" rücke (S. 135). Er sieht hier eine systematische Aufnahme der „historischen Entwicklung" und lobt vor allem den Bezug auf Gramsci, der nach Auffassung des Autors eine Präzisierung der Rolle kultureller und politischer Prozesse (im Gegensatz zum zeitgenössisch modernen und auch heute noch nicht ganz verschwundenen Kulturalismus) erlaube. In diesem Rahmen nimmt Thien wiederholt auch die Frage nach sozialen Konflikten innerhalb der „Klasse" auf: hier schwankt er zwischen der Hervorhebung der Bedeutung dieser Konflikte (S. 144 ff.) und der Darstellung derselben als Ausdruck einer „besondere Lage" der Frauen und Migranten.

Der letzte und jüngste Beitrag des vorliegenden Bandes nimmt sich in Kürze die von Negri und Hardt verfassten ersten beiden Bestseller „Empire und Multitude" vor. Beiden Texten wirft Thien die Propagierung eines Mechanismus vor, in dem die „vom Kapitalverhältnis Betroffenen letztlich von diesem selbst zur Auflösung" getrieben werden (S. 173). Hierin entdeckt er einerseits eine „tröstliche" (also voluntaristische) Setzung der „Zukunft als Ideal" (S. 174), andererseits eine dem Operaismus bereits in seiner Bezugnahme auf den (fordistischen) Massenarbeiter innewohnende „Überhöhung des Subjekts" (S. 175), die sich in „Klassenbegriffen" wie „Multitude" oder (an anderer Stelle) „Multiversum" wiederhole. Wenngleich die Kritik an den unpräzisen Bestimmungen der Klassenverhältnisse bei Negri/ Hardt sicherlich nicht von der Hand zu weisen ist (das „Tröstliche" macht aller-

dings vielleicht gerade den Erfolg ihrer Texte auf dem Buchmarkt aus), illustriert gerade der letzte Text des Bandes auch die Schwächen von Thiens Perspektive. Denn Negri und Hardt greifen – ob man ihre Antworten teilt oder nicht – die Frage nach der Transformation (oder der Theorie der gesellschaftlichen Umwälzung) sowie jene nach der Bedeutung der Subjektivität im gesellschaftlichen Handeln auf. Beides sind Aspekte, die Thien im Grunde nur in Abgrenzung zu einer langen und etwas ermüdenden Aufzählung der Kritik an ganz überwiegend männlichen deutschen Soziologen und Historikern behandelt. Auch Fragen wie die nach der Prekarisierung und Entgrenzung der Arbeit, aber auch etwa nach der Bedeutung der Transnationalität (oder methodisch: des internationalen Vergleichs) innerhalb der Formation der Klassengesellschaften werden immer wieder aufgeworfen. Aber sie bleiben in gewisser Weise auch immer wieder unbearbeitet, „am Anfang", werden nur „konzeptionell" gestellt und beziehen sich letztlich auf eine Empirie wie die, die letztlich keine eigenständige Bedeutung entfaltet, in dieser Hinsicht ähnlich wie in Negris und Hardts Begriffsphantasien. Das stellt die Geduld des Lesers auf eine harte Probe, zumal trotz der beeindruckenden Menge zitierter Texte erstaunlich große blinde Flecken bleiben, wie etwa dort, wo die Frage nach den Geschlechterverhältnissen im Grunde nur „ergänzt" wird, also innerhalb der Strukturen verortet, die letztlich durch die Dynamik des Wertgesetzes strukturiert sind. Sicherlich ist das beharrliche Bestehen auf begrifflicher „Arbeit" (im Gegensatz zum vorherrschenden Begriffs-Design), das Thiens Arbeiten durchzieht, wichtig und in der Ausführung beeindruk-

kend. Das Buch stellt Fragen, es spiegelt in interessanter Weise die deutsche Soziologie-Historiographie seit den 1980er Jahren, aber trotzdem: Am Ende bleibt alleine das Beharren auf der Kritik der Kritik und die Anrufung des Protestes gegen das Vergessen „der Klasse" merkwürdig unbefriedigend. Bei der Lektüre fühlt man sich mitunter wie beim Camping im Wald. Man hat nur Dosen dabei, aber man hat den Dosenöffner vergessen.

Matthias Middell / Ulf Engel (Hrgs.): Theoretiker der Globalisierung, Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag 2010, 475 S.

Rezensiert von
Hans-Heinrich Nolte, Barsinghausen

In dem Sammelband werden 28 Autoren behandelt, die über Globalisierung geschrieben haben. Auswahl und Darstellung sind aus dem Graduiertenkolleg „Bruchzonen der Globalisierung" in Leipzig hervorgegangen, ohne den Anspruch der Vollständigkeit, aber sehr wohl mit der Vorstellung, ein „Handbuch" (S. 22) vorzulegen. Die Herausgeber definieren ihr eigenes Konzept, das dem Graduiertenkolleg zugrunde lag, in vier Punkten: 1) Globalisierung ist kein naturwüchsiger Prozess, sondern hängt von Machtpotentialen und kulturellen Mustern ab; 2) die Erforschung globaler Verflechtungen zwingt zur Überwindung tradierter epistemologischer und institutioneller Trennungen; 3) die Frage nach der Neuartigkeit lässt sich nur

in diachronen Vergleichen mit früheren Schüben globaler Verflechtung beantworten; und 4) die Diskussionen um Globalisierung und „spatial turn" müssen zusammen geführt werden.

Die Sammlung von Kurzbeschreibungen zu Autoren zielt darauf, verschiedene Denktraditionen gegen eine aktuelle „Engführung des Globalisierungsbegriffs" (S. 19) erst einmal zu Wort kommen zu lassen. Dass die Herausgeber bei diesem von ihnen selbst beschriebenen Status der Sammlung den Band als „die heute zirkulierenden Angebote" ankündigen (S. 31) verblüfft den Leser, aber das Ziel des Bandes „Appetit machen auf die Lektüre der Bücher" (S. 30) versöhnt dann wieder.

Die Aufsätze zu den Globalisierungstheoretikern sind jeweils um die 20 Seiten lang. Um einen Überblick zu erhalten seien die Theoretiker, über die man sich informieren kann, der Anordnung des Bandes folgend alphabetisch aufgeführt: Arjun Appadurai (Indien); Kwame Anthony Appiah (Ghana/USA); Artur Attman (Schweden); Zygmunt Bauman (Polen/United Kingdom); Berch Berberoglu (Türkei/USA); Peter Beyer (Kanada); Homi K. Bhaba (Indien/USA); Fernand Braudel (Frankreich); Teresa Caldeira (Brasilien); Nestor Garcia Canclini (Argentinien/Mexiko); Manuel Castells (Spanien); Arturo Escobar (Kolumbien); Gilberto de Mello Freyre (Brasilien); Nicholas Georgescu-Reogen (Rumänien); David Harvey (United Kingdom); Koichi Iwabuchi (Japan); Kōjin Karatani (Japan); Henri Lefebvre (Frankreich); Niklas Luhmann (Deutschland); Doreen Massey (United Kingdom); John W. Meyer (USA); David Newman (United Kingdom/Israel); Anssi Paasi (Finnland); Roland Robertson (United Kingdom);

Edward Saïd (Palästina/USA); Milton Almeida dos Santos (Brasilien); Saskia Sassen (USA); Alfred Verdroß-Droßberg (Österreich). Die Beiträge geben jeweils eine kurze Biographie und eine Skizze der Publikationen der Autoren. Sie bilden so eine gute Einführung in die (trotz der beiden Japaner) atlantische Diskussion über den neuen Status der Welt und machen deutlich, dass über Globalisierung oder was immer man darunter verstehen will in allen Disziplinen diskutiert wird.

Dass die einzelnen Beiträge unterschiedlich ausgefallen sind, versteht sich; hier können nur wenige stellvertretend genannt werden. Stefan Troebst gibt eine bei aller Knappheit vorzügliche Würdigung Artur Attmanns, der bei aller internationalen Anerkennung „ein Außenseiter in der akademischen Welt Schwedens" blieb (S. 79) und in Englisch und Russisch publizierte. Sabil Francis diskutiert die intellektuelle Wirkung Fernand Braudels anhand seiner Werke und geht nicht auf die Auseinandersetzungen in der französischen Zunft ein, die man z. B. bei Wallerstein finden kann.[1] Schade auch, dass in der Bibliographie die vielen Übersetzungen der Werke Braudels ins Deutsche nicht aufgeführt sind; wer des Französischen nicht so weit kundig ist, dass er vielbändige Werke in Braudels innovationsreicher Sprache wirklich lesen kann, wird also nicht zum Weiterlesen eingeladen. Marina Renault diskutiert aus Canclinis Werken vor allem die zur Hybridität und zur Globalisierung; für denjenigen, der weiter lesen will, nennt sie Übersetzungen ins Englische. Veronika Deffner stellt Henri Lefebvre in den Kontext der Geschichte der Linken in Frankreich und geht dann auf wichtige Werke ein. Sie betont seine Bedeutung für den „spatial

turn", und ihr Text lädt zum Weiterlesen ein, da Übersetzungen ins Deutsche in der Bibliographie aufgeführt werden. Steffi Marung präsentiert den finnischen Geographen Anssi Paasi, der „Regionen als durch kollektives Handeln produzierte räumliche Strukturen von Gesellschaft" konzeptualisierte (S. 381). Sie stellt sein Werk in den Kontext der weltweiten Forschungen über Räume und Grenzen und verweist auf (englischsprachige[2]) Literatur. Viele der behandelten Autoren sind weniger bekannt. Keiner der Autoren, die Ernst Schulin 1972 in seinem Sammelband zur Universalgeschichte[3] Dieter Senghaas 1979 in seinem Sammelband zur Kapitalistischen Weltökonomie[4] oder Jürgen Osterhammel 2008 in seiner Sammlung „Weltgeschichte" vorstellt[5], ist hier aufgenommen; weder Wallerstein noch Eisenstadt, weder Myrdal noch Mazlish werden behandelt. Von den Theoretikern, die Osterhammel in seinem Buch „Geschichte der Globalisierung" nennt, tauchen nur zwei – Castells und Robertson – auch hier auf.[6] Es ist ein Leipziger Kosmos, der vorgestellt wird, und auch die Autoren arbeiten eben mit wenigen Ausnahmen in der Stadt an der Pleisse.

In der alternativen Auswahl liegt einerseits die Stärke des Bandes, weil man die Texte als Hinweise auf marginalisierte Forschungsstränge lesen kann, andererseits aber auch eine Möglichkeit zu Missverständnissen, weil die Herausgeber einen darüber hinaus gehenden Anspruch formulieren. Aber innerhalb dieser Auswahl verbietet die lexikalische Form der Reihung jede Hierarchisierung, so dass kein gerichtetes Argument für die Aufnahme dieses oder jenen Autors in den augenblicklichen historiographischen Diskurs hervorsticht.

Eher kommt man zu dem umgekehrten Votum dafür, die klassischen Autoren (und vielleicht weitere) hinzuzufügen, damit man tatsächlich ein Handbuch erhält, in dem man sich schnell orientieren kann. Ganz sicher taugt die Sammlung also dazu, den bisherigen Kanon „Theoretiker der Globalisierung" infrage zu stellen und zu erweitern. Über die reale Bedeutung der verschiedenen Konzepte für die globale Diskussion kann selbstverständlich nur in einer vergleichenden Theoriegeschichte entschieden werden (die sicher bis Adam Smith und Karl Marx zurückgehen müsste).

1   I. Wallerstein, Die Sozialwissenschaft ‚kaputtdenken', Die Grenzen der Paradigmen des 19. Jahrhunderts, Weinheim 1995, S. 223-270.

2   Also z. B. nicht die Autoren der Geographischen Review, die kontinuierlich über Raum und Geschichte arbeiten, oder Hans-Jürgen Nitz mit seinen umfangreichen Forschungen, etwa ders., Der Beitrag der historischen Geographie zur Erforschung von Peripherien, in: H.-H. Nolte (Hrsg.), Europäische Innere Peripherien, Stuttgart 1996, S. 17-36.

3   E. Schulin (Hrsg.), Universalgeschichte, Köln 1974.

4   D. Senghaas (Hrsg.), Kapitalistische Weltökonomie, Frankfurt a. M.1979.

5   J. Osterhammel (Hrsg.), Weltgeschichte. Basistexte, Stuttgart 2008.

6   J. Osterhammel / P. Peterson, Geschichte der Globalisierung, München 2003, S. 125.

Autorinnen und Autoren

Tim Allender
Associate Professor, University of Sydney
E-Mail: tim.allender@sydney.edu.au

Peter Birke
Dr., Stiftung für Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Universität Bremen
E-Mail: Pbirke@stiftung-sozialgeschichte.de

Olavi K. Fält
Prof. Dr., University of Oulu
E-Mail: Olavi.Falt@oulu.fi

Eckhardt Fuchs
Prof. Dr., Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung, Braunschweig
E-Mail: fuchs@gei.de

Helmut Goerlich
Univ.-Prof. (em.) Dr., Universität Leipzig
E-Mail: helmut.goerlich@gmx.de

Juliette Guilbaud
Dr., Institut français d'histoire en Allemagne, Frankfurt a. M.
E-Mail: jul_guilbaud@yahoo.fr

Kerstin Lange
M.A., Freie Universität Berlin
E-Mail: kl.lange@fu-berlin.de

Matthew Lenoe
Prof. Dr., University of Rochester
E-Mail: mlenoe@gmail.com

Wei-chih Liou
Dr., Assistant Professor, National Taiwan Normal University
E-Mail: camino@ntnu.edu.tw

Hans-Heinrich Nolte
Univ.-Prof. (em.) Dr., Barsinghausen
E-Mail: CNolteVGWS@aol.com

Hyacinthe Ondoa
Dr., Université de Yaoundé I
E-Mail: hyaondoa@yahoo.fr

Tobias Rupprecht
M.A., European University Institute, Florenz
E-Mail: Tobias.Rupprecht@EUI.eu

Barbara Schulte
Dr., Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS), Copenhagen
E-Mail: barbara.schulte@nias.ku.dk

Almut Steinbach
Dr., Head International Team, VolkswagenStiftung
E-Mail: steinbach@volkswagenstiftung.de

Birgit Tremml
M.A., Universität Wien
E-Mail: birgit.tremml@univie.ac.at

Jan Zofka
Dr., Universität Leipzig
E-Mail: zofka@uni-leipzig.de

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