



RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM

Taiwan Research Unit
Sektion Geschichte und Philosophie Chinas



Workshop

Taiwan: Refuge, Province, Colony, or What?

8/9 July 2011

Venue: GB 1/143 (Konferenzraum OAW)

Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Fakultät für Ostasienwissenschaften
Gebäude GB
Universitätsstr. 150
44780 Bochum, Germany

The Workshop is financially supported by the
Cultural Division of the Taipei Representative Office in Berlin

Outline and Format

The workshop **Taiwan: Refuge, Province, Colony, or What?** is co-organized by the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, the Department of Chinese History and Philosophy, and the Research Unit on Taiwanese Culture and Literature, Faculty of East Asian Studies of Ruhr University Bochum. It is dedicated to the history of migration, colonization and decolonization in Taiwan between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Next to the pre-colonial era and the periods of Dutch and Spanish colonization, the focus lies on Japanese rule between 1895 and 1945, and the processes of Chinese migration between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries and after 1945.

The workshop will be set out in the format “researchers meet students” that has been successfully practiced by the Faculty of East Asian Studies in the past years. Individual experts are invited to discuss the state of the field and the relevant sources, and to outline their own approaches and results to the participating undergraduate and graduate students. The most promising students will present papers on the history of Taiwanese colonization and migration. Moreover, faculty staff members will give papers on related research topics. The experts and the senior researchers are asked to comment and advice on the students’ papers.

The invited experts are Professor Tsukahara Tōgō (Kōbe), Professor Liu I Ling (Kaohsiung), and Dr. Nadin Heé (Berlin).

Program

FRIDAY, 8 JULY

9:30-9:50 Welcome addresses

Professor Shen Cen-chu, Director of the Cultural Division of the Taipei Representative Office in the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin

Henning Klöter, Head of Department of Chinese Language and Literature and Director of the Research Unit on Taiwanese Culture and Literature, Ruhr-Universität Bochum

9:50-11:20 Panel 1/Chair: Christine Moll-Murata

Nadin Heé, *Colonial history reconsidered. Civilizing mission, scientific colonialism and violence in Taiwan under Japanese rule*

Liu I Ling, *Labour in colonial Taiwan: Statistics and reality, 1895-1945*

Tsukahara Togo, *Japanese colonial sciences in and around Taihoku Imperial University*

11:20-11:45 Break

11:45-12:45: Panel 2/Chair: Rüdiger Breuer

Henning Klöter, *Language planning and literacy practices in Taiwan history*

Julia Schulz, *Language planning and assimilation policies in colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945*

12:45-14:30 Break

FRIDAY, 8 JULY (cont.)

14:30-16:30 Panel 3/Chair: Henning Klöter

Lena Wesemann, *The prehistory of Taiwan*

Barbara Treude, *Dutch colonial rule in Taiwan: The institution of landdag and its impact on native power structures*

Christine Moll-Murata, *Population and labour in Taiwan, seventeenth to nineteenth centuries*

Nina Holzschneider, *The Taiwan expedition of 1874: Action and imagination between state and empire building*

16:30-17:00 Discussion

SATURDAY, JULY 9

9:30-10:30 Panel 4/Chair: Felix Siegmund

Rüdiger Breuer, *Pro-Japanese propaganda texts from the Fu Ssu-nien collection*

Christin Wehrmann, *Decolonization as reflected in Hou Hsiao-hsien's City of Sadness*

10:30-10:50 Tea and coffee break

10:50-12:20 Panel 5/Chair: Christine Moll-Murata

Jan Peter Schmidt, *New spaces, new possibilities, new problems: World War One as a catalyst for a diversification of voices on the future of Japanese colonial rule over Taiwan*

Andreas Müller-Lee, *Korea as a point of reference for Taiwanese colonial experiences*

Robert Pauls, *The origins of bourgeois democracy and nationalism – KMT rule and the historical conditions of Taiwan's transition to democracy*

12:20-13:00: Final discussion

The workshop is financially supported by the Cultural Division of the Taipei Representative Office in Berlin.

Conference assistants: Michael Czernik and Lena Wesemann

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 Tsukahara, L.
 Wesemann, N.
 Holzschneider, C.
 Chen, J.P.
 Schmidt,
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 So, J. Schulz, A.
 Kusel, B. Treude,
 P. Li-Marx, T.
 Knaudt, R. Pauls,
 H. Klöter, Liu I
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Shen Cen-chu, H.
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Liu I Ling, C. Moll-
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L. Wesemann,
 N. Heé

N. Heé, T.
 Tsukahara

Speakers and Chairs

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Abstracts

Nadin Heé

“Colonial history reconsidered. Civilizing mission, scientific colonialism and violence in Taiwan under Japanese rule”

The talk will re-examine three strings of scholarship on colonial Taiwan within the broader field of Empire studies or the field of colonial history. The examination is based on some empirical findings of a study on the mutual entanglement of the rule of scientific colonialism and certain forms of physical violence in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule. It is thus intended to stimulate new historiographical discussions regarding colonial rule.

The first task is to think about how we could contribute to new discussions in the field of the history of colonialism and science studies from a theoretical and methodological point of view. Secondly, the question discussed is how to add new, not Eurocentric perspectives to the field by using the example of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. And thirdly it will elaborate how we can develop a new narrative of modern Taiwanese and Japanese (Imperial) history while considering Japanese colonialism within a new framework namely the global context and transnational relationships.

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I Ling Liu

“Labour in colonial Taiwan: Statistics and reality, 1895-1945”

This paper examines labour in Taiwan from 1895 to 1945 based on census and investigation reports. The first Taiwan census was taken by the Japanese colonial government in 1905, fifteen years earlier than the first census in Japan proper. In total, there are seven censuses between 1895 and 1945. Five of them included investigations on labour conditions. Besides, there are some investigation reports and a survey about agricultural households and industrial labour from 1920 to early the 1940s. These are, for example, *Nōgyō kihon chōsa sho* 農業基本調査書 (Report of the Basic Agricultural Survey), *Rōdō gijutsu tōkei chōsa kekkahyō* 労働技術統計調査結果表 (The Results of the Survey of Labor Skills), *Rōmu dōtai chōsa kekka hōkoku* 労務動態調査結果報告 (The Report of the Investigation on the Labour Movement), *Taiwan no nōgyō rōdō ni kansuru chōsa* 台湾ノ農業労働ニ関スル調査 (Investigation of Taiwan's Agricultural Labour), *Taiwan shōkō tōkei* 台湾商工統計 (Taiwan Commercial and Industrial Statistics).

How the census taking was organized? There were two important institutions: the Taiwan statistical association (Taiwan tōkei kyōkai 台湾統計協会) and the *baojia* system (保甲制度). Because of these two institutions, the first census in Taiwan could be taken efficiently.

Besides, many additional reports were written for the 1905 and 1915 censuses, such as *Rinji Taiwan kokō chōsa kijutsu hōbun* 臨時台灣戶口調查記述報文 (Report on the Procedures of the Provisional Household Census of Taiwan), *Rinji Taiwan kokō chōsa shokumei ji'i* 臨時台灣戶口調查職業名字彙 (Collection of Occupational Titles from the 1905 Provisional Household Census of Taiwan), *Rinji Taiwan kokō chōsa sho hōki mondō roku* 臨時台灣戶口調查諸法規問答錄 (Questions and Answers concerning the Procedures of the Provisional Household Census of Taiwan). They yield very detailed information about the preparatory work for the data collection, and which kinds of problems occurred during the process of census taking.

From those sources some features of colonial Taiwan between 1895 and 1945 can be defined as follows: First, the number of women in “subordinated occupations” that occur in the 1905 and 1915 censuses is related to the old Chinese custom of foot-binding. It appeared no longer after the 1930 census. The second feature is seen in the pattern of the “secondary occupations” both in agriculture and commerce. This is the most characteristic trait of labour in colonial Taiwan. The third feature to be found in the 1930 census is that industrial labour in Taiwan increased. Accordingly, new occupations can be observed in the census reports.

Compared with Japan, the limitations of the discussions hitherto about “principal occupations” and “subordinated occupations” and the importance of the “secondary occupations” are pointed out. These two features above became clear as a result of analyzing the census of Taiwan that had been done in advance of Japan.

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Togo Tsukahara

“Japanese colonial sciences in and around Taihoku Imperial University”

In this presentation, I will discuss the history of colonization in Taiwan, especially in the twentieth century. My focus lies on Japanese rule between 1895 and 1945, and science(s), technology and medicine utilized by the Japanese colonial rule will be analysed.

Science and technology are instruments of colonial rule, from the viewpoint of the research framework, “Science and Empires”¹. Medicine in the colonial setting is also seen as “a tool of Empire”.² In order to demonstrate some characteristics of the Japanese approach to techno-scientific colonialism, I will look at a history of Taihoku (Taipeh) Imperial University, established in 1928.³ Together with Keijo (Seoul) Imperial University, established in 1824, those are rare research/educational institutions in colonies, uncomparable to anything like that by the other Western colonies.⁴

I will illustrate how academic science has contributed to Japanese strategic effort, with a case study of meteorology/climatology at Taihoku Imperial University. I will outline Japanese colonial sciences carried out there.⁵

¹ Science and Empire is a research framework. See Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (1981), etc.

² Especially, such concept as hygienic modernity is proposed. See Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (2007).

³ In the historiography of science and technology, there is a discrepancy between so-called internalism and externalism. In order to overcome such conflict, it was Shigeru Nakayama who worked on the history of Universities, as the site of interface between techno-science and society.

⁴ So far as I know, there were no such “colonial university” of full scale by other Western powers, (except a few Jesuit colleges and Christian institutions), neither any other universities of “Imperial”. Only a few exception are those in the Dutch East Indies, on which there was Bandung TH, as a brother institution of Deft TH. Although their level of research and education is that of university, this is not ranked as a university but TH.

⁵ M. Zaiki and T. Tsukahara, “Meteorology on the Southern Frontier of Japan’s Empire: Ogasawara Kazuo at Taihoku Imperial University”, in *East Asian Science, Technology and Society*, vol.1. no.2, pp. 183-203.

Henning Klöter

“Language planning and literacy practices in Taiwan history”

This paper will provide an overview of the languages introduced by different colonial regimes and governments in Taiwan’s history. I will first briefly introduce the status of languages under Dutch and Spanish colonial governments in the 17th century and the spread of Mandarin (*guanhua*) during the Qing dynasty. I will then argue that systematic language planning in a modern sociolinguistic sense was not implemented until the 20th century, with the formulation of language laws and the establishment of a system of public education by the Japanese colonial government. The focus will be on the following research questions:

- What is the relation between political rule and language spread in TW history?
- What is the relation between political rule and language planning in TW history?
- How can we specify the dimensions of language planning in TW history?

My specification of different dimensions of language planning will be based on the notion of ‘practices of literacy’ (Errington 2008), which will be distinguished from systematic language planning as analyzed in Cooper (1989) and Spolsky (2009).

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Julia Schulz

“Language planning and assimilation policies in colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945”

When Taiwan became Japan’s first colony in 1895, it did not yet know the important cultural changes to come. Through policies of assimilation (*dōka*) and imperialization (*kōminka*) since the late 1910s, Japan aimed at transforming its colonial subjects into loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor. The colonial rulers soon realized the importance of language not only as means of communication, but also as an identity-shaping factor. The present study tries to answer the question of how successful the Japanese assimilation of Taiwan was from the perspective of language policies. Japan’s linguistic assimilation policies focused largely on education. Although a universal school system was established for both boys and girls, education remained not only unequal in terms of ethnicity but also failed to reach the majority of Taiwanese children until the implementation of compulsory schooling in 1943. Official Japanese statistics claim that more than half of the Taiwanese were proficient in the Japanese language towards the end of their colonial rule over the island. The government nevertheless found it necessary to further constrain the use of any Chinese language.

To fully evaluate the success of colonial assimilation, we will have to turn towards the Taiwanese reactions. After two decades of armed resistance, literary and linguistic movements became an important part of anti-colonial opposition. The early *New Literature Movement* of the 1920s lead by Zhang Wojun was still strongly affected by Chinese literary

movements; especially the *New Literature* and *May Fourth Movement*. But besides formal aspects of this new literature, language became an important issue to a younger generation of writers. Though most participants of those literary debates opted for using the vernacular, they could not agree on the language in general. In addition to Chinese, Taiwanese (or Hoklo) and Japanese were named options. Proponents of Taiwanese as a literary medium even put great energy into the development of a new system of writing, whereas other writers published their works in Japanese.

Looking back at fifty years of colonial rule in Taiwan there still seems to be no easy answer to the question whether Japanese policies were successful in assimilating its colonial subjects. When it comes to language, we find movements to promote Chinese or Taiwanese literature besides publications in Japanese, and a high percentage of Japanese speaking subjects besides the obvious habit of using Taiwanese in private situations. The Japanese language seemed after all a means of social and literary success, whereas Taiwanese still remained an important factor of identity.

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Lena Wesemann

“The prehistory of Taiwan”

My presentation will deal with the Prehistory of Taiwan with special emphasis on Taiwan's earliest settlement. I will introduce the topic by briefly discussing the history of archaeological research, which can be subdivided chronologically by means of different phases of colonization and decolonization.

Then I will give a brief overview of the various prehistoric eras – Pleistocene, Paleolithic, Neolithic and Metal Age. The initial phase of immigration to Taiwan coincides with the end of the Pleistocene, but there is another stage of immigration to Taiwan: the second phase of immigration falls into the Neolithic period and is archaeologically, linguistically, genetically and geologically examined. There are several theories about the issue, from which areas the Neolithic settlers emigrated to Taiwan. The scientific community vehemently discusses the question of whether immigration from the Chinese mainland is more likely, or from the direction of the islands of Southeast Asia (ISEA). On the whole, it seems quite plausible that immigration has taken place from different directions.

After having introduced some of these archaeological, linguistic and genetic theories, I will conclude with a brief description of each one of Taiwan's Paleolithic (Changbin – 長濱文化), Neolithic (Beinan – 卑南文化) and Metal-Age cultures (Shisanhang – 十三行文化).

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Barbara Treude

“Dutch colonial rule in Taiwan: The institution of *landdag* and its impact on native power structures”

During the Dutch presence on Taiwan, the Dutch East India Company established the institution of the so-called *landdag*, an annual meeting of village elders with Company officials. At these meetings, village elders were made to renew their subjugation to Dutch rule. They were also given limited power to implement Company's policies in their respective villages. The term *landdag* suggests – especially to speakers of German – a democratic connotation, or at least political participation of a larger part of the population. In my presentation I aim to discuss to what extent this first suggestion might or might not hold true. This question is especially interesting against the background of the rapid process of democratization on Taiwan in recent years, which stands out among other East Asian nations.

I will first give a broad overview of native society with consideration to their system of governing. This will be followed by a more detailed analysis of the *landdag*. It will be done

with respect to several aspects, of which Dutch motives and the *landdag*'s function within the colonial administration will play a major role. I will also explain in how far the Dutch (and Chinese) presence in general, and the institutionalization of the *landdag* in particular have altered native power structures. I will conclude with the attempt to bring these aspects into line with the argument of the rise of a proto-democratic process.

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Christine Moll-Murata

“Population and labour in Taiwan, seventeenth to nineteenth centuries”

This paper explores the size of the population of Taiwan from the period of Dutch and Spanish colonization until 1905, when the first colonial census was taken, and gives an estimate of the labour conditions and labour relations. This is part of the research program of the Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500-2000 based at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, which aims at describing labour relations worldwide for five cross-section years (1500, 1650, 1800, 1900, and 2000) in order to come to an assessment of global shifts, especially in the rise of commodified, waged labour.

This author is responsible for collecting and estimating labour relations of China and Japan, a task that she has first undertaken in a top-down approach, collecting demographic data taken by central administrations. Since the elements of uncertainty are large, it is necessary to take the opposite direction as well. This means aggregating data from smaller samples, for which more fine-grained population data are available. Taiwan proved as a good sample of more manageable size, with information from the Dutch and the Japanese colonial regimes as well as Chinese census figures. Especially the Japanese data allow for estimates on the nineteenth and even the eighteenth century with respect to some of the parameters of interest for the database project of the Global Collaboratory, especially questions of ethnicity, gender and age groups.

The earlier period of the sixteenth and seventeenth century pose greater problems, since the data were not collected as systematically as in the Japanese census initiative. As far as labour relations are concerned, two main questions need to be addressed: first, to which extent did the indigenous people in the partly hunter-gatherer and partly agricultural and horticultural villages, which were basically living in self-subsistence, also engage in trade, and thus in commodified labour? Likewise, were the Chinese settlers mainly working for self-subsistence, or were their agricultural products, such as sugar and rice, mainly sold on the market?

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Nina Holzschneider

“The Taiwan expedition of 1874: Action and imagination between state and empire building”

In 1871 a ship with sixty-nine people from Miyako-jima, an island belonging to the Ryūkyū Kingdom, shipwrecked at the southwestern shore of Taiwan. Among the surviving sixty-six men fifty-four were killed by the Botan tribe of the Taiwan indigenous people. The issue was solved between China and its vassal Ryūkyū but when Japanese officials learned about this incident while staying in Beijing for the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1871, this caused a debate not only between China and Japan, but also within the developing Japanese nation state.

One reason for the dispute was the unresolved question of to whom Ryûkyû belonged, since it had tributary relationships with both countries. Another reason were the Japanese plans to send a punitive expedition to Taiwan, to prosecute the responsible tribesmen and at the same time to establish some kind of Japanese territory in Taiwan. This plan was favoured by some Meiji politicians who opted for a more aggressive foreign policy while, at the same time, facing the task to reform the country and to define their policy on a national and international level. The Japanese plans for an expedition to Taiwan not only brought the situation between China and Japan to the edge of war, it was also a reason of concern for foreign powers, such as the United States and Great Britain.

When in 1873 a ship with Japanese sailors shipwrecked in Taiwan and was attacked, Japan reacted in 1874 by sending a punitive expedition to Taiwan. This expedition was the first time Japan acted like an imperial power and experimented in implementing an imperial policy of intervention.

In my presentation I intend to show that imperial thinking in Japan, which was to affect entire East Asia, came to rise much earlier than it was actually executed. In the course of the nineteenth century these ideas were deeply influenced by international politics and relations. They were neither stable nor growing solely from within Japan. These early imperial tendencies were directed simultaneously at several countries. The Japanese Taiwan expedition of 1874 is a good case study for the Japanese show-off on the new international stage of power.

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Rüdiger Breuer

“Pro-Japanese propaganda texts from the Fu Ssu-nien collection”

The Fu Ssu-nien Library (Fu Sinian Tushuguan 傅斯年圖書館), situated in the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica in Taipei (Taibei Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo 臺北中央研究院歷史語言研究所), holds the world’s most extensive single collection of manuscripts and imprints of Chinese performative and performance-related texts (*quben* 曲本). The 10,304 volumes of this collection, comprising ca. 20,000 texts in total and spanning the mid- and Late Qing through Republican eras (18th century through 1940s), come from 14 Chinese provinces and include drama, songs, vaudeville, riddles and

jokes, among many other genres. Having been scanned electronically in the 1990s, this treasure trove of texts has been successively published over the last few years in a 500-volume anthology under the title *SUWENXUE CONGKAN*.

For my talk, I have selected a small number of performance texts from the oral-performative storytelling (*shuochang wenxue* 說唱文學) section that deal with contemporary political issues and historic events from Late Qing or Republican periods, in particular such that were composed and published in Taiwan in the 1930s under Japanese auspices.

It is obvious that the Japanese authorities tried to make use of this once so popular art form as a tool for communicating with their colonized subjects and inculcating them according to their own nationalist agenda. These texts are relics attesting to education efforts that went beyond the classroom and tried to reach wider circles of society, including the older generations. I will address various issues connected to these texts, including their purpose and intentions as well as their purported audiences in a first attempt to shed light on yet another section of “popular culture” which – unlike film, newspapers, “serious” literature or political campaigns in general – has so far largely gone unnoticed.

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Christin Wehrmann

“Decolonization as reflected in Hou Hsiao-hsien’s *A City of Sadness*”

Hou Hsiao-hsien's *A City of Sadness* encompasses the troubled years between the end of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1945 and the official takeover by the Nationalist Party of Chiang Kai-shek in 1949. Hou follows, then subverts, the genre of the 'family saga'. The subject of my presentation will be how the Taiwanese people, who had been strongly influenced by the Japanese culture and sometimes formed friendships with the Japanese people, cope with the political changes. My focus will lie on the first half of the movie, because in *A City of Sadness* the impact that the Japanese culture had on the Taiwanese people, is most prominent before the 2/28 incident. After that, I will take a short look on how

Hou Hsiao-hsien deals with historic events in the movie and why he chooses to not show them directly on-screen. The main part will attempt to answer two questions: firstly, where different aspects of decolonization - military, economic, political, intellectual/academic, cultural - can be found in *A City of Sadness* – if they are alluded to at all; and secondly, how the shift in attitudes towards decolonization is depicted on the verbal and non-verbal level. Political topics are confined to private conversations, which reappear throughout the movie. It is in these discussions that the shift in attitudes from hope and optimism towards discontent and anger and the lack of a clear national identity become most obvious. Following World War II, Taiwan was 'returned' to China, but did the sudden decolonization - a result of the repatriation of the Japanese people - automatically imply that all traces of Japanese culture vanished from the island?

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Jan Schmidt

“New Spaces, new Possibilities, new Problems – World War One as a catalyst for a diversification of voices on the future of Japanese colonial rule over Taiwan”

The First World War caused far-reaching changes in East Asia. For the Japanese Empire it brought unprecedented economic growth, which in turn impacted greatly on the colonies.

From 1914 to 1919 Japan's power in China and in the Pacific area as a whole increased dramatically. For the Japanese colonies of Korea and Taiwan this led to large-scale investment from the mainland, to a wave of industrialization and to massively increased trade, first and foremost within the Empire and with mainland China. At the end of the war the Empire started to face fundamental changes: in the international order with the advent of the League of Nations and the idea of the right of self-determination and, in the wake of the former, with the emergence of anti-Japanese Nationalism in China and Korea. But rather than dealing with an empirical study of the foreign policy issues or socio-economic changes which this era might have brought, this presentation will be more concerned with the accompanying discursive changes in the Japanese Empire. Using primary sources by the Japanese Government General of Taiwan of the years 1916 to 1919 and a travel account on Taiwan by a member of Japanese house of representatives from 1918 calling for changes in colonial rule, it will be argued that economic growth and the change in the international order as well as strong nationalism in China led to diverse concepts regarding Taiwan's future at the end of the First World War. In 1919 and 1920 many of those concepts collapsed when they collided with the harsh reality of economic depression and anti-Japanese Nationalism in China. But

still, an analysis of these concepts can give new insights into the diverse Japanese “horizon of expectation“ (Reinhart Koselleck) regarding Taiwan on the verge of a decade of more civilian colonial rule in the 1920s.

Regarding the field of Empire studies and the history of colonialism, this presentation will also try to argue in favor of the capacity of actors within and voices from the colonies to influence the colonial center, putting emphasis on the upsurge of the colonial elites during World War One. On a larger scale, this might be discussed not only for the Empire of Japan but also for the British and French Empires and, to a certain extent, for the – formal and informal – Empire of the US.

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Andreas Mueller-Lee

“Korea as Point of Reference for Taiwanese Colonial Experience”

Korea and Taiwan are obviously interesting to compare with in a number of fields, and both ‘entities’ have been studied vis-à-vis even in colonial studies due to the decades of colonial experience they shared and also for their similar cultural settings and the comparable political,

economical, and educational features they developed after 1945. However, there are also a number of limitations for comparative approaches due to Taiwan's status within the Chinese Empire and its 'occupation' or use as refuge by the Chinese Nationalists. Korea, on the other hand, already was on the way to become a nation before it was colonized and developed national features even (or explicitly) under colonial circumstances. Furthermore, Korea was 'only' divided and had not to negotiate contradicting claims like to represent China with having or developing a distinct Taiwanese identity. It seems thus appropriate to introduce Korea rather as a point of reference than as an object Taiwan could be compared with.

Following a short discussion of structural conditions for colonial experience in comparison and some information about the visibility of colonialism and colonial experience in contemporary Korea, this contribution will give an overview of necessary historical data and features of Korean colonial experience and will argue for a broader agency-oriented approach instead of the dichotomic national and (the seemingly more reliable) individual approaches in colonial history. The focus here will be on religious 'actors' as the Chōndoist (chin. *tiandao*, the 'heavenly way') and Protestant communities and their roles during the March First Movement of 1919 and beyond. Both communities, and especially the Chōndoists with their centralized and party-like organization, were not only religious providers of manpower or infrastructure necessary for a nationwide uprising, but also developed considerable economical and political characteristics and clearly went beyond what one would regard as religion or religious community. This contribution thus shares the criticism regarding national approaches but also demands that these problematizations should not only lead to an individualization of colonial experience.

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Robert Pauls

"The origins of bourgeois democracy and nationalism – KMT rule and the historical conditions of Taiwan's transition to democracy"

The purpose of this talk is to analyze the preconditions and outcomes of Taiwan's democratization process from a Postcolonial studies perspective. As Robert Young formulates,

the Postcolonial research agenda is, amongst other things, concerned with the extent that colonial history determines the configurations and power structures of postcolonial societies, how bourgeois nationalism is at the same time a unifying, emancipatory and divisive force, and how decolonization leads nations and peoples to be embedded into different forms of economic and political domination (Young 2001: 4, 57-61). What follows is an attempt to interpret Taiwan's path to democratization under the guiding light of these questions.

After their flight to Taiwan and the 228 massacre, and with Taiwan firmly embedded into the US's cold war-order, the *Guomindang*, over a period of almost four decades, faced virtually no opposition to its socioeconomic policies that would transform the island from an agrarian society to one of the most advanced capitalist economies in Asia. This transition, however, was by no means a smooth and steady process of 'modernization'. Rather, time and again, the *Guomindang*-state's socioeconomic policies were implemented as a reaction to crises in its development model, to the emergence of new social forces, and under the conditions of factional power struggles.

As a result, by the nineteen-eighties, Taiwan's society had developed a complex, but diffuse set of class divisions that were cut across by other, more visible forms of group-based or 'ethnic' belongings, namely the division between 'mainlanders' and those living on the island before the advent of the *Guomindang*. The dominance of 'ethnic' social divisions over class divisions coupled with the *Guomindang*'s attempts to repress all forms of mass-based popular opposition, led Taiwanese Nationalism to be the political strategy of choice for an emerging political opposition to unify its class-divided clientele in favor of a reformist, negotiated transition to bourgeois democracy in Taiwan.

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