

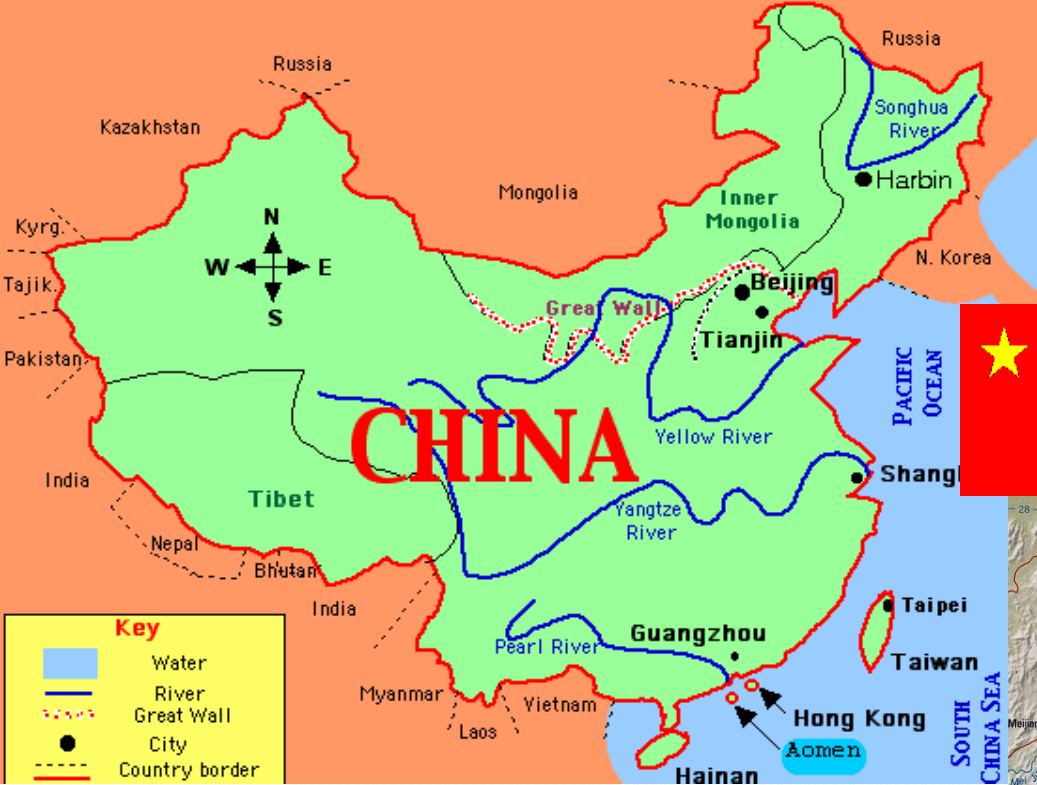
National Identity

Represented in High School History Textbooks

in Taiwan and Mainland China

Lin Lin

Hsueh-Chun (Grace) Chang



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Research Questions

- How is national identity represented in history textbooks in Taiwan and Mainland China?
- What are young people expected or likely to acquire as a sense of national identity?

National Identity

- Two dimensions:
 - 1) Characteristics of the individual members of the group
 - 2) Characteristics of the group itself

Taiwan

Individual Characteristics

Homogeneity (language, culture, ethnicity)

Natives of the province (benshengren)

Province outsiders (waishengren)

Group Characteristics

common history and fate until the 1970s

1970s

- Sino-US Diplomatic Relationship
- Taiwan's eviction from UN
- Balance of power between US, Mainland China, and Taiwan
- Mainland China's "One China" policies – cutting ties with Taiwan

Three Solutions

- Independent and Sovereign Taiwan
- Republic of China
- Status quo

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

- Robertson (2007, p.3)
 - CDA sets out to capture the dynamic relationship between discourse and society, between the micro-politics of everyday life and the macro-political landscapes of ideological forces and power relations, capital exchange and material, historical conditions.

Historical Context

- The Republic of China (1911-1936)
- Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)
- Chinese Civil War (1946-1949)
- Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)
- Martial Law Period in Taiwan (1949-1987)

Similarities

(1895-1945)

Both texts say that Taiwan was under Japanese rule from 1895 to 1945.

Both texts explain that Japan invaded China in 1931 and killed a lot of people.

Differences (Taiwan)

“Although the Japanese colonial government did not treat Taiwanese fairly, its rule enhanced the social, economic, and cultural developments of Taiwan.”

Differences (Mainland China)

- *“...in the 50 years under the Japanese rule, the Taiwanese never ceased to fight for their return to the motherland.”*
- *October 25, 1945, Taiwan was liberated.*

The word “liberated” suggests that mainland China’s stance over the issue of Japanese ruling over Taiwan.

1946-1949

Similarities

- Both texts describe that KMT was defeated by CPC during Chinese Civil War.

Differences

- *After Japanese surrender, CPC practiced land reforms and class war; as a result, CPC gained the support from poor farmers. However, KMT encountered the plight of political corruption and financial difficulties. In 1949, CPC troops defeated KMT, and then KMT government retreated to Taipei. (Taiwan)*
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- *“After Taiwan was liberated, Chinese people dreamed of peace and democracy. However, the KMT led by Chiang Kai-shek planned to start a civil war to destroy the CPC and became a dictator. April, 1949, Nanjing, the capital of KMT government of China was liberated. KMT government was overthrown.” (Mainland China)*

1949-1976

Similarities and Differences

- Both texts described that the Cultural Revolution (1966- 1976) destroyed the cultural traditions.
- *“To gain political power, Mao Zedong started the cultural revolution in 1966. Especially students were taught to destroy traditional Chinese culture.” (Taiwan)*
- *“Mao Zedong supported the Gang of Four and their evil plan to usurp the power in the government. Mainland China experienced the most chaotic social havoc since 1949. The National People’s Congress, the political system, was totally destroyed.” (Mainland China)*

1976-Present

Similarities and Differences

- Both texts illustrate primary sources to explain how KMT and CPC leaders besmirch each other by calling “gangsters”.
- Taiwan textbook described, “
 - *In 1989, the student protests at Tiananmen Square were violently arrested and slaughtered by military troops. This impedes the development of democracy.*”
- The Mainland Chinese textbook does not mention anything about what happened in 1989 at Tiananmen Square.

Stance and Omission

Taiwan

- Omission of the establishment of an anti-Japan People's Coalition
- “Retreat” to Taiwan
- Neutral stance to present the communist and nationalist party
- Lift of the Martial Law (1987)
Reinterpretation of historical events

Mainland China

- One sided-view of the nationalist party
- “Escape” to Taiwan
- Omission of human rights issues and other controversial issues
- 1989 Tiananmen Square Student Protest



▲圖 11-14 鄧小平

放，搞好經濟，手段則可以不過分堅持。在這個「黑貓白貓，能抓老鼠，便是好貓」的信念下，中共表面上雖掛著社會主義的旗幟，但實際上卻慢慢地走向市場經濟和私有財產制的資本主義路線。外資大量湧入，上海漸漸恢復了往昔華洋雜處、商旅雲集的盛況。各地也出現了「集資熱」、「開發區熱」、「房地產熱」。快速擴張的對外貿易和經濟成長率，使中國大陸被認為是全世界經濟最具發展潛力的地區。

在逐步採行資本主義模式，發展經濟的同時，中共卻不放鬆在政治、思想上對人民的控制，因而引發了學生、工人和知識份子的抗爭。

1978年冬天，知識階層開始大鳴大放，要求政治改革。北京西單地區的「民主牆」上貼滿了大字報，各種要求人權、啓蒙和民主的地下刊物如雨後春筍般出現。第二年春天，要求在農業、工業、科技、國防之外，實行「第五



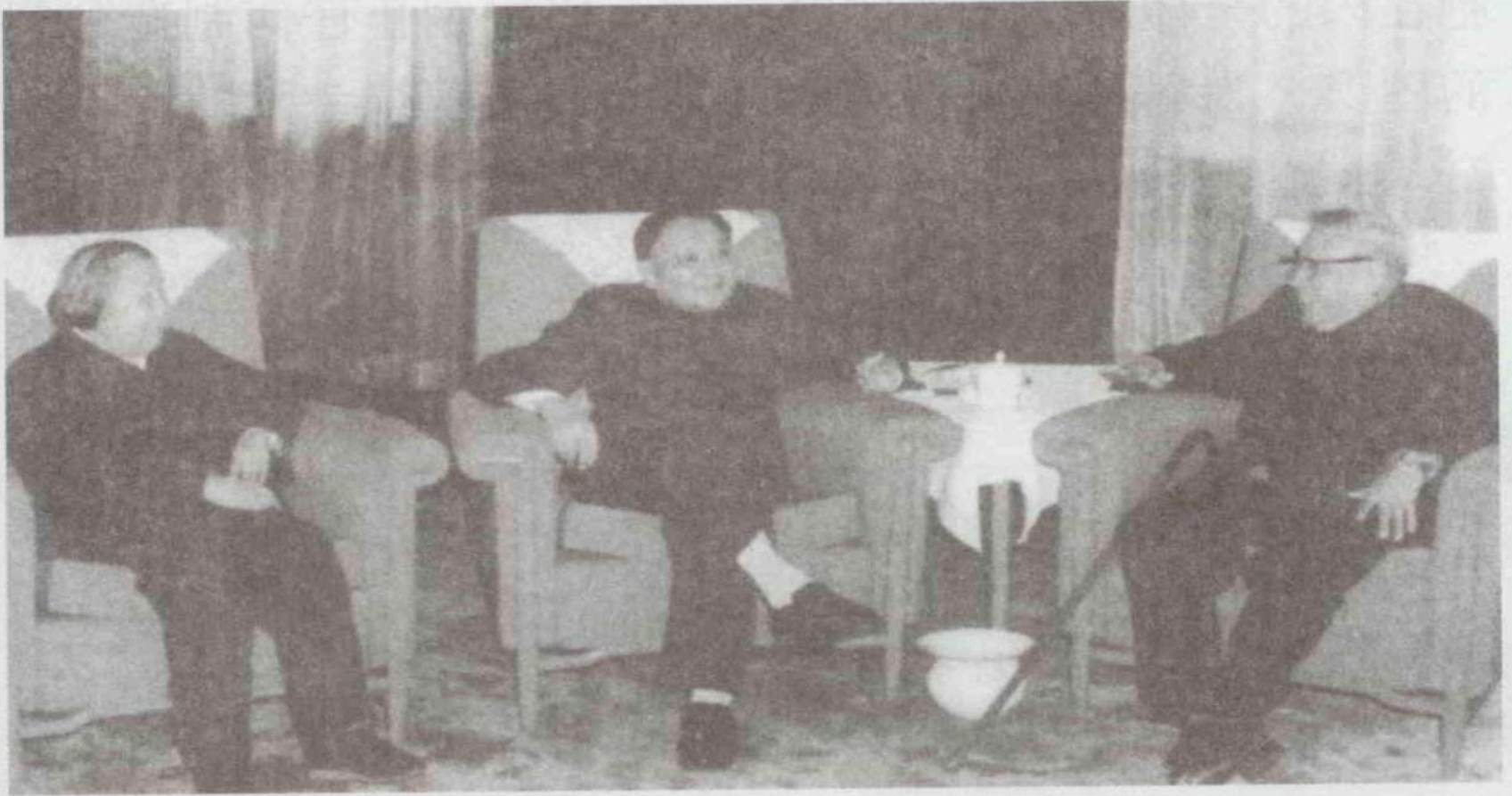
▲圖 11-15 1919年五月四日的天安門廣場

個現代化」——政治民主化——的魏京生遭到逮捕，並被判重刑。被稱為「北京之春」的民主化運動遭到頓挫。

但中國的知識份子和工人、民眾一直沒有放棄對民主制度的追求。1989年5月，又開始有學生和異議人士在天安門廣場上集結，要求政府進行改革，推動民主，賦予人民應有的參政權。時光好像回到民國八年的五四運動，天安門廣場又一次成為人們追求民主改革的象徵。這個持續進行的民主化運動，吸引了愈來愈多的北京民眾和全國人民的關注。近百萬人自動自發地湧向天安門廣場，再一次向統治者展示了人民的力量。但不幸的是，以鄧小平和李鵬為首的統治集團，爲了維繫政權，從各軍區調派軍隊，並出動大批坦克，對廣場上的學生、民眾進行鎮壓、屠殺，引爆了舉世震驚的「六四天安門事件」。至少有五百人死亡，知名的學運領袖王丹等人紛紛下獄。中國人的民主夢想，再度受到無情的打擊。



▲圖 11-16 1989年六月四日前夕，天安門廣場又再迴盪著青年學子為國家改革理想的呼號。



▲ 1983年4月，邓小平（中）和邓颖超（左）、廖承志（右）共商祖国统一大计

Deng Xiaoping, Deng Yingchao, and Liao Chengzhi
having a formal exchange on the status of Taiwan.
(1983)



“汪辜会谈”

Wang-Gu Negotiation (1993)

CIES, Charleston, SC, March 2009



持一个中国
在新加坡举
岸经济、科
步。
展两岸关系、
原则，是实现
进行”；“努力
向、干扰两岸
”；“双方领导
统一进程的指

一步利用台湾
，不断鼓吹两
峡两岸关系良
面开展了声势

下，经过海峡两
经济、文化等领
面初步形成。

1979年以后，台湾同胞来祖国大陆探亲的人数明显增多。1987年底台湾当局放宽居民赴大陆探亲的限制，当年就有3万名台湾同胞来大陆探亲。1992年以后，每年来祖国大陆的台湾同胞超过百万人次。截止到2001年底，台胞来大陆投资、文化交流、旅游、探亲的累计已达2400万人次，赴台探亲和从事文化活动的大陆居民也有60万人次。台湾同胞来祖国大陆投资的企业达5万多家。海峡两岸经香港转口的贸易额，1979年为0.77亿美元，1992年至1995年达到560多亿美元。截止到2001年底，两岸间接贸易额达到2300亿美元。近年来两岸通邮、通航也取得进展，福州、厦门与高雄之间



一位台湾同胞回祖国大陆探亲的情景



2001年，台北举行海峡两岸长跑活动，支持北京申办奥运会

实现了海上货运试点直航，金门、马祖与福建沿海地区实现了货物与人员直接往来。目前，双方已开通电话、电报、传真、移动通信等业务。台湾同胞激动地说：昔日“盈盈一水间，脉脉不得语”，如今“轻轻一拨号，频频传佳音”。



1991年，海峡两岸青年同登长城



一位台湾同胞回祖国
大陆探亲的情景

A Taiwanese compatriot returned to mainland China, motherland to visit relatives after several decades.



1991年，海峡两岸青年同登长城

The youth groups from Taiwan and mainland China climbed the Great Wall hand-in-hand. (1991)



The city of Taipei, Taiwan hosted a long-distance race to support Beijing's bid to organize the 2008 Olympic Games. (2001)

CIES, Charleston, SC, March 2009

National Identity

- Taiwan textbooks avoid talking about the issue of national identity.
- Capitalism / Democracy
- Emphasis on Taiwan's experience in terms of its democratic, economic, and religious developments
- Taiwan and mainland China moving in opposite directions
- Mainland China's textbooks highlight reunification as the ultimate goals
- Socialist with Chinese Characteristics
- One China policy
- Economic developments and integration across the Taiwan Straits will lead to reunification

National Identity (continued)

- Individualism
- Embracing local and traditional values
- Emphasizing the identification of Taiwan as a political community
- Collectivism
- Centering its essence around nationalism
- Emphasizing national interests over individual rights.

Further Research

- How do young people define national identity?
- Is their perceived version of national identity the same with the national identity represented in the history textbook?
- Will young people in Taiwan define themselves first as Chinese or Taiwanese? Or both?
- Will the increasing economic and cultural integration lead to a congenial political culture at the both sides of the Taiwan Straits?