

Changes in the Historiography of Korean History in Chinese History Textbooks: Criticisms from Korean Scholars

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With the establishment of the 'History Curriculum Standards' in 2001, Chinese middle school and high school history textbooks have been written in accordance with these new guidelines. Korean history has been omitted completely from the middle school world history textbooks written as per the new guidelines. This paper attempts to trace the changes in the coverage and historiography of ancient Korean history in Chinese middle school, high school, and college textbooks over time and discusses the subsequent issues raised by Korean scholars. The Chinese view of Korean history is a part of China's efforts to develop its own paradigm of world history against the backdrop of China's rapid growth. In order to redress China's distortion of Korean history, it has been said that the matter should be approached from a global standpoint rather than simply confining it within the historical framework of Sino-Korean relations.

Keywords: Chinese History textbook, History Program, History Curriculum Standards, Goguryeo, Japan's colonial historiography, China's Korean Historiography

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I. Raising the Issue: China's History Textbook Revisions and the Omissions/Reductions in the Coverage of Ancient Korean History

There have been many changes to Chinese middle school and high school history textbooks since 2001. Prior to 2001, Chinese textbooks were written pursuant to a single standardized textbook compilation guideline, the 'History Program' [歷史教學大綱].¹ However, with the establishment of the 'History Curriculum Standards' [歷史課程標準] in 2001, textbooks have been written in accordance with new guidelines

¹ From the 1950s to the 1980s, standardized state-issued textbooks were used nationwide in China. These textbooks were written in accordance with the 'History Program' [歷史教學大綱], established by the Ministry of Education. The 'History Program' clearly delineates specified key instruction points. The state-issued textbooks were written and published by the People's Education Press [人民教育出版社], which reported directly to the Ministry of Education.

and a wider selection of textbooks has been published.² There is no mention of Korea in the ‘History Curriculum Standards’. Accordingly, Korean history has been omitted completely from the middle school world history textbooks written as per the new guidelines. For instance, the object of “Chapter 10: The Founding of Feudal States in Asia” of the ‘History Program’ issued in 2000, is to “provide coverage of the histories of Korea, Japan, the rise of Islam and the Arab Empire, and the Osman Empire.”³ In “Ancient and Medieval Asian and European Civilizations” of the ‘History Curriculum Standards’, the objective is to “provide coverage of the Taika[大和] Reform of Japan and the activities of Muhammad”; there is no mention of Korea. On August 8, 2003, People’s Education Press [人民教育出版社] published *Grade 9 World History, Book I* (an experimental textbook authorized under compulsory education curriculum standards). All coverage of Korean history was omitted in this textbook. Korean history was also omitted in the middle school experimental textbook, *Grade 9 World History, Book I*, published by East China Normal University Press [華東師範大學出版社], Yuelu Publishing House [岳麓書社], Sichuan Education Publishing House[四川教育出版社], Beijing Normal University Publishing Group

² In Chinese middle schools today, “Chinese History” is taught in grades 7 and 8 and “World History” is taught in grade 9 as per the full-time compulsory education [全日制義務教育] ‘History Curriculum Standards’. Textbooks based on the ‘History Curriculum Standards’ have been used nationwide since the 2007 fall semester. Pursuant to the 2002 ‘History Program’, high schools have been offering the required course “Modern and Contemporary Chinese History” and elective courses “Modern and Contemporary World History” and “Ancient Chinese History.” The new curriculum based on the 2003 ‘History Curriculum Standards’ consists of the required courses “History I,” “History II,” and “History III” and six elective courses.

³ In the 9-year compulsory education, the elementary level textbook for 3-year middle schools [九年義務教育三年制初級中學教科書](based on the ‘History Program’) *World History, Book I*, written by the History Division of the People’s Education Press and published by the People’s Education Press, Edition 1, December 2001, the coverage of Korean history is limited to “Chapter 10: The Feudal States of East Asia”. In the introduction, it is stated, “Korea, situated in East Asia, is China’s close neighbor.... the relations between China and Korea and China and Japan were close, with frequent goings and comings” (p. 48). Thus, there is explicit mention that China’s closest and most significant neighbors in East Asia are Korea and Japan.

[北京師範大學出版社], Zhongguo Ditu Chubanshe [中華人民共和國地圖出版社], Heibei People's Press [河北人民出版社], and Zhonghua Book Company[中華書局].

Korea found it highly regrettable that the coverage of ancient Korean history, which had always been included in the world history textbooks of the People's Republic of China (PRC), had been omitted, and subsequently demanded rectification. The People's Education Press accommodated Korea's request; *Grade 9 World History, Book 1* (2006) includes an entry entitled "Ancient Korea," which states that Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla were a part of Korean history.⁴ However, this entry is not found in the main text but in the recommended 'further reading section'[自由閱讀卡]. There have been no changes to the world history textbooks of other publishers.

The omission or reduction of Korean history is not limited to middle school world history textbooks. Middle school Chinese history textbooks revised in accordance with the 'History Curriculum Standards' have either removed or significantly reduced the coverage of Goguryeo-Sui[隋] Wars. In high school history textbooks, most of the coverage of Korean ancient and medieval history has been removed; there is no longer any mention of Sui Yangdi[煬帝]'s attacks on Goguryeo, the close ties between the Tang[唐] Dynasty and Silla Dynasty, or anything on Balhae[渤海]. Korean historians have found such changes in Chinese

⁴ In the past, most history textbooks referred to Goguryeo as "Goryeo," but in the People's Education Press's *World History*, "Goguryeo" is used. Regarding Goguryeo, it is stated, "People have been living on the Korean Peninsula since very early on. At around the beginning of the Common Era, Joseon merged in the north and Baekje and Silla emerged in the southwest and the northeast. All three kingdoms operated systems of slavery. In 676, Silla came to rule over most of the Korean Peninsula." Curriculum Teaching Material Institute [課程教材研究所·歷史課程教材研究開發中心], *Experimental Textbook under Compulsory Education Curriculum Standards: World History* [義務教育課程標準實驗教科書 世界歷史], *Grade 9, Book 1*, Beijing: People's Education Press [人民教育出版社], 2006.3. (2nd edition)/ 2006.6. (5th print), p. 27.

middle school, high school, and college textbooks highly problematic.⁵ The most problematic change is on ancient Korean history. This paper attempts to trace the changes in the coverage and historiography of ancient Korean history in Chinese middle school, high school, and college textbooks over time and discuss the issues raised by Korean scholars in this regard.

II. Changes in the Historiography and Coverage of Ancient Korean History in Chinese Middle and High School Textbooks over Time

Changes in the historiography and coverage of Goguryeo and other aspects of Ancient Korean history are as follows. Regarding the coverage of Sui Yangdi's tyrannical rule, the 'History Program'—the guideline for textbook publication in the 1950s—instructs the inclusion of the discussion on the serious damage the people suffered from the wars the Sui Dynasty waged against Goguryeo and on how the peasant uprising led to the dynasty's premature fall (Curriculum Teaching Material Institute, 1956, p. 139). Pursuant to this guideline, there is a detailed treatment of the Sui Dynasty's attacks on Goguryeo in Volume 2, Chapter 6, Section 2 of *Introductory Middle School Chinese History* [初級中學課本 中國歷史]—the first middle school textbook published by the People's Education Press. Also, in the section entitled "Territory of the

⁵ Studies on Korean historiography in Chinese middle school textbooks include the following: Park Yeongcheol (2002); Chang Sei Yoon (2004); Kim Jihoon & Jeong Yeongsun (2004, 2005); Kim Jihoon (2006b, 2007a). Studies on China's history education and textbooks include the following: Koguryo Research Foundation (2006); Kim Jihoon (2006c). Studies on the changes in China's history education include the following: Oh Byeongsu (2001, 2002); Kim Yuree (2001). Studies on history textbooks written and published according to the *History Curriculum Standards* include the following: Kim Yuree (2005, 2008a, 2008b); Kim Jihoon (2007b). Studies on the narrative of Korean history in college textbooks include the following: Kim Hyun Sook (2006); Yu Yongtae (2005); Chai Mi Ha (2008). Regarding the issue of the Northeast Project and Chinese history textbooks, there are many studies, including Kim Jihoon (2007c).

Sui Dynasty,” it is acknowledged that Goguryeo’s territory extended to the Manchurian [滿洲] region east of Liao River [遼河], the northern regions of the Korean Peninsula, and the region east of Liao River. In *World History* [世界歷史](middle school) published in 1957, it is clearly stated that the military actions taken by the Han, Sui, and Tang empires against Gojoseon and Goguryeo were “invasions.” It also does not include Balhae in Chinese history. In Volume 2, Part 5, Chapter 19, Section 2 of History, an advanced level high school textbook, there is an entry entitled “The Peasant Uprising of the Late Sui Dynasty and the Cruel and Violent Rule of Sui Yangdi.” In it, there is a discussion on Sui Dynasty’s invasion of Goguryeo to highlight the causality between Sui Yangdi’s tyrannical rule and the peasant uprising.

The middle school and high school history textbooks of PRC in the 1950s were condensed versions of Fan Wenlan’s [范文瀾] *The Concise Edition of General History of China* [中國通史簡編],⁶ an authoritative introductory work on Chinese history of the time. Fan provides a relatively detailed coverage of the Sui Dynasty’s three invasions of Goguryeo and regarded Goguryeo as a foreign country. Such an understanding of Goguryeo was reflected in China’s history curriculum; the history of Goguryeo was included, without exception, along with the

6 There were many different perspectives on Goguryeo and ancient Korean history in China at that time. As Jin Yufu’s [金毓黻] *Comprehensive History of China’s Northeast Borderland* [東北史綱; Dongbei Tongshi] (1941), there were some works that regarded Gija [箕子] Joseon, Wiman [衛滿] Joseon, Goguryeo, and Balhae [渤海] to have all been a part of Chinese history. However, the mainstream perception was that Goguryeo was a part of Korean history as espoused by Fan Wenlan [范文瀾]. In *The Concise Edition of General History of China* [中國通史簡編], Fan Wenlan states that foreign nations influenced by Chinese Han culture were Buyeo [夫餘], Eupnu [挹婁], Gugoguryeo, Ye [濊], and Han [韓] (Mahan, Jinhan, Byeonhan). Refer to the Edition 1 (1949.9) and Edition 4 (1964.8) of Fan Wenlan’s *The Concise Edition of General History of China*, Vol. 2, Beijing: People Publishing House [人民出版社]. This coverage is found in “Chapter 6: The Relations between Tang Dynasty and Its Neighboring Kingdoms” under the heading “Northeast”. Also, refer to Fan (1965)’s *The Concise Edition of General History of China* [中國通史簡編], Vol. 3-Part I, where Balhae, along with Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, and Japan, is considered a foreign country to the northeast of China (pp. 282-288).

histories of Silla and Baekje, as a part of world history.⁷ The only difference was that while Fan's narrative employed the term "invasion" [侵略], history textbooks used the terms "attack" [進攻] or "provocation" [發動].

The history textbook used in the 1960s was the *Chinese History Textbook of Middle School (12 Years)* [十二年制學教初級中學課本中國歷史(試教本)], published in accordance with the History Program of Full-Time Middle School [全日制中學歷史教學大綱(草案)] issued in 1963. As in the 1950s, the 1960s textbook discussed the suffering inflicted on the common people in relation to the Sui Dynasty's defeat against Goguryeo. This textbook was discontinued with the onset of the proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966. During the Cultural Revolution, there was no single standardized middle or high school textbook that was used nationwide. The middle school history textbook published by the People's Education Press after the Cultural Revolution was compiled pursuant to the 'Full-Time Middle School History Program (10 Years)' [全日制十年制學教中學歷史教學大綱(草案)] promulgated in 1978 by the Ministry of Education. The History Compilation Department's [歷史編史組] *Chinese History Textbook of Middle School (12 Years)* [全日制十年制學教初中課本中國歷史(試用本)] was designed for use in both elementary and middle schools. In discussing the Sui Dynasty's invasions of Goguryeo, the focus was not so much on Sui Yangdi's attacks on Goguryeo but rather on the suffering of the commoners who had been mobilized for the war. This was to justify the peasant uprising in the late Sui period. In the 1960s, most books on Korean history published in China were translations of North Korean introductory history books.

The reform and opening led to changes in the standards governing the compilation of Chinese history. Accordingly, there were many

² The changes in the narrative by time period are detailed in Oh Byeongsu (op. cit., p. 95) and Gu Nan-hui (2006).

changes to the historiography and coverage of Korean history in Chinese textbooks. Since the 1980s, the organizing theme of Chinese history was gradually centered on the Chinese nation, which rests on the national integration discourse. Thus, Balhae was portrayed as a local government invested by the Tang court. The Chinese and world history textbooks of the 1980s considered Goguryeo, along with Silla and Baekje, as a part of Korean history. Regarding the Goguryeo-Sui Wars, textbooks published since the early 1990s have shifted direction to focus more on Sui Yangdi's achievements rather than on the peasant uprising. Regarding the illustrations in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s textbooks, we see that the 1982 textbook features the Grand Canal and the peasant uprising, while the 1993 textbook includes not only illustrations of the Grand Canal and the peasant uprising but also of the territory of the Sui Dynasty. There is no illustration of the peasant uprising in the 2001 textbook; it only features the illustrations of the Sui Dynasty's territory and the Grand Canal. The changes are indicative of the general shift in focus from class struggle to nationalism in Chinese history textbooks.

What is problematic is the decrease in Korean content in the history textbooks published after 2001.⁸ In the 1999 *Chinese History, Vol. 2*, it is said that the Sui Dynasty had been unsuccessful in the three wars it had waged against Goguryeo. In the 2003 *Chinese History, Vol. 2*, however, it only says that the Sui Dynasty had waged war. Similarly, in the high school textbook *Ancient Chinese History* published in 2004, there is only one line on the Goguryeo-Sui Wars: "There were three military expeditions to Goguryeo that took the lives of many soldiers." There is

⁸ The changes in the history curricula of the People's Republic of China and the cutback in the length of the textbooks appear to have brought about this diminution. However, some point out that the Balhae and Gando (Jiandao) narratives in Korean textbooks influenced China's Korean historiography after South Korea and China established diplomatic relations in 1992. A textbook editor at People's Education Press criticized Korean academia's take on Balhae history by taking issue with the narrative in Korean middle school and history textbooks that depict Balhae as a country founded by migrants from Goguryeo and Manchuria as a domain of the Goguryeo people.

no mention of how the wars broke out and what the outcomes were. There were also changes in the assessment of the Sui Dynasty. In the section entitled “Sui Dynasty’s Growth” in the 2004 *Grade 7 Chinese History, Book II*, the emphasis is only on the social and economic advancement resulting from the Sui Dynasty’s unification of China, highlighting how the opening of the Grand Canal spurred economic exchanges between China’s north and south. Likewise, in the 2003 high school textbook, *Ancient Chinese History*, the development of Luoyang(洛陽) and Changan(長安) and the opening of the Grand Canal are listed as the achievements of the Sui Dynasty. This is in stark contrast to the 1999 *Chinese History Vol. 2*, which poses the following question to the students: “Why was the Sui Dynasty so short-lived?”

The coverage of Korean history, for the most part, has been removed in ‘History and Society,’ a newly created subject as per the ‘History Curriculum Standards’. In *Grade 8 History and Society, Book I*, the 2004 middle school compulsory education curriculum standards experimental textbook that was authorized by the National Committee for Elementary and Middle School Textbook Re-evaluation [全國中小學校再審定委員會] in 2002, there is nothing on ancient Korean history save for a map illustrating the founding of the Three Kingdoms in which the northern part of the Korean Peninsula is marked as Wei [魏] Dynasty territory. Chinese middle school textbooks have been halved in terms of content, and PRC’s invasion of neighboring nations have been simplified or omitted. Such changes are the extension of China’s new policy that stresses peaceful exchanges. As a part of these changes, Korean content has been reduced or done away with in China’s middle school history textbooks. Moreover, the northern areas of the Korean Peninsula are marked as Chinese territory. This is far removed from actual historical fact, and thus, Chinese students may develop an incorrect understanding of Korean history. This is what worries Korean scholars.

III. Changes in the Historiography and Coverage of Ancient Korean History in Chinese College Textbooks

The most notable change in the historiography and coverage of ancient Korean history in college textbooks is the significant increase in Goguryeo-related coverage since the mid-1990s. Some college history textbooks started depicting Goguryeo as a Chinese local government comprised of a Chinese minority ethnic group.⁹ This was in the mid-1990s, prior to the official launch of the Northeast Project. The changes in college history textbooks since the 1990s become evident when we compare the narratives on ancient history in Cui Hanzhong [崔連仲] (ed.), *Comprehensive History of the World: Ancient Times* [世界通史--古代卷] (People's Publishing House, 1997, 1st Edition) and *World History* [世界史] (People's Publishing House, 1983 1st Edition; 1996 12th Edition), given that the latter is the revised and expanded version of the former.

The following is a passage from the overview of “Ancient Korea” in *World History* (1983): “Korea has a long history. It is one of civilized countries of the East [古文明國]. The history of ancient Korea begins with the Kingdom of Gojoseon [古朝鮮], which endured for many centuries. Goguryeo, which rose in northeastern China at around the start of the Common Era, expanded to the northern region of the Korean Peninsula and moved its capital to Pyeongyang in the early 5th century. The Korean people [韓人, han-in] of the south founded Baekje and Silla. Goguryeo to the north and Silla and Baekje to the south comprised the three-kingdom structure that lasted 300 years” (p. 443). Moreover, in the

⁹ College textbooks claiming that Goguryeo was a Chinese local government comprised of a Chinese ethnic minority group are *Comprehensive History of the World: Ancient Times* [世界通史--古代卷] (1997), People's Publishing House [人民出版社] and *College Edition Ancient World History* [高教版 世界古代史] (1999), Higher Education Press [高等教育出版社].

section entitled “The Founding and Development of the Kingdom of the Goguryeo People” under “Ancient Korea,” it is said that “the people of Goguryeo were distributed across China’s Liaodong region and on either side of Amnok River, the Korea-China border” (p. 448). Thus, Goguryeo, including Liaodong, is presented as a part of Korean history.

In *Comprehensive History of the World* [世界通史] (1997), however, it is stated, “What is to be said about ancient Korea is that its history is that of the entire Korea Peninsula south of the Korea-China borders of Amnok River [鴨綠江] and Tomun River [圖們江].” Hence, it is clearly articulated that ancient Korean history is limited to the Korean Peninsula. Furthermore, it is said that “The first state founded on the Korea Peninsula was Gija Joseon [箕子朝鮮] in the northern part of the peninsula, enfeoffed by China’s Western Zhou Dynasty [西周]. In the early Western Han period, Wiman [衛滿] from Yan [燕] replaced Gija and founded the state of Jin [辰國] in the southern regions of the peninsula. After conquering Wiman Joseon, Emperor Wu of Han [漢武帝] instituted the commandery county system there. Jin became weak and divided, resulting in the three kingdoms of Silla, Baekje, and Geumgwan Gaya [金官伽倻]” (p. 437). Thus, ancient Korean history is defined as succeeding Gija Joseon-Wiman Joseon-Four Commanderies of Han. Additionally, the Three Kingdoms are listed as Silla, Baekje, and Geumgwan Gaya, not Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla, thereby completely removing Goguryeo from Korean history. Also, Goguryeo is described as “a Chinese ethnic minority group under the jurisdiction of Han’s Xuantu Commandery [玄菟郡], which even after setting up the government in 37 BCE, was a local government comprised of a Chinese ethnic minority group ruled by successive Chinese dynasties, including Eastern Han Dynasty [東漢], Wei-Jin Northern and Southern Dynasties [魏晉南北朝], Sui Dynasty, and Tang Dynasty” (p. 442). Korean scholars point out that after the mid-1990s, history textbooks adopted a territory-centered historiography, with the 1997 version contradicting the historiography of the 1983 version. It has been assessed that the logic of the Northeast

Project—subsuming Goguryeo under Chinese history—has been reflected in college textbooks since 1997 (Kim Hyun Sook, op. cit., pp. 130-132).

We can also compare the coverage of the Three Kingdoms between the 1982 old edition and the 2000 new edition of *Ancient Chinese History* [中國古代史] issued by Fujian People's Publishing House [福建人民出版社]. In “Foreign Relations of the Eastern Han Dynasty” in Chapter 8, Section 3 of the 1982 edition, it is said that “toward the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the three kingdoms of Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla emerged one after another in the northern areas of the Korean Peninsula.” This line has been removed in the new 2000 edition. Rather, in “The Relations between the Han Dynasty and Various Peoples of the Northeast” [漢與東北各族的關係] in Chapter 7, Section 3 of the new edition, Buyeo and Goguryeo are described as Chinese ethnic minority groups (Zhu Shaohu, Zhang Haipeng, & Qi Tao, 2000, p. 225). In regard to the ethnic issue concerning Goguryeo, the new edition reflects the latest research findings of the Chinese scholarly community and clearly states that Buyeo and Goguryeo are a part of Chinese history while Samhan [三韓], Silla, and Baekje belong to Korean history.¹⁰

Some textbooks, including the Higher Education Press's [高等教育出版社] *World History: Ancient Times* [世界史-古代史編] (1st Edition, 1994), have done away with the pre-unification history of the Three Kingdoms—Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla—and begins with the Unified Silla period, further reducing the time span of Korean history (Wu Yuchen & Qi Shrong, 1994/2006, p. 34; Zhu Huang & Ma Keruo, 2005). Korean scholars assess that this narrative stance was adopted in

¹⁰ It is stated, “The Goguryeo people, a Yemaek [濊貊] tribe, were an ancient nation that lived northeast of our country [China]. The Goguryeo people were the Gaoyi [高夷] during the Zhou and Qin Dynasties,” adopting the theory proposed by some scholars that Goguryeo originated from an ancient tribe called *Gaoyi* [高夷] in the Zhou and Qin Dynasties. This narrative, which is found in new Chinese history textbooks, directly reflects the Northeast Project's standpoint on history. Refer to Kim Hyun Sook, op. cit.

order to exclude Goguryeo history from Korean history and world history and to incorporate Goguryeo into Chinese history. Interestingly, while this book has removed the history of the Three Kingdoms from the politics section, which covers the founding and development of ancient kingdoms, it presents Baekje, Silla, as well as Goguryeo as a part of Korean history in the cultural history section, which deals with the history of cultural transmission. This inconsistency between the narratives of political history and cultural history is considered to be the outcome of the excessive political pressure calling for the inclusion of Goguryeo in Chinese history that had been applied to the textbook publication process (Yu Yongtae, 2005, pp. 261-262).

Adopting the latest research findings, some recently published college textbooks depict Goguryeo as China's local government while others have removed Korea's Three Kingdoms period altogether and start Korean history from "Joseon after Silla's unification of the peninsula." Nevertheless, Ma Kerao [馬克堯], ed., *History of World Civilization* [世界文明史] (2004, 3 volumes, Peking University Press [北京大出版社]) and Zhu Fulin [晁福林], ed., *Ancient Chinese History* [中國古代史] (2005, Beijing Normal University Publishing Group [北京師範大學出版社]), albeit strong in their emphasis of the investiture/tribute relations between China and Korea, continue to include Goguryeo, along with Baekje and Silla, in the history of Korea's Three Kingdoms Period.¹¹

¹¹ Goguryeo, along with Baekje and Silla, is discussed in the context of foreign relations in Chapter 5, Section 7 of Zhu Fulin [晁福林] (Ed.) (2005, pp. 287-288).

IV. Korean Scholars' Criticisms Concerning the Recent Changes in the Historiography of Ancient Korean History in Chinese History Books

1. Limiting the spatial scope of ancient Korean history to the "Korean Peninsula"

Regarding the geographical scope of ancient Korean history, Chinese history textbooks insist that "the people of Korea have lived on the Korean Peninsula from ancient times" and defines the geographical scope of Korean history to be within the present-day territorial boundaries of Korea. The fact is, the geographical scope of Korean history was not reduced to Korea's present-day territorial boundaries until much later. Nevertheless, Chinese history textbooks present Korean history as having been limited to the Korean Peninsula right from the beginning, and whether intentionally or not, the narratives related to Korean history do not mention the fact that a part of ancient Korean history unfolded in Manchuria. Korean scholars point out that while today's Chinese history textbooks confine Goguryeo to the northern part of the Korean Peninsula, the history textbooks from the early period of the People's Republic of China presented a more objective historiography regarding Goguryeo (Kim Jihoon, 2007a, pp. 12-113).

Today's historiography is founded on the understanding that the three northeast provinces have always been a part of China's historical space. That is, China's historical narrative assumes a direct correspondence between the spatial scope of its history and its present-day territorial boundaries. Accordingly, the history of all the areas that fall within this scope is considered to be a part of Chinese history in accordance with the theory of a unified multiethnic state. This has led to distortions in China's historiography of Korea, causing concern and spurning criticisms from the Korean academic community. Worse yet, limiting the spatial scope of Korean history to the "Korean Peninsula"

can be observed in the Korean historiography of Taiwanese history textbooks. Thus, Korean scholars are also taking issue with the fact that the reduction of the spatial scope of Korean history is not limited to the mainland but is a historical perception shared by Greater China, including Taiwan (Lee Seongje, 2008, p. 12).

2. Distortion of the origin of Korean history

Some Chinese college textbooks claim that “the earliest inhabitants of the Korean Peninsula all came from the continental north, and the inhabitants of northern China have been continually migrating to Korea from very early on”(Shen Jian & Jin Zhilin, op. cit., p. 272). The textbooks also states that “according to Chinese historical texts, a number of indigenous peoples of China moved to the Korean Peninsula in the early Zhou Dynasty. The Korean Peninsula was the sphere of the Han people [漢族]” (Chiao Mingshun, 2004, p. 237). Korean scholars criticize such statements for excluding Gojoseon and Goguryeo—two crucial ancient kingdoms of the “Korean Peninsula”—from Korean history (Chai Mi Ha, 2008, p. 139). Moreover, some history textbooks have eliminated the entry on “Gojoseon” and present Gija [箕子] Joseon as the inaugural state of Korean history. The Gija Joseon narrative in Chinese history textbooks depicts Gija Joseon as a vassal state of the Zhou Dynasty and attempts to demonstrate that Korean history, from the very onset, was subordinated under Chinese history.

However, Korean scholars regard Gija Joseon as nothing but a myth that arose from the synthesis of the Gija legend of northern China and the Han Dynasty’s de facto rule over Gojoseon. Hence, according to Korean academics, there is no historical truth to Gija Joseon. Nevertheless, *Ancient Chinese History* (2nd Edition), published by the History Division of the People’s Education Press in 2001, states that Korean history began with Gija Joseon, which was replaced by Wiman Josen, which in turn, was replaced by the Four Commanderies of Han.

This passage was removed in the 2003 edition. Be that as it may, the fact that Gija Joseon had been recognized as a factual historical entity in a textbook is indicative of the influence of the Northeast Project on China's historical studies. Therefore, Korean scholars point out that this is something that must be closely monitored (Oh Gangwon, 2006, p. 32). Taiwanese history textbooks also present the starting point of Korean history as Gija Joseon or Wiman Joseon. It is problematic that history textbooks depict oral traditions as fact.¹²

In the 2001 edition of *Ancient Chinese History*, Gojoseon, Buyeo, and Goguryeo are all said to have been kingdoms of the Ye [濊] people, and thus, shared a common culture. In the 2001 edition of *Ancient Chinese History* and 19 other history textbooks, however, the histories of Gojoseon and Buyeo are incorporated into ancient Chinese history or not mentioned at all. This shows that there has been a fundamental change to the steadfast historical understanding of Buyeo of previous Chinese history textbooks. Such distortion of Buyeo's history is seen as an affront to the backbone of Korean history, which consists of the Gojoseon-Buyeo-Goguryeo succession, and creates a significant gap with Korea's historiography of Gojoseon. The Korean academic community regards this disparity to be a very likely source of Korea-China conflict. It is true that East Asian historiography on the whole is highly nationalistic. Even so, the Korean academic community is of the position that flagrant errors and distortions must be rectified in order to establish a system for a shared historical understanding (Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2006, pp. 74-75).

¹² That Gija was the first to settle down and develop the Korean Peninsula was merely passed down as oral tradition. While this narrative had been taken as fact in the traditional period, there is no evidence whatsoever that substantiates it as historical fact. Refer to Lee Seongjae, op. cit.

3. The historical reasoning behind China's claim to Goguryeo's history

In the official Chinese dynastic histories [正史], Goguryeo is categorized as a foreign state and featured in a separate section. Korean history texts, such as *Samguk Sagi*, demonstrate a distinct awareness that Goguryeo was a part of Korean history. In contrast, the Chinese people did not appear to know much about Goguryeo or exhibit any awareness that Goguryeo was a part of their history. Many Chinese textbooks in the past reproduced excerpts from historical texts, including the *Records of Three Kingdoms* [三國志], *Book of Goguryeo in the Official History of Later Han* [後漢書高句麗傳]. Since the mid-1990s, however, many textbooks reflecting new research have been published. According to the traditional Chinese understanding of history, China's tributary states were considered independent countries that had established diplomatic ties with China. In contrast, recent studies assume that all ethnic groups in present-day China are Chinese people and consider their histories to be a part of Chinese history. Within this framework, Chinese tributary states in East Asia are relegated the status of Chinese local governments.

Korean scholars are critical of China's insistence that Goguryeo was a Chinese local government consisting of a Chinese ethnic minority group of the border region; they argue that such a claim is based on a mistaken understanding of the tributary/investiture relations between Goguryeo and China. China argues that Goguryeo was a Chinese local government because it paid tribute to China's dynasties. However, it does not consider Baekje, Silla, Japan, and Vietnam to have been Chinese local governments despite the fact that they too paid tribute to China. Investiture/tribute relations were the relations of diplomatic protocol in ancient East Asian international relations, not hierarchical relations between central and local governments within a single country (Yu Yongtae, 2005).

A growing number of Chinese textbooks insist that since Goguryeo was founded on the site of the Four Commanderies of Han, it is therefore

different from Baekje and Silla. However, Korean scholars find the argument flawed: just because Goguryeo had been under the jurisdiction of the Four Commanderies of Han does not make it a local government controlled by China. Goguryeo grew as it drove the Four Commanderies of Han out of the Korean Peninsula and the Liaodong region. Moreover, Goguryeo was not under the control of the Four Commanderies of Han throughout its existence (around 700 years). China's argument that Goguryeo is a part of Chinese history is based merely on the Four Commanderies of Han's temporary rule over Goguryeo; it is like claiming that the 500-year history of the Joseon Dynasty is actually a part of Japanese history because of Japan's 35-year colonial rule over Korea. Plus, Chinese history textbooks, until very recently, categorized the history of Goguryeo under world history (e.g., the history of a foreign country) and included it in the history of the Three Kingdoms period. For a millennium, China had recognized Goguryeo as a part of Korean history. Then since the mid-1990s, China suddenly did an about-face, insisting that Goguryeo belongs to Chinese history. For 1,300 years, the Korean people have been paying homage to its ancestors of Goguryeo; it is, thus, quite startling to have the people of a neighboring country suddenly arguing that these ancestors had been theirs all along (Yun Hwitak, 2007, p. 347).

4. Japanese colonial historiography in China's historical perception

Fu Sinian's [傅斯年] *A Complete History of China's Northeast Borderland* [東北史綱] (1932) and Jin Yufu's [金毓黻] *Comprehensive History of China's Northeast Borderland* [東北通史] (1941) constitute the basis of contemporary scholars' historical understanding of China's northeast. It is these two works that separated Goguryeo history from Korean history and regarded Goguryeo as a part of Chinese history. However, Jin Yufu's claim that Goguryeo's history is a part of Chinese history was in response to Japan's understanding of the view of

Manchurian and Korean history [滿鮮史觀], which separated the history of the Manchurian region, including Goguryeo, from Chinese history. Jin and Fu wrote the above books on China's northeast to counter Japan's imperialist intentions. However, their distorted rendering of Korean history has become the foundation of contemporary Chinese scholars' understanding of the histories of Korea and China's northeast. The *History of Manchuria and Korea* [滿鮮史], a colonial historical outlook devised by the Japanese Empire, regarded Goguryeo to the north and Japan to the south as the two central rival powers; Baekje, Silla, and Gaya were considered minor powers that depended on either Goguryeo or Japan. This outlook is related to the Mimana [任那] theory, which claims that between the 4th and 6th centuries, Japan had set up a commandery and ruled over Imna/Mimana [任那] in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula. Such an understanding undermines the histories of Baekje, Silla, and Gaya as footnotes to the history of the southward expansion of the Manchurian power and the northward expansion of Japan.

China adopted this colonial historical outlook in its historiography of ancient Korea. Chinese college textbooks include the key points of the Mimana theory, which are nowhere to be found in official Chinese dynastic histories [正史].¹³ The Higher Education Press' *World History* [世界史] and Cui Lianzhong [崔連仲] (ed.), *Comprehensive History of the World: Ancient Times* [世界通史—古代卷], both published in 1997, state that "Gaya was attacked by Japan in the 4th century." However, both books have removed the passage in the 1983 edition that says Silla successfully repelled the Japanese invaders. The Peking University Press' *History of Ancient and Medieval World* [世界上古中世紀史] (1990) goes so far as to say that Japan's influence via the Imna Japanese Headquarters/Mimana Commandery existed even after Silla's unification

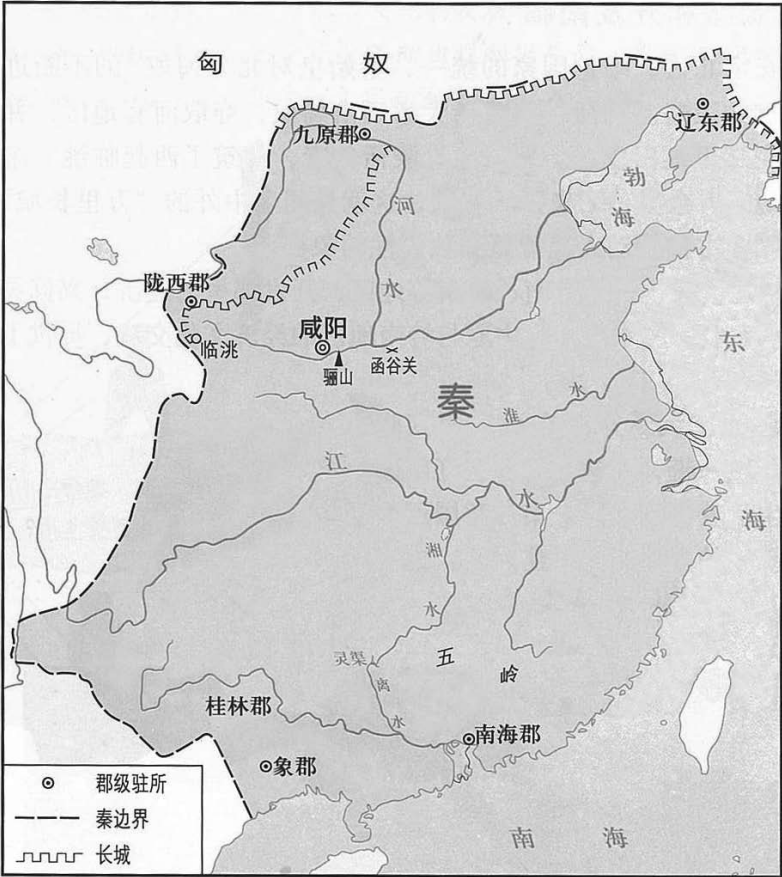
¹³ People's Publishing House's [人民出版社本] *World History* [世界史] (1983) and *Comprehensive History of the World* [世界通史] (1997).

of the Korean Peninsula. It has thus been pointed out that Chinese history textbooks are more heavily influenced by colonial historiography than today's Japanese history textbooks (Yu Yongtae, op. cit., p. 269). Korean scholars maintain that Chinese history textbooks, since the Republic Era, have continued to state Japan's colonial historiography regarding Imna/Mimana because they have not been able to properly reflect the findings of serious studies or diverse countries' research trends concerning Korean history.

5. Distortions of maps in history textbooks

Korean scholars also point out that the distortions of Korean history in Chinese history textbooks are not only limited to the narrative content but also extend to maps. For example, in the People's Education Press's *Chinese History* (2006.6/2009.6, p. 60) and other Chinese history textbooks,¹⁴ the Great Wall of Qin [秦長城] is marked as having reached all the way to the Daedong River on the Korean Peninsula.

¹⁴ *Compulsory Education Curriculum Standards Experimental Textbook: Chinese History* (2006.6/2009.6, p. 60); *Compulsory Education Curriculum Standards Experimental Textbook: History and Society* (2005.6/2006.6, p. 81); *Standardized History Textbook for Secondary Schools 4* [普通高中課程標準實驗教科書 歷史 選修] (2007.3/2007.12, p. 5); *Textbooks for Full-Time Secondary School Students: Ancient Chinese History* [全日制普通高等中學教科書, 選修, 中國古代史] (2007.3, p. 23).



However, this is based on insufficient historical evidence and may mislead the Chinese people into thinking that the northern part of the Korean Peninsula had been Chinese territory. Consequently, some in Korea have proposed that after a comprehensive and thorough analysis of all map-related materials in China and map-related materials in other countries' textbooks, Korea must request the rectification of errors and distortions in Chinese history textbooks. It is difficult to prove the veracity of maps based on historical evidence. Hence, there are many cases in which there exist three or four academic theories about the

geographical naming of a single location; place names in ancient Korean history are no exception. Accordingly, there is a need for a consensus on such disputed locales.

V. Conclusion: Korean Scholars' Efforts to Rectify Distortions in China's Korean Historiography

When disagreements regarding historiography escalate into diplomatic standoffs with Korea, China's response is to simply delete the relevant passages, but Korean scholars share the opinion that this is not conducive to fostering a mutual understanding between Korea and China. China has recently opened up its textbook publishing market and many publishers are going into the textbook business. As this paper has shown, however, there have been many instances of reduction and/or errors/distortions in the coverage of Korean history. Hence, some Korean scholars have translated into Chinese an introductory book on Korean History and are distributing it in China.¹⁵ If such books, which project the fruits of Korean historical scholarship, are translated into Chinese and distributed in China, scholars' hope that it will significantly reduce the historical differences between the two countries. In the meantime, some Korean history scholars are taking an introspective stance, arguing that Korea itself must overcome the limits of a historiography based on the notion of a homogenous Korean nation. The reason is that such a historiography exposes a logical vulnerability in Korea's claim to being the historical

¹⁵ The Association of Korean History Teachers[全國歷史教師聚會], *Popular and Dynamic Korean History* [通俗易懂的韓國史] (2005), The Academy of Korean Studies, Korea Cultural Exchange Center [韓國文化交流中心].

successor of the multiethnic states of Goguryeo and Balhae.¹⁶

The disparate understandings of history between Korea and China go beyond the disputes regarding Korean history and Chinese history. They pose the question of how the three countries will be able to develop a shared understanding of East Asian history. The history of East Asia is a shared asset. Therefore, there is an urgent need to raise the quality of historical theories and research by demonstrating that fighting over “my history” and “your history” goes against the essential nature of the study of history. To this end, Korea and China must learn to objectively assess extant historical records and move beyond narrow-minded interpretations that rely overwhelmingly on source materials that serve the interest of one’s own country. In addition, there are calls for an educational approach based on the UNESCO Constitution, which aims to nurture global citizenship and eradicate radical nationalism and national chauvinism.

The Chinese view of East Asia is a part of China’s efforts to develop its own paradigm of world history against the backdrop of China’s rapid growth. In order to redress China’s distortion of Korean history, it has been said that the matter should be approached from a global standpoint rather than simply confining it within the framework of the history of Korea-China relations. To this end, there must be efforts at relativizing China’s historical outlook—which is based on the conception of a unified Chinese nation—in accordance with the principles, values, and approaches of UNESCO’s Education for International Understanding.

¹⁶ Koreans have a hard time accepting the fact that “Goguryeo was a multiethnic state.” In the Korean understanding of Goguryeo, the Mogo or other peoples that comprised Goguryeo are absent. A historical understanding that insists on ethnic homogeneity has a tendency to reject the changes in national identity stemming from the transitions and movements of ancient peoples. Such a historical understanding, therefore, also denies shared ownership over the history of a particular ethnic group among neighboring countries. A single-nation approach to history permeates Korean historical understanding. It is thus pointed out that Koreans manifest a highly exclusivist national consciousness, whether or not such a manifestation is conscious or subconscious (Yun Hwitak, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-352).

It has also been proposed that Korea initiate an East Asia textbook dialogue through UNESCO or another NGO. That is, Korea must take a leading role in rooting out the colonial outlook underpinning China's understanding of Korean history and advancing a historiography that expands China and Korea's mutual understanding of history. It is to this end that Korean scholars are striving to collaborate with China and Japan toward the creation of a Korea-China-Japan joint history book.

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