Guided by the tenet of sociology of school knowledge, this study examines 38 Taiwanese children’s trade books that share an overarching theme of the history of Taiwan published after World War II to uncover whether the seemingly innocent texts for children convey particular messages, perspectives, and ideologies selected, preserved, and perpetuated by particular groups of people at specific historical time periods. By adopting the concept of selective tradition and theories of ideology and hegemony along with the analytic strategies of constant comparative analysis and iconography, the written texts and visual images of the children’s literature are relationally analyzed to determine what aspects of the history and whose ideologies and perspectives were selected (or neglected) and distributed in the literary format. Central to this analysis is the investigation and analysis of the interrelations between literary content and the issue of power. Closely related to the discussion of ideological peculiarities, historians’ research on the development of Taiwanese historiography also is considered in order to examine and analyze whether the literary products fall into two paradigms: *the Chinese-centric paradigm* (Chinese-centricism) and *the Taiwanese-centric paradigm* (Taiwanese-centricism). Analysis suggests a power-and-knowledge nexus that reflects contemporary ruling groups’ control in the
domain of children’s narratives in which subordinate groups’ perspectives are minimalized, whereas powerful groups’ assumptions and beliefs prevail and are perpetuated as legitimized knowledge in society.

INDEX WORDS: History of Taiwan, Children’s literature, Hegemony, Ideology, Selective tradition, Relational analysis, Sociology of school knowledge, Power relations
WHOSE HISTORY AND BY WHOM: AN ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF TAIWAN IN CHILDREN’S LITERATURE PUBLISHED IN THE POSTWAR ERA

by

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WHOSE HISTORY AND BY WHOM: AN ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF TAIWAN IN CHILDREN’S LITERATURE PUBLISHED IN THE POSTWAR ERA

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December 2012
DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the memories of the forerunners who, while making a living in their ancestral homes too harsh and hopeless, sailed across the treacherous oceans and migrated to Formosa (Taiwan) to pursue their dreams and cultivate the place they called home.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Being the ninth generation of the Lu family in Taiwan, my ancestors’ history of migrating, of being forced to abandon their ancestral home located in Fukien Province of China to look for a better fortune in Formosa in 1690 contributed to the initial motive for conducting this research aimed at studying how the history of Taiwan was taught in the literature for children. As I recall my journey in making this dream come true, I realize that I have been very fortunate to have been able to take a variety of enlightening graduate courses at the University of Georgia and receive support and encouragement from many people. In terms of literacy pedagogy, Dr. Bob Fecho’s Culture, Literacy, and Classroom course provided the fundamental and crucial notion of critical pedagogy that broadened my vision of how a classroom, particularly a multicultural classroom, can be and should be successful. Dr. JoBeth Allen’s Writing Pedagogy course helped me see writing as an activity involving reading, creativity, observation, and reflection. Dr. James Marshall’s Guiding the Reading of Young Adults vivified the normally rigid course called Reading by adopting popular graphic novels and technology and by implementing provocative classroom activities to motivate students and enrich their reading experiences.

In addition, my deepest appreciation goes to my major professor, Dr. Joel Taxel, whose children’s literature courses nurtured my specialty and cultivated in me a critical eye that values authenticity, equality, and multiplicity. While working on this project was sometimes lonely and stressful, Dr. Taxel’s encouragement and patience were always a great and soothing remedy that in time eased my mind and pushed me forward. Without his guidance and assistance, I would
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Finally, my deepest debt is to my family. My beloved grandmother’s caring attitude and affectionate love toward me had always been a most precious gift that comforted me during the lonely journey of pursuing my master’s and Ph.D. degrees in the US. Although she is no longer here, her persevering spirit helped me grow stronger and tougher and will always live on in my life. I am also indebted to my parents for their love, generosity, and willingness to support me and provide for me the strongest shoulder and that sweetest and warmest place called home. My mom’s “take-it-easy” attitude has also been a most effective antidote that eased my exhaustion and anxiousness, and my father’s “keep-pushing-forward” and “I-am-here-to-back-you” manner has given me courage to challenge myself and the unknown future. Last, I wish to thank my sister, Penny, my brothers, Dravy and Frank, and their spouses and children for their love, support, and timely assistance that goes beyond words, and for taking care of the family while I was away. I am forever grateful to have you all as family.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Study

Mandarin is not my native tongue. The dominant language in my family is Hoklo (Taiwanese) spoken with a central Taiwanese accent. I inherited the language from my parents, who passed down the mother tongue from their families. I speak Hoklo to all my grandparents because that is the only language in which they communicate. I speak Hoklo to my parents because, due to financial restrictions on education and insufficient training when they were young, they feel awkward speaking the official Mandarin language. Until I started formal education, Hoklo was the only language I could skillfully interpret. Although strictly limited, I watched popular soap operas, Taiwanese hand puppet shows, and Taiwanese folk operas broadcasted in Hoklo on television with my family and my neighbors.

When I reached preschool age, my parents sent me to a local kindergarten where my journey to learning Mandarin and immersion in the educational system began. I learned to write Chinese characters, to read Chinese texts, and to listen to and speak Mandarin – the instructional and “sophisticated” language in the 1980s. Upon entering elementary school, I was told learning Mandarin and getting a “good” education led to a successful and thriving life. I somehow believed all of this, especially when many of my teachers spoke Mandarin with the heavy Northern Chinese accents they brought with them from mainland China in the 1940s and 50s, and when I heard many high governmental officials speak Mandarin with those accents on
television. This linguistic impression was profoundly engraved on my memory, affecting my perception and evaluation of who I am, where I am from, and what I will be.

During my six years of elementary school education, I learned to sing and memorize the Mandarin lyrics of the National Anthem of the Republic of China for the daily morning rally:

Three principles of the People, The foundation of our party.

Using this, we establish the Republic;

Using this, we advance into a state of total peace.

Oh, you, warriors, For the people, be the vanguard.

Without resting day or night, Follow the Principles.

Swear to be diligent; swear to be courageous.

Obliged to be trustworthy; obliged to be loyal.

With one heart and one virtue, We carry through until the very end. (Sun, 1924/2010)

Early each morning before classes started, we were gathered in the playground in front of the platform from which the principal and other school officials spoke. We sang the National Anthem with respect, and we saluted the flag of Clear Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth while the school band was playing the music of National Flag Anthem of the Republic of China. The colors of the flag symbolize Sun Yat-sen’s philosophy of Three Principles of the People, referring to nationalism, democracy, and social well-being (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2009). The Mandarin lyrics are composed of praises and admiration for the land and the people in the Mainland:

Lo! The glorious landscape with bountiful goods!

Daughters and sons of Emperors Yan and Huang, heroes of East Asia!

Do not dismiss yourselves!
Do not hold yourselves back!
Further glorify our nation and work towards peace.
Building the nation is difficult, so remember our founders,
Maintaining it is not easy, so do not be short-sighted.
With one heart, one soul, keep pressing to the goal,
Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth!
With one heart, one spirit, keep pressing to the goal,
Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth! (Dai, 1937/n.d.)

At the school’s main entrance, I saw the statue of Chiang Kai-shek placed at the center surrounded by a garden of beautiful flowers, trees, and grass. I also encountered the statue of Confucius at a far end of the garden. Each classroom’s setting was arranged in honor of historic and symbolic personages from the Mainland. The pictures of both the “Father of the Nation” Sun Yat-sen and “The Late President Lord” Chiang Kai-shek were hung on the wall. I was told to bow respectfully to the statues and the images because they represented the most important figures of Taiwan and to cherish the memory of their great deeds: Sun was the founder of the Republic of China, Chiang was one of the heroes who “extricated” the Taiwanese from the Japanese colonizers, and Confucius was the brilliant philosopher, whose teachings were the most valuable lessons in Chinese education.

In class, I was taught the literature, the geography, the history, and the culture of China and learned to be one of the “daughters of Emperors Yan and Huang.” Although almost every student in my school shared the same native language, my mother tongue was effectively banned at school when I was in third grade. This language regulation was the result of the national

---
1 During that period of time, each student in my school carried a Rewards and Punishment Card that recorded the student’s behaviors at school. Each of us was a little policeman who kept an eye on each other. Monitoring the usage
language education plan launched by the Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Promotion and Propagation of the National Language that officially worked toward the goal of unifying the nation (The National Languages Committee of the MOE, 1981). In addition to the regular practice of learning and speaking Mandarin, I read historical stories and literature from mainland China. I listened to tales and legends of traditional Chinese heroes and heroines. In contrast to this Chinese-centered pedagogy, my people’s history, geographic features, and cultural traditions and practices were scarcely mentioned in officially published and approved textbooks and in children’s literature.

More than two decades later, when my nephew’s generation began formal schooling in the early twenty-first century, the manner of Chinese-centered education has given way to another scenario in which the previously banned is not only no longer prohibited, it is, in fact, being promoted and celebrated. In his leisure time, my nephew reads books and stories related to the multicultural and multiethnic Taiwan. At school, local Taiwanese curriculum and teaching materials (e.g., textbooks) are adopted and taught regularly, embracing a sense of localism/nativism that incorporates indigenous cultures, traditions, and languages into curricular design. Once marginalized subjects, such as Hoklo, Hakka, Aboriginal Languages, and Traditional Arts and Humanities, are now available in daily classroom instruction.

Background of the Problem

The shifting of officially recognized and taught knowledge across different historical eras, between my generation and my nephew’s, demonstrates the correlation between the legitimization and distribution of the school knowledge and contemporary socio-economic, cultural, and political circumstances. This shifting further points to the possible existence of forces that influence, even determine, the selection and creation of knowledge. As scholars of
school knowledge have argued for decades, knowledge taught and distributed in school contexts is constructed of fragments of available general knowledge that are selected for specific purposes, favor certain groups, and serve certain functions in a society (Taxel, 1989a). John Fiske’s articulation of the relation between the power and knowledge suggests, “Knowledge is never neutral, it never exists in an empiricist, objective relationship to the real. Knowledge is power, and the circulation of knowledge is part of the social distribution of power” (quoted in Apple, 2000, p. 43). What is legitimated as official knowledge involves a complexity of “power relations and struggles” (Apple, 1992, p. 4) among distinguishable groups in relation to gender, class, race, ethnicity, and religion. To this extent, schooling/education can be interpreted as a form of social control that shapes students’ perceptions of cultural, political, and social realities, and fosters a world view that consciously or unconsciously accepts narrowly defined universal “truths” (Apple, 1992). This form and practice is affected, and sometimes determined, by the real systems of politics and economy insofar as policy making and the maintenance of national economy influence the content of education (Apple, 1990). Thus, education is inevitably linked to politics and economy, and the relationship among the three is complex. What constitutes school knowledge and curriculum is the very basic form of written materials such as textbooks and children’s literature, including both fiction and nonfiction, that completely or partially dominate daily classroom instruction.

In addition, the school curriculum includes the so-called hidden curriculum defined by Apple (1990) as “the tacit teaching to students of norms and values, and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and coping with the institutional expectations and routines of schools day in and day out for a number of years” (p. 14). In my case, the respectful salutes to the statue and the image of Chiang Kai-shek and the National Flag of the Republic of China were among
the concrete displays of both school and hidden curricula that helped propagate the purposefully cultivated China-centered patriotic sentiment in the daily interactions with peers and superiors and within the Chinese education system in the 1980s and earlier. Textbooks and children’s literature are two major material constructions of approved knowledge form and content in school contexts (Apple, 1999). What is presented in the literary format is created in the context of socio-economic and political activities, struggles, and compromises. Furthermore, these texts are compiled, designed, approved, and published by authors who are shaped and constrained by these forces (Apple, 1992). This is particularly the case with state sponsored books. In the actual practice of selecting and distributing school knowledge, dominant groups or groups privileged in power relations “almost always have more power to define what counts as a need or a problem and what an appropriate response to it should be” (p. 10).

Debates about multicultural education/multiculturalism exemplify the issue of the partial, limited, even distorted knowledge in power relations. Emerging in the 1960s, multicultural education “is … a product of a particular historical conjuncture of relations among the state, contending racial minority and majority groups, and policy intellectuals” (McCarthy, 1991, p. 301). In the United States, these debates are outgrowths of the civil rights and women’s rights movements in which historically oppressed and disenfranchised groups began to call for a more inclusive curriculum. According to Taxel (1997), “multiculturalism or multicultural education refers to education that addresses the interests, concerns, and experiences of individuals and groups considered outside of the sociopolitical and cultural mainstream” (p. 421). What troubles scholars is the actual content (e.g., textbooks and literature) and form (e.g., classroom pedagogy) of education and the question of whether or not it can serve the needs of a multiracial/multiethnic society.
Examining the development of African American children’s books in the United States, Harris (1993) argues that historically children’s literature about African Americans was either marginalized/invisible or misrepresented to include stereotypical images and inauthentic representations of the group. The existing “literary canons” (p. 167) mirrored white European American’s interpretations, experiences, and knowledge and reflected their dominant social power. Indeed, it is not unjustified to suggest that the literary canon, or so called “literary tradition” (Wald, 1989, p. 3), functions like ideology in that it establishes, controls, and transforms power in a society. It preserves and represents a “selective tradition” (Williams, 1989, p. 58) in which the values and beliefs of dominant groups are included but those of minorities (e.g., African American) often are excluded or misrepresented. Harris’ argument of misrepresentation and misconception of minorities embedded in the literature for children accords with Kuo’s (2000) research findings. Kuo found that in Taiwanese children’s novels depicting aboriginal Taiwanese, the aboriginals from different tribes are stereotypically portrayed as having identical appearance. Additionally, the featured aboriginal protagonists are mostly male, have darker complexions and thick eyebrows, come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, have alcoholic tendencies, and occupy labor-intensive jobs in society. These literary representations convey and legitimize the notion that aborigines are a degraded people who are physically and intellectually different from, and inferior to, the mainstream.

In the field of children’s literature, striving for a more inclusive literary canon can involve opposing political powers. In the USA, such groups include African Americans, Latino Americans, women, and gays/lesbians, etc. As was noted, these groups have struggled with exclusion and/or invisibility. This invisibility reinforces the assumption that “people of color are relatively insignificant to the growth and development of [American’s] democracy … and they
represent a drain on the resources and values” (Ladson-Billings, 2003, p. 4). In Taiwan, the opposition is mainly between, but not restricted to, the Nationalist Party’s (the Kuomintang – KMT) Sinocization and the Democratic Progressive Party’s (the DPP) Taiwanization as each possesses and promotes different political ideologies for different aims. For the early KMT, the ultimate goal was to re-socialize Taiwan into one of China’s most well-developed and prosperous provinces and make it a base for the future reestablishment of the regime of the Republic of China in the mainland. In contrast, the DPP’s political agenda recognizes Taiwan as a sovereign state and emphasizes the multiethnic and multicultural nature of Taiwanese society. Additionally, this agenda stresses the goal of developing Taiwan into an independent and harmonious nation as an expression of Taiwanization. The ideologically opposed perspectives of the KMT and the DPP are embodied by the two extremes of the school knowledge taught to my generation and my nephew’s generation in the 1990s, respectively. It is likely that whoever wins in the political arena will shape the knowledge made available to children in schools in Taiwan.

The textbook publishing industry in the United States and the development of Taiwanese children’s literature in Taiwan are concrete examples of the power relations in legitimizing and distributing official knowledge in school contexts. According to Arons (1989), the process of selecting content for textbooks is political and legislatively mandated in some states such as Texas and California. Depending on its political agenda, preference, and need, each state sets up a political mechanism in order to control the content and selection of textbooks. When these states’ textbook committees are dominated by conservatives, the actual practice of writing and selecting the content of textbooks involves political decisions that follow predetermined and politically approved particulars, not the views of subject-matter experts or independent scholars’ expertise on pedagogy (Arons, 1989). The recently approved social studies curriculum by the
conservative-dominated Texas Board of Education exemplifies the issue. According to Foner (2010), the newly approved content of the curriculum favors the conservatives’ intention to steer students away from learning about issues such as gender equality, slavery, environmentalism, labor unions, and foreigners.

In Taiwan, an example of the relation between politics and publications for children comes from my own research in the development of Taiwanese children’s literature in which each significant political transition, mainly the changing of ruling parties from the KMT to the DPP, led to simultaneous changes in the political agenda and policies and ideologies that influenced publishers’ objectives and decisions in selecting what to include and exclude in literary materials used in schools (Lu, 2010). As a result of “the Kou-Min-Ka Movement” (Chiou, 2005, p. 9) launched while Taiwan was under Japanese imperial control (1895–1945), Japanese was the officially approved language for education and publications. When political power was restored to the Chinese after WWII, one of the urgent missions for the reestablished authority was to implant traditional Chinese culture, traditions, beliefs, and ideology in Taiwan by establishing Mandarin as the national language through education (Hsiau, 2000). The imposition of martial law in 1949 systematically wiped out the relics of Japanese colonial rule (e.g., the Japanese language, cultural practices, etc.) and transformed Taiwan into a model of nationalist sovereignty that worked toward the goal of the recovery of the nationalist political power in mainland China. Contemporary publishers such as the Eastern Publishing Company, founded in 1945 (The Eastern Publishing Company, 2006), the Mandarin Daily News (MDN), founded in 1948 (Mandarin Daily News, 2009), and the Central Daily Newspaper, founded by the nationalist government in 1949 (Chiou, 2005), aimed at publishing children’s books and periodicals written in Mandarin with phonetic marks (called zhuyin fuhao) to educate students in
the official language and support them during the process of language acquisition (Wei, 2001).

After the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the inauguration of the first native-born Taiwanese president, Lee Teng-hui, in 1988, the KMT’s political agenda, reflecting its new leader’s political ideology, emphasized the concept of new Taiwanese, referring to people “who identif[ied] with the island as their homeland and [were] not divided but enriched by their diverse ethnic backgrounds” (Baran, 2005, p. 1; Chen, 2010). Under Lee’s leadership (1988–2000), both as chairman of the KMT and the president of Taiwan, the KMT’s ideology shifted and no longer saw Mandarin or Chinese culture as the only important beliefs and practices within the nation. People of Taiwan celebrate the sense of Taiwneseness, and the speaking of Hoklo (Tai-yu) was practiced by Mainlanders in the offices of the KMT’s central headquarters and in important election campaigns (Jacobs, 2005). This linguistic phenomenon is due to the fact that approximately 75% of the population in Taiwan speaks the language (Hsiau, 1997). As a matter of fact, it is not unjustified to suggest that Lee’s new Taiwanese opened up the KMT’s Chinese authoritarian policy to a more local and democratic orientation as he was one of the leading officials to promote and value the diversity and multiplicity of the people and culture in Taiwan.

By inheriting and extending Lee’s political agenda of democratizing Taiwan, the president (the DPP’s Chen Shui-bian) of Taiwan in the early twenty-first century (2000–2008) promoted the notion that Taiwan is “a multiethnic society whose identity is rooted in the diversity of local cultural traditions” (Baran, p.1). The DPP’s Taiwanization is rigorously opposed to the early KMT’s Sinocization, and its ideology and influence also shaped language policies that were officially implemented in education reform. Effective from 2001, the Ministry of Education launched a new curriculum for elementary and middle school students, including the implementation of a new course titled “Taiwanese Native Languages” (Wei, 2006, p. 101).
The new language course incorporated into the curriculum teaches “dialects” such as Hoklo, Hakka, and Austronesian languages in schools (Wei, 2006). From the language policy and the education reform, the DPP’s political agenda has purposefully pushed the once-silenced languages of the oppressed groups to the forefront and officially recognized and valued each group’s diverse cultural backgrounds and heritages.

This ideological and political liberation and transition was also reflected in the field of children’s literature as can be seen in the case of the long-established publisher, the Eastern Publishing Company. The company has been updating its objectives from its early goal of promoting Mandarin education in 1945 to the development of localized and diverse children’s books in 2005 and to the goal of recruiting local authors, illustrators, and editors to create and promote literature for children marked “Made in Taiwan” in 2007 (The Eastern Publishing Company, 2006). According to Feng Ji-mei (2002), the vice-chief editor of the Mandarin Daily News, in order to guarantee the sale of publications, publishing children’s and young adult literature has followed contemporary education reforms by publishing materials that follow the trends of localization and democratization and meet the latest curricular standards. The practice of publishing bilingual children’s books (e.g., English/Mandarin, Hoklo/Mandarin) and books on local education-related topics (e.g., local geography) is evidence of the newly launched nine-year-curriculum that incorporates English, Taiwanese native languages and traditional cultural activity courses (e.g., traditional arts) into the curriculum design (Feng, 2002). Feng’s argument points to the dialectic relationship between creation and consumption of literary products. As Apple (1989) argues, “market constraints have often had a profound impact on what gets published and even on what authors will write” (p. 159). The case of the Texas Board of Education also reflects this relationship since publishers have to publish books that conform to
the state-approved standards in order to reach the huge market in Texas (Foner, 2010). Following these trends, the Yaun-Liou Publishing Company, which was founded in 1975, advertises the second edition of one of its most famous and popular children’s series, *Taiwanese Historical Stories in Comics* (2001), with an introduction that acknowledges the contemporary national political democratization and liberalization that led to revising the first edition published more than a decade ago (YLib.com, 2009).

**Statement of the Problem: Literature as Ideological Constructs**

Borrowing from Vološinov’s argument that all sign systems, including language, are ideological, Sarland (1999) states that “all writing is ideological” (p. 41) because the written representations either covertly assume (or overtly support) values or are produced and read within social and cultural contexts in which the contexts are laden with ideology. The statement parallels Hollindale’s (1992) belief that ideology is inherent within language in children’s literature. This assertion also corresponds to Damico, Campano, and Harste’s (2009) argument that no texts can ever be neutral simply because they inevitably contain values and agendas, whether or not those values and agendas are favorable to the public. However, focusing only on the linguistic representations of texts may neglect the equally important visual images. According to Huck, Kiefer, Hepler, and Hickman (2004), “Just as an author decides what would be the best point of view from which to tell a story, so too does an artist think about perspective” (p. 176). Hence, the study of the dissemination of ideology in children’s books should not disregard the role of graphic illustrations incorporated into the literature as the visual images may carry their own ideologies or reinforce the ideologies embedded in the written texts (Sutherland, 1985). In other words, both written and illustrated texts are carriers of ideology. Gillian Rose (2001) also argues that visual images are never innocent entities created for delivering
transparent views of the world. It is more the opposite – they are created by different people serving different purposes for various reasons and are as powerful as written texts (Reissman, 2008; Rose, 2001). Rose’s contention echoes the position of previously mentioned scholars of school knowledge (e.g., Taxel, Apple) in that they all agree on the biased selection of knowledge both linguistically and visually created and distributed in society. The embeddedness of specific ideologies in literature for children is in accord with the argument that literature is an ideological construct (McGillis, 1996).

My purpose in this study is to delve into the issues of ideology and power relations within Taiwanese children’s literature in light of contemporary socio-economic and political circumstances. My research interest in the analysis of the history of Taiwan portrayed in Taiwanese children’s literature grew out of my family and my personal experiences living in the dynamic Taiwanese society within which the shifting of political power influenced the content and form of school knowledge. Thus, this study is a constant comparative analysis (including the analysis of both written and visual texts) of a collection of Taiwanese children’s literature including both fiction and nonfiction that share an overarching theme of the history of Taiwan published in the postwar era (1945 to 2008\(^2\)). By adopting Raymond Williams’ (1989) concept of selective tradition and Althusser’s (1970/1971), Hollindale’s (1992), and Gramsci’s (1988) theories of ideology and hegemony, I will examine the written texts and visual images of the children’s literature to determine what aspects of the history and whose ideologies and perspectives were selected and distributed in the literary format.

Central to this analysis is the investigation and analysis of the interrelations between

\(^2\) Chen Shui-bian’s presidency ended in 2008, and the KMT’s candidate, Ma Ying-Jeou, succeeded Chen. Since there was only a couple of children’s books that discussed the history of Taiwan published during Ma’s regime (2008–present), the timeframe for publications is limited to between 1945 and 2008 in order to yield a rich and comparable analysis of the research data.
literary content and the issue of power. For instance, one persistent question is the extent to which literature published during the Martial Law era (1949–1987) in Taiwan reveals the political agenda and ideologies of the Nationalist Party (the KMT) (e.g., Sun’s Three Principles of the People and the goal of recovery of China). Closely related to the discussion of ideological peculiarities, historians’ research on the development of Taiwanese historiography also is considered in order to examine and analyze whether the literary products fall into two paradigms: the Chinese-centric paradigm (Chinese-centricism), which substantiates the KMT’s traditional Chinese historiography, and the Taiwanese-centric paradigm (Taiwanese-centricism), which focuses on the cultivation of Taiwan consciousness/Taiwan identity that leads toward the goal of Taiwan independence (Ni, 2008). As Ni (2008) argues, the significant implication behind these two convenient classifications of historical narratives is the acknowledgement of certain political motivations. That is, each paradigm reflects contemporary political and cultural ideologies. During the early KMT era, the writing of Taiwanese history borrowed traditional Chinese historiography, so the history of Taiwan featured China’s national history and was regarded as a part of Chinese history. Following the localization and Taiwanization of the society, which mirrors Lee Teng-hui’s and Chen Shui-bian’s political agendas, the writing of Taiwanese history centered on the historical narrations of Taiwanese history. A more detailed discussion of the effect of these two paradigms is incorporated into the chapter "Ideological Transitions: The Changing History and Historiography of Taiwan" under the section "Taiwanese Historiography."


6 Lin, Y.-R., & Li, Y.-C. (2004); and Weng et al. (1992).
By using Althusser’s (1970/1971) theory of ideology exercised in ideological appurtenances, Gramsci’s (1988) theory of hegemony, and Williams’ (1989) concept of selective tradition, the examination will also allow the researcher to explore the ways political and socio-economic circumstances influence the content of currently available literature for children. Analytically, a methodological design that can achieve the critical exploration of power relations and ideological particularities in the literary domain should support the theoretical framework employing the concept of sociology of school knowledge with the critical theories of ideology, hegemony, and selective tradition. Hence, Michael Apple’s (1990) notion of relational analysis is adopted, expanding the research dynamics to also consider outer forces (e.g., politics) that are central players in the process of legitimizing what is available or silenced in the literary version of the history of Taiwan. Along with the analytic strategies of constant comparative analysis (Bulter-Kisber, 2010) and iconography (Panofsky, 1970), this methodological paradigm will allow the researcher to relationally and comparatively analyze within and across the research data and further to compare them to contemporary socio-economic, cultural, and political circumstances in Taiwan. Discussions of these circumstances will yield chances to assess possible power relations, tracing whether or not different ruling powers’ political agendas and political and cultural ideologies had any effects on the literary representations of the history of Taiwan. The contents, functions, and characteristics of relational analysis, Butler-Kisber’s constant comparative analysis, and Panofsky’s iconography and how each of them works within the research design are further explored in the chapter *Relational Analysis*.

**Research Questions**

1) What historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities have been selected and incorporated into books for Taiwanese children published between 1945 and 2008? How
are they actually discussed? How do they change over time? Whose ideological perspectives, assumptions and interests do these inclusions embody?

2) What historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities are omitted, marginalized, or excluded? How do these omissions and exclusions change over time? Whose ideological perspectives, assumptions and interests do these omissions embody?

3) What is the relation between the changing of historical political, cultural, and socio-economic circumstances and the literature available for children in Taiwan?

Significance of the Study

In terms of research purpose, content, and scope, related research in children’s literature in Taiwan is scarce. Kuo’s (2000) study of the representations of aborigines in selected novels touched on the issue of cultural authenticity and ideology but did not go beyond the analysis of literary creations to question how and why certain meanings are made available and objective and certain other meanings are silenced or limited. In other words, children’s literature research in Taiwan is underdeveloped, especially when compared to the growing body of textbook research in Taiwan and both textbook and children’s literature research in the United States. The absence of such research points to the importance of the present study. In addition, as Kavanagh (1995) suggests:

literary and cultural texts of all kinds constitute a society’s ideological practice, and literary and cultural criticism constitutes an activity that, in its own rather meager way, either submits to, or self consciously attempts to transform, the political effects of that indispensable social practice. (p. 319–320)

Kavanagh’s suggestion is connected to and parallels critical theory, which “is committed to the twin goals of critique and transformation: questioning and challenging ideological assumptions,
conflicts and contradictions of the power-knowledge nexus” (Damico et al., p. 178). The present research will add to the existing scholarship, especially research that is available in Taiwan, into how the seemingly innocent texts for children may convey particular messages, perspectives, and ideologies selected, preserved and perpetuated by particular groups of people at specific historical time periods.

Chapters to Follow

In addition to the introductory chapter, this dissertation contains another five chapters discussing different aspects of the research as a whole. Chapter Two, Ideological Transitions: The Changing History and Historiography of Taiwan, presents a brief, general, and chronological history of Taiwan and, in addition, Taiwanese historiography from a socio-economic and political point of view starting from the late nineteenth century to lay out an informational and conceptual landscape of political and historiographic transitions that have occurred in Taiwan. Contemporary cultural and political ideologies and socio-economic, cultural, and political circumstances will also be incorporated into the section to provide a basic understanding of the history of Taiwan. Chapter Three, Critical and Empirical Uncovering: Sociology of School Knowledge, provides theoretical perspectives/backgrounds I adopted for the present research. It also reviews major related studies/literature within the sociology of school knowledge, including both the critique/examination of textbooks and children’s literature in the United States and in Taiwan, to provide a practical spectrum of what related research has been conducted in the past. Chapter Four, Relational Analysis, introduces the methods and methodology I employed for the present research. Apple’s (1990) concept of relational analysis, Butler-Kisber’s (2010) discussion of constant comparative analysis, and Panofsky’s (1970) iconography (as analytical methods) are discussed to argue how the methodological paradigm is
appropriate for the mission of analyzing the research data. Chapter Five, *Linguistic and Visual Representations of the History of Taiwan*, focuses on the interpretive analysis and discussion of the research data. Finally, Chapter Six, *Conclusions: Power Relations in the Creation of Children’s Narratives about Taiwanese History*, summaries research findings, discusses implications, and addresses limitations of the study. It also provides possibilities and recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER 2

IDEOLOGICAL TRANSITIONS: THE CHANGING HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TAIWAN

Introduction

In the case of Taiwan, the changing of political power has brought about simultaneous changes in the content and context of school knowledge that is disseminated and presented as neutral scholarship but actually favors power groups in society where power has decisive influence on the accessibility and legitimacy of certain discourses. My early years of learning Chinese-only discourse and school curriculum, my nephew’s experience in the multilingual and multicultural pedagogy, and my research on the development of Taiwanese children’s literature exemplify the notion that different ruling authorities with specific political and cultural agendas have the tendency to promote different ideological preferences and phases. To further demonstrate and discuss the existence of the issue of power involved in the power-and-knowledge nexus, this chapter presents a brief general history of Taiwan and Taiwanese historiography to illustrate the issue of power relations as each political transition was usually accompanied by changes in ideological assumptions and perspectives. These changes further influence contemporary socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural activities. Major ideological particularities in each historical epoch aimed at servicing each dominant group’s political and cultural agenda are highlighted to help assess power relations, which have a profound effect on the language and culture of Taiwan.
The Early Days of Taiwan

*Ilha Formosa*, which more than 23 million people call home in the twenty-first century, was named by Portuguese explorers in the sixteenth century when they sailed overseas to the unknown coast and encountered the island (Lee, 1999/1999). With their admiration for the beauty of the land, the adventurers named the foreign land *Formosa*. As its Portuguese name suggests, Taiwan is a beautiful island whose ancient and mythic history still is a riddle for scholars. Some historical records show that dating from the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), fishermen, voyagers, and peddlers migrated from southeastern coastal areas in China, mainly Fukien and Kwangtung provinces, to settle in Taiwan (Lee, 1999/1999). Prior to the settlement of the Han Chinese people, the land was already a home for different ethnic Aborigines who migrated from Southeast Asia and whose languages belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family (Hsiau, 2000). Their migration to and settlement on the island were thousands of years earlier than the Han Chinese and long before the first emperor of the Wu (Three Kingdoms) Dynasty (220–280 C.E.), Sun Chuan, dispatched a group of explorers to explore unknown islands located in the eastern and southern coastal areas of China (Manthorpe, 2005).

One of the results of the expedition was the “discovery” of Taiwan, and the historical record of the first encounter with Taiwan was documented in 230 C.E. by the Wu explorers. The information gathered from the journey and the captives the explorers brought with them back to China led the Han Chinese to conclude that Taiwan was a “barbarian territory” (p. 35), a place not worthy of China’s official attention. Not only did the Wu show no interest in the island, no official interest in Taiwan is on record for the following four hundred years (Manthorpe, 2005). It was not until Yang Ti, the emperor of the Sui Dynasty (581–618 C.E.), sent his representatives,

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7 According to the report from the Council of Indigenous Peoples, there are fourteen distinct Aboriginal tribes identified within the island: Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Puyuma, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, and Sediq (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2010).
Captain Chu K’uan in 605 C.E. and General Chen Ling in 607 C.E., to explore the people and the territory of Taiwan that the second and the third contacts with Taiwanese natives and the land were made. The Chinese ambition of establishing the sovereignty of emperor Sui Yang Ti over the island aroused the natives’ violent resistance to the Chinese armed forces. Although the Chinese intruders triumphed in the battles, the high cost of the victory convinced General Chen to advise Emperor Sui that Taiwan was not a place worth the investment needed to sustain rule (Manthorpe, 2005).

Before World War II

Before World War II, Taiwan was controlled by different political powers. First were the Dutch, who controlled Taiwan and treated it as a trade center in the seventeenth century (Zhang, 2003) before the Ming Dynasty general Cheng Ch’eng-kung (known as Koxinga in the West) expelled the Dutch and established his rule on the island in 1662. Two decades later, Koxinga’s regime was overturned by the Manchus, who founded the Qing Dynasty – the ruling dynasty from 1683 to 1895 (Hsiau, 2000). Under the Qing-controlled regime, the land saw the acceleration of migration by poor Han Chinese, most of them fishermen and farmers, from southern China (mainly from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces) to the island (Copper, 2003; Miao, 2003). In 1895, when the Qing Dynasty lost the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) – a war between China and Japan – Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese victors under “the Treaty of Shimonoseki” (Hsiau, p.4). During fifty years of governance (1895–1945), Japanese imperial power was established on the island. The new government in Taiwan launched its “national language education” policy (Chiou, 2005, p. 1) in which an island-wide six-year primary

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9 People from Fukien province are known as the Fukien Taiwanese, and people from Kwangtung province are specified as the Hakka Taiwanese. Nowadays, they are all called Taiwanese or native Taiwanese (Copper, 2003).
education program was designed and established to focus on teaching Taiwanese children Japanese, basic mathematics, and Japanese-centered history and geography for the purpose of indoctrinating Japanese nationalist ideology and cultivating students into serviceable and loyal colonial subjects (Manthorpe, 2005). In other words, the education system provided limited knowledge that was sufficient to produce an educated labor force (Sutter, 1988), but it was not adequate to shape the Taiwanese into intellectual subjects capable of developing their own ideas (Manthorpe, 2005). Meanwhile, the Taiwanese people, including the Han Chinese and the indigenous people who had lived on the island before the arrival of imperial government, were encouraged to change their names to Japanese names through rewards (Yang, 2001). This history clearly shows the relation between knowledge, school, and political control.

In essence, the Japanese government used its political power to assimilate or “Japanize” the Taiwanese people through the active practice of Japanese culture and tradition and through the teaching of Japanese-centered curricula. Many Taoist temples in Taiwan were destroyed, while Shintoism, the dominant religion in Japan, was legally enforced on the island. Only the main temple of the founding father of Taiwan10 – Koxinga – was restored by the Japanese government, but only to emphasize Koxinga’s biological tie to Japan (Koxinga’s mother was Japanese) (Manthorpe, 2005). Moreover, discouraging the use of Taiwanese (Hoklo) (Manthorpe, 2005), removing Chinese sections from newspapers, banning the teaching of Chinese in any institutions, and forbidding the writing of Chinese in any publications (e.g., magazines and newspapers) were all part of the “Japanization” policy (the Kou-Min-Ka Movement) enforced by the Japanese Empire in 1937. The purpose of the movement was to wipe out Han culture and establish Japanese imperial culture in Taiwan (Chiou, 2005). The teaching and the use of

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10 Many Taiwanese people whose ancestors were Han Chinese believe that Koxinga was the founding father of Taiwan because he expelled the Dutch and established a Han Chinese regime in Taiwan in the seventeenth century. Koxinga was deified after his death, and his temples are still popular in Taiwanese society around the island.
Japanese was officially treated by the colonial government as the foundation for what Hsiau (2000) describes as the practice of assimilation.

Different from the early Dutch’s form of foreign domination, which was characterized by treating Taiwan as a base of business operations (i.e., a trade center), the Japanese government directly ruled Taiwan and intentionally made it into an agricultural colony that produced the rice and sugarcane (and processed it into sugar) needed to ensure sufficient food for industrialization in Japan (Zhang, 2003). A land survey of Taiwan carried out in 1902 by the colonial government reported that more land was available for rice and sugarcane cultivation (Manthorpe, 2005). The new finding later allowed the colonial administration to profit from the cultivation and the sale of the agricultural products and made it possible for the imperial authority to invest money in constructing roads, railroads, and power infrastructure in Taiwan (Zhang, 2003). During the colonial period (1895–1945), the dominant authorities put much effort into developing Taiwan’s colonial economy through building up its infrastructure and government administration at local levels (Tien, 1989; Ho, 1978; Lin, 1973), as well as transforming Taiwan into a thriving agricultural economy that later became a base for industrial development on the island (Sutter, 1988).

After World War II

Taiwan was receded to the Chinese in 1945 after Japan’s defeat in World War II. The return was based on “the Cairo Declaration of December 1943” (Hsiau, p. 5) in which General Chiang Kai-shek, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed that all the territories, including Formosa (Taiwan), taken by Japan from the Republic of China should be returned to the Chinese government (Hsiau, 2000). Accompanying the relocation of Chinese political power, traditional Chinese culture and ideology were brought
to Taiwan with the purpose of re-socializing Taiwan as one of China’s provinces. Since the
Taiwanese people during the Japanese colonial era were educated to use Japanese as the national
language, intellectuals were fluent in writing and speaking Japanese but not Mandarin, the
common and official language shared by the Chinese people (Hsiau, 2000). The imbalance of
linguistic power, especially after 1949, was reflected in Taiwan’s disproportionate demographics,
consisting of 15% new settlers (the Chinese) and 85% aboriginal Taiwanese and Han Chinese,
who had resided in Taiwan prior to the settlement of the Mainlanders. This language
inconsistency would last for years until the indigenous dwellers were able to express themselves
in Mandarin (Wei, 2006). According to Miao (2003),

> It was natural for the [new government], who had faith in China-focused ideologies, to
> use a national dialect [Mandarin] … spoken in northern China and Manchuria (Northeast
> Provinces), centering on Beijing, the capital of the Qing and many other previous
dynasties... [to symbolize] Chinese authority. (p. 217–8)

One of the major political missions for the Chinese government was to “de-Japanize” Taiwan
(Hsiau, p. 53) and, at the same time, “Sinocize” (p. 53) the Taiwanese by implementing
Mandarin as the national language. This policy ignored the language diversity of populations
with native/local languages such as Hakka, spoken by the people from Kwangtung province,
Hoklo (referred to as Taiwanese by the people of Taiwan), spoken by the people from Fukien
province, and the languages of the non-Han Aborigines, still active among the people on the
island. This Mandarin language policy was one of the Chinese government’s attempts to
transform Taiwanese culture into a Mainlander culture/Chinese culture since the government
utilized the language as a vehicle to implant Chinese ideologies for the purpose of
creating/imposing a Chinese national identity on Taiwan (Miao, 2003).
To further accelerate language education, the new government formed an organization called the Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Promotion and Propagation of the National Language in 1945 (The National Languages Committee of the MOE, 2001). The Committee was officially established in 1946 to serve the mission of promoting and teaching Mandarin in school contexts (Chiou, 2005). Under this official language intervention, the government’s monolingual policy established Mandarin as the legitimate national language. This had the effect of marginalizing the local languages. The promotion of standardized Mandarin as a means to foster Chinese ideologies focused on and accentuated a homogeneous Chinese ethnicity to achieve the goal of national unity in the overall effort of nation building (Wei, 2006). According to Hsiau (1997), a caste system of language was established, and other languages (e.g., Hakka, Hoklo, and aboriginal languages) spoken by the people in Taiwan were devalued, and “the use of these languages was considered a threat to national cohesion and unity” (p. 306). In terms of its policy of unifying the national language, the Chinese government resembled the Japanese imperial government in that both political powers utilized language as a means of inculcating contemporary political ideologies in order to create a linguistically and culturally homogenous nation-state in which local languages and cultures were banished (Wei, 2006). At the same time, people who had resided in Taiwan before the Chinese and spoke “dialects” became second-class residents, who possessed lower socio-economic status and had illiterate and peasant-like backgrounds (Hsiau, 1997).

According to Wei (2006), language ideologies are tightly connected with issues of “identity, aesthetics, morality, and epistemology” (p. 94), and they are derived from specific groups within a society, reflecting the groups’ interests and experiences. Language ideologies can be interpreted as discourse, ideas, or practices that help dominant groups or people in power
to obtain and sustain power relations. Furthermore, language ideologies should be approached from the point of view that they are related to socio-political contexts from which ideas and beliefs are generated for the purpose of maintaining legitimacy, representation, and power (Wei, 2006). Wei’s suggestions about the origin and function of language ideology are useful in that they point to the Chinese government’s potential motives for the establishment and maintenance of its Mandarin language policy. In addition to its language policy, the Chinese government furthered its ideological objectives through the imposition of martial law in the late 1940s after a massacre of Taiwanese people, mainly intellectuals and elites, in 1947 (Hsiau, 2000; Zhang, 2003). This “Taiwanese Uprising of February 28, 1947” (or the 228 Incident) (Hsiau, p. 57) was an inter-ethnic conflict between the new settlers and the local Taiwanese and was the result of the Chinese government’s prejudicial treatment of the local residents.

The increase in inflation, the shortage of commodities (Hsiau, 2000; Tien, 1989), unemployment, and the decrease in living standards were a disappointment to the Taiwanese after the Chinese assumed control (Hsiau, 2000). Other influential factors that heightened the ethnic tension between the Chinese and the Taiwanese included the Chinese government’s political corruption, inefficiency of the bureaucracy, and the misbehavior of the Nationalist troops (Hsiau, 2000), who randomly robbed, raped, and killed the local people (Gates, 1987). Already angry over Chinese misgovernment and distrustful of the new authority, the public was further aroused after a widow, Lin Chiang-Mai, accused of selling contraband cigarettes, was injured by the Chinese agents of the Monopoly Commission on February 27, 1947. In order to repress the public upheaval, Governor Chen Yi declared martial law the next evening (Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005; Zhang, 2003). Over 20,000 Nationalist troops\(^\text{11}\) were dispatched to Taiwan to repress the island-wide rebellion (Zhang, 2003). According to the Kuomintang’s

\(^{11}\) Kerr (1986) suggests that the number of the Nationalist troops dispatched to Taiwan was about 50,000.
records, more than 28,000 people\textsuperscript{12} were killed in the incident (Manthorpe, 2005), and many Taiwanese intellectuals, professionals, and elites either disappeared or were imprisoned (Kerr, 1986; Zhang, 2003). The declaration of martial law officially began the era of control during which freedom of speech, publishing, travel, and assembly were restricted by the government (Hung, 2004).

Chiang Kai-shek’s KMT era (1949–1975)

When his Nationalist Party, also known as the Kuomintang (KMT), lost the civil war with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to retreat with the KMT and his armies to Taiwan, where he declared that the Republic of China (ROC) was in Taiwan and was opposed to China’s CCP. During this period of time, not only were Chiang’s troops brought to the island, many KMT advocates and intellectuals also relocated to Taiwan (Hsiau, 2000). It is estimated that the number of KMT followers (or refugees, in Hsiau’s terminology) reached about two million (Hsiau, 2000; Manthorpe, 2005; Tien, 1989). The newcomers were referred to as Mainlanders or “\textit{wai-sheng-jen}” (Hsiau, p. 53), which literally means “people from other provinces of China” (p. 53), and were linguistically and culturally different from the Taiwanese people, “\textit{pen-sheng-jen}” (p. 53), the “[Han] people of this province” (p. 53). Under Chiang’s leadership and his KMT’s governance, the re-enforcement of martial law in 1949 specified Taiwan as a combat area (Hsiau, 2000). Further, Chiang and his KMT considered Taiwan a temporary staging haven from where they wished to restore and rebuild their strength for the future retaking of Mainland China (Copper, 2003; Manthorpe, 2005). The retreating KMT government was established in Taiwan with a political structure identical to that of the Mainland. The centralized single-party system of politics was dominated by the

\textsuperscript{12} The actual number of victims is still unknown. According to Kerr (1986), at least 10,000 Formosans either were killed or put into prison during the incident.
Mainlanders, who occupied higher levels of political power and strategic positions (Hsiau, 2000).

The membership of the KMT reached one million in the late 1960s, and those members controlled different civic organizations and educational institutions (Hsiau, 2000). During the Martial Law era (1949–1987), the KMT’s censorship policy sought the maintenance of national and social security by forbidding public strikes/demonstrations, the formation of new parties, the registration of new newspapers, and the elections of provincial levels. Criticism of political and national policy was also harshly restricted (Roy, 2003). After the social and political turmoil in the early postwar era, the KMT, instead of exercising military force to govern Taiwan, modified its administrative strategy to follow Confucius’ teachings, focusing on the enhancement of the living standards, the improvement of quality of life, and the implementation of democracy on the island (Zhang, 2003). Since the KMT was originally founded by Sun Yat-sen in 1912 in China, with his Three Principles of the People as the Nationalist Party’s manifesto, Chiang, who followed Sun’s philosophy, planned to transform Taiwan into an ideal manifestation of Sun’s doctrinal teaching with the aim of gaining the support of local Taiwanese people and of recuperating the faith of local Chinese people (Zhang, 2003). Although both Confucius’ teachings and Sun’s Three Principles of the People valued democracy at the political and social levels, the KMT was selective in how it adopted these two influential philosophical doctrines, placing limitations\textsuperscript{13} that later “helped the KMT to legitimize its governance of Taiwan and made it an effective alternative to China’s communist dictatorship” (Zhang, p. 62). Hence, political democracy was only a slogan available at local levels, where administrative and political power was mostly meaningless (Manthorpe, 2005). Only a few of the non-KMT parties obtained the necessary permission to operate, but they relied entirely on the KMT’s money and support to

\textsuperscript{13} In the early years of the KMT, the people in Taiwan had the right to elect their local leaders and representatives, and the local elections were supported by the KMT, but oppositional parties were not allowed to compete with the KMT candidates (Zhang, 2003).
survive (Manthorpe, 2005). Manthorpe described the situation as “suborned operations” (p. 14), and true democracy at local and national levels did not begin until the 1980s.

During the early KMT administration, Chiang Kai-shek was the chairman of the KMT, president of the ROC, “commander-in-chief of the armed forces” (Hsiau, p. 64), and the authority who made final major decisions (Hsiau, 2000). The Mainlanders, who were forced to abandon their property and homes in the Mainland, shared the goal and the ideology of the restoration of their political power in the Mainland (Miao, 2003). The ruling party’s ideology included three aspects: first, the declaration that the ROC was the only legitimate government representing the sovereignty of all China; second, the ultimate goal for the ROC was to reclaim and recover the ownership of China (Hsiau, 2000); third, the espousal of Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles of the People, which was perceived as the essence of Chinese cultural tradition (Hsiau, 2000).

Tu (1996) argues that the primacy of the recovery of China officially legitimized the KMT government’s structure and its goal of ruling the entirety of China. This stance marginalized a great portion of the island’s population (Tu, 1996). Sun’s Three Principles of the People consists of the principles of Nationalism, Democracy, and the People’s Livelihood, and each of them represents Sun’s unique doctrine (Sun, 1906/1994). For Sun, Nationalism denoted an equal status for various ethnic groups in China and China’s equal and independent status in the world (Zhang, 2003). It also meant prohibiting people of different nationalities (e.g., the Manchus) from seizing and controlling Han Chinese political power in the Mainland (Sun, 1906/1994). The principle of Nationalism included the revivification and renaissance of Chinese traditional culture. The principle of Democracy, which was the basis of the political revolution to eradicate the monarchical autocracy of China’s political system and to create a democratic
system (Sun, 1906/1994), focused on the liberty of the Chinese regardless of their diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Zhang, 2003). Finally, the principle of the People’s Livelihood was meant to work toward the well-being of the Han Chinese. In short, the essence of Sun’s Three Principles of the People was a social, political, and economic reform that included: a nationalist revolution to bring equality to all people in China, a political revolution to end the monarchy and establish democracy in the Mainland, and a social revolution to end the imbalance in the distribution of resources and to bridge the extreme disparity between the rich and the poor (Sun, 1906/1994).

Analyzing the KMT’s ideology in the postwar era, Hsiau’s discussion echoes Miao’s (2003) *Sinicisation of Taiwan’s culture* and Chou and Nathan’s (1987) *Democratizing Transition in Taiwan* in its claim that anti-communism, the one-China policy, and Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles of the People were the major components underpinning the KMT government’s objectives to autocratically rule Taiwan and make Taiwan a base of revolutionary operations against the Communist Party in China. Furthermore, through a cultural renaissance movement consisting of three major activities14 and initiated in reaction to China’s Culture Revolution in the 1960s, the KMT systematically redefined the contents of traditional culture and values on the island. The cultivation of social consciousness through institutional means (e.g., education) was a part of the renaissance and utilized social expression as a vehicle to help stimulate national developments in politics and the economy (Chun, 2000). Chun (2000) also argues that a national culture can never be taken for granted as just a “neutral presence” (p. 10), that individuals within a nation treat it naturally as a part of personal identity. On the contrary, a national culture is “a

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14 According to Chun (2000), it involved public dissemination, active demonstration, and moral education (including courses on morality, society, ethnics, and citizenship taught at elementary and middle school levels and courses on Chinese culture and military education taught at the high school level), supplemented by occasionally held traditional Chinese cultural activities such as music, calligraphy, and fine arts.
hegemonic presence” (p. 10), and each individual’s “fate is linked inextricably to the very mechanism of political domination that has served to perpetuate the authority of the state” (p. 10). Additionally, former ROC president Lee Teng-hui (1999/1999) states that the initial stage of the KMT in Taiwan “was authoritarian, even dictatorial” (p. 124). Both Chun’s and Lee’s statements either implicitly or overtly echo Gramsci’s claim that each important sociopolitical transformation starts from a phase of dictatorship. How long the dictatorial and transformative period lasts depends on how well the dictatorship is able to promote and cultivate common acceptance of the sociopolitical change occurring in the economic structure (Bates, 1975; Gramsci, 1988). Chiang Kai-shek’s regime ended after his death in 1975 (Manthorpe, 2005). Vice president Yen Chia-kan succeeded Chiang but served as a nominal president. Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek’s oldest son, took control and became the chairman of the KMT in 1975 (Hsiau, 2000) and the president of the ROC in 1978 (Hsiau, 2000; Sutter, 1988; Zhang, 2003). The KMT’s one-party autocratic system remained unchanged until the 1980s (Hsiau, 2000).

From the late 1940s to the 50s, Taiwan’s economy was primarily agricultural-based (Thorbecke, 1992). At the same time, political stability paved the way for Taiwan’s rapid economic takeoff in the following two decades (Hsiau, 2000). Foreign investment in Taiwan, mainly from Japan, the United States, and Western Europe, also contributed to economic development through the introduction of modern technology and techniques in the 1960s (Sutter, 1988). Under Chiang’s political agenda of accelerating economic development and democratizing the island, the economic structure was transformed and advanced into a semi-industrialized economy in the early 70s (Thorbecke, 1992). The type of goods Taiwan exported changed from chiefly agricultural products to predominantly industrial commodities (Sutter,
1988). Meanwhile, Chiang launched ten key infrastructure projects with the goal of stimulating and boosting Taiwan’s economy. A north-south super highway was built along the western part of Taiwan and connected major cities; the Taoyuan International Airport was completed; and the electrification of the railroad system, the modernization of ports, and the construction of power plants and other infrastructure projects were successively completed by 1978 (Sutter, 1988; Tien, 1989).

Chiang Ching-kuo’s KMT Era (1978–1988)

The early period of Chiang Ching-kuo’s government saw the continuation of the control of political and military power exercised by Chiang Kai-shek within which intimate ties between the KMT and state dominated the socio-economic and political activities in Taiwan, with KMT intervention in the appointments of the administrative personnel and elections of political leaders (Zhang, 2003). The influence of the Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Promotion and Propagation of the National Language dominated language issues in the early 1980s when the organization launched its national language education plan in 1981. The plan sought to facilitate unity of the nation by strengthening the promotion of the national language policy, consolidating the nationalist cultural foundation, and enhancing national literacy (The National Languages Committee of the MOE, 1981). Major aspects of the policy included mandating the use of Mandarin in schools, governmental institutions, and in public; periodically reviewing language usage in television and radio broadcasts; and compiling and editing Mandarin teaching materials (The National Language Committee of the MOE, 1981).

In the 1970s and 1980s, major political events, mainly in international relations, influenced the dynamics of socio-economic and political activities in Taiwan. First, Japan severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 1972 after Japan’s official recognition of the CCP in
China. Second, Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975 (Lin, 2004a). Third, the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Taiwan in 1978 (Hood, 1997; Lin, 2004a) after President Jimmy Carter announced the switch of the United States’ diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing (Hood, 1997). Fourth, Chiang Ching-kuo lifted martial law in 1987, removing the political and social restrictions on assembly, publication of reading materials (e.g., newspapers, books), and travel to Mainland China (Lin, 2004a). The lifting of martial law also allowed new political parties to be formed and to compete in state and local elections (Wang, 2000; Zhang, 2003). Political exiles who advocated freedom and Taiwanese independence in events such as the 228 Incident, for example, were released from political detention or allowed to return to Taiwan (Zhang, 2003). According to Lin (2004b), the challenges of the international and local political events evoked a sense of local consciousness that encouraged intellectuals to reconsider the significance of native culture as opposed to the Mainlander culture. The international political setbacks reflected in the diplomatic breaks with Japan and the United States also aroused radical self-consciousness that later contributed to the burgeoning of local consciousness (K.-C. Du, 2001). Taiwan consciousness, once hidden under the restrictions of martial law, erupted in the post-Martial Law era (Lin, 2005).

According to C.-C. Huang (2006), Taiwan consciousness refers to “people who live in Taiwan recognizing and explaining the manners and thoughts of their living circumstances” (p. 3). It includes two aspects: cultural identity and political identity. Different political and social contexts lead to different Taiwan consciousnesses that can be historically categorized into three periods after the late nineteenth century: 1) the period of nationalist consciousness and class

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15 According to C.-C. Huang (2006), the core of Taiwan consciousness during the Japanese colonial era was nationalist consciousness in which the essential connotation is cultural identity, rather than political identity. In other words, the people of Taiwan identified themselves with the long standing and well established Han culture but not with the government (the Qing Dynasty dominated by the Manchus) that contemporarily governed China.
Taiwan consciousness\textsuperscript{16}, when Taiwan was dominated by the Japanese colonial government (1895–1945); 2) the period of provincial consciousness\textsuperscript{17}, when the KMT, reflecting Chinese values and perspectives, was in power (1945–1986); and 3) the period of anti-CCP political consciousness\textsuperscript{18}(1987 and beyond) (C.-C. Huang, 2006). In other words, “Taiwan consciousness basically is a dissertation of resistance – resisting Japanese imperialism, resisting the KMT’s authoritarian governance, [and] resisting Chinese Communists’ suppression” (p. 38).

Before the mid-1980s, Taiwan remained a one-party state dominated by the Mainlanders, who occupied the majority of the most important political positions (Hsiau, 2000). Two years before his death in 1988, Chiang Ching-kuo reformed the ROC in Taiwan into a more democratic and constitutional government and eliminated the dictatorial characteristics of the ruling party by granting the people of Taiwan the right to determine their destiny (Zhang, 2003). After the diplomatic setbacks, Chiang Ching-kuo was aware of the imbalance of political power existing between the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese and started to address the issue of ethnicity in order to secure support from the local residents. More Taiwanese were appointed to important political and party posts, although the Mainlanders still dominated the higher stratum of the KMT, the ROC government, and the society (Hsiau, 2000; Sutter, 1988). This shift marks the beginning of the Taiwanization of both the KMT and the government (Chao & Dickson, 2002).

The later period of the Chiang Ching-kuo era saw the younger Chiang eventually realizing the importance of practicing moderation to maintain public support and, as a result, he

\textsuperscript{16}Taiwan was politically and economically dominated by Japanese imperial power, so the majority of the Taiwanese belonged to the dominated class (the agricultural working-class), and the Japanese represented the dominant class (the merchant middle-class) (C.-C. Huang, 2006).
\textsuperscript{17}This period was marked by the Mainlanders’ sense of superiority over the Taiwanese. The newcomers’ mistreatment of the local people caused a provincial tension between the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese. It also created a dichotomy between Mainlanders/Taiwanese (equivalent to settlers/natives, dominant/dominated) (C.-C. Huang, 2006).
\textsuperscript{18}During this period, Taiwan consciousness evolved into new Taiwanese consciousness, derived from Lee Teng-hui’s New Taiwanese, which emphasizes the uniqueness and sophistication of Taiwan (C.-C. Huang, 2006).
abandoned the objective of recovering mainland China (Hood, 1997). This abandonment led to a refocusing away from other ideological tenets of the KMT and a reconsideration of Taiwan’s local needs based on its diversified ethnicity and culture (Hood, 1997). Chiang Ching-kuo’s policy shift toward democracy permitted the existence of an opposition political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), which under martial law was illegally founded in September 1986 (Jacobs, 2005; Sutter, 1988). The legitimization of the new party urged and accelerated political reforms that challenged the KMT’s Chinese consciousness or “Chinese nationalism” by adopting an opposite ideology called Taiwanese nationalism, an ideology of Taiwan independence and nation building (Hsiau, 2000).

To illustrate, the KMT’s Chinese nationalism implies culturally, ethnically, and politically identifying with mainland China because “In the terminology of Chinese nationalism, the word ‘China’ is a term that represents a culture, a nation and a state” (Wang, 2000, p. 161). Advocates of Chinese nationalism do not acknowledge the distinctive Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese identity; the very notion that Taiwan is a sovereign, independent state is denied. They support the belief that Taiwanese are Chinese and that reunification with the Mainland is natural and unavoidable (Wang, 2000). In contrast, the DPP’s Taiwanese nationalism challenges Chinese nationalism, arguing that Taiwan is not part of China and that the future reunification with the Mainland is absurd since these two nations have been separated for more than a century. During this time, Taiwan has created a distinct Taiwanese culture (Wang, 2000) and developed a unique national identity (Wang, 2000; Committee of the China Affairs, 1995; Hsu, 1995), although most of the DPP leaders do not go as far as rejecting their Chinese cultural and ethnic roots (Wang, 2000). In other words, Chinese refers only to a cultural or ethnic identification that

19 The Mandarin rendering of Chinese [中國人/中國的] contains the Mandarin word for China [中國]. Thus, it is possible that Wang was specifically referring to this aspect of the language in his discussion. In any event, a speaker of Chinese would not fail to note the implications of Wang’s argument with regard to the two words.
aligns the Taiwanese with the Chinese. The term does not imply political alignment with China (Wang, 2000).


After the first native-born Taiwanese president, Lee Teng-hui, succeeded Chiang as the political leader in 1988, the KMT’s political agenda was gradually redirected. The new scenario featured the indigenization of the social and political atmosphere once dominated by the old KMT’s China-centered ideologies through the promotion of the New Taiwanese, Taiwanese citizens “who are willing to fight for the prosperity and survival of their country, regardless of when they or their forebears arrived on Taiwan and regardless of their provincial heritage or native language” (Lee, 1999, p. 9). Lee’s formulation of New Taiwanese rooted in the new Taiwanese consciousness²⁰ constructs a new national identity that places the people of Taiwan at the center within which individuals share a common destiny and work toward the goal of establishing a true democracy (Lee, 1999). Hence, the new Taiwanese consciousness or New Taiwanism is the foundation of building a national identity (Tsai, 2001). Moreover, the people of Taiwan have free will to establish and monitor governmental and political systems that conform to the Taiwanese people’s wishes.

At its core, Lee’s discourse of New Taiwanese firmly establishes the Taiwanese people’s identification with Taiwan, which means implementing a political system that conforms to the people’s wishes and constructing a society that belongs to all the people of Taiwan regardless of the province of one’s family register (C.-C. Huang, 2006). As Lee (1999/1999) stated,

Believing that Taiwan is ours, loving Taiwan and wholeheartedly devoting ourselves to its cause – these are the real significances of being Taiwanese. We should promote this

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²⁰ Taiwan consciousness is different from new Taiwanese consciousness as the core of Taiwan consciousness has historically been evolving and changing based on contemporary socio-economic and political circumstances, whereas the new Taiwanese consciousness is the by-product, so to speak, of Lee’s New Taiwanese.
vision of “new Taiwanese.” We are also Chinese as long as we respect the legacy of Chinese culture and not forget the ideal of China’s reunification. (p. 61)

Lee’s New Taiwanese provided legitimate channels for local intellectuals and for nationally elected leaders to voice their opinions (Hood, 1997). During his presidency, Lee accelerated the process of Taiwanization centering on the goal of redistributing political power among native Taiwanese, who eventually would hold the most important political and military positions during his tenure (Chao & Dickson, 2002). Lee’s Taiwanization resolved the power imbalance between the Mainlanders and the local Taiwanese. He also peacefully transformed the old KMT, which featured a Leninist party-state system with a particular structure of politics, ideology, and culture initially established by Sun Yat-sen in China, into a democratic entity (Chao & Dickson, 2002). Lee became the first elected president in 1996, marking the very first time the people in Taiwan were able to vote for their own political leader (Chao & Dickson, 2002).

In his memoir The Road to Democracy (1999/1999), Lee acknowledged the importance of Chinese cultural identity but embraced the idea that “national identity – that ‘we are Taiwanese’ – will … provide the basis for democratic culture in Taiwan” (Lee, p. 62). Lee also argued that the political party has gone through three major transformative stages – “authoritarianism, dictatorship, and democratization” (p. 200) – and from the process the KMT has learned a great deal that will help the nation become a more democratic place where ethnic, cultural, and language diversities will be valued. Lee’s welcoming of native/local cultures is evident in his ideas about education reform. According to Lee (1999/1999),

Our history textbooks…should no longer revolve around the history of the Nationalist Party but cover the history of Taiwan itself. The story of the native peoples who have lived on the island since antiquity and of the successive waves of immigrants…must be
fully and accurately told. (p. 108)

In addition to the emphasis on indigenousness in educational reform, the recognition of local cultures, including Mainlanders, is seen in the embrace of Taiwaneseness through the speaking of Hoklo (Tai-yu) in public places and in politically significant locations such as the offices of the KMT’s central headquarters (Jacobs, 2005). As a result of the shift from a one-China policy to the recognition of Taiwan as a multiethnic society, the KMT was “nativized” or “Taiwanized” by its native-born Taiwanese president and by the trends of localization and globalization.

These changes affected all KMT entities, including the Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Promotion and Propagation of the National Language. In existence since 1945, the Committee no longer was appropriate for serving the needs of the changing society. In the 1990s, the Committee was renamed to the National Languages Committee and reorganized to include four subdivisions: Mandarin, Hoklo, Hakka, and Aboriginal Languages. Each subdivision is in charge of consulting and planning agendas related to its designated language (The National Languages Committee of the MOE, 2003). Toward the end of the twentieth century, the Committee announced an administrative regulation that officially encouraged and rewarded scholars, researchers, graduate students, and professionals of Han dialects, mainly Hoklo and Hakka, conducting research in related fields for the purpose of preserving and promoting nationalist linguistic cultures (The National Languages Committee of the MOE, 1998). This policy reflects Wei’s (2006) assertion that the KMT’s language policy has gone through three major phases: transition (1945–1969), solidification (1970–1986), multilingualism (after 1987).

In sum, Lee’s ideological strategy did not espouse “the high rhetoric of ‘Reunification of China’ or ‘Chinese people’” (Wu, 2002, p. 204), but the sense of Taiwanese nationalism was a common objective shared by Lee and the DPP in creating a new Taiwanese sovereignty.
Specifically, Lee’s political and cultural ideologies rested on the following: 1) the notion of the “ROC on Taiwan” (Chao & Dickson, p. 6; Wu, p. 205) suggests the recognition of the uniqueness of self-identity; 2) the concept of New Taiwanese suggests the development of Taiwan as a “national community of life” (Wu, p. 205); 3) the ROC on Taiwan is not a part of the People’s Republic of China but an independent sovereign state over which China has no control; 4) a common tie exists between China and the ROC on Taiwan in terms of Chinese culture that is the basis of an unbreakable cultural, rather than political, relationship; 5) political and social democracy begins a new era of Taiwanese history distinctively separate and different from the history of China; 6) if reunifying Taiwan with China is the ultimate goal, it must be rooted on “the condition that Taiwan maintains her sovereignty” (p. 205); and 7) the ROC on Taiwan is a sovereign and independent state, and “the ROC on Taiwan” is a more appropriate term to describe Taiwan’s political status quo. Changing its official name to some other name (e.g., the Republic of Taiwan) will bring about nation calamity (Wu, 2002) since the People’s Republic of China has always kept an eye on Taiwan’s socio-economic and political activities. The declaration of Taiwan’s independence or the adoption of “the Republic of Taiwan” would infuriate China, provoking the use of military force to attack and seize Taiwan.

Recalling the years of 1995 and 1996, when the KMT government was under Lee Teng-hui, Lee’s political ideology, with his ambition to remove the one-China policy from the ROC’s foreign policy, caused the CCP in China to launch a series of missile tests in the waters surrounding Taiwan, including the Taiwan Strait. This event, known as the Taiwan Strait Crisis, was the CCP’s effort to intimidate the Taiwanese electorate and, further, to influence the 1996 presidential election in Taiwan (Fisher, 1997). Examining Lee’s political and cultural ideologies,

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21 The 1996 Presidential Election was the first direct election of Taiwan’s president. It was also an indicator of Lee’s political liberation to deconstruct the traditional KMT electoral system and to bring about reforms, self-determination, and sovereignty. China’s missile tests were obviously in demonstration against such reforms.
his attitude toward the political relationship between Taiwan and China was ambiguous, and he never used absolute terminologies to address the future or the status quo of Taiwan in relation to China. That is, Lee advocated “a so-called ROC style Taiwanese independence or independent Taiwan” (Wu, p. 205), but the publication of Taiwan independence was taboo. Although he recognized Taiwan’s cultural affinity with China, Lee insistently made it clear that Taiwanese identity is unique and separate from Chinese identity (Wu, 2002).


At the beginning of the twenty-first century, political power shifted from the KMT to the DPP after its candidate, Chen Shui-bian, won the presidential election in 2000. According to Baran (2005), the DPP no longer presented Taiwan as part of China with Chinese nationalist consciousness endeavoring to promote and encourage the monolingual policy with Mandarin as the sole legitimized national language. Rather, Taiwanese nationalism was the core of the DPP’s political ideology (Wang, 2000; Wu, 2002), and this ideology inherited and extended Lee’s New Taiwanese or new Taiwanese consciousness to recognize Taiwan as a multiethnic society where individuals’ diverse cultural backgrounds and traditions are highly valued (Baran, 2005). Furthermore, it also emphasizes the notion that Taiwan is an independent country whose future can only be determined by the people of Taiwan (Tsai, 2001; Wang, 2000).

Comparing the new Taiwanese consciousness of Lee’s KMT to that of Chen’s DPP, the former focuses on the usage of the new Taiwanese consciousness in order to establish a new national identity, whereas the later formulates that concept to argue that the new Taiwanese consciousness is “also a kind of new Taiwan nationalism oriented to self-determination” (Tsai, p. 13). The notion of Taiwan independence was redefined and clarified by the DPP: “The goal of

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22 Some scholars use the term Taiwan nationalism, and others prefer Taiwanese nationalism. In this dissertation, I use these two terms interchangeably.
abolishing the ROC system and establishing an independent Republic of Taiwan now was to be pursued through the democratic procedure of referendum” (Wu, p. 208). The referendum suggests the DPP’s willingness to accept the name – Republic of China – as long as the majority of the people of Taiwan agreed to adopt the term to represent Taiwan (Wu, 2002). The principle behind the DPP’s policy toward China is “one China, one Taiwan” (Wang, p. 161), which again emphasizes Taiwan’s sovereignty and independence. According to the DPP, it indicates that Taiwan “does not belong to the People’s Republic of China, and that the sovereignty of Taiwan does not extend to mainland China” (DPP, 2010, The Establishment of a Sovereign and Independent Republic of Taiwan section, ¶ 2).

The DPP’s Taiwanization or Taiwanese nationalism was and is rigorously opposed to China’s position on the issue of Taiwan’s national and political identity (Wang, 2000; Wachman, 1994a; 1994b; Rigger, 1997). As early as 1986, the DPP’s platform explicitly recognized the equity of all the languages spoken by different ethnic groups23 in Taiwan (Huang, 2000). This recognition of the linguistic diversity practiced on the island counteracted the KMT’s manipulation of Mandarin as a political symbol adopted to maintain the ruling class’ power and privileges (Huang, 2000; Weinstein, 1983). Hoklo, Hakka, and Austronesian languages have been incorporated into the school curriculum to manifest the DPP’s political and cultural ideology of Taiwanization. According to Jacobs (2005), the major element of both Lee’s and Chen’s politics has been democratization, which emphasizes “the sense of a Taiwan nation” (p. 34) embraced by Taiwan’s electorate, which has the power to decide Taiwan’s future. To recapitulate, the changing of political power has inevitably influenced the visibility and circulation of specific ideologies that are embedded and purposefully put into practice in socio-

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23 The Aborigines, the Hakka Taiwanese, the Fukien Taiwanese, and the Mainlanders.
economic and political activities to attain particular aims. Whether or not the changing history and ideology influenced and shaped by contemporary ruling groups’ political agendas correspond to the domain of Taiwanese historiography is another critical issue that requires further exploration.

Taiwanese Historiography

Traditionally, *historiography* literally means “the writing of history” (Furay & Salevouris, 2000, p. 229). Other historians use the term to refer to the study of “how individual historians have interpreted and presented specific subjects” (p. 229). The later usage of *historiography* focuses on “the study of the way history has been and is written – the history of historical writing” (p. 229). The major concern in this field is how individual historians interpret and illustrate history and whether or not their works are/were written from specific perspectives/stances and ideologically reflect or are shaped by contemporary socio-economic and political values.

According to Morier-Genoud (2010), the interpretation and illustration of Taiwan’s history varies depending on contemporary political, ideological, and scientific circumstances when a work is undertaken. Taiwanese historiography has different historiographical traditions, and these traditions are influenced and constrained by the ideological and political forces. During the Japanese colonial era, the colonizers adopted a positivist approach, wishing to establish Japanese history as an academic discipline in Taiwan with the aim of assimilating the Taiwanese using the Japanese imperial ideologies (Morier-Genoud, 2010). Hence, under Japanese imperial domination, the study of Taiwan, for the first time, became a discipline in academia, and Taiwanese historiography featured Japanese colonial history. Japanese intellectuals’ Taiwanese historical collections provided rich resources and a basic foundation for the development of
Taiwanese historiography in the post-war era (Chang, 2008; Chang, 1991). Following the arrival of the KMT in 1945, the national history (Taiwanese historiography) was strategically and purposefully altered to cater to the new authority’s political and cultural agendas, replacing the teaching of the history of the Japanese Empire with the history of Chinese Dynasties and the history of the ROC (Heylen, 2001; Morier-Genoud, 2010) as well as reintroducing Confucius’ teachings, Chinese classics, and Sun’s Three Principles of the People as the primary philosophies in school curricula (Heylen, 2001). This orthodox version of Chinese nationalist history entirely dominated school curricula and was accompanied by the domination of teaching staff by Mainlanders who used only Mandarin in school contexts; thus, the local history of Taiwan vanished, and the speaking of mother tongues by students was punished (Heylen, 2001).

Because of the KMT’s initial policy of Sinocization and its ideology of rebuilding China, the writing of Taiwan’s history became the writing of “the fiction of the Republic of China” (Morier-Genoud, p. 81) from a Chinese historiographic approach with the KMT’s Han Chinese ideology (Heylen, 2001). The aim of the nationalist version of the history of Taiwan was the transformation of the Taiwanese into loyal Chinese nationalists (Morier-Genoud, 2010). Contemporary Taiwan’s history was “a single linear national narrative that placed Taiwan’s past and future destiny on a trajectory congruent with that of the Chinese mainland” (p. 81). In other words, the Nationalist-created history of Taiwan sustained the fantasy of a “Great China”, and under the KMT Nationalist domination, local Taiwanese ethnicity, culture, and tradition were considered negligible and were either distanced or silenced (Chang, 1993; Morier-Genoud, 2010; Wang, 2002; Weng, Hsueh, Liu, & Sheng, 1992). This China-centered approach to crafting Taiwan’s history as a minimal part of the greater Chinese historiography prevailed and was

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24 From 1945 to the early 1970s, in the majority of Taiwanese historiography, the history of Taiwan was interpreted and written from the Chinese-centric paradigm (Chang, 1993), categorized as Chinese-centricism in Lin, Y.-R., & Li, Y.-C. (2004) and in Weng et al. (1992), and the China-centered paradigm in Wang (2005).
commonly celebrated in Taiwanese academia until the mid-1970s, when the international political setbacks and the withdrawal of the Republic of China from the United Nations evoked a reconsideration of local potential and values (Morier-Genoud, 2010).

In the 1980s, political democratization (e.g., the lifting of martial law) and social movements (e.g., the rise of Taiwan consciousness) gradually transformed the writing of Taiwan’s history from a marginalized discourse of Chinese nationalist history to an indigenized Taiwan-centered historiography\(^{25}\) seeking to promote the specificity of Taiwanese culture and history as opposed to nationalist Chinese historiography (Chang, 2008). In addition, the evolution of Taiwan consciousness and Taiwanese nationalism contributed to the development of a Taiwanese historiography that challenged the selective and distorted interpretations of Taiwan’s history (Chang, 1993; Taylor, 2005). Hsiau (2005) described the phenomenon of the localization/Taiwanization of Taiwanese historiography in the 1980s and onward as an indigenization paradigm that “authenticated a specific form of Taiwanese identity through constructing a pattern of ‘de-Sinicized’ and ‘nationalized (Taiwanese)’ historical narratives” (p. 127). Furthermore, the Taiwan-centered historiography provided a platform for the history of the Aborigines to be incorporated into the history of Taiwan, and it brought to the public the recognition that Taiwanese society is comprised of multi-ethnicities with complex interactions (Chang, 2008; Chang, 1991). This newly emerged indigenization paradigm had the goal of recovering the previously absent experience of the Taiwanese people and re-placing the marginal at the center (Chang, 2008). That is to say, the marginalized treatments of the writing of Taiwan’s history by the Japanese and by the Chinese were neither persuasive nor satisfactory for historians who questioned the linear and peripheral narrative of the early interpretations and

\(^{25}\) The Taiwanese-centric paradigm (Chang, 1993); Taiwanese-centricism (Lin & Li, 2004; Weng et al., 1992); the Taiwan-centered paradigm (Wang, 2005).
illustrations of Taiwanese historiography. Hence, the emergence of the indigenization paradigm was the result of these historians’ quest and sought to address the critical issues of the uniqueness of Taiwan’s history in the field of Taiwanese historiography.

This Taiwan-centered paradigm also represented a new milestone in that Taiwan’s history, for the first time, became an independent academic field divorced from the history of mainland China and was no longer overshadowed by the China-centered historiography (Wang, 2002). The writing of Taiwanese history from marginal to central after the 1980s reflects the contemporary dominant groups’ ideology in creating and narrating the history of Taiwan as indigenous and authentic to cultivate and attain the goal of making Taiwan a sovereign state. In short, the shifted narration (re-narration) and interpretation (re-interpretation) of the national historiography corresponds to the changing/transition of political power through which contemporary Taiwanese historiography has, for most of the time, been reinterpreted and re-written and made available to mirror and service contemporary political agendas. This phenomenon points to Williams’ (1989) notion of selective tradition in which a specific account of the past is selected and recorded to link and validate the present condition through a discreetly selective process to provide justifications for contemporary cultural and political circumstances.

The discussion of the shifting content of historical narratives further demonstrates the critical nexus between politics and knowledge. Functionally, this critical evaluation of Taiwanese historiography provides two convenient theorized paradigms – the China-centered and the Taiwan-centered paradigms – with divergent characteristics embedded in the writing of the national historiography. Whether or not the content of the children’s books under investigation published in different historical eras will fall into or correspond to either the China-centered paradigm or the Taiwan-centered paradigm is of concern to the research inquiry. In
contrast, this overview of the development of Taiwanese historiography provides a benchmark for my analysis of the research data because the introduction of the content and characteristics of each paradigm helps triangulate my interpretation of the research data.
CHAPTER 3
CRITICAL AND EMPIRICAL UNCOVERING: SOCIOLOGY OF SCHOOL KNOWLEDGE

Epistemological and Theoretical Underpinnings

Depending on the research scope, content, and purpose, scholars of children’s literature have adopted a variety of theories and theoretical frameworks to guide and support their studies. The field can be divided primarily into two domains: 1) research that focuses on the study of children (e.g., reader response theories) and 2) studies that examine the quality/content of books for children (e.g., theories of ideology). The present research focuses on the investigations of power relations to examine particular assumptions/ideologies embedded in literature for children and inclusions and omissions. Thus, critical theories of selective tradition, ideology, and hegemony are employed to support the theoretical framework centering on the sociology of school knowledge.

According to Apple (1992), reality is not naturally preordained in terms of what something is or what it does but is socially constructed. The notion of socially-constructed reality originates from the epistemological theory of social constructionism, which suggests reality/knowledge is constructed through people’s daily interactions in a society (Burr, 1995). Therefore, social constructionists believe that no knowledge can be objective. All knowledge is constructed and includes some perspectives and not others, and knowledge promotes some groups’ interests rather than those of others (Burr, 1995). A social constructionist takes critical stances toward the concept of reality and toward the taken-for-granted ways of interpreting and
understanding the world. Social constructionism also cautions researchers to treat conventional knowledge as problematic. In other words, researchers adopting social constructionism as an epistemological stance should be suspicious of knowledge and unexamined assumptions that are presented as unbiased beliefs in a society (Burr, 1995).

By engaging in critical inquiry, researchers utilize theories of ideology, hegemony, selective tradition, and sociology of school knowledge to interrogate ideology as commonly held assumptions/values/beliefs. Inquiry, therefore, focuses on exposing hegemonic and unequal power relationships within a society (Crotty, 2003). This critical stance serves as the foundation for analyzing the literature that deals with the history of Taiwan.

Aspects of Critical Theory

Children’s fiction and nonfiction (including textbooks) that function as mediators and transmitters of cultural and social knowledge serve an important role in both formal and hidden curricula, leading sociologists of school knowledge (e.g., Apple, Anyon, and Taxel) to examine the relationship between how, what, and whose knowledge is selected, constructed, and made available in the society. Sociologists of school knowledge argue that “there is a direct relation between social and political power and the ability of certain groups to define their knowledge, history, and culture as ‘official’ knowledge, history, and culture” (Taxel, 1989a, p. 207–8). In the process of writing literature for children, authors are unavoidably involved in the process of socializing younger readers into particular domains of cultural values and beliefs (Apol, 1998; Taxel, 1989a). Viewed in this way, children’s literature holds “socializing power because readers assume a one-to-one relationship with the characters and actions depicted in a work of literature” (McGillis, 1996, p. 12), and it promotes and positions its readers within a particular account of reality (Apol, 1998).
Literary works are molded by the authors’ value systems that comprise their ideologies and are consciously or unconsciously expressed through the literary creation (Apol, 1998; McGillis, 1996; Sutherland, 1985). They present, authorize, and even impose values, expected patterns of behavior, and beliefs to children approved by adults (Apol, 1998). Through children’s literature, a society finds a vehicle to communicate important cultural elements and “models of social action” (Taxel, p. 207; Taxel, 1984, 1986) to its younger populations. Those elements and actions legitimated by and incorporated into children’s literature often mirror a deliberate and biased selection of social knowledge selected from a rich, diverse cultural reservoir (Taxel, 1989a). Stephens (1992) also argues that children’s fiction is within the realm of cultural practices that have the function of socializing its readers because the operation of utilizing children’s fiction as a mediator of socialization is a process involving consciousness that ideology is either explicitly or implicitly incorporated into the literary domain. Kelly (1974) defines the concept of socialization as “the process by which one becomes a functioning member of a particular group” (p. 153). Whether a society is successfully maintained often depends on how well the process of socialization works to uphold and propagate a system of cultural beliefs and a particular way of life (Kelly, 1974).

A major concern of sociologists of school knowledge is to inquire how and why specific “aspects of the collective culture are presented in school as objective, factual knowledge” (Apple, 1990, p. 14). In other words, the interconnection between knowledge and power, and between selection and distribution, needs to be made visible when analyzing the power relationships. The conceptual framework of sociology of school knowledge, Raymond Williams’ concept of selective tradition, and theories of ideology and hegemony have been adopted by many scholars who argue that written texts, and in a broader sense schooling, are connected to social, cultural,
and political power and should be examined relationally within historical contexts.

_Sociology of school knowledge._

At its core, sociology of school knowledge is concerned with “how and why reality comes to be constructed in particular ways and how and why particular constructions of reality seem to have the power to resist subversion” (Whitty, quoted in Apple, p. 27). The notion of reality as socially constructed is simplistic and does not equip researchers with critical lenses through which the explanations of why and how certain cultural and social meanings are selected over others. deMarrais and LeCompte define the sociology of school knowledge as “the study of the content and organization of school knowledge with emphasis on the relationship [among] school curriculum, students, educators and the political/economic structure of society” (quoted in Power, 2003, p. 429). The major tenet is the belief that there is a “dialectical relationship between access to power and the opportunity to legitimize certain dominant categories, and the process by which the availability of such categories to some groups enables them to assert power and control over others” (Young, 1971, p. 8). The relationship is a multifaceted interaction because constructions and distributions of knowledge involve variables such as textbook publishing committees, policy makers, and educators, who are all involved in the process of selecting, constructing, and transmitting knowledge. The sociology of school knowledge recognizes these interconnections and questions the power relations between and among them.

In addition, social relations existing in the classroom (e.g., the hidden curriculum) exhibit social control and affirm the prominent role of social relations (Wexler, 1982; Edwards, 1979). For critical scholars of school knowledge, knowledge presented in both formal and hidden curricula is an ideological representation that supports inequalities in politics and the economy and contributes to the social reproduction of certain behaviors/concepts (Wexler, 1982). The
acknowledgement of ideology embedded in social relations, in the process of socialization, and in the creation and dissemination of school knowledge as being socially constructed lies behind Wexler’s (1982) concept of critical sociology of school knowledge. Wexler argues that “social power is culturally represented, and that knowledge and culture are essential moments in the process of social domination” (p. 279). School knowledge is said to legitimate and perpetuate unequal representations of the experiences and culture of powerful groups. It reflects and sustains class interests, helps develop social relationships, and produces operators for the economic sector in a society (Wexler, 1982). To fully understand Wexler’s argument, it is necessary to examine Raymond Williams’ concept of selective tradition and how the concepts of ideology and hegemony are relevant to the issue.

*Raymond Williams’ selective tradition.*

According to Williams (1989), selective tradition is “an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification” (p. 58). In any society, specific meanings and cultural practices are selected and others are overlooked or excluded. The meanings and practices that have been passed along in a specific historical context are the product of the selective and connecting process. For Williams, *selectivity* is of great importance because the term signals an active intervention that validates contemporary historical and cultural conditions and prescribes paths for the future. The selective tradition is powerful because it selects what is deemed valuable and dismisses what is not favorable to powerful groups in society. On the other hand, it is also vulnerable “because the selective version of ‘a living tradition’ is always tied…to explicit contemporary pressures and limits” (p. 59). A successful selective tradition relies on “identifiable institutions” (p. 59), be they cultural, political, or economic, and the relationships among them
are very complex. Usually, those identifiable institutions are often those of formal institutions such as schools, where education always involves the presentation of selected knowledge and skills. Thus, they have the most powerful influences on the development of a culture and on the active social process (Williams, 1989).

*Ideology.*

According to Gramsci (1991), the concept of ideology meant “science of ideas” (p. 174) in the eighteenth century. Depending on its scope and functions, interpretations of the term vary (Apple, 1990). Ideology has been seen variously as: 1) professional ideologies that justify particular activities of specific vocational groups; 2) “broader political programs and social movements” (p. 20); and 3) “comprehensive world-views [or] outlooks” (p. 20). Ideology often is perceived as false consciousness that distorts people’s perception of social reality. At the same time, it also embodies dominant groups’ interests in a society and makes unintelligible social circumstances meaningful as publicly shared traditions (Apple, 1990). In a broader sense, ideology is “a relatively formal and articulated system of meanings, values, and beliefs, of a kind that can be abstracted as a ‘world view’ or a ‘class outlook’” (Williams, p. 56). Giroux (1983) draws on Louis Althusser’s sense of ideology to explain social relations in the hidden curriculum that embody particular messages legitimizing the specific values and social rules. First of all, ideology is related to a variety of material practices, and through the practices teachers and students interact within their daily experiences (Giroux, 1983; Althusser, 1970/1971). The materiality of ideology exists in the practices and routines in which the daily workings of schools are constructed. For instance, the structure of school buildings, with specific and designated locations, settings, and spacial designs, signifies and reinforces different aspects of the social labor force (e.g., different space and seating arrangements are respectively set up for teachers,
students, and staff members) (Giroux, 1983; Althusser, 1970/1971).

The second meaning of ideology focuses on the domain of unconsciousness. Ideology is referred to as “systems of meanings, representations, and values embedded in concrete practices that structure the unconsciousness of students” (Giroux, p. 264; Althusser, 1970/1971).

Kavanagh (1995) provides a very similar analysis of Althusser’s (1970/1971) theory of ideology: [I]deology designates a rich “system of representations,” worked up in specific material practices, which helps form individuals into social subjects who “freely” internalize an appropriate “picture” of their social world and their place in it. Ideology offers the social subject not a set of narrowly “political” ideas but a fundamental framework of assumptions that defines the parameters of the real and the self. (p. 310)

Those systems of meanings and representations shape individuals’ perceptions of their specific social status/role in the social formation insofar as the concept of ideology helps us comprehend and explain important political, economic, and cultural relations and elements in particular societies (Kavanagh, 1995). Ideology also is the primary means of helping powerful groups manage social contradictions and reproduce class relations. Through ideology, members from different classes are formed into conventional social subjects who help ruling classes to process and maintain social reproduction. That is, both dominant and subordinate groups perceive the dominant system of social relations as fair or better than other alternatives (Kavanagh, 1995). Kavanagh (1995) further claims that ideology is always related to politics, and it is an important dimension or “instance” of social practice that develops within and alongside of other important instances of social practice, including the political, in the way that publishing houses and movie studios flourish in the same social space alongside political parties. (p. 312)
Both publishing houses and political parties could be called ideological apparatuses and political apparatuses, and between the two, there exists an extensive “interconnection and inter-penetration” (p. 312). My research on the development of Taiwanese children’s literature could serve as a salient example that demonstrates the interconnection between the ideological apparatuses (i.e., publishers) and the political apparatuses (i.e., political parties). When the society is dominated by a specific political party (e.g., the KMT or the DPP), the writing and publishing of literature for children becomes an exercise in promoting and selling particular messages that cater to the party’s socio-economic and political aims and ideologies. The interrelation between the two apparatuses can be best understood through Althusser’s articulations of ideology and ideological state apparatuses as he differentiates characteristics and functions of ideology and ideological state apparatuses and how they are interrelated.

In Althusser’s (1986) *From Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, ideology has dual representations: imaginary and material. For Althusser, the concept of ideology has two main domains: negatively, ideology is represented in an imaginary form, that is, “Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence” (p. 241); and positively, “Ideology has a material existence” (p. 242). The first thesis of ideology focuses on the argument that “what is represented in ideology is …not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live” (p.242). The imaginary relation of individuals to the world hinders people from fully understanding conditions of their existence and, within social formation, how they are socially constructed with necessary conditions of action (Belsey, 2002; Sharp, 1980). Hence, ideology disguises the whole reality of human conditions of existence by displaying limited truths, with omissions and gaps to cover up conflicts/contradictions (Belsey,
In the domain of school knowledge, the effect of the concrete practices of ideology in structuring students’ and teachers’ unconsciousness is to elicit their imaginary relationship to the real state of their existence (Giroux, 1983). For both students and teachers, ideology works upon them as a system of representations and values that encourage them to see their specific roles (students and teachers) in the society as “a necessary function of the ‘real’ itself” (Kavanagh, p. 310). In other words, they are summoned or hailed into the specific subjects (as being students and teachers), which hinders their ability to think about their real selves and social reality.

In the second thesis, ideology is made of ideas/representations and has material characteristics. Althusser elaborates the notion of materiality embedded in practices/actions of ideology to refer to the nature of ideology as practiced through the ideological State apparatuses because ideology “exist[s] in a material ideological apparatus, [and] prescribe[s] material practices governed by a material ritual, which practices exist in the material actions of a subject acting in all consciousness according to his belief” (Althusser, p. 244). The materiality exemplified in literature for children is the tangible and solid shape of a children’s book. When a book is published and presented on a bookshelf, the material presence represents a linguistic, visual, and literary form of knowledge selected and approved by adults. Often, children come to those books with an uncritical attitude and navigate within, believe, and construct the approved information with a material ritual of grabbing, opening, and reading the books. Althusser’s theory of ideology exemplifies the existence, the practice, and the operation of ideology in the educational domain, but the notion of ideological state apparatuses needs to be further introduced to elucidate its constituents and functions.

*Ideological state apparatuses.*

The concept of ideological state apparatuses comes from Althusser’s (1970/1971) early
discussion of the State in *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)*. Depending on how the State primarily exerts power over its people, either repressively or ideologically, Althusser divided the State into two types of apparatus: the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). The Repressive State Apparatus includes official organizations such as the police, the military, the administration, and the government because the sole apparatus, “as a single form of power” (Haslett, 2000, p. 60), ultimately will function with violence/repression, taking both physical and non-physical forms (e.g., administrative repression). Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), signifying “The ideological power of the State… work[ing] in diverse ways” (Haslett, p. 60), refer to institutions such as the educational ISA (public and private schools), the political ISA (political systems), and the cultural ISA (literature, arts) that mainly operate by ideology (Althusser, 1970/1971).

The seeming dichotomy between violence/repression and ideology does not suggest that both categories of state apparatuses only function by their designated means. Althusser clarifies further by suggesting that both RSA and ISAs have double functioning, meaning the operation of RSA and ISAs is through means of both violence and ideology but with different degrees of emphasis (Althusser, 1970/1971). For instance, the RSA operates primarily by repression/violence and secondarily by ideology. In contrast, the ISAs function predominantly by ideology and secondarily by repression/violence. An example can be drawn from the sphere of literature, which operates through ideology, and secondarily through censorship (repression) (Althusser, 1970/1971). This illustration signifies a significant correlation between literature and ideological and political forces practiced through both the RSA and the ISAs that affect literary creation, production, and distribution. It also supports my early discussion of the development of Taiwanese children’s literature as I have tried to uncover the influences of the changing of the
political power (the Government/ruling party) on the field of literature for children. This
correlation also validates the concept that both the RSA and the ISAs are the requisites for the
State to assure modes of production that can function smoothly and without interruption (Haslett,
2000). On the whole, Althusser’s discussion of different types of State apparatuses comes to the
conclusion that “no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time
exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses” (Althusser, p. 146). The
assertion that the State, including the RSA and the ISAs, has double functioning correspondingly
connects to and parallels Gramsci’s (1988) theory of hegemony, which states that people are
ruled by both forces (coercion) and by ideas (ideology) and will be discussed in the next
subsection.

In the next level of discussion of ideology, Althusser (1986) focuses on the concept of
subjection to argue that “all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete
subjects” (p. 245), meaning ideology functions as interpellators that enlist individuals or
transform them into subjects through the action of hailing/interpellation in language. The process
of hailing subject-formation is not selective because ideology is permanent, and “ideology has
always-already interpellated individuals as subjects” (p. 246). This argument directs us to a last
contention that “individuals are always-already subjects” (p. 246). The function of ideology as
an instrument to transform individuals into subjects corresponds to Mouffe’s (1979) discussion
of Gramsci’s notion of subjectivity that “the subjects are not originally given but are always
produced by ideology through a socially determined ideological field, so that subjectivity is
always the product of social practice” (p. 186). Althusser’s notion of interpellating individuals
into subjects is, for instance, exemplified through the daily practice of saluting the national flag
and listening to and singing the lyrics of National Flag Anthem of the Republic of China. The
action of hailing occurs when the ideological symbol of the national flag requires us to render a salute and when the lyrics state: “Daughters and sons of Emperors Yan and Huang, heroes of East Asia! / Do not dismiss yourselves! / Do not hold yourselves back! / Further glorify our nation and work towards peace.” Through this daily ritual, individual students in my school were hailed through the ideological image and language into subjects who shared the same identity with the dominant group (the Nationalists).

In the field of children’s literature, Peter Hollindale’s (1992) discussion of three levels of ideology is worth mentioning. According to Hollindale (1992), the presence of ideology in children’s books can be categorized into three main levels, the first of which is “intended surface ideology” (p. 28), an individual author’s most apparent and explicit conceptions of social, moral, or political beliefs that the author wishes to introduce to children through a story. Books that are anti-sexist (e.g., Jacqueline Wilson’s (2001) My Brother Bernadette) and anti-racist (e.g., Sandra Cisneros’ (1988) The House on Mango Street) fall under this category as these types of books conveys ideas and attitudes that challenge stereotypical knowledge (Hollindale, 1992). The second level of ideology is “passive ideology” (p. 29), an author’s unexamined or taken-for-granted assumptions that usually are unquestioned by the author and widely shared by readers who live within the same societal context as the author. Whitney Darrow’s (1970) I’m Glad I’m a Boy! I’m Glad I’m a Girl! is part of this category since the storylines convey unexamined, stereotypical messages about gender roles in society: “Boys have trucks. Girls have dolls. Boys are Cub Scouts. Girls are Brownies” (p. 1–4). In terms of visual representations that communicate illustrators’ unexamined assumptions, Helen Bannerman’s (1951) The Story of Little Black Sambo is one of the classics that deliver stereotypical images about black people with fluffy, crisp hair and thick lips.
The third level of ideology working on the domain of children’s literature is related to “the words, the rule-systems, and codes which constitute the text” (Waller, quoted in Hollindale, p. 32), within which the power and the function of ideology are inscribed into language. In this level of ideology, ideology cannot be separated from language, and differences of language indicate “divisions and fragmentations in its shared ideology” (p. 33). In other words, ideology is inherent within language, and this inherency works to repress detailed descriptions of conflict and to restrict the signification of dominant groups’ attitudes and interests (Hollindale, 1992; Stephens, 1992). For a great portion of a book, it is the world the author lives in that writes the book, and the author himself/herself cannot solely write it. To illustrate this notion, Hollindale (1992) argues that the acceptance of such an argument lies in the recognition that a writer occasionally has to redefine meanings of a single word because “almost all the time we are the acquiescent prisoners of other people’s meanings” (p. 32–3). This last connotation of ideology worked through language communicates the importance of social power as it determines and legitimates language usages and word meanings (Stephens, 1992). By the same token, it is language that empowers things to denote meanings (Sharp, 1980).

Thus, what language(s) is/are used in the literature for children is crucial as it denotes authors’ power and contemporary discourse constraints or availabilities. The development of Taiwanese children’s literature exemplified such connotations as the shifting of the language used in the narratives reflected contemporary dominant group’s power and ideology in the domain of literary works. The language adopted in the children’s books has been changed from Japanese in the Japanese colonial era to Mandarin only in the Nationalist Martial Law era and then, along with Mandarin as the primary language, to include books published in English, Taiwanese, or other native languages in the Chen Shui-bian’s Democratic Progressive Party’s era
when multicultural and multilingual education was promoted by the ruling party to include all the people of Taiwan in consideration of curriculum building. In addition to the language issue, word choices and redefining meanings of terms also help convey specific ideology and exhibit important social power. Lee Teng-hui’s formulation of New Taiwanese and his redefinition of Taiwanese as being Chinese\textsuperscript{26}, which differs from the sense of being Chinese promoted in the Nationalist Martial Law era, supports Hollindale’s argument as the function and the power of Lee’s ideology are inscribed into the language that supports his attitude and interests in dealing with the issue of identity and sovereignty of Taiwan.

\textit{Hegemony.}

According to Apple (1990), the intricate characteristics, functions, and scope of ideology can best be understood through the concept of hegemony, that “ideological saturation permeates our lived experience” (p. 22), cultivating and suggesting individuals’ neutral participation within the sphere full of particular covert economic and ideological persuasions. The theory of hegemony was articulated by Antonio Gramsci in the early twentieth century (Bates, 1975; Gramsci, 1988). His notion of hegemony is grounded in a belief that people are ruled by both force and ideas. As Gramsci (1988) argues, “The ‘normal’ exercise of hegemony…is characterized by the combination of force and consent variously balancing one another, without force exceeding consent too much. Indeed one tries to make it appear that force is supported by the consent of the majority” (p. 261). The power of ideas in Gramsci’s hegemony is not to suggest that they are functionally powerful enough to wipe out class struggle, but ideas are adequate to mute the struggle and allow societies to work (Bates, 1975; Gramsci, 1988). To this

\textsuperscript{26} Discussed in Chapter 2, Lee clarified the notion of being New Taiwanese and redefined the term \textit{Chinese} in the following sentences: “Believing that Taiwan is ours, loving Taiwan and wholeheartedly devoting ourselves to its cause – these are the real significances of being Taiwanese. We should promote this vision of ‘new Taiwanese.’ We are also Chinese as long as we respect the legacy of Chinese culture and not forget the ideal of China’s reunification” (Lee, 1999/1999, p. 61).
extent, ideology serves as an instrument that sustains hegemonic activities to make them possibly workable and achievable.

Gramsci’s hegemony refers to “‘cultural, moral and ideological’ leadership over allied and subordinate groups… [and it] is identified with the formation of a new ideological ‘terrain’, with political, cultural and moral leadership and with consent” (Forgacs, 1998, p. 423). Thus, Gramsci’s hegemony is cultural, political, and economic because it must be exercised by the ruling groups in the determining core of economic activity (Mouffe, 1979; Gramsci, 1988). That is, hegemony is the process of socialization, which is “the shaping of our cognitive and affective interpretations of our social world” (Lye, 1997, p. 1) through Ideological State Apparatuses, such as churches and schools, and through cultural forms, such as literature and rock music (Lye, 1997). The exercise of hegemony includes and is characterized by the connection between consent and force (Bates, 1975; Femia, 1987; Haslett, 2000; Gramsci, 1988), in which

The “normal” exercise of hegemony in a particular regime is characterized by a combination of force and consensus variously equilibrated, without letting force subvert consensus too much, making it appear that the force is based on the consent of the majority. (Bates, p. 363)

To avoid ambiguities, Williams introduces Gramsci’s distinction between rule and hegemony: “Rule is expressed in directly political forms and in times of crisis by direct or effective coercion” (Williams, p. 56). One of the most salient examples comes from the KMT’s enforcement of martial law at the beginning of the postwar era in Taiwan, when the society was in disorder. This direct rule through political and military forces helped the dominant group to exercise a direct and coercive control over the people of Taiwan. When the social upheaval was successfully suppressed, the government strategically launched educational, cultural, and social reforms along
with the continuous enforcement of martial law to create an equilibrated regime between military domination (i.e., force) and ideological indoctrination (i.e., consensus.idea). This phenomenon can be best described by Gramsci’s concept of hegemony because hegemony, interpreted differently, is either “a complex interlocking of political, social, and cultural forces … or the active social and cultural forces which are its necessary elements” (p. 56). Hegemony goes beyond the concept of rule as merely political coercion to include the entire social process of the specific distribution of power and influences.

Its inclusiveness and “wholeness” (p. 56) makes the concept of hegemony so powerful that it cannot be restricted to, for instance, social, political, or educational activities of ideological state apparatuses but transcends the concept of ideology through the recognition of “the whole lived social process” (p. 56) that is practically arranged and organized by particular and dominant values and meanings. To say hegemony is only a higher level of ideology and form of control over manipulation and indoctrination does not provide a thorough explanation of the term because hegemony is an entire reservoir of practices and anticipations “over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world” (p. 57). This wholeness denotes a process of dominance and subordination in Gramsci’s hegemony in which people’s lives are not shaped or defined by themselves only but also by means of specific inequalities involved in the process (Williams, 1989).

Groups privileged in power relations, although with different methods, exert their power over both civil and political societies. When the KMT dominated Taiwan in the second half of the twentieth century, the political party was able to exercise its power over these societies and control activities related to, for instance, education, culture, and military as discussed in the chapter Ideological Transitions: The Changing History and Historiography of Taiwan. At the
same time, civil society is like a marketplace full of ideas, and intellectuals join that marketplace, acting and functioning like “‘salesmen’ of contending cultures” (Bates, p. 353) in which they succeed in creating and maintaining hegemony through extending the world view/outlook (i.e., ideology) of the dominant group to the dominated. Again, the best evidence of this idea is the period during which the schooling was dominated by the China-centered curriculum and by the Mainlanders in teaching faculties and staffs at the beginning of postwar era (Lee, 1998). Those intellectuals who were hired by the KMT government to educate Taiwanese students using the selected Chinese textbooks that originated from the Mainland were the salesmen who helped indoctrinate and distribute the dominant group’s values, beliefs, and perspectives. On the other hand, if the intellectuals fail in creating consent, the ruling groups resort to the state’s repressive apparatus, which punishes/chastens people who do not consent (Bates, 1975). Any group in the process of developing its dominance is characterized by its endeavor to ideologically assimilate and vanquish traditional intellectuals, and the most efficient way to do so is to simultaneously elaborate/develop “its own organic intellectuals” (Gramsci, 1988, p. 305) through education.

The critical uncovering of the theories and of the pragmatic instances taken from the development of Taiwanese children’s literature and the general history of Taiwan provides solid samples of the concepts just discussed. Specifically, Williams’ (1989) theory of selective tradition points to the selective nature of school knowledge, in which power is the determining force controlling selections of its content. Whether or not the selectivity also dominates the content of the history of Taiwan in Taiwanese children’s literature is one of the major concerns of the present research. Furthermore, the theories of ideology discussed in this chapter illustrate

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27 The implementation of Chinese language education at the beginning of the postwar era demonstrates this argument as traditional intellectuals who were educated under the Japanese educational system were forced to abandon their knowledge of Japanese and learn the newly enforced official language – Mandarin. The changing of language usage from Japanese to Mandarin would affect a person’s perception of self because language, as Hollindale would argue, is ideological.
the unavoidability of ideology embedded in the literature for children as both visual image and language are ideological (Pieterse, 1992) and play fundamental roles in delivering/transmitting knowledge to children. Gramsci’s theory of hegemony helps analyze and explain the contents (e.g., particular ideas) of social, political, and cultural activities (e.g., the creation of children’s literature) that are made available in a society in a specific time period. Since the changing of political power (e.g., from the KMT to the DPP) has simultaneously influenced the availability of specific ideologies that conform to contemporary political agendas28, investigating whether or not those ideologies are embedded in the research data is another critical exploration for the current research.

The adoption of sociology of school knowledge as the theoretical framework provides an inquiry into the critical issues of how, why, and what portions, events, and personalities of the history of Taiwan are being constructed, presented, and made available in the society. In analyzing the research data, possible answers for this inquiry can be best illustrated and supported by the discussions of the concepts of hegemony, ideology, and selective tradition as these critical theories dialectically bridge and bolster the relationship between theory and practice. In order to provide a more thorough investigation of the issue of power relations, important empirical studies that are relevant to the current research are discussed after the section *The Seeming Contradiction between Literary Criticism and the Issue of Human Agency.*

Primarily, studies related to examinations of the effects of power relations and of the contents of textbooks, school curriculum, and children’s literature both in the United States and in Taiwan will be discussed and examined.

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28 I discussed the issue in detail in the chapter *Ideological Transitions: The Changing History and Historiography of Taiwan* in which I have examined each ruling party’s political agenda and how the agendas have influenced the availability of particular ideologies.
The Seeming Contradiction between Literary Criticism and the Issue of Human Agency:

The Reader and the Text

Conducting literary research/criticism creates tensions between seeing literature as carriers of particular ideological assumptions that influence and position readers versus seeing readers as active agents who decide what messages conveyed from a written text to reject or accept. Little about human agency as working through negotiating/resisting conflicts has been discussed in the act of conducting literary criticism (Giroux, 1983). As Gilbert (1989) argues, “The analysis of text can point to potential, even likely, outcomes in classroom use of texts, but it can never conclude with confidence that the ideological import of a text as interpreted by the researcher will be similarly realized in the discourse of the classroom” (p. 68). The major limitation of current research focusing on the critique of literature is the failure to incorporate readers as research objects to investigate how they react/respond to the literary portrayals. It also brings seeming contradictions between literary criticism and reader response theories.

Reader Response Theories

Over the years, reader response theorists have embraced a wide range of assumptions about and attitudes toward the roles of the text, the reader, and the contexts. Instead of merely accepting texts as the constructors of meaning, reader response theorists argue that readers adopt a variety of roles, and they respond for different purposes in the process of making meaning (Beach, 1993). That is, they acknowledge the readers’ role, involvement, and contribution to the meaning making process (Cai, 1997). For Rosenblatt (1994), readers are active agents who create a poem, referring to all of the aesthetic transactions between texts and readers, out of a text through a “self-ordering and self-corrective process” (p. 11) and through employing their past and present experiences. The transaction is an ongoing process between readers and texts: “a
‘known’ assumes a ‘knower’, a ‘knowing’ is the transaction between a particular individual and a particular environment” (p. 17), and “the elements or factors [involved] are …aspects of a total situation, each conditioned by and conditioning the other” (p.17). The texts contain symbols and present the contents of the texts in a particular style that stimulates and guides the readers’ response (Galda, 1988). Cai (1997) classifies the relation between the text and the reader into three categories: uniactional, interactional, and transactional, depending on the consideration of whether only the text/reader has a role to play in the making of meaning (uniactional) or both text and reader are mutual influential factors in the process (either interactional or transactional).

*The Mutual Dependence of the Reader, the Text, and the Context*

The overemphasis on readers as sole active meaning constructors, as seen in the uniactional tendency of reader response theories, neglects the role of texts. As Stephens argues, in my view, the present habit of stressing reader-focused approaches to text… is a dangerous ideological tool and pedagogically irresponsible. It fosters an illusion that readers are in control of texts whereas they are highly susceptible to the ideologies of the text, especially the unarticulated or implicit ideologies. (quoted in Nodelman and Reimer, 2003, p. 179; Stephens, 1992)

The two contradictory and dichotomous stances focusing either on the text (object) or on the reader (subject) raise hazardous assumptions and implications in literary research. As Kelly (1974) suggests, “Although literature for children does not constitute satisfactory evidence for the behavior of real children, it does constitute a kind of linguistic behavior addressed to children by adults” (p. 154). This assertion creates a dialectical relationship, echoing Stephen’s (1992) argument, between text and reader in responding to a literary work: meaning is negotiated between a reader’s “multi-faceted sense of self and the many interpretative positions which a text
may make possible” (p. 47). It further supports the argument that both reader and text are essential and critical elements. Rosenblatt’s transactional theory stresses the equality of the reader and the text (Galda, 1988; Rosenblatt, 1938/1976) because it recognizes the text’s confinement and guidance to the reader and sees the process of reading as a reciprocal procedure (Cai, 1997).

I question the two extremes of the uniactional view suggesting that either reader or text plays the sole role in the meaning making process. My stance parallels that of the interactional or transactional view, especially Rosenblatt’s transactional theory, arguing that both text and reader are important elements/contributors in reading experiences. “The text”, as Rosenblatt (1994) argues, “is the author’s means of directing the attention of the reader. The author has looked at life from a particular angle of vision; he has selected out what he hopes will fulfill his aim…to make you see…hear… [and] feel” (p. 86). Ultimately, the text “functions like a chemical element: it itself is merged in the synthesis with the other elements to produce a particular event – a poem, a novel, a play” (p. 15). Rosenblatt’s articulation of the role of text denotes the mutual dependence and importance of the reader and the text.

In addition, another influential factor in any reading is context as text, reader, and context are interdependent (Galda, 1988; Galda & Beach, 2001). It speaks to the multifaceted and contextual/socio-cultural nature of response and of reading experiences (Galda & Beach, 2001) as “both texts and readers are culturally, historically, and politically positioned” (Apol, 1998). Although these two approaches (literary criticism and reader response criticism) of conducting literary research have different focuses (one focuses on texts and the other emphasizes readers), on the whole, to fully understand how literary works and how different contexts actually affect children’s response to literature requires a more extensive research design to include all three
elements (the reader, the text, and the context), which is beyond the scope of the present research.

Empirical Uncovering of the Sociology of School Knowledge

Arons’ (1989) and Foner’s (2010) arguments centering on the involvement of political and legislative power in the process of curriculum design and compiling and publishing texts for school children manifest a substantial and dialectic power relation in school knowledge. This is obviously the case in Taiwan as the education system is top-down, centralized, and controlled by the Ministry of Education (MOE). As a major portion of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in 1968, the MOE implemented nationally standardized curricula and textbooks in all elementary and secondary schools (Chen, 2003; Wang, 2005) that were designed to inspire and cultivate students’ Chinese consciousness and love toward the “fatherland” – mainland China (Wang, 2005). The National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) of the MOE was the only authority for writing, compiling, editing, and screening national textbooks from 1949, when the KMT re-established the Chinese education system in Taiwan, to 1996, when the government “opened up” restrictions to welcome private publishers’ publication of textbooks (Su, 2007). The seemingly loosened regulations were the result of counter-hegemonic activities, mainly from “the influence of education pressure groups and educators” (Law, 2002, p. 69), which called for more inclusive and democratic school knowledge in the post-Martial Law era (Law, 2002).

According to the MOE (2008), “the ‘One standard, Multiple Textbooks’ policy” (p. 18) has been in effect in primary and secondary education since 1999. However, the seeming liberation did not grant the publishers full freedom in publishing all subject area textbooks because until 2000, for quality control reasons, the NICT continued to compile textbooks in five major subjects: “Chinese language, mathematics, social studies, nature and health” (Law, p. 69).

29 The Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement was launched in 1966 and reached its heyday in 1968 (Wang, 2005).
At the beginning of the twentieth-first century, the MOE still held power in two critical phases: 1) prescription of curricular standards to help assess the contents of textbooks published by private publishers, and 2) final approval of textbooks (Law, 2002). During the KMT era, the NICT was turned into a political apparatus that assisted the KMT in transmitting official values predominated and prescribed by national leaders. Under the NICT’s screening and monitoring, textbooks published before the 1990s contained values that showed favor to the KMT’s leadership (Law, 2002).

*Ideological Representations of Selected Knowledge in Textbooks*

The power of textbooks in the education domain is embodied by its function in providing and transmitting the “authorized version of society’s valid knowledge” (Olson, quoted in Luke & Luke, 1989, p. 246). Hence, periodically revising and re-editing the content of textbooks occurs in accordance with the changing of ideology, epistemology, and curricular knowledge (Apple, 1989; Luke & Luke, 1989). The authority of the school textbook is exercised through the written form of ideas and beliefs that preserves the “valid” or “true” knowledge of the society. The importance of the role of textbooks comes from their ability to make explicit meaning via their linguistic forms in maintaining historically and culturally important information (Luke & Luke, 1989; Innis, 1951).

According to Apple (1990), research focused on “educational knowledge is a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered legitimate knowledge…by specific social groups and classes, in specific institutions, at specific historical moments” (p. 45). In her research of seventeen secondary-school History textbooks in the United States, Anyon (1979) investigated ideologies embedded in the text selections. She argued that textbooks are culturally, politically, and historically constituted sites that store/preserve and distribute powerful groups’
ideologies and help to develop attitudes that support the social position of the dominant groups (Anyon, 1979; Apol, 1998). Thus, ideologies are utilized as weapons that justify, legitimize, and rationalize specific social group power and activities. The research findings suggest that although relevant information presented in the textbooks is accurate, the content provides a single-dimensional story that voices powerful groups’ contributions and preferences (e.g., the federal government) but did not incorporate minorities’ (e.g., immigrants) experiences and perspectives. The omitted messages about marginalized groups continue to hinder their chances of becoming visible in the mainstream (Anyon, 1979).

The analysis of the History textbooks reveals a selective version of the history that supports and favors dominant groups and provides “ideological justification for the activities and prerogatives of [the wealthy and powerful] groups and do[es] not legitimiz[e] points of view and priorities of [underrepresented] groups” (Anyon, p. 379). The phenomenon of selecting favorable portrayals of history to incorporate in school texts and omitting important information about subordinate groups also is reflected in the depictions of two of the most important figures in American history, Christopher Columbus and Martin Luther King, Jr.

According to Loewen (1995), all twelve American History textbooks he surveyed portray Columbus as the first national hero who “discovered” the new land, virtually leaving out important information about Christopher Columbus, his exploration of the Americas, and predecessors who sailed to the land before him. “The way American history textbooks treat Columbus”, says Loewen, “reinforces the tendency not to think about the process of domination [because] the traditional picture of Columbus landing on the American shore shows him dominating immediately” (p. 35). The seemingly inevitable process of domination neglects the cruel fact of Columbus’ initial ambition of conquest and exploitation. It also disregards the ways
Columbus behaved toward the lands and the people he encountered (Loewen, 1995).

The phenomenon of single-dimensionally and simplistically providing historical significances of national leading figures is also documented in Alridge’s (2006) research of the representations of Martin Luther King, Jr. in American History textbooks. Central to Alridge’s argument is the dominance of master narratives that disseminate and manifest inaccurate, static, irrelevant, and uncontroversial information about King’s involvement in American history. The representations of King that make up three master narratives prevailing in American History textbooks present him as: 1) a messiah during and after the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 2) “the embodiment of the civil rights movement” (p. 670), and 3) a conservative and moderate person who served as the voice of African Americans (Alridge, 2006). The messianic portrayal of King made him an extraordinary figure who possessed supernatural power and had no personal weakness and struggles. The literary representation of King and the linear progression of the history emphasize King as the primary spokesman of and the most significant individual in the civil rights movement. The moderate and conservative King portrayed in American history textbooks downplays the radical and progressive attitude and ideas of King (Alridge, 2006). The overwhelming focus on King as the primary messiah of the civil rights movement in the History textbooks silences other men’s and women’s contributions in moving the country toward democracy and freedom (Alridge, 2006).

Viewed as a crucial vehicle in transmitting the societal ideas of citizenship (Hein & Selden, 2000; Masalski, 2000), textbooks provide influential/official and national narratives that “delimit proper behavior of citizens, and sketch the parameters of the national imagination” (Hein & Selden, p. 3). The stories that have been incorporated into textbooks are inevitably

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30 According to Alridge, master narratives “refer to a dominant and overarching theme or template that presents the literature, history, or culture of a society” (p. 681).
prescriptions that teach students “proper” manners in thinking and acting as national citizens (Hein & Selden, 2000; Masalski, 2000). In Taiwan, the dominance and dependence of standardized textbooks in daily classroom instruction has received harsh criticism since the 1990s as more and more researchers have started to question the appropriateness, accuracy, viewpoint, and coverage of the officially approved content of school knowledge. The inclination to critically inquire about knowledge taught in school contexts reflects the contemporary political agenda of democratization and Taiwanization/indigenization, advocated by Lee Teng-hui during his governance, in political, cultural, and educational domains.

In terms of how political and ideological values and perspectives are represented in school textbooks, Su (1998) examined depictions of Taiwan’s history in fourth and fifth grade Social Studies textbooks implemented from 1978 to 1995 before the textbook publishing market was “liberated.” The research data was divided into two sets: 1) the textbooks published between 1978 and 1989, and 2) the textbooks published between 1989 and 1995. The second set of textbooks is the revised version of the first set due to socio-economic and political changes (Su, 1998). Su (1998) argues that although there are some improvements in textual content in the second set of textbooks, such as moving from the misrepresentations of aborigines to the inclusion of their history, and from the ideology of cultural and ethnic uniformity to cultural and ethnic diversity, the practices of purposefully omitting and oversimplifying intergroup and interpersonal conflicts and differences (e.g., language, cultural identity, and political ideology) among diverse ethnic populations still support the KMT’s political agenda (e.g., one-China ideology) by promoting traditional Chinese Confucianism and the Chinese national identity of mainland China.

The phenomenon of selectively and purposefully incorporating segmental and ideological
information and silencing marginalized groups in the textbooks is also reflected in Liu and Hung’s (2003) research on the effects of politics on Social Studies and History curricula in Taiwan from the 1970s to the early twenty-first century. The authors’ conclusions are consistent with Su’s research findings suggesting that the ruling party (KMT) utilized standardized curricula to reinforce a homogeneous Chinese nation-state with little or no mention of local culture and history before the lifting of martial law (before 1987). The ideological constructions in textbooks and curricula verify Huang’s (2000) argument that “the Mainlanders combined hegemony in the economic and political spheres with cultural hegemony through their control over education, the media, language, and much of cultural production” (p. 141–2). Since 1987, the educational agenda has gradually shifted from a sense of cultivating Chinese identity through the nationally standardized curriculum and textbooks in the 1970s to officially promoting Taiwanese identity in the early twenty-first century.

More recently, Ou Lee (2007) examined Taiwanese identity construction in seventh grade textbooks for the National Language (Chinese) course published during the administrations of the four political leaders (Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, Lee Teng-hui, and Chen Shui-bian) and how contemporary sociopolitical and historical contexts of Taiwan were reflected in these textbooks implemented from the 1970s to 2004. In the discussion of research findings, Ou Lee states that the textbooks from the Chiang Kai-shek era (1970s) focused on Chinese Nationalist political beliefs and practices such as recovery of Mainland China and the emphasis on traditional Chinese culture and Confucianism. The content of the textbooks from the Chiang Ching-kuo era (1980s) reduced the level of the Nationalist discourse to promote the ROC’s (the Republic of China) political leaders, Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, with an emphasis on Chinese discourse and minimal discussion of Taiwanese discourse (Ou Lee, 2007).
Toward the end of the twentieth century, textbooks for the National Language course from the Lee Teng-hui era (1990s) de-emphasized Nationalist discourse but kept the promotion of the ROC government and Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chinese discourse. The texts also saw the increase of “Taiwanese (Hoklo) discourse” (p. 201). In addition, Hakka discourse, for the first time, was visible in the official textbook construction. In the last set of research data, that of the Chen Shui-bian era (2000–2008), the Nationalist discourse was absent, replaced by a coexistence between Chinese/Taiwanese and Western discourses such as the inclusion of four ethnic discourses (Aboriginal, Chinese, Hakka, and Taiwanese) in Taiwan and American Christian and popular culture. The texts also included an emphasis on cultural diversity and heritages.

According to Wang (1999), “Curriculum decision-making is a political process. Selections of curriculum objectives, content, and activities are usually influenced by values and politics” (p. 3). Ou Lee’s research conclusion parallels that of Su’s and Liu and Hung’s research findings and Wang’s statement that selection and organization of school knowledge incorporated in officially approved textbooks are affected by and interconnected with politics. When the content of history textbooks is aimed at preparing students for their future participation in institutions related to politics or other social or cultural domains, what is supposed to be taught is unbiased and objective knowledge that helps students make connections between the past and the present and equips them with the ability to interpret contemporary problems (Anyon, 1979). However, the involvement of political power and the powerful groups’ ideology in school textbooks, exemplified through the discussion of the empirical research, continuously upholds the groups’ power and privileges. As Wang (2005) asserts, the China-centered school knowledge indoctrinated the native Taiwanese to accept Chinese identity, and the practice of Chinese discourse along with the ideological indoctrination were the essential elements that helped the
KMT maintain its regime in Taiwan.

Lin (2003) categorized the political indoctrination in the curriculum into four stages: 1) becoming Japanese (1895–1945), 2) becoming Chinese (1945–1986), 3) democratic movements (1987–2000), and 4) becoming Taiwanese (2000–2008). During the Japanese colonial domination, education for Taiwanese children was aimed at teaching Japanese and functional literacy (e.g., basic mathematics, science, mechanical skills) and turning the colonized population into loyal subjects of Japan (Lin, 2003; Tsurumi, 1977). Under Chiang Kai-shek’s dictatorial regime, the Chinese discourse and Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles of the People were heavily employed in Chinese education with the ideology of Chinese nationalism to fulfill the mission of making Taiwanese Chinese (Lin, 2003). Chiang’s philosophy toward education featured the notion that

the promotion of civic education must pay special attention to the teaching of

“Chinese History” and “Chinese Geography,” for it is only through them that the student’s patriotic fervor and national pride can be really aroused, that he can be made to realize the fundamental significance of the basic virtues of loyalty, filial piety, humanity, love, honesty, justice, peace and harmony\textsuperscript{31} as well as those of propriety, righteousness, incorruptibility and honor\textsuperscript{32}, and that he can be taught to become a citizen who loves his country more than his own life. (Chiang, quoted in Wilson, 1970, p. 154–5; Lin, 2003)

The eight national moral virtues and the four anchors of the moral foundations of society are valued as the essence of Chinese moral standards discussed in Sun’s (1927/1953) Principle of Nationalism. The emphasis on the teaching of Mandarin Chinese ideologically built a divide between the educated, people who were able to communicate in Mandarin, and the uneducated,

\textsuperscript{31} Known as the eight national moral virtues [八德].
\textsuperscript{32} The four anchors of the moral foundations of society [四維].
people who spoke local “dialects” (Lin, 2003).

After the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the inauguration of Lee Teng-hui in 1988, political and educational reforms were instituted to localize and liberalize the society (Lin, 2003), manifesting Lee’s political ideology by cultivating a Taiwanese national identity through his promotion of the New Taiwanese, who possessed the new Taiwanese consciousness. Lee’s ideological strategy was furthered by Chen Shui-bian’s (2000–2008) political agenda of Taiwan independence, devoted to making Taiwan a nation-state (Lin, 2003), promoting multiethnic cultures and identities, and replacing the old Chinese consciousness with a new Taiwanese identity: people who recognize Taiwan as their homeland (Law, 2002).

In response to Lee’s education reform in curriculum localization, the NICT published a series of Understanding Taiwan textbooks in June 1997, the content of which generated heated disputes (Lin, 2003; Wang, 2005; Wang, 1999). Mainly, the series was accused of: 1) promoting Taiwan independence, which was against contemporary opposition parties’ (e.g., the Chinese New Party) political ideologies (Wang, 2005; Wang, 1999); and 2) promoting the Fuk-lo notion of being Taiwanese, “refer[ring] to the Southern Fukienese immigrants of the Fuk-lo language family” (Malialiaves, 2000, p. 183). The overarching theme in the textbooks is ethnic integration, but the integration is based on the assumption that “all other people [are] under the rule of Southern Fukienese who speak the Fuk-lo dialect” (p. 184). Malialiaves argues that the content of the series Understanding Taiwan reflects the “ideology of Hok-lo chauvinism” (p. 191), where much Hok-lo slang is adopted into the main text infused with the mission of cultivating Taiwanese consciousness and the fulfillment of constructing Taiwan nationalism. Central to Malialiaves’ argument about Understanding Taiwan is the unbalanced and politicized discussion of the history of Taiwan and the notion of being “Taiwanese,” which marginalizes the
historically significant role of the diverse population of aborigines but stresses the Han ruler’s perspective on the history of regimes and politics.

_Ideological Representations of Selected Knowledge in Children’s Books_

The issue of interconnection between politics and legitimate knowledge is evident in studies of children’s literature. Taxel (1989) argues, “children’s literature is an ideological text governed by a selective tradition and thus deeply implicated in the process of social domination and reproduction” (p. 207). This selective tradition can be seen in biographies about Christopher Columbus and fiction about the American Revolutionary War. In his examination of biographies of Christopher Columbus, Taxel (1993) found that with few exceptions, such as Meltzer’s _Columbus and the World around Him_ (1990), most of the books he studied present Christopher Columbus as a great adventurer who heroically “discovered” the “New World.” Contrary to this romantic and mythic conception of Christopher Columbus and his voyages is the catastrophic impact he and his crews had on the land and its people, matters rarely incorporated into the storylines. In addition, relatively invisible are the Native Americans and their history, struggles, and points of view. The absence of the Native Americans involved in the historical encounter, as Taxel suggest, “both reflects and serves to perpetuate their continued powerlessness” (p. 30). Taxel’s research findings echo those of Loewen’s (1995) study of textbooks.

Furthermore, Taxel’s (1980) analysis of the American Revolution in children’s fiction and Overstreet’s (1994) examination of the Vietnam War in adolescent fiction also point to the power relations between social, cultural, political, and ideological forces and literary creations. In his research on children’s novels about the American Revolution published between 1899 and 1976, Taxel (1980) studied the narrative structures and contents to investigate how “socioeconomic and historical forces … have shaped and influenced the form and content of
children’s Revolutionary War fiction” (p. 264). Taxel concluded that the analysis of the narrative form and content of the novels reveals a superficial and conservative interpretation of the historical events that excludes marginalized colonial populations such as African Americans and lower-class groups. This hegemonic and selective tradition legitimates a conception of the Revolution and favors the wealthy and powerful groups.

Similarly, Overstreet’s (1994) research examining the representations of the Vietnam War portrayed in adolescent novels indicates that the novels tell an oversimplified and selective version of the war through the exclusion of major personages, dates, places, and important political issues. The content of the novels also marginalized anti-war attitudes and Vietnamese perspectives, and the involvement of female participants also is limited. As Overstreet argues, the research finding fits with that of Taxel’s (1980) that “adolescent fiction and curricular materials have traditionally and consistently marginalized and/or excluded certain groups and views and that in turn these texts can serve to reinforce and reproduce the existing hegemony of ideas and relations within our society” (p. 260).

Harris’ (1986) study of The Brownies’ Book differs from the previously mentioned research to demonstrate one of the examples of historical counter-hegemonic activities. The periodicals were created and published by W. E. B. DuBois and Jessie Fauves, who sought to create authentic literature challenging the selective tradition for African American children by: 1) informing them of their heritage; 2) teaching them models of behaviors for public actions; and 3) providing them with knowledge to help them function in a society (Harris, 1986). In the end, The Brownies’ Book was a deliberate political activity because it attempted to create and shape attitudes and values. The existence of a counter-hegemonic literary tradition is also revealed in Taxel’s (1991) study of Mildred Taylor’s fiction, such as Roll of Thunder, Hear my Cry (1976)
and *Let the Circle be Unbroken* (1987). As Taxel argues, Taylor’s fiction addresses themes and issues that have long been silenced or marginalized by celebrating and incorporating African American experience and by including a voice of past resistance and the people who resist.

Hunt (1991) suggests a correlation between politics and reading materials (e.g., textbooks and children’s literature) when he states, “you cannot abstract politics from talking about books” (p. 142). The assertion corresponds to my study of the development of Taiwanese children’s literature and the research findings discussed in this section in which, especially in Taiwan, the changing of political power inevitably affects and controls the content of texts. Furthermore, “Anyone interested in how ideas – political ideas in the broadest and the most important sense – are fostered and grow up in a society cannot afford to neglect what children read” (Dixon, quoted in Hunt, p. 142). Dixon’s statement explicitly speaks to the critical role of children’s literature and textbooks because their “appearance in print … gives [them] a different force” (Hunt, p. 143). The printed form of documenting and distributing knowledge “has a special quality in many people’s eyes… [so] what is in a book is somehow official, sanctified” (Paton, quoted in Hunt, p. 143).

The theoretical and empirical examples provided in this chapter outlined and, at the same time, illuminated the interconnections between power and knowledge, and between selection and distribution in the field of children’s reading materials. Both the theoretical and empirical reviews inform my dissertation research, which investigates the complexity of power relations, with the assumption that power relations have effects on the literary representations of the history of Taiwan in Taiwanese children’s literature. My research goes beyond the empirical studies to examine the history of Taiwan discussed in the research data published since the postwar era to 2008 during which the ruling power of Taiwan changed from the two Chiangs’
Nationalist Martial Law era to the native-born presidents Lee Teng-hui’s post Martial Law era and Chen Shui-bian’s Democratic Progressive Party’s administration. The long span of the research period design yields opportunities to examine possible effects of the changing of political power from the Mainlander-dominated Nationalist government (1949–1987) to the Taiwanese-controlled administration (1988–2008). The incorporation of Taiwanese historiography into the analytical procedure provides a triangle analysis comparing social-economic and political circumstances with the content of contemporarily published research data and with historians’ research on the history of Taiwan. The result of the relational comparative analysis yields room for the discussion of traditions (e.g., China-centered paradigm) that may influence the domain of children’s literature. The length (the longer time frame) and the breadth (to include the Taiwanese historiography) of the current research goes beyond the empirical studies done in Taiwan to provide a more inclusive analysis of the power and knowledge nexus. As critical literary research, my inquiry into the involvement of power, especially political power, in the literary domain stems from my family’s experience in coping with the changing dynamics of conventional and school knowledge in the changing society. The adoption of the critical theories of selective tradition, ideology, and hegemony with the sociology of school knowledge forms a theoretical foundation that seeks to explore the power and knowledge nexus.
CHAPTER 4

RELATIONAL ANALYSIS

A Critique of Ideology

Althusser’s proposition of subject-formation through the working of ideology in social apparatuses (e.g., schools, churches, family, literature, media) acknowledges the complexity and multiplicity of interconnections among those apparatuses within which ideological material practices make possible the transformation of individuals into definite subjects (Kavanagh, 1995). Furthermore, when people hold the power of controlling/maintaining the knowledge apparatuses and the routines that produce popular knowledge and transform it into privately owned official knowledge, they control what is defined as reality (Wexler, 1982). The underlying principle for the critique of ideology is to consider the various dimensions of social differences, including race, gender, class, and ethnicity. In addition, Eagleton (1976) argues that

Litmanary works are not mysteriously inspired, or explicable simply in terms of their authors’ psychology. They are forms of perception, particular ways of seeing the world; and as such they have a relation to that dominant way of seeing the world which is the “social mentality” or ideology of an age. (p. 6)

Both Kavanagh’s and Eagleton’s claims point to the significance of the analysis of ideology in that literary creations have a relation to ideology and to the dominant groups privileged in power relations. Similarly, ideological analysis requires researchers to pay attention to the questions of power and politics in relation to the creations and representations of cultural texts. In other words,
researchers conducting a critique of ideology in literary domains should be cautious in identifying these relations, as ideological effects are, in complex ways, related to political effects, and these relations may be explicit or surreptitious (Kavanagh, 1995).

Relational Analysis as a Framework for Analysis

The methodology of ideological literary analysis suggested by Eagleton and Kavanagh signifies a dynamic process indicating that an appropriate critique of literary texts cannot be isolated from the cultural terrain in which the literary products evolved (Bressler, 1994). That is, a critique of a text must go beyond the analysis of literary elements (e.g., plots, characters) to also include the study of society, as both the study of literary works and the study of social, political, cultural, and economic contexts are indeed vital (Bressler, 1994). This methodological suggestion corresponds to that of Apple (1990), who argues that aspects of critical theory (including the theories of selective tradition, ideology, and hegemony) provide the best means of analyzing the issues concerning knowledge taught and distributed in society, and these issues “can only be fully understood through a relational analysis” (p. 13). Relational analysis requires a researcher to ask questions about power and control outside of literary creations and representations. Methodologically, it requires the researcher to see social activity in relation to the inequitable distribution of power in the society within which certain groups/classes have historically been supported while others have been restrained. This means that researchers should investigate the power issues in relation to social, cultural, political, and economic contexts (Apple, 1990). As Apple (1990) states:

In essence, social action, cultural and educational events and artifacts [such as textbooks and literature]… are “defined” not by their obvious qualities that we can immediately see. Instead of this rather positivistic approach, things are given meaning rationally, by their
complex ties and connections to how a society is organized and controlled. (p. 10)

Through the analyses of socio-political, cultural, and economic conditions under which a literary work is created and published, a researcher will be able to see subtle relations/connections that exist between school knowledge (e.g., literary representations) and power relations.

Existing studies, especially Taxel’s (1980) study of fiction of the American Revolution and Ou Lee’s (2007) research on Chinese textbooks, influenced my research into the literary presentations of Taiwanese history in children’s literature in two overlapping areas. The first is critical inquiry that explores power relations within which literary representations of texts are explicitly or implicitly influenced by the ideology of contemporary ruling groups. The second is historical inquiry that investigates contemporary socio-economic and political backgrounds (contexts) of literary creation and compares the historical research with the content of contemporarily produced texts. Taxel’s (1980) critical and historiographic mode of exploration offers a relational analysis that sees literary products as having relations to outer forces – political, cultural, and socio-economic power – that mediate and shape the content of the literature. His research provides a model that guides my current study.

Data Selection

The data selection for the present research involves a set of Taiwanese children’s literature published in the postwar era (1945 to 2008) that contains an overarching theme of the history of Taiwan. In order to narrow down text selections and avoid ambiguities between the history of Taiwan and the history of Taiwan as a portion of the history of China, I purposefully looked for books whose titles include two major key words: Taiwan/Taiwanese/Taiwan’s (台灣/臺灣) and history/historical (歷史/史). I adopted the following criteria while selecting books for

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33 Chinese textbooks refers to textbooks written in Mandarin for Language Arts courses, not to country of origin.
this study:

1) The books’ titles or subjects/themes must include these two key words in Mandarin: 
   *Taiwan/Taiwan’s/Taiwanese* (台灣/臺灣) and *history/historical* (歷史/史).

2) Books must have been published in Taiwan (with or without phonetic marks) between 1945 and 2008 in traditional Mandarin characters for children between elementary school to middle school age (junior high school in Taiwan).

3) The content must deal with the history of Taiwan from the 1890s to the 1970s.

4) Books must have been published in single book format or in a series, excluding translations (e.g., Kiyasu’s (1989) *Taiwan’s secret history of resisting Japan: The heroic resistance against Japan from Taipei to Pingtung* [台灣抗日秘史：從臺北到屏東的壯烈抗日史]), periodicals, magazines, mini-encyclopedia (e.g., *Present the Whole Multiple-Appearanced History of Taiwan* [臺灣歷史一本通] published by Yow Fu Culture Co., Ltd. in 2009), and collections (e.g., *Children Taiwan: History Volume* [兒童台灣: 歷史篇] published by Pan Asia International Culture & Tech Co., Ltd. in 2002).

5) Books must still be accessible and available in public libraries or school libraries in Taiwan.

When identifying a research sample, I checked the on-line system of the National Central Library in Taiwan to see what relevant children’s books have been published since 1945. I started with the National Central Library system because that is the sole national library where Taiwanese publications must be sent for preservation and documentation purposes. As the library website indicates, “Its mission is to acquire, catalog, and preserve national publications for government, research and general public use” (National Central Library, 2007, ¶ 1). The on-line system allowed me to do a preliminary investigation for published titles that contain the search
string. However, this interface does not indicate reading levels (e.g., whether the books are for adults, adolescents, or children). Thus, I copied down all the titles from the National Library online system and checked those titles on the websites of public libraries and school libraries such as the Taipei Public Library, the National Taichung Library, and the Parents and Child Information Centre at the National Taiwan Library to make sure all the books chosen are appropriate for the study. It turned out that a total of 38 children’s books (as shown in Appendix A) met the search criteria, including 34 nonfiction and 4 historical fiction titles (Appendix C, D, & E). Although these books are not used as textbooks in classrooms, they are, to my understanding, still accessible in school libraries and public libraries. Determining if and when they are available for purchase, what school and public libraries have copies of them, and how these books are used and by whom are questions beyond the scope of the present research.

Since few relevant books were published before the 1990s, the books that I selected include both fiction and non-fiction written in various genres ranging from biographies to informational comics (Appendix C, D, & E). Written language is the primary vehicle for delivering the history of Taiwan in the books I selected. However, emphasizing language as the sole meaning carrier neglects the important role of visual representations. Since many of the books selected also incorporated illustrations or photographs that either support or complement the written content, both written and visual images are examined.

Contemporary Popular Methods for Literary Analysis

Over the years, scholars/researchers have adopted a variety of methods to analyze written texts, and those methods can be divided into two main streams: quantitative content analysis, which is a systematic, statistical method focusing on mechanistically counting the occurrences of words/phrases (Gilbert, 1989); and qualitative textual analysis, which allows researchers to study
meanings embedded in texts (Ezzy, 2002). According to Gilbert (1989), counting the frequency of words and phrases in content analysis might be suitable and appropriate for some research (e.g., studies of sex-role stereotypes), but the “scientific” method has serious flaws when conducting a textual analysis. First of all, the unit (e.g., words/phrases) of analysis should be chosen prior to the actual analysis, suggesting that repetition or re-occurrence of certain units has significant meaning. Second, it neglects the importance of the construction of meaning – the way and the manner a text is sequenced and organized – but emphasizes and values the significance of individual elements of a text. Third, selected units for content analysis are regarded as discrete focal points of meaning that are not affected by the units’ location in a consecutive discourse and suggest that frequency of occurrence of the selected units is the major constituent of meaning.

Although content analysis is valuable in testing or conforming pre-existing theories, the mechanistic counting in content analysis limits the scope of the information that the research data communicates to the researcher. It restricts the degree to which other elements within the same text can have a voice in a research process (Ezzy, 2002).

Qualitative analysis provides opportunities for researchers to study textual meaning through reading and interpreting literary works. A variety of analytic methods are utilized by qualitative researchers to analyze textual data, including thematic analysis, grounded theory, discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis. Each analytic strategy has its own merits and limitations. These will be discussed in the following subsections. My discussions of the analytic methods of constant comparative analysis and iconography will explain why I chose these two methods to interpret and analyze the research data.

**Thematic Analysis**

In conducting thematic analysis, coding is one of the major processes, and the primary
purpose of coding is to define themes/concepts in the data. Through the process of coding, a researcher tries to create a systematic account of the research data (Ezzy, 2002). As compared to content analysis, in which a researcher selects themes prior to analysis, thematic analysis codes units/themes after the reading of research data. The procedure of post-reading coding allows researchers to explore the unanticipated issues/problems that might be important categories for study. The function and purpose of thematic analysis is to help researchers identify themes in the data. Riessman (2008) argues that thematic analysis focuses only on the content of the research data via “thematic coding segments” (p. 74). Such an analytic strategy in qualitative content analysis does not provide possibilities to preserve sequences of the research data, denying researchers the chance to understand “‘what’ is said, written, or visually shown” (p. 53). Since my research data involve visual images, and the research questions are centered on the investigations of literary inclusions, omissions, and ideological assumptions, adopting thematic analysis will be insufficient to perform such inquiry.

Grounded Theory

Similar to thematic analysis, grounded theory employs the detailed coding procedure in thematic analysis but goes beyond that method to use “theoretical sampling in which emerging analysis guides the collection of further data” (Ezzy, p. 87). In addition, grounded theory also emphasizes the process of constant comparison while developing and identifying codes. Ezzy (2002) suggests that the constant comparison procedure between new emerging categories and preexisting categories aims to provide further sophisticated interpretation and understanding of the research data. The technique of constant comparison additionally allows different/similar categories to be grouped and differentiated (Ezzy, 2002). Finally, the coding ends when the researcher is satisfied with the finalized categories within which the coding can adequately
support the emerging theory. What makes grounded theory different from thematic content analysis is that the researcher comes to the data with the purpose of creating new theory but not necessarily categories for analysis. Since the final product of theory building in grounded theory is not the major concern in conducting my literary analysis, grounded theory is not an appropriate method for the current research topic. Furthermore, both grounded theory and thematic analysis heavily focus on what is available in the data (e.g., the seemingly endless coding and comparing procedures inside the data) and neglect the outside influences, be they social, cultural, political, and/or ideological forces affecting production and distribution of literary creation. Therefore, they may not be adequate analytic methods for research concerning power and power relations.

*Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis*

According to Sharp (1980), the study of language is the primary technique in understanding ideology, and the linguistic unit for study is the word. Words themselves are neutral. They do not have intrinsic meaning, but they are given meaning and become meaningful (in a specific way) through their position/location within ideologies that are perceived as signifying practices. This wording leads to another two possible analytic methods that are popular among qualitative researchers interested in studying language/words/written texts: discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. According to Phillips and Hardy (2002), discourse analysis “[embraces] a strong social constructivist epistemology” (p. 2; Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 1999) in order to pay attention to the processes of the construction and maintenance of the social world. Discourse analysis, as argued by Gee (1999), illuminat[es] and gain[s] evidence for our theory of the domain, a theory that helps to explain how and why language works the way it does when it is put into action; and
contribut[es] …to important issues and problems in some “applied” area (e.g., education) that interests and motivates the researcher. (p. 8)

Discourse analysis does more than study texts. In order to understand discourses and how they work and what their effects are, researchers adopting discourse analysis to analyze research data must also study the context in which the texts are produced (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Sherzer, 1987; van Dijk, 1997). Hence, discourse analysis is a “three-dimensional” (Phillips & Hardy, p. 4; Fairclough, 1992) approach that connects texts to discourses and to the historical and social context. That is, it seeks to investigate how specific social ideas were created, maintained, and made meaningful. It also explores the relationship among text, discourse, and context because texts are interconnected with other texts and discourses. This interconnection is extended to include the process of the “production, dissemination, and consumption” (p. 4) of texts.

Similar to discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis also starts from the supposition that language is the major component of the creation of meaning, and studying language must also study the social context (Apple, 1999). As the term critical suggests, the approach of critical discourse analysis is more explicitly concerned with “the dynamics of power, knowledge, and ideology” (Phillips & Hardy, p. 20) and how the issue of power is involved in literary creation and production as discourse itself is seen as a device utilized to naturalize and disguise power relations, which are inevitably tied to the unequal social production and distribution of both symbolic and material resources (Apple, 1999; Luke, 1996; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Hence, a critical discourse analysis should include descriptions and explanations of how the exercise of power occurs, is reproduced, or is legitimized by the texts that are created and distributed by dominant groups or institutions (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; van Dijk, 1996). Another critical perspective in critical discourse analysis is to see social practices

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34 In this context, discourse means “structured collections of texts” (Phillips & Hardy, p. 86).
(e.g., writing of texts) as having relations to power that produces and reproduces power relations in society (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Clegg, 1987; Townley, 1993). One example comes from Mumby’s (cited in Phillips & Hardy, 2002) argument that through the portrayal and conveyance of identities, narratives “help to ‘linguistically objectify’ a social order” (p. 30). Given the present topic’s focus on the examination of texts and the issue of power relations, it is more appropriate to include a discussion of critical discourse analysis since it focuses on the issue of power and is frequently employed by researchers to excavate the issues of the interrelation and exploration of power and power relations in discourse analysis research.

According to Luke (2002), the practice and implementation of critical discourse analysis “involves a principled and transparent shunting back and forth between the microanalysis of texts using varied tools of linguistic, semiotic, and literary analysis and the macroanalysis of social formations, institutions, and power relations that these texts index and construct” (p. 100). The method of critical discourse analysis bridges the consideration of power relations between literary representations and social context where texts are produced in order to discuss how forces such as politics and the economy affect constructions of written texts. It matches and supports the argument that analyzing children’s literature should go beyond the analysis of literary products to also “consider the complex social, political, historical and ideological forces which influence authors to write as they do” (Taxel, 1989b, p. 37; Kelly, 1974). Negatively, the method focuses on the micro level by painstakingly analyzing linguistic and semiotic features of written texts (e.g., analyzing word by word, line by line). Instead of analyzing/interpreting meanings revealed from texts to arrive at a holistic interpretation of written texts, its emphasis tends to center on the analysis of words/words patterns – the smallest linguistic elements. This technical restriction in the microanalysis of language units in critical discourse analysis appears
to diminish the chances for researchers to investigate particular messages/ideologies embedded in literature as the attention of such analysis is given to the linguistic and semiotic features of texts, not the analysis of “semantics.”

In the process of evaluating potential analytic methods, the research design, content, aims, and research questions are the most influential factors that affect the analytic methods to be chosen. As Ezzy (2002) argues, “The quality of research into meanings and interpretative processes can not be assured simply through following correct procedures. Interpretations and meanings are situated. A method applicable to one research situation will be inappropriate in another” (p. 81). As was noted, the seemingly endless coding in thematic analysis and the theory generating process in grounded theory do not resolve the technical requirement for relating the analysis of literary products to the outer study of socio-economic and political circumstances. Similarly, although the method of critical discourse analysis might be a better fit for the current study, its tendency to focus on the minute examination of language appears to reduce the possibility of interpreting/excavating specific assumptions and ideologies embedded in the literary creations. Owing to the limitations of these methods, the strategies of constant comparative analysis (Butler-Kisber, 2010) and iconography (Panofsky, 1970) will be adopted to analyze both the written and illustrated texts in my research data to categorize the research data (by using constant comparative analysis) and interpret the literary representations of both written and visual images (through constant comparative analysis and iconography).

Constant Comparative Analysis and Iconography

According to Sutherland (1985), both fiction and nonfiction, be they folk tales, biographies, realistic fiction, science fiction, and so forth, are ideological. Both genres are “a contract designed by an intending author who invites his or her audience, to adopt certain
paradigms for understanding reality” (Foley, quoted in Cai, 1997, p. 204). While the history of Taiwan taught in children’s literature consists of both fiction and nonfiction, investigating literary inclusions, omissions, and ideological assumptions embedded in the literature requires the analytic methods of constant comparative analysis and iconography to comparatively and relationally analyze both the literary meanings and the outer relations of socio-economic and political forces. Hein and Selden (2000) argue that “When any group wins a larger measure of civic or political rights or even the most basic recognition as human beings, their victory compels renegotiation of the accepted definitions of the citizen and/or national subject” (p. 7). This statement explicitly points to the issue of power relations in that privileged groups hold the power to redefine and renegotiate what has been previously defined and recognized. It demonstrates the shifting nature of conventional knowledge as influenced by contemporary socio-economic, cultural, and political circumstances. Thus, cultural artifacts such as literary works must be understood in the historical contexts of the groups that produced them (Kelly, 1974), as the creation of children’s literature always involves social, political, economic, and ideological pressures (Taxel, 1988).

Although the final product of the research is not to generate theories as in grounded theory, the adoption of the constant comparative method is helpful to “establish analytic distinctions – and thus make comparisons at each level of analytic work” (Charmaz, 2010, p. 54). Constant comparative analysis uses the technique of categorizing (or comparing) and contrasting units/categories of literary texts to generate conceptual understandings of specific phenomena (Butler-Kisber, 2010) by comparing research data to investigate similarities and differences (Charmaz, 2010). After the completion of analyzing the research data, the constant comparative method expands the analytic landscape to compare the result to other scholars’ evidence through,
for instance, literature reviews. This outer layer of comparison brings values into the research as the comparative activity will display how the scholars’ research findings illuminate the interpretive analysis of the data (Charmaz, 2010). Therefore, scholars’ historical research on the topics generated from the constant comparative analysis will be incorporated into the analytic procedure. The strategy of incorporating historians’ research on the history of Taiwan provides a benchmark for comparing and interpreting the research data. At the last stage of analyzing and interpreting research data, Taxel’s (1980) and Alridge’s (2006) historiographic mode of exploration is utilized to examine and triangulate whether the literature published in different historical periods will reveal different ideological persuasions and assumptions, and whether my analysis of the research data will fall into: 1) the Chinese-centric paradigm, or 2) the Taiwanese-centric paradigm, as discussed in the chapter Ideological Transitions: The Changing History and Historiography.

Adopting the methods of constant comparative analysis and iconography along with the notion of relational analysis to consider social institutions and formations and power relations (e.g., politics) related to text construction, the procedure will further yield the opportunity for examining the relationship between historical, socio-economic, and political contexts and the literary depictions of the history of Taiwan in children’s books. The analysis/examination of the dynamic relationship between text and context begins from a consideration of the relation between texts and “the macropolitical landscape of ideological forces and power relations, capital exchange, and material historical conditions” (Luke, p. 100).

Generating Categories through Constant Comparative Analysis

Based on the research questions centering on the investigation of historical, political, and cultural events and personalities (as historical significances) as well as ideologies, my research
will involve a critique of ideologies, representations, and perspectives in order to analyze:

- historical, political, and cultural events and personalities included in the literary creations
- historical, political, and cultural events and personalities excluded from the literary creations
- ideological assumptions, either overt or covert, about the historical significances
- ideological assumptions about political and cultural beliefs and about social and economic circumstances
- ideological assumptions related to issues of ethnicity, culture, and language
- omissions/silenced voices (such as ethnic issues)

The first step to generate categories is to get to know the data selections – what is available in the books and how each book is structured. Placing the data selections in sequence according to each book’s publication date from the earliest publication date to the latest, I scanned the contents of the books and compared them to get a sense of how each book was organized. The first impression I had is that the history of Taiwan was presented in a linear fashion. Based on Kavanagh’s suggestion of incorporating the consideration of politics and power relations into the analytic procedure, the initial categorization is based on major historical and political transitions in the history of Taiwan since the late nineteenth century to the 1970s. The data were categorized into the following initial categories: 1) pre-Japanese colonial era (1894–1895); 2) the Japanese colonial era (1895–1945); 3) Taiwan as part of the Republic of China (1945–1948); and 4) Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang era (1949–1975).

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In order to generate and provide comparable categories across the research data published in different historical eras, the research content for analysis is limited to the period from the late 1890s to the 1970s because the majority of the research data include discussions of historical, political, and cultural incidents occurring within this time frame as well as prominent personalities.
These initial categories were narrowed to a focus on “historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities.” During this refinement of the initially established categories, the data were compared to see what specific historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities are incorporated into the literature for children, and this stage of comparison was advanced to a more detailed categorization (as shown in Table 1).

Table 1

Major Events/Incidents and Personalities Discussed in the History of Taiwan from 1894 to 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Japanese Era (1894–1895)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese Colonial Era (1895–1945)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) The Wushe Incident (1930)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwan as Part of the Republic of China (1945–1948)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) “Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang Era (1949–1975) |
The final products of the comparative and contrasting activity in categorizing the research data include major historical and/or political events (e.g., the Sino-Japanese War in the pre-Japanese era) and personalities (e.g., Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang) for later interpretive textual and image analyses. Meanwhile, each temporarily assigned name for the categories captures main ideas of the data, and each of them was connected to the research questions. Table 1 provides clear landscapes (or boundaries) of what aspects of the history of Taiwan depicted in the data will be interpreted and analyzed through the techniques of constant comparative strategy (for both written texts and illustrations) and iconography (for illustrated texts).

Interpreting Data through the Technique of Constant Comparative Analysis

In the process of interpreting data under each advanced/finalized category, a four-step constant comparative analysis was generated: 1) Step 1: comparing books published in different editions; 2) Step 2: comparing books published within the same historical and political transition; 3) Step 3: comparing books published across different historical and political transitions; and 4) Step 4: comparing the literary research findings with historians’ research on the development of Taiwanese historiography and with contemporary socio-economic, cultural, and political circumstances in which the research data were published (Figure 1).

Step 1: Comparing books published in different editions.

Since some of the data selections were published in different editions but with the same book titles, the preliminary comparison focuses on comparing and interpreting the books. For instance, Su’s (1967) Famous People in the History of Taiwan [台灣歷史上的名人] has three
editions. The first edition was published in 1967, the second edition was published in 1974, and the third edition was published in 1987. The multi-dimensional comparison between and across each edition (from cover page to the end of the book) investigates whether different editions contain different information. In Step 1, a total of four groups of books generated from the research data will be compared. Appendix B lays out detailed publication information for each book.

**Step 2: Comparing within – Comparing books published during the same historical era.**

Since one of the research questions concerns whether socio-political, cultural, and economic circumstances influence the content of the history of Taiwan published in the literature for children, the next stage of textual analysis focuses on finding out whether books published within the same historical period reveal similar ideologies and perspectives. Based on major political transitions (the changing of political leader/power), I divided the historical periods into three groups: 1) Group 1: Twelve books published during the Nationalist Martial Law era (1949–1987) (Appendix C); 2) Group 2: Fifteen books published during Lee Teng-hui’s post-Martial Law era (1988–2000) (Appendix D); and 3) Group 3: Eleven books published during Chen Shui-bian’s Democratic Progressive Party era (2001–2008) (Appendix E). Although the data selections ranged from books published in the 1960s to books published in the first decade of the twenty-first century, I will analyze both linguistic and visual representations that deal with the history of Taiwan between 1894 and the late 1970s as this timeline comprises the major discussions of both historical, political, and cultural events/incidents as well as personalities of the history of Taiwan.

**Step 3: Comparing across – comparing books published during different eras.**

After the multi-dimensional comparisons between books published in different editions
and between books published in the same historical periods, the next stage of analysis focuses on comparing books published during different historical periods. This extended comparative activity leads to a holistic comparison and contrast *within* the data. During the procedure of data analysis, the research of historians on the topics categorized within the data selection is adopted to support the interpretative analysis. The result of the comparative analysis provides a comprehensive spectrum of how the history of Taiwan has been portrayed during different historical periods. The analysis of the literary texts is completed at this stage, and the next step of comparison focuses on the examination of whether the literary research findings correspond with the development of Taiwanese historiography and whether the outer forces will influence the literary depictions.

*Step 4: Comparison as triangulation – comparing the literary research findings with historians’ research on Taiwanese historiography in relation to contemporary socio-economic, cultural, and political circumstances.*

The activity of constant comparative analysis has not yet been completed since the research questions go further to ask whether contemporary socio-economic and political circumstances influence the content of the literature published in Taiwan. Therefore, an outer layer of comparison is added to compare and contrast the research findings revealed from the research data with the contemporary circumstances under which the books were published and with historians’ research on the development of Taiwanese historiography. This outer layer comparison goes beyond the study of literary representations to perform a relational analysis between the content of the literary products and the outer forces of socio-economic, cultural, and political changes (Figure 1).
This compare and contrast activity is adopted to examine whether the literary research findings fall into the previously mentioned paradigms: the Chinese-centric and the Taiwanese-centric paradigms. Since these two paradigms have political implications, the activity provides another spectrum that makes the discussion of power relations possible. Incorporating historians’ research into the analytic and interpretive procedure allows me to discuss the relation between contemporary socio-economic and political circumstances and the content of the literature for children. The comparison also yields the possibility of testing power relations in the literary content (e.g., specific ideologies/perspectives, marginalized voices and ethnicities) that was available in different historical periods. In addition to the examination of the written texts through the interpretative strategy of constant comparative analysis, research into the visual representations of the history of Taiwan is another critical component in the literary critique of specific ideological assumptions/perspectives embedded in and revealed from the research data because as Pieterse (1992) suggests, the working of ideology takes both written and visualized forms.
Interpreting Visual Images through Iconography

Gillian Rose (2001) suggested the significance of visual meanings in studying visual images while conducting a critique of literary representations since depictions are never simply illustrations. They are “the site[s] for the construction and depiction of social difference” (Fyfe & Law, quoted in Rose, p. 10). Therefore, visual images must be closely interpreted and examined. In addition, “the way that content [of an image] is presented is deemed important”, as Banks (2001) argues; however, “it is the context within which the image was produced that assumes prominence” (p. 11). Both internal narrative (the story the images reveal) and external narrative (the social context and social relations in which images were produced) are intertwined but are analytically separable from each other (Banks, 2001).

An analytic approach that can satisfy both Rose’s and Banks’ arguments is Erwin Panofsky’s (1970) iconography, introduced in Meaning in the Visual Arts and later reinterpreted by several scholars, including van Leeuwen (2004). In his chapter Semiotics and Iconography, van Leeuwen makes a clear distinction between two analytic methods that are frequently adopted by researchers interested in analyzing visual images (e.g., photography, painting, and poster): visual semiotics and iconography. According to van Leeuwen, although both analytic methods are popular and ask the same fundamental questions of representation and of hidden meanings of images, Roland Barthe’s visual semiotics focuses only on the study of images – the investigation of visual representations through textual analysis, whereas Panofsky’s iconography expands the investigation of textual representations to also consider historical contexts when contemporary visual images were created/produced. That is, iconography requires both textual analysis and contextual research (van Leeuwen, 2004).

Researchers adopting an iconographic approach interpret visual objects through
intertextual comparison and contextual research to investigate the contemporary circumstances present when the images were created. In adopting an analytic approach like iconography, as van Leeuwen suggests, a researcher undertakes contextual research to investigate historical origins of certain conventions and dismantles ideological effects (van Leeuwen, 2004). This analytic approach corresponds to and supports the methodological paradigm of relational analysis, which holds that both inner literary analysis (including written texts and images) and outer social relation analysis are indeed vital.

Analyzing Cultural Authenticity

Cultural authenticity is another critical aspect of the analysis of particular assumptions embedded in both the written and visual texts of the research data. Since Taiwan is a multiethnic society composed of divergent ethnic groups, examining cultural authenticity in the research data is vital in that it suggests the importance of: 1) considering whether the children’s literature involved in the study is able to reflect the multiethnic groups’ perspectives related to their divergent ways of living, believing, and behaving (Bishop, 2003; Cai, 2003), and 2) understanding ideological positions that underline the creation of the research data published in different historical phases and how different ideological assumptions are reflected in both the written and illustrated texts (Bishop, 2003). Thus, examining the cultural authenticity of a literary work requires a researcher to be sensitive to identifying ideological assumption, misrepresentation, and stereotype embedded in the texts. The jeopardous boundary between an author’s imagination and misrepresentation of a specific ethnic group is discussed in Cai (2003), who states, “When imagination departs from the reality of ethnic culture, it leads to misrepresentation or distortion of reality” (p. 168). Although imagination helps a writer to create inspired writings, it should be used cautiously to avoid producing misrepresentation that

Representation in literature reflects authors’ values, beliefs, and attitudes. Stereotypes (e.g., stereotypical description of nappy hair for African Americans) examined in a specific social and historical context instantly have something to do with ideological implications because stereotypical descriptions both impact how stereotyped groups see themselves and how they are treated in society (Cai, 2003). This argument parallels that of the critical stance of multiculturalism in that the involvement of power in the process of creating literature for children helps shape individual consciousness, thinking, and behavior through ideological inscriptions and through both inclusion and exclusion of different words, illustrations, and concepts (Kinetcheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Discussion of Data: The Method of Summarizing

While discussing the research data, I will summarize the texts to present relevant information interpreted from the data. My presentations of summaries will incorporate concrete details36 (including visual images copied directly from the research data) depicted in and translated from the data collection (since the original texts were written in traditional Chinese characters) to show how the categorized historical, political, cultural events/incidents and personalities are portrayed in the literature. The use of written summaries serves a twin purpose: 1) to reduce or even avoid the fragmentation of presenting research data via merely citing and translating word-for-word, which is also difficult as the action of translating influences the original structure and signification of a language; and 2) to provide a reader-friendly research report as the summaries will present story-like narratives by using concrete details and language.

36 Technically, the incorporation of concrete details is meant to preserve as much as possible the language of the original texts while summarizing and translating.
depicted/involved in the research data. In other words, the purpose of writing summaries is to help readers obtain a deeper understanding of the research data. Furthermore, images that are selected from the research data for interpretive analysis are the illustrations (as shown in Appendix F) that best support the written texts translated from the research data. In practice, I look at these illustrations as a cultural insider, and that influences how I interpret the visual images. Furthermore, I am taking the view that these images are supportive of what is depicted in the texts. After the summary, historians’ research on the related historical, political, and cultural event/incident or personality will be provided to assess the literary representations and further answer the research questions.

An Issue Regarding Translation

According to Spivak (1974), “the relationship between the reinscribed text and the so-called original text is not that of patency and latency, but rather the relationship between two palimpsests” (p. lxxv). Once a text is created, it will leave some traces when it is deconstructed and then re-inscribed. The use of \textit{palimpsests} to describe the relationship between an original text and the re-built text aptly captures the essence of the process of translation. Derrida spoke of the process of translation:

Within the limits of its possibility, or its \textit{apparent} possibility, translation practices the difference between signified and signifier. But, if this difference is never pure, translation is even less so, and a notion of \textit{transformation} must be substituted for the notion of translation: a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another. We shall not have and never have had to deal with some “transfer” of pure signifieds that the signifying instrument – or “vehicle” – would leave virgin and intact, from one language to another, or within one and the same language. (Derrida, quoted in Spivak, p.
In other words, once the act of translating occurs, the translator deconstructs the original structure (e.g., sentence structure, language structure) of the texts because the person uses his language/word to re-interpret the text. It is not possible to translate a text from one language to another so that both versions match perfectly, word-to-word, sentence-to-sentence, punctuation-to-punctuation, or structure to structure. Therefore, “pure translation” is impossible, especially when translating from one language to another (e.g., from Mandarin to English). As long as a reader can sense the trace of the original text, possibilities are varied and open-ended. Derrida’s concept of translation is important because it allows both audiences and the researcher to be skeptical of the literary representations in terms of the changing of the states.

Validity and Limitations

In literary criticism, claiming that research findings reflect reality is difficult because critiques of ideology in literary criticism must be always carried out from a specific perspective. It is unlikely that researchers conducting a critique of ideology can “set up ideological analysis as a value-free technique” (Gilbert, p. 67). Gilbert’s assertion insinuates that ideological literary criticism is inevitably influenced by the subjectivity of researchers and raises questions of the validity of conducting literary analysis. The term validity is “something that different analyses can have more or less of, i.e., some analyses are more or less valid than others… [because] validity is never ‘once and for all’. All analyses are open to further discussion and dispute” (Gee, 2005, p. 113). While approaching and analyzing the research data through both constant comparative analysis and iconography, I will read closely and efferently (in the manner of Rosenblatt) for the purpose of looking for certain information revealed from both written and illustrated texts to eliminate the involvement of personal perspectives. I will try to
[disengage my] attention as much as possible from the personal and qualitative elements in [my] response to the verbal symbols; [I will concentrate] on what the symbols designate, what they may be contributing to the end result that [I seek] – the information, the concepts, the guides to action. (Rosenblatt, p. 27)

In order to provide valuable literary research and to avoid being accused of merely providing subjective opinions, the inclusion of historical research should increase the validity of my interpretations and my analysis of historical significances included in children’s books. In other words, I will not simply read the children’s books and present research conclusions. I will borrow from historians’ research of the history of Taiwan to interpret and compare the research data to the historical research. The long span of the research period (children’s books published after 1945) and wide coverage of both fiction and nonfiction will provide a more inclusive and thorough investigation of the literary representations.

Finally, I do not claim that research findings reveal truth/reality because interpreting both narrative texts and images results in interpretations. Researchers interpreting the research data do not claim to discover the “truth” of these representations (Riessman, 2008; Rose, 2001). From the epistemological paradigm of social constructionist, I suggest that my interpretation is useful for the purpose of exploring power relationships in literary creations and distributions and for presenting one possible reading of the history of Taiwan in children’s literature (Crotty, 2003). Since children’s literature has social function in legitimatizing and presenting specific values, assumptions, and principles that reflect particular historical and social interests (Taxel, 1989a), uncovering the literary terrain provides an opportunity to examine the correlation between available knowledge and groups privileged in power relations. As argued by Taxel (1989b), “children’s literature is an important source for children to draw upon as they construct their
conceptions of reality…reality in children’s literature is largely defined by the perspectives, values and world views of those who wield economic and political power in society” (p. 37). Research focusing on the relationship between knowledge/school knowledge and power relations, between text and contexts, should involve the consideration of examining socio-economic and political forces.

My Role as a Reader and a Researcher

To borrow Hollindale’s (1992) theory of ideology, language itself is ideological, and interpreting meanings revealed from words becomes an activity that involves readers’ knowledge about the particular language with which they are dealing. Coming from the epistemological stance of social constructionism, I believe that knowledge is socially constructed through people’s daily interactions. My knowledge of Mandarin discourse and my experiences in coping with Chinese-only curricular help me to be able to interpret the children’s narratives published in traditional Mandarin through both personal (as a reader) and critical (as a researcher) lenses. My multiple identities as a Taiwanese, a graduate student in the United States, a reader, and a researcher influence how I interpret the texts. However, this does not suggest that readers who share the same cultural and educational backgrounds would have identical interpretations of the children’s books selected for the current study. I do not wish to claim that my interpretation of the Taiwanese children’s literature would be similar to Taiwanese students’ readings as I recognize that there are multiples ways of interpreting a text. In accordance with the principles of sociology of school knowledge, I do claim that my interpretation offers insights into the possible power relations in the literary domain as the literary representations of texts are influenced by the ideology of contemporary ruling groups.
CHAPTER 5
LINGUISTIC AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HISTORY OF TAIWAN

Ideological Constructions of the History of Taiwan

In the previous chapters, I presented the historical background of Taiwan, I reviewed literature that is relevant to the current study, and I discussed the theoretical framework and methodology that I adopted to analyze the 38 Taiwanese children’s books centering on the theme of the history of Taiwan published after World War II. After the preliminary comparative procedure in categorizing my research data, six major historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities that are most frequently discussed in the history of Taiwan were generated: a) The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang; b) The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials; c) The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937); d) The Wushe Incident (1930); e) “Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps; and f) Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government.

In the interpretive analysis that follows, the examination of each historical, political, and cultural event/incident and personality proceeds by presenting: 1) historical research related to the event/incident and personality, 2) a summary translated from the research data with selected images that best support the narratives, and finally, 3) a comparative analysis comparing the historical research to the children’s narratives and to contemporary socio-economic, cultural, and political circumstances. My interpretations of the narratives and the illustrations selected from
the research data are also provided throughout the comparative analysis. A summary of research findings related to the event/incident and personalities is also incorporated into the discussion.

The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang

This section deals with the causes and the effects of the Sino-Japanese War and the controversial plenary minister Li Hong-zhang. Major disputes related to the historical event and personality center on the discussions of: 1) whether or not Taiwan was the scapegoat, the unfortunate sacrificial offering of the Sino-Japanese War, and 2) whether Li Hong-zhang was a bullied diplomat who was forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki or an indifferent minister whose main concern was to protect the Mainland from falling into Japanese occupation.

*The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5)*

According to Huang’s (2001) research, Taiwan was ruled by the Qing court starting in 1683. During the Qing’s domination, the Qing court forbade the people in China and their dependents from migrating and settling in Taiwan (Huang, 2001; Kerr, 1986). Under such circumstances, Taiwan was not treated as a part of China (Huang, 2001). When the Donghak Peasant Revolution [東學黨之亂] occurred in 1894, Li Hong-zhang sent more troops to Korea to suppress the Revolution on July 25, but his troopships and naval vessels were attacked by the Japanese (Wang, 1998). The Sino-Japanese War was then launched (Wang, 1998). Since the Qing’s reinforcements could not reach Asan [牙山], Korea, the Qing’s troops stationed in the city were in a situation of utter helplessness and were defeated and forced to flee to Pyongyang [平壤] (the capital of North Korea) on July 29 (Wang, 1998). In early August, due to the Qing troops’ poor discipline and disposition, more than two thousand Qing soldiers either were injured or died in a land-based battle in Pyongyang after fighting with the Japanese troops. Under the
escort of the North Oceanic Fleet of China, Li Hong-zhang dispatched more troops to Pyongyang on September 16. On the way to Pyongyang, the Qing troops encountered the Japanese fleet, so another battle was fought between China and Japan at sea. The North Oceanic Fleet was strongly attacked and defeated by the Japanese (Wang, 1998). Some officials in China believed that negotiating peace with Japan was necessary; otherwise, “the Japanese army would march on Peking” (Paine, 2003, p. 247). Hence, three peace missions were successively sent to Japan. The Qing court wished “to enlist foreign intervention” (p. 248) since Japan would not want to trigger battles with the great powers (Paine, 2003). Therefore, the Qing court requested foreign nations to mediate with Japan, hoping to effect a cease fire as soon as possible after losing its control of the Yellow Sea (Wang, 1998).

On the other hand, Japan was aware of the need to not ask for overly generous peace terms that might cause unfavorable diplomatic consequences (Paine, 2003). For the first peace negotiation with Japanese Premier Ito Hirobumi [伊藤博文], the Qing court dispatched Commissioner Gustav Detring, who took a letter from Li and arrived in Hiroshima, Japan, on November 26, 1894 (Paine, 2003). However, Japan refused to negotiate peace terms with Detring since he was not officially accredited by the Qing government (Paine, 2003). About two months later, the second peace mission was sent but failed again due to the fact that the Chinese representatives dispatched by the Qing court lacked the authority to settle any decisions with Japan (Paine, 2003; Wang, 1998). Meanwhile, Japan continued its invasive movements toward China, confiscating the warships of the Chinese and opening routes by both land and sea to Beijing (Paine, 2003). This ambitious advancement of the Japanese placed more pressure on the

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37 Known as the Battle of the Yellow Sea [黃海海戰] (Wang, 1998).
38 Beijing [北京].
39 Zhang Yin-huan [張蔭桓] and Shao Youlian [邵友濂]
Qing court and forced the court to dispatch a distinguished envoy who could satisfy the Japanese demands. Considering Grand Secretary Li Hong-zhang to be one of the most suitable plenipotentiaries of China, the Qing court was certain that Japan would accept Li as the Chinese representative for peace negotiation (Paine, 2003). However, the Qing was, at first, unwilling to provide Japan this satisfaction since it would give Japan “the opportunity to humiliate the commander of the Chinese naval and land forces in the case of Li” (p. 257).

Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang and the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895)

As the situation became more tense, the Qing court had no choice but to appoint Li Hong-zhang as the Plenary Minister of China (Paine, 2003; Wang, 1998). In order to save some “face”, the court prepared Li with full regalia before sending him to Japan to negotiate peace with the Japanese representative – Premier Ito (Paine, 2003). On March 19, 1895, Plenary Minister Li arrived at the Shunpanro Hotel in Shimonoseki, Japan (Paine, 2003; Wang, 1998). Li warned Ito not to incorporate other foreign countries’ interests in the peace terms; otherwise, the European powers would meddle in the negotiations (Paine, 2003). On March 23, the Japanese government first asked the Qing court to cede to Japan the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan, and the Pescadores (Huang, 2001; Paine, 2003; Wang, 1998). Because the Liaodong Peninsula is geographically very close to Beijing, occupying the Liaodong Peninsula would easily have allowed Japan to control the Qing Empire and the Manchus (Huang, 2001). The Qing court was aware of Japan’s motives and was determined to prevent Japan from entering its territory so as to protect and ensure the ownership of the Mainland. Hence, if there was a need to cede lands to Japan, ceding Taiwan would cause less harm to China’s regime (Huang, 2001). As a result of foreign interventions by Russia, Germany, and France, Japan agreed to give up its claim to the Liaodong Peninsula but assumed control of Taiwan as compensation (Huang, 2001; Paine, 2003;

**Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang and His Attitude**

The people of Taiwan sent several telegrams to the Qing’s Plenary Minister, Li Hong-zhang, during his peace negotiations with Japan, expressing opposition to the ceding of Taiwan to Japan. However, Li’s indifferent attitude toward the request confirmed his unwillingness to antagonize the Japanese, even at the expense of the people in Taiwan (Wu, 1981). Although Taiwan was not involved in the Sino-Japanese War fought in the north, it became a blameless victim of the war (Huang, 2001; Wu, 1981). The issue regarding the cession of Taiwan was incorporated into Li Hong-zhang’s writing about the event in *Memoirs of Li Hong Chang*\(^{40}\) (1913):

...to the effect that Taiwan was a black ulcer spot upon the beautiful and sacred body of the empire, and that to cause its removal, by whatever means, would be a blessing to the country... In 1873 I nearly lost my office because I would advocate the giving away of a worse than worthless possession, and now I am accused of a weakness of spirit because at Shimonoseki I agreed to give them something that I was certain China did not want. It is true that when Marquis Ito stipulated, as one of the chief terms of peace, that Formosa\(^{41}\) should be ceded, I immediately declared that I was willing to agree to almost anything but that; yet, had I been in another apartment, all alone, I should have danced for joy in spite of all my infirmities. As it was my heart was indeed glad, but I requested the chief plenipotentiary to say at least that the Mikado would not insist upon having the big

\(^{40}\) Another frequently adopted English rendering of Li Hong-zhang [李鴻章].

\(^{41}\) Referring to Taiwan.
island...and during the intervening time I was sore afraid he would change his mind and announce that his government did not want it. On the contrary, however...the Japanese members insisted that Formosa be ceded to the Mikado... All the members of our party fully agreed with me that we were doing particularly well in getting rid of the possession, and it was my expectation that the Throne and the Ministers would also look upon the matter in the same light. (p. 265–67)

For Li Hong-zhang, the idea of getting rid of (or giving away) Taiwan originated as early as the 1870s, two decades prior to the cession of Taiwan being brought to the negotiation table by the Japanese. As Li clearly indicated, ceding Taiwan to Japan was a great favor to the Qing Empire since, according to Li, Taiwan was “a worse than worthless possession” of China. After learning Japan’s intention of acquiring the ownership of Taiwan, Li, as he described, was overjoyed. This dream-come-true moment in Li’s memoirs proves his intent to cede Taiwan to Japan even without receiving any external pressure. Li’s attitude toward the people of Taiwan was further documented in his memoirs, as follows,

It is not as if the Formosans\(^42\) were really people of the Mongolian race. They are neither of us nor with us, and we praise all the ancestors that this is so! In all Asia, in all the world, I believe, there are no tribes of animals called men more degraded and filthy than these people of Taiwan...No, they are not even fit to be soldiers in trained armies, for they have no discipline, nor could they be taught...They are cut-throats, all of them, along the coasts and back in the jungles...No, they are not all even of so good a class as that! For what are opium-smokers, head-hunters, and filthy lepers? ...If China did not have hundreds of millions of acres in the west, millions of them in Mongolia, millions in Kiangsu and Shensi, untold millions even in the far western provinces and in Tibet, that

\(^{42}\) Referring to the people of Taiwan.
are as yet unpeopled, we might be drawn to this great island and attempt its regeneration. But with these vast areas unpeopled and untilled, what do we want of the wild forests of Formosa, filled as they are with head-hunters and opium-eaters? …for the principle object of this writing is to convince my countrymen that in the ceding of Formosa to the Japanese, China has really not lost anything of value; instead, she will eventually be the gainer thereby. (p. 268–71)

Li Hong-zhāng’s attitude on the cession of Taiwan confirms his indifference in handling the issue of Taiwan. Ironically, he was not the only official who would consent to the ceding of Taiwan to Japan.

The Qing Court’s Attitude

After the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, more than twenty-five hundred officials throughout the Qing Empire and one hundred and thirty petitions requested Emperor Guangxu to reject the treaty and its terms, especially in the case of ceding territory (Paine, 2003). However, both Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi were unwilling to settle the matter (Paine, 2003). Particularly, Guangxu indicated,

For successive days we have received innumerable memorials from the Ministers and officers of our court all of whom denounce the Treaty and declare that it would never do to ratify such a document…they never thought of touching upon the most important point which induced us to be favourable to a ratification. That was our great anxiety for the safety of Moukden and Peking. (Paine, p. 275–76)

Emperor Guangxu’s primary concern regarding the ratification of the treaty terms was to safeguard Moukden and Beijing – the two symbolically important cities of the Empire – not

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43 Petitions.
44 Shenyang [瀋陽], the capital city of Liaoning Province, China.
Taiwan, a rather remote and isolated piece of territory that appeared to be unimportant to him.

Both Guangxu and Li Hong-zhang agreed that Taiwan neither was an area of strategic importance nor a piece of fertile land worth risking China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. Emperor Guangxu soon ratified the Treaty that included the ceding of Taiwan to Japan (Paine, 2003). The historical importance of the Sino-Japanese War and the major personages involved have been frequently discussed in the history of Taiwan. The following sections feature selected illustrations and summaries related to the history that was translated and summarized from the research data divided accordingly based on major political transitions. After each summary, a comparative and analytical discussion examines how the history was told, whether specific perspectives were incorporated or missing from the narratives published at different historical periods, and whether or not the narratives reflect certain political and cultural perspectives and ideologies.

Books Published during the Martial Law Era (1949–1987)

[A summary of the events and the personality as interpreted from Su’s (1967) Famous People in the History of Taiwan, Lin’s (1975) Historical Picture of Taiwan: The Japanese Era (Vol. 3), Wei’s (1980) The National Revolution and the History of Taiwan, Huang’s (1985) History of Taiwan, and Kung’s (1986) Biographies of Taiwan’s Anti-Japanese Heroes: The Tragic History of Taiwan’s Fall into Japanese Control (Vol. 1)];

It is well known that the ceding of the treasured island (Taiwan) to Japan was the result of the Sino-Japanese War [甲午戰爭] (Lin, p. 3), a war provoked by Japan (Wei, p. 17) and between the Qing court in China and Japan in 1894, when the Qing court was soundly defeated [慘敗] in the war (Lin, p. 3). The direct cause of the War was the Donghak Peasant Revolution in Korea [朝鮮] (Figure 1.1) (Lin, p. 3). Japan went a step further to intervene in Korea’s
domestic affairs, occupy the palace, and take the King of Korea (Li Xi) captive after the Donghak Peasant Revolution was suppressed. The Qing court thus declared war on Japan after realizing that Japan had not kept its promise to withdraw its troops from Korea, (Lin, p. 3). Had the Qing government been wise and capable of accomplishing something, had prominent generals and soldiers been able to send highly trained diplomats to Japan, we (the Taiwanese and the Chinese people) could have confidently fought against Japan. However, the high-ranking officials of the Qing Dynasty were bureaucrats and afraid of making mistakes, so they could not deal with the crafty and ambitious Japanese devils (Kung, p. 27). Emperor Guangxu of the Qing Dynasty was feeble and incompetent (Wei, p. 17). Dispatched by the fatuous and incompetent Qing government (Kung, p. 27–28) as the Plenary Minister for peace negotiations in 1895, Li Hong-zhang, negotiated with the Japanese Prime Minister, Ito Hirofumi, at the Shunpanro Hotel, Shimonoseki, Japan (Kung, p. 27; Lin, p. 7; Wei, p. 18). Japan made eleven unreasonable demands, including compensation for military operations, the ceding of territories, and the opening of commercial ports (Kung, p. 27). Because of Japan’s hard-line attitude and harsh terms (Kung, p. 27; Wei, p. 18), the incompetent (Wei, p. 76) Li Hong-zhang (Lin, p. 7; Wei, p. 18, 76) could not resist and was forced to (Wei, p. 18, 76) sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki (Figure 1.2) (Lin, p. 7;
Wei, p. 18, 76), which humiliated the nation (China) and resulted in forfeiture of its sovereignty 傷權辱國 (Lin, p. 7; Wei, p. 18). One of the agreements within the treaty was to cede to Japan the Liaodong Peninsula and Taiwan (Lin, p. 7; Wei, p. 18). Due to intervention from Germany, France, and Russia, only Taiwan was ceded to Japan (Lin, p. 7). Both the Qing court and Japan signed the Treaty on April 17 and exchanged their copies on May 8, 1895 (Lin, p. 7). Although many of the Taiwanese gentry as well as ordinary citizens requested the Qing court not to cede Taiwan to Japan (Huang, p. 21; Lin, p. 9; Wei, p. 18), the cowardly 儌弱 (Lin, p. 9), corrupt 腐敗 (Wei, p. 18), and incompetent 無能 Qing court (Lin, p. 9; Wei, p. 18) was helpless (Lin, p. 9) and ratified this shameful treaty 可恥的條約 (Wei, p. 18). Millions of Taiwanese compatriots 台灣同胞 fell under the foreign domination and suffered the humiliations and bullying of Japanese Imperialism (Lin, p. 9). When Taiwan was ceded to Japan, Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太后 of the Qing government, who was benighted and imperious 愚昧專橫 (Wei, p. 17), was in power (Su, p. 65). She was only concerned about Japan’s attack on Beijing and was unable to defend the Qing’s regime in the Mainland, so she ignored the Taiwanese people’s petitions and protests (Su, p. 65). Finally, the muddleheaded and careless 頽頹 Qing government (Wei, p. 76) was forced to pay reparations and cede Taiwan to Japan (Kung, p. 29; Wei, p. 18).

The passage is primarily concerned with the consequences of the Sino-Japanese War and the Treaty of Shimonoseki when the Qing court, dominated by the Manchus45, lost the war.

*The Controversial Li Hong-zhang: A Bullied Diplomat! Or A Bullied Diplomat?*

Comparing Huang’s, Paine’s, Wang’s and Wu’s research to the historical narrative for

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45 The Manchu people originated in Manchuria, located in northeastern China, and were ethnically different from the Han Chinese. The Manchus came to power and established the Qing Dynasty in China in the seventeenth century.
children published during the Martial Law era (1949–1987) when the Nationalist government dominated Taiwan, Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang’s attitude toward Taiwan and the Qing government’s intention in protecting and maintaining its political and territorial integrity (e.g., safeguarding Moukden and Beijing) were veiled. According to the storylines, the ceding of Taiwan to Japan was portrayed as an unavoidable political failure so that under “Japan’s hard-line attitude and harsh terms, the incompetent Li Hong-zhang could not resist and was forced [italics added] to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki.” Li’s unwillingness in the case of ceding Taiwan to Japan portrayed in the narrative contradicts the real Li, who, according to his memoirs, “was indeed glad” when the ceding of Taiwan was stipulated by Japan. Perhaps the children’s narrative portrays the historically significant moment of Li inaccurately, depicting Li as a bullied diplomat who “could not deal with the crafty and ambitious Japanese devils,” so he signed the Treaty. The contradiction between Li Hong-zhang portrayed in the children’s narrative and in his memoirs reveals the possibility that this Han Chinese was protected by the children’s narrative published under the Nationalists’ enforcement of martial law. The guilt of ceding Taiwan to Japan was laid on the master – the Qing court (the Manchus). Although Li Hong-zhang and his colleagues were criticized as incompetent and bureaucratic, the emphasis was placed on the critique of the Manchus – the Qing Emperor and Empress Dowager when the negative modifiers benighted, cowardly, corrupt, fatuous, feeble, incompetent, imperious, and muddleheaded were adopted to describe the leading figures of the Qing Empire.

Criticism of the Qing Court

In addition to the criticism targeting Li’s personal characteristics, the children’s narrative also incorporates harsh comments about the leadership of the Qing government: “Had the Qing government been wise and capable of accomplishing something, had prominent generals and
soldiers been able to send highly trained diplomats to Japan, we (the Taiwanese and the Han Chinese people) could have confidently fought against Japan.” Through its chastisement of the Qing government and Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi, this narrative groups the Taiwanese people and the Nationalists into the same battleground through the use of *we*, suggesting that the people share the same destiny. Furthermore, the Qing (the Manchus), who were ethnically and politically different from the Nationalists (the Han Chinese), were the losers and incapable of ruling the Mainland effectively, giving Japan an easy opportunity to acquire Taiwan as compensation for the Sino-Japanese War. Such literary arrangement conforms to the Nationalist government’s political ideology of anti-Qing’s dominance of mainland China.

Historically, the Revolution of 1911 rekindled the antagonistic relationship between the Qing government and the Nationalist Party. In the revolution, the Nationalist Party, led by Sun Yat-sen in China, overthrew the Qing and established the Republic of China (Wright, 2001). The Nationalist Party treated the Qing court in China as enemies and rebels who took the throne from the Ming Dynasty (dominated by the Han Chinese) in the seventeenth century. Compared to the Qing’s failure in fighting and dealing diplomatically with Japan, the disparaging image of the Qing depicted in the literature promotes the assumption that the Nationalist Party was the only patriotic authority capable of protecting and ruling the entire territory of China (including Taiwan). In stating that “Millions of Taiwanese compatriots fell under the foreign domination and suffered the humiliations and bullying of Japanese Imperialism,” the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era, on the one hand, encouraged the Nationalists’ sympathy toward the *Taiwanese compatriots* and mourned the compatriots’ terrible situation of being bullied by the foreign power. On the other hand, it creates an illusion suggesting that the

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46 The Kuomintang [國民黨].
47 The Qing Dynasty was the last dynasty in Chinese history.
Japanese colonial governance of Taiwan (1895–1945) had led the Taiwanese people into despair without hope or advancement. However, this misleading illustration does not speak to all the historical experiences of the people of Taiwan. According to Manthorpe (2005),

The Japanese legacy on Taiwan is as ambiguous and subject to partial interpretations as all other aspects of the island’s history. It remains pertinent today because so many Taiwanese of the older generation are inclined to view that period as, on balance, beneficial to the island…The regimentation and cultural indoctrination of the Taiwanese as well as the ever-present, insufferable demonstrations of racial superiority by the Japanese made aspects of life grim. But there was the benefit of dramatic social and economic development of the island in the half century of rule by Japan. It brought the island standards of efficient and clean government against which the Qing administration before and the Kuomintang after compared poorly. (p. 177)

By unjustly emphasizing Japan’s brutality and silencing its contributions to the island, the Nationalists utilized the literature as a means to reach the goals of de-Japanization and, at the same time, of Sinocization. Since publications48 published during the Martial Law era were closely monitored by the Nationalist government, their content inevitably favors the contemporary ruling authority. This issue becomes more apparent when it comes to the discussion of the Japanese colonial dominance in The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937).

Constructing a Nationalist Patriotic Identity in the Martial Law Era

In addition, the term Taiwanese compatriots in the children’s narrative further emphasizes the Nationalists’ intent to group the people of Taiwan and the Nationalists into the

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48 Many of them were even published by the government during this period of time, such as Su’s (1967) Famous People in the History of Taiwan and Lin’s (1975) series Historical Picture of Taiwan in the research data.
same battleground discussed earlier. This literary incorporation confirms the Nationalist government’s political intention/strategy in gathering the people from the multiethnic society of Taiwan into the Nationalists’ Han ethnicity and identifying Taiwan as a part of China. The way the historical events were told during the Martial Law era creates a misconception suggesting that the Nationalist Party and the “Taiwanese compatriots” were identical and that they should unite and fight for their country – China. This ideological assumption parallels the Nationalist Party’s political agenda of retaking mainland China after the Party was forced to retreat to Taiwan in 1949.

*Visual Representations of the Sino-Japanese War in the Martial Law Era*

Examining the illustrations of the historical events and personalities published during the Martial Law era, Figure 1.1 depicted the moment when the Korean King and one of his officials were taken captive by the Japanese soldiers. This visual representation of the King and his official as two of the primary figures seized by the Japanese soldiers suggests that Japan gained the upper hand in its ambitious invasion of Korea. Accompanied by the Japanese soldiers’ modern outfits, sophisticated weapons (e.g., long-barreled guns), and their majority presence in the illustration, the visual image depicts the Japanese surprise attack as an unexpected and unequal battle between the modernized Japanese and the disadvantaged Koreans. The inequality revealed in the image supports the children’s narrative published during the Martial Law era to portray the Japanese as ambitious invaders who endeavored to expand their
territory in Asia. The King’s lowered head with his left hand placed next to his face displays a sense of powerlessness. The two presumably dead Korean soldiers on the ground versus the uninjured and still active Japanese soldiers reflect the powerfulness of the Japanese. The children’s narrative suggests that it was the haughtiness of Japan that caused the Qing court to dispatch its troops to try to restrain Japan’s rampant incursion. The Sino-Japanese War was then initiated. The signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki at the Shunpanro Hotel illustrated in Figure 1.2 captures the historical moment. With the Japanese figures facing the diplomats of the defeated nation (and the viewer) and located in the upper section of the illustration, this visual image provides the victors a positive and glorious snapshot, whereas the losers are too disgraceful to be afforded direct line of sight with the viewer. The visual representation supports the written text stating that “the Treaty of Shimonoseki … humiliated the nation and resulted in forfeiture of its sovereignty.”

The presence of two Qing representatives located in the lower section of the image with long queues and the traditional headgear and outfits of Qing officials indicates that the signing of the Treaty occurred in the historically specific era of the Qing Dynasty. Similar scenes and settings were later reproduced in the Lee Teng-hui (Figure 1.5) and Chen Shui-bian (Figure 1.8) eras.

Books Published during the Lee Teng-hui Era (1988–2000)

In 1894\(^{49}\), the Sino-Japanese War was fought in Korea [朝鮮] between China and Japan (Figure 1.3\(^{50}\)) (Hao, p. 6; Jheng, p. 8–15; Wang, p. 163). The most decisive battle was the Battle of the Yellow Sea during which the highly vaunted North Oceanic Fleet [北洋艦隊] of China was completely defeated (Hao, p. 6; Hung, p. 115), and the Qing soldiers suffered a crushing defeat [一敗塗地] (Wang, p. 152). The Qing’s weakness [積弱] was completely revealed by this event (Wang, p. 171). The Qing court dispatched Li Hong-zhang to negotiate peace with the Plenary Minister of Japan, Ito Hirofumi, at the Shunpanro Hotel in Shimonoseki, Japan (Wang, p. 172). Li felt deeply ashamed [汗顏] and wronged [委屈] at having to visit and negotiate with Japan (Hung, p. 116–7). When Li met with Ito Hirofumi, he deliberately lowered his body to show the humbleness of the defeated nation (Hung, p. 117). During the negotiation, Ito Hirofumi, representing Japan, asked for reparations, the independence of Korea [朝鮮], and the cession of the Liaodong Peninsula, the Pescadores, and Taiwan (Jheng, p. 12). Li sighed deeply, knowing that he came to Japan to sign a treaty that would have the Qing cede territories and pay reparations to Japan (Hung, p. 118). This treaty would also humiliate the nation and result in forfeiture of its sovereignty [喪權辱國] (Hung, p. 118;

\(^{49}\) In Hao’s (1990) narrative, the war was fought in 1895.

\(^{50}\) The text appearing in the image says, “[the Chinese troops] were crushingly defeated in [Asan] and Pyongyang [my translation].”
Li weighed the pros and cons of ceding Taiwan to Japan (Figure 1.451) and came to the conclusion that protecting mainland China was more important since the war would bring greater harm to China if it dragged on (Jheng, p. 14). He told Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing government that Taiwan was the land of malaria [瘴癘之地], so it could be ceded to Japan with no regrets (Hung, p. 130). Before going to Japan, Li also told Emperor Guangxu and the ministers of the Qing Dynasty that they should first protect Beijing. As for Taiwan, China could wait until it had recovered enough strength to force Japan to return the territory (Hung, p. 120). Under such considerations, Li Hong-zhang put up little resistance to the treaty terms regarding the issue of ceding Taiwan to Japan (Jheng, p. 14) and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki with Japanese representative Ito Hirofumi (Figure 1.5) (Hao, p. 14; Jheng, p. 14) on April 17 (Jheng, p. 14). In the name of protecting mainland China, Taiwan became a scapegoat of the Sino-Japanese War (Jheng, p. 15).

The Sino-Japanese War resulted in signing the Treaty of Shimonoseki and is of great importance in the modern history of Taiwan since it changed the fate of Taiwan and its people. Compared to the history told in the literature published during the Martial Law era (1949–1987) when Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo controlled political power, the narrative published during the Lee Teng-hui era (1988–2000) provides a different formulation of the same historical

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51 The texts appearing in the image say, “Russia is likely to intervene in Japan’s occupation of the Liaodong Peninsula. As for the ceding of Taiwan, it’s very likely a foregone conclusion. As soon as the treaty is signed, it will humiliate the nation and result in forfeiture of its sovereignty [my translation].” “But, if I don’t agree, the war, which has no chance of being won, will not be ended [my translation].”
events and personalities. The critical battle of the Yellow Sea, which led to the Sino-Japanese War, is mentioned.

*The Controversial Li Hong-zhang: An Indifferent Diplomat! or An Indifferent Diplomat?*

The role of Li Hong-zhang, one of the most important and controversial leading figures in the events, is examined more seriously in the Lee Teng-hui era and includes the descriptions of his inner thoughts and body language related to the history (e.g., *deeply ashamed and wronged, lowered his body to show the humbleness, and weighed the pros and cons*). His cold-shouldered attitude toward Taiwan, as he wrote in his memoirs, was mentioned when the narrative states, “He told Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing government that Taiwan was the land of malaria, so it could be ceded to Japan with no regrets.” These sentences match that of Li’s memoirs, where Taiwan was said to be “a black ulcer spot,” and the men living in the island were the most degraded and filthiest human race. Whether with regret or not, Li was certain that removing Formosa from China’s territory “would be a blessing to the country.”

The selfish motive of protecting mainland China and avoiding its being invaded by the Japanese was also depicted in the children’s narrative when Li Hong-zhang “came to the conclusion that protecting mainland China was more important since the war would bring greater harm to China if it dragged on.” Hence, when the decisive moment came, Li “put up little resistance to the treaty terms regarding the issue of ceding Taiwan to Japan and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki.” Interestingly, Li’s patriotic sentiment toward China and his negative impression about Taiwan discussed in the Lee Teng-hui era were concealed in the narrative published in the previous era. This may due to the fact that in the Martial Law era, the Nationalists wanted to avoid any possibility of enraging the masses of Taiwan and being criticized for being accomplices since the new authority came from the Mainland. Any negative
assumptions about Taiwan made by the Chinese may have been regarded as taboo since the defeated Nationalist Party treated the island as a staging haven. Had the Nationalists not lost the civil war with the Communists, they would not have retreated to Taiwan and occupied the territory. In other words, the Nationalists were forced to withdraw from China and settle in a rather small, remote, and unpopular area – Taiwan. Thus, Taiwan functioned as a temporary harbor for Nationalist refugees. Incorporating harsh criticism about the place and the people into the children’s narrative might have caused unnecessary antipathy.

Constructing a Taiwanese Identity in Lee’s Era

In contrast, when Lee Teng-hui was in power, his native-born identity encouraged and empowered him to advocate his cultural and political strategies of localization (Taiwanization). Hence, the historical events and personalities told are Taiwan-based, incorporating perspectives of the people of Taiwan (e.g., “Taiwan became a scapegoat of the Sino-Japanese War”). The characterization of the multiethnic Taiwanese society as ethnically Han was eliminated in the children’s narrative published during the Lee Teng-hui era with the removal of the terminologies Taiwan compatriots and we from the literature. This removal sustained first native-born Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui’s political strategy of separating Taiwan and its political sovereignty from China. It further supports Lee’s new Taiwanese consciousness that worked toward the goal of constructing a new national identity different from the Chinese identity previously promoted by the two Chiangs\textsuperscript{52}.

Visual Representations of the Sino-Japanese War in Lee’s Era

Comparing Figure 1.1 published in the Martial Law era with the illustration published in the Lee Teng-hui era, Figure 1.3 exhibits different emphases, focusing on the interpretation of the Sino-Japanese War. The location – Korea – was incorporated into the images by using

\textsuperscript{52} Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo.
Korea’s geographic outline as a background against which two groups of soldiers are fighting.

The presentation of the cartoon, although losing the authenticity of the historical scene and personages, makes the series more comprehensible and enjoyable to younger readers. Accompanied by the written text stating that “the Qing soldiers suffered a crushing defeat,” four Qing soldiers wearing terrified facial expressions are attacked by the oncoming Japanese, with the national flag of Japan floating in the air. The body languages of the defeated soldiers suggest that they were forced to retreat toward the inland, with the Qing’s flag trampled on the ground. One of the Qing soldiers with his legs in motion is comically depicted as a fleeing soldier who wishes to escape from the battle. Along with the storyline stating that “The Qing’s weakness was completely revealed by this event,” this visual representation of the War reveals a sense of sarcasm that mocked the loser status of the Qing soldiers. An identical image was re-printed in Figure 1.6 in the second edition of the series published in the Chen Shui-bian era.

While Li Hong-zhang is missing in the illustrations from the Martial Law era, Figure 1.4 from the Lee Teng-hui era captures Li’s predicament, considering the future fate of China. In this visual image, Li was portrayed as a schemer who “weighed the pros and cons of ceding Taiwan

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53 Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.6 were published under the same book title but in two different editions.
to Japan.” A foreign soldier carrying a plain flag and a barreled gun behind his back standing on the geographic outline of the Liaodong Peninsula symbolizes foreign intervention (Russia) intended to protect the territory from being occupied by Japan. A Japanese soldier with his national flag depicting the rising sun and who is standing on the geographic outline of Taiwan represents Japan’s taking over of Taiwan. The body language of the soldiers, who are standing tall and straight, exhibits Li’s speculation, as voiced in the two bubbles written in Mandarin, that the territories will be either protected or occupied by the two different nations. The affirmative attitude of the soldiers revealed from the image reflects Li’s confidence in the case for foreign intervention. It also contrasts sharply with Li’s fear of infuriating Japan since the Japanese are resolute in their efforts to dominate the island.

The signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in Figure 1.5 in the Lee Teng-hui era reveals a setting and atmosphere that is very similar to the moment depicted in Figure 1.2. A comparatively detailed illustration of each Japanese representative located in the upper corner of the image shows the victors’ stateliness. The simple sketch of the Qing representatives,
who are without discernible faces, demonstrates the
losers’ concern over losing face. Among the three
(Figures 1.2, 1.5, and 1.8), the colored image of the
scene in Figure 1.8 published in the Chen Shui-bian
era depicts an atmosphere that is closest to the
“reality”: the warm hue of room, the silky luster of
the fabric of the outfits of the Qing officials, and the detailed portrayals of the Japanese re-
duplicate the historical moment, which helps readers comprehend the children’s narrative with
ease. This advancement in painting and printing techniques reflects the contemporary
development of Taiwanese children’s literature as more quality books have been produced and
published than in the late twentieth century.

Books Published during the Chen Shui-bian Era (2001–2008)

[A summary of the events and the personality as interpreted from Hao’s (2001) Taiwanese
Historical Stories in Comics: The Domination of the Governor-General Office (Vol. 9), Hsu’s
Era (I) – The Backyard of Japan’s Capitalists (Vol. 7), Lu’s (2005) The Stories of Taiwan
History, and Tsao’s (2005) Taiwan’s Historical Figures that Elementary and Junior High
School Students Must Know):

In 1894, China and Japan fought the Sino-Japanese War\(^\text{54}\) (Hao, p. 6; Hsu, p. 97; Jheng, p. 13–
4; Lu, p. 134; Tsao, p. 85) in Korea (Figure 1.6\(^\text{55}\)) (Hao, p. 6; Hsu, p. 97; Jheng, p. 13–4). The
following year, the extremely weak [衰弱不堪] (Hsu, p. 97) Qing court was defeated (Hao, p.
6; Hsu, p. 97; Lu, p. 134) and forced to negotiate peace with Japan (Hsu, p. 97) and sign the

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\(^{54}\) According to Jheng’s (2005) narrative, the war was known as the Japan-Qing War to Japanese (p. 21).

\(^{55}\) The text appearing in the image says, “[the Chinese troops] were crushingly defeated in [Asan] and Pyongyang
[my translation].]”
The Treaty of Shimonoseki, ceding Taiwan to Japan (Hao, p. 6; Hsu, p. 97–8; Jheng, p. 21; Lu, p. 134). The most decisive battle was the Yellow Sea Battle (Hao, p. 6) during which the highly vaunted North Oceanic Fleet [北洋艦隊] of China was completely defeated (Hao, p. 6; Hsu, p. 98) like a mountain being toppled [兵敗如山倒] (Hsu, p. 98). Since the War was not fought in Taiwan (Hao, p. 6; Hsu, p. 97), Taiwan became the unfortunate sacrificial offering [倒楣的祭品] (Hsu, p. 98).

The Taiwanese people wondered why Taiwan should be ceded to Japan (Hao, p. 6). In April 56 (Hsu, p. 98), 1895, the Qing court dispatched Li Hong-zhang to negotiate peace with the Plenary Minister of Japan, Ito Hirofumi, in Shimonoseki, Japan (Hsu, p. 98; Jheng, p. 15–7; Lu, p. 134; Tsao, p. 86). During the negotiation, Ito Hirofumi asked for reparations, the independence of Korea [朝鮮], and the cession of the Liaodong Peninsula, the Pescadores, and Taiwan (Jheng, p. 18). Li thought that if he signed the treaty, it would humiliate the nation and result in forfeiture of its sovereignty [喪權辱國] (Jheng, p. 20). Li weighed the pros and cons of ceding Taiwan to Japan and came to the conclusion that protecting mainland China was more important since the war would bring greater harm to China if it dragged on (Figure 1.757) (Jheng, p. 20). Given these considerations (Jheng, p. 21), Li Hong-zhang (Hao, p. 14; Hsu, p. 98; Jheng, p. 21) put up little resistance to the treaty terms regarding the ceding of Taiwan to Japan (Jheng, p. 21), and he signed the Treaty of

56 In Jheng’s (2005) and Tsao’s (2005) narratives, Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang was dispatched by the Qing Empire to negotiate peace with Japan in March, 1895 (Jheng, p. 15; Tsao, p. 85–6).
57 The text appearing in the image says, “And if the war drags on, China may suffer even greater harm than the ceding of Taiwan,” and “From that perspective, protecting the mainland is more important” (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 20).
Shimonoseki with Japanese representative Ito Hirofumi\(^\text{58}\) (Figure 1.8) (Hao, p. 14; Hsu, p. 98; Jheng, p. 21) on April 17 (Jheng, p. 21). While signing the Treaty, Li Hong-zhang told Ito Hirofumi that Taiwan was a piece of barbarian land where birds did not sing, flowers were not fragrant, men were ruthless, and women lacked righteousness (Lu, p. 134). The very mortifying [卑屈] (Hsu, p. 98) Treaty of Shimonoseki (Hao, p. 14; Hsu, p. 98) stipulated that China should cede the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan, and the Pescadores to Japan (Hsu, p. 98; Jheng, p. 18; Lu, p. 134; Tsao, p. 86). Due to the Great World Powers\(^\text{59}\) opposition (Hao, p. 9; Hsu, p. 98), Japan gave up (Hsu, p. 98) returned (Hao, p. 9) the Liaodong Peninsula but retained Taiwan and the Pescadores (Hsu, p. 98). Given the importance of protecting the Mainland, Taiwan became a scapegoat of the Sino-Japanese War (Jheng, p. 21). When China and Japan exchanged their copies, the ceding of Taiwan to Japan was confirmed, and the Great World Powers did not intervene (Hao, p. 10). Afterward, Taiwan became a scapegoat of the War (Jheng, p. 21), and with the Pescadores, it also became a colony of Japan (Hsu, p. 98).

When it comes to the Chen Shui-bian era, narratives published during this period of time reveal strong similarities to the interpretations of the historical events and personalities published in the previous era. One of the primary reasons is that some of the books published in this era are the newer editions of the books published in the Lee Teng-hui era (e.g., Hao’s first edition of *Taiwanese Historical Stories in Comics* series published in 1990 and the second edition published in 2001). For Hao’s two editions, identical illustrations (e.g., Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.6)

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\(^{58}\) In Tsao’s (2005) narrative, the scene was described to indicate that although Li made efforts to negotiate with Ito Hirofumi and was attacked and shot, ultimately, he was forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki (p. 142).

\(^{59}\) In Hao’s (2001) and Tsao’s (2005) narratives, the Powers are Russia, Germany, and France (Hao, p. 9; Jheng, p. 24; Tsao, p. 88).
were adopted in both editions but with minor textual revisions in the later set. For instance, in the 1990 version, the Sino-Japanese War was introduced on page 6 as being fought in 1895, which is historically inaccurate. This misrepresentation was corrected in the 2001 edition. In addition, extra information presented in footnote format was available in the updated version. For instance, in Jheng’s (2005) second edition of *A History of Taiwan in Comics* (Vol. 7): *The Japanese Era* (I) – *The Backyard of Japan’s Capitalists*, the author includes a footnote introducing the following information: “The 1894 Sino-Japanese War is known to Japanese as the Japan-Cing War [一八九五年發生的中日「甲午戰爭」日本稱做「日清戰爭」]” (p. 21). Furthermore, the second edition of *A History of Taiwan in Comics* (2005) was published in both English and Mandarin, which make the series bilingual. These changes echo the concurrent trend of celebrating and promoting multicultural and multilingual education. Different from Hao’s style in handling illustrations by incorporating exactly the same set of images into the later edition, illustrations in Jheng’s second edition were newly created and technically improved from the black-and-white images to color representations of the history of Taiwan.

**Re-evaluating Li Hong-zhang in Chen’s Era**

Comparing to the visual representation of Li Hong-zhang (Figure 1.4) from the Lee Teng-hui era, Figure 1.7 from the Chen Shui-bian era portrayed Li as a man who seems to lack confidence as indicated by his bowed head and kneeling down in a room with Japanese decor.
Different degrees of depression and loneliness were applied to the illustrations (Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.7) published in two different historical eras. This may due to the fact that in the Chen Shui-bian era, the ruling authority – the Democratic Progressive Party – embraced a more radical and punctilious attitude toward the presentation of the history of Taiwan: how it should be taught and from whose perspectives. When the Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang is discussed in the children’s narrative, Li’s inner thoughts about the cession of Taiwan are more closely examined and with different interpretations. Thus, when it comes to commenting on the past, what was once silenced by the opposition party in earlier days is often re-examined and re-evaluated by the contemporary dominant authority. In the case of Li Hong-zhang, his critical position, once neglected in the Martial Law era, is re-considered and re-illustrated with a perspective that parallels the contemporary ruling authority’s ideology by presenting an impotent and lonely Li Hong-zhang incapable of resisting Japan.

After the Sino-Japanese War was fought and the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, discussion focusing on the consequences of the two events usually follows, and it usually comes under the title the Taiwan Republic [Taiwan minzu kuo 臺灣民主國] in historical narratives. In The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials, the rise and fall of the Taiwan Republic and the major personages involved in the self-defense act occurring in Taiwan
in 1895 are examined, with the introductory paragraphs discussing related historical research followed by selected images, summarized narratives translated from books published in the three different historical phases, and my comparative analyses.

The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials

*The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials* deals with the cause and the effect of the establishment of the Taiwan Republic in 1895 and major personages involved in this defiant resistance to Japan’s taking over of Formosa. Principal figures include Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song, gentry member Ciou Fong-jia, and Black General Liou Yong-fu. None of them were native-born Taiwanese, but they were the powerful individuals who bore the responsibility for the rise and fall of the Taiwan Republic. Since this anti-Japanese act was critical in the history of Taiwan, historians have probed into the issues of the roles of the Taiwan Republic and the three leading figures involved. Major disputes among the historical research are 1) the objective of the establishment (e.g., presenting Taiwan as a self-dependent island state versus positioning the establishment as an act of Taiwan’s independence from the Mainland, 2) the sovereignty of Taiwan (e.g., the ultimate ownership of Taiwan was emphasized as being China’s versus the establishment of the Taiwan Republic as an act officially divorcing Taiwan’s sovereignty from China, and 3) whether Black Flag General Liou was a man with the strength of will to accept the presidential post after Tang’s escape or an individual who rejected the post and was forced by the circumstances to lead the guerrillas to flight against Japan.

Since the ownership of Taiwan has led to a great debate between people who support Taiwan’s reunification with China (e.g., the Nationalist government in the Martial Law era) and individuals who believe in the independence of Taiwan’s sovereignty (e.g., Chen Shui-bian’s Democratic Progressive Party), the evolution of the specification of Taiwan’s sovereignty is of
great importance in the history of Taiwan. As we shall see in the following historical research, earlier historians tended to embrace the idea of Taiwan belonging to China (a China-centered interpretation) in contrast to the later account emphasizing Taiwan as an independent state (a Taiwan-centered interpretation).

_The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic and Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song_

The establishment of the Taiwan Republic was an act of Taiwanese resistance against the Japanese and their domination of Taiwan. According to Manthorpe’s (2005) and Morris’ (2002) research, two days after the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, Tang Jing-song, dispatched by the Qing to serve as a Taiwan Magistrate, received the cable of the official notification of the treaty terms from Beijing. The Qing court decreed that within two months, Taiwan would be officially handed over to the Japanese (Manthorpe, 2005). Those who did not want to be ruled by the Japanese would have up to two years to move their families and possessions to the Mainland (Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002). If they did not leave for China, they would become Japanese subjects (Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002). After the official notification arrived, Tang Jing-song was eager to sell government real estate in Taiwan to Britain and transfer his own properties back to China to facilitate his rapid return to the Mainland (Wu, 1981). When Tang’s proclamation regarding the hand-over of Taiwan and the time frame was announced, the people’s indignation was aroused, and they flooded into Magistrate Tang’s office, which was besieged by petitions waiting to be sent to Beijing. Mainly, those requests demanded the Qing court to reject the ratification of the treaty terms (Manthorpe, 2005).

_The Involvement of Ciou Fong-jia_

While the public outrage was ongoing, Ciou Fong-jia, a Hakka and leading figure of Taiwan’s gentry, led a resistance movement fueled by the people’s anger at the Qing court’s
contemptuous attitude and abandonment of the island (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005). Ciou believed that France would intervene and protect the island if Japan insisted on taking over Taiwan (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005). However, he was later disappointed. Ciou, having Magistrate Tang as his mentor, was involved in the civil service of Taiwan; however, the relationship between the two men became antagonistic. Ciou’s articulate and exceptional academic characteristics won him support from the Hakka, the Taiwanese people60, and an army of Hakka soldiers. In order to enlist France’s intervention and attract foreign support (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005), Ciou promoted self-rule (Lamley, 1968). Ciou stated to the Taiwanese public that according to international law, the people of Taiwan should be given the chance to vote on a referendum on self-determination (Manthorpe, 2005). However, Tang was aware of Ciou’s growing popularity among the people and was concerned that it would threaten his own authority (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005).

The Sovereignty of Taiwan: A Self-dependent Entity or an Independent State?

Thus, Tang decided to join Ciou’s plan to support the idea of self-rule and Taiwan’s independence in order to: 1) secure his leadership of the island, and 2) avoid the Japanese takeover of Taiwan, even though Tang was anxious about stepping onto the radical political ground with which he was unfamiliar (Manthorpe, 2005). On May 16, Ciou Fong-jia, with a delegation of local gentry, appeared at Tang’s office, where they asked Tang to declare Taiwan “an island-state” (Lamley, p. 746). However, Manthorpe (2005) argues that Ciou and his followers requested Tang to announce that Taiwan was an independent state. Different from Manthorpe’s (2005) argument that the Taiwan Republic was independent from China, Lamley (1968) focused on clarifying the island’s status as “a ‘self-dependent’ (tzu-li)61 entity” (p. 752),

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60 The Hoklo (the Fukien Taiwanese).
61 Self-dependent [自立 zu-li] is different from independent [獨立 tu-li].
arguing that Tang intentionally avoided the use of any political indications related to the idea of Taiwan independence. He also endeavored to present the Taiwan Republicans and himself as the loyal subjects of the Qing court (Lamley, 1968). For Tang, the Taiwan Republic was merely proclaimed to be self-dependent. Therefore, it was not fully independent from China in terms of sovereignty and nationhood (Lamley, 1968).

Ciou and his followers also forced Tang to accept the post of president of the Republic (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002). In return, Tang agreed to declare Taiwan a self-dependent state (Lamley, 1968)/Taiwan’s independence (Manthorpe, 2005) but, at first, was unwilling to serve in the position of president (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002) since he was afraid that he would be a manipulated figurehead under Ciou’s power (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005). After being rejected, Ciou and his delegation took the lead and used the telegraph in Tang’s office to send a short message to the Qing court (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002). The message said, “The literati and people of Taiwan are resolved to resist subjection to Japan. They have declared Taiwan an independent republic, under the suzerainty of the Sacred Qing dynasty”62 (Manthorpe, p. 160). The incorporation of the word suzerainty into the telegram suggests that a much looser relationship existed between the Taiwan Republic and China, and the Republic would be more like “a semi-independent or internally autonomous state acknowledging only a general overlordship by Beijing” (Manthorpe, p. 160). Contrary to Manthorpe’s interpretation, Lamley’s account indicated that Tang and Ciou and his supporters alike were cautious not to rupture the Qing’s authority while expressing their demands to form a

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62 James W. Davidson’s (1988) translation contains slightly different wording: “The literati and people of Formosa are determined to resist subjection to Japan. Hence they have declared themselves an independent Island republic, at the same time recognizing the suzerainty of the Sacred Tsing [Qing] dynasty” (p. 278). W. G. Goddard (1966) provides another very similar version, saying that “The literati and people of Taiwan are resolved to resist subjection to Japan. They will declare Taiwan an independent republic under the suzerainty of the Sacred Ch’ing [Qing] dynasty” (p. 145).
self-dependent state to resist Japan.

*Leading Figures of the Taiwan Republic*

Later, another telegram containing more detailed information was sent to the Qing court indicating that at the insistence of the public, the position of chief administer (president) of the Republic went to Tang, and Black Flag General Liou Yong-fu was the commander of the defense forces in the southern part of Taiwan (Manthorpe, 2005). Although it also stated that “Tang had been ‘retained’ temporarily to oversee the affairs of Taiwan” (Lamley, p. 746), in fact, the implication behind this message was that Tang was detained like a “hostage” by Ciou and his followers, who wanted to have Tang remain as a nominal leader in Taiwan since this would help the resistance movement in the northern part of Taiwan appear to be a united effort and would ensure continued support, including both manpower and money, from the Mainland (Lamley, 1968). However, upon receiving the message, the Qing court was unhappy since it was afraid that this self-defense movement would encourage Japan to change its mind about the treaty terms related to the giving up of the Liaodong Peninsula if the handing over of Taiwan to the Japanese was not completed (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005). On May 19, in order to avoid any misinterpretations, the Qing court formally announced that “China was certainly not unwilling to cede Taiwan to Japan” [中國並無不願交割之意] (Wu, 1981, p. 103). At the same time, the central government in Beijing telegraphed Tang and instructed him to protect China from involvement in Taiwan’s defensive act by publicly proclaiming that the establishment of the Taiwan Republic was Taiwan’s act of safeguarding and that China had nothing to do with it (Wu, 1981). In telegraphing Tang, China sought to outwardly divorce itself from possible relations with the new Republic that might have aroused Japan’s anger to the point of attacking China again (Wu, 1981).
The Independence Declaration of the Taiwan Republic

On May 20, the Qing court sent an imperial edict to Tang Jing-song, dismissing him from the Taiwan governorship and ordering Tang and other Qing officials to return to Beijing immediately (Lamley, 1968; Morris, 2002; Wu, 1981). Meanwhile, Tang thought acceptance of the presidency of the republic offered possibilities for the aggrandizement of his own power (Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005). Hence, on May 21, Tang accepted the post (Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002). On May 23, 1895, the declaration of the independence of the Taiwan Republic was announced (Davidson, 1988; Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002; Wu, 1981) and telegraphed to each country with a request for foreign recognition (Wu 1981). The Independence Declaration of the Taiwan Republic is as follows:

The Japanese have insulted China by annexing our territory of Taiwan. The People of Taiwan, in vain, have appealed to the Throne. Now the Japanese are about to arrive.

If we, the People of Taiwan, permit them to land, Taiwan will become a land of savages and barbarians. If, on the other hand, we resist, our state of weakness will not be for long, as foreign powers have assured us that Taiwan must establish its independence before they will assist us.

Therefore, we, the People of Taiwan, are determined to die rather than be subdued by the Japanese. This decision is irrevocable.

The leaders of the People of Taiwan, in council, have decided to constitute Taiwan, a republic state, and all administration, henceforth, will be in the hands of officials elected by the People of Taiwan.

T'ang Ching-sung⁶³, Governor of Taiwan, has been appointed President of the Republic of Taiwan.

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⁶³ Another frequently adopted English rendering of Tang Jing-song [唐景崧].
The official ceremony of inauguration of the Republic will take place on the second day of the fifth moon [May 25] at the ssu hour [noon], at which, all persons, those of rank, merchants, farmers, artisans, and tradesmen, will assemble at the Tuan Fang [militia] hall. This is a declaration of the People of Taiwan\(^64\). (Manthorpe, p. 161)

In addition to the declaration, invitations were also sent to Western tradesmen and envoys on the same day with the following proclamation:

The Qing court has not heard the mandate of the people; in ceding Taiwan they totally ignored our anger. A united Taiwan gentry telegraphed our appeals and telegraphed our advice, but nothing was done. The public is flush with grief and fury; a call for autonomy (zishu) will arouse the people…We must unite the people and gentry of Taiwan and establish a Taiwan Republic. Together we will push forward a constitutional draft, taking the good points of the American and French models; establish a legal system; inaugurate a Parliament; establish an administration; use a banner of a golden tiger\(^65\) on a blue background as our national flag; and take the region title “Everlasting Qing.” This will be Asia’s first republic. (Morris, p. 14)

These modern national symbols of the Republic – a constitution, a Parliament, a national flag, an administration, the people, and a republic – symbolized the Taiwan Republic as an independent nation (Ito, 2011). After the independence declaration was released, Tang reiterated the Republic’s status as a vassal state to China in later messages sent to the Mainland (Manthorpe, 2005). According to Ito (2011), “a vassal state to China” \([屬國\)] (p. 246) is different from “a colony of China” (p. 246) because \textit{vassal state} in this context means that the Taiwan Republic

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\(^64\) Davidson’s (1988) \textit{The Island of Formosa Past and Present} (p. 279–280), and Goddard’s (1966) \textit{Formosa: A Study in Chinese History} (p. 144) provide slightly different wording. Wu’s (1981) article provides a Mandarin version of the Independence Declaration of the Taiwan Republic on page 105.

\(^65\) According to Morris’ (2002) Notes section, adopting a tiger as the national symbol “was designed to acknowledge the Qing dynasty, the tiger symbolizing the prince to the Qing’s imperial dragon” (p. 23).
esteemed the Qing Empire. The purpose of declaring the Taiwan Republic a vassal state to China was to acquire weapons from China to be used in war against Japanese. The idea was not to resist Japan for the purpose of recovering the Qing Empire but to establish Taiwan as an independent republic (Ito, 2011).

The Ceremony of the Formal Establishment of the Taiwan Republic

On May 25, the national flag featuring a yellow tiger against a blue background was floating in the air of Taipei (Ito, 2011; Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002). The flag was escorted by a procession composed of gong bearers, officials, and members of the gentry (Morris, 2002). Led by Ciou Fong-jia, the gentry of Taiwan presented the national flag and the seal of the Republic to Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song (Ito, 2011). When the seal arrived at his yamen, Tang Jing-song, attired in formal clothes worn on special occasions, went out to greet the procession and receive the presidential seal. Tang then consecrated the seal in his office. (Wu, 2008a). Major leading figures of the Republic included President Tang Jing-song, Vice-president Ciou Fong-jia, and Great General Liou Yong-fu (Ito, 2011). That day was bustling, and representatives from various regions joined the long procession to escort the silver presidential seal (Wu, 2008a).

Although the ceremony appeared to be ostentatious and extravagant, the masses of Taipei “showed little interest in the public ceremony and Tang’s dramatic kowtowing on his reception of the presidential seal” (Morris, p. 15). Although the original intention of establishing the Republic was to persuade foreign powers to intervene in Japan’s takeover of Taiwan, the Taiwan Republic did not win foreign support and soon collapsed (Wu, 2008a).

Tang’s Escape and His Soldiers’ Extortion

On May 28, the central government dispatched another telegraph with the goal of impressing upon Tang that the establishment of the Republic was a temporary expedient to

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66 Yamen [衙門], referring to Tang’s office.
prevent Japan from re-attacking China by presenting Taiwan as independent of China even though in reality that was not the case. If the new Republic of Taiwan could somehow resist the establishment of Japanese control, Taiwan would still belong to China, in fact if not in principle (Wu, 1981). On May 29, the Japanese troops landed at Aoli (Manthorpe, 2005; Wu, 2008a), approximately 20 miles southeast of Keelung (Manthorpe, 2005). Although the Japanese encountered the resistance of the militias in Keelung on June 3, the area soon fell after only a day of fighting against the well-trained and well-equipped Japanese soldiers (Manthorpe, 2005; Wu, 2008a). The next evening at nine o’clock, Tang removed his official clothes and put on far more simple clothing so as to avoid detection and left his yamen (Wu, 2008a). After leaving his office, Tang boarded a small steam boat and arrived at Tamshui, where he hid himself aboard a foreign ship – the Arthur – anchored at the harbor. Upon the Arthur’s departure for the Mainland, the ship was attacked by the Qing soldiers’ artillery. As a result, the Arthur was forced to return to harbor, where the Qing soldiers continued to fire on the foreign ship, demanding thirty thousand tael [銀兩] said to be hidden on the ship in exchange for an end to the attack (Wu, 2008a). The soldiers succeeded in their extortion attempt, and on the 5th, the thirty thousand tael were finally taken away from the Arthur and divided among the Qing troops (Wu, 2008a). Since the money was not enough to satisfy the soldiers, they detained a committee member of the Customs and confined him in his yamen to extort more money. The committee member soon escaped from the confinement, but his flight enraged the soldiers, who smashed up his office. Since the garrison troops who safeguarded shore batteries did not receive any of the extorted money, they threatened to cannonade any vessels carrying passengers ready to set sail (Wu, 2008a). In order to allow the Arthur and its two thousand passengers to sail safely, more money was sent to the shore batteries to satisfy the garrison troops, along with a request for a cease-fire. After
negotiations, the *Arthur* finally pulled out of the harbor with Tang Jing-song on board the morning of the 6th at 8:30 (Wu, 2008a).

The scene of Tang’s escape from the calamity was documented in various studies with different interpretations and emphases. Morris (2002) provides another scenario about Tang’s flight:

In the early morning of June 5, 1895, Tang Jingsong, president of the Taiwan Republic, collected his memorial drafts, official government seal, and a telescope case full of silver dollars, and stuffed them in a bag with his clothing. Paying ten bodyguards $100 each to protect him from the rioting troops outside his official residence, Tang was escorted out through the Taipei West Gate and one mile to the Tamshui River, just one hour before his yamen burst into flames behind him. Tang boarded … the German steamer *Arthur* bound for Xiamen67. (p. 3–4)

In Davidson’s (1988) account, fifty thousand dollars was divided by Tang among his bodyguards as release money that might help him safely leave his presidential office. Tang’s escape brought turmoil as the soldiers demanded a cut of the money. No one was certain how and when Tang got away from the riot. To observers on the scene, only a few guards and two or three mandarins approaching toward the river and boarding a steam ship were seen (Davidson, 1988). Davidson (1988) further argues that Tang “was probably one of them, but even if he left disguised, it was marvellous that he should escape the Chinese soldiers who were watching his every move” (p. 301). One thing is certain: the Taiwan Magistrate and the commander-in-chief of the Qing soldiers – Tang Jing-song – bribed his Qing soldiers in order to board a foreign ship – the

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67 In Manthorpe’s (2005) book, Tang left Taiwan on June 5. With his family, he boarded a German passenger ship, the *Arthur*, anchored at Tamshui. Although shore batteries fired at the ship, it successfully steamed out of the harbor with President Tang on board, bound for Fuzhou, China (p. 162). In Ito’s (2011) account, Tang Jing-song sneakily boarded the steamer *Arthur* and crossed the ocean back to the Mainland.
Arthur – leaving Taiwan for China. Tang left the chaotic Republic behind and fled back to the Mainland.

*Chinese Officials’ and Wealthy Landowners’ Escape to the Mainland*

Announcing his intention to seek armed assistance from the Mainland to support the defensive battle, Ciou Fong-jia also left Taiwan and never returned to the island (Goddard, 1966; Manthorpe, 2005). Fugitives from the calamity were everywhere in Taiwan as many Chinese officials and wealthy Taiwanese Chinese landholders who were afraid of the Japanese hurriedly packed up their treasures and moveable articles and returned to the Mainland with their families (Kerr, 1986). After Tang and Ciou left, the troops from Guangdong province of China stationed at and safeguarding Taipei were in disarray (Manthorpe, 2005). Those soldiers dispatched to Taiwan were idlers, scoundrels, or bandits whose primary purpose for serving in the army was to make a profit, fighting against the Japanese occupation being the furthest thing from their minds (Hsieh, 2001). They burned Tang’s office and plundered valuable articles from the office and the city of Taipei (Davidson, 1988; Manthorpe, 2005; Morris, 2002). Tradesmen who were looted by the Chinese soldiers decided to ask the Japanese to come to the city quickly and maintain social order. On June 7, the Japanese entered Taipei without encountering significant resistance (Manthorpe, 2005). On June 11, the northern part of Taiwan was captured by the Japanese who, six days later, inaugurated the Japanese administration in the capital of Taiwan – Taipei (Manthorpe, 2005).

*Black Flag General Liou Yong-fu’s Escape in Disguise*

After Taipei fell under Japanese control, some local literati and the gentry of Taiwan decided to ask Black Flag General Liou to be the president of the Republic and safeguard Tainan – the southern part of Taiwan (Goddard, 1966; Hsieh, 2001; Manthorpe, 2005). Whether
or not Liou accepted the offer and under what conditions is controversial due to the fact that different historical research conducted at different time periods present different emphases. In Goddard’s (1966) Formosa: A Study in Chinese History, Liou was said to receive the official seal, accept the position, and, with the literati who advocated that Liou be the President of the Republic, issue a proclamation:

This independent Republic of Taiwan maintains its allegiance to the Emperor of China. The Government of the Republic of Taiwan will be conducted in unison with the Government at Peking. We shall work together as “Twin Mountains”. When the dwarfs [the Japanese] have been driven out of Taiwan, once more will Taiwan return to China and place itself under the direction of the Emperor. (p. 152)

In the announcement, Taiwan’s ownership was emphasized through the phrase “once more will Taiwan return to China and place itself under the direction of the Emperor.” Davidson’s (1988) discussion of the content of the proclamation reveals an identical interpretation, suggesting that Liou committed the Republic to allegiance to China and coordination with the government in Beijing. The acknowledgement that the people be ruled under the sovereignty of the Emperor of China once the peace had been established was reiterated. Both Goddard (1966) and Davidson (1988) echo Wu’s (1981) research discussed earlier, which stated that the ultimate ownership of the Taiwan Republic was to be returned to China if it could survive the Japanese attack. However, in Hsieh’s (2001) and Manthorpe’s (2005) accounts, Liou was said to reject the presidential post of the Republic. He was pressed by the circumstances to serve as an effective military commander who could lead the guerrillas to attack the Japanese troops (Manthorpe, 2005). The notion of belonging to China suggested in Goddard’s (1966), Wu’s (1981), and Davidson’s (1988) research runs counter to Manthorpe’s (2005) and Ito’s (2011) interpretations.
of the history as they believe that the idea of declaring Taiwan a vassal state of China is not equivalent to the idea of Taiwan a colony of China.

In October, the Japanese troops reached Tainan. Before the battle, Liou Yong-fu sent a surrender message to the Japanese commander, who rejected the offer (Davidson, 1988; Manthorpe, 2005). Thus, following in Tang’s and Ciou’s steps, Liou Yong-fu “disguised himself as a refugee and boarded a British ship, the Thales” (Manthorpe, p. 163) bound for China on October 19, 189568 (Ito, 2011). Davidson’s (1988) study records a very similar discussion of how Liou escaped from the southern part of Taiwan and left his Black Flag Army behind. It says that on the night of October 18, 1895, Liou remained at the An-pin fort, offering as an excuse the claim that he was conducting an inspection. He stayed at the fort until the next morning and then disappeared. It was learned that Liou disguised himself as a worker69, and along with his bodyguard and about one hundred officials, he boarded the S.S. Thales and escaped on October 19 (Davidson, 1988). Two days after Liou’s escape, the Japanese took over Tainan without any fighting (Davidson, 1988; Ito, 2011; Manthorpe, 2005), signaling the collapse of the Taiwan Republic (Davidson, 1988; Huang, 2001; Ito, 2011). The Taiwan Republic existed approximately five months, from its establishment on May 23 to its demise on October 21, 1895 (Manthorpe, 2005).

Two divergent accounts of the historical event and personages were observed with one group of historians’ pro-China interpretation (e.g., Goddard, 1966; Lamley, 1968) and the other set of scholars’ pro-Taiwan analysis of the establishment of the Taiwan Republic (e.g., Ito, 2011; Manthorpe, 2005). With the shifting of the political power from Chiang Kai-shek’s and Chiang

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68 According to Goddard (1966), Liou disguised himself as an ordinary passenger with a child in his arms and boarded the British ship *Thales* with some 1,400 refugees and escaped to China (p. 154). In Kerr’s (1986) account, Liou’s escape was in the disguise of an old woman among a group of refugees boarding a British ship, and Liou successfully fled back to the Mainland (p. 30).

69 Davidson (1988) used the term *coolie*.
Ching-kuo’s (the Mainlanders) Nationalist Martial Law era to native-born Taiwanese presidents Lee Teng-hui’s post-Martial Law era and Chen Shui-bian’s Democratic Progressive Party’s period, more Taiwan-centered interpretations were available in Lee’s and Chen’s periods and afterward. Thus, the historical research about the rise and fall of the Taiwan Republic and its major officials reveals the existence of multiple interpretations of the same event and personages involved. Whether or not different interpretations have been generated and discussed in the children’s literature published during different historical eras is my next concern.

Books Published during the Martial Law Era (1949-1987)

[A summary of the event as interpreted from Su’s (1967) Famous People in the History of Taiwan, Lin’s (1975) Historical Picture of Taiwan: The Japanese Era (Vol. 3), Wei’s (1980) The National Revolution and the History of Taiwan, Huang’s (1985) History of Taiwan, and Kung’s (1986) Biographies of Taiwan’s Anti-Japanese Heroes: The Tragic History of Taiwan’s Fall into Japanese Control (Vol. 1)]:

When the people of Taiwan received the news of the ceding of Taiwan to Japan, they were shocked and terrified [震驚惶恐] and unwilling to fall into Japanese slavery. They protested and petitioned the Qing court (Huang, p. 21; Su, p. 65). After suffering disappointment in asking the Qing government to reject the Treaty of Shimonoseki and urging foreign support, the Taiwanese compatriots could only despairingly [絕望] rely on themselves for help. According to the international law, if the people are unwilling to cede territory to any foreigner [割地時紳民不服], they can demand the formation of a republic to resist the foreign domination and prevent the loss of territory (Lin, p. 11). Thus, under the leadership of

Figure 2.1 Ciou Fong-jia.
Ciou Fong-jia (Figure 2.1), a leading figure of the Taiwanese gentry, the gentry and common people of Taiwan submitted a written statement to Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song (Figure 2.2), demurring the cession of Taiwan (Kung, p. 29; Wei, p. 19). They also detained Tang Jing-song (Wei, p. 19) and Liou Yong-fu (Figure 2.4) and compelled them to make a last-ditch defense (Wei, p. 19). Tang immediately accepted the people’s demand, gathered important supporters to discuss the defense plan for preventing the Japanese invasion, and announced that the Qing soldiers were welcome to either go back to the Mainland or stay in Taiwan (Kung, p. 29). Many Qing soldiers were unwilling to leave (Kung, p. 29). With hasty [倉卒] preparations, the Taiwan Republic [臺灣民主國] was created for the purpose of resisting the Japanese invasion after the Treaty was signed and the ceding of Taiwan to Japan was decided upon (Figure 2.3) (Lin, p. 11). The official name of Taiwan was changed from Taiwan Province to the Taiwan Republic, establishing the first year of Yongqing (Forever Qing [永清]) in 1895 (Lin, p. 11). The national flag of the Republic, featuring a yellow tiger against a blue background, was floating in Taipei’s sky (Wei, p. 19).

The Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song was nominated as President, Liou Yong-fu was the Great General of the Taiwan Republic (Lin, p. 11; Wei, p. 19), and Ciou Fong-jia was the commissioner of the militia (Lin, p. 11; Wei, p. 19). On May 26, 1895, Ciou Fong-jia telegraphed each province in China and formally declared that the Taiwan Republic was established and will forever be a vassal state of China [中國的屬藩] (Lin, p. 11). Prior to the official handover of Taiwan to Japan, the Japanese unscrupulously carried out armed attacks in
Taiwan (Lin, p. 13). Liou, a chief commander, was brave and skillful in fighting [驍勇善戰], so he was dispatched by the Qing court to serve as the deputy of military affairs in Tainan, Taiwan, responsible for the defense of southern Taiwan (Kung, p. 18–21). When the Japanese troops tried to take over Taiwan by armed force, Liou vowed to live or perish with Taiwan [誓與臺灣共存亡] (Kung, p. 19). Thus, he decided to send his Black Flag Army [黑旗軍] in Tainan to the front line and called on soldiers and militia to rise up against Japan’s invasion (Kung, p. 20). On June 6, Tang Jing-song realized the hopelessness of the situation; thereupon, he put on plain clothing [微服, “inferior clothing”], so as to avoid detection, boarded a German ship, and fled to Amoy (in Fukien Province, China) (Lin, p. 13). In the meantime, Taipei (in Taiwan) was in social chaos and political anarchy (Lin, p. 13). The Taiwan Republic collapsed for lack of leadership (Lin, p. 13). Ciou was filled with righteous indignation [義憤填膺] (Huang, p. 23). When the Qing court ceded Taiwan to Japan, he called on comrades to resist Japan (Huang, p. 23). Unfortunately, the anti-Japanese forces suffered successive defeats (Huang, p. 23). Ciou Fong-jia had no alternative [無可奈何] but to reluctantly leave Taiwan [忍痛離開臺灣] (Huang, p. 23; Su, p. 66). He secluded himself in Guangdong (Huang, p. 23). Although he was in the Mainland, he continued thinking about revenge [時時想著復仇] and constantly bore Taiwan in his thoughts [念念不忘臺灣] (Su, p. 68). As for Liou Yong-fu, many people joined his militia, heroically and tragically battling against Japan’s invasion (Kung, p. 21). Not long after, the heroic militia was successively

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70 According to Kung (1986), when the Japanese troops made a breakthrough in Taipei, Tang Jing-song obeyed the imperial edict [遵旨] to cross the ocean and head back to Beijing [內渡回京] (p. 20).
defeated, and Liou’s staff members suggested that he go back to the Mainland and wait for the future restoration of Taiwan (Kung, p. 21–22). Liou insisted on holding An-Pin in Tainan and waging a life-or-death battle with the enemy [跟敵人一決死戰] (Kung, p. 22). However, his staff continued to persist and physically forced [又勸又拉] (Kung, p. 22) Liou onto a British ship bound for Xiamen, China (Kung, p. 22; Lin, p. 27). Liou Yong-fu was transferred back to the Mainland (Figure 2.4) (Huang, p. 22; Kung, p. 23; Lin, p. 27) by the Qing court and later was sent to Guangdong, China to serve in another important post (Kung, p. 23).

After the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed and the cession of Taiwan was decided upon, the Taiwan Republic was then established by the gentry and the literati of Taiwan to resist Japan’s takeover of the island.

_The Rise and Fall of the Taiwan Republic Presented in the Martial Law Era_

Comparing the historical research to the children’s narrative published during the Martial Law era, the Qing government’s fear of getting involved in the self-defense battle in Taiwan documented in Wu’s (1981) research was concealed by the narrative’s sketchy portrayal of the establishment and the collapse of the Taiwan Republic. The coldhearted attitude of the Qing court and its Chinese officials toward the Taiwanese people’s requests was briefly mentioned at the beginning of the narrative. Readers only are informed by a rather simple explanation that “after suffering disappointment in asking the Qing government to reject the Treaty,” the people of Taiwan decided to safeguard Taiwan by establishing a republic.

In addition, the Chinese government’s motivation of self-protection discussed in _The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang_ was also ignored in the narrative. For the government in mainland China, investing more armed forces and manpower to protect “the wild forest of Formosa, filled…with head-hunters
and opium-eaters” (Li, 1913, p. 270) was viewed as a waste of resources since Taiwan and China are geographically separated by the Taiwan Strait. If continued war with Japan resulted, having Taiwan as the primary battle ground would not bring direct harm to China. To this point, the Qing court in Beijing acted like a bystander who was indifferent to Japan’s takeover of Taiwan. As for the suggestion that the establishment of a republic state was to prevent Japan from occupying Taiwan, both historical research (i.e., Lamley, 1968; Manthorpe, 2005) and the narrative are consistent. However, only the historical research (i.e., Wu, 1981) indicates Beijing’s ostensible hands-off approach to the self-defense act that masked a desire to control Taiwan if Taiwan could survive the battle. The Qing’s stratagem of the pseudo-independence of the Taiwan Republic alluded to in the telegraph, proving the selfishness of the Chinese government, was not incorporated into the narrative published in the Martial Law era. No weapons, soldiers, or financial aid were sent to Taiwan to support the event after Tang’s escape (Hsieh, 2001).

The Chinese-centered Interpretation of Taiwan Sovereignty in the Martial Law Era

Regarding the content of the telegram sent to China in relation to the sovereignty issue of Taiwan, both Manthorpe’s (2005) research and the children’s narrative include a reference to the idea that the Taiwan Republic “will forever be a vassal state of China.” However, different interpretations of the term vassal state exist. For the Qing court and the Nationalists, a vassal state of China meant that Taiwan’s legal status was similar to that of a colony of China. In the historical research, Lamley (1968) stressed that the Taiwan Republic was a self-dependent entity different from an independent state, and Wu’s (1981) research emphasized that Taiwan would still belong to China. The historical and narrative records reflect the political ideology of the Nationalist government in Taiwan in the Martial Law era in stressing Taiwan as a part of China.
even though the Chinese had already ratified the ceding of Taiwan to Japan. They further sustain the Nationalist Party’s ideological promulgation of the Chinese national identity (e.g., one-China ideology), as also discussed in *The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895)*, and *Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang*.

The indication of a *vassal state of China* was later re-interpreted by Ito in 2011, and his argument is focused on divorcing the ownership of Taiwan from Beijing. Comparing Lamley’s China-centered interpretation of the wording in 1968 to Ito’s in 2011, Taiwan as a *vassal state of China* in Ito’s research was treated more like a strategic plan that delivers the Taiwan Republicans’ respect toward the Qing Empire, the purpose of which was to please the Qing court in order to acquire more support from China, such as weapons and manpower. The idea of proclaiming Taiwan a vassal state was not to resist Japan for the purpose of recovering the Qing Empire but with the aim of establishing Taiwan as an independent republic, which divorced Taiwan’s status from the sovereignty of China (Ito, 2011). In so far as the sovereign rights of Taiwan was concerned, Ito’s underscoring of the sovereignty of Taiwan suggests a Taiwan-centered interpretation of the historical rendering and echoes Manthorpe’s (2005) contemporary statement presenting the Republic as an independent state as discussed earlier. The phenomenon of incorporating different interpretations of the historical events is further elaborated in the children’s narratives published in the following two eras as the depictions of the legal status of Taiwan are introduced with different wording that carries different emphases.

*The Chinese-centered Assessments of the Leading Figures of the Taiwan Republic*

The three leading figures involved in the establishment of the Taiwan Republic are Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song (Figure 2.2), Black Flag General Liou Yong-fu (Figure 2.4), and Ciou Fong-jia (Figure 2.1). Ciou’s “righteous indignation” discussed in the children’s
narrative is supported by a visual representation in Figure 2.1. His leadership qualities are manifested through his clenching of his fists and his posture of chin up and chest out, insinuating his ambition and determination to lead the people of Taiwan to break through the difficult situation. With the attitude conveyed by his body language, Ciou “called on comrades to resist Japan.” After losing the defensive battle and consequently Taiwan, the children’s narrative suggests that Ciou “had no alternative but to reluctantly leave Taiwan,” portraying his departure as a last resort. Different from the depiction in the children’s narrative, the historical research states that Ciou left Taiwan to undertake the mission of looking for armed assistance in the Mainland (i.e., Goddard, 1966; Manthorpe, 2005). Regardless of the cause of his leaving for China, Ciou never returned to the battle he initiated to safeguard Taiwan.

Tang Jing-song, the most controversial official of the Taiwan Republic, was depicted as a responsible leading figure in the children’s narrative, which depicts him accepting the people’s request and establishing the Taiwan republic. His official position as a Taiwan Magistrate is presented in Figure 2.2. In the image, Tang’s attire and sitting position suggest his noble status in the Taiwanese society, where his job was to superintend and give orders to his subordinates. His dignified image is further visualized in Figure 2.3, in which Tang
(to the right) is entrusted by Ciou and the Gentry of Taiwan with the seal of the Republic and with leading the people to fight against the Japanese, discussed in both the children’s narrative and the historical research (i.e., Ito, 2011; Wu, 2008a). Figure 2.3 exhibits Tang’s presidential status, who accepts the people’s sincere request to safeguard Taiwan, as the children’s narrative continues, “Tang immediately [italics added] accepted the people’s demand, [and] gathered important supporters to discuss the defense plan for preventing the Japanese invasion.” However, the narrative characterization of Tang’s prompt acceptance of safeguarding Taiwan contradicts Lamley’s (1968) and Manthorpe’s (2005) historical research in which the only reason Tang accepted the presidency was to aggrandize his personal influence within the island. His sense of justice toward the people of Taiwan characterized in the children’s narrative was rarely mentioned in the historical research.

The critical scene of his fleeing from the disastrous aftermath of the establishment of the Republic was later re-interpreted. Wu’s (2008a) research provides the most detailed description of the time, scene, setting, and process of how Tang’s ship was attacked by his own troops and how the foreign ship was finally allowed to steam out of the harbor. With a rather simple storyline suggesting that Tang “put on plain clothing … so as to avoid detection, boarded a German ship, and fled to Amoy,” the awkward predicament of Tang’s escape was absent in both visual and linguistic texts of the children’s narrative published during the Martial Law era. Only his official status as a leading figure was discussed in the narrative and visually presented in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3. The corruption and greediness of the Qing soldiers concealed in the
children’s narrative stating that “Many Qing soldiers were unwilling to leave” was exposed by Davidson’s (1988), Morris’ (2002), and Wu’s (2008a) research in which money (taels) was the primary inducement that motivated the soldiers and helped Tang escape from Taiwan.

Furthermore, Tang’s record of fleeing from the calamity is not unique. The chief commander Liou Yong-fu followed a similar path by fleeing back to the Mainland, although he was portrayed in the children’s narrative as a heroic general who “was brave and skillful in fighting” and “vowed to live or perish with Taiwan.” His embarrassment at offering surrender and deserting before the battle was disclosed in Davidson’s (1988) and Manthorpe’s (2005) research. This scenario is also contrary to the narrative description stating that Liou “insisted on holding An-Pin in Tainan and waging a life-or-death battle with the enemy,” and he was forced to board “a British ship bound for Xiamen” and stage a comeback in the future. In addition to the acclaim given to Liou in the children’s text, visual images of Liou published in the Martial Law era continue the tradition. Liou Yong-fu’s attire in Figure 2.4 indicates his status as a high-ranking official from the Qing court. His standing next to the guardrail of a ship and holding onto it with both hands show his presence on a traveling ship already on its way to the Mainland. Liou’s worried expression, his furrowed brow, and his apparent staring off into the distance display his anxiety about what he had left behind. This visual image of Liou parallels the linguistic narrative in that both provide positive, even dramatized, illustrations focused only on publicizing Liou’s “contribution” in safeguarding the southern part of Taiwan. His predicament of having to escape
from Taiwan, similar to Ciou Fong-jia, was portrayed as without alternatives.

In short, the children’s narrative concerned with the rise and fall of the Republic published in the Nationalist Martial Law era did not criticize the Qing court and its officials and soldiers. Their abandonment of Taiwan was embellished with elaborate rhetoric to focus on describing each official’s escape with a delicate touch, avoiding any chastisements of the Qing officials. Furthermore, the Qing soldiers’ corruption and greediness were disguised in the children’s narrative that invented the soldiers’ disinclination to withdraw from Taiwan with an assumption that they voluntarily remained and safeguarded the island. Thus, the selectively constructed children’s narrative presents partial, even fabricated, images of the historically important figures and dodges critical issues, such as Tang’s desperate escape and Liou’s surrender and flight from the battle his army was preparing to fight. The result is a glorified, China-centered history that overstates the Qing officials’ and soldiers’ endeavors and contributions in resisting the Japanese foreign domination and understates their corruption and abandonment of Taiwan. Since the Qing officials and soldiers and the Nationalists who dominated Taiwan were all from the Mainland, the way the history was told in the children’s narrative served the dominant group’s desire to eliminate the complex provincial antagonism felt by and toward Mainlanders and the people of Taiwan. It also supported the Nationalists since the Mainlanders, the Nationalists’ predecessors, were portrayed as nice fellows and patriots who once safeguarded the island until they were “compelled” to leave Taiwan. After the lifting of martial law in the late 1980s, the native-born Lee Teng-hui came to power. Whether or not his native-born Taiwanese identity influenced how the history was depicted is discussed as follows.

Books Published during the Lee Teng-hui Era (1988–2000)

[A summary of the event as interpreted from Hao’s (1990) Taiwanese Historical Stories in]
The ceding of Taiwan to Japan was really a burning shame [奇恥大辱] in China’s modern history (Wang, p. 166). Since the War was not fought in Taiwan (Hao, p. 6; Hung, p. 130), Ciou Fong-jia (Hung, p. 130) and the Taiwanese people wondered why Taiwan should be ceded to Japan (Hao, p. 6; Hung, p. 130). The gentry of Taipei beat gongs and went on strike [鳴鑼罷市] (Jheng, p. 15; Wang, p. 172) to show the opposition to the ceding of Taiwan when they realized that the Qing government seemed not to care about the public’s opinions (Wang, p. 172). They also criticized the Qing Emperor’s merciless attitude without offering a soothing word to console the people of Taiwan (Jheng, p. 16). The people of Taiwan, led by Ciou Fong-jia, sent a telegram to the Qing government expressing the people’s opposition toward the cession (Wang, p. 172), wishing the Qing would change its mind and withdraw the Treaty (Hung, p. 134). However, the Qing’s attitude was as “silent as a winter cicada” [噤若寒蟬] (Lin, p. 15). The Qing sent a telegram to Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song indicating that it was inappropriate for the Qing to involve itself in Taiwan’s resistance against Japan’s takeover of Taiwan since the current situation was tense. In the name of self-defense, the people of Taiwan could ask foreign countries to help Taiwan resist the Japanese (Jheng, p. 18). Since the Qing’s diplomatic strategy did not win international support, it had to stop providing secret aid to the Taiwan Republic and recall Tang Jing-song and other officials to mainland China.

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71 In Lin’s (2000) version, Ciou, on behalf of the people of Taiwan, wrote a letter in blood (血書) to express their unwillingness to surrender to Japan (p. 15).
(Jheng, p. 21–22). Not only did the Qing government not seek to change the content of the Treaty, it also recalled soldiers stationed in Taiwan (Hung, p. 134). The Qing government also issued an emergency order stating that the people of Taiwan were not allowed to resist Japan’s takeover of Taiwan (Hung, p. 134). Since the Qing court abandoned Taiwan, the people of Taiwan could only rely on themselves to save their country (Hao, p. 11). After receiving the news of Li Hong-zhang’s ceding of Taiwan to Japan, the people of Taiwan (Hung, p. 128)/Ciou Fong-jia (Hao, p. 10; Wang, p. 172) suggested the establishment of the Taiwan Republic [臺灣民主國] (Hao, p. 10; Hung, p. 128; Wang, p. 172), which was the first democratic republic in Asia (Wang, p. 166). Tang sought the assistance of Ciou Fong-jia and instructed him to use his influence among the people to: 1) motivate the masses to establish a democratic nation, and 2) organize a militia to stand against Japan and defend Taiwan (Jheng, p. 18–9). Chen Ji-tong recommended (Hao, p. 10) and the people of Taiwan advocated (Hung, p. 128; Wang, p. 173) Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song for the post of the president of the Taiwan Republic (Hao, p. 10; Hung, p. 128; Jheng, p. 33). Ciou Fong-jia led more than a thousand Taiwanese people to present the national flag of the Taiwan Republic to Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song (Figure 2.5) (Lin, p. 15). In actuality, Tang was playing dumb [假仙] and hypocritically declined the offer of the post by affectedly questioning his own capability to lead the Republic. In reality, however, Tang was scheming for room to maneuver.

Figure 2.5 Ciou Fong-jia leading the masses of Taiwan to present the national flag of the Republic to Tang Jing-song.

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72 In Jheng’s (2000) version, it was Tang who asked Ciou Fong-jia for help to agitate for the establishment of the Taiwan Republic in the non-government circles [民間] and form a militia after receiving a telegram sent by the Qing insinuating that the people of Taiwan should seek foreign support in order to ostensibly avoid the Qing’s involvement in the self-defensive battle (p. 18–9). Tang also warned Ciou Fong-jia to: 1) especially stress that the actions were initiated by the people of Taiwan; and 2) be careful not to reveal a word of the Qing’s hint lest the actions would embroil China [連累] (p. 20).
Chen easily persuaded him, saying that Tang was internationally recognized as the head of Taiwan, so Taiwan could not go a day without him. “If so”, as related by Tang, “I had no choice but to be the president of the Republic” (Hao, p. 10). On May 23, 1895, the Independence Declaration of the Taiwan Republic [臺灣民主國自主宣言] was released, stating that the Taiwanese would rather die than submit to the Japanese. Hence, after discussion with the Great Powers in the West, the officers and the people of Taiwan decided to establish the Taiwan Republic to resist the Japanese and to handle political affairs (Jheng, p. 33). The Republic was officially established on May 25 (Jheng, p. 21, 33; Lin, p. 15), with a national flag featuring a yellow tiger against a blue background74 (Figure 2.7) (Hao, p. 12; Hung, p. 146; Lin, p. 15). The region title was changed to Yongqing [永清] (Forever Qing) (Hao, p. 12; Lin, p. 15), meaning the Taiwan Republic would forever belong to the Qing Empire [永遠屬於大清國] (Lin, p. 15). Since the Qing Empire adopted a national flag featuring a dragon, Tang thought it would be fine to use a tiger in the flag of the Taiwan Republic and to adopt Yongqing as the region title to show his loyalty toward the Qing. On the other hand, Tang thought over his situation wherein if the...

73 The text appearing to the right of the image says, “On May 15, 1895, the Taiwan Republic was officially established and adopted a national flag featuring a yellow tiger against a blue background, and the region title was changed to Yongqing [my translation].” The text appearing to be Tang’s inner thought says, “The Great Qing adopts a national flag featuring a dragon. By using the tiger as the symbol of the national flag of the Taiwan Republic and the region title of Yongqing, the Qing Court shall understand my [Tang Jing-song] efforts. If the Taiwan Republic can succeed, it would not be a bad idea to be the president of the Taiwan Republic. If by chance the Republic does not work out in terms of resisting Japan, it won’t be too late for me to run away [my translation].”

74 In Wang’s (1999) The Characters in Taiwan History, the Taiwan Republic was established on May 26 (p. 173). In Hao’s (1990) Taiwanese Historical Stories in Comics, it was established on May 15, 1895 (p. 12), but the date was later corrected and revised to May 25, 1895, in the second edition published in the Chen Shui-bian era.
Republic could succeed it would not be a bad idea to be the president of Taiwan. If by chance the Republic did not work out in terms of resisting Japan, it would still be possible for Tang to flee back to China (Figure 2.6) (Hao, p. 12). This Republic was not a real democratic state since the people did not actively participate in politics (Jheng, p. 33). Although the Republic was established, soldier’s pay and provisions, weapons, ammunition, and soldiers were all lacking (Hung, p. 146). The effort to protect Taiwan fell short with regard to the demands of the situation [捉襟見肘] (Hung, p. 146). At that time, the officials of the Qing and the gentry only wished to protect their family properties and their lives and did not really want to fight against the Japanese (Hao, p. 19). The Qing court ordered its civil and military officials to return to China after the Republic was established (Hao, p. 12; Jheng, p. 22). On June 4, after hearing the news of the Japanese troops’ landing in Keelung (Lin, p. 15), Tang Jing-song foresaw the bad direction in which the situation was heading (Wang, p. 174). Tang disguised himself as an old maidservant with his maidservant’s help to deceive and bribe the soldiers (Hao, p. 15–6). He stealthily crossed the ocean (Wang, p. 174) and hurriedly escaped to [逃回] (Lin, p. 17)/sneaked into [潛回] (Hung, p. 170) the Mainland (Figure 2.875) (Hung, p. 170; Lin, p. 15). For the people of Taiwan, Tang was a spineless [沒有骨氣] deserter who fled just before the battle [臨陣偷逃] (Hung, p. 151).

After Tang fled, the public security of Taipei collapsed, and the Japanese soldiers easily entered and occupied Taipei city (Hao, p. 18–9). Most of the (Chinese) soldiers surrendered (Hao, p. 19), and the officials (Jheng, p. 23) and the gentry of Taiwan, including Ciou Fong-

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75 The text appearing in the image says, “It’s over. It’s all over [my translation].”
jia²⁶ (Figure 2.9), fled to the Mainland (Hao, p. 19; Jheng, p. 23). Those soldiers (Hao, p. 16; Hung, p. 153; Jheng, p. 24) who were abandoned by the officials (Hao, p. 19) became bandits [匪徒] (Hao, p. 19), robbing the people (Hao, p. 19; Hung, p. 153; Jheng, p. 24) and attacking the militia (Hao, p. 19) after they received the news of Tang’s escape (Hao, p. 18; Jheng, p. 24–5). The government troops [政府军] who once maintained order for the society became the source of chaos (Hung, p. 153). Taipei descended into anarchy after Tang escaped (Hung, p. 153; Jheng, p. 24; Lin, p. 18). All the people recommended the leader of the Black Flag Army, Liou Yong-fu, to succeed Tang as the president, but Liou refused, saying that he was willing to take on the responsibility of protecting the people of Taiwan without taking the position (Hung, p. 163–7). He led the people to actively resist Japan in southern Taiwan (Lin, p. 21). Although he was fiercely determined, he was unable to continue fighting against the Japanese troops without weapons, soldiers, food provisions, and soldiers’ pay (Hung, p. 168–9). When the Japanese troops were outside of Tainan city, Liou perceived the hopelessness of the situation. Hence, he disguised himself as a coal miner to avoid the Japanese soldiers’ search and took a British merchant ship and left Taiwan (Figure 2.10).

76 In Wang’s (1999) narrative, Ciou secretly crossed [潜渡] the ocean to arrive at Guangdong, China. Although he was out of danger, he was extremely sorrowful and indignant (Wang, p. 175). To his dying day, he bore Taiwan in his mind constantly (p. 175).

77 The conversation appearing in the image between the two birds says, “Isn’t that Ciou Fong-jia, who co-operated with Tang Jing-song to establish the Taiwan Republic? [my translation]” “Didn’t he pledge his life to protect Taiwan? How come he is running away so fast [my translation]? ”

78 The text appearing in the upper panel of the image says, “Liou Young-fu disguised himself as a coal miner to avoid the Japanese soldiers’ search and took a British merchant ship and left Taiwan [my translation].” The text
Two weeks after the establishment, many important members of the Republic (Jheng, p. 33), officials, and the people who were rich and powerful (Hao, p. 12) left Taiwan (Hao, p. 12; Jheng, p. 33) stealthily [開溜], so the Republic vanished (Jheng, p. 33) and collapsed (Wang, p. 174). Since Taipei was in chaos, some people even hoped that the Japanese would enter Taipei city as soon as possible to maintain public order (Jheng, p. 25). Finally, the Japanese troops, with the attitude of the suppressors of the revolt [平亂者的姿態], easily entered and occupied Taipei (Hao, p. 19). The Taiwan Republic only existed one hundred and forty-eight days (Hung, p. 170).

Taiwan-centered Perspectives in Assessing the Historical Event and Personalities

Comparing the narrative published during the Lee Teng-hui era to the earlier version, the later account adopted a Taiwan-centered perspective. A harsher criticism of the Qing’s coldhearted attitude toward the people’s request is followed by a greater emphasis on how each major leading figure helped himself escape the situation. Tang’s disguise as an old maidservant and Liou’s disguise as a coal miner were all part of the storylines. Entirely different from the illustrations published during the Martial Law era, the visual representations of Tang (Figures 2.6 & 2.8), Ciou (Figure 2.9), and Liou (Figure 2.10) incorporated into the narrative published in this historical phase tend to ridicule their abandonment of Taiwan and their embarrassing moments of fleeing from the calamity.

Tang Represented as a Spineless Deserter

Comparing the image of Tang Jing-song portrayed in Figure 2.6 to that in Figure 2.2, the later edition depicted Tang wearing a manchu moustache and beard. Based on the storyline saying “Tang was scheming for room to maneuver,” this visual representation suggests that Tang appearing in the lower panel says, “I, Liou Young-fu, was deceived by the bastard Zhang Chih-tung. I am like a hero who has no chance of using his might. I also have made many people sacrifice themselves [my translation].”
is scheming about matters that may be beyond the comprehension of the people of Taiwan. His insincere personality was strengthened by the storyline stating that “Tang was playing dumb [假仙] and hypocritically declined the offer of the post by questioning his own capability to lead the Republic,” mocking Tang as a treacherous official. No one seems to be aware of Tang’s stratagem. Caricatures related to the Chinese officials continue in the narrative published during the Lee Teng-hui era. Figure 2.8 captures Tang’s escape, showing Tang’s head covered with a piece of cloth used as a turban. With his two hands tightly grasping the piece of cloth and with the text stating that “Tang disguised himself as an old maidservant,” Tang’s intention to veil his identity is clearly indicated. His facial expression displays his fear and anxiety over being discovered by his own soldiers. Accompanied by the written text describing Tang as “a spineless deserter” who “with his maidservant’s help to deceive and bribe the soldiers . . . fled just before the battle,” both the narrative and the illustration presents Tang as a coward who cravenly clings to life instead of
braving death. This again forms a sharp contrast between Tang’s majestic status in Figure 2.2 and his spineless characteristics in Figure 2.8.

**Liou Represented as a Furtive Coward**

As for Liou Yong-fu, the “brave” commander “skillful in fighting” depicted in the Martial Law era (Figure 2.4), his course of escaping back to the Mainland discussed in the Lee Teng-hui era was no more principled than Tang’s. The historical research of Davidson (1988) and Manthorpe (2005) documented this interpretation of Liou’s escape from Taiwan: he covered up his identity by disguising himself as an inferior and lower status refugee/worker and boarded the *Thales* bound for China. As depicted in Figure 2.10, the two small tufts of moustache worn on his face with two squinting eyes present Liou as a worker who possesses little of the sense of bravery or heroic spirit needed to “wage a life-or-death battle with the enemy” portrayed in the Martial Law era (Figure 2.4). Accompanied by the children’s narrative stating that Liou “disguised himself as a coal miner to avoid the Japanese soldiers’ search and took a British merchant ship and left Taiwan,” both the historical research and the children’s narrative disclosed Liou’s predicament of fleeing back to the Mainland. Figure 2.4 stresses Liou’s noble status to depict Liou’s leaving in his official attire and with his upright attitude without artifice,
whereas Liou in Figure 2.10 is presented as a furtive miner who is afraid of being detected.

*Ciou’s Flight from the Calamity*

Different from the “righteous and indignant” image (Figure 2.1) of Ciou Fong-jia published in the earlier era, Ciou’s visual representation depicted in Figure 2.9 focuses on the very last moment of his flight from the calamity and ignores the whys and the wherefores of his leaving to seek reinforcements in the Mainland. This anti-Chinese caricature of Ciou in Figure 2.9, shown looking behind him for pursuers as he runs away, insinuates that he was not much different from his colleagues, Tang and Liou, who “fled to the Mainland” and never returned. Contrary to the escape of Ciou in Figure 2.9, Figure 2.1 illustrates him as strong and dignified.

The region title Yongqing [永清] was again introduced in this era with a different interpretation suggesting that “the Taiwan Republic would forever belong to the Qing Empire.” What is missing regarding the region’s status in this historical phase is the controversial phrase indicating that the Taiwan Republic “will forever be a vassal state of China” published in the Martial Law era. Emphatic adjectives and verbs such as *vowed to live or perish with Taiwan* were also removed from the narrative published in the Lee Teng-hui era. In their place, more
caricatures and negative adjectives and metaphors such as *a burning shame in China's modern history, merciless attitude, and silent as a winter cicada* were adopted to create and accentuate the negative images of the Chinese officials and soldiers. More Taiwan-centered interpretations of the historical event and personalities were incorporated into the children’s narrative. The righteous and patriotic image of the Chinese officials and the gentry created in the Martial Law era was transformed to depict this dominant group as selfish deserters who “only wished to protect their family properties and their lives and did not really want to fight against the Japanese.” The Chinese soldiers/government troops who were once suggested to be the patriots unwilling to leave Taiwan were reinterpreted in the Lee Teng-hui era, with the observations that “The government troops [政府軍] who once maintained order for the society became the source of chaos,” and “Those soldiers who were abandoned by the officials became bandits, robbing the people and attacking the militia after they received the news of Tang’s escape.” The inclination to critique the Chinese and the Qing court and separate Taiwan and China reveal the impact of changing political circumstances on the children’s narratives. The Taiwan-centered interpretation supports the contemporary authority’s political agenda of eliminating identification with the Mainland and focusing on the cultivation and promotion of new Taiwanese consciousness. Regarding the narrative published in the Chen Shui-bian era, whether it inherits the tradition of criticizing and mocking the fleeing officials and soldiers depicted in the Lee Teng-hui era is discussed in the following section.

**Books Published during the Chen Shui-bian Era (2001–2008)**

of Japan’s Capitalists (Vol. 7), Tsao’s (2005) Taiwan’s Historical Figures that Elementary and Junior High School Students Must Know, and Lu’s (2005) The Stories of Taiwan History:

The Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed by the Qing and Japan, and the people of Taiwan did not accept it (Hao, p. 10). Tang Jing-song, on behalf of the people of Taiwan, sent a telegram to the Qing court, asking the Qing to negotiate with Japan to postpone the takeover of Taiwan (Lu, p. 135). However, the Qing’s attitude was indifferent and indicated that people who were unwilling to be dominated by Japan could return to the Mainland (Lu, p. 135). The gentry of Taipei beat gongs and went on strikes [鴉鑼罷市] to protest (Jheng, p. 21). They were angry and criticized the Qing Emperor’s merciless attitude without offering a soothing word to console the people of Taiwan (Jheng, p. 22). Meanwhile, Taiwan Magistrate Tang Jing-song received a telegram sent by the Qing court, indicating that it was inappropriate for the Qing to become involved since the current situation was tense. In the name of self-defense, the people of Taiwan could ask foreign countries to help Taiwan repel the Japanese force (Jheng, p. 24). However, the Qing’s diplomatic strategy did not win international support (Jheng, p. 27). Foreign nations even telegraphed and warned China (Jheng, p. 28). Since the Qing government could not get support from foreign powers, it had to stop providing secret aid to the Taiwan Republic and recall Tang Jing-song and other officials to mainland China (Jheng, p. 28). Since the Qing court abandoned Taiwan, the people of Taiwan could only rely on themselves to save their country (Hao, p. 10). After receiving the Qing’s telegram indicating their unwillingness to take actions, Tang sought the assistance of Ciou Fong-jia and instructed him to use his influence among the people to: 1) motivate the masses to establish a democratic nation, and 2) organize a militia to
stand against Japan and defend Taiwan (Figure 2.1179) (Jheng, p. 24–5). Tang also reminded Ciou not to breathe a word about the Qing court’s involvement while taking action but to characterize these activities as a civic movement (Jheng, p. 26). Hence, Ciou agitated [鼓吹] the gentry of Taiwan and proposed to establish a democratic nation in order to resist Japan’s taking over of Taiwan (Jheng, p. 26). Tang Jing-song was publicly nominated as the president of the Republic (Hao, p. 11; Hsu, p. 99). In appearance, Tang declined the offer of the post by affectedly questioning his own capability to lead the Republic. In reality, however, Tang was scheming for room to maneuver regarding whether or not the Republic could succeed (Figure 2.1280). Chen easily persuaded him, saying that Tang was internationally recognized as the head of Taiwan, so Taiwan could not go a day without him. “If so,” as related by Tang, “I had no choice but to be the president of the Republic” (Hao, p. 11). Since Tang was the greatest official in Taiwan and dispatched by the Qing Dynasty, everybody thought he could successfully lead the troops to fight against Japan (Lu, p. 137). However, he later disappointed the people of Taiwan (Lu, p. 137). On May 23, 1895, the Independence Declaration of the Taiwan Republic [臺灣民主國自主宣言] was released, indicating the Taiwanese people’s powerless in changing the fact of the ceding of Taiwan and stating that the Taiwanese would rather die than submit to the Japanese. Hence, after discussion with the Great

79 The text appearing in the image says, “I want you to influence and motivate people to establish a democratic republic, and to organize volunteer troops to defend Taiwan against Japan” (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 25).
80 The text appearing to the right of the image says, “On May 15, 1895, the Taiwan Republic was officially established and adopted a national flag featuring a yellow tiger against a blue background, and the region title was changed to Yongqing [my translation].” The text appearing to be Tang’s inner thought says, “The Great Qing adopts a national flag featuring a dragon. By using the tiger as the symbol of the national flag of the Taiwan Republic and the region title of Yongqing, the Qing Court shall understand my [Tang Jing-song] efforts. If the Taiwan Republic can succeed, it would not be a bad idea to be the president of the Taiwan Republic. If by chance the Republic does not work out in terms of resisting Japan, it won’t be too late for me to run away [my translation].”
Powers in the West, the officers and the people of Taiwan decided to establish the Taiwan Republic to resist the Japanese and to handle political affairs (Jheng, p. 38). On May 25, 1895 (Hao, p. 12; Jheng, p. 38; Lu, p. 137; Tsao, p. 142), the Republic was officially established (Figure 2.13) (Hao, p.12; Jheng, p. 38; Tsao, p. 142), and Tang was inaugurated as President (Lu, p. 137), with a national flag featuring a yellow tiger against a blue background (Figure 2.14) (Hao, p. 12; Hsu, p. 99; Lu, p. 137; Tsao, p. 80, 142). The region title was changed into Yongqing [永清] (Forever Qing) (Hao, p. 12; Tsao, p. 80), meaning the Republic still pledged its loyalty to the Qing Dynasty (Tsao, p. 142) and would love and esteem the Qing Dynasty forever [永戴清朝] (Tsao, p. 80). Since the Qing Empire adopted a national flag featuring a dragon, Tang thought it would be fine to use a tiger in the flag of the Taiwan Republic and to adopt Yongqing as the region title to show his loyalty toward the Qing (Hao, p. 12). The yellow tiger against a blue background indicated not overstepping the Qing Emperor’s power (Tsao, p. 80). On the other hand, Tang thought over his situation wherein if the Republic could succeed it would not be a bad idea to be a president of Taiwan. If by chance the Republic did not work out in terms of resisting Japan, it would still be possible for Tang to flee back to China (Figure 2.12) (Hao, p. 12). This Republic was not a real democratic state since the people did not actively participate in politics (Jheng, p. 38). At that time, the officials of the Qing (Hao, p. 19) and the gentry only wished to protect their family properties (Hao, p. 19; Hsu, p. 99) and their lives (Hao, p. 19), Tang Jing-song wanted to save his life, and most of the soldiers who were hired from the Mainland only cared for
wages and themselves (Hsu, p. 99) and did not really want to fight against the Japanese (Hao, p. 19; Hsu, p. 99). The Qing court ordered its civil and military officials to return to China after the Republic was established (Hao, p. 12; Jheng, p. 28).

On June 6, 1895, the Japanese troops attacked Taiwan. When President Tang heard the sound of artillery (Lu, p. 137), he ordered one of his subordinates to quickly collect his belongings (Jheng, p. 28; Lu, p. 137), and he boarded an American ship (Lu, p. 137) and escaped (Jheng, p. 28; Lu, p. 137). In order to escape successfully, Tang disguised himself as an old maidservant with his maidservant’s help to deceive and bribe the soldiers (Figure 2.1581) (Hao, p. 15–6; Jheng, p. 29). Tang was called the Ten-Day President, describing the embarrassing situation of his escape at the moment of danger (Tsao, p. 90). After Tang fled, the public security of Taipei collapsed. The Japanese soldiers easily entered and occupied Taipei city (Hao, p. 18–9). Most of the (Chinese) soldiers surrendered (Hao, p. 19), and the officials and the gentry of Taiwan, including Ciou Fong-jia (Figure 2.1682), fled to the Mainland (Hao, p. 19; Jheng, p. 29). Those soldiers (Hao, p. 19; Jheng, p. 30–1) who were abandoned by the officials became bandits [匪徒] (Hao, p. 19), robbing the people (Hao, p. 19; Jheng, p. 30–1) and attacking the militia (Hao, p. 19) after they

Figure 2.15 Tang disguising himself as a maidservant to deceive soldiers.

Figure 2.16 Ciou Fong-jia running away.

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81 The text appearing in the upper panel of the image says, “Holy smokes! Scared the life out of me!” The text appearing in the lower panel of the image says, “He was finally able to bribe his way out to make his escape.” (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 30).

82 The conversation appearing in the image between the two birds says, “Isn’t that Ciou Fong-jia, who co-operated with Tang Jing-song to establish the Taiwan Republic? [my translation]” “Didn’t he pledge his life to protect Taiwan? How come he is running away so fast [my translation]?”
received the news of Tang’s escape (Hao, p. 19; Jheng, p. 31). Taipei quickly descended into anarchy after Tang and Ciou escaped (Jheng, p. 30). Two weeks after the establishment, many officials, people who were rich and powerful (Hao, p. 12), and important members of the Republic left Taiwan (Hao, p. 12; Jheng, p. 38) stealthily, so the Republic vanished (Jheng, p. 38)/collapsed (Tsao, p. 90). On the other hand, the main support of the Republic – the Great General of the Black Flag Army Liou Yong-fu – ignored the life and death of the anti-Japanese soldiers who fought with the Japanese troops and surrendered in An-pin, Tainan (Lu, p. 137). When the Japanese troops were outside of Tainan city, Liou perceived the hopelessness of the situation (Hao, p. 33; Tsao, p. 84). Hence, he disguised himself as a coal miner to avoid the Japanese soldiers’ search (Hao, p. 33) and took a British merchant ship (Hao, p. 33; Lu, p. 137), left Taiwan (Figure 2.17) (Hao, p. 33; Tsao, p. 84), and escaped to the Mainland (Lu, p. 137). Since Taipei was in chaos, some people even hoped that the Japanese would enter Taipei City as soon as possible to maintain public order (Jheng, p. 31). Finally, the Japanese troops, with the attitude of the suppressor of the revolt [平亂者的姿態], easily entered and occupied Taipei (Hao, p. 19). The life-span of the Taiwan Republic was very short, only existing one hundred and forty-eight days (Hsu, p. 99).

*The Continuation of the Taiwan-centered Perspectives*

Similar to the narrative published in the Lee Teng-hui era, this passage delivers very similar interpretations of the historical events and the Qing officials. The Qing Empire’s fear of

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83 Including Tang Jing-song and Ciou Fong-jia (Jheng, p. 30).
84 The text appearing in the upper panel of the image says, “Liou Young-fu disguised himself as a coal miner to avoid the Japanese soldiers’ search and took a British merchant ship and left Taiwan [my translation].” The text appearing in the lower panel says, “I, Liou Young-fu, was deceived by the bastard Zhang Chih-tung. I am like a hero who has no chance of using his might. I also have made many people sacrifice themselves [my translation].”
getting involved in the establishment of the Republic was reiterated, stating that “it was inappropriate for the Qing to become involved since the current situation was tense.” Ciou’s participation in establishing the Taiwan Republic is still vital in the narrative published in the Chen Shui-bian era, but his voluntary action in leading the people of Taiwan to establish the Republic discussed in the Martial Law era was re-interpreted to suggest that Ciou was instructed by Tang to use his influence to “agit[e] the gentry of Taiwan” and “organize a militia to stand against Japan.” Figure 2.11 depicts the moment when Tang (to the left) secretly instructs Ciou to help establish a republic in Taiwan. In the image, little distance is depicted between Tang and Ciou.

With the circumspect facial expression of Tang and the narrowed eyes of Ciou and with the narrative saying that “Tang also reminded Ciou not to breathe a word about the Qing court’s involvement while taking action but to characterize these activities as a civic movement,” this visual representation suggests a conspiracy between the two of them. Comparing Figure 2.11 to Figure 2.1, Ciou’s heroic spirit incorporated into Figure 2.1 is absent in Figure 2.11, replaced by a conspiratorial Ciou Fong-jia, who seems to have evil intentions. For the character of Ciou Fong-jia, both linguistic and visual texts published in the Chen Shui-bian era provide negative implications about Ciou. The children’s narrative gives greater weight to Ciou’s involvement in
establishing the republic as an act of collusion with the Qing court, which is presented as the chief instigator with Tang and Ciou as two accessories.

_The Taiwan Republic Presented as Independent_

In addition, the legal status of the Taiwan Republic was further reinterpreted and strengthened in the Chen Shui-bian era, depicting Taiwan an independent republic as shown in Figure 2.13. With the geographic outline of Taiwan placed in the middle of the ocean and with the narrative stating that “the Qing court abandoned Taiwan [and was unwilling] to take actions,” the visual representation of Taiwan stresses its independent and isolated situation in which support and aid did not arrive. The roughness of the ocean stirred up by strong winds represents the dangerous conditions of the Republic. The rising of the high and erect flagpole of the Taiwan Republic with its national flag fully displayed and flying in the air announces that “the people of Taiwan could only rely on themselves to save their country” and to strive against the Japanese. No signs or symbols related to the identification with China or the Qing court are manifested in the image of the Taiwan Republic. This, again, reflects the contemporary ruling party’s platform of working toward the establishment of an independent and sovereign Republic of Taiwan. Accompanying the narrative stating “the Republic still pledged its loyalty to the Qing Dynasty and would love and esteem the Qing Dynasty forever [永戴清朝],” the region’s title Yongqing [永清] is re-interpreted, and the legal status of Taiwan is purposefully separated from the idea of Chinese sovereignty since no indicators of either “belonging to China” or serving as “a vassal state of
China” are visible in the narrative published in the Chen Shui-bian era. These alterations made in both the linguistic and visual texts correspond to Ito’s (2011) contemporary argument and to the contemporary political agenda in avoiding ambiguous implications of Taiwan’s ownership and keeping the integrity of the sovereignty of Taiwan. Figure 2.16 and Figure 2.17, recycled from the previous era, illustrate in the same manner how Ciou and Liou escaped from the chaotic situation.

*Tang’s Escape in Disguise as Presented in Chen’s Era*

Similar to Figure 2.8 in the Lee Teng-hui era, Figure 2.15 portrays Tang’s predicament...
when he encountered his soldiers while disguised, hoping to deceive them. His terrified facial expression is exaggeratedly illustrated in Figure 2.15 with an open mouth and two wide eyes to support the caption (i.e., “He was finally able to bribe his way out to make his escape.”) applied to the image. Two hands lifted up in the air indicate his surrender and his fear. In short, criticism of the Qing court and the Chinese officials and soldiers is sharpened in the narrative published during the Chen Shui-bian era, depicting and emphasizing these Mainlanders as egoistic, ignoble, and merely fair-weather defenders who lacked empathy and courage.

*China-centered versus Taiwan-centered Perspectives*

The heroic and persistent images of the Qing officials and soldiers emphatically depicted in the children’s narrative published during the Nationalist Martial Law era construct the selected interpretation of the historical event and personalities, which favors the contemporary dominant group as they both shared the same cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The political indoctrination of Taiwan’s legal status was contemporarily reinforced in the children’s narrative to align the sovereignty of Taiwan with that of China, creating a literary tradition that provides a China-centered construction of the history and reiterates and reminds audiences of an unbreakable national sovereign relation between Taiwan and China.

After native-born Lee Teng-hui came to power (1988–2000), the political atmosphere and agenda was Taiwanese to address the critical issue of Taiwan’s unique national identity. Lee sought to divorce Taiwan’s sovereign integrity from the Mainland and to cultivate and exhibit new Taiwanese consciousness that led to the building of new Taiwanese identity. His political and cultural ideology centering on the cultivation of Taiwan as a sovereign independent country had an effect on the contemporary literary creations (including the historical research) that looked at the historical event and personalities related to the establishment of the Taiwan
Republic from a different lens. The cadre members of the Taiwan Republic, who were once applauded in the Nationalist Martial Law era, were criticized and re-examined from the perspective of the people of Taiwan. Their heroic and courageous auras, exemplified by the willingness to sacrifice their lives to protect Taiwan, were removed and replaced with the harsh criticisms and caricatured illustrations that focused on their abandonment of the island. When it came to the Chen Shui-bian era (2001–2008), Chen’s political and cultural agenda inherited Lee’s to emphasize and promote Taiwan as an independent country and worked rigorously toward the goal of Taiwan independence. Influenced by Chen’s strategies, contemporary published children’s literature has a tendency to sharpen the criticism of the Qing officials and soldiers, creating a new literary tradition that mocks those Mainlanders as irresponsible bureaucrats. Without the temptation of such factors as money and power, they were not motivated to establish the Taiwan Republic and fight against the Japanese domination.

The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937)

After the discussion of the rise and fall of the Taiwan Republic, this section deals with the Japanese colonial domination from 1895 to 1945 and the imperialist government’s assimilation policy reflected in the Kou-Min-Ka Movement launched in 1937. Key areas of dispute among the historians and the scholars are 1) the issue of Taiwanese identity as being imposed upon a collective identity through the appellation *the Taiwanese compatriots* versus removing the controversial identification *compatriots* to plainly identify them as *the Taiwanese* or *the people of Taiwan*, and 2) the contradictory evaluation of the Japanese colonial governance, perceived as entirely devastating in the Martial Law era but presented with a mixture of pros and cons in Lee’s and Chen’s periods. As we shall see in the following discussion, the Japanese domination was mostly perceived to be brutal and harsh as historians all addressed negative
effects (e.g., enslavement, assimilation) with a few studies (the majority of them were published more recently) providing a more balanced assessment of the Japanese governance.

_Taiwan as a Materials Supplier to Japan_

The Japanese came to dominate Taiwan after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the first step in Japan’s imperialist expansion activities in Southeast Asia. In order to maintain its control of the island, the Chinese of the Mainland were forbidden from migrating to Taiwan (Goddard, 1966). Meanwhile, treating Taiwan as a base for its economic development and territorial expansion, the Japanese controlled all industries on the island (Goddard, 1966) and planned to transform Taiwan into an outpost for its southward advancement (Goddard, 1966; Isao, 2006; Tsurumi, 1977). Agricultural products (e.g., rice, sugar, and tea) and raw materials (e.g., coal, copper, and timber) from Taiwan were important resources sent to Japan to fulfill needs in newly developed industries (Kerr, 1986). Converting Taiwan into an agricultural and raw materials supplier (Kerr, 1986) and exploiting the island was the only concern of the Japanese colonial government (Goddard, 1966). According to Wang (1998), Taiwan was the major supplier of agricultural products for Japan: 90% of the rice produced in Taiwan was exported to Japan, and 81% of Japan’s annual sugar consumption came from its new “colony.” Food provisions and tax revenue increased the Japanese colonial government’s income, easing the financial burden arising from the costs of imperial expansion (Wang, 1998). The “Temporary Land Survey Bureau” (Yao, 2006) was established in 1898 to: 1) conduct a thorough and island-wide land survey, 2) estimate the productivity in the island, and 3) make maps and register property (Takekoshi, 1907/1907; Yao, 2006).

_Japan’s Development of Taiwan during the Colonial Era_

During the fifty years of the Japanese occupation, Taiwan’s basic and social
infrastructures were developed and improved. The success was partially ascribed to former Chinese Governor Liu Ming-chuan’s initiative in developing Taiwan, where the first electrified city of the Qing Empire, Taipei, was built in 1887. Additionally, the first railroad was established in 1889 to connect Taipei and Keelung (Goddard, 1966). The Japanese colonial government also expanded Liu’s projects (Goddard, 1966) and made significant investment to improve its investment conditions (Zhang, 2003) and make profits from the colony (Goddard, 1966; Zhang, 2003). Roads and railways were either built or extended to create a more thorough and efficient transport network (Kerr, 1986; Zhang, 2003). Keelung Harbor and Kaohsiung Harbor were connected by the railway (Zhang, 2003), expanding and speeding up the growth of both internal and external trade opportunities (Kerr, 1986). Accompanied by the construction of hydroelectric plants and chemical fertilizer plants that benefited heavy industry, the mining industry, and agricultural pursuits, the economy of Taiwan made significant progress during the Japanese domination (Kerr, 1986).

Japanese Colonial Administration of Taiwan

According to Asami (1924), the Central Government of Formosa (Taiwan) was established, consisting of “a Governor-General, an Administrative Superintendent-General, a Consultative Council, and various offices” (p. 60). Controlled by the Governor-General, the Consultative Council was established in 1921 and consisted of nine Japanese and nine Formosans (Asami, 1924). The Taiwan Governor-General’s Office established a centralized police system that worked with the colonial administration to institutionalize local affairs (Ts’ai, 2006). Seventy police inspectors and seven hundred policemen were sent to Taiwan in 1895 (Asami, 1924). With a variety of responsibilities, the Japanese police became the executers of the colonial regulations, collected taxes, enforced public health regulations, provided advice on
agricultural affairs, and promoted local industries (Manthorpe, 2005). In addition to the police system, the Japanese garrison troops, education system, and a system called pao-jia\(^{85}\) (or ho-ko in Japanese) helped the dominant group control the security of Taiwan (Asami, 1924; Manthorpe, 2005; Zhang, 2003).

The beginning of the Japanese domination featured a military administration (Asami, 1924; Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005) that closely monitored the public since “the ravages of bandits [italics added]” (Asami, p. 59)/revolts (Kerr, 1986) occurred everywhere in Taiwan (Asami, 1924; Kerr, 1986). During the fifty years of colonial domination, nineteen major uprisings were staged in various areas\(^{86}\), and these revolts were “all brutally suppressed” (Goddard, p. 164) by the Japanese military, “with [their] ruthless determination to terrorize the islanders into meek submission” (Kerr, p. 31). Goddard (1966) described the Japanese imperialist domination of Taiwan as “one of the most brutal despotisms in history” (p. 165), and from the brutality of the colonizer arose the “patriots [italics added]” (p. 165), characterized as brigands by the Japanese, who fought for freedom (Goddard, 1966). Fong (2006) makes a similar observation, stating that the term bandit was coined by the Japanese government to refer to the rebels, and they treated the rebellions as incidents of banditry. In retrospect, Asami (1924) interpreted the Taiwanese resistance against Japan’s domination from the Japanese perspective, adopting the phrase the ravages of bandits to describe the rebels’ actions, which characterizes the rebels as bandits.

\(^{85}\) According to Zhang (2003), a pao-jia [保甲] system refers to “the traditional Chinese form of a neighborhood collective responsibility system” (p. 34). Within the system, each member of the society was responsible for his neighborhood security. When one person was found guilty, all members within the same neighborhood were punished. Manthorpe (2005) provides further explanation of the Japanese style of pao-jia, called ho-ko by the Japanese, arguing that the system was introduced to create “a network of informants and collaborators … [and] to raise manpower for communal tasks” (p. 167). While the traditional Chinese pao-jia system was corrupt with regard to bribing acquiescent officials, the ho-ko of the Japanese was free of such abuse (Manthorpe, 2005). Asami (1924) provides a more detailed explanation of ho-ko on page 64.

\(^{86}\) Such as the Silai Temple Incident in 1915 [西來庵事件/噍吧哖事件] and the Wushe Incident in 1930 [霧社事件].
Since the Japanese Constitution was not applicable to Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government enacted Act 63 [六三法] in March 1896 (Asami, 1924; Chen, 2011a; Lee, 1994; Tsai, 2000), emphasizing Taiwan’s status as a Japanese colony (Lee, 1994; Tsai, 2000) and authorizing the Taiwan Governor-General to issue orders that had the force of law (Asami, 1924; Chen, 2011a; Lee, 1994; Tsai, 2000; Takekoshi, 1907/1907). Such orders were called “ritsu-rei” (Asami, p. 40), [律令] (Chen, ¶ 2; Lee, p. 1; Tsai, p. 246), and were designed to provide supplemental regulations to address issues not covered by legal provisions (Asami, 1924).

Additionally, Act 63 created special regulations and policies that were separate from the laws of Japan and specified what rights the colonized population did and did not have as well as their obligations to Japan (Lee, 1994; Tsai, 2000). Only the Taiwan Governor-General had the power to institute the legal ordinances that became the basis for establishing regulation of the courts (Lee, 1994). Hence, the Governor-General controlled and exercised the centralized power of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction (Lee, 1994). The Taiwanese compatriots, according to Chen’s (1984) terminology, were severely restricted in participating in political circles. Those who were able to secure administrative work were appointed to serve as low-level staff and were treated unequally (Chen, 1984).

**Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan**

The colonial government used education to assimilate and transform the Taiwanese people into loyal Japanese imperial subjects (Goddard, 1966; Tsurumi, 1977; Lee, 1994; Manthorpe, 2005) and to promote Japanese imperialism (Goddard, 1966). Confucius’ teachings, especially the concept of loyalty, were adopted by the colonial government to cultivate the colonized population’s loyalty and obedience, but other values related to identifying with China were forbidden (Tsurumi, 1977). Six-year primary education was made available to Taiwanese
students with the goal of teaching the Japanese language (Goddard, 1966; Lee, 1994; Manthorpe, 2005) and cultural values (Manthorpe, 2005). In addition to Japanese language education, mathematics, history, and geography constituted the major subject areas in the curriculum (Manthorpe, 2005) and were infused with Japanese nationalism (Y.-C. Huang, 2006; Lee, 1994; Manthorpe, 2005). Operating “a strict system of ethnic apartheid” (Manthorpe, p. 189), Japan launched two different systems of primary education in Taiwan to segregate the Taiwanese (Manthorpe, 2005)/the Taiwanese compatriots (Chen, 1984) and the Japanese (Chen, 1984; Manthorpe, 2005). Elementary schools\textsuperscript{87} with higher standards (Chen, 1984) and superior equipment and buildings (Tsurumi, 1977) were established for Japanese students, whereas Taiwanese students (Tsurumi, 1977)/Taiwanese compatriots (Chen, 1984) were sent to public schools\textsuperscript{88} (Chen, 1984; Tsurumi, 1977). Different subject matter and materials were adopted to teach the Japanese and the Taiwanese in order to ensure Japan’s dominant status (Chen, 1984). Compared to the textbooks for Japanese students, the textbooks for the colonized students provided less knowledge and promoted Japanese nationalism with the intention of shaping and transforming the colony into a unified, loyal, and integral part of Japan (Tsurumi, 1977). The Japanese government did not wish to educate and assimilate its colonial students to the point where they would threaten the status quo. Clearly, the aim of the textbooks was to make Taiwanese students loyal to the Empire (Tsurumi, 1977).

Japanese proficiency, the extent of the family’s assimilation, the family’s wealth, and the social status of brothers and fathers determined whether or not a member of the colonized population could enroll in one of the elementary schools and study with Japanese students, an educational policy known as the Japanese-Taiwanese integrated school system [共學制] (Tsai, \textsuperscript{87}小學校 \textsuperscript{88}公學校
2000; Tsurumi, 1977). Although the integrated school system sought to advance the Mainland Extension Policy\(^8\) to bring equality to the colonized population, in practice, the system did not treat Taiwanese in the same manner as Japanese (Tsai, 2000). Tsurumi (1977) agrees, stating that for the Japanese administrators in Taiwan, educational equality was not designed to bring equal opportunity to the students of Taiwan. Differentiated treatments were still applied to the dominant and the dominated (Tsai, 2000; Tsurumi, 1977), in part through educators, who could selectively deny or accept the admission applications of Taiwanese students for reasons not necessarily related to language or academic competences (Tsurumi, 1977). This educational discrimination lasted for decades even when higher education was made available to the Taiwanese children in the early 1920s (Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005). Those students who were able to pass entrance examinations\(^9\) and were accepted to enroll in higher education were often driven toward technical fields, avoiding the possibility of moving them toward politically related careers (Manthorpe, 2005). Chen (1984) interprets the Japanese education plan as an “obscurantist policy”\(^9\) (p. 46) that practiced discriminative educational measures to neglect higher education and develop basic vocational schools to mold the students into eventually becoming lower class technical personnel. Hence, the Japanese possessed “a high degree of superiority” [高度之優越感] (Chen, p. 48) under their “high-handed colonial domination” [高壓殖民統治] (p. 48).

**The Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937)**

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\(^8\) According to Chen (2011b), the Mainland Extension Policy refers to “the implementation of assimilation policies and institution of systems that were the same as those in Japan, in order to facilitate the consolidation of the empire” (¶1).

\(^9\) According to Kerr (1986), the examinations that were designed for the entry of higher education “were manipulated” (p. 34) by the Japanese colonial government to restrict the number of the students of Taiwan enrolled. Chen (1984) provides a very similar interpretation arguing that the higher education entrance examinations were very strict to the students of Taiwan, and that was a means that the colonial government imposed to limit their enrollment.

\(^9\)愚民政策
In order to eradicate Chinese nationalism and culture in the colony, the Japanese government carried out a radical assimilation program called the Kou-Min-Ka Movement in 1937 (Chen, 1984; W.-C. Du, 2001; Y.-C. Huang, 2006; Isao, 2006; Manthorpe, 2005; Tsai, 2000), reinforcing the imperialist spirit and demanding that the people of Taiwan become real imperial subjects (Chen, 1984; W.-C. Du, 2001; Y.-C. Huang, 2006; Tsurumi, 1977). Isao (2006) calls it the “imperial subject movement” (p. 128) that promoted the explicit use of the Japanese language and banned Mandarin. Chinese courses were withdrawn from the school curriculum (Tsurumi, 1977; Isao, 2006), and newspapers, magazines, and bilingual literary journals with Chinese sections were prohibited by the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office (Y.-C. Huang, 2006; Isao, 2006). Encouraging the Taiwanese people to change their last names into Japanese, speak the Japanese language, and adopt Japanese customs and habits were all parts of the Japanization movement (Chen, 1984; W.-C. Du, 2001; Manthorpe, 2005; Tsurumi, 1977), which reached its height after 1940 (Tsurumi, 1977). The colonized people who were able to cope with the Movement’s “suggestions” such as wearing kimonos, practicing Shintoism, adopting Japanese last names, speaking Japanese, and decorating their houses with tatami were rewarded and enjoyed various privileges92 (Chen, 1984; W.-C. Du, 2001; Isao, 2006).

The most important aspect of the Kou-Min-Ka Movement was military mobilization, the ultimate goal of the Japanization policy (W.-C. Du, 2001). Training the youth of Taiwan to become loyal Japanese subjects and enlisting them into service in external campaigns constituted the primary aim of the colonial government in its manipulation of its colonized subjects (W.-C. Du, 2001; Tsurumi, 1977). In 1943, Taiwanese students of all levels, from primary school to university, were compelled to join children’s public service brigades (Tsurumi, 1977). Since the

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92 Such as the priority of being accepted to enroll in elementary schools (to study with Japanese students) and public secondary schools, receiving the provisions of various kinds of food and supplies (e.g., sugar, rice, wine) (W.-C. Du, 2001; Tsai, 1984; Isao, 2006).
Japanese government did not consider the colonial subjects “reliable enough to be drafted into the regular armed forces” (p. 132), male colonial subjects were forced “to join one of the four so-called volunteer corps that provided coolies, translators, agricultural workers, and seamen for the Japanese armed forces in Taiwan, the home islands, and the South Pacific” (p. 129). Thus, the colonized population provided labor resources that benefited the colonizer in wartime Taiwan (Tsurumi, 1977). Manthorpe (2005) described how Taiwanese boys at the age of sixteen were used as community workers and required to join the Youth Corps to indoctrinate them with patriotic enthusiasm for the imperial Empire. In addition to service through community work, these young Taiwanese functioned as “police scouts and informants” (p. 168), reporting suspicious matters to the police.

It is important to note that Japanese domination of Taiwan also brought greater prospects to Taiwan through improvements such as a modern education system that increased the literacy rate (Kerr, 1986) and advancements in transport (Zhang, 2003), telecommunications, and infrastructure that improved the living standard substantially (Kerr, 1986). Though they railed against their status as Japanese colonial subjects, many Taiwanese people came to appreciate many Japanese ways, and saw themselves as superior to and more progressive than the Chinese in the Mainland (Lai et al., 1991). How the historical episode of the Japanese domination of Taiwan was discussed at different historical eras in the history of Taiwan in the research data is discussed as follows.

Books Published during the Martial Law Era (1949–1987)

Taiwan]:

In order to eliminate the Chinese people’s resistance, the Japanese developed a strict system and policy after they controlled all of Taiwan. In the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office [臺灣總督府], the Japanese Governor-General (Hung, p. 24; Lin, p. 29), who, according to Act 63, became the autocratic king [獨裁王] (Lin, p. 29) and had the absolute right to dominate Taiwan (Hung, p. 24; Lin, p. 29), controlling the administration, legislation, and jurisdiction (Hung, p. 24). In terms of policies, the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan committed bloody massacres to suppress Taiwanese people’s anti-Japanese revolts (Figure 3.1). Many patriots were killed (Huang, p. 24–5). Beginning with their disembarkation in Taiwan, the Japanese soldiers encountered fierce surprise attacks. The more violent the resistance and attacks they encountered, the more cruel the revenge they took (Figure 3.2) (Lin, p. 19–23). The primary purpose for the imperialist nations to occupy colonies is to dominate the colonies for their own exclusive use. Under Japan’s exclusive monopoly, colonized Taiwan was treated as a supply depot, gathering and providing raw materials and manpower to help and support the Japanese colonial government to expand its invasion into mainland China (Figure 3.3) (Lin, p. 33, 121). Many Taiwanese sons and daughters were forcefully drafted into service as Taiwanese imperial Japanese servicemen [軍伕] and interpreters [通譯] and were driven toward the battlefront in mainland China to support Japan (Lin, p. 121). The dominant government did not set up
elected representative assemblies. In 1910, the government implemented a “local self-government” [地方自治] policy in order to reform the local government system. However, the so-called local self-government reflected a deceitful policy in which the Japanese people served in the most important posts and controlled the colonized populations. Hence, the Taiwanese officials were like puppets [傀儡] manipulated by the Japanese authorities in the Taiwan Governor-General’s office (Figure 3.4) (Lin, p. 94–5). The Japanese government in Taiwan claimed that they treated both Japanese and Taiwanese without discrimination. However, these were just deceitful slogans. Regardless of policies or occasions, the Taiwanese people were neither treated equally nor shared the same opportunities as the Japanese (Figure 3.5) (Lin, p. 96–7). In order to cope with Japan’s attempted invasion of China, the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office implemented the Kou-Min-Ka Movement [皇民化運動], ordering the Taiwanese people to consider themselves imperial subjects of Japan (Lin, p. 121). During Japan’s fifty-year domination, Japanese warlords [日本軍閥] forcibly occupied Taiwan, obstinately separated Taiwan from China (Wei, p. 112), and implemented various policies to enslave [奴化] the Taiwanese people and to purposefully eliminate the Taiwanese compatriots’ national identity (Figure 3.6) (Huang, p. 25). With the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (Japanization)
being the most acrimonious policy (Wei, p. 112), it forced our compatriots of Taiwan to: 1) abandon their last names and change to Japanese last names, 2) abolish their original languages and speak Japanese (Figure 3.7) (Huang, p. 26; Wei, p. 112), 3) follow the precepts of Japanese religions, 4) wear Japanese kimonos, and 5) practice Japanese customs (Huang, p. 26). These became the tools that helped the Japanese imperialists tame the Taiwanese and make them forget and betray their ancestors [忘祖背祖]. These brutal and acrimonious [殘酷毒辣] colonial policies constrained [緊緊箍住] the compatriots of Taiwan (Huang, p. 26). In terms of equality in education, it was actually an obscurantist education system [愚民教育] that kept the Taiwanese people uninformed or poorly informed with limited knowledge (Figure 3.8). For secondary and higher education, enrollment of the Taiwanese compatriots was restricted. The reason was clear – it was convenient and beneficial for the Japanese to control the Taiwanese by giving them only primary education. With only limited knowledge, the Japanese could easily implement government decrees and enslave [役使] the Taiwanese and force their participation in economic production (Lin, p. 67). For general education, “elementary schools” [小學校] only accepted the Japanese children, and “common schools” or “public schools” [公學校] were set up for the Taiwanese students. The Japanese government vigorously promoted their national language and abolished
Mandarin courses [漢文課] and traditional/old-style private school education [私塾教育] (Lin, p. 71). In 1920, the Japanese government implemented the Japanese-Taiwanese integrated school system [共學制度] within which the Taiwanese students whose grades and conduct were outstanding and whose family assets were in good condition could, after approval, transfer to the Japanese elementary schools [小學校]. The system was promoted to be “the integration within Taiwan” [內臺融和] by the Japanese authorities. However, the real reason hidden behind this colonial education was to exhibit a sense of Japanese superiority since Taiwanese students who were enrolled in the elementary schools felt constrained and inferior [侷促與自卑] (Figure 3.9) (Lin, p. 73).

This passage is primarily concerned with the Japanese colonial domination and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement in Taiwan from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s. 

The Brutality of the Japanese Colonizers as Presented in the Martial Law Era

The dictatorial image of the Taiwan Governor-General constructed by the children’s narrative, describing the Japanese Governor-General as an autocratic king, emphasizes his inviolable authority that overrode the rights of all the people of Taiwan and establishes a monarchical representation of the Japanese ruler. His power in administration, legislation, and jurisdiction was discussed in both the historical research (i.e., Lee, 1994) and the children’s narrative. The implementation of “bloody massacres to suppress Taiwanese people’s anti-Japanese volitions” echoes Goddard’s (1966) and Kerr’s (1986) research indicating that the Taiwanese people’s revolts were “all brutally suppressed” with the Japanese colonizers’ “ruthless determination to terrorize the islanders into meek submission.” Based on the storyline
describing the Japanese bloody massacres, Figure 3.1, incorporated into the cover page of Lin’s (1975) *Historical Picture of Taiwan: The Japanese Era* (Vol. 3), features an intimidating and warlord-like Japanese soldier neatly dressed in a uniform and a pair of leather boots and holding a whip in his right hand. His outfit and appearance suggest the strictness and the meticulous attitude of the Japanese. The presence of the whip symbolizes the brutality of the Japanese soldier. Several wounds across the rebel’s chest and legs and the tying of his two arms behind his back signify his inability to fight back and his severe whipping by the soldier. His lack of weapons and his bare feet are in acute contrast with the well-armed Japanese. With the soldier’s hard kick to the victim’s groin and with the narrative stating that “Many patriots were killed,” this visual depiction highlights the brutality of the colonizer.

Described as “fierce surprise attacks” in the text, the other two rebels in the upper section of the illustration approach the scene with their resentful facial expressions and weapons, trying to rescue the victim. The characterization of the traditional Manchu male hairstyle – with the front hair shaved off and the rest braided in a long queue – indicates that the scene is taken from the era of the Qing dynasty, when that hairstyle was imposed on all males by the Manchu emperor.

The Japanese soldiers sought revenge for Taiwanese resistance by “slaughtering innocents.” Figure 3.2 highlights their cruelty when the unarmed woman and child were brutally murdered. The Japanese soldier (to the left) is crushing the child’s chin and neck with his left foot. With the narrative saying that “The more violent the resistance and attacks they [the
Japanese] encountered, the more cruel the revenge they took” and with the soldier’s right hand
holding a sword and his left hand pushing the female victim toward the second soldier, this
close-up depicts the Japanese as cold-blooded murderers resolved to wipe out without mercy the
relics of anti-Japanese revolts. The brutality of the Japanese is further manifested through the depiction
of the second soldier as a cruel murderer whose facial expression and action of stabbing represent
his fierceness and cruelty. The children’s narrative published during the Martial Law era emphasizes
the Japanese authoritarian governance of Taiwan, and the bloody illustration furthers the idea of
the Japanese as iron-hearted people.

Taiwan as a Supply Depot of Japan

Treating Taiwan as a supply depot in the historical research (i.e., Goddard, 1966; Isao, 2006; Tsurumi, 1977) and the children’s narrative highlights the colonizer’s ambition of
expanding its territory in two domains: 1) provision of manpower for military use, and 2) provision of
goods and materials for the military and for daily consumption. Figure 3.3 summarizes Taiwan and its
people’s “contributions” in the colonial era. The geographic outline of Taiwan at the center of the
image represents Taiwan’s indispensible strategic position from which the Japanese Empire wishes to
“expand its invasion into mainland China.” Along with the storyline stating that “colonized Taiwan was treated as a supply depot, gathering and providing raw materials and manpower to help and support the Japanese colonial government to expand its invasion into mainland China,” the Japanese soldier’s pointing toward China and instructing the young Taiwanese foot soldier to march in that direction signals the Japanese intention of utilizing the resources of Taiwan to invade the Mainland. With bags of goods and materials incorporated into the illustration, it is suggested that the Japanese invasion depends on Taiwan’s resources. Figure 3.3 creates an image of the dominant power with a tyrannical attitude and is supported by the text that speaks of a Japanese warlord versus the “Taiwanese [son]…forcefully drafted into service as [a] Taiwanese imperial Japanese [serviceman].”

*The Taiwanese under Japan’s Manipulation*

The colonial self-government policy in Taiwan was described as “a deceitful policy in which the Japanese people served in the most important posts” as caricatured in Figure 3.4. The Japanese authority’s wearing of a military cap symbolizes the colonial administration’s military nature, as suggested in the historical research (i.e., Asami, 1924; Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005). The eight Chinese characters referring to the Consultative Council in the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office [臺灣總督府評議會] and written on the palm of the Japanese figure’s hand indicate that the Japanese authority grasps the controlling central power over the Taiwanese members of the Consultative Council. With the Japanese authority’s fingers (possibly the fingers of the
Governor-General) forcefully manipulating the five finger puppets that are without distinct identities, this visual representation parallels the historical research (e.g., Lee, 1994) indicating that the Japanese controlled and exercised the centralized power. It also echoes the children’s narrative stating that “the Taiwanese officials were like puppets [傀儡] manipulated by the Japanese authorities in the Taiwan Governor-General’s office.” The portrayal of each “puppet” as identical figures rather coarsely sketched caricatures the Taiwanese representatives as nominal officials who possess neither identity nor substantial power.

The “deceitful slogans,” as suggested by the narrative, probe the issue of inequality between the colonizer and the colonized. Figure 3.5 represents the hierarchy of the dominant and the dominated that existed during the Japanese colonial period. The figure shows the Governor-General standing on the shoulders of two other Japanese figures, occupying the highest position and being supported by the representative of the military (to the right) and of the intermediate government (to the left), who together represent the second highest stratum of the Japanese domination. With their arms opened widely, their faces smiling happily, and their feet standing firmly on top of the Taiwanese officials who are positioned at the bottom of the new social system, Japanese dominance and privilege are emphasized. In addition, the administrative hierarchy as discussed in both the historical research and in the children’s narrative is visualized and caricatured through the image. The bare-footed Taiwanese officials down on their knees and dressed in plain outfits symbolize their petty and low status in the
political structure. The traditional long queue hair style of the Qing people is no longer presented in the image, the absence of which suggests that the Japanese policy of assimilation has a great effect on the colonized.

*Constructing a Nationalist Patriotic Identity in the Martial Law Era*

As stated in the children’s narrative and the historical research (e.g., Chen, 1984), eradicating *Chinese culture* and *national identity* was urgent to the Japanese government. Thus, “various policies [were launched] to enslave [奴化] the Taiwanese people and to purposefully eliminate the Taiwanese compatriots’ national identity.” The term *Taiwanese compatriots* was repeatedly mentioned in the literature published during the Martial Law era, echoing Chen’s (1984) usage in his historical research as both zealously adopted the phrase to address the people of Taiwan. The appellation *Taiwanese compatriots* has a practical function of wakening the Taiwanese people’s patriotic consciousness toward the old China as this ideological representation of calling all the people of Taiwan *the Taiwanese compatriots* cultivates and rationalizes the people’s perception of their specific social role and status in the Martial Law era of Taiwan. As argued by Kavanagh (1995) in Chapter 3, it also helps the dominant group (the Nationalist Party of the Martial Law era) maintain social order and reproduce class relations. Hence, either *our compatriots of Taiwan* or *the Taiwanese compatriots* can be approached from the standpoint of political ideology enforced upon the Taiwanese so that they were likely to unconsciously adopt their role as *patriots* similar to the Nationalists. In so far as the multi-ethnic population of Taiwan is formed into conventional social subjects (i.e., patriots), this political ideology helps the Nationalist government in the Martial Law era process and maintain social reproduction by presenting the dominant system of social relations as fair and identifying all the population of Taiwan as compatriots. The explicit usage of the noun *patriots* in both the
children’s narrative (e.g., “Many patriots were killed.”) and the historical research (e.g., Goddard’s (1966) argument that “the brutality of the colonizer arose the patriots… to fight for freedom.”) further sustains the analytical assumption as the appellation the Taiwanese compatriots enlists (Althusser, 1986) the people of Taiwan into the subjects of Nationalist patriots through language. Thus, this ideological indoctrination in the children’s literature helps the Nationalist government ostensibly break away from its dictatorial leadership and construct a benevolent image of the dominant group.

**Constructing the Nationalists as Liberators in the Martial Law Era**

In addition, although the Japanese administration was brutal and harsh, historical research and children’s narratives published at different historical periods led to different interpretations. Through the literary discussion emphasizing Japanese colonial policies as acts of “enslavement,” the Nationalists were portrayed as liberators who emancipated the “enslaved” people of Taiwan after the Nationalist government came to power in the Martial Law era. This literary construction also furthers the contemporary ruling party’s political strategy of de-Japanization and Sinocization urgently needed in postwar Taiwan. According to Y.-C. Huang (2006), the Nationalists, at the beginning of their domination of Taiwan, considered the Japanese colonization in the island to be a form of enslavement in which Japanese culture and education enforced through, for instance, the Kou-Min-Ka Movement, enslaved the Taiwanese and brainwashed and cultivated them with thoughts of slavery (Y.-C. Huang, 2006). For the Nationalists, the purpose of concluding that Japanization was enslavement was to eradicate the Japanese influence by making a caricature of the Japanese and reconfiguring Japanized Taiwanese culture into Chinese when the priority of the Nationalist government in postwar Taiwan was to reconstruct the Taiwanese people’s national identity that was once “enslaved” by
the Japanese imperialists (Y.-C. Huang, 2006).

*The Principle Practices of the Kou-Min-Ka Movement*

Accompanied by the narrative stating that “the Taiwanese compatriots’ national identity” was purposefully eliminated by the Kou-Min-Ka Movement, Figure 3.6 features the setting of a traditional private school and an old Chinese teacher (to the left), who is being compelled by a Japanese soldier to stop his lecture. The tearing down of the portrait of Confucius implies that Confucian teachings were not allowed by the Japanese authority. This visual representation partially contradicts Tsurumi’s (1977) research as the Japanese dominators had selectively chosen parts of Confucius’ teachings (e.g., loyalty, obedience) to be incorporated into Japanese school education. When “the most acrimonious policy” – the Kou-Min-Ka Movement – was put into practice, Japanese culture, language, names, religions, and customs became the mainstream into which the Japanese government sought to assimilate the colonized population, transforming them into Japanese subjects. Figure 3.7 exhibits a Japanese classroom setting in which a teacher points at the Japanese characters written on the blackboard. Different from the traditional private school education visualized in Figure 3.6, the Japanese classroom is modernized, and the instructor’s distinctive mustache indicates that he is a Japanese teacher.
The implementation of Japanese education on the island was also described as “an obscurantist education system that kept the Taiwan people uninformed or poorly informed with limited knowledge,” a view echoed in Chen’s (1984) interpretation of the Japanese education plan. Both the narrative and the historical research suggest that Taiwanese children were fooled by the content of the Japanese education. Although both Japanese and Taiwanese students wear the same uniform and carry the same backpacks, as shown in Figure 3.8, their ethnic identities are classified by the written Chinese characters: to the left is a “日本籍學童” (Japanese student), and to the right is a “台灣籍學童” (Taiwanese student).

Two Chinese characters, “限制,” meaning “limited,” were drawn on the Taiwanese student’s blindfold, showing the limitations and inequality of the Japanese education. In contrast, the Japanese student holding a Japanese national flag wears a smiling face with his two eyes widely open, symbolizing that his vision is enriched and leads him toward a promised brilliant future. This visual representation displays a comparison between the informed Japanese student, who enjoys the privileges of Japanese education, and the uninformed Taiwanese, whose participation in the Japanese education system resulted in acquiring only limited knowledge. Some historians (e.g., Kerr, 1986) have suggested that the Japanese colonial education in Taiwan was, in part, beneficial, resulting in, for example, an increase in the literary rate. However, the children’s narrative account only details the defects of the policy and overlooks the advantages brought by the modernized education system.
When the policy of “Japanese-Taiwanese integrated school system” was launched with the aim of facilitating “the integration within Taiwan,” only Taiwanese students who met certain criteria were accepted into the integrated system to study with the Japanese. This specific phenomenon has been mentioned in both the children’s narrative and the historical research (e.g., Tsurumi, 1977 and Tsai, 2000) in which the educational inequality still applied to the two groups. The children’s narrative continued to criticize the implementation of the educational policy, arguing that it “was to exhibit a sense of Japanese superiority since Taiwanese students who were enrolled in the elementary schools felt constrained and inferior.” Figure 3.9 displays the Japanese student’s “superiority” against the Taiwanese student’s “inferiority.” The Japanese male’s wearing of the traditional Japanese male kimono, clogs, and mustache indicates his Japanese identity, which is amplified by his bold appearance. The Japanese man’s holding of the boy with his left hand symbolizes his wish to pass on his Japanese authority and privileges to the child. The Japanese student’s bullying attitude toward the Taiwanese child, who is wiping tears and wishing to be left alone, suggests that the Japanese boy gains the upper hand in the situation because his act of teasing and kicking is tolerated by the Japanese adult. Based on the text stating that “Taiwanese students … felt constrained and inferior,” the disadvantaged child’s movement away from the teaser with his head turning back signals his wish to escape from being bullied by the Japanese boy. Though three other students are witnessing the scene from a far distance, no one in the illustration seems to be brave enough to intervene, insinuating the supreme and inviolable power
of the Japanese.

In terms of Japanese colonial domination in Taiwan, the children’s narrative published during the Nationalist Martial Law era overwhelmingly highlighted the brutal, coercive, and dictatorial characteristics of the Japanese colonizers. Their military and autocratic governance of Taiwan was visualized through the illustrations depicting the Japanese soldiers’ harshness and severity. The inequality of the political circles and the unequal educational opportunities between the dominant and the dominated were discussed with the visual images focusing entirely on the dark side of the Japanese domination. In contrast, the Japanese development of basic and social infrastructures as we shall see in the following analysis was neglected, creating a selected panorama of Japanese autocratic measures in the Japanese colonial domination. Whether or not literature published after the late 1980s inherits a similar pattern is analyzed in the following two sections.

Books Published during the Lee Teng-hui Era (1988–2000)


After the Japanese troops occupied Taipei, they immediately proceeded to the south and encountered the militia’s attacks and strong resistance (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 21). In order to take revenge, the Japanese soldiers killed all the people of Taiwan they encountered regardless of their gender or age (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 26). They also randomly raped and killed women they saw in Dalin, Taiwan. Because of the Japanese soldiers’ brutality and ferocity, the people of Taiwan were aroused to strongly resist Japan (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 30). After six months of offensive and defensive operations, Japan completed the initial occupation of Taiwan and eliminated the Taiwan Republic. The Japan Governor-General’s Office [日本総督府] forbade the Japanese soldiers from robbing the people or entering houses owned by Taiwanese citizens without authorization (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 33–4). However, the Japanese soldiers’ devilish behaviors were still persistent, and anti-Japanese incidents continued to occur (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 34). The Yunlin Massacre Incident (Figure 3.1093) was the result of the Japanese troops’ lack of discipline, killing of innocent people (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 34), and their wrath toward the Taiwanese people’s resistance (Chou, p. 23). In the Incident, the number of people killed could not be calculated, and thousands of houses were destroyed (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 42). Japan was criticized by the international community (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 43). Throughout Taiwan, the Governor-General’s Office established a very rigorous monitoring system called pao-jia that had a great effect in maintaining public security (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 61–2). On the other hand, there were approximately ten plotted armed rebellions (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 68). It took the

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93 The text appearing in the upper right corner says, “The Japanese soldiers launched crazy massacres. There were 396 houses in Douliou that were completely destroyed, and 3,899 houses in the nearby 55 villages were destroyed. The number of people killed could not be calculated [my translation].”
Japanese twenty years to completely solve the problem of bandit\textsuperscript{94} and religious rebellions in Taiwan (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 72). Although Taiwan was Japan’s colony, laws active in Japan were not directly applicable to Taiwan (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 38). Hence, Act 63 was passed by the Japanese parliament stipulating that the Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan could do whatever he wanted without restrictions since the legislative, judicial, and administrative powers were controlled by the Governor-General (Figure 3.11\textsuperscript{95}) (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 41; Vol. 10, p. 32; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 40–3). In other words, the Japanese Governor-General had great power to issue orders that were as effective as laws (Chou, p. 3; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 40). The aim of these orders was to deal with anti-Japanese activists, who were called bandits by the Japanese (Chou, p. 3). The Governor-General became an autocrat (Chou, p. 82)/local despot of Taiwan [台灣土皇帝] (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 43) who governed Taiwan (Chou, p. 82; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 43). Under Japan’s imperialist domination, the people of Taiwan became the slaves of the dominant nation [統治國的奴隸], who only had duties and very limited rights.

\textsuperscript{94} In the narrative, Jheng (2000) used bandits [土匪] and local warlords [土豪] interchangeably to refer to a group of armed forces organized by local influential people, the function of which was to provide self-defense. Owing to the Qing government’s lack of influence in Taiwan, the local warlords handled/intervened in local affairs and conflicts that involved various forces (Jheng, p. 49). However, according to Jheng (2000), these local influential people sometimes would bully and exploit the law-abiding and docile civilians and coercively collect “protection money”. In other words, these local warlords sometimes were able to secure local safety, but sometimes they were as abominable as local tyrants (Jheng, p. 50–51). Since the Qing government did not have sufficient force to maintain social order, it had to rely on the warlords’ help, but it turned a blind eye toward their existence and misdeeds (Jheng, p. 52). The local warlord was also a product of the Qing dynasty in that the society of Taiwan was, in effect, self-governed by these local warlords (p. 52). When the Japanese came to Taiwan with a modernized approach to governing it, conflict between the local armed force and the new authority was foreseeable (Jheng, p. 52).

\textsuperscript{95} The person to the right in the image is saying, “As long as Act 63 was active, the power of the Governor-General of Taiwan was unlimited. We could do nothing to avoid being oppressed [my translation].”
In order to develop Taiwan into a financially independent colony (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 64) and make profits from this colony, the Japanese government first improved Taiwan’s investment environment by enhancing the level of hygiene and basic infrastructure (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 76). Land surveys, repair of the North-South railway, extension of ports, and hygiene education were implemented to carry out the plan (Figure 3.13\textsuperscript{96})(Hao, Vol. 9, p. 65; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 77–90). In order to increase revenue, Japan exploited the Taiwanese farmers, forcibly took over the agricultural industry of Taiwan, acquired huge amounts of land from Taiwanese farmers at lower prices, and exerted great effort to support Japanese companies in Taiwan (Chou, p. 40). The sanitary conditions of Taiwan were improved, and modern water facilities were constructed by the Japanese government (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 77). Since camphor, sugar, opium (Chou, p. 42, 105, 126; Hao, Vol. 9, p. 66), salt, tea, and rice (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 66) were the most profitable products of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government held an exclusive monopoly on the

\textsuperscript{96}The person in the upper right corner says, “Take it easy! As long as we implement our developments in accordance with our plan, developing Taiwan will soon be successful [my translation].” The text appearing in the middle of the upper corner of the image says, “Land survey: the measures of land area and topography should be reliable. The land ownership should be simplified. The census should be accurate. This way, the resources of Taiwan can be mastered, making the industrious development efficient and strengthening public security [my translation].” The text appearing in the left upper corner says, “Repairing the South-North railway: an integrated transportation network helped Taiwan form a unified market circle and make full use of inland resources and eliminate dangerous areas to improve public security [my translation].” The text appearing to the right of the image says, “Expanding ports: Taiwan’s primary financial resources came from foreign trade. Taiwan’s harbors should be equipped with modern wharf facilities that can accommodate great ships, and particularly important is the Keelung Harbor that connects to Japan’s main entrance [my translation].” The old Japanese official is asking, “How much will it cost? [my translation]” The text appearing between the two Japanese located at the bottom of the image says, “Health Education: Taiwan does not have sanitary facilities. Polluted water is everywhere. People and livestock live together, and that kind of lifestyle will easily result in infectious diseases. The priority is to build sanitary sewers and launch an in-depth investigation of Taiwanese customs and habits. Only if we understand them can we modify their old habits and enhance our ability to govern Taiwan [my translation].” The text appearing in the lower left corner is the Japanese response to the earlier inquiry, and he says, “Completing these basic infrastructures will require approximately 60 million dollars [my translation].”
trade in those products (Chou, p. 42, 105, 126; Hao, Vol. 9, p. 66). In the eyes of the Japanese, money extracted from the people of Taiwan was the only important thing, and they devoted themselves to it (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 68). The newly repaired railway made the transportation of commodities easier between the north and the south of Taiwan (Figure 3.14) (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 81). Furthermore, Taiwan was able to continuously export large amounts of goods after the extension of the business ports was finished (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 87). Under the Japanese colonial government’s constructive governance of Taiwan, developments in all aspects were advanced (Ho, Vol. 9, p. 25). One the one hand, Japan implemented brutal military repression, but on the other, it forcefully carried out the strategy of the modernization of Taiwan, which firmly established the basis of Japan’s domination in Taiwan and accelerated the development of Taiwan’s economy (Figure 3.15) (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 70). Taiwan was a supply depot, providing military personnel and materials for Japan. It was also treated as a base for Japan to advance to the South [南進] (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 39). In order to eliminate Chinese culture (Lin, p. 33) and make the Taiwanese people loyal to Japan (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 39; Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 158), the Japanese government put all of its strength into setting the Kou-Min-Ka Movement into motion (Figure 3.16) (Hao,

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97 The text appearing in the image says, “In April, 1908, the South-North railway was completely open to transport services. Japan accelerated the development of Taiwan’s economy [my translation].”

98 The text appearing in the image says, “The so-called Kou-Min-Ka Movement aimed to make the people of Taiwan become truly loyal imperial subjects of the Emperor of Japan [my translation].”
Vol. 11, p. 39; Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 158; Lin, p. 33). According to this Movement, the people of
Taiwan should strive to be the real imperial subjects of Japan (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 39; Lin, p. 33).

The Japanese language was the national language and the speaking of and reading in the
languages of Taiwan (e.g., Mandarin, Taiwanese) were
160; Lin, p. 33). This was especially the case in 1937, when
war broke out between China and Japan (Lin, p. 35). The
people of Taiwan were forced to: 1) abandon ancestor
memorial tablets and statues of Buddha (Chou, p. 145; Lin, p.
33) and worship Amaterasu [天照大神], the Shinto deity
(Figure 3.17\(^9\)) , 2) change their last names to Japanese forms
161; Lin, p. 33), for which they received rewards (Chou, p.
151; Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 161), and 3) wear Japanese kimonos
(Figure 3.18\(^10\)) (Chou, p. 143–6; Hao, Vol. 11, p. 40; Lin, p.
33). The imperial leadership of Taiwan adopted the policy of
Mainland Extension [内地延長主義], making Taiwan equal to Japan (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 45).

However, this was empty talk since this surface equality was not real (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 45). All
Taiwanese children were forced to receive Japanese language education that prepared them to
be subjects of the Emperor of Japan (Figure 3.19) (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 37). Primary schools
during the Japanese occupation era were divided into: 1) elementary schools [小學校], which

\(^9\) The text appearing in the image says, “Hereafter, [we] have to worship Japan’s ancestral god, Amaterasu [my translation].”

\(^10\) The text appearing in the image says, “…not to use Chinese names [my translation].”
only Japanese children were allowed to attend, and 2) public schools [公學校], which accepted Taiwanese children (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 37; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 134; Lin, p. 31). Although both types of school offered a six-year education, different textbooks were adopted for teaching the Japanese students and the Taiwanese students (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 37; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 134; Lin, p. 31). The knowledge that Taiwanese students acquired over the course of six years at the public schools was less than that obtained at fourth-grade in the elementary schools (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 37). In order to maintain its dominant status in Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 27), Japan restrained the Taiwanese people with regard to higher education (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 27; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 132; Lin, p. 35) since intellectuals were more difficult to govern (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 132). The purpose of this plan for education in Taiwan was to train technical personnel and promote the Japanese language in order to carry out the Kou-Min-Ka Movement. Thus, the colonial education was indeed an obscurantist policy [愚民政策] (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 47). In addition to the teaching of Japanese, schools were the institutions that propagated government regulations and indoctrinated students in nationalist ideology (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 129).

Comparing the children’s literature published during the Lee Teng-hui era to those published in the Nationalist Martial Law era, a very similar criticism regarding the issue of Japanese malevolent domination of Taiwan (1895–1945) was observed.

*Japanese Depicted as the Dreadful Monsters in Lee’s Era*

Additional examples of Japanese cruelty and brutality toward the people of Taiwan in the suppression of the revolts were detailed, one of which was the Yunlin Massacre Incident. The Incident “was the result of the Japanese troops’ lack of discipline, killing of innocent people” as discussed in the narrative. The bloody and ruthless methods of the Japanese in suppressing the revolts depicted in Figure 3.2 has been replaced with the caricature of Figure 3.10, in which,
along with the storyline describing “the Japanese soldiers’ brutality and ferocity,” the Japanese suppressor was turned into a wrathful monster with sharp claws, teeth, and ears, chasing after the ordinary civilians. His coming from the sky, running on top of the flames, and wearing an armed kimono decorated with the likeness of blazing fires demonize the Japanese as ruthless monstrosities of unparalleled power who are oppressing the fleeing innocents. While the Japanese colonizers are demonized in Figure 3.10 of Lee’s era, Figure 3.2 in the Martial Law era illustrates the Japanese slaughter of innocents, picturing the Japanese and Taiwanese in historically authentic apparel. This reveals a sense of “factuality” in delivering the historical incident. Children’s narratives published in the Martial Law era and in the Lee Teng-hui era discuss Japanese cruelty in a similar manner.

**Anti-Chinese Interpretation of the Japanese Domination in Lee’s Era**

The discussion of the Japanese suppression of revolts in the island continues, stating in the children’s narrative that “it took the Japanese twenty years to completely solve the problem of bandit [italics added] and religious rebellions.” Looking into the usage of bandit in the children’s narrative (i.e., in Jheng’s (2000) *A History of Taiwan*), Jheng provides a detailed
introduction explaining the emergence and local function of bandits [土匪] and local warlords [土豪], which originated in Taiwanese society during the Qing dynasty. According to Jheng’s (2000) interpretation (described in an earlier footnote), local warlords and bandit shared the same characteristics in that they both took advantage of law-abiding civilians. The interchangeability of local warlords and bandits in the narrative and the emphatic presentation of local warlords as bandits constitute another dark blot on the Qing governance in the history of Taiwan and indirect accusations against the Qing government of incompetence, laxity, and indifference toward the domestic scoundrels. In other words, criticism of the Qing Empire continues to dominate the children’s narrative published in the Lee Teng-hui era as also seen in The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang and The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials, presenting an anti-China (or anti-Chinese) but pro-Japan (or pro-Japanese) interpretation of the children’s account of the Japanese domination. That is, the use of bandit rebellion (instead of the precise usage of local warlord rebellion) rationalizes the Japanese brutal suppression because bandits are notorious and undesirable and should be eliminated.

The “Japanese-ness” Assessment of the Japanese Domination in Lee’s Era

Although the children’s narrative did not either generalize or conclude that all the revolts occurring during the Japanese domination were “the ravages of bandits” as suggested by Asami (1924), the interchangeable usage between bandit and local warlord connotes a sense of “Japanese-ness” that interprets the Japanese suppression from a Japanese perspective, suggesting that the bandit revolts were not launched from the standpoint of patriotism, of loving Taiwan. They were the acts of those seeking personal benefits and resisting the Japanese administration. To this extent, the children’s narrative published in the Lee Teng-hui era did not denounce the
Japanese colonial domination as completely harmful or disadvantageous, although incidents of the harsh and dictatorial Japanese domination of Taiwan were discussed. The introduction of the omnipotent power of the Governor-General hardens the brutality of the Japanese as the narrative states, “The Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan could do whatever he wanted without restrictions…since the legislative, juridical, and administrative powers were controlled by the Governor-General.” Figure 3.11 visualized the literary account to depict the Japanese Governor-General as a chef who is tossing the Taiwanese into a boiling cauldron. With the screaming civilians desperately seeking to escape, the burning fire symbolizes the dire straits of the suffering population. The image also depicts a Taiwanese civilian (to the right) speaking indignantly to the two Taiwanese males (to the left) with his fist firmly clenched, conveying the perspective of the dominated, oppressed Taiwanese (as is explained in the bubble written in Mandarin).

A Less Accusatory Attitude toward the Japanese Colonial Administration

The authoritarian Japanese ruler, labeled as “local despot of Taiwan” and “autocrat” in the children’s narrative, is caricatured in Figure 3.12, satirizing the Governor-General’s imperialist domination as an act of overmastering the Qing “orphan,” whose long queue becomes the means by which the Japanese dominant authority (i.e., the Governor-General) controls and manipulates the Taiwanese. Contrary to the Governor-General’s autocratic attitude, the plaintive facial expression of the subordinate shows clearly that he is forcefully being controlled by the Japanese. Accompanied by the children’s narrative stating that “the people of Taiwan became the slaves [italics added] of the dominant nation, who only had duties and very limited rights,” an
ethnic hierarchy was established between the Japanese master and the Taiwanese servant. Instead of overwhelmingly criticizing Japanese colonial governance as harmful and devastating, the children’s narratives published in Lee’s era incorporated some positive assessments into the discussion of Japan’s fifty-year administration of Taiwan. This transformation creates another precedent in evaluating Japan’s imperialist domination and reserves a literary space for the discussion of Japanese “contributions” to Taiwan. More examples are provided with illustrations such as Figure 3.13, Figure 3.14, and Figure 3.15.

*Both the Pros and Cons of the Japanese Administration Depicted in Lee’s Era*

Although the motivation for the Japanese to develop Taiwan was economic and political interest as reasoned in the children’s narrative, the final products of Japan’s colonial strategy were celebrated through the narrative and illustrations introducing their enhancement of social and basic infrastructures. As visualized in Figure 3.13, the Japanese workman (in the upper right corner) wearing glasses and a rising sun headband and equipped with a spade and a pickax demonstrates the Japanese readiness and determination to develop Taiwan. His action of rolling up his sleeves symbolizes the Japanese ambition and effort to “improv[e] Taiwan’s
The importance of launching the land survey on the island as discussed in Yao’s (2006) research and in the narrative is incorporated into Figure 3.13, which depicts an experienced land surveyor studying and measuring the colonial territory. His serious attitude, exemplified by his closely reading measurements indicated on the ruler, symbolizes the Japanese conscientious planning for the development of Taiwan. In addition, repairing and building the North-South railway, extending ports, and constructing sanitary sewer systems in Taiwan are also parts of the colonial developments contained in the image, which is also supportive to the written text. A train carrying raw materials (mineral products and woods), a merchant ship approaching the dock where piles of merchandise are waiting, and two sanitary sewers, as indicated by the blue color of the running water, imply the success of the Japanese construction of Taiwan.

As the children’s narrative states, “the sanitary conditions of Taiwan were improved, and modern water facilities were constructed by the Japanese government.” A close-up of the personified locomotive carrying two railway cars filled with raw materials and with its chimney smoking illustrated in Figure 3.14 represents the velocity of the train that is running with no holds barred. The forward motion of the train with a mineworker pushing a car full of raw materials and chasing after the speedy train suggests the exploitation of natural resources in Taiwan, which resulted in the acceleration of “the development of Taiwan’s economy after the repair of the North-South railway was completed.” Other positive effects of the accomplishment of the South-North railway included “The newly repaired railway [that] made the transportation of
commodities easier between the north and the south of Taiwan.” The completion of the extension of the business ports further benefits Taiwan since those ports are “able to continuously export large amounts of goods.”

Through the “constructive governance of Taiwan,” the Japanese colonial domination advanced “developments in all aspects.” The modernization of agriculture presented in Figure 3.15 is one of the Japanese strategies carried out in the colony to “[accelerate] the development of Taiwan’s economy.” Three Japanese figures wearing westernized uniforms indicate their sophisticated identity, which is different from the colonized laborers, who are dressed in traditional labor outfits. Under the command of the Japanese overseers and with the use of a modern tractor, the sugar cane field is efficiently harvested. The well-organized and well-maintained sugar cane field denotes the Japanese efficiency and discipline in ruling the colony. The visual representations of the agricultural modernization (Figure 3.15) and the developments of social and basic infrastructures (Figures 3.13 and 3.14) in the Japanese colonial era both celebrate Japan’s improvements, which turned Taiwan into a modernized colony, and also criticize the Japanese exploitation of resources and manpower. That is, the historical phase being discussed in the children’s narrative and illustrations and in the historical research (e.g., Zhang, 2003) present a contradictory interpretation of the Japanese domination, exhibiting the contemporary people’s ambivalence toward the Japanese colonial rule. The interpretation further echoes Lai, Myers, and Wou’s (1991) evaluation stating that the people of Taiwan perceived themselves as superior to and more progressive than the Mainland Chinese.
Similarly, the contradictory evaluation also corresponds to Manthorpe’s (2005) observation in that some of the older generation of Taiwan actually see the Japanese colonial period as beneficial due to the dramatic social and economic development that the efficient Japanese government had brought to the island as opposed to the corruptive Qing administration.

*The Japanese Assimilation Policy – the Kou-Min-Ka Movement*

As was discussed in the historical research (i.e., Goddard, 1966; Isao, 2006; Tsurumi, 1977) and the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era, the Japanese treated Taiwan as “a supply depot” for their southward advancement during the Japanese era. The policy of Japanization (i.e., the Kou-Min-Ka Movement) was launched to produce loyal Japanese subjects in Taiwan. The criteria for being a good Japanese imperial subject were reiterated in the narrative published in the Lee Teng-hui era. Figure 3.16 exemplifies the spirit of the Movement. The Japanese national flag of a rising sun points to the Japanese pride and great ambition in absorbing the colonized population into “the real imperial subjects of Japan.” The salute of three young figures emphasizes the spirit of loyalty and obedience demanded by the Japanese dominators. This visual representation of the Kou-Min-Ka Movement captures the essence of the Japanization policy that penetrated into activities of daily living such as religious belief and naming.

“Abandon[ing] ancestor memorial tablets and statues of Buddha and worship[ing] Amaterasu, the Shinto deity,” depicted in Figure 3.17, became an officially recognized religious activity. The properly decorated altar of Shintoism in the house in Figure 3.17 visualizes the change with the inclusion of Bodhisattva Kuan-Yin (to the right), who is carrying a vase infused
with holy water and two withies and reluctantly leaving the house. Changing last names into Japanese and wearing Japanese kimonos were other components of Japanization featured in Figure 3.18, in which the three figures are dressed in Japanese kimonos and wearing hairdos in Japanese style. The Japanese names written on white paper represent their newly imposed identities of which they must be reminded in written form, signifying the difficulty of changing the people’s intrinsic characters and inner temperament. To further the effect of the Kou-Min-ka Movement, Japanese education in Taiwan as discussed in the children’s narrative and in the historical research was enforced, preparing a new generation of Japanese imperialists from a very young age, from infancy to adulthood, illustrated in Figure 3.19. The Japanese national symbol of a rising sun is carried by each figure, whose future path (or destiny) is teeming with “Japanese-ness.” This illustration supports the progression of the Japanese assimilation movement, symbolizing the assimilation through education starting from each individual and moving the colonized population toward the designated destination: becoming the most loyal subjects of Japan with the spirit of a ninja.

Similar to the literature published in the Martial Law era, the children’s narrative available in the Lee Teng-hui era incorporated harsh criticism of the Japanese colonial policies and domination in Taiwan. However, what differs in the literature published in the Lee Teng-hui
era are: 1) the removal of the identification with mainland China (e.g., removing the terminology the *Taiwanese compatriots*), and 2) the presence of positive assessment and images of the Japanese colonial domination in Taiwan (e.g., social and economic developments depicted in Figure 3.13 and Figure 3.14). Influenced by his academic background from the Japanese colonial education system in Taiwan to higher education in Japan and to graduate studies in the United States, former president Lee Teng-hui’s political ideology has been infused with a sense of “Japanese-ness” from which he sees the beneficial effects of Japanese rule on Taiwan. As indicated in his memoir, “Japan has been a big influence in my life, and Taiwan as a whole has benefited from Japan in the course of its development. These are realities that warrant recognition” (Lee, 1999/1999, p. 139). Lee’s acknowledgement of Japan’s colonial policies in developing Taiwan and making it an advanced colony has an effect on Lee’s cultural and political strategy of localization and Taiwanization. These strategies, in turn, influenced the content of the children’s narrative published contemporarily. In the narrative, the Japanese colonial administration was assessed from a Taiwanese perspective to recount the past as both devastating and praiseworthy as opposed to the exclusively anti-Japanese assessment observed in the Martial Law era. The following comparative analysis of the children’s narrative published in the Chen Shui-bian era examines similarities, differences, and specific assumptions revealed from the narrative and images that are related to the history of Japanese colonial rule.

*Books Published during the Chen Shui-bian Era (2001–2008)*

After the Japanese troops occupied Taipei, they immediately proceeded to the south and encountered the militia’s attacks and strong resistance (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 21). In order to take revenge, the Japanese soldiers killed all Taiwanese they encountered regardless of their gender or age (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 26). They also randomly raped and killed women they saw in Dalin, Taiwan. Because of the Japanese soldiers’ brutality and ferocity, the people of Taiwan were aroused to strongly resist Japan (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 30). After six months of offensive and defensive operations, Japan completed the initial occupation of Taiwan and eliminated the Taiwan Republic. Although the Japan Governor-General’s Office\textsuperscript{101} forbade the Japanese soldiers from robbing the people or entering houses owned by Taiwanese citizens without authorization, the Japanese soldiers’ devilish behaviors were still persistent, and anti-Japanese incidents continued to occur (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 33–4). The Yunlin Massacre Incident (Figure 3.20\textsuperscript{102}) was the result of the Japanese troops’ lack of discipline and killing of innocent people (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 34). The number of people killed in the Incident could not be calculated, and thousands of houses were destroyed (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 42). Japan was criticized by the international public community (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 43).

\textsuperscript{101} In Tsao’s (2005) narrative, the Governor-General Office was established in 1895 (p. 96).

\textsuperscript{102} The text appearing in the upper right corner says, “The Japanese soldiers launched crazy massacres. There were 396 houses in Douliou that were completely destroyed, and 3,899 houses in the nearby 55 villages were destroyed. The number of people killed could not be calculated [my translation].”
The Governor-General’s Office established a very rigorous monitoring system throughout Taiwan called *pao-jia* that had a great effect in maintaining public security (Figure 3.21) (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 66). On the other hand, there were approximately ten plotted armed rebellions (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 72). It took the Japanese twenty years to completely solve the problem of bandit and religious rebellions and firmly control Taiwan\(^{103}\) (Figure 3.22\(^{104}\)) (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 76). Although Taiwan was Japan’s colony, Japanese laws were not directly applicable to Taiwan (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 42). The Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan could do whatever he wanted without restrictions on his rule of Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 41) since the legislative, judicial, and administrative powers were controlled by the Governor-General (Figure 3.23\(^{105}\)) (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 41; Tsao, p. 96). Under Japan’s imperialist domination, the people of Taiwan became the slaves of the dominant nation, who only had duties and very limited rights (Figure 3.24) (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 48). In order to develop Taiwan into a financially independent colony (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 64) and make profits from this colony, the Japanese government first improved Taiwan’s investment environment via enhancing the level

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103 The English version provided in Jheng’s narrative includes the following wording: “It had taken 20 years for Japan to fully solve its two major problems in Taiwan: local warlords and religiously inspired uprisings”, with the original Chinese narrative indicating that “日本人花了二十年的時間，把社會裡的兩大問題，也就是土匪 [bandit]和宗教叛亂事件，完全解決。” (p. 76). Again, Jheng has used the Chinese renderings of local warlords [土豪] and bandits [土匪] interchangeably as he did in the 2000 version.

104 The text appearing in the image says, “Henceforth, Japan was in firm control of Taiwan” (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 76).

105 The person to the right in the image is saying, “As long as Act 63 was active, the power of the Governor-General of Taiwan was unlimited. We could do nothing to avoid being oppressed [my translation].”
of hygiene and basic infrastructure (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 80). Land surveys, repair of the North-South railway, extension of ports, and hygiene education were implemented to carry out the plan (Figure 3.25106) (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 65; Hsu, p. 101; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 81–91). The sanitary conditions of Taiwan were improved, and modern water facilities were constructed by the Japanese government (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 81). Since camphor, sugar, opium, salt, tea, and rice were the most profitable products of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government held an exclusive monopoly on the trade in those products (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 66; Hsu, p. 102). In the eyes of the Japanese, money extracted from the people of Taiwan was the only important thing, and they devoted themselves to it (Hao, Vol. 9, p. 68).

Japan accelerated the development of Taiwan’s economy after the repair of the North-South

106 The person in the upper right corner says, “Take it easy! As long as we implement our developments in accordance with our plan, developing Taiwan will soon be successful [my translation].” The text appearing in the middle of the upper corner of the image says, “Land survey: the measures of land area and topography should be reliable. The land ownership should be simplified. The census should be accurate. This way, the resources of Taiwan can be mastered, making the industrious development efficient and strengthening public security [my translation].” The text appearing in the left upper corner says, “Repairing the South-North railway: an integrated transportation network helped Taiwan form a unified market circle and make full use of inland resources and eliminate dangerous areas to improve public security [my translation].” The text appearing to the right of the image says, “Expanding ports: Taiwan’s primary financial resources came from foreign trade. Taiwan’s harbors should be equipped with modern wharf facilities that can accommodate great ships, and particularly important is the Keelung Harbor that connects to Japan’s main entrance [my translation].” The old Japanese official is asking, “How much will it cost? [my translation]” The text appearing between the two Japanese located at the bottom of the image says, “Health Education: Taiwan does not have sanitary facilities. Polluted water is everywhere. People and livestock live together, and that kind of lifestyle will easily result in infectious diseases. The priority is to build sanitary sewers and launch an in-depth investigation of Taiwanese customs and habits. Only if we understand them can we modify their old habits and enhance our ability to govern Taiwan [my translation].” The text appearing in the lower left corner is the Japanese response to the earlier inquiry, and he says, “Completing these basic infrastructures will require approximately 60 million dollars [my translation].”
railway was completed in May, 1908 (Figure 3.26) (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 8). The newly repaired Railway made the transportation of commodities easier between the north and the south of Taiwan (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 85). Furthermore, Taiwan was able to continuously export large amounts of goods after the extension of the business ports was finished (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 91). Under the Japanese colonial government’s constructive governance of Taiwan, developments in all aspects were advanced (Ho, Vol. 9, p. 31). On the one hand, Japan implemented brutal military repression, but on the other, it forcefully carried out the strategy of the modernization of Taiwan, which established firmly the basis of Japan’s domination in Taiwan and accelerated the development of Taiwan’s economy (Figure 3.27) (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 70). Taiwan was a supply depot, providing military personnel and materials for Japan. It was also treated as a base for Japan to advance to the South (南進) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 39). In order to make the Taiwanese people loyal to Japan (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 39; Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 162), the Japanese government put all of its strength into setting the Kou-Min-Ka Movement into motion, aiming at transforming the Taiwanese into loyal subjects of the Japan Emperor (Figure 3.28) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 39; Hsu, p. 104; Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 162). According to this Movement, the people of Taiwan should strive to be the true imperial subjects of Japan (Hao, Vol. 11, p.

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107 The text appearing in the image says, “In April, 1908, the South-North railway was completely open to transport services. Japan accelerated the development of Taiwan’s economy [my translation].”

108 The text appearing in the upper panel of the image says, “The object of this movement was to transform the Taiwanese into loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor” (Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 162). The text appearing in the lower panel says, “The Japanese henceforth not only required the Taiwanese to conduct themselves like Japanese in both spirit and action, but also required them to be loyal to the Japanese Empire just as they would show filial piety to their parents” (p. 162).
The Japanese language was the national language, and the speaking of and reading in the languages of Taiwan were banned (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 40; Hsu, p. 104; Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 164; Lu, p. 151–2). The people of Taiwan were forced to: 1) worship Amaterasu [天照大神] in Shintoism (Figure 3.29109), 2) change their last names to Japanese forms, (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 40; Hsu, p. 104; Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 157–165; Lu, p. 152, 154), receiving rewards for doing so (Jheng, Vol. 8, p. 165; Lu, p. 154), and 3) wear Japanese kimonos (Figure 3.30110) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 40; Hsu, p. 104).

Primary schools in the Japanese occupation era were divided into: 1) elementary schools [小學校], which only Japanese children were allowed to attend, and 2) public schools [公學校], which accepted Taiwanese children (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 37; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 136; Lu, p. 149). Although both types of school offered six-year education, different textbooks were adopted for teaching the Japanese students and the Taiwanese students. (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 37; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 136; Lu, p. 149).

The knowledge that Taiwanese students acquired over the course of six years at the public schools was less than that obtained at fourth-grade in the elementary schools (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 37). In order to maintain its dominant status in Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 27), Japan restrained the Taiwanese people with regard to higher education (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 27; Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 134) since intellectuals were more difficult to govern (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 134). The purpose of

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109 The text appearing in the image says, “Hereafter, [we] have to worship Japan’s ancestral god, Amaterasu [my translation].”

110 The text appearing in the image says, “…not to use Chinese names [my translation].”
the implementation of education in Taiwan was to train technical personnel and promote the Japanese language in order to carry out the Kou-Min-Ka Movement. Thus, the colonial education was indeed an obscurantist policy [愚民政策] (Hao, Vol. 10, p. 47). In addition to the teaching of Japanese, schools were the institutions that propagated government regulations and indoctrinated students in nationalist ideology (Jheng, Vol. 7, p. 131).

Interpreting Japan’s Colonial Administration as both Praiseworthy and Controversial

The children’s narrative published in the Chen Shui-bian era inherited and continued the practice of seeing Japanese colonial governance as both praiseworthy and controversial. With the majority of the storylines and illustrations recycled from Lee’s era (e.g., Figure 3.10 published in Hao’s (1990) first edition in Lee’s era was copied to Figure 3.20 in his (2001) second edition), the major change in the narratives published in Chen’s era was the color version of the illustrations (e.g., the black-and-white Figure 3.16 of Lee’s era was updated to color Figure 3.28 in Chen’s period) published in Jheng’s (2005) second edition.

The historical importance of the pao-jia system adopted and amended by the colonial government was mentioned in the historical research (i.e., Asami, 1924; Manthorpe, 2005; Zhang, 2003) and reiterated in the children’s narrative with a visual representation that
reinforced the strictness of the Japanese security system. Figure 3.21 provides a symbolic image of the system in which three traditional Taiwanese houses are closely built at the center of a giant palm with four Taiwanese people standing next to them. Alluding to the narrative stating that “The Governor-General’s Office established a very rigorous monitoring system,” the image symbolizes the controlling power of the pao-jia system that restricts the activities that occur within the neighborhood. The integrity of the appearance of houses and the figures’ leisurely attitude as indicated by their relaxed body language suggest that the system works well in securing the safety of the people’s lives and property. This visual representation echoes the historical research (i.e., Asami, 1924; Manthorpe, 2005; Zhang, 2003) and the narrative stating that “pao-jia … had a great effect in maintaining public security.” Although the system was harsh in nature, it helped the Japanese control the social order of Taiwan, a point mentioned in both the narrative and the historical research. Similar to the narratives published in Lee’s era, both the pros and cons of the Japanese pao-jia (ho-ko) system were considered in the children’s narratives published in the Chen Shui-bian era.

The Japanese success in suppressing religious and local warlord rebellions further accelerated imperial control in Taiwan. Reinforcing the storyline saying that “It took the Japanese twenty years to completely solve the problem of bandit and religious rebellions and firmly control Taiwan,” Figure 3.22 caricatures Taiwan’s confinement under
Japanese authority. The personified geographic outline of Taiwan imprisoned in the jail is depicted with a terrified facial expression indicated by two worried, terrified eyes and a wide open mouth. Tiny hands holding the iron bars tightly suggests that Taiwan is firmly controlled under Japan’s domination. The Japanese authority’s pleased expression and his firm control of Taiwan is caricatured to echo the narrative stating that “The Japanese … could do whatever he wanted without restrictions on his rule of Taiwan.” An ethnic and social hierarchy is then established from the image, suggesting the superiority complex of the Japanese during their colonial governance.

The effects of the Kou-Min-Ka Movement depicted in Figure 3.16 and published in black-and-white in the Lee Teng-hui era were developed into Figure 3.28 as color images. Both visual representations emphasize the ideology of the Japanization policy. The “Japanese-ness” embedded in Figure 3.28 is strengthened to color the eyes of each young Taiwanese (in the upper panel of the illustration) red, symbolizing that they are transformed and brainwashed from inside out to be Japanese. Their facial expressions suggest that they are transfixed by the Japanization policy and insinuate their blind obedience as a result of being manipulated under the Kou-Min-Ka Movement. In the lower section of the illustration, the individual figure is unconsciously waving a Japanese national flag, and his brain is imbued with a red arrow of “盡忠” [loyalty] and a blue stream of “報國” [devoting oneself to the service of one’s country]. This visual image
exemplifies brainwashing that requires both the action of being Japanese and the spirit of thinking like a Japanese.

*Nationalist-centered Interpretation in the Martial Law Era*

The children’s narrative published in the Nationalist Martial Law era overwhelmingly and selectively presented the dark side of the Japanese imperialist administration and chastised the colonial policies (e.g., education) for being an act of enslavement. The indicators of the Japanese “contributions” in developing and modernizing Taiwan were rarely mentioned or illustrated in the literature published during the Martial Law era. With the Nationalist usage of the terminology *the Taiwanese compatriots* addressed to the multiethnic population of Taiwan, the Nationalist Party’s political and cultural strategies of de-Japanization and Sinocization were used to determine what aspects of the history of the Japanese domination should be told. The interpretation of the history in these narratives glorified the Nationalists, who were depicted as the liberators (or emancipators) in contrast to the Japanese enslavers. Furthermore, the Chinese-centered, specifically Nationalist-centered, interpretation of the historical event prevailed in the Nationalist Martial Law era, forming a pro-Chinese literary tradition in which the primary perspective embedded in the narrative is that of the Nationalist authorities.

*Taiwanese-centered Assessment in Lee’s and Chen’s Periods*

The shifting of the political power from the two Chiangs’ Martial Law era to the Lee Teng-hui and the Chen Shui-bian eras brought about a simultaneous change in the content of the children’s narrative. Since both Lee and Chen shared very similar cultural and political ideologies in ruling Taiwan and in international strategies, continuity exists between the children’s narratives published in the two eras. An almost identical interpretation of the Japanese domination was observed with the majority of the illustrations and storylines reproduced from
Lee’s period. While the narratives in the Nationalist Martial Law era suggested that the Japanese administration was brutal and devastating, both the children’s narratives and the historical research published in Lee’s and Chen’s eras provided a more balanced assessment in evaluating the Japanese colonial period. In essence, a contradictory sentiment was embedded in the narratives and images published in the later two periods. This narrative style reflects Lai, Myers, and Wou’s (1991) and Manthorpe’s (2005) research in that the Taiwanese people’s ambivalence toward the Japanese domination was documented, revealing a degree of nostalgia in evaluating the past. This Taiwanese-centered interpretation of the Japanese administration of Taiwan also reflects both Lee’s and Chen’s political and cultural agendas of de-Sinocization and Taiwanization.

The Wushe Incident (1930)

The Wushe Incident (1930) deals with the historical event of the Wushe Incident, an indigenous uprising against the brutal Japanese colonial administration. Similar to the usage of the appellation Taiwanese compatriots discussed in The Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang, The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials, and The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937), a collective, vague identity – the compatriots of mountainous regions – was imposed upon the indigenous people involved in the Incident, specifically in the children’s narratives published in the Nationalist martial law period. As the political atmosphere of Taiwan evolved from the Nationalist dictatorial governance (1945–1987) to Lee’s localization and Taiwanization (1988–2000) and to Chen’s Taiwan independence (2001–2008), both the children’s narratives and the historical research published in the later two periods treated the Wushe Uprising with different emphases and perspectives. For instance, as
we shall see in the following comparative analysis, the Nationalist terminology *the compatriots of mountainous regions* was changed to *the Tayal* (Ching, 2000) in Lee’s era and to *the Seediq Tkedaya* (Teng, 2008) in Chen’s period.

**The Indigenous People’s Uprising – the Wushe Incident**

During the Japanese colonial domination (1895–1945), one of the most tragic and heroic anti-Japanese uprisings launched by the indigenous people of Taiwan occurred in Wushe, Taiwan (Teng, 2010). On October 27, 1930 (Ching, 2000; Teng, 2010), when approximately four hundred indigenous people, Taiwanese, and Japanese were gathered in the sports field for an athletic event, an organized surprise attack was launched by the Tayal in the early morning (Ching, 2000). The tribal name of the indigenous group (the Tayal) involved in the revolt was later changed to *the Seediq* [賽德克族] (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010) after they were officially recognized as the fourteenth indigenous group of Taiwan on April 23, 2008 (Chou, 2010; Teng, 2008). According to Teng (2008 & 2010), Seediq includes three indigenous groups: Seediq Tkedaya (or Tgdaya) [德奇達雅], Sediq Teuda (or Toda) [道澤], and Seejiq Truku [土魯閣].

Led by the chief of Mahebo, Mouna Rudo [莫那魯道], “the most notable, respectful, and admirable anti-Japanese hero of *the compatriots of mountainous regions* [italics added]” (Chou, 1986, p. 30), the Seediq Tkedaya people [賽德克族霧社群] launched the anti-Japanese revolt that became known as the Wushe Incident (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010).

Three hundred and fifty-six\(^\text{111}\) able-bodied Seediq men of combat capability from six villages\(^\text{112}\) were divided into two groups\(^\text{113}\) according to age (Teng, 2010). Senior Seediq

\(^\text{111}\) Wu (2008b) suggests that the number was about three hundred.

\(^\text{112}\) Including Mehebu (or Mahebo), Truwan, Gungu, Drodux, Suku, and Boarung (Wu, 2009; Chou, 2010); Kondo (1995) provides different renderings: mahebo, talowan, hoogoo, loodofu, suku, and boalun.

\(^\text{113}\) In Chou’s (1986) research, more than three hundred anti-Japanese indigenous warriors were divided into three groups: 1) a main force led by Tado Mouna to ambush around the sport field, 2) the senior group led by Mouna.
warriors, led by Mouna Rudo, stormed thirteen Japanese police sub-stations (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010; Wu, 2008b) located in Wushe to obtain weapons and ammunition (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010), and the group consisting of younger Seediq, led by Mouna Rudo’s oldest son, Tado Mouna, surged onto the sports ground, where they slew 134 Japanese\textsuperscript{114} (Chou, 1986; Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010; Wu, 2009). Another twenty-six Japanese were injured\textsuperscript{115} (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010), and two Han Taiwanese who were wearing Japanese attire were accidentally killed by stray bullets (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010; Wu, 2009). This uprising shocked all the people of the island, especially the Japanese colonizers. In response, the Governor-General’s Office of Taiwan urgently dispatched police and military forces stationed in various regions of Taiwan to suppress the revolt and punish the anti-Japanese Seediq (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010). After fierce fighting, Mouna Rudo and his anti-Japanese tribesmen retreated to Mahebo, where they took advantage of the steep cliffs and precipices to battle the Japanese (Teng, 2010).

*The Japanese Responses to the Uprising*

Since the Japanese forces could not break through Mahebo with their highly developed and sophisticated weapons (e.g., machine guns, mountain artillery) and suffered heavy casualties (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010), the Japanese airdropped leaflets, summoning the rebels to surrender (Chou, 1986; Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010). The offer was rejected (Teng, 2010). Thus, the Japanese sought the assistance of other compatriots of mountainous regions (Chou, 1986)/another Seediq indigenous group\textsuperscript{116} (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010) who did not participate in this anti-Japanese uprising (Chou, 1986; Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010). The Japanese bribed them with meat and wine

\textsuperscript{114}The number was 139 (86 of them were male and 53 female) in Chou’s (2010) article. In Kondo’s (1995) study, Mouna Rudo led the uprising, and 134 Japanese were killed. Su’s (2005) research indicates that Mouna Rudo led over 300 indigenous able-bodied men to make a surprise attack in which 134 Japanese policemen and their family dependents were killed.

\textsuperscript{115}The number of injured is 215 in Wu’s (2009) research.

\textsuperscript{116}道澤群[Sediq Toda] (Teng, 2010, p. 2).
(Chou, 1986), stirred up their hatred toward the Seediq Tkedaya rebels, and forced them to fight fiercely with the rebellious Seediq (Teng, 2008; Teng, 2010). The Japanese also used aircraft to drop toxic gas bombs\textsuperscript{117}, which were internationally banned chemical weapons, to decimate the rebelling indigenous group (Ching, 2000; Chou, 1986; Kondo, 1995; Su, 2005; Teng, 2008; Teng 2010), causing death and injury to many tribesmen (Chou, 1986; Teng, 2010). Chou (2010) argues that the use of toxic gas is still debatable among scholars in the field. Those indigenous people who were able to survive the ferocious Japanese suppression faced the prospect of being isolated and cut off from help.

\textit{Committing Suicides for the Sake of Safeguarding Gaya}

Thus, in order to conserve limited resources (e.g., food) and let the Seediq warriors fight courageously on without the fear of disturbance, many Seediq women, including Mouna Rudo’s wife, and children collectively committed Seediq holy suicide (hanging) under giant trees (Teng, 2008). Since the Seediq firmly believe that their ancestors were born from the giant trees, they decided to hang themselves under the trees, allowing their souls/spirits to return to the state of ancestral spirits (Teng, 2008). As for Mouna Rudo, after the depletion of bullets and the discontinuation of support, he entered a rock cave located in Mahebo and heroically committed suicide\textsuperscript{118} (Teng, 2010). In order to safeguard Gaya\textsuperscript{119} and Seediq dignity, he went alone to a place deep within the mountain to avoid being decapitated by the Japanese (Teng, 2008). Mouna Rudo ended his life using a .38-calibre pistol (Chou, 2010; Teng, 2008) and died at the age of


\textsuperscript{118} Wu’s (2008b) research includes another brief description arguing that Mouna Rudo and his followers committed suicide near a rock cave. Chou’s (1986) record shows another version of Mouna Rudo’s last moment, in which he led the remaining one hundred and forty or so compatriots of mountainous regions into the forest, where his people committed suicide. Mouna Rudo’s body was later found in an inner mountain area of Mahebo.

\textsuperscript{119} Gaya has multiple meanings in the indigenous culture. Basically, it refers to the traditional habitual laws, beliefs, instructions, and wisdom left by the indigenous ancestors (Chou, 2010). According to Gaya, the Seediq were to protect their heads from being decapitated by their enemies (Teng, 2008).
forty-eight (Teng, 2008). Before taking his own life, Mouna Rudo shot his two grandchildren, placed their bodies next to his wife, and set a fire to burn the bodies (Teng, 2008). In order to avoid having his younger brother become a burden to the tribesmen and to maintain the Seediq Bale’s dignity in upholding Gaya, the oldest son of Mouna Rudo reluctantly cut off his younger brother’s head after the brother suffered a serious gunshot wound in the fighting against the Japanese (Teng, 2008). On December 8, 1930, the Japanese coerced Mahung Mouna (Mouna Rudo’s daughter) and sent her with wine to induce her oldest brother to capitulate. However, Tado Mouna refused the temptation and drank the farewell wine with his sister and sang a farewell song (Teng, 2008). After his final words, Tado and another four warriors fled into the inner mountain of Mahebo, where they followed in their tribesmen’s footsteps and committed suicide, heroically sacrificing their lives for the righteous cause (Teng, 2008).

Lasting for about two months, the Wushe Incident had a devastating effect on the six villages involved in the Uprising: over half of the total population of the villages perished, resulting in a great loss of life (Chou, 2010). In Teng’s (2010) research, 85 Seediq lost their lives in the battle, 137 were killed by the Japanese aircrafts, and 396 Seediq committed suicide.

It was estimated that the Japanese sent out 1,306 policemen, 1,303 military forces, and 1,563 Japanese, Han Taiwanese, and indigenous servicemen to fight against the mere 356 Seediq warriors who were capable of fighting (Teng, 2010).

Major Causes of the Wushe Incident

The causes of the Incident included labor exploitation, inter-ethnic marriage between the Seediq and the Japanese, and the discontent of the chief of Mahebo (Chou, 2010). Before the

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120 According to Teng (2008), the people of Seediq Tkeday, Sediq Teuda, and Seejiq Truku called themselves Seediq Bale [賽德克巴萊], meaning “real men” or “real Seediq”.

121 In Chou’s (1986) study, the original population was 1,236, and only 300 people survived.

122 According to Wu (2008b; 2009) and Chou (2010), a total of 644 indigenous people died in the Incident (Wu, 2008b; Wu, 2009; Chou, 2010), from which 296 of them committed suicide (Wu, 2008b; Wu, 2009).
Incident, the compatriots of mountainous regions (Chou, 1986)/the Seediq Tkedaya (Chou, 2010) were frequently mobilized and exploited by the Japanese policemen to undertake labor such as constructing buildings and repairing fortifications, for which they received very limited wages or rewards (Chou, 1986; Chou, 2010). In order to manage and assimilate the indigenous group, the Japanese authorities encouraged Japanese policemen whose wives were in Japan to marry the indigenous women, who later were maliciously abandoned by the Japanese husbands (Chou, 2010), with Mouna Rudo’s younger sister among their number (Chou, 1986). In the early morning of October 17\(^{123}\), 1930, Mouna Rudo’s sons were slaughtering cattle in preparation for a young couple’s wedding held in Mahebo. Around noon, Japanese policeman Katsumi Yoshimura passed by. In order to show his hospitality, Tado Mouna prepared a bowl of wine and invited Yoshimura to drink with him\(^{124}\) (Chou, 1986). Because Tado’s hands were stained with cattle blood (Chou, 1986), Yoshimura, in disgust, refused the offer and a fight ensued (Chou, 1986; Chou, 2010). While they were struggling, the wine was spilled on Yoshimura’s black police uniform (Chou, 1986). Yoshimura was enraged and used his mountaineering cane to hit Tado (Chou, 1986; Chou, 2010). Since that was a severe insult, Tado struck back (Chou, 1986; Chou, 2010) with his brother joining the fray (Chou, 1986). Afterward, Mouna Rudo carried a bottle of fine wine and led his two sons to visit Yoshimura in order to make apologies. However, the Japanese policeman indifferently refused (Chou, 1986). As a result, the hatred of the compatriots of mountainous regions (Chou, 1986)/the Seediq Tkedaya (Chou, 2010) toward the Japanese intensified and became the immediate cause of the Wushe Uprising (Chou, 1986; Chou, 2010).

However, the fundamental cause of the event was the Japanese invasion of the once isolated indigenous territory of Seediq (Chou, 2010). After Japan came to dominate Taiwan, the

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\(^{123}\) In Chou’s (2010) research, it was in the morning of October 7, 1930.

\(^{124}\) Chou (1986) states that it was an intimate act of the compatriots of mountainous regions to show their hospitality and friendship.
Japanese authorities adopted punitive policies to eliminate “the savage tribes [番族]” (Chou, 1986, p. 30). Hoping to consolidate its political power, the Japanese entered the territory of the Seediq (Teng, 2008), confiscated their hunting guns (Chou, 1986; Chou, 2010; Kondo, 1995), banned such daily necessities as salt (Kondo, 1995; Teng, 2008), and prohibited the indigenous custom of tattooing faces (Teng, 2008). In other words, the Japanese adopted radical acculturation strategies to block the indigenous people’s means of livelihood and force the Seediq to change their ways of living (Kondo, 1995; Teng, 2008). In order to strengthen the Japanese control of the indigenous group (Kondo, 1995; Su, 2005; Teng, 2008; Wu, 2011), Japanese policemen laid land mines around Wushe (Chou, 1986; Wu, 2011) and installed electrically charged barbed-wire entanglements along frontier guard lines [隘勇線] to prevent the indigenous people (Chou, 1986; Kondo, 1995; Su, 2005; Teng, 2008; Wu, 2011) from entering the territory (Wu, 2011). According to Wu (2011), the frontier guard lines were installed in the mountains and frontiers of Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty, and were continued and extended by the Japanese colonizers. With high-voltage meshes attached, the frontier guard lines kept the indigenous people away from the territory. Since the areas under protection were rich in natural resources (e.g., camphor), the system represented the Japanese’s selfish ambition in monopolizing the abundant resources and profiting from them.

With the frontier guard lines installed, the people’s untrammeled freedom was curtailed (Chou, 1986; Kondo, 1995; Su, 2005; Teng, 2008; Wu, 2011). The authority of the chief of the indigenous group was also replaced by the Japanese policemen (Chou, 2010). Under such circumstances, the indigenous traditional habitual law and belief – Gaya – were challenged and destroyed (Chou, 2010). Thus, the Wushe Uprising was an “anti-Japanese tyrannical governance” [反日人暴政] and “anti-enslavement crusade” [反奴化的神聖戰爭] (Teng, 2010, p. 1) launched
by the brave warriors of the Seediq Tkedaya, who wanted to protect and maintain Gaya (Teng, 2010). As we have seen, the writing of history is a constantly evolving process, and different ruling authorities (e.g., the Nationalist government in postwar Taiwan, and the contemporary government) have different interpretations of and different positions toward the Wushe Incident (Teng, 2010). Thus, how the tragic history of the Seediq’s fight against the powerful colonial power was told in the children’s narratives published in different historical eras is comparatively discussed in the following sections.

Books Published during the Martial Law Era (1949–1987)

[A summary of the Wushe Incident as interpreted from Su’s (1967) Famous People in the History of Taiwan, Lin’s (1975) Historical Picture of Taiwan: The Japanese Era (Vol. 3), and Kung’s (1986) Biographies of Taiwan’s Anti-Japanese Heroes: The Tragic History of Taiwan’s Fall into Japanese Control (Vol. 2)]:

On October 27, 1930, over three hundred (Su, p. 73) compatriots of mountainous regions [山胞] from six villages of Wushe launched an organized, large-scale anti-Japanese armed resistance in Wushe – a mountain area in central Taiwan (Lin, p. 99; Su, p. 73). 134 Japanese were killed, and 215 Japanese were injured (Lin, p. 101). People called this the Wushe Incident (Lin, p. 99). For a period of time, this area was entirely controlled by the compatriots of mountainous regions. At the beginning of the Japanese domination, the compatriots of mountainous regions of Taiwan were isolated and oppressed by the Japanese armed forces. The compatriots of mountainous regions were enslaved [奴役] and exploited [榨取]; even the women compatriots of mountainous regions were humiliated and insulted [凌辱] by the Japanese (Lin, p. 99). After a conflict occurred between his son and a Japanese policeman, Mouna Rudo, the chief of Mahebo, brought with him wine to apologize to the policeman.
However, the Japanese policeman ignored him, and his attitude caused the compatriots of mountainous regions to launch a pre-emptive strike (Kung, p. 49–62; Lin, p. 99). It happened when Wushe Elementary School was holding an united athletic meet [聯合運動會] on October 27 (Kung, p. 56–7; Lin, p. 99; Su, p. 73). A large number of the compatriots of mountainous regions led by Tado Mouna Rudo [打達荷・莫那魯道] (Lin, p. 101)/chief Mouna Rudo (Su, p. 73) broke into the meeting place and killed the Japanese who were present (Figure 4.1) (Kung, p. 57; Lin, p. 99; Su, p. 73). Led by the chief (Mouna Rudo), another group of the compatriots of mountainous regions encompassed police offices and officers’ dormitories located in Wushe (Kung, p. 58; Lin, p. 101; Su, p. 73), plundering weapons and ammunition (Kung, p. 58; Lin, p. 101). When the Incident occurred, the anxious Taiwan Governor-General dispatched the Taichung Garrison and mobilized the Japanese soldiers in Taipei and Tainan to lay siege to the mountain area. 1,163 policemen, 1,381 Taiwanese Imperial Japan Servicemen, and over 800 military forces were sent to suppress the revolt (Lin, p. 101). The Japanese also distributed leaflets (Lin, p. 101) and sent aircraft to strafe the compatriots of mountainous regions (Figure 4.2) (Su, p. 73). Although they were repeatedly defeated, the compatriots of mountain regions did not surrender and defended themselves tenaciously and resisted in the following month (Su, p. 73). Later on, the Japanese recklessly used aircraft and artillery to bombard the area and to drop toxic gas, which
was internationally banned, on the compatriots of mountainous regions (Figure 4.3) (Kung, p. 62; Lin, p. 101; Su, p. 75). The compatriots of mountainous regions were forced to separate in flight (Su, p. 75). In the end, Mahebo was occupied by the Japanese soldiers, and the Chief – Mouna Rudo – committed hara-kiri\(^\text{125}\) [切腹自殺] (Su, p. 75). Many compatriots of mountainous regions, who were unable to escape and were unwilling to be caught and humiliated, committed suicide in the mountain by hanging themselves (Su, p. 75). More than nine hundred compatriots of mountainous regions sacrificed their lives (Lin, p. 101). Their dauntless spirit [大無畏的精神] convulsed the Japanese and put them on tenterhooks [惶惶不安] (Kung, p. 63).

This passage is mainly concerned with the cause and the effect of the Wushe Incident occurring in 1930, which marked the thirty-fifth year of the Japanese colonial governance of Taiwan.

**Constructing a Collective Nationalist Identity in the Martial Law Era**

Inheriting the tradition of critiquing the Japanese domination as a form of enslavement discussed in *The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement* (1937), the children’s narrative of the Wushe Incident reiterated the ideological construction arguing that “The compatriots of mountainous regions were enslaved [奴役] and exploited [榨取].” With the usage of *the compatriots of mountainous regions*, which is similar to *the Taiwanese compatriots* discussed in *The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the*  

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\(^{125}\) In Kung’s (1986) narrative, the chief and his family hung themselves and died (p. 63). Before his death, he told his tribesmen, “we, the Tayal [泰雅族], are the greatest men. We would never ever be willing to be slaves. Let’s take our glory with us to see our ancestors” (p. 63). In Lin’s (1975) version, Mouna Rudo and his compatriots collectively committed suicide (p. 101).
Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937), the unique ethnic and cultural identity of the indigenous group contemporarily and officially recognized as the Tayal involved in the Incident was almost entirely missing. This phenomenon parallels Chou’s (1986) research as the terminology *the compatriots of mountainous regions* was adopted in his study to refer to the indigenous group. This linguistic form of hailing, of naming, converts the indigenous group into social subjects since the vocabulary *compatriots* suggests the inclusiveness and homogeneity of their social roles that paralleled that of the Nationalists in the Martial Law era. Through the action of hailing, identifying the indigenous as *compatriots*, the ideological terminology helps transform the indigenous individuals into Nationalist subjects. It also supports the Nationalist government in maintaining social order in the Martial Law era since *compatriots* contains the prefix *com*, meaning “with”, “together”, and the noun *patriots*. Literarily and functionally, the vocabulary signals an ideological formula: *com + patriots = together, we are patriots*, presenting a collective identity and seemingly equality shared by the dominant (the Nationalists) and the dominated (the indigenous people) in the Nationalist Martial Law era.

*Stereotypical Representations of the Indigenous Group in the Martial Law Era*

However, the intrinsic value of the Nationalist *compatriots of mountainous regions* was not as applausive as its linguistic form suggests since stereotypical images related to the indigenous minority overwhelmingly prevailed in the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era. One of the most salient examples of the stereotypes comes from the visual representations of the indigenous group. Figure 4.1 visualizes the outset of the Wushe Uprising in a sports field where three indigenous people wearing feather headbands and nearly naked otherwise are fighting with the Japanese. Only two small pieces of cloth are attached to each indigenous person’s waist. The feather headbands visually misrepresent the indigenous people in
the same way such headbands have frequently misrepresented other native groups (e.g., Native Americans) by suggesting that native populations around the world share similar cultural traditions and practices. The visual stereotype continues in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3, where the feather headbands identify the figures as indigenous men without specific costumes, cultures, and identities, obscuring the particularity of each group.

Each of the indigenous people illustrated in Figure 4.1 carries a machete and furiously attacks the two Japanese. One of the indigenous (to the right) is shot by the Japanese policeman, whose long-barreled gun is still aimed at the injured indigenous warrior. His upward-facing head, his closed eyes, and his gritting teeth suggest that the rebel has been struck by the Japanese policeman’s bullet and is suffering. Another indigenous warrior (to the right front) is attacking a Japanese athlete, whose Japanese identity is indicated by his sleeveless sport blazer printed with a rising sun. Although the machete was a historically important weapon, the lack of the sophisticated arms that the indigenous people seized from the Japanese police stations discussed in both the children’s literature and the historical research (i.e., Teng, 2008 and 2010) visually presents the Uprising as a spontaneous, rather than a well-organized, rebellion in which the indigenous warriors unwisely use their brute force and unsophisticated weapons (machetes) to battle against the Japanese advanced weapons (long-barreled guns).

In addition, the inauthentic dress of the indigenous group was recycled in Figures 4.2

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126 Ching (2000) argues that the Uprising appeared to be a well-organized and premeditated attack since the aborigines set out in the prelude assault to target the police stations in the Wushe area to acquire weapons for the rebellion.
and 4.3. The aircraft dispatched by the Governor-General’s Office is flying over the forest searching for the rebels (Figure 4.2). Six indigenous warriors hiding under trees and within brushwood are staring at the aircraft, with one of them brandishing a double-edged straight sword. While well-directed hiding and scheming strategies were the primary means used in fighting against the powerful Japanese suppression, the gestures of the two indigenous people are questionable as they seem likely to draw the attention of the Japanese in the air. The indigenous people’s wisdom in taking the advantage of the steep cliffs and precipices to battle the Japanese indicated in Teng’s (2010) research was replaced with a group of primitives depicted in Figure 4.2, whose attitude makes the battle appear to be a playful hide-and-seek game.

Furthermore, the inauthentic semi-nudity manifested by the uncovered upper bodies depicted in Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 communicates the idea that the indigenous Taiwanese are a group of uncivilized inhabitants lacking culture. As we shall see in the children’s narrative published in the Lee Teng-hui era, the traditional attire of the Seediq Tkedaya was photographed in Figure 4.5, with Mouna Rudo standing in the middle. In the photograph, none of them are wearing feather headbands, nor are they nearly naked. It is not unjustified to argue that the
primitive appearance of the indigenous figures depicted respectively in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 yields room for the celebration of civilization between civilized (the dominant) and uncivilized (the indigenous) created in the Nationalist Martial Law era. To that extent, a racial hierarchy is further established through the imagined visual representation of the indigenous group. What is missing in the visual representations is the indigenous warriors’ thoughtfulness and seriousness in organizing and battling in the Uprising as the machetes and swords are the primary weapons incorporated into the illustrations. The advanced weapons (e.g., guns) and ammunition the indigenous rebels took from the Japanese police office and actually used in the uprising are nowhere to be found in the visual images. Furthermore, the presence of the double-edged straight sword suggests that the scene was not accurately presented since the indigenous tribe did not adopt swords but machetes as weapons.

Regardless of whether or not toxic gas was used in the Japanese suppression argued in Chou’s (2010) research, the discussion of the use of “toxic gas, which was internationally banned,” is incorporated into the children’s narrative with the supportive image visualized in Figure 4.3 in which two indigenous warriors are suffering from the clouds of poisonous vapor. With a flying aircraft and falling bombshells depicted in the upper section of the image, the scene supports the storyline saying that “the Japanese recklessly used aircraft and artillery to bombard the area and to drop toxic gas.” In so far as the cause and the effect of the Wushe Incident was concerned, major dissimilarities between the history told in the children’s narrative and the historical research involve: 1) terminology referring to the indigenous people, 2) reasons
for committing suicide, and 3) the absence of identity (specific appellations) or culture related indicators/descriptors. Comparing within and across the three major political transitions, the historical terminology of the *compatriots of mountainous regions* was commonly adopted in the Martial Law era, when the Nationalists coming from the Mainland sought to consolidate their political power in the island.

The purpose of identifying those indigenous people as *compatriots*, used in a manner similar to the function of the *Taiwanese compatriots*, was to recruit more advocates and to present the indigenous population as equal to the dominant when martial law was forcefully imposed upon the island. Labeled as the *compatriots of mountainous regions*, the multiethnic indigenous people were allocated into a collective colony in which each tribe’s unique ethnicity, culture, practice, and custom was linguistically masked, generalized, and assimilated into the mainstream. Thus, social inequality is established and further supported by the appellation and the stereotypical images (e.g., Figure 4.3) related to the minority. As we will see, when it came to the periods of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian, the writing of the history incorporated into the historical research removed the Chinese-centered terminology of the *compatriots of mountainous regions* to include the introduction of ethnicity, the tribal names (e.g., *the Tayal* indicated in Ching’s (2000) study, and *the Seediq Tkedaya* in Teng’s (2008) research), providing another interpretive possibility in examining the historical event.

*The Absence of Indigenous Cultural Particularities in the Martial Law Era*

Regardless of how Mouna Rudo died in the Incident, most of his people committed suicide by hanging as indicated in both the historical research (i.e., Teng, 2008) and the children’s narrative. However, only Teng’s (2008) and Chou’s (2010) research published respectively in the Chen Shui-bian era and afterward include the discussion of Gaya, introducing
the spirit, the ancestral wisdom, and the habitual law of the Seediq. Although “unable to escape in time and… unwilling to be caught and humiliated” was a conventional reason discussed in the children’s narrative, the fundamental motive of committing suicide for the purpose of safeguarding Gaya discussed in Teng’s (2008) study was missing in the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era. Furthermore, the ethnic and cultural descriptors (e.g., the tribal name of the indigenous group involved in the event) were neglected in the Nationalist period and only available to the historical research published in Lee’s and Chen’s eras. In contrast, the popularly adopted appellation the compatriots of mountainous regions in the Martial Law era was removed and replaced with the officially recognized names the Tayal (Ching, 2000) and the Seediq Tkedaya (Teng, 2008) in the later two historical phases. Whether or not the content of the children’s narrative published in Lee’s and Chen’s presidencies parallels contemporarily published historical research to avoid controversial terminologies (e.g., the compatriots of mountainous regions) and provides a cogent and authentic account and illustration of the historical event is examined as follows.

Books Published during the Lee Teng-hui Era (1988–2000)


During the Japanese occupation era, the indigenous people [先住民, literally, “the first
resident ethnic groups”] of Taiwan accounted for about 2% of the total population of Taiwan (Hao, p. 6). In 1930, a bloody anti-Japanese tragedy involving the indigenous people occurred in Wushe (Hao, p. 6). In order to fully develop Taiwan (Hao, p. 6) and develop Taiwan’s forest resources (Lin, p. 12), the Japanese Empire adopted the simultaneous strategies of punitive expeditions [討伐] and nurturance [撫育] to control the indigenous people (Lin, p. 12) and forced them to change their life styles (Figure 4.4) (Hao, p. 6). The Japanese government also launched armed suppression campaigns, confiscated firearms, and disarmed the indigenous people (Hao, p. 7; Jheng, p. 155).

On the one hand, the Japanese government erected high-voltage wire meshes to prevent the indigenous people from entering the mountain area (Chou, p. 115; Hao, p. 7; Jheng, p. 154; Lin, p. 12), where camphor was located, from which the Japanese government planned to profit economically (Jheng, p. 151–4). On the other hand, it gave the indigenous people supplies as presents to win them over and utilize them to suppress the Han Taiwanese people’s anti-Japanese movement (Lin, p. 12–3). The Japanese adopted a high-handed approach in handling the indigenous and often exploited them as laborers (Chou, p. 116; Jheng, p. 162). In order to successfully dominate the indigenous population, the Japanese government encouraged the strategy of cementing the relationship between the Japanese policemen and the indigenous people through marriage to daughters or sisters of the indigenous chiefs. However, the Japanese husbands usually maliciously abandoned the indigenous wives (Hao, p. 17). Some Japanese even toyed with [玩
The indigenous people were extremely afraid of Japan’s domination, and the labor issues that had accumulated for years were the major causes for the rebellion of the indigenous people (Chou, p. 115–6; Lin, p. 13) /the Truku [太魯閣族] (Jheng, p. 179). This tragic and large scale armed resistance movement was known as the Wushe Incident (Wang, p. 176). Mouna Rudo, the Tayal (Lin, p. 14) chief of Mahebo, was the leader of this incident (Lin, p. 14; Wang, p. 176). Mouna Rudo (Figure 4.5), brave and skillful in fighting (Lin, p. 14; Wang, p. 176), inherited his father’s will to watch for an opportunity to expel the Japanese from their territory (Wang, p. 176). One day, when Japanese policeman Yoshimura attended an indigenous wedding[127], his clothes were accidentally stained with the wine in the hand of Mouna Rudo’s son (Figure 4.6) (Lin, p. 14). Both parties became involved in a dispute that led to an internationally startling incident – the Wushe Incident (Lin, p. 14). On October 27, 1930, Mouna Rudo led half of the “barbarian villages” [「番社」] of Mahebo (Hao, p. 26), over three hundred able-bodied Truku indigenous people from six villages (Jheng, p. 179) in the Wushe area, where eleven villages

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[127] In Chou’s (1996) and Wang’s (1999) narratives, Japanese policeman Yoshimura was an acquaintance of Mouna Rudo’s son, so he was invited by Mouna’s son to have a seat and a cup of wine together. However, Yoshimura thought that the hand of Mouna’s son was dirty, so Yoshimura was unwilling to join them. Mouna Rudo’s son repeatedly and kindly addressed the policeman, but Yoshimura was furious and struck the son with a walking stick (Chou, p. 113–4; Wang, p. 182). The son could not tolerate the treatment, so he grappled with Yoshimura. Afterward, Mouna Rudo brought a bottle of wine to the police office and offered an apology, but Yoshimura refused to accept the apology and said that no matter what, he would take revenge (Chou, p. 114–5; Wang, p. 182).
(including Mahebo) of compatriots of mountainous regions were located (Wang, p. 176), to
raid and kill the Japanese who attended the elementary and public school united athletic games (Figure 4.7\textsuperscript{128}) (Chou, p. 117–20; Hao, p. 26; Jheng, p. 179; Wang, p. 183–4). One hundred and thirty-six\textsuperscript{129} Japanese, including women and children, died (Hao, p. 26), and two hundred and fifteen were injured (Wang, p. 188). Before the assault, the indigenous people made surprise attacks on police offices in Mahebo to obtain weapons (Chou, p. 119; Wang, p. 184). In response, the Japanese military police not only assembled other barbarian villages’ indigenous people to enter the mountain area and track down those who killed the Japanese (Hao, p. 27), but they also violated international regulations by using aircraft to drop toxic gas bombs to attack the rebels (Figures 4.8 & 4.9\textsuperscript{130}) (Chou, p. 121; Hao, p. 27; Jheng, p. 179; Lin, p. 15; Wang, p. 186). The indigenous people who fled into the mountains either were killed by the Japanese artillery fire or collectively committed suicide (Figure 4.10\textsuperscript{131}) (Hao, p. 27). Mouna Rudo committed suicide (Jheng, p. 180; Lin, p. 16; Wang, p. 187) by shooting himself (Lin, p. 16; Wang, p. 187). It was estimated that over nine hundred indigenous people from the six villages

\textsuperscript{128}The original text appearing in the image says, “On October 27, 1930, Mouna Rudo led half of the barbarian villages in the Wushe area to raid and kill the Japanese who attended the elementary and public school united athletic games. A total of 134 Japanese, including women and children, died [my translation].”

\textsuperscript{129}In Chou’s (1996), Wang’s (1999), and Jheng’s (2000) books, one hundred and thirty-four Japanese people died (Chou, p. 120; Wang, p. 188; Jheng, p. 165, 179).

\textsuperscript{130}The original text appearing in the image says, “After the Wushe Incident, Governor-General Ishizuka, General Executive, Director of Barbarian Affairs, and Governor of Taichung Prefecture, stood down. The Governor-General’s Office also announced new outlines for the Aborigine Controlling Policy. Major subject matters included paying attention to indigenous people’s culture when hiring them, expanding trading posts of barbarian territory, improving the economy of barbarian territory, and increasing educational and medical facilities [my translation].”

\textsuperscript{131}The text appearing in the image says, “The indigenous people who fled to the mountain were either killed by the Japanese military artillery or collectively committed suicide. It was estimated that over nine hundred people died [my translation].”
died in the Uprising (Hao, p. 27; Jheng, p. 180).

In terms of socio-political and cultural atmosphere, Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo’s Nationalist ideology and influences gradually faded after the Martial Law era ended and were replaced with native-born presidents Lee Teng-hui’s New Taiwanese consciousness and Chen Shui-bian’s Taiwan independence. Different from the overgeneralization in the discussion of the indigenous people in the Nationalist period, the historical research published in the later two historical phases reflected the changes to incorporate different terminologies and interpretations of the Wushe Incident and the personages involved. More culturally and ethnically related specificities were introduced. The phenomenon of shifting perspectives in talking about the same event and personage supports Pieterse’s (1992) argument that “When hegemonic culture shifts and the counter-current becomes the mainstream, other effects may come into operation; subgroups may be mobilized to assert their views” (p. 231). Although the political circles were changed from the Mainlanders’ domination to Taiwanese control, both Lee’s and Chen’s Taiwanese identity is different from that of the indigenous group involved in the Uprising. Thus, the indigenous population remained the under-privileged subordinate group.

*Constructing an Indigenous Identity in Lee’s Period*

Compared to the literature published in the earlier period, the majority of the children’s narratives published in Lee’s period take a more cautious attitude in dealing with the appellation issue related to the indigenous groups of Taiwan. A brief introduction was provided with the storyline stating that “the indigenous people [先住民, literarily, “the first resident ethnic groups”] of Taiwan accounted for about 2% of the total population of Taiwan.” The appellation *the indigenous people* (or *the first resident ethnic groups*) provides a politically palatable terminology that eschews the Nationalist-centered, ambiguous usage of *the compatriots of*
mountainous regions. It further suggests that those indigenous people were the pioneers and were ethnically different from the Han Taiwanese, who migrated to Taiwan before 1945, and the Han Chinese, who relocated to the island after 1945. The significantly reduced usage\(^\text{132}\) of the compatriots of mountainous regions reflects Lee’s political ideology of de-Sinocization. In the narratives, the contemporarily recognized tribal name, the Truku/the Tayal, was designated to show that this specific indigenous group was the protagonist who launched the Uprising.

In terms of authenticity of the written narratives, the first mention of the “barbarian villages [「番社」]” in Hao’s (1990) book was treated with caution. Quotation marks were applied to the term to signal readers that although the terminology was inappropriate and biased, it was historically in use when the Wushe Incident occurred. However, after the first usage, barbarian villages was repetitively mentioned on pages 26 and 27 without including quotation marks or further explanation, or replacing it with appropriate appellations (i.e., Mehebu, Truwan, Gungu, Drodux, Suku, and Boarung documented in Wu’s (2009) and Chou’s (2010) research) that could have been used to refer to the indigenous villages. The repetitive usage causes the degrading term to appear to be a normal and proper noun, perpetuating stereotypical images about the indigenous group.

Visual Representations and Culturally Relevant Practices of the Indigenous Group

Supporting the text which states that “the Japanese Empire adopted the simultaneous strategies of punitive expeditions and nurturance to control the indigenous people and forced them to change their life styles,” Figure 4.4 adopted from Lin’s (2000) The History of Taiwan for Children: The National Movement in Taiwan 1920–1956, Forgotten Artists 1920–1947 (Vol. 8) depicts the moment when the indigenous people were mobilized by the Japanese colonizers as

\(^{132}\) In the narratives published in Lee’s era, only Wang’s (1999) The Characters in Taiwan History incorporates the compatriots of mountainous regions into the storylines to refer to the indigenous groups.
lumberjacks to reclaim the forest. Four Tayal/Seediq males dressed in traditional Tayal/Seediq costumes are cutting down trees and tying up the trunks of the trees. The disconsolate facial expression of the central figure suggests that the labor-intensive job does not bring him a sense of satisfaction, reinforcing the children’s narrative stating that “The Japanese adopted a high-handed approach in handling the indigenous and often exploited them as laborers.” Looking closely at the three figures, two narrow long blue strips are tattooed on each of their faces. One band is on their foreheads, and the other strip is on their chins.

According to Tien (2006) and the Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Culture Park (n.d.a), the Tayal/the Seediq custom of facial tattooing ([文面/紋面 (wenmian)]) is one of the Seediq life rituals and is uniquely associated with the tribe. The primary significance of the facial tattooing is that it establishes a symbol that represents honor and responsibility and encourages the indigenous people to pursue such glory (Tien, 2006). The indigenous Tayal/Seediq men and women with facial tattoos were recognized as real Seediq, who were highly respected by their tribesmen (Tien, 2006) since the facial tattoos were perceived as marks that proved the males’ bravery and the females’ virginity and the maturity of their weaving skills (Council of Indigenous People Executive Yuan, 2006; Tien, 2006; Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Culture Park, n.d.a). In contrast, an adult Seediq would be depreciated if such symbolic facial tattooing was missing (Tien, 2006; Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Culture Park, n.d.a).

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133 Since the Seediq were not officially recognized as the 14th indigenous group of Taiwan until 2008, the Seediq were incorporated into the Tayal in Lin’s (2000) narrative.
134 Tien, Kuei-Shih is a Tayal/Seediq/Truku who has spent almost 20 years in researching and collecting pictures, information, and artifacts related to the Tayal/Seediq/Truku cultural tradition of facial tattooing. From his
In addition to the culturally authentic facial tattoo, the Seediq are muscarily developed. The appearances of the indigenous people in Figure 4.4 conform to the historical research in which the facial tattoos and the body shape correspond to each other as only the strong and brave men of the Tayal/Seediq could be tattooed with the two bands to symbolize honor and responsibility. Next to page 12, where Figure 4.4 was illustrated in Lin’s (2000) children’s picture book, a short paragraph introducing the Tayal/Seediq tradition of facial tattooing was footnoted in the upper left hand corner of page 13, where the labor issues of the indigenous people were discussed. I translate the original Chinese text into English as follows:

One of the Tayal’s special customs was 黥面 (qingmian). Qingmian means to tattoo on faces. For males, qingmian is a symbol of adulthood and bravery. For females, it was a mark of the maturity of their weaving skills. However, the qingmian custom had been banned since the Japanese colonial era. (Lin, p. 13)

Although the indigenous cultural practice and the significance of facial tattooing were described in the children’s book to supplement the narrative and the visual image (Figure 4.4), the wording “黥面” (qingmian) is mistakenly used in the literature. The character 黥 (qing) refers to an ancient punishment of tattooing the face (Tien in Ho’s interview, 2005; and in Tsai’s interview, 2011). When the Japanese government dominated Taiwan, they treated the Tayal facial tattoo as a symbol of savageness, incivility, ugliness, and even superstition (Tien in Ho’s interview, 2005; perspective, the Tayal, the Truku, and the Seediq are within the same family. For more information about how he talks about his people’s history, especially his motive in documenting and preserving the indigenous people’s customs, please consult Tsai’s (2011) two video interviews with Tien in Mandarin at http://vcenter.iis.sinica.edu.tw/watch.php?val=aWQ9TTBWWE56Zz0= and http://vcenter.iis.sinica.edu.tw/watch.php?val=aWQ9TTBWWE56az0=. In the interview, he also shared the video clips of the remaining Seediq elders who wore the indigenous facial tattoos. According to the interview, only seven indigenous elders with facial tattoos remained in 2011.

The original Chinese text includes the following wording, “泰雅族的特殊習俗之一為黥面，黥面就是在臉上刺青。黥面對男子而言，是成年的標誌，也是勇武的象徵。對女子而言，則是善於織布的標記。然而，黥面的習俗在日據時代已漸漸被禁止。” (Lin, p. 13)
and in Tsai’s interview, 2011).

After the Nationalist government came to Taiwan, the new government continued the Japanese manner of handling the indigenous culture by terming the Tayal facial tattooing (wenmian [文面/纹面]) qingmian [黥面], equating the indigenous tradition practiced for thousands of years with the ancient punishment of tattooing criminals (Tien in Ho’s interview, 2005, and in Tsai’s interview, 2011). The incorporation of the outsider’s viewpoint on the traditional custom of facial tattooing, which stigmatizes “the first resident ethnic group of Taiwan” as convicts, suggests a practical hegemonic control in which the dominant Han Taiwanese perspective interfered with and re-defined the intrinsic meaning of the indigenous tradition. Although the children’s narrative published in the Lee Teng-hui era included more detailed explanations and illustrations of the indigenous traditions and cultures, the misrepresentation of the facial tattooing perpetuates the dominant groups’ (e.g., the Mainlanders and the Han Taiwanese) outlook in explaining the aboriginal cultural practices.

The leading figure of the Wushe Incident, Mouna Rudo (standing in the middle), was photographed in Figure 4.5 with another two indigenous tribesmen. The stereotypical
misrepresentation of wearing feather headbands and being nearly naked presented in Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 are replaced with the actual images of the Seediq, whose faces are tattooed with the two bands, symbolizing that they are brave Seediq warriors, Seediq Bale. Although their legs are exposed, two third of their bodies are covered with clothes weaved with different patterns. Mouna Rudo and his tribesman (to the right) also are dressed in big square clothes around their bodies, and their hands are placed into the clothes to keep them warm. According to the Council of Indigenous People Executive Yuan (2006), the Seediq’s traditional apparel is very similar to that of the Tayal. Due to environmental and geographical factors, the indigenous clothing worn in various areas was slightly different. For the females of the Seediq Tkedaya, traditional attire includes tops, pinafores, leg wrappings, and a piece of big square cloth to be draped over their bodies when the weather was frigid. The big square cloth was also applied to the males, who usually wore the cloth slanted, forming a rhombus (Council of Indigenous People Executive Yuan, 2006). With their hair nicely combed and tied in the back (Mouna Rudo and his tribesman to the left in Figure 4.5), the indigenous people appear to be neat and tidy, with a dignified attitude that is contrary to the primitives depicted in the Martial Law era.

Due to the availability of natural weaving and dyeing materials in the agricultural and hunting period, the most frequently used fabric colors of the Seediq include green, red, yellow, black, and white. The Seediq people show special preference to the color red (Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Culture Park, n.d.b), as depicted in Figure 4.6 in which Mouna Rudo’s son is slapped by “Japanese policeman Yoshimura [whose]… clothes were accidentally stained with the wine in the hand of Mouna Rudo’s son.” This dispute led to the Uprising, in which hundreds of the Seediq perished, echoing both the children’s narrative and the historical research (i.e., Chou, 1986 and Chou, 2010). The policeman’s bold attitude and heavyset appearance suggests the
threatening manner in which the Japanese controlled the indigenous population. In other words, the Japanese policeman’s haughty attitude and power are magnified through his exaggerated appearance, in contrast to the emaciated Seediq. An unequal power relationship is further revealed from the image where the policeman’s lofty manner visually wins him the ability to bully the indigenous Taiwanese. A tattooed, thin, and weak Seediq warrior/adult with a heavyhearted look placed in the back of the illustration and witnessing the scene wears the same color and similar pattern as the son. Vertical stripes are woven into the red fabric, resembling the outfit of the Seediq warrior to the left in Figure 4.5. Mouna Rudo’s hairstyle photographed in Figure 4.5 is shared by the two Seediq in Figure 4.6, where the Seediq facial tattoo is missing on the face of the indigenous boy, suggesting that Mouna’s son is still a minor.

The Issue of Authenticity

In terms of pictorial authenticity, the illustrations published in the Martial Law era present the historical personages with the imagined characteristics of the indigenous cultural elements (e.g., feather headbands), whereas the images incorporated into the children’s narrative available in the Lee Teng-hui era include more authentic features of the Seediq (e.g., facial tattooing). However, inauthentic illustrations related to the indigenous Taiwanese are still visible in the children’s narrative published in Lee’s era. Besides the inclusion of the incorrectly annotated paragraph introducing the Seediq facial tattooing in Lin’s book, culturally relevant particularities such as facial tattoos and appropriate costumes are absent in Figures 4.7, 4.8, and
4.10, presenting a questionable portrayal of the indigenous group. Each Seediq is uniformly characterized: dressed in standardized cardigan-like, light-colored vests and wearing an unvaried hairstyle of ponytail. Comparing Figures 4.7, 4.8, and Figure 4.10 with Figure 4.3, the stereotypical representation of wearing feather headbands and being nearly naked in Figure 4.3 is replaced with dubious, imagined colorful attire in Figures 4.7, 4.8, and 4.10. Since the Wushe Incident occurred in late October of 1930 in the mountain areas of Wushe, the autumn temperature would have ranged from cool to chilly. The sleeveless apparel worn by the indigenous people in Figures 4.7, 4.8, and 4.10 presents the presumed representation of the culturally and ethnically specific outfits.

On the other hand, different from the arbitrary revolt suggested by and depicted in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 published in the Martial Law era, the presence of a long-barreled gun in
Figure 4.10 echoes the historical research (e.g., Ching, 2000) and the children’s narrative stating that “Before the assault, the indigenous people made surprise attacks on police offices in Mahebo to obtain weapons,” insinuating that the Uprising was a well-planned and organized revolt. The Japanese’s well-prepared and equipped counterattack as depicted in Figure 4.9 exhibits their determination to eliminate the insurrectionists. Supporting the children’s narrative which states that the Japanese “violated international regulations by using aircraft to drop toxic gas bombs to attack the rebels,” the gas masks worn by the Japanese policemen in Figure 4.9 affirmatively make clear the use of the prohibited chemical weapons. Although both the written and illustrated presentations of the uprising are supported by the historical research published in the three historical phases (e.g., Chou, 1986; Kondo, 1995; Su, 2005), Chou’s (2010) research released afterward was skeptical of the assertion.

*Ambivalent Portrayals of the Japanese Colonizers in Lee’s Period*

Similar to the discussion of the Japanese colonial control depicted in Lee’s era in *The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937)*, ambivalent portrayals related to the Japanese colonizers also are found in the children’s narrative’s interpretation of the Wushe Incident. Although the Japanese brutality in suppressing the revolt was incorporated into the narrative, a display of Japan’s sophisticated weaponry is vivid in Figure 4.9, where the Japanese policemen’s outfits and advanced accoutrements are carefully illustrated, presenting the Japanese as a disciplined, strict, and professional force. The Seediq’s most fundamental intention in safeguarding Gaya, which is the intrinsic motive of the Wushe
Incident, and the indigenous indignity discussed in Teng’s (2008) research, is overlooked in both the children’s narrative and the historical research published during the Lee Teng-hui era to present the Uprising as another common occurrence of indigenous revenge.

Although improvements were made both in the children’s narrative and the historical research to avoid the inappropriate terminologies (e.g., *the compatriots of mountainous regions*) and to incorporate more cultural and ethnic particularities (e.g., facial tattoos), the incautious attitude toward the treatment of the *barbarian villages* and the neglect and omission of the culturally relevant information still exhibit the Han Taiwanese people’s political and cultural privileges and power in selectively presenting a rather shallow version of the Wushe Incident. Evaluated in terms of the authenticity of the depiction of the indigenous uprising, both the children’s narrative and the historical research published in Lee’s era only provide partial and, sometimes, dubious images of the indigenous crusade. Whether or not the phenomenon is continued in the Chen Shui-bian era is discussed as follows.

*Books Published during the Chen Shui-bian Era (2001–2008)*


During the Japanese occupation era, the indigenous people [先住民, literally, “the first resident ethnic groups”] of Taiwan accounted for about 2% of the total population of Taiwan (Hao, p. 6). The Japanese government was very harsh toward the indigenous groups, and it installed a line of defense with electrically charged barbed-wire entanglements to restrict the
indigenous people (Hao, p. 7; Hsu, p. 106) from entering the mountain areas (Hao, p. 7; Jheng, p. 151–4), where camphor was located, from which the Japanese government planned to profit economically (Jheng, p. 151–4). Japanese policemen treated them rudely and frequently compelled them to perform forced labor (Hsu, p. 106; Jheng, p. 162, 179). On October 27 (Hao, p. 26; Jheng, p. 179), 1930 (Hao, p. 26; Hsu, p. 106; Jheng, p. 179; Tsao, p. 168), a bloody anti-Japanese tragedy involving the indigenous people (Hao, p. 6)/the Tayal (Hsu, p. 106; Tsao, p. 165)/the indigenous people of Seediq (Jheng, p. 179) occurred in Wushe (Hao, p. 6; Hsu, p. 106), and the incident became known as the Wushe Incident (Hao, p. 27; Hsu, p. 106; Jheng, p. 179; Tsao, p. 168). The direct cause of the Wushe Incident was a small conflict between the indigenous people and a Japanese policeman\(^{136}\) (Hsu, p. 106). Prior to the Incident, however, much discontent had accumulated between the indigenous people and the Japanese (Hsu, p. 106; Jheng, p. 179). In order to fully develop Taiwan (Hao, p. 6), the Japanese forced the indigenous people to change their lifestyles (Hao, p. 6). The Japanese government also launched armed suppression campaigns, confiscated firearms, and disarmed the indigenous people (Hao, p. 7; Jheng, p. 155). To successfully dominate the indigenous population, the Japanese encouraged the strategy of cementing the relationship between the Japanese policemen and the indigenous people through marriage to daughters or sisters of the indigenous chiefs. However, the Japanese husbands usually abandoned the indigenous wives (Hao, p. 17). Some Japanese even toyed with [玩弄] (Hao, p. 16)/[騙取] (Jheng, p. 163) the emotions of the indigenous women (Hao, p. 16; Jheng, p. 163). Mouna Rudo, the chief of Mahebo, was driven beyond the limits of forbearance; hence, he decided to launch a surprise

\(^{136}\) In Tsao’s (2005) narrative, the Incident occurred because Mouna Rudo’s son had a dispute with a Japanese individual. Mouna Rudo, in order to settle the dispute and bring about peace, forced a smile on his face and went to apologize several times. However, he was berated by the Japanese person, who shouted, “Get out of here! Shameless barbarian” (p. 168).
On October 27, 1930, Mouna Rudo led half of the “barbarian villages” [「番社」] of Mahebo (Hao, p. 26)/over three hundred able-bodied Tayal (Tsao, p. 168)/Seediq (Jheng, p. 179) people from six villages in the Wushe area to raid and kill the Japanese who attended the elementary and public school united athletic games (Figure 4.11) (Hao, p. 26; Jheng, p. 179; Tsao, p. 168). One hundred and thirty-four Japanese, including women and children, were killed (Hao, p. 26; Hsu, p. 106; Jheng, p. 165, 179), and two hundred and fifteen were injured (Jheng, p. 165). The Japanese military police (Hao, p. 27; Tsao, p. 169) not only assembled other barbarian villages’ indigenous people (Hao, p. 27) to enter the mountain area and track down the indigenous people who killed the Japanese (Hao, p. 27; Tsao, p. 169), but they also violated international regulations by using aircraft to drop toxic gas bombs and attacking the rebels (Figures 4.12 & 4.13) (Hao, p. 27; Hsu, p. 106; Jheng, p. 179; Tsao, p. 169). The indigenous people who fled into the mountains either were killed by the Japanese artillery fire or collectively committed suicide (Figure 4.14) (Hao, p. 27). After seeing his compatriot die one after another, Mouna

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137 The original text appearing in the image says, “After the Wushe Incident, Governor-General Ishizuka, General Executive, Director of Barbarian Affairs, and Governor of Taichung Prefecture, stood down. The Governor-General’s Office also announced new outlines for the Aborigine Controlling Policy. Major subject matters included paying attention to indigenous people’s culture when hiring them, expanding trading posts of barbarian territory, improving the economy of barbarian territory, and increasing educational and medical facilities [my translation].”

138 The text appearing in the image says, “The indigenous people who fled to the mountain were either killed by the Japanese military artillery or collectively committed suicide. It was estimated that over nine hundred people died [my translation].”
Rudo asked his family to commit suicide to avoid being insulted (Tsao, p. 169). As for Mouna Rudo (Jheng, p. 180; Tsao, p. 169), he used a long-barreled gun (Tsao, p. 169) and committed suicide (Jheng, p. 180; Tsao, p. 169). It was estimated that over nine hundred indigenous people from the six villages died in the Uprising (Hao, p. 27; Tsao, p. 169).

As can be seen in the children’s narrative summarized above, the historical incident told in the Chen Shui-bian era inherits the previous narrative style to incorporate some minor alterations, but it recycled the majority of the narrative from Lee’s era. Especially for Hao’s (2001) series, an almost identical depiction of the Wushe Incident was adopted from the 1990 version with the questionable usage of the barbarian villages unchanged. With the duplicated illustrations (e.g., Figures 4.12, 4.13, and 4.14), only a few textual corrections were made in the newer edition, such as correcting the number of Japanese death from 136 (Hao, 1990) in Lee’s era to 134 (Hao, 2001) in the Chen Shui-bian era. The indigenous group’s tribal name, the Truku, discussed in Lee’s era, was revised to “the indigenous people of Seediq” in the second edition of Jheng’s (2005) *A History of Taiwan in Comics* published in Chen’s era. This revision reflects Chen’s political ideology of Taiwanese nationalism, which values individuals’ unique cultural backgrounds and traditions.

*More Authentic Indigenization of the Seediq Warriors in Chen’s Era*

Furthermore, major changes/differences in the contemporarily published children’s narrative came from Jheng’s (2005) second edition of *A History of Taiwan in Comics*, in which the old black-and-white version was replaced with the refined, colored illustrations (e.g., Figure 4.11). As shown in Figure 4.11, the beginning of the indigenous rebellion is clearly depicted to
include subtle environmental portrayals. The locale is featured with a house, a tree, a gate, a flag pole, and a large field surrounded by wooden fences. Three Seediq warriors wearing traditional Seediq facial tattoos and traditional attire are attacking the Japanese policemen present. Two rising sun flags hanging high in the air suggest that the Japanese are the dominant authority.

Supporting the narrative which states that the indigenous “people from six villages in the Wushe area [raided and killed] the Japanese who attended the elementary and public school united athletic games,” the murderous look of the Seediq warrior (to the right) manifests the people’s rage and determination to retaliate against the Japanese high-handed rule. The well-developed muscles of the Seediq present the rebels as a group of Seediq Bale (real men) heroically fighting against the blue uniformed Japanese policemen. Although the other two indigenous warriors are equipped with the traditional machetes, the focal scene revealed from Figure 4.11 is the presence of the pike, which features the indigenous protagonist’s wisdom in using the more advantageous weapon to fight against the Japanese katana, which is physically shorter. Although the pikes are also incorporated into Figure 4.7, published in Lee’s era and reproduced in Chen’s era, the major focus revealed from the image (Figure 4.7) is a sumo-like indigenous protagonist whose hand is holding a knife similar to a butcher’s and slaughtering the Japanese female. Two long pikes are
noticeable in the background of the image with the three apparently indigenous participants who are without solid identities. Fundamental ethnic and cultural indicators such as facial tattoos and authentically traditional costumes are absent from the illustration, presenting the historical, heroic moment in a cartoonish fashion.

Comparing Figure 4.11 published in Chen’s era with Figure 4.7 from Lee’s era and Figure 4.1 from the Martial Law era, the primitiveness revealed in Figure 4.1 is succeeded by the dramatics in Figure 4.7 and later advanced to the authentic representation of the Wushe Uprising in Figure 4.11. More detailed depictions appeared in Figure 4.11, applying equal weight to the visual representations of the indigenous and the Japanese protagonists. The Japanese policeman’s uniform is decorated with collar insignia, and the stereotypical adornment of feather headbands of the Seediq is replaced with the traditional usage of a white headscarf. Long sleeves and alternate white and red indigenous attire are the main clothing with the optional big square cloth draped over the indigenous warrior (to the second right). Both parties’ long sleeve apparel illustrates the low temperature of Wushe’s chilly autumn. From the barbarization of the indigenous rebels created in the Martial Law era (e.g., Figure 4.1) to the caricatured and vague images of the indigenous participants (e.g., Figure 4.7) available in Lee’s era and reproduced in Chen’s and to the sometimes (but not always) authentic indigenization of the Seediq warriors in Chen’s era (e.g., Figure 4.11), the shifting of the children’s accounts reflects and supports the contemporary ruling authorities’ political and cultural strategies and ideologies of Sinocization (e.g., the compatriots...
of mountainous regions) in the Nationalist Martial Law era, and localization and Taiwanization (e.g., the first resident ethnic groups of Taiwan) in Lee’s and Chen’s eras.

The Dominance of the Mainstream Viewpoint

Thus, social power relations are articulated and represented through the description in the children’s narrative and illustration that produce and reproduce specific visions of social hierarchy, class, and ethnicity. Often, the dominant outlook in transcribing and presenting otherness and minority succeeds and renounces the possibility of visualizing social difference from other perspectives. Although partial images and literary texts produced in Chen’s era reflect the contemporary ruling authority’s political and cultural agenda of localization and Taiwanization, both the omissions and the misrepresentations\(^\text{139}\) revealed from the children’s account of the Wushe Incident point to the existence of social power relations in which the dominant group’s (the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese) viewpoint is produced, reproduced, and perpetuated and that of the dominated (e.g., the Seediq) is neglected, silenced, or misrepresented. It further shows the mainstream’s hegemonic control in directing and influencing how the history of the Wushe Incident should be and can be told by whom and from whose perspectives.

“Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70\(^{\text{th}}\) Corps

After the discussion of the indigenous people’s uprising against Japan’s colonial domination, “Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70\(^{\text{th}}\) Corps deals with Taiwan’s return to Chinese governance after World War II when Japan lost the war and was forced to surrender its administration of Taiwan to the Nationalist government in the Mainland. Major personages involved in the historical event include the Nationalist Party’s leader, Chiang, Kai-shek, and the Nationalists officials (i.e., Chen Yi) and soldiers. Important disputes among historians relate primarily to the divergent interpretations of: 1) the conditions under which

\(^{139}\) Such as the Seediq Gaya, and the inappropriate and inauthentic attire (e.g., the sleeveless, colorful outfits).
Taiwan was returned to Chinese governance, 2) the validity of the Cairo Declaration, and 3) public reactions toward the arrival of the Nationalists (e.g., emphasizing the earlier state of the Taiwanese people’s welcome of the Nationalists versus providing a more integrated assessment to discuss both the public’s initial anticipations and later disappointments).

The Eight-year Resistance War against Japan’s Invasion

After Japan occupied Taiwan in 1895, seized the Liaodong Peninsula in 1905, and then Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese Empire continued its encroachments in China in subsequent years when the Nationalist government was busy eliminating the Communist forces in the Mainland (Lary, 2010). On July 7, 1937, the major confrontation between Chinese troops and Japanese armies occurred at Marco Polo Bridge, initiating the eight-year Resistance War (1937–1945). In terms of weaponry, the war was difficult for the Nationalist government since they faced a better equipped Japanese army. While the Resistance War dragged on, the Chinese Communist Party’s power grew (Lary, 2010). When Japan attacked the United States in 1941 at Pearl Harbor, the U.S. entered World War II and joined the fight against the Axis powers (Lary, 2010). China decided to ally with foreign powers (e.g., the United States, Britain), hoping that the Allied nations would bring the war to Japan and increase the chance of the enemy’s defeat (Lary, 2010). Both the Resistance War and the Pacific War ended on August 15, 1945 (Lary, 2010). Between 20 to 30 million Chinese military and civilian deaths occurred in the war; however, due to the massive scale of casualties, no one knows exactly how many people lost their lives (Lary, 2010). Material losses (e.g., historical buildings, property, possessions) were beyond calculation. At the end of the war, the Nationalist government seemed to be uncertain and ill-prepared for what was to happen. Many Chinese people, including the Nationalist leader

140 Including Germany, Italy, and Japan (Lary, 2010).
and soldiers, were dispirited and worn out after eight years of fighting against the Japanese (Lary, 2010).

*The Cairo Declaration*

In 1945, Taiwan was handed over to Chiang Kai-shek\(^{141}\), the leader of the Nationalist Party and the Republic of China, based on the provisions of the Cairo Declaration (Goddard, 1966; Hsiau, 2000; Kerr, 1965; Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005), which promised a redistribution of territories occupied by the Japanese Empire (Kerr, 1965; Kerr, 1986). The Declaration was a joint announcement issued by General Chiang Kai-shek, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt in November, 1943 (Chu, 2004; Hung, 1989; Hsiau, 2000; Kerr, 1965; Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005), indicating that all the territories, including Formosa (Taiwan), seized by Japan from the Republic of China (ROC) shall be restored to the Chinese government\(^{142}\) (Chu, 2004; Hung, 1989; Hsiau, 2000; Kerr, 1965; Manthorpe, 2005). However, the unsigned and non-binding Declaration was issued as a news release (Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005) and was essentially a stratagem to keep Chiang involved in the battle against Japan (Chu, 2004; Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005) since the Americans knew “that Chiang was an untrustworthy ally more eager to destroy his bitter rival, Mao, than to devote his full strength –

\(^{141}\) More details about Chiang Kai-shek (including his role in Taiwan restoration) and his Nationalist government are discussed in *Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government*.

\(^{142}\) According to Chu’s (2004) research, as soon as the first draft of the Cairo Declaration appeared, which stated that “the territory that Japan has so treacherously stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria and Formosa, will of course be returned to the Republic of China” (p. 332–3), Cadogan, who was the British Deputy Foreign Secretary, suggested that the sentence be changed to the following: “the territory that Japan has so treacherously stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria and Formosa, will of course be given up by Japan” (p. 333). Since the British were not invited to join the first Roosevelt-Chiang dinner meeting to discuss the Taiwan issue, the British point of view was omitted. Cadogan argued that the British government would require further explanations for the specific indication of Formosa and Manchuria being returned to China since the content favored the Chinese. However, the Chinese and Americans insisted on having the wording remain unchanged in the declaration. Hung (1989) also mentioned Cadogan’s proposal to change the wording but avoided mentioning the British absence in the first meeting. Hung stated that due to China’s unremitting efforts, the original wording was preserved [至於開羅宣言，十一月二十三日中美決定二十四日由王寵惠與霍布金斯商妥後，二十六日英外長艾登提修正案，其中日本由中國取之土地，如滿洲與臺灣、澎湖應歸還中國，英國主張由日本放棄，經我國極力爭取，仍得維持原案。] (p. 213).
and American supplies and gold – to fighting the invading Japanese” (Kerr, p. 43). Thus, the administration of Taiwan temporarily went to the Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang) since no formal peace treaty related to the legal resolution of the territories retrieved from Japan was signed in the Cairo Declaration (Manthorpe, 2005). After the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Hung, 1989; Manthorpe, 2005), Emperor Hirohito of Japan surrendered (Hung, 1989; Manthorpe, 2005), accepted the provisions of the Potsdam Proclamation, and signed the surrender document (Manthorpe, 2005). While there is still debate over the authority of the Cairo Declaration, no one dispute the fact that with the adoption of domestic laws, the Nationalist government featuring a one-party system started to rule Taiwan in 1945 (Hsueh, 2010).

The Arrival of the Nationalist Government

Although the Japanese 50-year colonial domination of Taiwan was ended as one of the outcomes of the war, China was relatively foreign to most of the people in Taiwan. To make the situation worse, the incoming Mainlanders, the Nationalists, treated the Taiwanese as enemy aliens (Lary, 2010). According to Hung (1989), “the entire population of Taiwan was enthusiastic about Taiwan’s reversion to the motherland. They strived to be the first to learn Mandarin and the national anthem” (p. 217). The island was full of high expectations (Kerr, 1965; Zhang, 2003) since the return meant the end of fifty years of Japanese humiliation (Kerr, 1965), and because China was an ancestral home for most of the Taiwanese (Zhang, 2003). On October 10, 1945, the first National Day, every compatriot of Taiwan rushed to be the first to hang the national flag of the Clear Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth (Hung, 1989). On October 15, the Chinese Army’s 62nd and 70th Corps, totaling over 12,000\textsuperscript{143}, arrived at Keelung.

\textsuperscript{143} Zhang (2003) argues that approximately 60,000 Chinese troops who appeared to be bedraggled and undisciplined landed in Taiwan. Since the war was still going on, the troops sent to Taiwan were older veterans enlisted from old
The poorly disciplined Chinese troops

However, the people’s excitement toward the new authority soon turned to ambivalence (Manthorpe, 2005) as the Nationalist Chinese troops were an ill-equipped and ill-disciplined mob – dirty, bare-footed, and bedraggled, dragging their cooking equipment with them (Gate, 1987; Kerr, 1965; Kerr, 1986; Zhang, 2003). They were brought to Taiwan by the American transport ships, and due to their great fear of Japanese ambushes, the Nationalist troops refused to go on shore unless the American soldiers marched ahead (Kerr, 1965, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005). In Kerr’s (1965, 1986) and Manthorpe’s (2005) research, the Nationalist soldiers were afraid of encountering Japanese suicide squads that might lurk along the road from Keelung Harbor to Taipei. Similar incidents had occurred in the south where the Chinese soldiers escorted by the American Seventh Fleet were reluctant to disembark at Kaohsiung Harbor and had to be threatened by the Americans to go ashore (Kerr, 1965). According to Kerr (1965), the beginning of the Chinese arrival was inauspicious since Taiwanese had witnessed these shameful incidents, and word began to spread within the island.

The Taiwanese were disappointed by the Chinese officials’ and soldiers’ misbehavior and corruption, ranging from petty stealing and plundering to organized rape, misappropriation of military and civilian supplies, confiscation of properties, and monopolizing raw materials and agricultural commodities (Zhang, 2003). Thus, the people’s “enthusiasm for ‘liberation’ lasted about six weeks” (Kerr, 1965, p. 97) until they witnessed the poorly disciplined and overbearing

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144 12,000 in number (Manthorpe, 2005).
Chinese troops’ misbehaviors and were disappointed by the Nationalists, who treated Taiwan as a conquered territory and the Formosans as a conquered, degraded people (Kerr, 1965).

The Pre-arranged Welcome Parade

On October 24, 1945, Chief-Executive of Taiwan Province Chen Yi\textsuperscript{145} (Hung, 1989), appointed by Chiang Kai-shek to be the Governor General of Taiwan (Manthorpe, 2005; Zhang, 2003), arrived in Taiwan and prepared to host the Japanese surrender ceremony held the next morning at ten o’clock in Zhongshan Hall, Taipei (Hung, 1989). George H. Kerr, a Formosan Specialist, was one of the American officers who escorted Governor General Chen Yi and his men to Taipei. From his personal experience, Kerr (1965) described the Formosans’ welcome as follows:

A great parade had been arranged for the Governor-General’s reception. Leading Formosan citizens were on hand to greet the General, office workers were lined up with appropriate banners, and hundreds of school children had been turned to welcome the “liberators.” They had been standing many hours in the sun… [As] General Chen’s car moved off, and as it passed along the highway toward the city the school children and clerks waved their flags and shouted “Banzai!” three times. But when the Americans at last came along, tailing the procession, there was a prolonged roar of applause and acclaim. (p. 77)

Manthorpe (2005) provides a very similar interpretation of the event and states,

Taiwanese enthusiasm for their liberation was already restrained. The schoolchildren marshaled to line Chen’s parade route shouted the traditional Japanese greeting “banzai” as he passed, but the greatest applause was for the American liaison troops riding at the

\textsuperscript{145} More details about Chen Yi and his administration of Taiwan are further discussed in Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government.
back of the cavalcade. The islanders began to react as it became more and more apparent the Kuomintang [Nationalist Party’s] troops considered Taiwan conquered territory to be looted and its people Japanese collaborators worthy only of contempt. (p. 189)

From Kerr’s and Manthorpe’s observations, the participation of leading citizens, official workers, and students in the welcome scene and their shouting “banzai” were pre-arranged, and the great ovation of the public was, according to Kerr and Manthorpe, given to the Americans, who received the people’s cordial acclamations.

*Chen Yi’s Reinforcement of Nationalist Ideology*

On October 25, 1945, Chen Yi, representing the Nationalist government, proclaimed Taiwan’s official re-entrance into China’s territory and acknowledged the revolutionary martyrs’ and soldiers’ contributions in sacrificing their lives for Taiwan (Hung, 1989). He also indicated that the compatriots should sincerely remember 1) the Father of the Nation Sun Yat-sen’s initiation and leadership of China’s national revolutionary movement and 2) Chairman Chiang Kai-shek’s accomplishment in fulfilling Sun’s unfulfilled wish (Hung, 1989). From that day on, “the compatriots of Taiwan” (p. 219) returned to the embrace of the motherland. With decorative lanterns and the resounding noise of firecrackers, gongs, and drums, the six million people of the island celebrated this significant event (Hung, 1989). Chief-Executive Chen Yi also urged the compatriots of Taiwan to work toward the goal of developing Taiwan into a new province reflecting Sun’s Three Principles of the People (Hung, 1989). On October 26, over five thousand students marched in a parade in Taipei city to celebrate the restoration of Taiwan. Along with lion and dragon dances, tens of thousands of people paraded in the city until deep in the night (Hung, 1989). On the same day, every household in the province also hung the national flag and was decorated with lanterns and colored streamers (Hung, 1989).
The Nationalist Government’s De-Japanization and Sinocization

After the restoration, one of the primary tasks for the new government was to de-Japanize and, at the same time, Sinocize the Taiwanese into loyal Chinese (Hsiau, 2000). For example, the Mandarin language was imposed on schools by the Nationalist government to carry out this major mission (Hsiau, 2000). This linguistic imposition helped the dictatorial Chinese government maintain its legitimacy and power. As Bawan (n.d.) states, the government utilized education to consolidate its rule through the enforcement of Mandarin language education and the teaching of Chinese culture and tradition. Students’ mother tongues were strictly banned in schools. In essence, the KMT’s Mandarin language movement sought to 1) wipe out the uniqueness of each ethnic group’s identity, culture, and language, and 2) cultivate and construct a Chinese identity that was shared among the Mainlanders.

The Shifting in Perspectives Observed in the Historical Research

Different in perspective, the interpretations of the legal status of Taiwan and the Nationalist soldiers discussed in the historical research are divergent. That is, in Hung’s (1989) research, the earlier state of the people’s mood and the welcome scene in which the soldiers’ arrival was greeted by the crowds was emphasized, providing only the positive image of the Chinese arrival and disseminating an illusion that suggests the public’s undoubted acceptance of the newcomers. In addition, the glorious moment of Taiwan’s return to the embrace of the motherland depicted by Hung (1989) asserted the Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan, which was taken for granted by the researcher. In contrast, the Nationalist troops’ misbehaviors (e.g., plundering local people’s wealth and commodities) and low quality in character (e.g., poorly disciplined and ill-clothed) were uncovered by another group of researchers (e.g., Chu, 2004; Kerr, 1965; Zhang, 2003), who also disclosed the intrinsic purpose of the Cairo Declaration and
questioned the validity of the joint announcement. The occurrence of one historical event and one document resulted in the phenomenon of at least two diverse emphases, displaying the dynamics of perspective in the interpretation of social-political events. Whether or not children’s narratives published in different historical phases repeat the phenomenon is discussed as follows.

Books Published during the Martial Law Era (1949–1987)

[A summary of Taiwan restoration as interpreted from Lin’s (1975) *Historical Picture of Taiwan: The Japanese Era* (Vol. 3) and *Taiwan Restoration* (Vol. 4), Wei’s (1980) *The National Revolution and the History of Taiwan*, Huang’s (1985) *History of Taiwan*, and Kung’s (1986) *Biographies of Taiwan’s Anti-Japanese Heroes: The Tragic History of Taiwan’s Fall into Japanese Control* (Vol. 1)];

In 1943, the third year of the Pacific War (Lin, Vol. 4, p. 11), the Late President Lord Chiang, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain held a conference in Cairo, Egypt, a meeting known as the Cairo Conference [開羅會議] (Kung, p. 6; Lin, Vol. 4, p. 11; Wei, p. 75). After the conference, they jointly issued the Cairo Declaration [開羅宣言], indicating that the purpose of the war was to restrain and punish Japan’s invasion. The leaders of the three allied nations decided not to fight for their own profit or territorial expansion, but to deprive Japan of the territories that it had stolen from China, such as Manchu, Taiwan, and Pescadores, all of which would be returned to the Republic of China (Lin, Vol. 4, p. 11; Wei, p. 75). At the beginning of August, 1945, signs of Japan’s defeat were apparent, and the Potsdam Declaration [波茨坦宣言] issued by the allies called for Japan’s unconditional surrender. Following the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan surrendered unconditionally (Lin, Vol. 3, p. 127; Lin, Vol. 4, p.
We should all know that Taiwan’s return to the motherland was not decided at a meeting or by a small number of anti-Japanese martyrs striving for the recovery. During eight years of fighting against Japan, over twenty million soldiers and ordinary people from the motherland sacrificed their lives, and over one hundred billion Taiwanese dollars in money and supplies were lost in the battle (Kung, p. 6). When Japan lost in World War II, the Taiwanese people realized that the restoration of Taiwan [臺灣光復] was the inevitable outcome. After a half-century under Japanese Imperialism (Huang, p. 28; Lin, Vol. 3, p. 127), Taiwan was finally returned to the embrace of the motherland (Huang, p. 28; Lin, Vol. 4, p. 23). The compatriots of Taiwan were filled with wild, ecstatic happiness, hugging each other and crying (Figure 5.1) (Huang, p. 28). The Taiwanese’s patriotic passion [愛國熱情] erupted (Lin, Vol. 3, p. 127), and everyone rushed to be the first [爭先恐後] to purchase (Lin, Vol. 3, p. 127) and fly (Huang, p. 28) the flag of the Clear Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth, the National Flag of the Republic of China. All the Taiwanese people regardless of age enthusiastically [熱心地] (Lin, Vol. 3, p. 127) started to learn Mandarin (Huang, p. 28; Lin, Vol. 3, p. 127) and the national anthem (Huang, p. 28). On the Double Tenth Day (the National Day), 1945, Taiwanese compatriots anticipated the approaching restoration and cheerfully and ceremoniously [隆重] prepared for the event

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146 Referring to the Cairo Conference.
147 Celebrated on the 10th of October.
(Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3). The national flag and the flag of the Nationalist Party were displayed throughout Zhongshan Hall, Taipei. The red couplet hung on the two sides of the door represented the heartfelt wishes of six million Taiwanese compatriots whose hearts were full of rejoicing [歡欣鼓舞] (Lin, Vol. 4, p. 16–23).

Under the tyrannical [橫行霸道] colonization of the Japanese Imperialist army and police, the compatriots of the Taiwan province had never seen our loyal revolutionary army, who fought for our nation and our people. After Japan surrendered, six million Taiwanese compatriots looked forward to welcoming the national troops and seeing them march into Taiwan. On October 17, 1945, the first transport vessel carrying the first national troops arrived in Keelung Harbor (Huang, p. 29; Lin, p. 19). Taiwanese compatriots, both old and young, crowded into Keelung Harbor and gave the national troops a great ovation (Figures 5.4 and 5.5). When the national troops arrived at Taipei, the citizens and students lined both sides of the street and cheered [夾道歡呼] the national troops (Huang, p. 29; Wei, p. 78). They loudly sang the restoration song, expressing their heartfelt wishes for an inseparable relationship between Taiwan and the Mainland, which should be as close as flesh and blood [血肉相連] (Huang, p. 29). The courageous and valiant [英勇] national troops appeared with strict disciplinary [軍容肅肅] attitudes and marched purposefully and energetically [雄赳赳、氣昂昂] toward the military camp (Lin, p. 19).
Three hundred thousand Taipei citizens were all cheering in great delight (Lin, p. 19; Wei, p. 78) and weeping with joy (Lin, p. 19). On October 25, 1945, the surrender ceremony was held in Zhongshan Hall, Taipei (Lin, Vol. 4, p. 21; Wei, p. 78), and it was a glorious day (Lin, Vol. 4, p. 21). Taiwan was formally re-incorporated into China’s territory, and the day became known as Taiwan Restoration Day (Huang, p. 29; Wei, p. 79).

This passage is primarily concerned with Taiwan’s return to Chinese governance in 1945, when the leaders of Britain, China, and the United States met at Cairo and jointly issued the Cairo Declaration, announcing that all the territories Japanese had taken from the Chinese would be returned to the ROC after the war.

*Chinese-centered Interpretation of the Cairo Declaration*

Although the declaration was found to be controversial and informal (i.e., Kerr, 1965; Manthorpe, 2005), the children’s narrative published in the Nationalist Martial Law era treated the Cairo Declaration as an authorized treaty that legally transferred the ownership of Taiwan to the Nationalist government after Japan’s defeat in World War II. The praiseworthy achievement of Taiwan’s return “to the embrace of the motherland” was credited to “the Late President Lord Chiang” and “over twenty million soldiers and ordinary people from the motherland [who] sacrificed their lives.” Although the promise of returning Taiwan to the Chinese made by Roosevelt in the Cairo meeting was viewed as a ploy to prod the Chinese to continue fighting and to ensure a good relationship between the United States and China (Chu, 2004; Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005), the children’s narrative provides a favorable, China-centered interpretation of the Cairo Declaration and emphasizes the Nationalist contributions and dedication in striving for the freedom of “the compatriots of Taiwan.”

*Constructing a Nationalist Identity in the Martial Law Era*
The appellation the compatriots of Taiwan was adopted in both the children’s narrative and the historical research (i.e., Hung, 1989) related to the Taiwan restoration, reiterating the Nationalist ambition in transforming the people of Taiwan into Nationalist subjects discussed previously. Accompanied by the narrative stating that “the Taiwanese’s patriotic passion erupted,” the people’s patriotism was depicted through their actions of “[being] the first to purchase and fly the flag of the Clear Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth, the National Flag of the Republic of China.” The patriotic passion of “the compatriots of Taiwan” was further exemplified through their enthusiasm in learning Mandarin and the national anthem (e.g., “All the Taiwanese people regardless of age enthusiastically started to learn Mandarin”). Furthermore, the Taiwanese people’s fervent embracement of the ideological symbols of the flag, the national anthem, and the national language – Mandarin – of the ROC helps construct a beloved and esteemed Nationalist government that won the allegiance of the masses of Taiwan.

The popularity of the Nationalist authority was also implied in the narrative, reproducing and disseminating a fabricated image of the Nationalists. Furthermore, the people’s renunciation of the sovereignty of Taiwan was adumbrated, replaced with the people’s advocacy for the reunification with mainland China. The interpretation of the people’s voluntary actions in embracing the symbolic elements of the flag and the anthem assumes that the new authority and its army were unhesitatingly welcomed and accepted by the Formosans. “They loudly sang the restoration song, fully expressing their heartfelt wishes for an inseparable relationship, which should be as close as flesh and blood.” Thus, the representations of the Chinese ideology (e.g., the national anthem, flag, and language) incorporated into the children’s narrative contribute to the reproduction of the Nationalist Sinocization and de-Japanization as these symbolic representations are intentionally introduced through both the written and illustrated (e.g., Figures
5.1, 5.2, and 5.3) texts. The manifestation of the purposeful incorporation of the Nationalist symbols echoes Hollindale’s (1992) first level of ideology (intended surface ideology) and third level of ideology (ideology is inherent within language). The usage of Mandarin as the written language in the children’s narrative already signals the depiction of the children’s narrative as an ideological construction that favors the Nationalist group with the infusion of key political beliefs as exemplified through the flag and anthem of the ROC.

*Chinese-centered Portrayals of the Nationalists and the People of Taiwan*

Comparing the children’s narrative to Hsiau’s (2000) and Bawan’s (n.d.) research on Mandarin language regulation and enforcement and to Kerr’s (1965) and Manthorpe’s (2005) observations of the historical atmosphere, the storylines, first of all, shadow the Nationalist cultural and political agenda of Sinocization in selecting Mandarin as the *only* instructional language. Furthermore, the children’s narratives published in the Martial Law era provide only the people’s initial responses toward Taiwan’s return to the Nationalists. However, the Nationalist government’s aim in assimilating the people of Taiwan into Nationalist subjects, the devastating effects of the Mandarin language movement, which threatened the extinction of all indigenous and local languages, and the people’s aversion to the Nationalists after they witnessed the Nationalist soldiers’ low character and the officials’ corrupt and dictatorial governance were purposefully neglected in the children’s narrative. Instead, the dominant group was depicted as honorable, efficient, and popular.

The depiction of “the compatriots of [Taiwan’s]… wild, ecstatic happiness [and their] hugging each other and crying” is visible in Figure 5.1 in which the central figure’s arms are wide open and his face carries a victorious smile. His gesture and facial expression convey his ecstatic mood in celebrating Taiwan restoration and his joy in welcoming the arrival of the
Nationalists. His jubilant body language is copied by the majority of the figures illustrated in Figures 5.1 and 5.2, emphasizing the public’s acceptance of the new authority. Similarly, the relieved facial expressions of the older female figure (to the left in Figure 5.1) and the boy insinuate their gratified satisfaction. Along with two banners saying “Banzai! The Republic of China! [中華民國萬歲]” and “Celebrate Taiwan Restoration [慶祝臺灣光復]” and the flag of the Clear Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth located to the right, the image conveys the people’s euphoria at being “liberated” from the Japanese enslavement by the ROC government. The seven peace doves hovering around the national flag in Figure 5.2 symbolize the harmony created by the Kuomintang Party and its Nationalist government as indicated by the presence of both the party flag (to the left) and the flag of the ROC (to the right), carried by the overjoyed crowds.

After the illustration of the public celebration of Taiwan’s return “to the embrace of the motherland,” the children’s narrative continues to portray household celebrations in the same manner. When the children’s narrative states, “On the Double Tenth Day (the National Day), 1945, the Taiwanese compatriots anticipated the approaching restoration and cheerfully and ceremoniously [隆重] prepared for the event,” the narrative style echoes Hung’s (1989) research
in which the Taiwanese people could not wait to hang the national flag of the ROC. Figure 5.3 supports the narrative and illustrates the festive atmosphere of the civil celebration of the first National Day with the banner stating “Celebrate the National Day [慶祝國慶]” and with the double tenth mark – “++” – hung from the eaves. The little boy’s waving of the national flag and carrying of a double tenth lantern and the two big national flags hung on the doorframes depict the Taiwanese people’s recognition of the ROC government and of the Double Tenth Day as the Taiwanese national day. The ignited firecrackers depicted in the left hand corner set off the beginning of a new future brought by the Nationalist government.

While “the Japanese Imperialist army and police” were described as “tyrannical,” the Nationalist troops were constructed in the children’s narrative as a “loyal revolutionary army, who fought for our nation and our people.” Different from Kerr’s (1986) and Chu’s (2004) interpretations that treat Taiwan’s return to the Chinese government as a strategic ploy to get Chiang involved, Taiwan restoration discussed in the children’s narrative was accredited to the Nationalist leader and “the courageous and valiant national troops.” When they were sent to Taiwan to assume power from Japan, the Nationalist troops “appeared with strict disciplinary attitudes and marched purposefully and energetically toward the military camp.” With the banner proclaiming “Welcome National Troops [歡迎國軍],” the glory of the Nationalist “victory” is visualized in Figure 5.4 where three professionally dressed Nationalist soldiers are equipped with rifles and acclaimed by the crowds. The young soldiers’ high-spirited appearance and tidy attire

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148 Referring to China.
suggest the strict Nationalist military discipline. Through exaggerated descriptions such as “strict disciplinary attitudes” and “marched purposefully and energetically,” the glorious image of the Nationalist troops created in the children’s narrative constructs a group of exceptional and dauntless heroes. The corrupt, fearful, shambling, ill-equipped, illiterate, and poorly disciplined Chinese soldiers discussed in Kerr’s (1965, 1986), Gate’s (1987), Zhang’s (2003), and Manthorpe’s (2005) historical research were visually and linguistically transformed into the ideal Nationalist troops, providing a Chinese-centered and intentionally selective account of the historical roles of the Nationalists in this turbulent period of Taiwanese history.

Similarly, the welcome scenes seen in Figures 5.4 and 5.5 and the narrative depicting the “Taipei citizens… all cheering in great delight and weeping with joy” created in the Martial Law era conceal the careless and undisciplined attitude of the national troops discussed by historians. In addition, the procession photographed in Figure 5.5 is composed of a group of young students who are dressed in school uniforms, waving the flag of the ROC, and “[giving] the national troops a great ovation” at Keelung Harbor. Regardless of whether or not those students are conscious of the significance of their attendance, the image supports the children’s narrative and presumes the students’ recognition of and patriotism toward the Nationalists. Thus, an image of idolized
Nationalists is created and disseminated as a universal outlook through the children’s narrative to help the contemporary ruling authority create and promote public popularity and consensus. It further supports the dominant group in maintaining social order in the Martial Law era since the literary representations of the authority and the army of the dictatorial KMT regime emphasized their roles as “liberators” whose arrival was highly anticipated by the local Taiwanese.

However, comparing the children’s narrative to Kerr’s (1965) and Manthorpe’s (2005) research, the selective description of the historical moment focuses only on presenting the earlier state of the social atmosphere in which the locals’ enthusiasm and anticipation toward the newcomers was instantaneous and prior to the actual arrival of the Nationalist troops and officials. This ceremonial atmosphere was before the ill-disciplined and poorly dressed Nationalist soldiers were ashore and before the Nationalist troops looted and plundered local Taiwanese throughout the island. It was also before the warm welcome of the Nationalists was turned into the deepest disappointment and revulsion. Although the students’ participation was depicted to be their heartfelt welcome of the Nationalists (Figure 5.5), according to the historical research (e.g., Kerr, 1965), it was all arranged. Since the students are the only protagonists photographed in Figure 5.5, whether they are lined up to welcome the Nationalists or the Americans, as suggested by Kerr (1965) and Manthorpe (2005), is unknown.

In so far as the history of Taiwan’s return to the Chinese is concerned, the account in the first historical phase of the research period parallels that of the previously analyzed historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities in dealing with the issues related to the identity of the people of Taiwan and the sovereignty of Taiwan. A designated identity (i.e., identifying with mainland China) is imposed upon the multiethnic population of Taiwan with the assumption that Taiwan’s sovereignty was “naturally” merged into the Chinese regime of the
The Nationalist domination of Taiwan as exemplified by, for instance, the enforcement of martial law is veiled by the children’s narrative to infuse the Chinese ideology (e.g., Mandarin, the national flag and anthem) into postwar Taiwan\(^\text{149}\), reflecting the wish to socialize the presumably “Japanized” people of Taiwan into being faithful Nationalist subjects. After the two Chiangs’ Martial Law era, Lee Teng-hui came to power and transformed the political atmosphere of Taiwan to create another scenario. Whether or not the history of Taiwan restoration and the Chinese army published in Lee’s era reflects the corresponding change is analyzed as follows.

Books Published during the Lee Teng-hui Era (1988–2000)


Toward the end of World War II in November, 1943, Japan was on the verge of losing the war (Ho, p. 8). China, the United States, and Britain held a meeting in Cairo (Hao, p. 45; Ho, p. 8). At the meeting, the issue of Taiwan was mentioned in the Cairo Declaration, stating that Manchuria, Taiwan, and the Pescadores, which were once under the control of the Qing, should be returned to the Republic of China after the war (Hao, p. 45; Ho, p. 8). This was because the United States wanted to contain [牽制] China and ensure that it would continue resisting Japan. The United States offered China this favorable promise (Ho, p. 8), and Taiwan was restored! On August 15, 1945, the Emperor of Japan publicly announced Japan’s

\(^{149}\) More detailed assessments of the KMT government and its authorities are discussed in *Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government*. 
unconditional surrender (Chou, p. 184–5; Hao, p. 46). On October 25, 1945, Rikichi Ando, the Governor-General of Taiwan, submitted a capitulation to Chen Yi, who represented the Republic of China in accepting the surrender (Hao, p. 47). From that point forward, Taiwan was able to return to the embrace of China after fifty-one years of Japanese domination (Chou, p. 184; Hao, p. 47). The people of Taiwan were ecstatic (Chou, p. 185; Lin, p. 27), decorating with lanterns and colored streamers (Lin, p. 27). On October 17, 1945 (Ho, p. 21; Lin, p. 27), the people of Taiwan (Hao, p. 48; Ho, p. 21; Lin, p. 27), both the old and young [攜老偕幼] (Lin, p. 27), gathered together at Keelung Harbor to welcome (Hao, p. 48; Ho, p. 21; Lin, p. 27) the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps (Figure 5.6) (Ho, p. 21; Lin, p. 27)/ the Nationalist troops from the motherland (Hao, p. 48). When the Nationalist troops came on shore (Chou, p. 186; Hao, p. 48), everyone rushed to be the first [爭先恐後] to welcome them (Chou, p. 186). They shouted loudly, “Banzai! The motherland!” [祖國萬歲] (Hao, p. 48). The people of Taiwan immediately handed them hot towels, cigarettes, and hot tea (Lin, p. 29–30). This passionate welcome along the shore was extended to the side of the tracks (Figure 5.7) (Lin, p. 30). The Nationalist troops were deeply moved by the lively scene (Lin, p. 30). However, on closer examination, the Nationalist troops from the motherland seemed neglectful of their personal hygiene, and their spirit was poor compared to the

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150 The text appearing in the upper right corner of the image says, “After the war, the Nationalist government appointed Chen Yi to be Chief-Executive of Taiwan Province and Garrison Commander-in-chief of Taiwan. The Nationalist government also dispatched the 62nd Corps to station in Taiwan [my translation].”
Japanese soldiers (Figure 5.8) (Hao, p. 49). Their clothes were shabby, and they carried broken pots, bowls, and umbrellas, with a sluggish, undisciplined, and dispirited attitude (Figures 5.9 & 5.10) (Ho, p. 21). The people of Taiwan wondered whether they were really the Nationalist troops who triumphed in the battle (Hao, p. 49; Ho, p. 23).

The ragged appearance and the dispirited attitude of the Nationalist troops left the people of Taiwan with an indelible sense of loss (Ho, p. 23). Caught up in the warm welcoming of the troops, it seemed that no one had thought about the difficulties of recovering and establishing the nation (Lin, p. 30). On October 26, 1945, Taipei city held a grand celebratory parade (Figure 5.11) (Chou, p. 186).

Everyone diligently studied the national language (Mandarin) (Ho, p. 16; Lin, p. 27) in order to communicate and cooperate with the Chinese (Ho, p. 16). They made an effort to see the future as beautiful and bright (Lin, p. 27). While most of the Taiwanese were ecstatic, some of the Taiwanese intellectuals were uneasy, anxious, and worried about possible problems related to the integration of Taiwan and China (Chou, p. 189; Ho, p. 14–5), and some pro-Japanese people even felt strong attachment to Japan (Chou, p. 189). The defeated Japanese, however, packed their belongings and evacuated Taiwan (Ho, p.

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151 The conversation appearing in the image says, “The troops from the motherland don’t seem to quite understand about personal hygiene [my translation].” “Yes. Also, compared to the Japanese soldiers, they seem to be low in spirit [my translation].”
19). Taiwan was restored, and the people of Taiwan were able to break away from Japan’s tyrannical domination (Lin, p. 30). Hence, they had high expectations of the Chinese officials who were responsible for the takeover (Lin, p. 30). However, they were disappointed by the poor character of the Nationalist soldiers (Lin, p. 30). A feeling of animosity between the people of this province [本省人] (the Taiwanese) and the people from other provinces [外省人] (the Mainlanders) gradually deepened (Lin, p. 30).

*Taiwanese-centered Interpretation of the Cairo Declaration*

Different from the earlier account attributing Taiwan restoration to Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces, the children’s narrative published in Lee’s era discussed the historical causes and effects of Taiwan’s return to the Chinese governance. While mentioning the decisive meeting in Cairo, the venerated appellation the Late President Lord Chiang was removed and replaced with China to designate that the Cairo Declaration was jointly issued by the three allied nations – China, the United States, and Britain. Echoing Kerr’s (1986) and Chu’s (2004) research, the intrinsic purpose of the Cairo Declaration was uncovered from the very beginning of the narrative stating that “This was because the United States wanted to contain China and ensure that China would continue resisting Japan, so the United States offered China this favorable promise.” This narrative style retreats from the glorified heroism exemplified by eulogizing people like Chiang Kai-shek to narrate the plain facts of the historical event. It lays open the strategic nature of the content of the Cairo Declaration in which Taiwan was treated as an international bargaining chip to engage Chiang and his Nationalists in the war. Thus, the ideological construction of Chiang and his Nationalist troops as great redeemers who “rescued”...
the people of Taiwan was deconstructed, rebuilding another tradition that no longer regards Chiang and the Nationalist troops as national heroes.

*Taiwanese People’s Ambivalence toward the Newcomers Depicted in Lee’s Era*

Similar to the literature published in the earlier phase, the introductory paragraph in Lee’s era begins with the description of the expectant Taiwanese people looking forward to the arrival of the Nationalist soldiers. As the children’s narrative states, “On October 17, 1945, the people of Taiwan, both the old and young, gathered together at Keelung Harbor to welcome the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps from the motherland.” The passion of the people toward the newcomers was suggested in the written narrative indicating that “everyone rushed to be the first to welcome them… [and] immediately handed them hot towels, cigarettes, and hot tea.” The welcoming procession exemplified by Figure 5.6 includes four greeters of different ages. The three adult participants’ mouths are open, and their left hands are raised, holding the national flag of the ROC. They are shouting “Banzai! The motherland!”

In addition, “This passionate welcome along the shore was extended to the side of the tracks,” and the greeting crowds are waving their hands or the national flag of the ROC (Figure 5.7), conveying the people’s high expectations of the Nationalist troops. The arrivals and the greeters from different occupations (e.g., farmers, merchants) are smiling and greeting each other, constituting a
harmonious ambiance in the welcome moment. Up to this point, the lively scene of meeting and greeting the soldiers evident in both written and visual texts parallels the narrative published in the first historical phase. However, looking carefully, the gratified facial expressions and jubilant gestures visualized in Figure 5.1 published in the Martial Law era have disappeared, replaced with the dull eyes and mechanical body language of the less enthusiastic participants in Figure 5.6. Comparing the child protagonist in Figure 5.6 to the children in Figures 5.1 and 5.4, the innocent, lollipop-eating boy illustrated in Lee’s era reveals the child’s indifferent attitude and apparent ignorance of the event’s significance, appropriate for a young child, whereas the relieved, apparently engaged boy in Figure 5.1 and the happy, adoring girl in Figure 5.4 suggest immersion in the atmosphere. The people’s enthusiasm and identification with the Chinese is seen in the visual representations of Taiwan restoration (Figures 5.1 and 5.4) published in the Nationalist Martial Law era, when increasing the public acceptance of the new authority and consolidating power was critical. In contrast, the people’s passion and confidence toward the Mainlanders was reduced in the images published in Lee’s era (e.g., Figures 5.6 and 5.8), conveying a mixture of expectation and suspicion. Unfavorable criticism related to the newcomers ensued when the children’s narrative changed its manner of portraying the
Nationalists to include negative evaluations.

*The Poorly Disciplined Chinese Soldiers as Discussed in Lee’s Era*

Echoing the children’s narrative stating that “the Nationalist troops from the motherland seemed neglectful of their personal hygiene, and their spirit was poor compared to the Japanese soldiers,” Figure 5.8 transformed the text into a visual presentation. The green uniformed Chinese soldiers depicted in the upper half of the image are strolling the street. Their initial presence is witnessed by several gentlemen dressed in suits, and none of them are cheering or welcoming the soldiers. Instead, the crowds are judging the arrivals (in the lower left panel of Figure 5.8), talking to someone else in the crowd (in the right corner of the upper panel), or are astonished at the appearance (the lower left panel) and manner (the lower right panel) of the soldiers. No interaction occurs between the arrivals and the spectators. Furthermore, the people’s expectation of an awe-inspiring display of Chinese military force comes to naught, replaced with the people’s dumbfounded expressions illustrated in the lower left panel of Figure 5.8. The two male figures are questioning the morale and personal hygiene of the Nationalist soldiers, comparing a green uniformed, disheveled Chinese soldier to a Japanese soldier trimly attired in a khaki military uniform. In the adjacent panel is a Nationalist soldier spitting at will in front of the welcome crowd, an action that stuns the two spectators and undermines their expectation of the Nationalist forces. Although the welcoming crowds looked forward to seeing a group of serious and well-disciplined troops, they are disappointed when the troops actually appear, as indicated by the
transition from raised hands holding the national flag of the ROC (Figure 5.6) to dropped hands after witnessing the quality of the Nationalist troops (Figure 5.8). The children’s narrative and visual representations published in Lee’s era provide a more integrated assessment to present both the beginning of the people’s enthusiasm toward the Nationalists (illustrated in Figures 5.6 and 5.7) and the concluding reality of the crowds’ astonishment and disappointment (in Figure 5.8).

Even more harsh and subtle criticism is incorporated into the children’s narrative both in written and illustrated forms. Figure 5.9 and Figure 5.10 provide close-ups of Nationalist soldiers, whose “clothes were shabby” and who “carried broken pots, bowls, and umbrellas, with a sluggish, undisciplined, and dispirited attitude.”

The honorable, proudly striding warriors of the Nationalists depicted in the Martial Law era (e.g., Figure 5.4) are succeeded by a team of tattered, wounded soldiers (Figure 5.9) and undisciplined, sluggish figures (Figure 5.10), who trip over one another. The soldiers in Figure 5.10 make fun of each other, as exemplified by the soldier’s (to the left) scoffing laughter at his companions’ comic tripping with the inclusion of several Chinese characters that translate as “Ha-ha! [ㄏㄏ！ ㄏㄏ! ]” encircling the scene of Figure 5.10.

Without mentioning the soldiers’ weariness from eight years in fighting against Japan, the broken, contorted umbrella, the flying pot, shoe and hats, and the stumbling soldiers satirically
portray the Nationalist troops as a group of soldiers with “ragged appearance and … dispirited attitude.” The caricatured visual representations of the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps echoes the historical research (e.g., Kerr, 1965; Zhang, 2003) claiming that the troops were a group of ill-disciplined, ill-clothed, and shambling soldiers.

The Pre-arranged Parade Revealed

After the arrival of the 70th Corps, a “grand celebratory parade” was held in Taipei city, and the scene is visualized in Figure 5.11 in which a group of high school students, indentified by their school uniforms and hats (for male students), is shouting, waving the national flag of the ROC, and parading the street. Each student participant is carrying an identical, dull facial expression with an institutionalized appearance and gesture. This visual representation echoes Kerr’s (1965) and Manthorpe’s (2005) discussions of the historical moment when the students’ attendance was pre-arranged to greet the arrival of the Chinese officials. Waving flags and shouting “Banzai!” became a routine procedure during which the participants’ enthusiasm weakened. Although the larger banner hung above their heads says, “Welcome [歡迎],” and another streamer depicted across the image states, “Celebrate the Restoration of Taiwan [慶祝光復臺灣].” the festive and passionate atmosphere exists only in the background of the image in the form of the ideological banners. The students’ unenthusiastic visage and mechanical action creates a dissonance and implies the Taiwanese people’s ambivalence toward the Chinese arrivals. As the children’s narrative states, “While most of the Taiwanese were ecstatic, some of the Taiwanese intellectuals were uneasy, anxious, and worried
about possible problems related to the integration of Taiwan and China.” The people’s anxiety is manifested by the students’ uniformed facial expression toward the unknown, unpredictable future.

Different from the earlier account in only emphasizing the effect of the Taiwanese people’s efforts to learn Mandarin (i.e., “All the Taiwanese people regardless of age enthusiastically started to learn Mandarin and the national anthem”), the children’s narrative published in Lee’s era describes both the cause and effect of the phenomenon and argues, “Everyone diligently studied the national language (Mandarin) in order to communicate and cooperate with the Chinese.” The patriotism applied to learning the Nationalist language and anthem in the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era is replaced with the functional purpose of learning Mandarin (i.e., “in order to communicate and cooperate with the Chinese”), providing a less emphatic but more objective description of the public reaction toward learning the official language.

The Nostalgic Portrayal of the Japanese Administration

Although the suggestion that the Japanese domination was tyrannical is presented, the Taiwanese people’s nostalgia toward Japan’s governance was mentioned in the narrative, which states that “some pro-Japanese people even felt strong attachment to Japan.” After the Taiwanese people were disappointed by the poor quality of the Nationalist troops, “A feeling of animosity between the people of this province (the Taiwanese) and the people from other provinces (the Mainlanders) gradually deepened,” suggesting that potential ethnic problems and conflicts existed between the Taiwanese and the newcomers. The children’s narrative published in the era of native-born president Lee Teng-hui does not extol the Nationalists as heroes whose “victory” in the war and at the Cairo Conference brought Taiwan a peaceful and harmonious society.
Instead, the celebration of Chiang Kai-shek’s “great achievement” in Taiwan restoration promoted in the Martial Law era was re-evaluated to unmask the intrinsic purpose of the Cairo Declaration. Furthermore, the Chinese troops were harshly criticized in the children’s narrative as a group of low quality, unprofessional troops, echoing the historical research (e.g., Gate, 1987; Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005).

Similar to The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937) in evaluating Japan’s governance of Taiwan published in this period, the account of Taiwan restoration shares the same tradition in recalling Japan’s conscientious and careful attitude in governing Taiwan. The imperial Japanese soldiers were the role models selected to compare to the ill-disciplined Nationalist troops (e.g., Figure 5.8), a contrast to allow criticism and mockery of the chaotic state of the Nationalist leaders and soldiers from China.

Additionally, the attachment to Japan of some pro-Japanese individuals was said to be strong, insinuating that the Nationalist domination of Taiwan was not as efficient as Japan’s imperial governance. That is, some Taiwanese were not satisfied with the Nationalist administration. The nostalgic evaluation of Japan’s fifty-year governance of Taiwan parallels the contemporary ruling authority’s political strategy in maintaining a good relationship with Japan and promoting Taiwan as a sovereign independent nation. It also supports Lee’s political ideology in limiting the chances of identifying the people of Taiwan with the Chinese of the Mainland. However, throughout the narrative, the perspective and visual representations of the indigenous groups of
Taiwan are omitted, providing and perpetuating only the mainstream, the dominant group’s (the Han Taiwanese) viewpoints in assessing the past.

Books Published during the Chen Shui-bian Era (2001–2008)


Toward the end of World War II in November, 1943, Japan was on the verge of losing the war (Ho, p. 14). In 1943, China, the United States, and Britain held a meeting in Cairo (Hao, p. 45; Ho, p. 14). At the meeting, the issue of Taiwan was mentioned in the Cairo Declaration, stating that Manchuria, Taiwan, and the Pescadores, which were once under the control of the Qing, should be returned to the Republic of China after the war (Hao, p. 45; Ho, p. 14). This was because the United States wanted to contain [牽制] China and ensure that China would continue resisting Japan, so the United States offered China this favorable promise (Ho, p. 14). Later, the U.S. Army dropped atomic bombs on both Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Hao, p. 46; Hsu, p. 110). In 1945, Japan was defeated and surrendered unconditionally (Hao, p. 46; Hsu, p. 109). On October 25, 1945, Rikichi Ando, the Governor-General of Taiwan, capitulated to Chen Yi, who represented the Republic of China in accepting the surrender (Hao, p. 47). From that point forward, Taiwan was able to return to the embrace of China (Hao, p. 47)/the Nationalist government in Taiwan (Hsu, p. 109) after fifty-one years of Japanese domination (Hao, p. 47). In reality, the mood of the people of Taiwan toward Japan’s defeat was complex and uneasy (Ho, p. 19) since most people in Taiwan knew nothing about the unfamiliar motherland (Ho, p. 19). Many Taiwanese began to learn Mandarin in order to communicate
and cooperate with the Chinese (Ho, p. 22). Many Taiwanese people (Figure 5.12\textsuperscript{152}) were immersed in the joy of returning to the motherland and were waiting to welcome the arrival of the Chinese Army (Ho, p. 23). They looked forward to Taiwan’s return to the Nationalist government since Taiwan and China were connected to each other in terms of culture and descent (Figure 5.13) (Hsu, p. 109). However, the people of Taiwan were disappointed by the Nationalist officials, whose policies were unclear, and the soldiers to be stationed in Taiwan, who were poorly disciplined (Hsu, p. 109). On October 17, 1945, throngs of local people gathered together at Keelung Harbor to welcome (Hao, p. 48; Ho, p. 27) the Chinese Army’s 70\textsuperscript{th} Corps (Ho, p. 27)/the Nationalist troops from the motherland (Hao, p. 48). When the Nationalist troops came on shore, people shouted loudly, “Banzai! The motherland!” (Hao, p. 48). However, on closer examination, the Nationalist troops from the motherland seemed neglectful of their personal hygiene, and their spirit was poor compared to the Japanese soldiers (Figure 5.14\textsuperscript{153}) (Hao, p. 49). The clothes of the Nationalist troops were shabby [衣衫褴褛], and they carried broken pots, bowls, and umbrellas with a dispirited attitude (Figures 5.15 & 5.16).

\textsuperscript{152} The text appearing in the upper right corner of the image says, “On 17 October the Chinese Army’s 70\textsuperscript{th} Corps arrived in the Keelung Harbor on forty U.S. naval ships to a raucous welcome by throngs of locals” (Ho, Vol. 9, p. 27).

\textsuperscript{153} The conversation appearing in the image says, “The troops from the motherland don’t seem to quite understand about personal hygiene [my translation].” “Yes. Also, compared to the Japanese soldiers, they seem to be low in spirit [my translation].”
(Ho, p. 27). The people of Taiwan wondered whether they were really the Nationalist troops who triumphed in the battle (Hao, p. 49; Ho, p. 29). The ragged appearance and dispirited attitude of the Nationalist troops left the people of Taiwan with an indelible sense of loss [無法抹滅的失落感] (Ho, p. 29). While most of the Taiwanese were ecstatic, some of the Taiwanese intellectuals were uneasy, anxious, and worried about possible problems related to the integration of Taiwan and China (Ho, p. 20–1). The defeated Japanese, however, packed their belongings and evacuated Taiwan (Ho, p. 25).

“Although the issue of Taiwan was mentioned during the talks among the allies in Cairo, the only formal document issued following the war on the subject was the Treaty of San Francisco in which Japan relinquished all rights or claims to Taiwan and Penghu. However, no mention was made in this document of Taiwan ‘belonging’ to any country” (Ho, p. 15, Note section).

The Continuation of the Taiwan-centered Discourse

Similar to the children’s narrative published in Lee’s era, the children’s narrative available in Chen’s period shares a very similar attitude and manner in assessing the historical event and personages of Taiwan’s restoration with few minor revisions. First of all, Taiwan’s legal status discussed in the children’s narratives was shifted and revisited from emphasizing Taiwan’s return “to the embrace of the motherland [italics added]” in the Nationalist Martial Law era to sometimes stating that Taiwan’s sovereignty was returned to “the Nationalist government in Taiwan [italics added]” in Chen’s Democratic Progressive Party era. While
indicating Taiwan’s return to the motherland asserts an indestructible relationship between China and Taiwan, the description of Taiwan’s return to the Nationalist government in Taiwan deliberately avoids China’s involvement in the sovereignty issue to focus on presenting the independence of Taiwan. For the earlier perspective, the terminology *motherland* implies Taiwan’s subsidiary relationship to China so that Taiwan’s sovereignty was bound to the Mainland, sustaining the earlier Nationalist strategy in treating Taiwan a staging ground for the ultimate goal of counterattacking against the Communists and re-establishing the regime of the ROC in China. However, when the interpretation of Taiwan’s legal status was altered to emphasize its return to the Nationalist government in Taiwan, it denied the Nationalists’ objective and divorced the sovereign relationship between Taiwan and China to present Taiwan as a sovereign independent state.

In addition, the intention in ending China’s influence and avoiding the use of ambiguous pro-China rhetoric is furthered in the children’s narrative to include the claim that there were intimate, unbreakable ties between the people of the two nations. However, the relationships were limited to only the aspects of Chinese culture and descent. When Taiwan’s return to Nationalist governance was introduced in the children’s narrative, it was suggested that the Taiwanese people looked forward to such reunification because “Taiwan and China were connected to each other in terms of culture and descent.” From the sentence, the controversial issue of Taiwan’s national and political identity was skillfully redefined and solved by the very last phrase “in terms of culture and descent,” supporting Lee’s (1999/1999) vision of new Taiwanese\(^\text{154}\), who identify Taiwan as their homeland and respect the legacy of Chinese culture. On the one hand, it enunciates Taiwan’s position in describing its relationship with China and works toward the goal of constructing a new national identity that is different from Chinese

\(^\text{154}\) Discussed in Chapter 2.
identity. On the other hand, it no longer presents the people’s welcome of the Nationalists as a manifestation of the people’s patriotism toward China. Rather, “the mood of the people of Taiwan toward Japan’s defeat was complex and uneasy since most people in Taiwan knew nothing about the unfamiliar motherland” and the Nationalists who shared the same cultural and descent backgrounds.

*Presenting Taiwan as a Sovereign Independent State in Chen’s Period*

The ambition of presenting Taiwan a sovereign independent state continued in the children’s narrative when an additional remark was incorporated into the history of Taiwan restoration in Ho’s (2005) *A History of Taiwan in Comics* (Vol. 9), which clarifies Taiwan’s position in its political relationship with China. The short paragraph states,

> Although the issue of Taiwan was mentioned during the talks among the allies in Cairo, the only formal document issued following the war on the subject was the Treaty of San Francisco in which Japan relinquished all rights or claims to Taiwan and Penghu. However, no mention was made in this document of Taiwan “belonging” to any country. (Ho, p. 15, Note section)

The term *belonging* was quoted in the children’s narrative to accentuate the idea that Taiwan’s return to the Nationalist government announced in the Cairo Declaration was not a binding, fixed agreement that specifically stipulated the ownership of Taiwan’s sovereignty. Rather, the only formal document related to the issue was the Treaty of San Francisco, which waived Japan’s right to dominate Taiwan. No further stipulation regarding Taiwan’s sovereignty was made, echoing Kerr’s (1986), Chu’s (2004), and Manthorpe’s (2005) research and counteracting the pro-China interpretation of the event in the children’s narrative published in the Nationalist Martial Law era and in Hung’s (1989) historical research. This narrative style of presenting
Taiwan’s legal status is infused with new Taiwanese consciousness and provides a Taiwan-centered interpretation in discussing the historical event. Also, the remark favors the contemporary authorities who support Taiwan’s independence.

**Taiwanese-centered Portrayal of the Arrival of the Nationalists**

In addition to the reinterpretation of Taiwan’s legal status, criticism related to the Nationalists available in the children’s narrative included a judgment arguing that “the people of Taiwan were disappointed by the Nationalist officials, whose policies were unclear, and the soldiers, who were poorly disciplined, dispatched by the government to be stationed in Taiwan.” Their arrival on the island was introduced with the whys and wherefores and with the simultaneous critique of their attitude, manner, and capacity in governing Taiwan. Similar to the narrative published in the second phase, the Nationalists are no longer presented as the deified heroes and liberators of Taiwan. The visualization of the Nationalists also inherits the tradition of mocking the ill-qualified power holders. When the decision of Taiwan’s return to the Chinese governance was released to the public, “Many Taiwanese people were immersed in the joy of returning to the motherland and were waiting to welcome the arrival of the Chinese Army.” Figure 5.12 illustrates a scene crowded with local people, who are facing a grand building decorated...
with two huge national flag of the ROC. The backs of the majority of the throng are turned toward the viewer, making their facial and emotional expressions harder to perceive. The darker hues applied to the crowd’s attire suggest the coolness of the witnessing throng. In contrast to the jubilant atmosphere depicted in Figure 5.2, only the two giant flags illustrated in Figure 5.12 seem to glow with enthusiasm as they are colored in brilliant red. Thus, the atmosphere conveyed in Figure 5.12 is too subdued to be called a welcome ceremony, and the crowds are portrayed as dispassionate observers whose purpose is to watch, not celebrate, the scene of the arrival of the Nationalist troops.

The flag of the ROC flying prominently on top of the building in Figure 5.2, implying the people’s confidence in the new government, is substituted by a slim, lightning-rod-like flag pole in Figure 5.12, suggesting that the ROC government has not quite gained ready acceptance by the people of Taiwan. Supporting the storyline which says that “most people in Taiwan knew nothing about the unfamiliar motherland,” the absence of the national flag also represents the people’s skepticism about recognizing the ROC government as the competent, dominant authority. The fully extended national flag of the ROC and the party flag of the Nationalists flying among the crowds in the Martial Law era have been replaced with the two colored but drooping national flags in Chen’s era. The positioning of the national flags reflects the cheerless mood of the welcome crowds. The symbolic image of the peace doves hovering in the sky in Figure 5.2 does not appear in Figure 5.12, and the phrase “Taiwan Restoration [台灣光復]” inscribed in the eaves in Figure 5.2 is missing in Figure 5.12. The removal of the symbolic presentations echoes the narrative stating that “the people of Taiwan were disappointed by the Nationalist officials… and the soldiers” and foreshadows the later development of the relationship between the newcomers and the locals. It was still too early to conclude that the new
authority would bring peace and harmony to the people of Taiwan.

The people’s anticipation of Taiwan’s return to the Nationalist government suggested by the narrative also is exemplified by the image of Figure 5.13 in which one side of the street is lined with two military trucks and several onlookers. The other side of the road is occupied by another group of bystanders and a cart piled with sacks. The majority of the crowds are standing still and looking attentively at the moving trucks. A female (second from the right) dressed in pink is pointing at the moving objects while talking to the male next to her and dressed in a suit. Her whispering suggests that the presence of the trucks is unfamiliar to the witnessing crowds, who are wondering about the real identity of the newcomers. Although the banners hung above indicate “Welcome” and “Celebrate the Restoration of Taiwan,” the bystanders’ dispassionate attitude brings down the curtain on the celebratory fantasy created in the Martial Law era.

Comparing Figure 5.13 in Chen’s era and Figure 5.11 in Lee’s era, a group of indifferent onlookers in Figure 5.13 stressed the people’s distrustful, less enthusiastic attitude and hesitant response toward the arrival of the Nationalist troops. While the seemingly excited students depicted in Figure 5.11 insinuated that the welcome celebration might be merely an arranged presentation, the bystanders’ cool detachment toward the passing trucks in Figure 5.13 portray the newcomers as a team of unfamiliar strangers whose sudden arrival interrupts the tranquility
of the street and the life of local residents.

*The Anti-Chinese Tradition Continued*

Inheriting the critical assessment of the Nationalist soldiers in the Lee Teng-hui era, the visual representations of the troops published in the third historical phase are either recycled from the previous era (e.g., Figure 5.14 in Hao’s (2001) *Taiwanese Historical Stories in Comics* was copied from Hao’s (1990) first edition) or replaced with advanced, color images in the newer edition. For instance, Figure 5.9 from Lee’s era is replaced in the later edition by Figure 5.15 published in Chen’s era in visualizing the Nationalist soldiers’ shabby clothes and dispirited attitude, presenting the troops as a group of tattered, wounded soldiers. Both images ridiculed the once heroic, august Chinese troops, whose ability was further questioned by the statement “The people of Taiwan [who] wondered whether they were really the Nationalist troops who triumphed in the battle.”

The already mentioned “broken pots, bowls, and umbrellas, and their dispirited attitude” are illustrated in Figure 5.16 to continue the anti-Chinese (anti-Nationalist) tradition in portraying the Nationalist troops. Figure 5.16 is the updated version of Figure 5.10, and, although published in different historical eras, the images are similar in terms of the caricaturing of the Nationalists. The sluggish, undisciplined soldiers were reincorporated into the image of

(Figure 5.15, enlarged) (Figure 5.9, enlarged)
Figure 5.16, producing a consistency in evaluating the Chinese troops depicted in both Lee’s and Chen’s periods. Instead of providing a happy ending of Taiwan’s return to the Nationalist government published in the Martial Law era, the children’s narrative and the images (e.g., Figures 5.10 and 5.16) of the later two historical eras remind audiences of the disappointment of the locals when the storyline states, “The ragged appearance and dispirited attitude of the Nationalist troops left the people of Taiwan with an indelible sense of loss.”

In so far as the historical event of Taiwan’s return to the Nationalist government was concerned in the three historical phases, changes in power are accompanied by simultaneous changes in perspectives, which have been shifted from a pro-Chinese paradigm in the Nationalist Martial Law era to a Taiwanese-centered paradigm in Lee’s and Chen’s eras. When the Nationalists from the Mainland were the dominant authority in the Martial Law era, “returning to the motherland” was the most frequently adopted battle cry that connected Taiwan’s sovereignty with that of China, presenting a joint supremacy ultimately held by the Mainland. The incorporation of the selected Chinese-centered, embellished, and even exaggerated illustrations of the Nationalists helped the dominant group advance the new authority’s political strategy in Sinocization and consolidate its ruling power. The adoption of the Nationalist symbols (e.g., the national and party flags) and perspectives support such criticism as those symbols and outlooks are ideological and favor the Nationalist government.
When the native-born presidents Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian came to power, their Han Taiwanese identity influenced their cultural and political strategies in ruling Taiwan. The intention of eliminating China’s influence on the politics of Taiwan and the sovereignty issue began with Lee’s presidency and continued in Chen’s period. Clearly, children’s literature was inevitably influenced by available discourses as more Taiwanese-centered interpretations and fewer pro-Chinese perspectives were incorporated into the children’s account of Taiwan’s restoration. Thus, while de-Japanization and Sinocization was urgent to the Nationalist government in the Martial Law era, a significant amount of de-Sinocization was perceived to be a necessary stepping-stone leading toward the goal of Taiwanization in Lee’s and Chen’s eras.

Although the two presidents’ Taiwanization ideally wished to attach the importance of the visibility of all the people in Taiwan, the more recently published children’s narratives presented Taiwan’s return to the Nationalists as a battle between the Chinese and the Han Taiwanese, but not all people of Taiwan. Thus, what is missing in the narrative related to Taiwan restoration are the voices and the visual representations of the multiethnic indigenous groups of Taiwan. The phenomenon of presenting the history with selected, limited Taiwanese perspectives echoes the discussion of the Wushe Incident as the existence of the power relations was manifested through the availability of the dominant, Han Taiwanese perspectives and the absence of the dominated, the indigenous groups’ viewpoints.

Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government

Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government addresses the historical roles of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist government in the postwar era after Taiwan was returned to Nationalist governance and after the Republic of China, led by Chiang, was forced to retreat to Taiwan in 1949. Major disputes related to Chiang and his Nationalists come from two divergent
interpretations and emphases: whether Chiang and his Nationalist officials were the benevolent liberators who came to Taiwan to rescue the people of Taiwan from their deep distress or exploiters, conquerors who indulged themselves in and lined their pockets with the wealth left by the Japanese. Primarily, Chinese-centered historical accounts selectively praised, celebrated, and even exaggerated the Nationalist contributions in liberating the people of Taiwan, suggesting that they benefited from Sun’s Three Principles of the People\(^{155}\) and Chinese orthodox traditional culture. Chiang’s defeat in the civil war with the Communists and retreat to Taiwan was presented in a way that evades the usage of negative interpretation (e.g., retreat, defeat) in discussing the historical event. On the other hand, Taiwanese-centered interpretations bring to light a deliberately forgotten history of Taiwan. The darkest facets of the Nationalist administration before the lifting of martial law in 1987 (e.g., the 228 Incident) were elaborated, criticized, and made public by recent Taiwan-centered historical research.

*Chiang Kai-shek’s Authoritarian Rule of Taiwan*

The Republic of China, founded by Sun Yat-sen in 1912 in the Mainland, defeated Japan and retrieved the northeast of China, Taiwan, and the Pescadores in 1945 when “the Late President Lord Chiang”\(^{156}\) (Hung, 1989, p. 208) led a war to resist Japan’s imperialism and finally expelled the Japanese (Hung, 1989). Chiang’s authoritarian rule of Taiwan was characterized as “hard authoritarianism”\(^{157}\) (Hsueh, 2010, p. 197; Winckler, 1984), meaning “mainlander-technocratic rule under one-man dictatorship” (Winckler, p. 482). His dictatorship

\(^{155}\) Including the Principles of Nationalism, Democracy, and the People’s Livelihood.

\(^{156}\) Refers to Chiang Kai-shek.

\(^{157}\) Evolved from hard authoritarianism, soft authoritarianism means “joint mainlander-Taiwanese technocratic rule under collective party leadership” (Winckler, p. 482). When the regime features soft authoritarianism, the ruling party’s dominance of the political atmosphere is still guaranteed but more new social forces created from Taiwan’s socio-economic modernization are co-opted to participate through open electoral competitions (Winckler, 1984). According to Winckler’s (1984) categorization, Chiang Ching-kuo’s governance of Taiwan resembled that of soft authoritarianism as more local elites/technocrats (e.g., the native-born Taiwanese Lee Teng-hui was chosen by Chiang Ching-kuo to serve as vice president) were able to take part in the political circle during his presidency.
was manifested by his full control of the political circles comprised of Mainlanders only (Winckler, 1984) and his holding of the most important positions of Taiwan: the chairman of the Kuomintang (the KMT), president of Taiwan, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and the final authority for Taiwan and the KMT (Hsiau, 2000).

The Controversial Chief Executive of Taiwan Province – Chen Yi

Prior to the restoration of Taiwan, Chen Yi, the former Provincial Governor of Fukien, was appointed by Chiang to be the Committee Chairman of the Taiwan Investigation Commission in 1944 to prepare operations for the take-over of Taiwan (Hung, 1989). A large number of administrative cadres in the Mainland were trained to support the Nationalist government in ruling Taiwan (Hung, 1989; Lai, Myers, & Wou, 1991). In August 1945, Chen Yi was designated by the Nationalist government to serve the post of the Chief Executive of Taiwan Province [臺灣省行政長官] and the concurrent post of the Garrison Commander of Taiwan [臺灣警備總司令] (Hung, 1989; Lai et al., 1991). Thus, the military and civilian powers were centralized in Chen Yi’s hands, featuring a joint administration by the KMT, the government, and the military (Lai et al., 1991). Under Governor Chen Yi’s administration, important and rewarding appointments and top management jobs were parceled out to Chen’s and his commissioners’ friends and relatives from the Mainland (Kerr, 1986; Lai et al, 1991). Taiwan was treated as a conquered nation that the Nationalist officials wished to exploit – the sooner, the better (Kerr, 1986).

Soon after Chen Yi’s provincial administration was set up in Taiwan, the immense property, including private and public assets, left by the Japanese colonial administration was confiscated by the Nationalist government. Instead of selling them to private buyers who were primarily Taiwanese, most of the confiscated wealth became the privately owned property of the
Mainlanders (Lai et al., 1991; Meisner, 1963), whose corrupt behavior was rampant, ranging from bribery to nepotism (Lai et al., 1991). The situation became worse as the Nationalist troops’ misbehavior sharpened the Mainlanders’ notorious reputation. Stealing bicycles and taking food and necessities from shopkeepers without paying money were typical of the Chinese soldiers’ misconduct that deepened the new government’s corrupt image (Lai et al., 1991). Meanwhile, the nepotism of Chen Yi’s administration lined the Mainlanders’ pockets as both privately and publicly owned Japanese enterprises were seized by Chinese official managers and Commissioners. Movable assets were sent or sold to the Mainland to profit the economic empire created in Taiwan by Chen Yi, who hoped to generate large fortunes benefiting his Mainlanders (Kerr, 1986; Lai et al., 1991; Meisner, 1963). Over 70% of industrial and agricultural enterprises were controlled by the new government through a new Monopoly Bureau that controlled, managed, and licensed highly profitable commodities such as tobacco, salt, and camphor (Lai et al., 1991).

The 228 Incident

Language and cultural barriers also heightened tensions between the Taiwanese and the Mainlanders as Mandarin became the only official language that the new government allowed. Taiwanese bitterness and resentment toward the Chinese led to frustration that worsened the Taiwanese-Mainlander relationship (Lai et al., 1991). Not long after the beginning of Chen Yi’s governance, rapid economic deterioration and the growing social, cultural, and ethnic tensions and violence beset the society and provoked an unprecedented uprising. On February 27, 1947, two secret street reports were sent to the Monopoly Bureau, indicating that smuggling and selling illegal cigarettes and matches was occurring in the Taipei area (Lai et al., 1991). Investigators dispatched by the Bureau started to look for criminals, and they soon saw a widow, Lin Chiang-
mai, selling cigarettes on the street (Kerr, 1986; Lai et al., 1991). Without asking further questions to making sure whether she was selling contraband cigarettes, the investigators demanded that Lin hand over her goods and confiscated everything (money, contraband cigarettes, and legal cigarettes) from her (Edmondson, 2002; Lai et al., 1991). Lin protested and begged them not to confiscate her money and licensed cigarettes provided by the Bureau, but the investigators refused (Lai et al., 1991). In the struggle, one of the officials pistol-whipped Lin’s head, causing a bleeding gash (Edmondson, 2002; Kerr, 1986; Lai et al., 1991). A crowd of witnesses surged in and began to taunt the Chinese investigators, who were trying to escape when one of them brandished his pistol and accidentally shot a bystander, Chen Wen-hsi, who died later (Kerr, 1965; Lai et al., 1991).

That evening, the angry crowd began to burn the officials’ vehicles and asked the police station nearby to hand over the agent who had killed the bystander and, they believed, who deserved a summary execution (Edmondson, 2002; Lai et al., 1991). However, their request was refused, and angry Taipei citizens began to attack Mainlanders, who were seeking safety in their homes or office buildings that were protected by barricades (Kerr, 1986). The Taiwanese then drafted a petition overnight and marched on Chen Yi’s headquarters on the 28th, hoping to present the petition to Chen, asking him to punish the shooter and reform monopoly laws (Edmondson, 2002; Kerr, 1986). When the crowd approached the building, the unarmed petitioners were suddenly fired on by the guards stationed on the roof of the headquarters, causing several deaths and injuries (Edmondson, 2002; Kerr, 1986; Lai et al., 1991). As the news spread, anti-Chinese riots occurred in several major cities within the island (Edmondson, 2002; Kerr, 1986). On March 1, Chen Yi declared temporary martial law and denied any deaths had occurred during the turmoil (Lai et al., 1991). On the 7th, Taiwanese elites compiled a list of
thirty-two demands and asked Chen Yi to reform the KMT administration and to open elections in order to calm the upheaval (Edmondson, 2002; Lai et al., 1991). On the 9th and the 10th, the KMT troops, which Governor Chen had secretly asked Chiang to send as reinforcements, arrived on Taiwan’s shores (Edmondson, 2002; Kerr, 1986; Lai et al., 1991). Although Chiang had warned Chen not to use the military force to take revenge on the Taiwanese, Chen ordered the troops to take immediate action to eliminate the rebels and maintain social order (Lai et al., 1991).

*The Nationalist Troops’ Massacre Began*

In order to pacify the Taiwanese, Chen Yi guaranteed in a public broadcast that the Central Government would not dispatch KMT troops or take any military actions in Taiwan. However, soon after the Nationalist troops landed, a dreadful massacre began. The uprising was known as the 228 Incident (Kerr, 1986). Leaders of the society such as lawyers, doctors, and editors were the first to die. No one knows exactly how many Taiwanese died or were put into prison during the first two months of the Incident (Kerr, 1986). Kerr (1986) suggests that at least 10,000 Formosans vanished. The number reached 28,000 in the Nationalist government’s record discussed by Manthorpe (2005). Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek “professed to have known nothing of the situation in Taiwan and sent General Pai Chung-hsi to Taipei” (p. 62) to investigate the Incident. The official investigation by the KMT of the 228 Incident released on May 1 reported the uprising as a civil war against the Communists led by Mao Zedong in the Mainland and blamed the evil Japanese colonial education system and depraved personages who misled the Taiwanese (Lai et al., 1991; Edmondson, 2002). Chen Yi was then recalled and left for China (Kerr, 1986).

*The Nationalist Party’s Loss of Control of the Mainland*
Before the Nationalists were able to recover from the weariness and devastation of the eight-year Resistance War (1937–1945) against Japan’s invasion of the Mainland, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), whose power grew while the Nationalists were busy expelling the invaders, was ready to challenge the Nationalist Party’s (KMT) power in China (Lary, 2010). In 1946, a civil war erupted between the Communists and the Nationalists in the Mainland (Lary, 2010; Zhang, 2003). In 1949, the Nationalist Army, led by Chiang Kai-shek, fled to Taiwan, and the Communists, led by Mao Zedong, declared the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (Zhang, 2003). Goddard (1966) interpreted Chiang’s relocation to Taiwan as a move in response to pressure by the Communists in the Mainland rather than a military retreat brought about by his defeat in the civil war. In addition to the Nationalist military forces, tens of thousands of highly trained specialists (e.g., educators, engineers, and scientists) were brought to Taiwan (Kerr, 1986). While the total number of refugees (in Kerr’s terminology) who reached Taiwan in 1949 is unknowable, a figure of 2,000,000 frequently is cited (Kerr, 1986). Since Chiang and his Chinese people were forced to abandon their home in the Mainland, one of the goals for Chiang and his Nationalist Party was the recovery and re-building of China (Kerr, 1986; Miao, 2003). Hence, the ROC government in Taiwan had the objective of strengthening links between Taiwan and China and treated activists for Taiwan self-government as enemies, who threatened the power of the Nationalist regime (Roy, 2003).

The Nationalist Government’s Enforcement of Martial Law

The Chinese government’s hegemonic control of Taiwan was established through the enforcement of martial law from 1949 to 1987 (Zhang, 2003). The imposition of martial law restricted the civil rights and freedom that were once protected by the Constitution (Zhang, 2003). Forming new political parties and freedom in publishing were restricted, and secret surveillance
of pro-communism or pro-Taiwan independence dissenters was conducted (Zhang, 2003). During the Martial Law era, the majority of the officials appointed to serve the Nationalist government were those who followed Chiang into retreat to Taiwan (Kerr, 1965; Wei, 2001). In addition, prestigious positions in business, larger enterprises, and government-owned industries were occupied by the Mainlanders, whereas Taiwanese mainly were agricultural land owners and dominated a variety of small businesses (Roy, 2003). Starting during Chen Yi’s administration, this “Mainland-dominated bureaucracy” (p. 103) existed in every sector of the society, where the Mainlanders enjoyed privileges, and the majority – the people of Taiwan – had to be content with what was left (Roy, 2003). Since the 1930s, corruption had become an old, bad habit of Chiang’s Nationalist Party in the Mainland, and it was continued after Chiang and his Nationalists were in exile in Taiwan. Thus, Chiang was called “Generalissimo ‘Cash my Check’” (Manthorpe, p. 14) by the American military advisors to the Nationalist Party in the 1930s and 40s (Manthorpe, 2005). After the law of the “Temporary Provision Effective During the Period of Communist Rebellion” (Zhang, p. 52) was passed in May, 1949, President Chiang Kai-shek became the holder of unlimited power and could serve one presidential term after another (Zhang, 2003). Chiang’s dictatorial regime ended after his death in 1975 (Zhang, 2003).

The White Terror Period during the Nationalist Administration

In the 1950s, in order to eliminate opposing opinions and consolidate the ROC regime in Taiwan, “large-scale, politically motivated arrests of intellectuals and others” (Roy, p. 90) were launched island-wide by the Nationalist government. This period was known as the “White Terror” (Roy, p. 90; Manthorpe, p. 204). Many part-time political activists and Taiwanese elites were arrested and accused falsely of involvement in serious crimes such as plotting to overthrow the Nationalist regime and criticizing the Nationalist authority (Roy, 2003; Manthorpe, 2005).
More than 90,000 victims were arrested, and approximately 45,000 were executed (Roy, 2003; Manthorpe, 2005). From the 1960s to the mid-1980s, a similar pattern was observed, although with fewer arrests and executions (Roy, 2003). Many Taiwanese intellectuals and political activists were forced to go into exile or escape to other countries such as Japan and the United States, where they continued their activities in pursuit of the goal of Taiwan becoming a true democratic, self-rule state (Roy, 2003).

**Sinocization**

In order to facilitate the Taiwanese people’s loyalty toward the ROC and to construct Taiwan as a model province of the Three Principles of the People, Sun’s theory was selectively put into practice in Taiwan to: 1) raise the living standard and improve the quality of life through, for instance, the implementation of the land reform program, and 2) establish democracy by permitting local elections with the aim of absorbing and establishing loyal grassroots power (Zhang, 2003; Manthorpe, 2005). Nationalist leader Sun Yat-sen’s and Chiang Kai-shek’s portraits were hung in every classroom and in important governmental offices (Kerr, 1965; Roy, 2003). Government employees and school students were required to respectfully bow three times in front of the portraits in weekly services (Kerr, 1965). The richest Taiwanese were asked to donate money “to a great variety of causes, not excluding the erection of a gilded statue of Chiang Kai-shek where once had stood the bronze statue of a former Japanese Governor-General” (Kerr, p. 102). In education, the curriculum was China-centered, and the use of “dialects” was strictly forbidden and punishable as Mandarin was made the official language (Roy, 2003; Hsu, 2007). By establishing Mandarin as the official language, the Taiwanese people’s right to voice their opinions on formal occasions was denied since they were not familiar with the language. The implementation, however, initiated the movement of Chinese Cultural Renaissance (1966–
1975) as it helped the Nationalist government facilitate its cultural and political agenda of Sinocization (Hsu, 2007).

Since the essences of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance included the Three Principles of the People, patriotism, anti-communism, and allegiance, it became an effective means used by the Mainlanders to wipe out local, indigenous ethnicity and indoctrinate local ethnic groups in Nationalist ideology and identity and acquire advantageous positions in society (Hsu, 2007). The people of Taiwan had imposed upon them the theory of “All China” and shouldered the responsibility of recovering the Mainland. Chiang Kai-shek believed that the essence of Chinese culture was Sun’s Three Principles of the People (Hsu, 2007). Thus, after the ROC government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the Three Principles of the People was promoted and infiltrated into aspects of the society to strengthen the control of Taiwan for the ultimate goal of expelling the Communists (Hsu, 2007). It was also the foundation for the ROC to revolutionarily establish its regime as the Principles inherited the orthodoxy of Chinese culture (Hsu, 2007).

The Nationalists as Reformists — Chinese-centered Interpretation

In contrast to the Taiwanese-centered interpretation discussed above, Hung (1989) interpreted the Nationalist retreat to Taiwan from a Chinese-centered, Mainlander-centered perspective. Hung argued that due to the Nationalist government’s constructive engagement in developing Taiwan and the Chinese people’s spirit of rendering good for evil, the mission of taking over Taiwan from Japan and establishing the Nationalist administration was successfully completed within six months. The Nationalist government believed that recovering Taiwan was the beginning of the revival of the Chinese nation, and Taiwan was a base for rebuilding the Republic of China (Hung, 1989). After the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in 1949, the loyal, steadfast, patriotic people of the Mainland came to Taiwan in droves. The Late President
Lord Chiang, with his boldness of vision and fearlessness, inherited the Father of the Nation Sun Yat-sen’s revolutionary undertaking to restore Taiwan (Hung, 1989). Decades after Taiwan restoration, Taiwan’s agriculture, economy, commerce, industry, and education were developed, creating a miracle in Chinese history (Hung, 1989). Population growth, economic and social prosperities, equal educational opportunity, and improvement in the quality of life were the results of the Nationalist government’s administration (Hung, 1989).

Interpreted differently, as presented in Hung’s (1989) research, the liberator and reformer roles of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist government and officials were emphasized. The Nationalists’ arrival, regardless of when (after the Mainland was controlled by the Chinese Communist Party), why (the lost of the civil war with the Communists), and the circumstances (forced retreat to Taiwan), confirmed and rationalized their redemptory role in expelling the Japanese and reviving Taiwan and its people. Nationalist leaders Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek received highly respected appellations the Father of the Nation and the Late President Lord to stress their lofty statuses in the regime of the ROC in Taiwan. The Chinese-centered interpretation focuses on glorifying the Nationalists and covering up their dictatorial, corrupt, and nepotistic rule in Taiwan. Mentioning Nationalist misconduct and misbehavior was taboo in the history of the KMT administration in Taiwan. As a result, Nationalist corruption, bribery, nepotism, recklessly plundering of local people’s wealth, and the Nationalist massacres in the 228 Incident and the White Terror period were omitted.

However, when a dissentient view embedded with opposite perspectives is provided (e.g., Roy, 2003), the assessment and the writing of the same historical event and personages suggest the likeliness of the influences of the contemporarily available discourses. In the case of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, their halos and revered statuses were removed as exemplified by
the absence of the respectful form of address (e.g., the Late President Lord) in, for instance, Roy (2003) and Lai, Myers, and Wou (1991). In the discussion of the KMT governance in postwar Taiwan, the Nationalist misconduct and the Nationalists’ (e.g., Chen Yi) bloody means in handling the 228 Incident and the opposition activists were carefully re-examined, with lengthy discussions to excavate and present the forgotten history, providing a Taiwanese-centered interpretation of the historical personages and events. Whether the content of the children’s narratives published in the three distinct historical periods resemble the similar patterns and changes is comparatively analyzed as follows.

*Books Published during the Martial Law Era (1949–1987)*

[A summary of Chiang and the KMT government as interpreted from Lin’s (1975) *Historical Picture of Taiwan: Taiwan Restoration* (Vol. 4), Wei’s (1980) *The National Revolution and the History of Taiwan*, Huang’s (1985) *History of Taiwan*, and Kung’s (1986) *Biographies of Taiwan’s Anti-Japanese Heroes: The Tragic History of Taiwan’s Fall into Japanese Control* (Vol. 1)]:

In order to accomplish the Father of the Nation Sun Yat-sen’s unfulfilled wish of restoring Taiwan, the Late President Lord Chiang made extraordinarily painstaking efforts [苦心孤詣] to strive for the restoration of Taiwan (Figures 6.1) (Wei, p. 76). In 1945, the Late President Lord Chiang led the entire nation to repel Japan and succeeded (Huang, p. 28). However, due to the conditions of economic decline in the postwar era, the people’s weariness of the eight-year Resistance War, and Russia’s support, the Chinese Communist Party usurped the Mainland [竊據大陸]. In 1949, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek decided to: 1) retreat to Taiwan, 2)
remember the lesson, 3) endeavor to develop Taiwan, 4) fight his way back to the Mainland, and 5) reestablish the Republic of China (Huang, p. 29). Compatriots of Taiwan and compatriots of other provinces (in mainland China) are all the descendants of the Yellow Emperor. We are all bound by a common destiny (Kung, p. 6). Taiwan is not only an integral part of China’s territory, most importantly, it is an integral part of Chinese culture. The blood relationship, language, religion, and customs of the compatriots of Taiwan are fully integrated with the Mainland (Wei, p. 112). Hence, Taiwan and the Mainland cannot be divided or independent of each other (Wei, p. 111; Kung, p. 6). The Late President Lord Chiang once clearly and definitely indicated that economic development should be based on enhancing the people’s livelihood and the national defense. The Provincial Government of Taiwan complied with this instruction and constructively accelerated economic development, developing Taiwan into the rampart of the Far East of anti-Communism [遠東的反共保壘], the base for the counterattacking and recovering the Mainland [反攻復國的基地], and the model province of the Three Principles of the People [三民主義的模範省] (Figure 6.2) (Lin, p. 67). Based on the Three Principles of the People, the provincial authorities constructively carried out various developments. Politics, economy, education, agriculture, and industry of all types were rapidly advanced within the first ten years of the restoration (Wei, p. 83). Since 1950, local self-governance in each county and city has been formally implemented, manifesting Sun’s Principle of Democracy, which was once excessively restricted during the Japanese occupation era. Now, the people of Taiwan are able to participate in elections for county magistrate and mayor, township mayor, and heads of villages and
subdivisions of districts (Wei, p. 84). Since 1953, the provincial government of Taiwan has continually implemented its economic development plan, which included working on land reform, strengthening agricultural organizations and systems, and improving farming techniques (Lin, p. 67). In the forty years of KMT governance after the restoration, the economy of Taiwan was rapidly developed (Figure 6.3); the population of Taiwan steadily increased; nine year compulsory education was promoted, improving national cultural standards (Lin, p. 34–149; Huang, p. 29–30; Wei, p. 83–99); and a wave of Chinese Cultural Renaissance swept through the country and abroad (Figure 6.4) (Lin, p. 151–153). After the forty-year effort to develop Taiwan, Taiwan became a model province of the Three Principles of the People (Huang, p. 30; Wei, p. 83).

Now, our compatriots of Taiwan live in affluence and a free and comfortable life (Figure 6.5), but our compatriots in the Mainland are in deep distress, suffering from the totalitarian domination of the Communist tyranny [共産暴政]. In order to restore Taiwan, the compatriots of the Mainland made the greatest sacrifices. Today, we should be grateful and seek to requite their sacrifices by eliminating the Communists, recovering the beautiful rivers and mountains of the Mainland, and rescuing the suffering compatriots of the Mainland (Wei, p. 109; Kung, p. 7). In accordance with the Three Principles of the People to develop Taiwan and
make it a base for the recovery of the nation, Taiwan finally attained a flourishing result. The leader, the Late President Lord Chiang Kai-shek, passed away [仙逝] from concern for the nation [憂勞為國] (Wei, p. 103). We should always remember the teachings left by the Late President Lord Chiang: recovering the national territory of the Mainland and implementing the Three Principles of the People (Wei, p. 110; Kung, p. 7).

This passage is primarily concerned with the roles of the Nationalist Party and the leading figure Chiang Kai-shek after Taiwan was returned to Chinese governance in 1945 and after the ROC retreated to Taiwan in 1949.

Reinforcing a Nationalist Identity in the Martial Law Era

In the narrative, Chiang Kai-shek was frequently referred to by the most respectful appellation the Late President Lord. This ideologically emphasized his esteemed, lofty status in the ROC regime. His contributions in the history of Taiwan further included his achievements in: 1) expelling the Japanese, 2) fulfilling the Father of the Nation Sun Yat-sen’s wish of restoring Taiwan, 3) re-establishing the ROC regime in the staging haven (Taiwan), and 4) following Sun’s Three Principles of the People to construct Taiwan in accord with the goal of recovering the Mainland. Chiang’s “extraordinarily painstaking efforts to strive for the restoration of Taiwan” were emphasized as early as the beginning of the children’s narrative to depict Chiang’s initial and ultimate goal of saving the people of Taiwan from the Japanese domination. The Nationalists’ fight against Japan in the Resistance War in the Mainland, which was an act of self-defense in protecting the territory and Nationalist control of China, was presented as a war primarily fought for the people of Taiwan. Thus, the enormous loss of lives in this effort was explained as an effort “to restore Taiwan,” constructing a misleading conception to enthrone Chiang, his Nationalists, and the Mainlanders who died in the war as heroes of all the people of
Taiwan.

Supporting the narrative which states that “the Late President Lord Chiang made extraordinarily painstaking efforts to strive for the restoration of Taiwan,” Figure 6.1 features a heroic looking Chiang adorned with his military cap embroidered with the emblem of the Nationalist Party. Five stars displayed on his uniform indicate his supreme position as a military commander. The radiating light encircling Taiwan depicted right next to Chiang’s head echoes the storyline which states that “In order to accomplish…Sun Yat-sen’s unfulfilled wish of restoring Taiwan” and suggests his inspired motivation to bear the Taiwan issue as one of his priorities that he wished to resolve. The light also represents Taiwan’s promise as a sparkling value in terms of strategic position, national resources, and manpower. In addition, the visual representation of Chiang’s gaze as focusing on some distance place characterizes him as a thoughtful visionary who has the “determination to restore Taiwan.”

Contrary to the corrupt image of Chiang presented in Manthorpe (2005) and to his defeat in the civil war with the Communists discussed in Zhang’s (2003) research, the children’s narrative and the visual representation of Chiang Kai-shek of this period deliver only the positive image of Chiang’s status.

The Nationalist government’s loss of the Mainland was blamed on the “conditions of economic decline in the postwar era, the people’s weariness of the eight-year Resistance War, and Russia’s support.” Thus, “the Chinese Communist Party usurped [italics added] the Mainland,” and Chiang and his Nationalist Party retreated to Taiwan, from where they wished to
fight their way back to the stolen territory. Although the economic condition and the people’s exhaustion in postwar China were two of the primary reasons that caused the Nationalist Party’s defeat in the civil war, other important factors, such as the Nationalist Party’s corrupt administration in ruling China, which led Chinese to lose their faith in the Nationalist Party and turn their support to the Communists, were not mentioned in the children’s narrative. The major verb used to portray the Communists’ means of finally obtained the ownership of the Mainland is *usurped*, insinuating Chiang and his Nationalists were the only legal rulers of the Mainland. Anyone else who occupied the Nationalist-owned territory was illegitimate and needed to be expelled, and the rule of the land should be returned to the ROC. When the narrative states that “Compatriots of Taiwan and compatriots of other provinces [in mainland China] are all the descendants of the Yellow Emperor. We are all bound by a common destiny,” a collective, imposed destiny shared by the Formosans and the Mainlanders was emphasized to strengthen the ethnic relationship between the local residents and the newcomers. The pronoun *we* prescribes people’s responsibility in the great Nationalist undertaking of anti-Communism and recovering China.

*Emphasizing Chinese Ideologies in the Martial Law Era*

Therefore, “developing Taiwan into the rampart of the Far East of anti-Communism, the base for the counterattacking against and recovering the Mainland, and the model province of the Three Principles of the People” were the objectives of Chiang and his Nationalist government. Supporting Zhang’s (2003) and Manthorpe’s (2005) research, Sun’s Three Principles of the People were regarded as the guiding principles that Chiang wished to put into practice in Taiwan. The background image of Figure 6.2 features an industrial scene (in the right corner), two aircraft in upward flight (in the upper left corner), and an ear of plump wheat with healthy,
strong blades. Surrounded by this prosperous setting, a copy of Sun’s *Three Principles of the People* [三民主義] is placed on top of an outline of Taiwan and symbolizes the great effects of Sun’s philosophy. The Nationalist success in developing Taiwan’s economy, the fleshy wheat suggesting the people of Taiwan living in affluence, and the two aircraft signify that under Sun’s doctrine, Taiwan is being led to a promising feature. This visual representation: 1) depicts and reinforces the Nationalists’ fidelity toward the ROC and toward Sun Yat-sen, 2) indoctrinates the people of Taiwan in the Nationalist cultural and political ideology, 3) promotes the Nationalist government’s achievements, and 4) echoes the children’s narrative’s statement that “Based on the Three Principles of the People ... Politics, economy, education, agriculture, and industry of all respects were rapidly advanced within the first ten years of the restoration.”

In order to reinforce the Nationalists’ contributions in ruling Taiwan, the children’s narrative depicts the implementation of Sun’s Principle of Democracy in the form of elections as part of Nationalist reforms by stating that “Since 1950, local self-governance in each county and city has been formally implemented... the people of Taiwan are able to participate in elections for county magistrate and mayor, township mayor, and heads of villages and subdivisions of districts.” However, Zhang (2003) and Manthorpe (2005) argue that Sun’s Principle of Democracy was selectively adopted by Chiang and his Nationalist government in the Martial Law era and reduced to a political slogan. On the one hand, the Nationalists granted the people of Taiwan only limited power to participate in elections at local levels. On the other hand, the
“liberation,” in practice, had the substantial purpose of nurturing and captivating grassroots supporters to help the Nationalist government maintain social order and its dominant position.

The Nationalist Administration Presented as Comprehensively Successful and Constructive

A celebration of the Nationalist governance in postwar Taiwan was further emphasized in both the written and illustrated texts to promote the Nationalist administration as comprehensively successful and constructive. As the storyline states, “Forty years of the KMT governance after the restoration, the economy of Taiwan was rapidly developed; the population of Taiwan steadily increased; nine year compulsory education was promoted, improving national cultural standards; and the wave of Chinese Cultural Renaissance swept through the country.”

The achievements of the Provincial Governors of Taiwan were visualized in Figure 6.3 to include major developments in the social and economic sectors. The woman holding a big pile of rice ears symbolizes a stable and abundant life brought by the Nationalist government. Her confident and smiling facial expression and energetic attitude imply the people’s satisfaction and optimism toward the social atmosphere dominated by the Nationalists. The technician (in the upper right corner) equipped with a wrench and working hard in the industrialized workplace suggests that Taiwanese society was gradually changed from an agriculture-based, labor-intensive to an industrialized, mechanized society. The lower half of the image features three construction workers who are leveling the land needed to support the newly erected buildings in the background. The Zhongxing Community [中興社區], which is the name of the community, is introduced with its
four corresponding Chinese characters engraved on the erected entrance sign. The palm-up right hand illustrated in the lower right corner shows the illustrator’s intention of presenting the selected social and economic development brought about by the successful Nationalist government’s efforts and contributions.

The Chinese Cultural Renaissance Presented as a Celebration of Chinese Culture

In addition to social and economic advances, the Nationalist government’s Sinocization of Taiwan, as exemplified by the implementation of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance (Figure 6.4), was described as a key achievement during the first forty years of the Nationalist governance. The Chinese Cultural Renaissance incorporated into the children’s narrative presents the Beijing Opera (represented by the central figure in Figure 6.4), local operas\(^\text{158}\) (the female figure to the left dressed in a Mandarin gown), and folk arts\(^\text{159}\) (exemplified by the old male figure and the lion dance to the right), all from the Mainland. Accompanied by the children’s narrative stating that “the wave of Chinese Cultural Renaissance swept through the country and abroad,” the cultivation and dissemination of Chinese culture in Taiwan were highly valued, supporting the ruling authority’s political and cultural agenda to use Chinese culture to assimilate the people of Taiwan and cultivate or recall their patriotism toward “old” China. Regardless of whether the cultural practices were appreciated by or familiar to the people of Taiwan, the implementation of

\(^{158}\) Such as Yuju Opera [豫劇] originating from Henan Province, Sichuan Opera [川劇] from Sichuan Province, and Min Opera [閩劇] from Fujian Province of China.

\(^{159}\) Such as Chinese comic dialogues [相聲], folk dances [民俗舞蹈], and storytelling to the accompaniment of stringed instruments [彈詞].
the Chinese Cultural Renaissance was taken for granted by the children’s narrative to exhibit the Nationalist nostalgic sentiment toward the Mainland. In addition, what the Nationalist government termed as the “Chinese Cultural Renaissance” introduced in the children’s narrative was a Chinese cultural infiltration, revolution, and imposition that was purposefully put into practice to diminish the local cultures and ideologies and to disseminate the China-centred, ROC ideology of Sinocization. As Hsu (2007) argued, the Mainlanders used the Chinese Cultural Renaissance as a form of cultural indoctrination to enforce the Nationalist ideology and identity for the ultimate goal of consolidating the Nationalist group’s privileges in Taiwan.

Sinocization Continued

To further support the Nationalist government’s socio-cultural and political agenda of Sinocization, the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era spares no effort to lavish praise on the Nationalist governance of Taiwan and to grant the people of Taiwan the great mission of recovering the ROC in China. As the children’s narrative states, “After the forty-year effort to develop Taiwan, Taiwan has already become a model province of the Three Principles of the People. Now, our compatriots of Taiwan live in affluence and live a free and comfortable life [as illustrated in Figure 6.5], but our compatriots in the Mainland are in deep distress, suffering from the totalitarian domination of the Communist tyranny.” Presenting Taiwan as a model province of Sun’s philosophy reiterates and supports the Nationalists’ fidelity toward the founder of the ROC, Sun Yat-sen. It also presents the ROC regime in Taiwan as a better alternative to the Communist administration in the Mainland. Portraying the Nationalists’ success in governing Taiwan (e.g., “[living] in affluence and a free and comfortable life”) in contrast to the suffering compatriots in the Mainland had the purpose of elevating the Taiwanese people’s faith and patriotism toward the ROC in the Martial Law era. It further commiserates
with the Mainlanders who did not follow Chiang into retreat to Taiwan as the victims of Communism.

*Emphasizing Chiang as a Philanthropic Leader in the Martial Law Era*

The visual representation of the Nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-shek, was colored and illustrated in Figure 6.5, presenting Chiang as a benevolent and approachable person whose popularity extends to the Han people in various strata of society (e.g., farmers, students, and businessmen). The hands of the baby boy comfortably placed on Chiang’s chest and arm and the girl’s upward gaze and her reaching for Chiang, expressing a wish to be held, portray Chiang as a charming authority figure. Surrounded by the joyful, high-spirited people, Chiang’s leading position is indicated by his central placement and his height, physically placing him above the others. The clustered civilians’ closeness to Chiang symbolizes the people’s acceptance of and trust in his leadership. The harmonious appearance of each participating figure signifies the people’s satisfaction with Chiang and his Nationalist Party’s administration of Taiwan. The industrialized scene in the background promotes Chiang’s contribution to making Taiwan a well-developed, industrialized society. The smoke from the four chimneys curling upward symbolizes the country’s economic prosperity. Chiang’s wearing of the Chinese tunic suit (Zhongshan[^160] suit [中山装]) underscores the Nationalist’s fidelity toward Sun Yat-sen and his revolutionary spirit. A square-bottomed basket full of golden yellow rice and the

[^160]: The name of the suit, Zhongshan, comes from Sun Yat-sen’s alias “Zhongshan Qiao.”
bags of grain further symbolize Chiang’s successful achievement in bringing the people of Taiwan a stable and high-quality life. Based on the narrative stating that “Taiwan became a model province of the Three Principles of the People,” Figure 6.5 also is the epitome of the Nationalist Party’s highest guiding principle as the Principle of Nationalism is manifested through Chiang’s wearing of the Chinese tunic suit and the civilians’ recognition of Chiang’s Nationalist identity and leadership. The Principle of Democracy is presented through the people’s diverse careers and the free and lively atmosphere. The Principle of the People’s Livelihood is further displayed by the plentiful harvest, the industrialized society, and the smoke to indicate that the economic development has had great effects on the quality of life. However, looking carefully, the people depicted in Figure 6.5 are identically Han Chinese or Han Taiwanese\(^{161}\), who share the same or similar ethnicity with Chiang. The uniformity of the characters suggests that Taiwan is a homogeneous society, where the Han are the only existing and recognized ethnic group. The multiethnic society of Taiwan that involves Mainlanders, the Taiwanese (including the Hakka), and a variety of indigenous groups (e.g., the Seediq) was de-emphasized in the children’s narrative to promote only the dominant group’s (the Han) participation in the history of Taiwan.

Regardless of whether or not the Nationalist administration of Taiwan was a better alternative to other regimes (e.g., the Japanese colonial administration), the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era was created to emphasize the dominant group’s achievements and contributions in restoring and developing Taiwan. Echoing Hung’s (1989) research, the children’s narrative presents Chiang as the greatest national leading figure and savior whose wise leadership resulted in his “rescuing” the people of Taiwan and bringing them a promising future.

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\(^{161}\) Han Chinese refers to Mainlanders (the Han people from other princes of China) who came to Taiwan after World War II. Han Taiwanese refers to the Taiwanese (the Han people of this province) who migrated from southern China to settle in Taiwan long before the Nationalists relocated to the island.
Thus, the people of Taiwan under the Nationalist governance were depicted as well-fed, well-dressed, and living in a free land. However, Chiang’s “extraordinarily painstaking efforts” in restoring Taiwan were deconstructed in “Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps, where, as we have seen, Taiwan’s return to the Chinese administration was a political scheme created by Roosevelt in the Cairo meeting to encourage Chiang and his Nationalists to continue fighting (discussed in Kerr, 1986; Chu, 2004). Without providing a more balanced assessment of Chiang and his government, one that considered the corruption of the Nationalist government and Chiang’s defeat in the civil war with the Communists, the children’s narrative blames his failure in China on the Communists’ illegitimate usurpation while his Nationalist troops were in adverse circumstances.

The Missing Aspects of the History in the Martial Law Era

Similar to the Communist totalitarian domination of the Mainland, Chiang’s Nationalist administration in Taiwan also was dictatorial and tyrannical. As early as the 1940s, Taiwan was under Chiang’s one-man autocratic governance and experienced a longer period of martial law (1949–1987). The Nationalist’s control of speech, publishing, and assembly; the horrifying arrest and execution of Taiwanese intellectuals and elites in the 228 Incident (e.g., Kerr, 1986); and the White Terror period (e.g., Lai et al., 1991) left an indelible stigma on the history of the Nationalist administration of Taiwan. However, these abuses by the Nationalists were not openly discussed until the 1990s (Lai et al., 1991). Comparing both the written and illustrated texts to the historical research, Chiang’s dictatorial and Chen Yi’s corrupt control of Taiwan depicted in Zhang (2003) and the Nationalist soldiers’ lackadaisical attitude discussed in Lai, Myers, and Wou (1991) were hidden by the affirmative, even exaggerated, portrayal of the children’s narrative, providing a selected, Chinese-centered interpretation of Chiang and his Nationalist
government. What is also missing in the literary representation are the written and visual representations of the diverse indigenous groups’ points of view of the history and the impact the Nationalist government had on the aboriginal and Taiwanese societies. Whether the children’s narratives published in the native-born Taiwanese presidents Lee Teng-hui’s and Chen Shui-bian’s eras will take different stances when portraying Chiang and his Nationalist governance of Taiwan is discussed as follows.

Books Published during the Lee Teng-hui Era (1988–2000)


After the Nationalist government came to Taiwan, it first took over the Governor-General’s Office (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 6; Ho, p. 25) and all the industrial concerns left by the Japanese (Ho, p. 25). At that time, Taiwan was an advanced region under the Japanese’s constructive administration (Ho, p. 25). In contrast, China was backward and chaotic, with low social morals, and had officials and soldiers with poor character (Ho, p. 25). The officials and soldiers coming from the Mainland were like robbers and bandits, often robbing and taking commodities from Taiwanese vendors without paying money (Figure 6.6162) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 52–5; Ho, p. 26). Under the Nationalist government’s governance, the people of Taiwan not only were not liberated from the Japanese colonial state, their lives became more difficult, and

\[162\] The text appearing in the upper left panel says, “Hey, how can you randomly take things [from my booth] without paying money? [my translation]” The response appearing in the lower panel says, “We triumphed in the war!!! [my translation]”
the social discontent grew deeper and deeper (Ho, p. 44). After experiencing the Nationalists’ evil conduct [惡行惡狀], the enthusiasm of the people of Taiwan toward the Nationalist government soon turned into antipathy (Ho, p. 44). In 1947, this dissatisfaction eventually burst out like an explosion, bringing the onset of the 228 Incident (Ho, p. 44), the direct cause of which was the investigation of the illicit cigarette trade [查緝私煙] (Figure 6.7) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62–3; Ho, p. 44; Lin, Vol. 9, p. 33). At that time, only the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau was allowed to sell cigarettes (Ho, p. 45), but the quality of the cigarettes was poor (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62; Ho, p. 45). Hence, many people secretly imported (Ho, p. 45) and sold foreign cigarettes (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62; Ho, p. 45).

Even government officials smoked illegal cigarettes (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62), but the Nationalist government ordered an investigation into illicit cigarettes and sent inspectors to search and arrest people who sold the illegal tobacco (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62; Ho, p. 45). On the evening of February 27, 1947, Lin Chiang-mai (Ho, p. 47; Lin, Vol. 9, p. 33), a widow (Ho, p. 47), was selling illegal cigarettes. She fell to the ground after she was chased by the inspectors (Figure 6.8163), who ignored Lin’s begging on her knees and cries for mercy and pistol-whipped her (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 63; Ho, p. 47; Lin, Vol. 9, p. 33). Lin died after she was taken to a hospital (Lin, Vol. 9, p. 33). The inspectors also confiscated her cigarettes and money (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 63; Ho, p. 46–9; Lin,

163 The text appearing in the image says, “Ouch! [my translation]”
Vol. 9, p. 33) and threaten the crowd with their pistols (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 63). In the flurry, Policeman (Inspector) Fu Hsueh-tung drew a pistol, fired shots at the crowds, and mistakenly shot a pedestrian (Figure 6.9) (Ho, p. 49; Lin, Vol. 9, p. 35), Chen Wen-hsi, who died the second day (Ho, p. 49). On February 28, more than one thousand people rushed into the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau to protest (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 64). The masses who joined the procession marched in a group, smashing up the Bureau and burning down police substations. When they petitioned the Chief Executive Office (Chen Yi), the sentries guarding the office fired with machine guns (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 65; Ho, p. 53; Lin, Vol. 9, p. 35). Dozens of people were either injured or died, and a succession of death and injury led to turmoil in Taipei city and loss of control (Ho, p. 53). The masses began to attack Mainlanders [外省人] they saw on the streets (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 65; Ho, p. 54), attack police officers, and burn down Chinese companies (Ho, p. 54). That afternoon, the Garrison Headquarters declared temporary martial law in Taipei city (Ho, p. 55). The conflict between the masses and the soldiers and the policemen was widespread (Figure 6.10) (Ho, p. 55). Their retaliatory actions were out-of-control and caused the 228 Incident (Lin, Vol. 9, p. 35). The 228 Incident Management Committee, co-organized by the officials and the public, brought thirty-two

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164 In Hao’s (1990) narrative, a large mass of people forced their way into a branch of the Bureau, smashing up and burning legal cigarettes and appliances (Vol. 11, p. 64).
165 Referring to people from other provinces of China. In Hao’s (1990) narrative, Mainlanders were called A-Shan [外省人] since they were from Tangshan, an old name referring to the Mainland (Vol. 11, p. 66).
166 The text appearing in the image says, “That afternoon, the Garrison Command declared temporary martial law in Taipei city. Everywhere, the general public was in conflict with the military and police [my translation].”
requirements to Chief-Executive Chen Yi (e.g., asking the Central Government not to dispatch poorly disciplined troops to Taiwan; freedom in speech, publication, and assembly) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 67; Ho, p. 58, 64). However, Chen adamantly refused to deal with the Committee’s requests (Figure 6.11) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 68; Ho, p. 64), and secretly ordered his subordinates to send a telegram to the Central Government in Nanjing asking for reinforcements to suppress the revolt (Ho, p. 58; Lin, p. 35). Under Chen Yi’s instruction, the contents of the telegram indicated that the crafty spies of the Communist Party were responsible for fomenting dissension between the Nationalist government and the people of Taiwan (Ho, p. 58–9), and they also were colluding with the remnant Japanese pirates to launch the revolt (Ho, p. 59). A dreadful, large scale massacre occurred within the entire province (Taiwan) (Figure 6.12) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 68; Ho, p. 66). Regardless of whether or not they were involved in the revolt, the troops dispatched by the Central Government either captured or killed many individuals who were the pillars of the society, such as scholars, doctors, lawyers, and authors (Ho, p. 66). Although Chen Yi swore that the Central Government did not dispatch troops to Taiwan to suppress the revolt, it was proven afterward that Chen told a big lie (Ho, p. 63). The 228 Incident was the most painful tragedy, and it created a permanent estrangement between the Taiwanese people and the Mainlanders (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 70). Many people were killed for no reason in the Incident (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 70). It was estimated that the number of
people who died in the Incident was between eighteen thousand and twenty-eight thousand (Ho, p. 73).

After the Sino-Japanese War (Ho, p. 28), the Nationalist Party in the Mainland fought a civil war with the Communist Party (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 58; Ho, p. 28; Lin, Vol. 9, p. 32). The civil war went badly for the Nationalist government. Since the government was so corrupt, they had lost the hearts of the Chinese people (Ho, p. 80). In the beginning of 1949, the Nationalist Army was defeated (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 7; Ho, p. 81). In August, 1949, the United States issued the China White Paper [對華白皮書], renouncing its support of Chiang Kai-shek since the United States believed that the Nationalist Party was not a regime that could be trusted, and its defeat was because of its corruption and incompetence (Ho, p. 82). After experiencing one defeat after another and losing the United States government’s support, the Nationalist government was completely defeated [潰敗] (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 7). Chiang Kai-shek decided to change course and shift operations to [轉進] Taiwan, planning for a resurgence [圖謀再起] in the future (Ho, p. 82). At the end of 1949, the Central Government retreated (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 7; Lin, Vol. 10, p. 12) and officially moved to Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 14; Ho, p. 83). The Communist Party then announced the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in the Mainland (Figure 6.13) (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 14). A total of two million people who fled from the calamity inundated Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 14). The Mainland was eventually controlled by the Communists (Ho, p. 81; Lin, Vol. 10, p. 12). Mainlanders who

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167 In Hao’s (1990) narrative, the number was estimated to be between several thousand and twenty thousand (Vol. 11, p. 68).
168 The text appearing in the image says, “In October, the Communist Party in Beijing declared the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. The Mainland was completely occupied by the Communists [my translation].”
followed the Nationalist government to settle in Taiwan were given priority in employment and promotion by government institutions (Ho, p. 32). In order to eliminate undesirable opposition, the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) declared martial law on May 19, 1949 (Ho, p. 84). In March, 1950, Chiang Kai-shek restored his position as president in Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 15; Ho, p. 83). Under the Nationalist government, many people who had different opinions on national affairs or the dictatorial regime of the Nationalist Party were put into prison as bandit spies [匪諜] (Ho, p. 87). Between the 1950s and the 60s, the number of “bandit spies” arrested and shot was countless (Ho, p. 87). This was the so-called White Terror [白色恐怖] period (Figure 6. 14) (Ho, p. 87). Taiwanese intellectuals who believed in Taiwan independence were the first to bear the brunt (Ho, p. 88). In particular, the Nationalist government adopted coercive rules to govern Taiwan (Ho, p. 88). In order to completely eliminate opposition activists, the Nationalist government dispatched many secret agents to seize individuals who were opposed to the government and used brutal torture while interrogating them (Ho, p. 88–90). Suddenly, many people, regardless of their positions and political affiliations, were all involved in “bandit spies” cases and were either sentenced to execution or put into prison for several years (Ho, p. 93). At the same time, the families of the victims had to endure the secret agents’ surveillance and the suspicion of other people (Ho, p. 96). Besides those who advocated Taiwan independence, political figures who posed a sufficient threat to Chiang Kai-shek were included on the government’s black list (Ho, p. 102). While purging his

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\(^{169}\) Referring to the Communists in the Mainland.

\(^{170}\) The text appearing in the image says, “From the 1950s to the 1960s, the number of the people who were arrested and shot under the charge of being ‘bandit spies’ was countless. This was the so-called White Terror period [my translation].”
political opponents and opposition activists, Chiang Kai-shek faced another problem.

According to the Constitution, Chiang, having completed his second term, could not serve a third term (Ho, p. 104–5). In order to allow Chiang Kai-shek to continue to serve as president, the movement of apotheosis occurred in Taiwan (Ho, p. 106). The strange phenomenon of creating bronze statues of Chiang Kai-shek in schools and parks began (Figure 6.15\textsuperscript{171}), and the media presented the image of Chiang as a person who cherished and loved the people (Ho, p. 106–7). Both the bronze statue culture and the media had the effect of increasing Chiang’s popularity (Ho, p. 109). “Under the operation of the ′people’s will′, Chiang Kai-shek successfully served as president one term after another until his dying day in 1975. He truly was a ‘man of sacrifice’” [死而後已] (Figure 6.16\textsuperscript{172}) (Ho, p. 110). During the Martial Law era (1949–1987), the general population lost a great deal of freedom, but the authority of president was expanded (Ho, p. 112). In the 1950s, a series of economic and agricultural land reforms was carried out in Taiwan (Ho, p. 120).

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\textit{Criticizing the Nationalist Officials and Soldiers – Taiwanese-centered Interpretation}

Different from the pro-Nationalist children’s narratives published in the Martial Law era in assessing Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalists, the children’s narratives published in Lee’s era set out a rather opposite tone, focusing on criticizing the Mainlanders. The social and moral

\textsuperscript{171} The text appearing in the right of the image says, “To the left a little bit...”, and the text in the left of the image says, “a little bit higher [my translation].”

\textsuperscript{172} The text appearing in the image says, “Under the operation of ‘the people’s will,’ Chiang Kai-shek successfully served as president one term after another until his death in 1975. He truly was a ‘man of sacrifice’! [my translation].”
developments in Taiwan and China were compared, with Taiwan presented as sophisticated and China as relatively chaotic and backward. The nostalgic sentiment toward Japan, as discussed in *The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937)* and “Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps, was reiterated (i.e., “Taiwan was an advanced region under the Japanese’s constructive administration”) as an opening remark to show the people of Taiwan’s antipathy toward the disorderly, greedy Nationalists. The Nationalist soldiers, once extolled as heroic and loyal revolutionaries (Figure 5.4), became “robbers and bandits, [who] often robb[ed] and [took] commodities from Taiwanese vendors without paying money (Figure 6.6).” This accusation against the Nationalists parallels Lai, Myers, and Wou’s (1991) research pointing out that the Nationalist troops’ misconduct, such as stealing and plundering necessities from local people, deepened the image of the Nationalist administration as corruption-filled.

Supporting the narrative that describes the soldiers as “robbers and bandits,” Figure 6.6 illustrates the Nationalist troops’ abuses and features two hoodlum-like Chinese soldiers grabbing fruit from a local vendor’s booth and enjoying the plundered trophies. When asked by the astonished and indignant female shopkeeper, “Hey, how can you randomly take things [from

(Figure 6.6, enlarged)  
(Figure 5.4, enlarged)
my booth] without paying money?” the soldiers’ overweening attitude is reflected in the response: “We triumphed in the war!” In the lower panel of Figure 6.6, a bullying attitude is exhibited by a Chinese soldier intimidating a Taiwanese vendor. The narrative depiction of the Chinese troops sustains Kerr’s (1965, 1986) argument that the newcomers treated Taiwan as conquered territory and the local residents as conquered people, from whom they exacted as much advantage as they could. Thus, the patriotic, audacious, and spirited Nationalist troops depicted in Figure 5.4 published in the Martial Law era were replaced with a group of scoundrels in Figure 6.6 published in the Lee Teng-hui era.

Emphasizing the Earlier Period of Chiang’s Nationalist Administration of Taiwan

In addition, while the children’s narrative published in the earlier period was focused on presenting the later stage of Taiwan’s development (e.g., the people of Taiwan “[living] in affluence and [living] a free and comfortable life”), the children’s narrative published in Lee’s era stresses the earlier state of Chiang’s Nationalist administration of Taiwan, in which “under the Nationalist government’s governance, the people of Taiwan not only were not liberated from the Japanese colonial state, their lives became more difficult, and the social discontent grew deeper and deeper.” The once-omitted ethnic conflict between the newcomers and the people of Taiwan was particularly dilated in the children’s narrative to reinforce the Nationalist government’s cruel handling of the 228 Incident. Three inspectors dressed in black uniforms and wearing identical hair styles illustrated in Figure 6.7 are seizing a full box of cigarettes belonging to the widow, Lin Chiang-mai, whose forehead is bleeding as a result of the pistol-whipping by one of the inspectors, who
ignored “Lin’s begging on her knees and cries for mercy.” The malevolent facial expressions of the two inspectors in the foreground, accompanied by their crude behaviors, suggest a power relationship between the powerful Chinese dominators and the oppressed Taiwanese civilian.

As a result of the inspectors’ cruel action in confiscating Lin’s money and cigarettes, the widow fell to the ground (Figure 6.8), breaking her slipper and scattering cigarettes all over the street. The chaotic state, with flying cigarettes, cigarette cases, and slipper illustrated in Figure 6.8, suggests that the inspectors were physically harsh. The merciless Chinese officers depicted in the children’s narrative further “threaten the crowd with their pistols,” wishing to use force to tame the angry throng: “In the flurry, Policeman (Inspector) Fu Hsueh-tung drew a pistol, fired shots at the crowds, and mistakenly shot a pedestrian, Chen Wen-hsi, who died the second day.” The injured pedestrian, Chen, was illustrated in Figure 6.9, in which, fatally shot, he is lying in the street in a pool of blood and encircled by several witnessing passersby. The dark, black background of Figure 6.9 reflects the people’s bitter and deep-seated hatred toward the new authority, Chen Yi, whose incompetence in ruling Taiwan was demonstrated by his indulging his officials’ “[takeover of] the Governor-General’s Office and all the industrial concerns left by the Japanese,” allowing of a group of poorly disciplined troops to plunder the local people, and the improper handling of the 228 Incident.
According to both the historical research and the children’s narrative, ethnic tension between the Mainlanders and the Formosans reached the highest point when the public was outraged by the inspectors’ rude and irrational attitude toward the disadvantaged widow and the innocent passerby, and when the “the sentries guarding the office fired with machine guns.”

Figure 6.10 depicts the turmoil in Taipei city, where “The masses began to attack Mainlanders they saw on the streets, attack police officers, and burn down Chinese companies.” In the image, the primary weapon used by the masses was sticks. This visual representation sustains Kerr’s (1965) suggestion that “foreign observers … saw no Formosans carrying weapons. Mainland Chinese were occasionally stoned, or beaten with sticks, but no guns, knives, or swords were seen in the hands of the angry Formosans” (p. 257). Similar to the historical research (e.g., Kerr, 1986; Lai et al., 1991; Edmondson, 2002) in assessing the Nationalist means in handling the ethnic conflict, the children’s narrative uncovers the Nationalist government’s dictatorial measures in dealing with the social upheaval. When the social conditions spiraled out of control, Chief-Executive Chen Yi, the leading and representative figure of the Nationalist government in Taiwan, “adamantly refused to deal with the Committee’s requests” (Figure 6.11) and “secretly ordered his subordinates to send a telegram to the Central Government in Nanjing asking for reinforcements to suppress the revolt.” Instead of frankly reporting the cause of the 228 Incident to the Central Government
in the Mainland, Chen fabricated the account to accuse “the crafty spies of the Communist Party …[of] fomenting dissension between the Nationalist government and the people of Taiwan.” This children’s narrative parallels the historical research (in Edmondson, 2002; Kerr, 1986; Lai et al., 1991) in that both depict Chen Yi as deceitful. Indicated by his action of tossing the petition aside like worthless paper without a single glance at it, Figure 6.11 displays Chen’s indifferent attitude in refusing to consider the content of the petition brought by the two men. His bold appearance and arrogant attitude suggest his privileges in the social relationships and his dictatorship in governing Taiwan.

The Taiwanese people’s dissatisfaction with the Mainlanders became even worse when “A dreadful, large scale massacre occurred within the entire province (Taiwan).” After their arrival, “the troops dispatched by the Central Government either captured or killed many individuals who were the pillars of the society, such as scholars, doctors, lawyers, and authors.” Figure 6.12 exhibits five visual miniatures depicting how the Nationalist soldiers suppressed the revolt occurring in five different cities in Taiwan.

In Keelung [基隆] (in the upper right corner of Figure 6.12), there are casualties floating in the water of the Keelung Harbor. In Tainan [台南] (in the lower right corner of Figure 6.12), a victim has been bayoneted, and another male is already lying dead on the ground. The miniature at the center of Figure 6.12 reveals a similar pattern of the Nationalist suppression of the revolt. A gentleman is being arrested with one of the soldiers forcing him to submit at gun point. In Kaohsiung [高雄] (in the lower left corner of Figure 6.12), the Nationalist troops use a machine gun to strafe the
completely unarmed masses. The flying shells and the clouds of smoke encircling the three victims suggest that the Nationalist soldiers’ artillery fire is fierce. The image of the dreadful Nationalist massacre in Taipei (in the left upper corner of Figure 6.12) shows the three green-uniformed soldiers who are busy searching and eradicating the victims on the ground; one of the citizens is falling from the building, and it is unclear whether the victim was forced to jump or was pushed.

*Recapturing the Missing Aspects of the History in Lee’s Era*

Paralleling the historical research (e.g., Kerr, 1986; Manthorpe, 2005) in assessing the 228 Incident, the children’s narrative published in Lee’s era uncovers the forbidden history of the 228 Incident during which Taiwanese social elites and intellectuals were the targets to be eliminated by the Nationalist government, regardless whether or not they were involved or were guilty of instigating the revolt. The Nationalist officials and soldiers’ ruthless means in handling the social upheaval and the casualties involved in the Incident (e.g., 18,000 to 28,000 mentioned in the children’s narrative and 10,000 to 28,000 in the historical research) represented a disgraceful episode in the history of the KMT governance in Taiwan. In addition, “The 228 Incident was the most painful tragedy, and it created a permanent estrangement between the Taiwanese people and the Mainlanders.” The narrative discussion of the Nationalist government’s misgovernance of Taiwan continues after the KMT, led by Chiang Kai-shek, lost the civil war with the CCP and retreated to Taiwan.

*Two Independent Regimes – the CCP and the KMT*

Different from the children’s narrative published in the Martial Law era emphasizing the KMT’s loss control of the Mainland because of “the conditions of economic decline in the postwar era, the people’s weariness of the eight-year Resistance War, and Russia’s support,” the
KMT’s “corruption and incompetence” discussed in Lee’s era became the primary reasons for its defeat in the war with the CCP. To further support this negative depiction of Chiang and his Nationalist government, evidence was provided in the children’s narrative to state that “In August, 1949, the United States issued the China White Paper, renouncing its support of Chiang Kai-shek since the United States believed that the Nationalist Party was not a regime that could be trusted.” Through the narrative depiction, Chiang’s ability to lead the Nationalist Party and the Chinese people was criticized by providing an anti-Chinese interpretation in assessing Chiang and his KMT. More unfavorable storylines of Chiang were incorporated into the narrative. “After experiencing one defeat after another and losing the United States government’s support, the Nationalist government was completely defeated.” Supporting the children’s narrative and Zhang’s (2003) and Lai, Myers, and Wou’s (1991) research, Figure 6.13 presents the outcome of the civil war in which the enormous territory of the Mainland came under the authority of the CCP, and the diminutive island, Taiwan, was controlled by the KMT. Mao Zedong’s holding of the CCP’s Five-star Red Flag and his upright posture symbolize his victory and his supreme position in China. The national flag of the ROC illustrated next to Taiwan indicates that the regime of the ROC was located in the island.

Uncovering the White Terror Period

Instead of treating the Nationalists’ dictatorial governance of Taiwan as taboo, as was the case during the Martial Law era, the children’s narrative published in Lee’s period uncovers the forbidden history to criticize the Nationalists: “In order to eliminate undesirable opposition, the
Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) declared martial law on May 19, 1949,” and “Under the Nationalist government, many people who had different opinions on national affairs or the dictatorial regime of the Nationalist Party were put into prison as bandit spies. Between the 1950s and the 60s, the number of ‘bandit spies’ being arrested and shot was countless. This was the so-called White Terror period.” Sustaining Roy’s (2003) and Manthorpe’s (2005) research, the horrifying historical period of the White Terror was introduced in the children’s narrative with the cause (i.e., elimination of opposite viewpoints) and the effect (i.e., arrest and shooting of numerous Taiwanese who were falsely accused as “bandit spies”). Phrases like “coercive rules,” “brutal torture,” and “secret agents” characterize the dictatorial regime of the ROC in the 1950s and 60s. Figure 6.14 displays the horrible societal atmosphere in which countless “bandit spies” were arrested under various charges, and each charge was written on a call tablet [刺令] stuck on the back of the “convicts.” From the right to the left of Figure 6.14, they were accused of: 1) being a student activist [學運份子], 2) criticizing current affairs [批評時政], 3) acting against one-party dictatorship [反對一黨專政], 4) being a leftist [左傾], 5) being anti-Chiang [反蔣], 6) being a liberal [開明派], and other accusations that are unidentifiable in the image. The absence of each individual’s facial features and personal characteristics suggest that they were wronged.
Comparing the ethics of the Nationalist government illustrated in Figure 6.3 with Figure 6.14, the pro-Nationalist, innovative, and developmental social atmosphere promoted in the Martial Law era revealed from Figure 6.3 was replaced with the reign of terror, stressing the Nationalist government’s dreadful, hegemonic control of Taiwan and creating another tradition in assessing Chiang and his KMT.

*The Nationalist Government’s Apotheosis Movement*

The anti-Chiang depiction that unmasked the KMT’s autocratic operation in upholding its power continued in the children’s narrative and included the Nationalist ultimate purpose of making Chiang the exclusive, legitimate ruler. Thus, “the movement of apotheosis occurred in Taiwan. The strange phenomenon of creating bronze statues of Chiang Kai-shek in schools and parks began, and the media presented the image of Chiang as a person who cherished and loved the people.” Figure 6.15 exhibits the phenomenon of building Chiang’s bronze statue in schools, where a female teacher with two students (located in the left of the image) and a male teacher with a boy (in the right of the image) are watching the progress of the project. The erect bronze statue with Chiang in a riding position features Chiang as a heroic leader. Through the posture of Chiang on horseback, this bronze statue symbolizes Chiang as an invincible Generalissimo who
has campaigned on various battlegrounds. Comparing Chiang’s visual representation in Figure 6.5 published in the Martial Law era with Figure 6.15, the earlier illustration presents Chiang’s popularity and the people’s approval of Chiang’s contribution in developing Taiwan into an affluent country. In contrast, Figure 6.15 discloses his “manufactured” popularity that was the result of the Nationalist apotheosis movement launched for the purpose of increasing public acceptance of the notorious Nationalist government after the 228 Incident and the White Terror period.

In addition, the children’s narrative published in Lee’s era further focuses on elaborating the success of the apotheosis movement, stating that “Under the operation of the ‘people’s will’, Chiang Kai-shek successfully served as president one term after another until his dying day in 1975. He truly was a ‘man of sacrifice.’” Both phrases “people’s will” and “man of sacrifice” are emphasized in the storylines to satirically discuss the Nationalist government’s means of political manipulation in ensuring Chiang’s leading position in Taiwan. Figure 6.16 depicts Chiang’s smiling in satisfaction after he was able to secure his presidential position. The background image decorated with two national flags of the ROC and Sun Yat-sen’s portrait supports Chiang’s Nationalist identity in politics. Comparing Figure 6.16 with Figure 6.1, Chiang’s generalissimo rank emphasized in Figure 6.1 was removed in Figure 6.16, focusing on presenting Chiang’s
later life of serving as the president in Taiwan. His achievements and his leadership in both the political and military circles stressed in the Martial Law era were absent in Lee’s period.

In terms of Chiang and his Nationalist government’s rule of Taiwan, the national savior (the Late President Lord) and the revolutionary and reformist Nationalists discussed in the Martial Law era were re-interpreted as self-seeking politicos and soldiers who were eager to: 1) confiscate public property left by the Japanese colonial government, 2) loot the local residents, and 3) fatten their own purses through, for instance, the establishment of the Monopoly Bureau. In addition, the Nationalist government, once presented as efficient and innovative, was re-evaluated to disclose the dictatorial and hegemonic regime of the ROC, whose fierce and cruel suppression in the 228 Incident and whose terrifying measures in the White Terror period were overtly criticized in the narratives published in Lee’s era. As we shall in the following analysis, this Taiwanese-centered tradition in assessing the Nationalists continues in the Chen Shui-bian era to stress the forbidden aspects of the history and the negative impacts of the Nationalist administration in Taiwan.

Books Published during the Chen Shui-bian Era (2001–2008)

[A summary of Chiang and the KMT government as interpreted from Hao’s (2001) *Taiwanese Historical Stories in Comics: The Kou-Min-Ka Movement and the War* (Vol. 11) and *The Post-World War II Era* (Vol. 12), Hsu’s (2002) *The History of Taiwan*, Ho’s (2005) *A History of Taiwan in Comics: The Post-World War II Era* (I) – *In the Realm of the Strongmen* (Vol. 9)]. After the Nationalist government came to Taiwan, it first took over the Governor-General’s Office (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 6; Ho, p. 31) and all the industrial concerns left by the Japanese (Ho, p. 31). At that time, Taiwan was an advanced region under the Japanese’s constructive administration (Ho, p. 31). In contrast, China was backward and chaotic, with low social
morals, and with officials and soldiers with poor character (Ho, p. 31). The officials and soldiers coming from the Mainland were like robbers and bandits, often robbing and taking commodities from Taiwanese vendors without paying money (Figure 6.17). Under the Nationalist government’s governance, the people of Taiwan not only were not liberated from the Japanese colonial state, their lives became more difficult, and the social discontent grew deeper and deeper (Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 50). After experiencing the Nationalist’s evil conduct, the enthusiasm of the people of Taiwan toward the Nationalist government soon turned into antipathy (Ho, p. 50). In 1947, this dissatisfaction eventually burst out like an explosion, bringing the onset of the 228 Incident (Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 50), the direct cause of which was the investigation of the illicit cigarette trade (查緝私煙) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62–3; Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 50). At that time, only the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau was allowed to sell cigarettes (Ho, p. 51), but the quality of the cigarettes was poor (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62; Ho, p. 51). Hence, many people secretly imported (Ho, p. 51) and sold foreign cigarettes (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62; Ho, p. 51). Even government officials smoked illegal cigarettes (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62), but the Nationalist government ordered the investigation into illegal cigarettes and sent inspectors to search and arrest people who sold the illegal tobacco (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 62; Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 51). On the evening of February 27, 1947, Lin Chiang-mai, a widow (Ho, p. 51), was selling illegal cigarettes and fell to the ground after being chased by the inspectors (Figure 6.18), who ignored Lin’s begging on her knees and cries for mercy and pistol-
whipped her (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 63; Ho, p. 51–3). The inspectors also confiscated her cigarettes and money (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 63; Ho, p. 53–4) and threaten the crowd with their pistols (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 63). In the flurry, Policeman (Inspector) (Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 55) Fu Hsueh-tung drew a pistol (Ho, p. 55), fired shots at the crowds, and mistakenly shot a pedestrian (Figure 6.19) (Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 55), Chen Wen-hsi, who died the second day (Ho, p. 55). On February 28, more than one thousand people rushed into the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau to protest (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 64; Hsu, p. 112). The masses who joined the procession marched in a group, smashing up the Bureau (Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 59) and burning down police substations\(^{175}\) (Ho, p. 59). When they petitioned the Chief Executive Office (Chen Yi), the sentries guarding the office fired with machine guns (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 65; Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 59). Dozens of people were either injured or died, and a succession of death and injury led to turmoil in Taipei city and loss of control (Figure 6.20\(^{176}\)) (Ho, p. 59). The masses began to attack Mainlanders\(^{177}\) [外省人] they saw on the streets (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 65; Hsu, p. 112; Ho, p. 59), attack police officers, and burn down Chinese companies (Ho, p. 59). That afternoon, the Garrison Headquarters declared temporary martial

\(^{175}\) In Hao’s (2001) narrative, a large mass of people forced their way into a branch of the Bureau, smashing up and burning legal cigarettes and appliances (Vol. 11, p. 64).

\(^{176}\) The text appearing in the upper right corner of the image says, “On the day of the 228 Incident, the social condition of the people who gathered together … [my translation].”

\(^{177}\) Referring to people from other provinces of China. In Hao’s (2001) narrative, Mainlanders were called A-Shan [阿山] since they were from Tangshan, an old name referring to the Mainland (Vol. 11, p. 66).
law in Taipei city (Ho, p. 61). The conflict between the masses and the soldiers and the policemen was widespread (Figure 6.21) (Ho, p. 61). The 228 Incident Management Committee, co-organized by the officials and the public, brought thirty-two requirements to Chief-Executive Chen Yi (e.g., asking the Central Government not to dispatch poorly disciplined troops to Taiwan; freedom in speech, publication, and assembly) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 67; Ho, p. 58, 64; Hsu, p. 112). However, Chen adamantly refused to deal with the Committee’s requests (Figure 6.22) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 68; Ho, p. 64; Hsu, p. 112), and secretly ordered his subordinates to send a telegram to the Central Government in Nanjing asking for reinforcements to suppress the revolt (Ho, p. 58; Hsu, p. 112). Under Chen Yi’s instruction, the contents of the telegram indicated that the crafty spies of the Communist Party were responsible for fomenting dissension between the Nationalist government and the people of Taiwan (Ho, p. 58–9), and they also were colluding with the remnant Japanese pirates to launch the revolt (Ho, p. 59). A dreadful, large scale massacre occurred within the entire province (Taiwan) (Figure 6.23) (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 68; Ho, p. 66; Hsu, p. 112). Regardless of whether or not they were involved in the revolt, the troops dispatched by the Central Government either captured or killed many individuals who were the pillars of the society, such as scholars, doctors, lawyers, and authors (Ho, p. 72). Although Chen Yi swore that the Central Government did not dispatch troops to Taiwan to...
suppress the revolt, it was proven afterward that Chen told a big lie (Ho, p. 69). The 228 Incident was the most painful tragedy, and it created a permanent estrangement between the Taiwanese people and the Mainlanders (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 70; Hsu, p. 110, 112). Many people were killed for no reason in the Incident (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 70). It was estimated that the number of people who died in the Incident was between eighteen thousand and twenty-eight thousand\(^{178}\) (Ho, p. 79).

After the Sino-Japanese War (Ho, p. 34), the Nationalist Party in the Mainland fought a civil war with the Communist Party (Hao, Vol. 11, p. 58; Ho, p. 34). The civil war went badly for the Nationalist government, and because the government was so corrupt, they had lost the hearts of the Chinese people (Ho, p. 86). In the beginning of 1949, the Nationalist Army was defeated (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 7; Ho, p. 87). In August, 1949, the United States issued the China White Paper [對華白皮書], renouncing its support of Chiang Kai-shek since the United States believed that the Kuomintang Party was not a regime that could be trusted, and its defeat was because of its corruption and incompetence (Ho, p. 88). After experiencing one defeat after another and losing the United States government's support, the Nationalist government was completely defeated [潰敗] (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 7). Chiang Kai-shek decided to change course and shift operations to [轉進] Taiwan, planning for a resurgence [圖謀再起] in the future (Ho, p. 88). At the end of 1949, the Central Government retreated (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 7; Hsu, p. 111) and officially moved to Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 14; Ho, p. 89). The Communist Party announced the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in the Mainland (Figure 6.24\(^{179}\)) (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 14; Hsu, p. 111). A total of two million people who fled from the

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\(^{178}\) In Hao’s (2001) narrative, the number was estimated as between several thousand to twenty thousand (Vol. 11, p. 68).

\(^{179}\) The text appearing in the image says, “In October, the Communist Party in Beijing declared the establishment of
calamity rolled in to Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 14). The Mainland was eventually controlled by the Communists (Ho, p. 87). Mainlanders who followed the Nationalist government to settle in Taiwan were given priority in employment and promotion by government institutions (Ho, p. 38). In March, 1950, Chiang Kai-shek restored his position as president in Taiwan (Hao, Vol. 12, p. 15; Ho, p. 89). In order to eliminate undesirable opposition, the Nationalist Party declared martial law on May 20, 1949 (Ho, p. 90). Under the Nationalist government, many people who had different opinions on national affairs or the dictatorial regime of the Nationalist Party were put into prison as bandit spies (Ho, p. 93). Between 1950 and 1960, the number of “bandit spies” arrested and shot was countless (Ho, p. 93). This was the so-called White Terror period (Figure 6.25) (Ho, p. 93). Taiwanese intellectuals who believed in Taiwan independence were the first to bear the brunt (Ho, p. 94). In particular, the Nationalist government adopted coercive rules to govern Taiwan (Ho, p. 94). In order to completely eliminate opposition activists, the Nationalist government dispatched many secret agents to seize individuals who were opposed to the government and used brutal torture while interrogating them (Ho, p. 94–97). Suddenly, many people, regardless of their positions and political affiliations, were all involved in “bandit spies” cases and either were sentenced to execution or put into prison for several years (Ho, p. 99). At the same time, the families of the People’s Republic of China. The Mainland was completely occupied by the Communists [my translation].”

180 Referring to the Communists in the Mainland.

181 The text appearing in the image says, “Countless people were jailed and shot during the 1950s and 1960s for allegedly spying for the Communists. This was the peak of the so-called ‘White Terror’ period” (Ho, p. 93).
victims had to endure the secret agents’ surveillance and other people’s suspicions (Ho, p. 102). Besides those who advocated Taiwan independence, political figures who posed a sufficient threat to Chiang Kai-shek’s position were all included on the government’s black list [鬥爭名單] (Ho, p. 108). While purging his political opponents and the opposition activists, Chiang Kai-shek faced another problem – according to the Constitution, Chiang, completing his second term, could not serve a third term (Ho, p. 110–11). In order to allow Chiang Kai-shek to continue to serve as president, the movement of apotheosis occurred in Taiwan (Figure 6.26)

The strange phenomenon of creating bronze statues of Chiang Kai-shek in schools and parks began, and the media presented the image of Chiang as a person who cherished and loved the people (Ho, p. 112–3). Both the bronze statue culture and the media had the effect of increasing Chiang’s popularity (Ho, p. 115). “So by manipulating the ‘people’s will’ and by amending the Constitution, Chiang Kai-shek got his wish and served continuously as president until his death in 1975. He truly was a ‘man of sacrifice’” (Figure 6.27) (Ho, p. 116). During the Martial Law era (1949–1987), the general population lost a great deal of freedom, but the authority of the president was expanded (Ho, p. 118). In the 1950s, a procession of economic and (Ho, p. 126) agricultural land reforms was carried out in Taiwan (Hsu, p. 113; Ho, p. 126).

The Nationalists Presented as Conquerors and Exploiters

182 The text appearing in the left of the image says, “To the left a little…”, and in the right of the image says, “a little higher” (Ho, Vol. 9, p. 114).
Similar to the earlier discussed historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities, the children’s narratives published in Chen’s era inherited the Taiwanese-centered interpretation in Lee’s era to present the other side of the stories related to the history of Taiwan. In terms of the portrayals, the children’s narratives published in the third phase adopted the majority of the storylines from Lee’s period to continuously criticize Chiang and his Nationalists as exploiters and conquerors. Along with newly added English translations, there also are a few minor revisions in dates and wording in Ho’s (2005) A History of Taiwan series. The date that the Nationalist government enforced martial law after its retreat to Taiwan was corrected from May 19, 1949 (discussed in Ho’s (2000) A History of Taiwan: The Republic Era (I) – In the Realm of the Strongmen (Vol. 9) on page 84) to May 20, 1949 (mentioned in Ho’s second edition published in 2005 on page 90). Chiang’s notorious reputation was candidly revealed in the children’s narrative in the shift from stating that “Under the operation of the ‘people’s will’, Chiang Kai-shek successfully served as president one term after another until his dying day in 1975” to discussing his abuse of power “by manipulating the ‘people’s will’ and by amending the Constitution.”

Recapturing the Missing Aspects of the History in Chen’s Period

Another revision is related to the fate of Lin Chiang-mai and whether or not she lost her life in the 228 Incident. According to Kerr (1986), Lai et al. (1991), and Edmondson (2002), Lin was pistol-whipped by one of the Chinese inspectors. No further information related to fatalites was discussed in the historical research except for the passerby, Chen Wen-hsi, who was accidentally shot and then died in the Incident (discussed in Kerr (1965) and Lai et al. (1991)). Comparing the children’s narratives published in Lee’s and Chen’s eras with the historical research, the onset of the 228 Incident discussed in Lee’s period included the depiction of Lin
Chiang-mai’s (in Lin’s (2000) *The History of Taiwan for Children* (Vol. 9)) and Chen Wen-hsi’s (in Ho’s (2000) *A History of Taiwan* (Vol. 9)) deaths. However, this literary depiction was removed from the children’s narrative published in Chen’s era, providing a literary account that is in accordance with the historical research.

In terms of visual representations of Chiang and his Nationalists, more colored images are incorporated into the children’s narrative published in Chen’s period. Mainly, those visual illustrations are found in Ho’s (2005) second edition of *A History of Taiwan*, which is the revised version of Ho’s (2000) first edition. The black and white image of Figure 6.6 published in Lee’s period is revised and colored in Figure 6.17. The reverse order of the image was the result of the decision to include English translations. Traditionally, writing and reading in Chinese characters are from right to left and top to bottom, which is different from the order in English. Thus, in order to present both Chinese and English texts together, the order was changed to start from left to right, which brought about the simultaneous changes in the order of visual representations. The decision to include English reflects the trend of globalization in the publishing industry.

*The Nationalist Soldiers’ Misconduct as Emphasized in Chen’s Era*

Comparing Figure 6.17 in Chen’s era with Figure 6.6 in Lee’s period, the revised, colored image of Figure 6.17 reveals a very similar assessment of the Nationalist soldiers, whose
undisciplined attitudes in plundering the fruits, sharing the plundered trophies with companions, and shouting at the shopkeeper are identical with the figures depicted in Figure 6.6. Minor revisions in the visual representations of characters and fruits are applied to Figure 6.17 to present the greediness and the ferocity of the ill-disciplined soldiers. Different from the relatively vague depiction of Figure 6.6, the bright red apples illustrated in Figure 6.17 indicate that those were one of the most expensive (valuable) fruits in the 1940s, when the people’s lives were very difficult. With the storyline stating that “the officials and soldiers coming from the Mainland were like robbers and bandits, often robbing and taking commodities from Taiwanese vendors without paying money,” the soldiers’ arbitrary theft of apples from the fruit stall suggests that those newcomers treated Taiwan as a conquered nation from which they could extract the resources, goods, materials, and food available in the island. Comparing to the shouting soldier with two closed eyes depicted in Figure 6.6, the shouting soldier with dark circles around his two open eyes depicted in the lower panel of Figure 6.17 sharpens the Nationalist soldier’s malevolence toward the local resident.

Uncovering the 228 Incident

In the depiction of Lin Chiang-mai’s fall to the ground, Figure 6.8, published in the Lee
Teng-hui era and Figure 6.18, published in Chen’s period, depict the chaotic scene and portray Lin a victim who falls to the ground with scattered cigarettes, cigarette cases, a broken slipper, and a flying portable stand. As for Chen Wen-hsi, the guiltless pedestrian, his death is depicted in both Lee’s (Figure 6.9) and Chen’s eras (Figure 6.19). The people’s motionless body language suggests that they are startled by the bloody scene with Chen lying dead in a pool of blood.

The social turmoil in the 228 Incident was photographed in Figure 6.20, where the terrace of three-storied houses suggests that the riot took the place in a city. With the smoke curling upward and the crowds flocking toward the burning locale and with the storyline saying that “a succession of death and injury led to turmoil in Taipei city and loss of control,” the chaotic circumstances of the 228 Incident were revealed from Figure 6.20. It further displays the Nationalist government’s poor-administration of Taiwan, which caused the people’s antipathy and led to the crisis. Barricades block off the street and crowds to limit the masses’ sphere of activities and prohibit more enraged Formosans from entering the chaotic scene. The conflict between the Mainlander policemen wearing khaki uniforms and the Taiwanese with red cloth strips tied on
their heads was visualized in Figure 6.21. Without changing too much in the visual representation of the ethnic conflict, the colored image was the revised version of Figure 6.10 published in the Lee Teng-hui era. Similar to Kerr’s (1965) observation, the angry Formosans depicted in both Figure 6.21 and Figure 6.10 do not carry weapons (e.g., guns, knives) when attacking the Chinese officers. Sticks are the primary tool that they use to fight against the oppressors.

Two Independent Regimes – the CCP and the KMT

Except for Figures 6.22 and 6.23, which are recycled from Lee’s era, slightly revised visual representations of Chiang and his Nationalists continue to occupy the children’s narrative published in Chen’s era. Mao Zedong holding a Five-star Red Flag is still the representative of the People’s Republic of China illustrated in Figure 6.24, symbolizing that the Mainland is dominated by the Chinese Communist Party. The small island located right next to China is thus
controlled by the Nationalist Party. Different from the earliest account presenting Chiang and his KMT’s political agenda of returning to the motherland and of developing Taiwan into a model province of Sun’s Three Principles of the People (Figure 6.2), both Figure 6.13 and Figure 6.24 divorce such ideological construction from the reunification with China to recognize the CCP’s control of the Mainland and the KMT’s power in Taiwan. From the images, two divergent political apparatuses (the PRC versus the ROC) with two different ruling powers (the CCP versus the KMT) are established, suggesting that Chiang’s loss of the Mainland was a permanent outcome since no literal or visual representations related to the Nationalist ideology of returning to the Mainland or Sun’s Three Principles of the People were reiterated in the children’s narratives published in Lee’s and Chen’s eras.

Uncovering the White Terror Period

Regarding the ethics of the Nationalist government in the 1940s, criticism related to the White Terror period continues to prevail in the children’s narrative published in Chen’s era, which discloses the Nationalists’ mistreatment toward the people of Taiwan. Similar to Figure 6.14 in incorporating various victims and accusations into the visual representation of the White Terror period, Figure 6.25 in Chen’s era conveys the terrifying times when the Nationalist
adopted terroristic means (e.g., dispatching secret agents to undertake secret surveillance) to eliminate the pillars of the Taiwanese society. While the call tablets illustrated in Figures 6.14 and 6.25 suggest the Nationalist government’s imposition of various charges to wipe out the elites and activists, three wavering streams of green smoke floating gently around the victims depicted in Figure 6.25 increase the mystery of the White Terror and represent the angry spirits of the victims who had been falsely accused of being involved in serious crimes. The accusations against those people include (from right to left): 1) being anti-KMT [反國民黨], 2) being a student activist [學運份子], 3) criticizing the KMT and its administration [批評黨政], and 4) acting against one party dictatorship [反對一黨專]. Comparing the ambiance revealed from Figure 6.14 with that of Figure 6.25, the intensity of the terrifying feeling of the White Terror period was enhanced in Figure 6.25. The black background suggests the Nationalist government’s wrongful prosecutions of the innocent victims, making the social atmosphere in the White Terror period hellish.

*The Nationalist Government’s Apotheosis Movement*

The discussion of the phenomenon of creating bronze statues of Chiang Kai-shek
continues in the children’s narratives published in Chen’s era and includes revised and colored representation of the apotheosis movement (Figure 6.26). This visual representation provides an assessment of the event nearly identical to Figure 6.15 published in Lee’s period. Piles of wood and sand, the busy workers, the bronze statue of Chiang riding on a horse, the newly erected base, and the visiting teacher and students are the primary elements in the images. Several trees are added to Figure 6.26, making the scene more like a playground, not merely a construction site. This modification streamlines the narrative depiction stating that “The strange phenomenon of creating bronze statues of Chiang Kai-shek in schools and parks began.” In comparison, the children’s narratives published in Lee’s and Chen’s eras share the same manner in critiquing Chiang’s manufactured popularity that is opposite to what was available in the Martial Law era when Chiang was portrayed as an affable leader (Figure 6.5). That is, while Chiang was promoted through the children’s literature as a successful savior and reformist in developing Taiwan into a rich and fertile society depicted in Figure 6.5, the anti-Nationalist literary depictions (Figures 6.15 and 6.26) provide another means to evaluate Chiang.

Chiang Kai-shek’s visual representation was also made available in Chen’s era (Figure 6.27) to introduce audiences to his political manipulation in consolidating his power in Taiwan. Similar with Figure 6.16 published in Lee’s period, Chiang, as portrayed in Figure 6.27, carries a satisfied facial expression, echoing the written description to satirize Chiang’s “achievement” in successfully altering his notorious reputation into an ideal leadership after the apotheosis
movement was carried out within the island. Two national flags of the ROC decorated on the wall with Sun’s portrait inserted between suggest Chiang’s dominant status. Through the incorporation of the portrait of the Nationalist Party’s founding father – Sun Yat-sen – and the ideological symbol of the national flag of the ROC, Chiang’s representative position and Nationalist identity were emphasized in both Figure 6.16 and Figure 6.27. Accompanied by the children’s narrative stating that “by manipulating the ‘people’s will’ and by amending the Constitution, Chiang Kai-shek got his wish and served continuously as president until his death in 1975. He truly was a ‘man of sacrifice’” (Figure 6.1), the righteousness and magnanimity revealed from Chiang’s generalissimo status illustrated in Figure 6.1 was eliminated in Figures 6.16 and 6.27 to focus on presenting Chiang’s abuse of his power and control.

Comparing the children’s narratives related to Chiang and his Nationalist government published in the three historical periods, the indoctrination of the Nationalist ideology and the promotion of the Nationalist achievement in reforming Taiwan dominate the children’s narratives published in the Nationalist Martial Law era. With the highly revered appellation the Late President Lord, Chiang’s supreme leading position in the Nationalist Party and his
generalissimo status in Taiwan were emphatically discussed to include the Nationalist-centered (or Chinese-centered) interpretation in assessing Chiang and his government. Thus, anti-Communism, returning to the motherland (China), and making Taiwan a model province of the Three Principles of the People became the most frequently advanced battle cries in the children’s narrative to supporting the contemporary ruling authority’s political agenda of assimilating the Formosans into patriotic Nationalists who recognized the ROC in Taiwan as the only legitimate ruling authority of China. Ultimately, through the children’s narratives, the goal of retrieving ownership of the Mainland became a primary objective imposed upon the Taiwanese. The government’s corruption and incompetence leading toward its defeat in the civil war with the CCP and its dreadful massacre in the 228 Incident and the White Terror period were overlooked in the literature, which focuses instead on the favorable selections and the pro-Chinese perspectives. In addition, the controversial Chinese official, Chen Yi, and his “achievements” (e.g., adopting the highhanded measure to suppress the revolt) discussed in Lee’s and Chen’s eras were scarcely mentioned in the Nationalist Martial Law era.

*The Chinese-centered Tradition Replaced with the Taiwanese-centered Account*

However, this pro-Mainlander account did not last and was reshaped into another tradition after native-born Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian took power and became presidents of Taiwan. Recently published children’s narratives reflected Lee’s and Chen’s Taiwanese-centered, political and cultural ideologies that sought to eliminate the identification with China (e.g., abandoning the objective of returning to the mother), remove the Nationalist ideology (e.g., Sun’s Three Principles of the People), and present the history with the once-omitted historical events (e.g., the 228 Incident) and assessments. The Nationalist soldiers’ and officials’ poor character was disclosed, and Chiang’s highly revered appellation *the Late President Lord* and his
generalissimo identity were removed in the children’s narratives to concentrate on critiquing the Nationalist government’s earlier coercive rules and dictatorship in governing Taiwan. Chiang’s manipulation of the people’s will through media and through the movement of the apotheosis in building his bronze statues was uncovered, presenting an entirely different version of Chiang and his Nationalist government’s administration in Taiwan.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS: POWER RELATIONS IN THE CREATION OF CHILDREN’S NARRATIVES ABOUT TAIWANESE HISTORY

The Dynamics of Presentation and Interpretation

Historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) once said, “Power does not enter the story once and for all, but at different times and from different angles. It precedes the narrative proper, contributes to its creation and to its interpretation” (p. 28–9). The complex power relations between historical facts – “what happened” (Trouillot, p. 2) – and how they are constructed and presented in the children’s narratives – “that which is said to have happened” (p. 2) – formed the primary focus of this dissertation. The dynamics of presentation and interpretation, and of selection and silencing, parallels Williams’ (1989) notion of selective tradition in that different specific meanings and representations are selected and others are omitted or misrepresented. My theoretical framework centered on theory and research in the sociology of school knowledge that inquires how and why specific knowledge is chosen and presented as objective. Along with the strategy of relational analysis (Apple, 1990) and with the methods of constant comparative analysis (Butler-Kisber, 2010) and iconography (Panofsky, 1970), I employed critical theories of selective tradition (Williams, 1989), ideology (Althusser, 1970/1971; Hollindale, 1992), and hegemony (Gramsci, 1988) to analyze 38 Taiwanese children’s books published in traditional Mandarin in the era following World War II. My study into the nexus of power-and-knowledge in the children’s books centering on the history of Taiwan has given me the opportunity to revisit
the history that I once was taught to be “true” and to learn a great deal of the unknown and forgotten history that never was disclosed to me. Through my research, I was able to revisit and analyze the taught history and uncover the untaught past.

The aim of the study was to examine how the history of Taiwan was portrayed in the Taiwanese children’s literature, focusing on inclusions, exclusions, perspectives, and ideologies. Both written and visual texts were compared in the 38 books that comprised my sample with the majority of them being nonfiction. Through the constant comparative strategy, I identified six most frequently discussed cultural, political, and historical events/incidents and personalities in the research data. In order to examine possible power relations between the children’s narratives and socio-political and historical currents in Taiwanese society, I analyzed and compared the content of the research data. I reviewed works of historians by studying the evolution of the historiography of postwar Taiwan so that I had a basis to judge the children’s narratives. My first research question asked: What historical, political, and cultural events and personalities have been selected and incorporated into books for Taiwanese children published between 1945 and 2008? How are they actually discussed? How do they change over time? Whose ideological perspectives, assumptions and interests do these inclusions embody? My analysis of the data revealed that books published in different historical eras have different emphases and sometimes discussed different aspects of the history. These emphases and selections are summarized in Table 2.
### Table 2

**Historical, Political, and Cultural Events/Incidents and Personalities Present in the Data**

|-------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) The Sino-Japanese War, the Treaty of Shimonoseki, and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang | – harsh criticism related to the Qing court  
– Li presented as a bullied diplomat  
– a collective, shared Chinese identity presented (e.g., the use of pronoun we)  
– Nationalist\(^{183}\) perspectives | – Li presented as an indifferent diplomat  
– Taiwan presented as a scapegoat of the Sino-Japanese War  
– Taiwanese\(^{184}\) perspectives | – Li presented as an indifferent diplomat  
– Taiwan presented as an unfortunate sacrificial offering of the Sino-Japanese War  
– Taiwanese perspectives |
| (2) The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials | – Chinese identity  
– emphasis on Taiwan forever being a vassal state of China  
– Nationalist perspectives | – harsh criticism related to Tang’s, Liou’s, and Ciou’s predicaments in escaping from the calamity and abandoning Taiwan  
– the Chinese soldiers presented as bandits, the source of chaos  
– Taiwanese perspectives | – harsh criticism related to Tang’s, Liou’s, and Ciou’s predicaments in escaping from the calamity and abandoning Taiwan  
– the Chinese soldiers presented as bandits, the source of chaos  
– Taiwanese perspectives |
| (3) The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937) | – Chinese identity  
– overwhelming emphasis on the Japanese colonial domination as harmful  
– Nationalist perspectives | – the Japanese colonial domination presented as both beneficial and harmful  
– Taiwanese perspectives | – the Japanese colonial domination presented as both beneficial and harmful  
– Taiwanese perspectives |

\(^{183}\) Nationalist perspectives refer to the perspectives of the Nationalists (or Mainlanders), who came to Taiwan with Chiang’s KMT government. I use the terms Chinese (Mainlander) perspectives and Nationalist perspectives interchangeably.

\(^{184}\) Taiwanese means the mainstream Han Taiwanese, including the Taiwanese and the Hakka, who came to Taiwan before 1945, before the Nationalist government relocated to the island.
| (4) The Wushe Incident (1930) | – Chinese identity
– caused by Japanese colonizers’ humiliations and insults
– led by chief Mouna Rudo, *compatriots of mountainous regions* from six villages involved in the organized, large scale revolt
– Japanese ruthless suppression
– great casualties suffered by the indigenous group
– Nationalists perspectives | – caused by Japanese colonizers’ exploitation and mistreatment of the indigenous group
– led by chief Mouna Rudo, Truku indigenous people from six villages involved in the organized, large scale revolt
– Japanese ruthless suppression
– great casualties suffered by the indigenous group
– the incorporation of some of the indigenous group’s culturally relevant information and practices (e.g., the Tayal, facial tattooing)
– some authentic visual images related to the Tayal
– Taiwanese perspectives | – caused by Japanese colonizers’ exploitation and mistreatment of the indigenous group
– led by chief Mouna Rudo, Seediq indigenous people from six villages involved in the organized, large scale revolt
– Japanese ruthless suppression
– great casualties suffered by the indigenous group
– the incorporation of more of the indigenous group’s culturally relevant information and practices (e.g., the Seediq, facial tattooing)
– more authentic visual images related to the Seediq
– Taiwanese perspectives |
| (5) “Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps | – the Cairo Declaration presented as an authorized treaty
– Chinese identity
– *the Late President Lord Chiang*
– loyal revolutionary army
– the Nationalists presented as a group of welcomed newcomers, saviors
– Chinese ideologies (e.g., Sun’s philosophy, anti-Communism)
– Nationalist perspectives | – the Cairo Declaration presented as a stratagem to keep Chiang and his Nationalist army involved
– the pre-arranged welcome scene
– the public reactions, involving both expectation and suspicion
– poorly disciplined Nationalist soldiers
– Taiwanese perspectives | – the Cairo Declaration presented as a stratagem to keep Chiang and his Nationalist army involved
– the pre-arranged welcome scene
– the public reactions, involving both expectation and suspicion
– poorly disciplined Nationalist soldiers
– legitimacy of the Cairo Declaration clarified
– Taiwan as an independent state
– Taiwanese perspectives |
(6) Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government

- Chinese identity
- the Mainland usurped by the CCP
- Chiang as the philanthropic *Late President Lord*
- Chinese culture as a shared culture of Taiwan
- the success of the KMT administration
- Chinese ideologies (e.g., Sun’s philosophy)
- Nationalist perspectives

- the Nationalist government’s enforcement of martial law
- the KMT’s loss of the civil war with the CCP
- Chen Yi’s mistreatment of the local people
- the 228 Incident
- the White Terror period
- nostalgic sentiment toward Japan’s colonial domination
- Taiwanese perspectives

- the Nationalist government’s enforcement of martial law
- the KMT’s loss of the civil war with the CCP
- Chen Yi’s mistreatment of the local people
- the 228 Incident
- the White Terror period
- nostalgic sentiment toward Japan’s colonial domination
- Taiwanese perspectives
Changing Perspectives and Omissions

In Anyon’s (1979) and Loewen’s (1995) analyses of the American History textbooks, Su’s (1998) research on the Taiwanese History textbooks, Liu and Hung’s (2003) examination of the effects of politics on social studies and history curricula, Taxel’s (1980) analysis of the American Revolution in children’s fiction, and Overstreet’s (1994) examination of the Vietnam War in the adolescent novels, omissions, oversimplified messages, or misrepresentations related to marginalized groups in society contributed to the ability of powerful groups in society to legitimize their privileges and power and hinder the chances of subordinate groups to become visible in the mainstream. In my research into the presentation of the history of Taiwan, omissions, oversimplifications, and misrepresentations (stereotypes) came primarily from the depictions of the indigenous uprising against Japan’s colonial domination (the Wushe Incident) as the narratives published in the three historical periods share similar omissions, oversimplifications, and a number of misrepresentations. Table 3 presents the excluded (indicated with *), oversimplified (indicated with **), and misrepresented/stereotyped (indicated with *** ) information related to the historical, political, and cultural events and personalities that I identified from the research data. The summarized analysis addresses Research Question Two: What historical, political, and cultural events and personalities are omitted, marginalized, or excluded? How do these omissions and exclusions change over time? Whose ideological perspectives, assumptions and interests do these omissions embody?
**Table 3**

*Omissions*, **Oversimplified Messages**, and **Misrepresentations**

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<tr>
<td>(1) <strong>The Sino-Japanese War, the Treaty of Shimonoseki, and Plenary Minister Li Hong-zhang</strong></td>
<td>* the Qing court and Li Hong-zhang’s intrinsic motive in protecting China</td>
<td>* the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan</td>
<td>* the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>* Li Hong-zhang’s harsh criticism related to Taiwan</td>
<td>* marginalized groups’ perspectives (e.g., the Taiwanese or indigenous groups’ perspectives)</td>
<td>* marginalized groups’ perspectives (e.g., the Nationalist or indigenous groups’ perspectives)</td>
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<td>* marginalized groups’ perspectives (e.g., the Taiwanese or indigenous groups’ perspectives)</td>
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<td>(2) <strong>The Establishment of the Taiwan Republic (1895) and its Main Officials</strong></td>
<td>* Tang as a treacherous official</td>
<td>* the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan</td>
<td>* the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan</td>
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<td>* Tang’s, Liou’s, and Ciou’s predicaments in escaping to the Mainland</td>
<td>* marginalized groups’ perspectives</td>
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<td>* Chinese soldiers as the source of chaos</td>
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<td>* marginalized groups’ perspectives</td>
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<td>(3) <strong>The Japanese Colonial Domination (1895–1945) and the Kou-Min-Ka Movement (1937)</strong></td>
<td>* the advantages of the Japanese administration (e.g., social and infrastructural developments)</td>
<td>* the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan</td>
<td>* the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan</td>
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<td>* marginalized groups’ perspectives</td>
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Marginalized groups change over time depending on who possesses ruling power in Taiwan. In the Nationalist period, the Taiwanese (including the Hakka who came to Taiwan before 1945) and the 14 indigenous groups of Taiwan were the marginalized groups. In Lee’s era, although he was the leader of the KMT during his presidency, his native-born identity shapes his Taiwanese identity. Thus, the Chinese who came to Taiwan after 1945 and the 14 indigenous groups became the marginalized groups, and this is also true in Chen’s period.
| (4) The Wushe Incident (1930) | * indigenous groups’ identity (e.g., the Tayal)  
  *** visual representations of the Seediq  
  * the Seediq’s intrinsic motive in safeguarding Gaya  
  * indigenous cultural practice of facial tattooing  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward the event | * the appellation the compatriots of mountainous regions  
  ** demeaning use of the term barbarian villages  
  ** authentic depictions of the Seediq (e.g., costume)  
  * the Seediq’s intrinsic motive in safeguarding Gaya  
  *** the indigenous cultural practice of facial tattooing  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward the event | * the appellation the compatriots of mountainous regions  
  ** demeaning use of the term barbarian villages  
  ** authentic depictions of the Seediq (e.g., costume)  
  * the Seediq’s intrinsic motive in safeguarding Gaya  
  * the indigenous cultural practice of facial tattooing  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward the event |
| --- | --- | --- |
| (5) “Returning” to the Motherland (1945) and the Chinese Army’s 70th Corps | * criticism related to the Nationalist soldiers  
  * the Taiwanese people’s antipathy and disappointment toward the Nationalists  
  * the legitimacy of the Cairo Declaration  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward the political event and personalities | * the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan  
  * Chinese ideologies (e.g., the Late President Lord)  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward the political event and personalities | * the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan  
  * Chinese ideologies (e.g., the Late President Lord)  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward the political event and personalities |
| (6) Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist (KMT) Government | * the discussion of the KMT’s loss of the civil war with the CCP  
  * the Nationalist government’s enforcement of martial law  
  * Chen Yi’s mistreatment of the people of Taiwan  
  * the 228 Incident  
  * the White Terror period | * the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan  
  * Chinese ideologies (e.g., the Late President Lord, Sun’s philosophy)  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward Chiang | * the appellation Taiwanese compatriots or the compatriots of Taiwan  
  * Chinese ideologies (e.g., the Late President Lord, Sun’s philosophy)  
  * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward Chiang |
| * the presentation of Chiang as a dictatorial leader |
| * the Nationalists’ corruption and nepotism |
| * marginalized groups’ perspectives toward Chiang and his Nationalist government |

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| and his Nationalist government |
The Power-and-Knowledge Nexus

In the previous tables, I categorized inclusions and exclusions and indicated specific perspectives, assumptions, or ideologies embedded in the narratives related to the six topics. From the constant comparative analysis, a very similar pattern is observed in the portrayals of the six major historical, political, and cultural events/incidents and personalities, changing from the Nationalist-centered perspective in the Martial Law era to the Taiwanese-centered interpretation in Lee’s and Chen’s periods. Along with Research Question Three (What is the relation between the changing of historical political, cultural, and socio-economic circumstances and the literature available for children in Taiwan?), the next section will provide a discussion that is organized around the research questions to summarize the findings of the study.

*The Nationalist Martial Law Era (1949–1987)*

The children’s narratives published in the Nationalist Martial Law era, when the KMT dominated the political and cultural circles of Taiwan, present the history of Taiwan from a decidedly Chinese, Nationalist-centered perspective. Harsh criticism revealed from the literature is given to the Nationalists’ enemies – the Qing court and the Communist Party in the Mainland and the Japanese – to create for the Nationalists a “liberator” and “patriotic” image. The Nationalists leaders, Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen, receive the highly respected appellations *the Late President Lord* and *the Father of the Nation* to stress their supreme roles in the history of Taiwan. The Nationalist soldiers (Figure 5.4) become the heroic warriors who fought courageously for “the descendants of the Yellow Emperor.” Taiwan’s legal status, the notion of belonging to China, is emphasized, and the Chinese ideologies of returning to the motherland, Sun’s Three Principles of the People (Figure 6.2), and anti-Communism are reiterated. The implementation of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance depicted in the narratives suggests that
Taiwan is a homogenous Chinese state in which the revival of Chinese culture is presented as a universally welcomed movement in the island. To further the ideological construction of the Nationalist identity, the appellation *the compatriots of Taiwan (Taiwanese compatriots)* and *the compatriots of mountainous regions* are zealously employed in the storylines. Multiethnic individuals of Taiwan are thus “hailed” through the interpellation in language into concrete Nationalist subjects (Althusser, 1986); thus, a Nationalist-shared patriotic identity is imposed upon the people of Taiwan.

Major omissions related to the portrayal of the historical, political, and cultural incidents, events, and personages include: 1) criticism related to Chinese and Nationalist officials (e.g., Tang Jing-song’s escape from the calamity of Taiwan’s fall into Japanese control), 2) Japan’s social and infrastructural developments in the island, 3) Nationalist officials’ (e.g., Chen Yi) misgovernment and cold-hearted attitude toward the people of Taiwan, 4) Chiang Kai-shek’s dictatorial governance and the Nationalists’ corruption and nepotism, 5) culturally relevant information related to multiethnic Taiwan (e.g., proper introduction of the indigenous groups), and 6) the subordinate groups’ perspectives – the Taiwanese and the non-Han indigenous
groups – in depicting the history (e.g., the Seediq’s intrinsic motive in safeguarding Gaya in the Wushe Incident). Misrepresentations observed from the data published in this period come from the written and visual representations of the indigenous groups. As we have seen in the narrative discussion of the Wushe Incident, the Seediq warriors are misrepresented by universally stereotypical elements: the wearing of feather headbands and being nearly naked (Figure 4.3).

From the comparative analysis, the children’s narratives published in the Martial Law era reflect a pro-Chinese, Nationalist-centered tradition that employs the Chinese ideologies to transcribe the history of Taiwan into the literature for children. Williams’ (1989) theory of selective tradition is manifested as specific information survived and is passed on as a universal outlook of the history of Taiwan that favors the Nationalist party. Thus, through the Nationalist-centered depiction (e.g., the compatriots of Taiwan and the visual representation of the national flag of the ROC), the history of Taiwan become the history of the Nationalists, and the people of Taiwan are hailed as Nationalist patriotic subjects who share a similar identity and shoulder the great responsibility of recovering the Mainland with the Mainlanders (Althusser, 1986; Morier-Genoud, 2010). As a consequence, the history of Taiwan taught in the narratives published in this period shape the legitimacy of the dominant group’s – the Nationalist Party’s – ruling power in Taiwan and pre-shape a future path (e.g., expelling the Communists in the Mainland) for the people in Taiwan (Williams, 1989).

When the ruling power of Taiwan changed from the Nationalist governance of the two Chiangs to the native-born president Lee Teng-hui’s administration, the writing of the history of Taiwan in the children’s literature was reworked, portraying the historical, political, and cultural events and personalities from the Taiwanese-centered perspective infused with Lee’s new Taiwanese consciousness (i.e., Taiwanization) (Huang, 2006; Lee, 1999; Tsai, 2001). Thus, Chinese officials’ (e.g., Li Hong-zhang) indifferent attitude toward the ceding of Taiwan to Japan and their (e.g., Tang Jing-song) fleeing back to the Mainland receive harsh criticism in the narratives published in this era. Taiwan is made a scapegoat of the War. The Nationalist soldiers, once extolled as heroes and liberators, become a group of craven (Kerr, 1987; Manthorpe, 2005) bandits, the source of chaos, and poorly disciplined soldiers (Figure 6.6) (Gate, 1987; Kerr, 1965; Kerr 1987; Zhang, 2003). Assessments of the Japanese colonial administration as both praiseworthy and brutal, which reflects Lee Teng-hui’s “Japanese-ness” political ideology (Lee, 1999/1999), are available in the children’s literature published in Lee’s era. The legitimacy of the Cairo Declaration is re-interpreted as a stratagem to “contain China and ensure that it would continue resisting Japan.” The public reactions toward the Nationalists are described as involving both expectation and suspicion. The indigenous groups are properly
introduced with the wording “the first resident ethnic groups” and with their tribal names (e.g., the Tayal). The Nationalist government’s dreadful massacres in the 228 Incident (Figure 6.12) and the White Terror period, which were once silenced in the Martial Law era, are further uncovered in the narratives. Furthermore, Chiang Kai-shek’s dictatorial measures in ruling Taiwan through the enforcement of martial law and his manipulation of the people’s will for the purpose of consolidating his power also are detailed in the literature published in this period.

Major omitted messages observed in the narratives include: 1) the ideological appellations the compatriots of Taiwan, the Taiwanese compatriots, and the compatriots of mountainous regions that linguistically align the multiethnic people of Taiwan with the Mainland and with the Nationalists, 2) changing perspectives toward, for example, the Late President Lord, anti-Communism, and Sun’s Three Principles of the People, 3) the marginalized groups’ (the Nationalists and the indigenous people) perspectives toward the history of Taiwan. Although more authentic depictions are incorporated into the narratives available in Lee’s era, oversimplified messages and misrepresentations still are visible and primarily related to the depiction of the indigenous groups in the Wushe Incident. The caricatured visual representations (e.g., Figure 4.7) involving the oversimplified illustration of the indigenous costumes and appearances suggest the survival of the mainstream’s perspective in depicting the history of the marginalized groups. The historical descriptor – barbarian villages – introduced in the narratives is carelessly discussed as only the first mention of the term is in quotation marks. The later usage,
repetitively referring to the six indigenous villages involved in the Incident as *barbarian villages*, is taken for granted, presenting the biased terminology as an appropriate and legitimized noun that further perpetuates a stereotypical image of the indigenous groups. In addition, the misrepresented information, the mistakenly used wording “黥面” (*qingmian*), that equates the Seediq’s traditional custom of facial tattooing with the ancient punishment of tattooing criminals (Tien in Ho’s interview, 2005, and in Tsai’s interview, 2011) suggests that the history is taught from an outsider’s perspective that embodies dominant Han-Taiwanese’s assumptions about the indigenous people’s history.

Comparing the history of Taiwan portrayed in Lee’s era to that in the Martial Law era, the narratives published in Lee’s period provide a quite different counter account and assessment of the past. The once marginalized aspects of the history of Taiwan (e.g., the 228 Incident, the White Terror period) become the mainstream “master narrative” (Alridge, 2006). The benevolent image of Chiang once created in the Martial Law era is removed to focus on criticizing his dictatorship and his Nationalist government’s coercive governance of Taiwan. This change in the children’s narrative results in an anti-Nationalist, Taiwanese-centered tradition that is counter to the Chinese-centered paradigm created in the Martial Law era. Through the harsh criticism of the Nationalists and the presentation of the silenced history (e.g., the 228 Incident), the ideological constructions of Chinese identity and of Taiwan as being a part of China promoted in the Nationalist Martial Law era are deconstructed. In the Lee era, a Taiwanese national identity (Tsai, 2001) and the elimination of the influences of the Chinese ideologies are substituted. Mainstream (the Han Taiwanese) viewpoints are incorporated into the narratives, depicting a history of Taiwan that caters to the dominant group but neglects the subordinate groups’ points of view.

*The Chen Shui-bian Era (2001–2008)*
Initiated by Lee’s political and cultural agenda of Taiwanization, the Taiwanese people’s identification with Taiwan is furthered in the narratives published in Chen’s era. Historical, political, and cultural events and personalities discussed in the narratives inherit the anti-Nationalist, Taiwanese-centered tradition to center on: 1) chastising the Nationalist conqueror’s attitude (e.g., Figure 6.17) and the dictatorial, corrupt means in governing Taiwan, 2) presenting the indigenous groups with more accurate, culturally relevant illustrations (e.g., the Seediq traditional costumes and facial tattooing illustrated in Figure 4.11), 3) excavating the forgotten Taiwanese history that was overlooked in the Nationalist Martial Law era (e.g., the White Terror period illustrated in Figure 6.25), and 4) presenting Taiwan an independent state by clarifying the legitimacy of the Cairo Declaration. Similar to the narratives published in Lee’s era, the multiethnic identities of the people of Taiwan are also introduced with updated, proper addresses (e.g., the Seediq, the Taiwanese).

However, although improvements are made in the narratives published in Chen’s period,
the indigenous groups’ perspectives and visual representations are still occasionally oversimplified (Figure 4.12), perpetuating the outsider’s point of view in portraying the history. Furthermore, omission of information related to the indigenous belief (Gaya) and facial tattooing and the demeaning and repetitive uses of the biased term *barbarian villages* observed in Lee’s era remain unchanged in the Chen Shui-bian period.

Comparing to the narratives published in the earlier two phases, specifically to the narratives published in the Martial Law era, the majority of the children’s narratives published in this period no longer provide ambiguous portrayals (e.g., *the compatriots of Taiwan*) in the discussion of the history of Taiwan. Rather, the storylines and visual images are amended to introduce the history of Taiwan from the Taiwanese-centered perspective that embodied Han Taiwanese people’s assumptions and ideologies. Taiwan’s sovereignty is deliberately clarified in Ho’s (2005) *A History of Taiwan in Comics* (Vol. 9): *The Post-World War II Era* (I): *In the Realm of the Strongmen*, supporting the DPP’s policy that treats China and Taiwan as two independent states (DPP, 2010; Wang, 2000). Each ethnic group is introduced with a contemporarily recognized identity (e.g., the Seediq), reflecting Chen’s political ideology of Taiwanese nationalism (Hsiau, 2000; Wang, 2000; Wu, 2002) that recognizes and values individuals’ cultural backgrounds and traditions (Baran, 2005).

*Power Relations*

Between 1945 and 2008, the historical politics of Taiwan went through the dictatorial Nationalist administration in the early post-war era to the more liberalized and indigenized atmosphere of Lee Teng-hui’s post martial law period, and, finally to the Democratic Progressive
Party’s Taiwanization and globalization. I have examined the change from the earliest period when the KMT’s Chinese nationalism was upheld to the later stage in constructing the DPP’s ideology of Taiwanese nationalism (Hsiau, 2000; Wang, 2000; Wu, 2002). Encapsulating each ruling authority’s political and cultural agendas, the publishing of literature for children has clearly been influenced by available contemporary discourses. The shifting of perspectives and ideologies in the children’s narratives is one of the major research findings of the study. This is consistent with Anyon’s (1979), Su’s (1998), Liu and Hung’s (2003), and Ou Lee’s (2007) research that concluded that knowledge presented in texts reveals a selective version of history that legitimizes dominant groups’ prerogatives and provides ideological rationalization for and supports the activities of the powerful groups. At the same time, underrepresented groups’ points of view and their priorities often are misrepresented or omitted altogether.

In relation to Hollindale’s (1992) theory of ideology, the Nationalist political agenda of anti-Communists and returning to the motherland, for example, portrayed in the narratives published in the Martial Law era contribute to the first level of ideology that the author intentionally introduced to audiences. Hollindale’s notion of second level of ideology – an author’s unexamined assumption – is exemplified when the narrative state, “Compatriots of Taiwan and compatriots of other provinces (in mainland China) are all the descendants of the Yellow Emperor. We are all bound by a common destiny.” In the sentence, the multiethnic people of Taiwan and the multiethnic Mainlanders are presented as a homogenous population. The pronoun we suggests a common, collective identity shared by “the descendants of the Yellow Emperor.” In the third level of ideology, referring to the words, sentence structures, and languages used in writing, Ho’s (2005) A History of Taiwan in Comics, published as a bilingual series, corresponds to the contemporary ruling authority’s political and cultural agenda of
globalization as English is perceived to be a global language in the twenty-first century. The embeddedness of ideology in language points to the existence of social power as it legitimizes word meanings and language usages (Stephens, 1992).

The changes in perspectives and ideologies in the depiction of the history of Taiwan suggest a power-and-knowledge nexus that reflects contemporary powerful groups’ control in the domain of children’s narratives. That is, dominant groups’ ideological leadership surpasses that of the subordinate groups to create a new formulation of the ideological terrain (Femia, 1987; Forgacs, 1988; Gramsci, 1988; Mouffe, 1979; Williams, 1989), where powerful groups’ assumptions and beliefs prevail and are perpetuated as legitimized knowledge in society. Those aspects of Taiwanese history that are selected or omitted create justifications for contemporary social conditions (Williams, 1989). One of the salient examples observed from the narratives published in the Martial Law era is the silenced portrayal of the Nationalist massacres in the 228 Incident and the White Terror period, when the political and cultural activities (e.g., publishing) were closely monitored by the KMT. By eliminating negative images and accounts of misconduct by the Nationalists, Chiang’s dictatorial regime was justified through the selected narrative depiction presenting Chiang as a successful leader and the social condition as tranquil and steady. By displaying a limited history of Taiwan and by enlisting the people of Taiwan into Nationalist patriots, this ideological construction disguised the true condition of the society in the Martial Law era as the omissions helped cover up conflicts or contradictions (Belsey, 2002). This interconnection between legitimate knowledge and politics (power) sustains Taxel’s (1980) and Overstreet’s (1994) research of children’s and adolescent fiction in that contemporary socioeconomic and political forces influence and shape the content of the literature.

As different groups move in and out of positions of dominance over the course of history,
Different groups are correspondingly marginalized. Thus, the composition of the marginalized groups has shifted from the Han Taiwanese and the indigenous people in the Martial Law era to the Han Chinese and the indigenous population in Lee’s and Chen’s eras. Regardless of whether the KMT or the DPP held the political power of Taiwan, the multiethnic indigenous people of Taiwan have always been marginalized in society. Their involvement in the history of Taiwan is usually minimalized, and discussion of their participation either was shallow or omitted their points of view altogether. In the case of the depictions of the Wushe Incident, the act of imposing the outsider’s viewpoint on the traditional customs and cultural practices and stigmatizing “the first resident ethnic group of Taiwan” with facial tattoos as convicts exemplified the way dominant groups’ assumptions and misinterpretation interfere with and distort the intrinsic meaning of the indigenous tradition.

Applying Kincheloe and Steinberg’s (1997) principle of critical multiculturalism, dominant groups’ exercise of power in the ideological construction of the history of Taiwan creates a hegemonic outcome that help the powerful groups to circulate their privileges and power. By means of both selectively including and excluding different words, concepts, and assumptions in writing and illustrating the history of Taiwan, those with political power are able to shape people’s thinking and behavior (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Viewed this way, there exists a power relation in which powerful groups are able to define their history as officially approved history (Taxel, 1989a). The theory of selective tradition suggests that privileged groups utilize their power in civil society to create and maintain their hegemony, saturating cultural activities like children’s historical narratives that are consumed by those dominated (Bates, 1975; Gramsci, 1988). That is, by presenting different versions of the history of Taiwan with different emphases that serve particular aims, contemporary ruling groups succeed in delivering their
selective outlooks to the dominated populations for the purpose of upholding their leading position in society.

The results of my analysis also echo Anyon’s (1979) analysis of American History textbooks in that both the American textbooks and the Taiwanese children’s literature are politically, culturally, and historically constituted sites where dominant groups’ ideologies are created and perpetuated. Those ideologies justify and legitimize the activities of powerful groups in the political and cultural domains. Furthermore, my findings parallel those of Su’s (1998), Liu and Hung’s (2003), and Ou Lee’s (2007) in that before the lifting of martial law, the idea of Taiwan as a homogenous Chinese-state and Nationalist discourse and ideologies were reinforced in the school curricula, the Social Studies and the Nationalist Language (Chinese) textbooks, and in the literature for children. Toward the end of the twentieth century, these Nationalist-centered perspectives and ideologies were de-emphasized and eliminated in the Chen Shui-bian Democratic Progressive Party era.

The transformation of the writing of the national history of Taiwan evidenced in the research data from the pro-Chinese trend in the Nationalist Martial Law era to the Taiwanese-centered tradition in Lee’s and Chen’s periods corresponds to Heylen’s (2001) and Morier-Genoud’s (2010) analyses of Taiwanese historiography. They argue that ideological and political forces influence and constrain the contents of these traditions. The China-center approach observed in the narratives published in the Martial Law era features the orthodox version of Chinese history in which local Taiwanese ethnicity, culture, and tradition are either distanced or silenced (Chang, 1993; Morier-Genoud, 2010; Wang, 2002; Weng, Hsueh, Liu, & Sheng, 1992). After the 1980s, the China-centered historiography faded and was replaced with the Taiwan-centered paradigm that counters the Nationalist Chinese historiography and challenges the
selective, distorted interpretation of the history of Taiwan (Chang, 1993; Taylor, 2005). The
Taiwanization of the depictions of the history of Taiwan in the children’s narratives reveals that
books published in Lee’s and Chen’s periods sustain Hsiau’s (2005) analysis of the
contemporary Taiwanese historiography showing the pattern of de-Sinocization and
Taiwanization in the writing of historical narratives. This Taiwanized historical tradition reflects
the dominant groups’ ideology in creating the history of Taiwan as indigenous (Hsiau, 2005).

Limitations of the Research and Implications for Future Research

My analysis of the history of Taiwan depicted in the 38 Taiwanese children’s books
looked specifically at the six most frequently discussed historical, cultural, and political
events/incidents and personalities generated from the constant comparative strategy. The
boundary, the number of the major events/incidents and personalities, was set to make the
research data manageable and to help me focus on the most frequently discussed aspects of the
history of Taiwan and to examine particular assumptions and ideologies embedded in the
literature for children. Under the overarching theme of the history of Taiwan, the examination of
other topics (e.g., the Silai Temple Incident, the establishment of the Taiwan Culture Association)
from the same set of research data or beyond the research timeline, which are not included in my
study, could yield insights into how other aspects of the history are discussed in the literature and
whether or not they resemble the pattern I identified from my research. Since the ruling power of
Taiwan has been held by the KMT since 2009, it would also be worthwhile to examine
Taiwanese children’s literature published after 2008 and analyze whether the contemporary
dominant authority’s political and cultural agenda and ideologies influenced selections,
exclusions, and the way the history of Taiwan is illustrated in the literature for children.

Another limitation of this study is the presentation of narratives that summarize the books
in my sample translated into story form that included concrete details and language depicted in the 38 books. When the actions of summarizing and translating took place, I deconstructed the Mandarin structure and used my own language and words to re-interpret and translate the original texts into English (Spivak, 1974; Derrida, 1967). As I have noted in Chapter 4, it is difficult to translate from one language to another without losing aspects of meaning and structure of the original language. I am aware that the actions of translating and of writing summaries might raise questions of validity as doing so might increase the possibility of distorting the meaning and structures presented in the original Chinese texts. However, I would argue that my translations are reasonably accurate, and the presentation of summaries is helpful in: 1) avoiding citing and translating pieces of partial messages from the research data that a non-Mandarin speaking reader would not be able to comprehend, 2) preserving the continuity of the flow of the narratives and discarding unnecessary messages that are not relevant to the topics, and 3) presenting a concentrated, reader-friendly version of the history that was summarized from multiple copies of the data with occasional footnoting to indicate differences observed from the narratives. Sometimes, original Chinese phrases and wording were included in the summarized narratives to support English translations that may read awkwardly to English speakers as I tried to preserve as many linguistic features of the original texts as possible in the summarized English narratives.

The research I have undertaken is a constant comparative analysis that focused on how the history of Taiwan was portrayed in the children’s literature published from 1945 to 2008. I approached the texts from the critical stance of sociology of school knowledge to constantly compare within the research data and to compare the narratives with historians’ research and with outer forces (i.e., socioeconomic and political circumstances). In addition, I looked for
specific perspectives, assumptions, and ideologies embedded in the narratives. I acknowledge that my interpretation of the research data may not be similar to the interpretations of Taiwanese children, who are the intended readers of the children’s literature. With the adoption of relational analysis, which requires consideration of socio-cultural and political activities and their effects on how meanings are created and interpreted, future research could: 1) focus on who purchases these books and how these books are used in schools or at home and by whom, and 2) involve child readers to study how they respond to the narratives I examined and to explore whether those identified assumptions and ideologies embedded in the research data influence how children interpret and comprehend the literature. At the same time, studying how culture and social, moral, and political beliefs promoted within the culture have shaped and influenced children’s understanding and interpretation of the history of Taiwan would also be important to study as culture has always played an important part in shaping people’s conceptions of society and their roles in it. Furthermore, studying the relations between worldviews and ideologies found in the children’s narratives that I examined and those found elsewhere in the culture could also yield insights into how power, specifically political power, affects the creation of specific knowledge available in society.

From the results of my study, I assumed that ideological perspectives and powerful groups influence children’s narratives that present selected aspects of the history of Taiwan. Another possible topic for future research would be to look into the issue of how exactly this happens. In other words, how do we explain the changing of ruling ideologies in relation to the changing of perspectives embedded in the children’s narratives? Foner’s (2010) critique of the Texas Board of Education’s involvement in curriculum development and Arons’ (1989) discussion of the influences of textbook committees and censorship point to the power-holders’
intervention in the contents of both curricula and textbooks. Thus, how ideas, particularly with regard to the selected aspects and interpretations of the history of Taiwan, make their way into texts also is worthy of scrutiny.

My study is important because it is a part of an ongoing tradition of research that no longer assumes that textbooks, trade books, and other curriculum materials are neutral or value-free. Instead, as my study has demonstrated, even the simplest retelling of Taiwanese history is value-laden, with selections full of inclusions and exclusions that have definite ideological interests embedded in them and reflect dominant groups’ interests. As educators at all levels come to understand this, they will be better able to develop critically oriented approaches to teaching and learning that will foster the growth and development of the citizens needed in a democratic society.
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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

BOOKS PUBLISHED IN DIFFERENT EDITIONS
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<td>Lin, Heng-Tao (Ed.) (1975) Yang, Chen-Yi</td>
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<td>台灣歷史故事 (4): 外力衝擊的時代 (1840 ~ 1895) [Historical stories of Taiwan (Vol. 4): The era of foreign incursions (1840–1895)]</td>
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BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING CHEN SHUI-BIAN’S DPP ERA (2001–2008)
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<td>2.7</td>
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<td>Illustrated by Yang, Chen-Yi (1975). In <em>Historical Picture of Taiwan: Taiwan Restoration</em> (Vol. 4), p. 28.</td>
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<td>6.2</td>
<td>Illustrated by Li, Ling-Chieh (1980). In <em>The National Revolution and the History of Taiwan</em>, cover page.</td>
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<td>6.3</td>
<td>Illustrated by Yang, Chen-Yi (1975). In <em>Historical Picture of Taiwan: Taiwan Restoration</em> (Vol. 4), p. 44.</td>
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<td>6.5</td>
<td>Illustrated by Yang, Chen-Yi (1975). In <em>Historical Picture of Taiwan: Taiwan Restoration</em> (Vol. 4), cover page.</td>
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<td>6.20</td>
<td>Illustrated by Hsu, He-Chieh, &amp; Lo, Ting-Cho (2002). In <em>The History of Taiwan</em>, p. 112.</td>
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