

98 年全球化的臺灣文史藝術中程綱要計畫

—國際交流計畫

【國外台灣文史藝術研究生或研究團隊短期來台研究】

【尋找臺灣戰後初期文化形貌

Exploring the Cultural Faces of Taiwan
1945-1960】

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一、計畫名稱

尋找臺灣戰後初期文化形貌 Exploring the Cultural Faces of Taiwan 1945-1960

二、計畫目標

「尋找臺灣戰後初期文化形貌 (Exploring the Cultural Faces of Taiwan 1945-1960)」計畫案，其實是延續了去年獲教育部贊助之「擘畫台灣：戰後臺灣的遺忘與記憶 (Mapping Taiwan: Forgotten History and Selected Memories in Post-war Taiwan)」研究計畫之精神，由倫敦大學亞非學院台灣研究中心所主持統整的計畫案。結合了英國不同學術領域、來自不同學術單位的研究學者，針對各自專精的學術專業與研究興趣，一項共同推動的跨校際研究計畫案。今年邀請來臺的四位成員分別來自不同的文史背景，將以臺灣戰後初期為研究焦點，深入探索二次大戰結束後的臺灣文化藝術與歷史面向，研究主題重點在於追溯台灣戰後初期經常被忽略或遺忘了的文化與歷史面向。

這次的研究案仍是由倫敦大學亞非學院所主持推動，並廣邀英國各大學曾從事台灣研究的學者參與此次研究案。因此，除了於倫敦大學亞非學院台灣研究中心專門從事台灣文化史研究的張必瑜博士外，更邀集了在英國學界對台灣文史研究有興趣的學者，包括於劍橋大學一向對台灣文學研究不遺餘力的林嫻吟博士、對日本以及海峽兩岸均有深入涉獵的東亞專家 Barak Kushner 博士、以及任教於雪菲爾大學，對東亞文化史有精深研究的戴杰銘 (Jeremy Taylor) 博士。

由於四位學者的背景不同，這四位學者將分別從歷史、文學研究、電影研究以及文化地理學等不同角度，共同探索建構臺灣戰後初期的文化面貌。林嫻吟博士將針對臺灣的本土作家著作，尋找他們在二次戰後初期如何在作品中處理認同議題，並思考探索其作品與時代間的對話與省思，重點尤其是放在女性作家的作品上。顧若鵬 (Barak Kushner) 博士將針對戰後初期所謂的「台灣人」、「日本人」、與「中國人」，以及「忠誠」與「漢奸」間的界定作追索；張必瑜博士將在新領地／舊河山、新家／老家的對照中，找尋「三民主義模範省」理念下所規劃出的烏托邦市鎮，以及其所建構出的空間感以及現代性；戴杰銘 (Jeremy Taylor) 博士則透過戰後初期廈語片電影的放映與巡演紀錄，追溯戰後初期臺海兩岸的電影文化交流，甚至其在東南亞地區的流傳與影響。

在戰後初期的臺灣，被刻意遺忘、或經過國家機器篩選強化建構的，都是我們關懷的主題。這四個不同層面、不同學術領域的研究計畫，所希望達成的，便是以較全面性的學術檢驗來思考這段時期的台灣面貌，尤其企圖形繪出經常被遺忘忽略的戰後初期臺灣文化複雜而多元的文史面貌。有關以上四位學者不同的專業背景及每位學者來臺期間的研究計畫與目的，請情請參照「附錄一：研究團隊成員簡介及研究計畫」。

倫敦大學亞非學院台灣研究中心之所以每年邀請不同學術單位的學者合作，就是希望致力於臺灣研究的學者得以從各自不同的學術領域裡，相互切磋學習，並汲取更豐富的

資源與學術刺激。同時，也希望透過「擘畫台灣」研究計畫能持續 2008 年的成果，發展為一個較長程的計畫，廣泛吸收更多的學術面向，進一步將觸角伸展到不同的歐洲學術單位裡，引入更多的台灣研究新血。因此，本次邀請來臺的英國研究團隊，除了四位學者各自就專業領域的研究重點進行資訊收集與研究外，同時於九月七日至九月十一日之間，與臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所合作「尋找五〇年代文化形貌」工作坊，不但與臺大校內、所內的同仁與學生進行學術交流，本研究團隊更將在工作坊執行完畢後，循例在倫敦大學亞非學院安排成果報告與演講，以讓此次來臺研究成果得以廣為傳播，進一步促進臺灣研究的英國與臺灣雙向交流。

三、執行情形

本研究團隊四位成員陸續在八月初抵達臺灣，並於九月中下旬離臺返回英國。在來臺的一至兩個月期間，四位成員依各自研究主題及方向在臺灣展開了相關資料收集與相關人員訪談等工作，針對許多在英國收集不易的臺灣歷史文化資料進行系統性的搜尋與彙整，對於四位成員正在進行的臺灣相關研究助益甚大。另外，在來臺期間，四位成員並與臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所合作「尋找五〇年代文化形貌」，與臺灣師生進行學術及研究方法的交流，拓展了臺灣研究的視野與可能性；同時亦有團隊中三名成員（包括張必瑜、顧若鵬及林姍吟博士）參與了九月十日及十一日、由臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所主辦的「交界與游移——近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產」國際研討會，發表有〈「家」與「國」的地理想像：臺灣戰後初期小學教育中的空間建構（1945-67）〉、〈日本戰犯的審判：中日關係歷史的觀察〉、〈文明的磋商：1930 年代臺灣長篇通俗小說——以徐坤泉、林焜輝和吳漫沙之作品為例〉等三篇論文，進一步促進英國的臺灣研究與國內外各地學者的學術交流，在相似及相異的研究領域中帶來新的火花與激盪。因此，本次計畫執行期間，研究團隊不僅完善各自研究領域所需之相關資源與資訊，並且在期間積極參與臺灣本地臺灣研究相關之學術活動，與本地研究人員之間有長足的互動，增益彼此的研究深度與廣度。以下就各研究成員在臺期間的資料收集與學術文章發表等相關工作做簡要述明。

（一）張必瑜博士：「家鄉建構：五〇年代國府反攻復國政策下的三民主義模範新市鎮 —— 中興新村」

承繼以往對台灣文化建構的關懷，張必瑜博士近年來針對空間感與土地認同間的關係進行研究，並發現身份認同之形成與空間感的建構密不可分。因此這次的研究主題將以專案方式進行，專注於國府一九五〇年代中期因防空疏遷之必要而興建的「中興新村」，這項省會興建計畫是國府遷台後第一個新市鎮建設，亦為國府建構「三民主義模範省」之藍圖，她將以此研究檢視國府遷台後的現代化走向，並依此評估國府五〇年代在「反共復國」國策之下的台灣建設。

來臺期間，張必瑜博士便以「三民主義模範省」理念規範下的烏托邦城鎮——南投中

興新村為主要研究目標，以及其空間感與現代性。在資料調查收集過程中，張必瑜博士主要是從兩方面下手，一是文獻調查，一是田野訪談，希望這些資料足以兩相印證。在來臺期間張必瑜博士發現了大量有關中興新村的資料，她將至目前為止所有找到的資料文獻作了一個初步的整理，歸納出這些資料所啟發的幾個面向的研究可能：

- (1) 在 1955 年，中央正式決定省政府疏遷。有許多研究討論當時的政策如何形成，以及實際的疏遷過程如何進行。除了國史館台灣文獻館有上千張的公文電子檔，張必瑜博士來臺期間更發現另一個極有歷史價值的文獻：台灣文獻館於 1998 年曾經大規模的作過一次耆老的回憶記錄座談，共計有一百多名參與疏遷的老省府員工參加。可惜的是，當張必瑜博士據此座談紀錄與這些耆老聯絡、欲進行訪談時，許多人已經不在了。
- (2) 在 1950 年代，「省府疏遷」之所以被再三再四提出來，主要考量點在於防空問題。因此要討論「省府疏遷」的議題時，同時亦需討論研究國府 1950 年代整體的防空政策。
- (3) 中興新村規畫時期，一再強調其所借重的是英國花園城市 (garden city) 之概念，花園城市的概念又如何反映在其實際的都市規畫上？
- (4) 中興新村建村以來的生活經驗中，包括的不只是省府員工的工作經驗，更加上了他們的家庭生活，以及第二、第三代在此成長的經驗。
- (5) 省府與中央之間的角力、權力關係、以及勢力的消長。
- (6) 1997 年精省後，省級政府被廢除，昔日的省政府所在地中興新村現下定位不明，該如何進行「都市更新」成為近十年來的熱門議題。目前為止張必瑜博士查到大致有 15 項委託各大學、基金會所作的更新計畫；同時還有一些從村民口中所得知的一些曾有的稍縱即逝的更新想法，如「草藥園區」等。但這種種各類計畫宣布後經常過兩年又翻了案，多半胎死腹中，村民也見怪不怪。「中興新村未來如何發展」這項議題，隨馬政府的「愛台十二項建設」再度浮上檯面，因為這個議題在廢省後遲遲未能定位，因為省的存立就代表著國家對台灣是省還是國的一種象徵性的表態與宣示。

就以上幾個層面，張必瑜博士在來臺期間利用國家圖書館、國立臺灣大學圖書館、國家檔案局、國史館台灣文獻館等地資源，已找到許多相關資料。另外，張必瑜博士也親至中興新村，進行個人訪談，可惜因為老陳凋謝，只找到了大約十位參與遷移省府工作的老人以及他們仍住在村內的子女，這些訪談對象許多已重病在身。張必瑜博士的訪談目的主要是集中於 50 年代疏遷時期的經驗與地方感，亦即想得知當地住民既是省府員工（或其眷屬）、又同時身為中興新村村民的雙重身份，他們的經驗與感受如何。當然，不可否認的，這幾個不同面向自是環環相扣、息息相關。

來臺期間，張必瑜博士並於「交界與游移：近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產」國際研討會中發表「『家』與『國』的地理想像：臺灣戰後初期小學教育中的空間建構(1945-67)」論文，以文化地理學的角度檢視戰後初期小學教科書中如何再現「家國」，以傳遞大中國的想像，對於臺灣五〇年代教育體系中呈現「中國」及「懷鄉」情節有深入探討，引起在

場許多學者與長者共同的迴響，也讓年輕一輩的學生得以目睹臺灣戰後「再中國化」的重要章節如何寫就。

(二) 戴杰銘 (Jeremy Taylor) 博士：「廈門與臺灣之間的文化關係 1945-1949」
(Cultural relations between Xiamen (Amoy) and Taiwan, 1945-1949)

戴杰銘 (Jeremy Taylor) 博士試圖透過廈語片史料的重新建構，追溯閩南語在海峽兩岸以及星馬等地所形成的文化圈以及影響。這個研究不但將補充了他最近正在書寫中、有關閩南語電影的學術著作內容，更是開發了目前在了解中國／台灣電影歷史中極少人碰觸的一個環節。

在來臺期間，戴杰銘博士至檔案管理局、國史館、國家電影資料館、新聞局、國民黨黨史會、中央圖書館等地搜集到許多相關的有用資料。戴杰銘博士在檔案管理局獲取了與臺灣各地區電影財政的相關資訊，其中有許多是他在英國時無法取得的重要資料。在國史館則取得了與當時電影放映政策相關的資訊，其中還包括許多計畫的照片材料，對了解當時的放映情形很有幫助。在國家電影資料館，不僅得到許多電影史的相關材料，更有機會真正觀看許多難以取得的當時的影片。在新聞局戴杰銘博士則找到有關當時香港資金贊助廈語片市場的相關資料，並在國民黨黨史會找到當時的廈語片明星進行勞軍活動的材料。運用中央圖書館不同分館的資源，戴杰銘博士則找到許多 1950 年代的相關出版品，使他更能掌握當時的臺灣潮流與脈動。

戴杰銘博士表示，在台期間這些重要資料的獲取，對於完成他的相關研究極有幫助。有了這些材料後，使他得以於十一月十七日於牛津大學聖安東尼學院舉辦的研討會發表「The Hokkien frontline: the Amoy dialect films and China's Cold War」一文；並對他將在 2010 年九月由 Routledge 出版的學術專著 *Rethinking Transnational Chinese Cinemas: the Amoy-dialect Cinema of the 1950s* 助益甚大，他將在此書謝辭中特別提及此次來臺研究期間的發現對此專書的特別貢獻。

(三) 顧若鵬 (Barak Kushner) 博士：「當帝國崩壞：合法解構戰時日本的戰爭犯罪與戰後的國族問題」
When Empire Fails: Legally Deconstructing
Wartime Japanese War Crimes and the post-war question of nationality

顧若鵬 (Barak Kushner) 博士長期以來就對中日戰爭時期的文宣內容作了極精彩的分析。他近年來一直對二次大戰時期的戰犯以及審判作深入研究，尤其是對所謂的「漢奸」身份，這在二次戰後的台灣尤其是個有尖銳敏感話題。他這幾年專注在日本戰犯處理的議題上，這次得到教育部的補助來臺作相關研究，使他得以把研究重點延伸到台灣戰後的戰犯（臺籍日本兵）的相關處理，同時也碰觸到當時（現在依然）極其敏感的「認同」衝突議題。

顧若鵬博士在研究日本戰犯議題多年後，慢慢發現一個很有趣的議題：在二次戰後，1945至1946年期間，國民黨和日本政府為了避免臺籍日本兵被當成一般日本戰犯受審，如何提出一個新的「臺灣人」的法律定義。因此在來臺期間，顧若鵬博士針對國民黨的外交和國防政策進行深入探討，他以國民黨黨部、國史館、外交部檔案館和國防部檔案館為主要地點，收集在英國不易取得的內部政策資料，了解當時國民黨內部對此事的爭議與政策形成過程，以及對外如何聯合美國要求日本將臺籍日本兵引渡回中國受審。

除了資料收集之外，在來臺期間顧若鵬博士還與數位中研院臺灣史研究者進行面晤與訪談，包括了羅久蓉、周婉窈、許雪姬、張隆志等教授學者，使他更深入了解1950年代臺灣整體政治軍事相關背景，以及戰後被監禁於中國的臺灣日本兵，於1970年代被釋放後卻因兩岸的分裂無法重新回到台灣時，國民黨的相關政策回應，這些都啟發了他許多未來的相關研究方向。來臺期間，顧若鵬博士並於「交界與游移：近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產」國際研討會中發表「日本戰犯的審判：中日關係歷史的觀察」論文，就長期關注的日本戰犯案例研究，具體而微地觀察呈現出中日關係複雜歷史的一頁。

(四) 林姍吟博士：「1950和1960年代早期的鄉土書寫」(Native Soil Writing in the 1950s and Early 1960s)

林姍吟博士在歐洲一向致力於台灣文學研究，尤其是對鄉土文學以及女性文學的研究更是專注。她此次訪台的研究重點在於五〇年代的台灣文學環境，除了一些當時活躍的女性作家，例如：林海音、琦君、於梨華、聶華苓等，另外也針對發起日治時代台灣話文論戰的作家黃石輝進行深入探索。

此次來臺，林姍吟博士特別針對「本省籍」作家在五〇年代的「鄉土書寫」作資料收集與研究，以觀察究竟國家文藝政策的反共復國方針如何影響這些並沒有移民經驗的「臺灣」作家，使他們寫出反共懷鄉一類的作品。另外，其近年開始著手於日治時期臺灣通俗小說的相關研究，而日治時期報刊資料在英國不易取得，因此此次在臺灣亦透過國家圖書館、中央圖書館、臺灣大學圖書館等地取得大量小說文本材料，以完備並拓展了其未來對日治通俗小說的探討，也因此她此次來臺大部份的時間都花在閱讀1950年代小說的第一手資料。

在來臺期間，林姍吟博士陸續參與了新加坡國大主辦的「The Cultures of Emergency: Cultural Production in Times of Upheaval, 1937-1957」研討會、臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所主辦之「尋找五〇年代臺灣文化形貌」工作坊及「交界與游移—近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產」，把握在臺灣的時間與東亞本地相關研究者進行學術交流切磋。林姍吟博士特別提到，在參與「尋找臺灣五〇年代文化形貌」工作坊時，臺灣大學臺文所的黃美娥教授曾給予她關於日治時期臺灣通俗小說研究許多有用的意見，和其他相關研究學者交換意見亦給予她莫大的啟發。

林姍吟博士於「交界與游移—近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產」國際學術研討會上發表論文「文明的磋商：1930年代臺灣長篇通俗小說——以徐坤泉、林輝焜作品為例」，

五、執行成果分析與檢討

(一) 執行成果

1. 資料收集與研究

此次四位英國學者團體來臺期間，主要的時間都花在針對各自專精領域的相關資料收集，尤其因這些學者長居英國，有許多關於五〇年代臺灣文學、文化、歷史、政治各方面的材料尋找較為不易，因此來臺期間都儘可能把握時間於資料閱讀、收集及彙整等工作，對其研究甚有完備之助益。而四位學者來臺資料收集的方向與大致情形已如前節所述，此處不在贅言。各學者來臺詳細之參訪情形與地點並可參見「附錄二：研究團隊成員來臺研究心得報告」。

另外，來臺期間團隊成員並前後參與兩項重要的學術活動，達到臺灣與英國學者雙方就臺灣研究的各不同領域進行交流對話，是極為重要的經驗，其成果列舉如下兩點。

2. 「尋找五〇年代臺灣文化形貌」工作坊



2009年9月7日，四位學者參與了由臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所主辦的「尋找五〇年代臺灣文化形貌」工作坊，分享目前進行的研究計畫，同時與臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所的紀一新教授、黃美娥教授、張文薰教授、梅家玲教授一同與談，相互交換臺灣研究的心得與方法。

五〇年代是臺灣近代史上一個重要的轉折，各方面的秩序都在瓦解與重構，是以本工作坊希望透過四位學者各自研究之交流，激盪出更多的學術火花，重塑五〇

年代的文化形貌，為臺灣當前的文化發展尋求定位。會議一開始，先由本次工作坊的主持人黃美娥教授開場，黃教授表示本會乃是教育部補助推動台灣文史藝術國際交流計畫，提供本國與外國學者相互交流之機會，亦求與會學生能從國外的角度來觀照、反思臺灣，擴大其視野。值得一提的是，四位來訪學者的研究面向不盡相同，相信也能夠提供彼此不一樣的觀察角度。

首先，由張必瑜教授分享其研究計畫，張教授表示臺灣在解嚴前後，經歷了巨大的社會文化變動，不禁讓她思考知識分子在這場巨變中所扮演的角色，在新的史觀、價值觀之下，隨之而來的認同焦慮又說明、代表了什麼？由是，張教授期望透過學術研究來解答以上問題。因此張教授目前研究的觀照面乃是國家空間建設與國家認同之形塑間的糾葛，並援引人文地理學，企圖透過地圖再現、疆域變遷來呼應國家認同此一哉問。張教授聚焦曾是中華民國臺灣省政府駐地所在的南投中興新村，認為此一參仿英國倫敦「新市鎮」建立的模範市鎮，仍隱隱透著國府當年亟欲維繫正統中國的微光，正是研究之最佳材料。



而後，由林嫻吟教授分享目前研究計畫。林教授首先爬梳了自己過去的研究領域，由英美文學到臺灣文學，研究時期再由日治時期轉移到七〇年代末至九〇年代。林教授關注臺灣鄉土書寫的質變，以及讀者、評者的接受問題，為此她上溯至五〇年代的臺灣文學，企圖從此開始探討鄉土文學的發展。林教授首先指出目前學者如陳芳明、王德威、張誦聖的研究方法

與理論框架，她也試圖觀照反共文學之外的《文友通訊》作家群，指出《文友》縱然是一群被邊緣的作家群，但各人的際遇並不相同，例如鍾肇政與李榮春二人在文學史上的地位可謂判若雲泥。而其中的鍾理和更可視為地方文學、客家文學之代表，其小說的細節書寫與大歷史之間的參差對照，其實頗值得玩味愛情與國族間的關係。林教授最後表示，其欲追問的是國族書寫的開端與變化，以及鄉土文學的定義，像是外省第二代、馬華、海外華人等作家的書寫究竟算不算「鄉土」？

接下來的戴杰銘教授表示目前的研究對象乃是五〇年代的廈語片電影，並為在場聽眾解釋「廈語片」這個陌生的名詞：即五〇年代以降由滯港的廈門、泉州影人籌資拍攝並以廈語發音的電影。正因廈語與臺語都屬於閩南語系，尚能互通，僅腔調有些差異，是以香港的廈語片，以「臺語片」的名義行



銷至臺灣，頗受歡迎，臺灣也是廈語片最大的市場之一。戴教授此次來臺，正是為了到新聞局蒐羅相關資料。戴教授言廈語片儘管多屬粗製濫造，藝術水準普遍不高，但其與臺灣的淵源頗值得探討，其雖為商業產品，但與國府的關係卻十分密切。廈語片的製作者大多同情國府，也同樣具備反共立場，因此讓戴教授深感興趣的是，這些廈語片的製作者與國府的關係為何？國府官方對其態度又是如何？戴教授最後指出，廈語片製作行銷的跨國複雜性，正可讓研究者連結東南亞與臺灣，從較巨視的角度觀之，並試圖將此時臺島的文化傳播納入冷戰體制中思考。



最後與我們分享研究計畫的是顧若鵬教授。顧教授目前著手的研究計畫是藉日本二次大戰戰犯之審判見中日關係之發展變化。顧教授自承他對於日本戰敗帝國瓦解後取而代之者為誰深感興趣，他也發現 1945 年到 1949 年的歷史出現了許多空白頁，希望透過對日本 B 級與 C 級戰犯的研究來釐清此一時期的歷史樣貌。顧教授指出，此時如何判斷戰犯之所以為戰犯是

一個重要的課題，戰犯是中國人、日本人還是漢奸？成了當時判罪的要點。就此延伸，其研究眼光旁及了中國人如何看待被日本統治過的臺灣人，是否視之為漢奸？最顯著的例子，即是身為中國戰區最高負責人的岡村寧次，他在審判中的境遇可見國府與日本乃至於中共錯綜複雜的權力角力與利害關係。



在四位學人分享完研究計畫後，黃美娥教授一一提出對於以上研究計畫之看法。首先對於張必瑜教授的發言，黃教授表示張教授從自身的認同焦慮而引發研究動機，足以證明學術研究不全是枯燥無味的，也能與「人」產生聯繫，頗為可喜，而張教授透過記者之眼細理空間政治與文化地理、國家認同盤根錯節的問題叢，更是令人佩服。針對林焯吟教授的研究，黃教授也同意主流的理論框架其實很難涵蓋

所有的反共小說，例如姜貴的《旋風》，就某方面來說，也算「鄉土小說」。所謂「鄉土」二字，在臺灣文學史上的語境變化頗具研究價值。至於戴杰銘教授的廈語片研究，黃教授認為這提醒了我們應該反思「方言」距離「本土」有多遠？外來的商業製作竟被當成本土文化產品行銷，這背後其實透露出了文化傳播交流的複雜性。最後黃教授表示，顧若鵬教授的研究主題探討了日本軍國主義崩潰後的社會，以及漢奸的歷史地位，都是饒富興味的研究內容。而後，專長為電影研究的紀一新教授與戴杰銘教授相互交換對於廈語片的認知及其保留不易之因，更為在場人士惡補了對廈語片的相關知識。與會旁聽的楊佳嫻同學則表示，張教授的研究主題中興新村，對照臺灣其他市鎮宛若一烏托邦，可以跟中外的烏托邦語境產生關聯；楊同學也針對顧教授的研究提問，漢奸審判之中是否存有性別差異？顧教授則回應當時確實有婦女因為言行不合於社會而被誣為漢奸，此一問題值得深究。

會議至此也將屆尾聲，身兼臺文所所長的梅教授，最後特地感謝與會學人為我們帶來如此豐富與深具啟發性的內容，相信對於研究者彼此或是學生而言，都深具交流對話意義，適足以驗證學術的多元性與各領域間的跨界媒合，進而一展五〇年代之文化形貌。

（以上會議紀錄由臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所研究生翟翹，其他詳細會議狀況可參見臺文所網頁：<http://www.gitl.ntu.edu.tw/international/asia/project2009-02.html>）

3. 「交界與游移——近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產」國際研討會

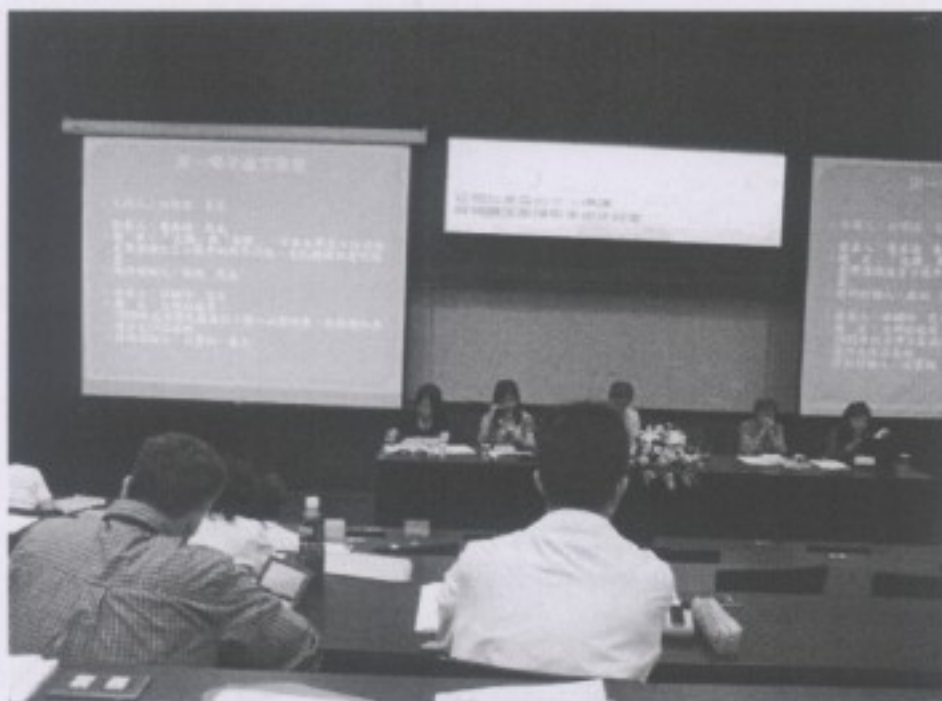


本次訪臺研究的四位成員中，張必瑜、顧若鵬及林嫻吟博士都參與了由臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所主辦、於九月十日至十一日假臺灣大學文學院演講廳舉辦的「交界與游移——近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產」國際研討會。以近現代東亞為研究對象，匯通分明是同一個時期，卻被分別開來的不同研究區塊的「臺灣」、「大陸」、「日韓」、「香港」、「新加坡」等地區之間的跨文化傳譯與流動現象，並邀請香港、新加坡、日本、韓國歐美等地學者，或針對臺灣與大陸，或放眼兩岸與東亞其他地區的互動，就文化傳譯對於知識生產的

介入與影響發表研究成果，洞明文化的界限與不限、分別處與交融處。

張必瑜博士發表〈「家」與「國」的地理想像：臺灣戰後初期小學教育中的空間建構（1945-67）〉，考察戰後臺灣小學地理教育中所塑造的「地方感」是一個大中國的地理想像，是奠基於其國民政府的國家需求、依其政治意義而建構的，在臺灣的地理課本中，臺灣是一個面目模糊，不具意義的地方。

英國劍橋大學東亞系顧若鵬教授發表〈日本戰犯的審判：中日關係歷史的觀察〉，以戰後國民黨與共產黨面對日本所採取的政策與對待日本戰犯的態度為主軸，討論其態度背後形成的複雜過程。



英國劍橋大學東亞系林嫻吟教授發表〈文明的磋商：1930年代臺灣長篇通俗小說—以徐坤泉、林焜輝和吳漫沙之作品為例〉，以徐坤泉（筆名阿Q之弟）和林焜輝兩位作者為例，論述1930年代臺灣文壇的通俗長篇小說作家如何經由他們的作品對現代或文明作出回應。以上三篇論文詳情請參見「附錄三：研究團隊成員來台期間於『交界與游移—近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產』國際學術研討會發表之論文」。

（二）分析與檢討

此次四位訪問學者都提及，臺灣之行提供他們許多寶貴的資料，並在學術意見交換的活動之中獲得許多啟發。但學者們也不約而同反映，一個多月的時間對他們而言有些倉促，許多計畫可能還來不及完全完成，或許日後「短期研究」的時程可以再行延長。觀察此次國外團隊赴臺尋找相關資料的過程，不難發現他們在英國所預設想找的資料，可能與臺灣有的資料有所落差，由於臺灣研究資訊在兩地的不對稱，往往須到了臺灣當地才發現新的重要資料，才開始著手研究，因此兩個月的期限顯得有些左支右絀。如張必瑜博士在

中興新村資料收集期間，發現台灣文獻館於 1998 年曾經大規模的作過一次耆老的回憶記錄座談，她趕緊據此座談紀錄與這些耆老聯絡欲進行訪談時，卻已經有許多人不在。而張必瑜教授也提到，在訪談過程中，她的注意力也常被當地熱心的中興新村第二代文化人所推動的「搶救中興新村」運動吸引，以致有時難免被活躍的運動者與其訴求所拉扯，訪談焦點時常有模糊之虞。凡此種種，皆起因於對臺灣本地研究資源與環境的陌生所致，對外國學人而言，或許需要更長一些的時間，才能更好地適應了解本地資源與訪談者性格，對資料有更好的掌握與運用。

另一方面，在與臺灣本地的臺灣研究專業學者交流方面，雙方擦出的知識火花則足使雙方互相學習、彼此增益。此次臺灣大學臺灣文學研究所在邀請國外團隊訪台同時，也安排團隊與本所進行工作坊與研討會交流，可說是進一步落實臺灣研究的全球化，也使得此次國際交流有更豐富的面向與成果。

六、結論與建議

原則上，來訪的學者在各自的資料收集上都採取「文獻收集」與「訪談」兩種方式，只不過程度不同、重點不同。進行文獻收集的單位則或有重疊，但四人所要訪談的人選也因需要不同而大有差異。而今年的研究團隊最大的特色是，不再只侷限於台灣本土的研究，更將台灣研究與東亞接軌，使得台灣文化研究在歐洲有了較廣泛的訴求，而脫除了早年歐洲台灣研究較狹隘的缺點。

整體而言，本計畫企圖結合文史學科裡各領域的學者，共同針對台灣議題作研究，藉著各領域的探索，試圖擘畫出台灣多元的文史面貌，同時亦希望倫敦大學亞非學院及劍橋大學東亞系等學者在台灣文史研究上的投注，能在歐洲發揮一個促進對台灣文化研究、引發興趣的觸媒與重鎮。

就執行情形與成果來看，在臺灣所收集到的資料與意見，相當程度地完備並深化了四位來訪學者的臺灣研究，也使得其議題顯得更為迷人，隨著此次學者返歐後參與的學術活動、發表的學術論文及專著，對於擴展臺灣研究領域、提高臺灣研究於歐洲的能見度必然有長遠而正面的影響。同時，在接觸這些遠在歐洲卻致力於臺灣研究的學者時，他們不同的切入觀點與研究方法，也為本地臺灣研究注入新的活力與可能性，更開啟未來更多交流的契機。

較為美中不足的，即是短期研究只為期兩個月，期間學者必須重新適應了解臺灣相關學術資源，並往往能取得許多在英國難以察知的資料，都開啟了更多的研究方向與可能性，但在時間的限制下，可能還來不及更深入追蹤下去便須結束於臺灣的行程，殊為可惜。而在臺期間時間若能延長，不僅對於資料收集之完備有長足之效，更能給學者更多時間於臺灣參加各領域、各地方的臺灣研究相關學術活動，真正達到多元而廣泛的學術交流與刺激，或許更能發揮本計畫之效益。

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Journal article

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Other publications

© “Youth, Tobacco, and the Smell of the Rebel: DV8 Special Report

	<p>(青春 菸草 叛逆的氣味: DV8 特別企畫)”, In <i>Performing Arts Review</i> (表演藝術雜誌), No. 147, March 2005. pp.14-19.</p> <p>◎ <i>Sleeves & Rouge: Performance and Life of Wei Hai-ming in Beijing Opera</i> (Shuixiu yu yanzhi Wei Haimin de wutai shengya 水袖與胭脂: 魏海敏的舞臺生涯). Taipei: Shang-chou Culture (商周文化), 1996.</p> <p>Review</p> <p>◎ “Book Review of ‘Transformation! Innovation? Perspectives on Taiwan Culture’”. <i>The China Quarterly</i>, Vol 179, September 2004, pp. 835-837. Cambridge University Press.</p> <p>◎ I have peer-reviewed articles submitted to <i>China Quarterly</i>, and have contributed a book review. In addition, I was on the reviewing panel of the 3rd European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS) conference in 2006.</p>
<p>參與研究 經驗</p>	<p>我的博士論文題目是:「文化認同與文化政策:台灣戰後的文化建構經驗」。我的研究提出了一個基本問題:我們對歷史、對過去的概念、以及對自己的文化歸屬認同,是怎麼形成的?我以國民黨在台灣戰後的文化建構工程為始,綜觀六十年來的台灣文化建構經驗、剖析意識形態的各種形塑手法、分析片面歷史呈現與嚴控教育體系背後的政治意涵與影響力,以及這一甲子的文化歸屬與認同變遷,一路到2000年民進黨執政,台灣人所認知的歷史陳述與文化認同,又再一次地透過教育體系與文化政策的贊助與鼓勵,重新書寫台灣歷史記憶。</p> <p>自2002年博士通過之後,我的研究領域持續在這方面作推展,將研究重心從戰後的文化建構與文化發展史,逐漸轉移到民進黨執政後的台灣文化建構,並對照不同政黨在各自的政治意識型態下所形塑出來的文化政策與認同建構,這不只是涉及到了由上到下的「文化建構」,更探討民間戲曲與現代劇場在政治氛圍變遷後,藝術內涵與政權意識型態的互動與消長。</p> <p>自2005年開始,我的研究方向開始轉變,開始注意到與文化認同密切相關的[土地認同]議題,深為人文地理學能在認同上所提供的豐富面向、其利用傅柯理論的創新與另類思考、及近年來日益吸引文化研究學者投入發展的文化地理學觀點而深深吸引。雖然領域似乎大改,其實核心的關懷並未改變,我對於從上而下的文化認同建構存著質疑的態度,希望從空間感建構的角度,探勘土地與認同的關係,以及國家機器在空間感建構上的角色。</p>

我於 2006 年以研究計畫 “Mapping Taiwan: Cartography, Identity and Power” (台灣地圖：製圖學、認同與權力) 取得蔣經國基金會兩年的博士後研究計畫獎助,目前正在為此計畫的成果寫書.

同時,去年由我整合組構的三人小組,獲得教育部補助推動臺灣文史藝術國際交流計畫之贊助,受益良多,得以針對台灣戰後三十年的[地圖空白]作深入探索.我們在政大已作過演講交流,而在倫敦方面,我們也將於十一月間作成果講座.

這次新的研究主題 - 中興新村,其實是延續我這些年來的關懷,對於認同建構的國家書寫有極大的興趣,是因為我在尋求地圖表現的同時,也觸及了國家機器在空間建構上如何落實地在空間規畫上有所著力與建構,我不但計畫對中興新村的政治背景、空間規畫作整合,更希望能從認同建構的觀點切入,檢驗五〇年代國府對台灣建設的[三民主義模範省]的樣板藍圖,並對照國府在三〇年代建設南京[樣板首都].

詳細的研究計畫 請見以下附件(中英文計畫各一份).

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Education

1996 – 2002	City University, London	PhD
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1993 – 1994	City University, London	MA
	(Arts Criticism, Department of Arts Policy & Management)	
1978 – 1982	National Chengchi University 國立政治大學	BA
	(Department of Journalism)	

Employment & Affiliation

Current Employment

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London

倫敦大學亞非學院

Research Associate (Centre of Taiwan Studies); Lecturer in Politics Department and Taiwan Studies Programme (Sep. 2004 –)

Previous Employment

National Taiwan University of Arts (NTUA) 國立台灣藝術大學

Assistant Professor (Graduate School of Cultural Policy and Management)

文化政策與藝術管理研究所 博士班課程 [文化政策與批判] (September 2006 -- Jan. 2007)

London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London

倫敦大學政經學院 亞洲研究中心

Research Fellow (Asia Research Centre) (Nov. 2003 – Feb. 2006)

Canterbury Christ Church University

Lecturer on the BA Film, Radio, and Television Studies Programme (2004 – 2005)

United Daily News (聯合報), Taiwan

Senior Editor (主編) of the daily news feature section *Huanyu* 寰宇 (Nov. 1994 – Mar. 1996)

Editor (編輯), in charge of *Culture* 文化, *Women* 婦女, and *Xiangqing* 鄉情 sections (Jan. 1991 – Sep. 1993)

Reporter (記者) covering news on the arts, theatre, cultural policy, education, and cultural heritage (June 1988 - Jan 1991)

Publication

Please see details in the application form

Recent Conference Papers & Presentation

◎ *Flatscape -- The Concept of 'Home' and 'Country' in Taiwan's Primary Education (1945-1967)* (December 3 2008, SOAS Centre of Taiwan Studies Seminar, University of London)

◎ 戰後台灣的空間教育與認同 (June 26 2008, National Chengchi University, Taiwan)

◎ “*How has the enemy been depicted in Taiwan's post-war media?*” (31st May 2008, “Asian Past in Taiwan's Media -- How the East Asia media debates the Asian Past in the Present” conference, University of Cambridge)

◎ *Imaging Shenzhou: The Imagery of 'Home' and 'Country' in Primary Geography Education in Early Post-war Taiwan* (18th -20th April 2008, 5th European Association of Taiwan Studies conference, Prague, Czech Republic)

◎ *The Nationalisation of Nature and the Naturalisation of Nationalism: Yushan, Modern*

Myth and Taiwanese Identity, (18th -19th January 2008, Taiwan Studies Symposium -- ‘Culture and the State– Identity, Culture and Power in Taiwan’, SOAS, University of London)
(Organiser)

© *Cultural Policy and Xiqu in the 1950s Taiwan* 五〇年代文化政策與戲曲 (21st September 2007, National Taiwan University, Taipei) (Chinese)

© *The 1950s and Taiwanese Xiqu* 一九五〇年代與戲曲 (17th October 2007, National Taiwan University of Arts, Taipei) (Chinese)

© *Landscaping Cultural Identity: Yushan, Modern Myth and Taiwanese Identity* (13th - 15th September 2007, Text -Landscape – Identity: An Inter-disciplinary Conference for Scholars in the Arts and Humanities, University of Exeter, Cornwall Campus, Penryn)

© *Imagined Geography: The Spatial Construction in Post-war Taiwan (1945 ~ 1980)* (20th – 21st April 2007, 4th European Association of Taiwan Studies conference, Stockholm, Sweden)

© *Tradition and Identity: The Nationalisation of Xiqu* (30th August – 3rd September, XVI Biennial Conference of the European Association for Chinese Studies , at Ljubljana, Slovenia)

© *The Nationalisation of Nature: Yushan, Modern Myth and Taiwanese Identity* (30th March 2006, 3rd European Association of Taiwan Studies, Paris)

© *Heritage and Identity: The Nationalisation of Traditional Opera in Taiwan* (28th March 2006, 16th Annual ASEN Conference: “Nations and their Pasts: Representing the Past, Building the Future”, London School of Economics and Political Science, London)

© *The Death of Chinese Authenticity: The Changing Definition of Guoju and its Relationship with Taiwanese Identity* (3rd June 2005, 11th North American Taiwan Studies Association conference, Boulder, Colorado, US)

© *Reclaiming Cultural Ownership – Indigenous Xiqu and the Construction of Taiwanese Identity* (2nd April 2005, 2nd European Association of Taiwan Studies, Bochum, Germany)

© *Taming the Rebels: The Theatre and the State in Taiwan since 1980* (27th August, XV Biennial Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies, at Heidelberg, Germany)

© *Staging Identity: Politics of Traditional Theatre in Taiwan* (5th June 2004, ‘Nation or Notion? An International Performance Studies’ Conference, University of Wales, Bangor)

© *Narrating Taiwan: Change and Continuity of Taiwan’s culture construction* (19th April 2004, ‘Inaugural Conference of European Association of Taiwan Studies, SOAS)

Working Papers in Progress

- ◎ “Taming the Falcon: The State and Political Theatre in Taiwan since the 1980s”

Membership of Professional Associations

- ◎ Member of European Association of China Studies (EACS)
- ◎ Member of British Association of China Studies (BACS)
- ◎ Member of European Association of Taiwan Studies (EATS)
- ◎ Member of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism (ASEN)

Teaching Activity

- ◎ PhD “Cultural Policy and Critique”
- ◎ MA “Society and Culture in Taiwan”
- ◎ BA Chinese language Cinema
Chinese Politics in the 20th Century

研究計畫案

家鄉建構－中興新村：五〇年代國府反攻復國政策下的三民主義模範新市鎮

張必瑜 (倫敦大學亞非學院)

我近年來的研究重點已從檢驗國家文化建構與文化認同間的關係，轉而聚焦並延伸至對國家空間建構與認同感的關懷。近三年來我的研究著重於戰後台灣地圖，檢視國家在地圖製作以及地理課本意識型態建構的過程中，如何形構一個「大中國」的空間感與土地認同。這項研究獲得蔣經國基金會的研究贊助，去年更獲教育部推動臺灣文史藝術國際交流計畫補助，針對當時的一個研究疑團作細部的偵查，亦即針對地圖界流行盛傳的一種說法：台灣戰後三十多年有著一段「地圖空白」。我在深入研究調查後發現，早先的論述建構不盡然真實，(此研究成果將與前兩年的研究結果集結成書，預計於2010年出版)。

也就是因為這幾年來對空間感與土地認同的專注，發現身份認同與空間感的建構二者關係密不可分。因此這次的研究主題是以專案方式進行，專注於國府一九五〇年代中期因防空疏遷之必要而興建的「中興新村」，這也是國府遷台後首度的市鎮建設，也是台灣第一個從無到有的「新市鎮(new town)」計畫建設。這項省會興建計畫，雖然是以英國新市鎮計畫為模型，與巴西首都 Brasilia 計畫同時開始興建，更是國府建構三民主義模範省的藍圖，在象徵意義上，也就是五〇年代國府心目中是「反攻復國」後全中國市鎮建設的範本，這與國府於二〇年代末期在南京的首都計畫有異曲同工之妙。

這項新研究將以文獻研究與田野訪問兩者兼而行之，一來我將專注於國史館新店總館的早期台灣省政府文件，以及台灣文獻館分館的「日治時期與光復初期檔案」等文獻，另一方面，我將試圖訪問目前仍可能找到的建鎮元老，更重要的是訪問一開始就在省府中興新村上班生活的「村民」，以了解建鎮初期的使命感，住民的土地認同感，以及，在此「模範生活圈」內的住民，有著什麼樣的榮耀感以及以身作則式的自許等等。這個研究將參考

南京時期的首都建都計畫，對照其在建國與勾勒現代化的異與同，以及其在建國的想像上如何將傳統的「大中國意象」、台灣本土環境，以及西方新市鎮的現代化願景結合起來。

Model Home(town)-Making: The “New Town” Model -- Chung-hsin New Village -- for the Nationalist Government in the 1950s for the preparation of the recovery of China

Bi-yu Chang(SOAS)

The central concern of my research lies in the genealogy of the construction of hegemonic discourses and the interplay of power in cultural construction. I am interested in examining the complex relationship between knowledge and power. This has led me to explore the relationship between cultural identity and state's cultural policy, to examine the construction of a China-centric identity, to investigate the dramatic change of cultural hegemony in Taiwan in the 1990s, and to consider the issues of nation-building and culture construction. My case studies have shifted over the years from the theatre, to cultural policy, and to the role that culture plays in the nation-building process. Since 2006, however, my research has taken a major turn and extended my scope to spatial construction and maps. Since 2006, I was awarded a two-year Post-doctoral Fellowship researched on the topic of “Mapping Taiwan after 1945: Cartography, Identity and Power” by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation.

This project was an investigation of the geographical construction of an imagined ‘China’, and an examination of the contested rhetoric relating to cartographic representations. It concentrated on the spatial construction of a Chinese identity created by the KMT regime on Taiwan. By focusing on the maps produced in post-war Taiwan, the research at this stage provides a testing ground to examine how and to what extent that the ‘true China’ was presented in Taiwanese maps. In doing so, my research delves into the state's involvement in the articulation of the trinity of space, knowledge and power. On the whole, my central concern remains focused on the interplays of culture and power. In other words, the politics of culture and the genealogy of cultural change have always been the core of my research.

In the next research I am proposing to do is in fact based on this foundation and will be a continuity of such concern. I was drawn to the establishment of Chung-hsin New Village (zhongxin xincun) while I was in carrying out my research in Taiwan and found it was the first town planning project in post-war Taiwan and a wartime anti-air-raid measure during the Cold War. This town was built in 1956 to accommodate the Provincial government and its staff from Taipei. All the buildings were owned by the government, and hence, development has been strictly controlled. The ‘village’ was planned according to the concept of “New Town” by the British urban planner Ebenezer Howard. It occupied 200 acres of land, boasted to have a design of a garden city, and had the first separate sanitary and storm sewers in the Taiwan. All in all, it was a model city for future living and a modern life-style for the future Chinese cities once the mission of recovery of China was accomplished.

My research will be carried out in two directions. One is placed on archive and the other is on interview. For archives, I will depend on National Library (國家圖書館), Academia Historica (國史館) and the National Archive Administration (國家檔案局); For interviews, I will have two targets. One is to try to find planners who were involved in original planning if they are still alive. The other is to try to interview people who worked or grew up there.

My interest is to find out both how the planners planned the town and how the residents felt about their environment. My goal was not to just investigate a post-war idealised town planning project. More importantly, this research will try to understand how this place was lived and experienced, whether the experience and the sense of place that Chung-hsin New Village had created fit in the planners' expectation. Symbolically, this model ‘new town’ constructed as the capital of the Sanminzhuyi Model Province, what kind of sense of place had Chung-hsin New Village created?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ _____ “Images of the hometown: the clash of city and village in Taiwanese popular songs”, <i>Chime</i> 16-17 (2005): 72-87 ▪ _____ “Reading history through the built environment”, in John Makeham and A-chin Hsiau (eds), <i>Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Taiwan: Bentuhua</i> (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 159-183 ▪ _____ “Colonial Takao: the making of a southern metropolis”, <i>Urban History</i> 31.1 (2004.5): 48-71 ▪ _____ “Pop music as postcolonial nostalgia in contemporary Taiwan”, in Ned Rossiter and Allen Chun (eds), <i>Refashioning pop music in Asia: cosmopolitan flows, political tempos and aesthetic industries</i> (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004): 173-182 ▪ _____ “Nation, topography, and historiography: writing topographical histories in Hong Kong”, <i>Modern Chinese Literature and Culture</i> 15.2 (2003): 45-74 ▪ _____ “Rome wasn’t built in a day: Zuoying and the discourse of civilisation”, in Christina Neder (ed), <i>Transformation! Innovation? Taiwan in its Cultural Dimensions</i> (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2003): 29-44 ▪ _____ “Reading colonial texts: some thoughts from Taipei”, <i>Rethinking History</i> 7.2 (2003.6): 235-241 ▪ _____ “The bund: littoral space of empire in the treaty ports of East Asia”, <i>Social History</i> 27.2 (2002.5): 125-142 ▪ _____ “Preserving the remnants of empire in Taiwan: the case of Hamaxing”, <i>East Asian History</i> 21 (2001.6): 143-164.
<p style="text-align: center;">參與研究 經驗</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2008: University of Sheffield Social Sciences Devolved Funds Grant (£494) for research in London. Project Title: “The heritage of commemoration in Taiwan” ▪ 2007: British Academy Small Research Grant (£2,358) for research in New Zealand. Project Title: “W.G. Goddard the Selling of Taiwan to the Commonwealth” ▪ 2002: AU\$5,000 Research Travel Grant for research in Taiwan, Contemporary China Centre, Australian National University ▪ 2001: 9-month Foreign Scholar Research Fellowship, Center for Chinese Studies, National Central Library, Taiwan ▪ 2000: 3-month Fieldwork Scholarship, Centre of Asian Studies,

	<p>University of Hong Kong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Various other self-funded fieldwork trips to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and the PRC.
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(本表請以一人一表呈現)

Research Plan

Cultural relations between Xiamen (Amoy) and Taiwan, 1945-1949

Jeremy E. Taylor (University of Sheffield)

In many studies of Taiwan, the period between the end of WWII and the complete relocation of the Nationalist Chinese government in Taipei is defined by the tragic events of early 1947, and portrayed as merely the time in which the foundations of authoritarianism were laid. Yet ironically this period also represented one of the liveliest periods of cultural interaction between Taiwan, Fujian, and Hokkien (閩南語)-speaking communities in Southeast Asia. Indeed, the period immediately prior to 1949 was one in which the basis for entirely new forms of cultural expression—most noticeably the Amoy-dialect films (廈語片) of 1950s Hong Kong—were laid, with Hokkien speaking performers and artists moving back and forth across national and provincial borders to a degree which has not been seen since.

The research I intend to undertake during the summer of 2009 involves exploring the extent to which greater contacts across the Taiwan Strait in the immediate post-WWII era did indeed lead to greater levels of cultural interaction, particularly between Taiwan and southern Fujian, but also between Taiwan and Hokkien-speaking communities in Singapore, Malaya and the Philippines (places where much of the funding for many new forms of commercial Hokkien cultural production originated). The research forms one part of a wider book project which I have been contracted to write with the British academic publisher Routledge under the title *Rethinking transnational Chinese cinema: the Amoy-dialect films of the 1950s and 1960s*, the manuscript for which is due to be completed by the end of 2010.

My main purpose in visiting Taiwan is to:

- access newspapers and periodicals from this period held at various institutions throughout Taiwan (though most noticeably the National Central Library 國家圖書館).
- Access the library and audio-visual collections of the Chinese Taipei Film Archive (國家電影資料館) (one of the few institutions to publish research on the beginnings of the Amoy-dialect film industry).
- Examine official Nationalist responses to increased contact between Fujian and Taiwan and the increase in Hokkien cultural production in this period by accessing relevant government archives from the period held at Academia Historica (國史館).
- Enable me to discuss my research with a number of scholars on Taiwan who have published on related areas (particularly 葉龍彥, formerly of National Tsinghua University)

Ultimately, I am hoping that this research and the wider book of which it represents a part will help to move the current literature away from much of the hitherto Taiwan-centered focus which has dominated many studies of Hokkien cultural production in Taiwan in recent years, and encourage us instead to examine the important links that existed between Taiwan and other parts of the Hokkien-speaking world in this key transitional period.

University of Chicago Press, (1927), pp. vii – xviii.

- "Nationality and Nostalgia: The Manipulation of Memory in Japan, Taiwan, and China since 1990," *XXIX.4: The International History Review*, December 2007, pp. 793-820.
- *The Thought War - Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005 (paperback 2007).
- "Planes, Trains and Games – Selling Japan's War in Asia," in Wu Hung, ed., *Looking Modern, Taisho Japan and the Modern Era*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, (forthcoming).
- "Godzilla as Japan's First Postwar Media Event," in William Tsutsui, ed., *In Godzilla's Footsteps*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Co-authored with Sato Masaharu, "Digesting Postwar Japanese Media: American Propaganda in Occupied Japan," *Diplomatic History*, January 2005, p. 27-48.
- "Laughter as Materiel: The Mobilization of Comedy in Japan's Fifteen-Year War," volume xxvi, 2 (June 2004), *The International History Review*, p. 300-330.
- "Liang Qichao and Western Modernity: An Analysis of His Translations of the Term 'Political Economy' by Mori Tokihiko," (translated by Barak Kushner and Joshua A. Fogel) in *The Role of Japan in Liang Qichao's Introduction of Modern Western Civilization to China* (ed. Joshua A. Fogel), University of California, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2004.
- Entries for "Japan," "World War II (Pacific)," and "Tokyo Rose" in *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion: A Historical Encyclopedia, 1500 to the Present*, edited by David Culbert, David Welch, Nicholas John Cull, NY: ABC-Clio Publishers, 2003.
- Co-authored with Sato Masaharu, "'Negro Propaganda Operations': Japan's Short-wave Radio Broadcasts for World War II Black Americans," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 1999,

	<p>19(1), p. 5-26. Awarded editorial award for best article by junior scholars.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “Cannibalizing Japanese Media - The Case of Issei Sagawa,” <i>Journal of Popular Culture</i>, vol. 31:3 Winter 1997, p. 55-68. ● Awaya Kentaro, “Controversies Surrounding the Asian-Pacific War: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial (translated by Barak Kushner),” in Phillip West, et al, eds., <i>America's War in Asia: A Cultural Approach to History and Memory</i>, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997. <p><u>BOOK REVIEWS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Kamikaze Diaries: Reflections of Japanese Student Soldiers</i>. By Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. <i>Monumenta Nipponica</i>, Vol. 62 No. 1 (Spring 2007): 121-124. ● <i>Letters from Iwo Jima</i>. By Kumiko Kakehashi. <i>BBC History</i>, (June 2007): 60-61. <p><i>Coming Out Under Fire</i>, Directed by Arthur Dong; DVD from Deep Focus Productions, 2003 (review), <i>The Moving Image</i>, 7:2, (2007): 117-119.</p>
<p>參與研究 經驗</p>	<p>Please see the details in personal CV</p>

(本表請以一人一表呈現)

Barak Kushner
Lecturer in Modern Japanese History
Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies
University of Cambridge
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United Kingdom

EXPERIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE (Cambridge, UK)

Lecturer in Modern Japanese History, Department of East Asian Studies

(Present)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE (Washington, DC)

Political Officer, East Asian Affairs

(2005-2006)

DAVIDSON COLLEGE (Davidson, North Carolina)

Assistant Professor of East Asian History

(2002 – 2005)

SHENYANG TEACHER'S UNIVERSITY (Shenyang,
PRC)

University Lecturer

(Fall Semester 1996)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ADVANCEMENT

(Tokyo, Japan)

Translator/Editor

(June 1995 - August 1996)

BERNARD ZELL DAY SCHOOL (Chicago, Illinois)

Upper School Teacher

August 1990 - July 1992

EDUCATION

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Ph.D. in Japanese History

Princeton, NJ

August 1997 - August 2002

NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY
Advanced Chinese Language Study and
Research

Taipei, Taiwan
December 2000 - December 2001

UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO
Dissertation Research

Tokyo, Japan
September 1999 - December 2000

BEIJING NORMAL UNIVERSITY
Intensive Chinese Language Study

Beijing, China
Summer 1997, 1998

INTER-UNIVERSITY CENTER
Advanced Graduate Program in Intensive
Japanese

Yokohama, Japan
August 1994 - June 1995

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
B.A. in History

Waltham, MA
May 1990

UNIVERSITE' DE MONTPELLIER
Junior Year Abroad

Montpellier, France
August 1988 - July 1989

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

- "Ribben zhanfan de shenpan: Zhongri guanxi lishi zhi guan cha," (Japan War Crimes Trials: Observations on postwar Sino-Japan Relations) talk delivered in Chinese, History Department, Nanjing University, China, September 25, 2008.
- "Eating Your Way to Democracy: Japan's Postwar Politics of Food," Soga Japan Center Speaker Series at Western Michigan University, April 15, 2008.
- "Going for the Gold: Health and Sports in Japan's Quest for Modernity," delivered at Olympian Desires: Building Bodies and Nations in East Asia; A Symposium at the University of Kansas, April 10, 2008.
- "Nationalism and food in East Asia; hygiene, dining and imperial pageantry," in the World History Seminar at St. Catharine's College, University of Cambridge, March 6, 2008.
- "Lamian yu minzuzhuyi: yinshi de zhimindhua," (Noodles and Nationalism: the Colonization of Cuisine), talk delivered in Chinese, December 7, 2007, History Department, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan.

- "The Colonization of Cuisine and the Translation of Empire," at the *Translation: East Asia and the West International Conference for Junior Scholars*, December 4, 2007, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan.
- "The Meiji restoration was a menu revolution - diplomacy and dining in early modern Japan," at the Japan Research Centre, SOAS, London, November 21, 2007.
- "Adjudicating Imperialism in Postwar East Asia: War Crimes Trials and the Cold War in Japan," at the *East Asia in International Relations: Power, Institutions, and Identity: Asian Seminar Series* at Oxford University, October 24, 2007.
- "Noodling around Asia: the politics of eating in Taisho era Japan," *Modern Japan History Workshop*, Waseda University, Tokyo, September 7, 2007.
- "The Cold War in East Asia-Memory and Loathing," at *Crossing Boundaries in Cold War Studies Conference*, University of Cambridge, May 4, 2007.
- "A short history of Japanese cuisine and the meaning of banquets in diplomacy," invited dinner lecture for the *Shibusawa/Suntory Workshop in Cambridge on the Two Bilateral Relations with the Superpower*, University of Cambridge, March 26, 2007.
- "Japan's postwar circus and breadlines - national diet and demobilization," at the Oxford Princeton Workshop, *Making Order in the Post-war World: A Comparative Study of Europe and East Asia in the 1940s and 1950s*, History Faculty, Oxford University, March 23, 2007.
- "What do *manga* tell us about Japanese history and why should we care? Manga to rekishi, nani zoya?" Annual Cambridge lecture (in English and Japanese) at Chaucer College Canterbury, UK, February 2, 2007.
- The role of *kamishibai* in "The Art of War: Media Representations, Propaganda, and Public Opinion during the Sino-Japanese Conflict, 1931-1945." Panel at the Association for Asian Studies annual meeting, San Francisco, April 6, 2006.
- "Sino-Japanese Relations: More Hot than Sour." Keynote speaker at Alaska World Affairs Council, Anchorage, Alaska, March 31, 2006.
- "Torture and Intelligence – How America forgot what it learned from the Chinese

Communists.” Invited talk at Indiana State University, March 2, 2006.

- “American Media in Asia and the Cold War.” Invited lecturer in the American Studies Department at Brandeis University, MA, October 6, 2005.
- “Historical Typhoons – Comic Nationalism in Taiwan and China.” Panel organizer and presenter at The International Association of the Historians of Asia Conference, Taipei, Taiwan, December 7, 2004.
- “*Godzilla* as Postwar Media Event.” Invited paper delivered at *In Godzilla’s Footsteps: Japanese pop Culture Icons on the Global Stage*, Kansas University, October 29, 2004.
- “Planes, Trains and Games: Selling Japan’s War in Asia.” Invited paper presented at *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from the Treaty Ports to World War II Symposium*, The University of Chicago, April 24, 2004.
- “Comic Books and Competitive Nationalism in East Asia,” Juneau World Affairs Council and Pacific Rim Forum, in collaboration with the University of Alaska Southeast’s Annual Humanities Forum, April 3, 2004.
- “Converging Notions of Taiwanese and Japanese Nationalism.” Invited speaker at the Alaska World Affairs Council, Anchorage, Alaska, April 2, 2004.
- “Japanese Comedy and the War,” National Consortium for Teaching about Asia, teaching training workshop at the University of Alaska Anchorage, April 1, 2004.
-
- “Japan, Propaganda and the War,” Northeast Pacific Rim Seminar, University of Alaska Anchorage, invited guest speaker, April 1, 2004.
- “The WWII Japanese Struggle for Hearts and Minds on the Chinese Mainland.” Paper presented at the Japan History & Culture Study Group, Duke University, November 21, 2003.
- “Digesting Postwar Japan Media.” Paper presented at the German Institute of Japan, Tokyo, Japan, July 3, 2003.
- Invited main speaker for “War and Media” conference at Tokyo University. “Dainiji sekai taisen ni okeru nihon no senden katsudo to senden - reisen no kosaku,” (Japanese World War Two Propaganda Activities - the intersection of the Cold War and propaganda), June 30, 2003. (Presented in Japanese)
- “Tracherous Behavior - Japanese Propaganda and Allied POWs in World War Two.” Paper presented in Japanese and English at the Cultural Typhoon Conference, Waseda University, Japan, June 28, 2003.

- “Traacherous Allies: Wartime Japanese POW Propaganda and Cold War Politics.” Center for Asian and Pacific Studies Lecture at University of Oregon, Eugene, May 30, 2003.
- “Historical Typhoons – the convergence of Japanese and Taiwanese historical memory.” Talk presented at the *War and Warriors in Popular Japanese Culture* conference at Davidson College, March 24, 2003.
- “A Funny Thing Happened to Me on the Way to the Front: Japanese Comedic Performers and the Fifteen Year War.” Paper delivered at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, Washington, DC, April 5, 2002.
- “Propaganda across Frontiers: Japanese and Chinese Struggles to Mobilize.” Paper presented at the American Historical Association Annual Conference, San Francisco, January 4, 2002.
- “The Use of Japanese POWs in Chinese Communist and Nationalist Wartime Propaganda.” Talk presented at the International Chinese Language Program at Taiwan National University, Taipei, Taiwan, July 18, 2001.
- “Jugonen senso ni okeru nihon no goraku to senden: imonbutai, gaichi to naichi no tsunagari,” (Entertainment and Propaganda in the Fifteen Year War: Entertainment Platoons and the Link Between the Motherland and the Occupied Areas). Paper presented at the Nihon Gendai Shisoshi Association, Modern Japanese Intellectual History Association, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan, October 2000. (Presented in Japanese)
- “Firipin ni okeru nihon senden,” (Japanese Propaganda in the Philippines). Paper presented at the Mediashi Kenkyukai, Media Studies Association Conference, Seijo University, May 1996. (Presented in Japanese)

HONORS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- Abe Fellowship (supported by The Japan Foundation
Center for Global Partnership, the Social Science Research
Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies) 2008-2009
- Japan Foundation Endowment Committee Grant Summer 2007
- Freeman Foundation grant for travel and research in Japan,
Korea, China and Mongolia Summer '03, '04
- David L. Boren National Security Education Program

- (NSEP) Graduate International Fellowship in Taiwan 2000 - 2001
- Fulbright IIE Graduate Research Fellow in Japan 1999 - 2000
- Princeton University FLAS fellowship for Chinese Studies in Beijing Summer '97, 98
- Princeton University History Department Fellowship 1997 - 2002
- Indiana University Academic Year FLAS Fellowship 1993 - 1995
- Indiana University Summer FLAS Fellowships Summer 1992 - 1994
- Bernard Zell Day School, Faculty Summer Language Study Award 1991
- Brandeis University graduated with Highest Honors in History, Undergraduate Thesis awarded the Class of 1954 Award for Best History Thesis 1990

When Empire Fails: Legally Deconstructing Wartime Japanese War Crimes and the postwar question of nationality

Barak Kushner

I aim to further the research I began in China and Japan concerning postwar Chinese legal trials of Japanese war criminals. These are mainly the BC trials and not the main spectacle trials such as the Nanjing trial of Okamura Yasuji and others. I am specifically interested in the legal definition of “Taiwanese” as proposed by the Nationalists and the Japanese from August 1945 to January 1946 in response to pressure from groups that believed it unlawful to try Taiwanese soldiers as Japanese nationals for war crimes under the new banner of international law. To this end I plan to examine the KMT’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives, Ministry of Defence and KMT party archives to inquire how these legal definitions and plans regarding war criminal vs. traitor were debated and decided internally. Externally, I plan to investigate how the KMT liaised with the US to request Japanese war criminals be extradited from the US to China and tried in Chinese courts. The method and fashion of trying Japanese/Taiwanese war criminals was important to the Chinese republic at the time both to prove internationally it followed the rule of law and second as a useful tool of political propaganda against the CCP who was painted as a group that did not observe similar conventions. By unravelling the manner in which traitors and the issue of citizen were legally dealt with, while observing how the government resolved the hoary issue of citizenship within a former colony I aim to illustrate the start of the legal process that solidified the idea of modern Taiwanese identity and its coarse relationship with its “colonized” wartime responsibility.

Archives to visit:

5. KMT party archives headquarters
6. 国史馆
7. 外交部档案馆
8. 国防部档案

I also intend to only conduct research in the archives but interview scholars and perhaps individuals who took part in the trials, if I can track any down, or gain introductions through Academia Sinica or related parties. I would like to look at diaries from those involved and see if I can locate the personal papers of any of the major participants. On a final note I would be

<p>預計訪台 之學術活 動簡介</p>	<p>Visit the National Library, and participate in the academic activities organised by the host institute such as talks and seminars.</p>
<p>著作目錄</p>	<p>(Under review) “Post-nation or re-nationalisation? On the Nativist Rhetoric in Contemporary Taiwan,” <i>Cultural Politics in Taiwan</i>. (Shaker Publisher series of Books in Comparative Culture, Media, and Communication Studies, Germany).</p> <p>(Under review) “Remaking ‘Taiwan’: Representation the February 28 in Lin Yaode’s 1947 Liliu Formosanum and Li Qiao’s Buried Grievance of 1947,” <i>Understanding Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy</i> (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, Germany).</p> <p>(to be published in Mar 2009) “Chenmo de tazhe – Lü Heruo, Long Yingzong yu Weng Nao zuopin zhong de nüxing jiaose,” <i>Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese</i>, issue 10.1.</p> <p>(to be published in Dec 2008) “A Forgotten Canon? Wu Mansha, Wind and Moon and Popular Literature in Taiwan's Japanese Period,” <i>La Littérature taïwanaise, état des recherches et réception à l'étranger</i>. (France: Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur l'Extrême-Orient).</p> <p>(to be published in Dec 2008) “Research on Taiwan and Taiwanese Literature in the UK,” <i>La Littérature taïwanaise, état des recherches et réception à l'étranger</i>. (France: Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur l'Extrême-Orient).</p> <p>2008 “Poetic and Dialectic: Narrative of Youth in Hou Hsiao-hsien’s ‘A Time to Live and A Time to Die’ and Edward Yang’s ‘A Brighter Summer Day’,” <i>Taiwan Studies in Global Perspective</i>, Proceedings of 2007 UCSB International Conference in Taiwan Studies (Centre for Taiwan Studies, UC Santa Barbara, 2008): 171-188.</p> <p>2008 “Memory, History, and Identity: Representations of the February 28th Incident in Taiwanese Literature,” <i>Evolving Cultural Memory in China and Her Neighbours</i> (Hong Kong: Education Press): 306-335.</p> <p>2008 “Cultural Memory and Identity in Taiwanese Fiction of the Twentieth Century,” <i>Cultural Memory and Chinese Society</i> (Malaysia: University of Malaya): 111-127.</p> <p>2007 “Review of David Der-wei Wang & Carlos Rojas, eds. <i>Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History</i>,” <i>Modern Chinese Literature and Culture</i> (November), http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/reviews/linpeiyin.htm.</p> <p>2007 “Review of June Yip’s <i>Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary</i>,” <i>The China Review</i> vol.7, no. 2 (Fall): 233-236.</p> <p>2007 Translation of Huang Bo-lian’s “A Stranger Arriving from Another Country (preface), <i>Taiwan Literature English Translation Series</i> no. 21 (July): 3-9.</p> <p>2006 “Native Soil, Women, and Desire Writing – Examples from Shang Wanyun and Li Zishu,” <i>Xingbie yu jiangjie</i> (Singapore: Global): 239-253.</p> <p>2005 “Negotiating Colonialism: Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation,” <i>ILAS Newsletter</i> 38 (September): 20</p> <p>2004 Translation of Liu Huan-yueh’s “Placating Lost Souls and Praying for Them to be at Peace – The Mid Prime Festival of Universal Salvation in Worship of Lonely Ghosts,” <i>Taiwan Literature English Translation Series</i> no. 14 (January): 119-128.</p> <p>2003 “Humanitarian Socialist: Yang Kui and his Works,” <i>Transformation!</i></p>

	<p><i>Innovation? Perspectives on Taiwan Culture</i>, Christina Neder and Ines Susanne Schilling eds. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag): 125-145.</p> <p>2003 “Review of <i>Chinese Concepts of Privacy</i>,” <i>China Information</i> vol. XVII, no. 2: 131-133.</p> <p>2003 Translation of Chung Ch’iao’s “The Surveillant” and “Impressions of Tanshui,” <i>Taiwan Literature English Translation Series</i> no. 13 (July): 119-120 and 121-122.</p> <p>2003 Translation of Yang Suo’s “Road of Suffering,” <i>Taiwan Literature English Translation Series</i> no. 12 (January): 115-122.</p> <p>2002 “Review of Chang Ta-chun’s <i>Wild Kids</i>,” <i>C. L. E. A. R.</i> vol. 24 (December): 197-199.</p> <p>2001 Translation of Li Ch’iao’s “Parable of Growth – Preface to <i>The Swallow’s Heart Berry</i>,” <i>Taiwan Literature English Translation Series</i> no. 10 (December): 3-8.</p> <p>2001 “Culture, Colonialism and Identity: Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period,” PhD Dissertation, University of London, 2001, 281 pages.</p>
<p>參與研究 經驗</p>	<p>2008 “China and Its Others: Knowledge Transfer and Representations of China and the West,” a joint project between the University of Manchester and Academia Sinica, Taiwan.</p> <p>2007 “Translation Network,” a joint project among Yale University, University of Cambridge and Qinghua University in Beijing.</p> <p>2005 “Cultural Memory Research Group,” a project based at the National University of Singapore and involved collaboration with scholars at the Academia Sinica (mainly Professor Hsiung Ping-chen).</p> <p>2004 “Formation of Canon: Taiwan Literature and World Literature,” a joint project between Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3, France and Academia Sinica, Taiwan.</p> <p>2002-2003 “Contemporary native soil fiction from Taiwan,” a 2-year postdoctoral research project funded by the CCK Foundation.</p> <p>1998-2001 “Culture, Colonialism, and Identity: Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period”, PhD research completed at SOAS University of London.</p>

PEI-YIN LIN 林佩吟

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Present Positions

Lecturer in Taiwanese Studies, Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge
Director of Studies in Asian and Middle Eastern Studies for the academic year 2008-2009 for St Edmund's College, University of Cambridge

Research Interests

My principal research interests lie in the field of modern and contemporary Chinese literature and culture with a particular focus on Taiwanese literature and films.

Education

- 1998- 2001** **University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies**
Ph.D. Languages and Cultures of East Asia
- 1997-1998** **University of Cambridge**
M.Phil. Chinese Studies
- 1996-1997** **University of Kent at Canterbury**
M.A. Post-Colonial Studies
- 1995-1996** **University of London, Queen Mary College**
M.A. European Languages, Literature and Thought
- 1991-1995** **Fu-Jen Catholic University**
B.A. English (first class)

Work Experience and Training

- Jan 04-Dec 06 Assistant Professor, Department of Chinese Studies, National University of Singapore.
- Aug 4-6 04 Completed a three day intensive Professional Development Programme (Teaching) offered to faculty members by the Centre for Development of and Learning, National University of Singapore. Teaching
- Jan 02-Dec 03 Post-doctorate Research Fellow in the Department of East Asia, SOAS, University of London.
- Oct 02-Jun 03 Taught Contemporary Chinese Literature for Bachelor students in the Department of East Asia, SOAS, University of London.
- Jan 02-Jun 02 Taught Special Chinese for Bachelor students in the Department of East Asia, SOAS, University of London.
- Oct 00-Jun 01 Taught an advanced Chinese course for Master students in the Department of East Asia, SOAS, University of London.

Academic Honours

- April 2008 Awarded a research grant from the University of Cambridge to visit Taipei for sources at the National Central Library.
- June 2007 Awarded a conference grant from the University of Cambridge to attend the Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Conference at Shanghai University, China.
- May 2005 Awarded a grant from the NUS Faculty's Staff Research Support Scheme.
- May 2003 Won a travel grant from the British Academy to attend and present at the ICAS 3 Conference, Singapore.
- May 2002 Won a travel grant from the British Academy to attend and present at the XIV EACS Conference, Moscow, Russia.

- June 2001 Awarded a two-year post-doctorate research fellowship by the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.
- March 2000 Won a graduate grant from the British Association for Chinese Studies to attend and present at the XIII EACS Conference, Turin, Italy.
- February 2000 Awarded a SOAS Additional Fieldwork Award.
- February 2000 Won a CIAS Small Grant from the Association for Asian Studies to undertake fieldwork in Taiwan.
- October 1999 Received research grants from the Central Research Fund of University of London to conduct fieldwork in Taiwan in affiliation with National Taiwan University.

List of Publications

Book Chapters:

1. (Under review) "Post-nation or re-nationalisation? On the Nativist Rhetoric in Contemporary Taiwan," *Cultural Politics in Taiwan*. (Shaker Publisher series of Books in Comparative Culture, Media, and Communication Studies, Germany).
2. (Under review) "Remaking 'Taiwan': Representation the February 28 in Lin Yaode's 1947 *Lilium Formosanum* and Li Qiao's Buried Grievance of 1947," *Understanding Taiwan: From Colonialism to Democracy* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, Germany).
3. (In press) "A Forgotten Canon? Wu Mansha, Wind and Moon and Popular Literature in Taiwan's Japanese Period," *La Littérature taïwanaise, état des recherches et réception à l'étranger*. (France: Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur l'Extrême-Orient).
4. (In press) "Research on Taiwan and Taiwanese Literature in the UK," *La Littérature taïwanaise, état des recherches et réception à l'étranger*. (France: Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur l'Extrême-Orient).
5. "Memory, History, and Identity: Representations of the February 28th Incident in Taiwanese Literature," *Evolving Cultural Memory in China Southeast Asia* (HK: Education Press, 2008): 306-335.

6. "Cultural Memory and Identity in Taiwanese Fiction of the Twentieth Century," *Cultural Memory and Chinese Society* (Malaysia: University of Malaya): 111-127.
7. "Native Soil, Women, and Desire Writing – Examples from Shang Wanyun and Li Zishu," *Xingbie yu jiangjie*, in Chinese (Singapore: Global, 2006): 239-253.
8. "Humanitarian Socialist: Yang Kui and his Works," *Transformation! Innovation? Perspectives on Taiwan Culture*, Christina Neder and Ines Susanne Schilling eds. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003): 125-145.

Journal/Newsletter Articles:

1. (In press) "Chenmo de tazhe – Lü Heruo, Long Yingzong yu Weng Nao zuopin zhong de nüxing jiaose," *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese*, issue 10.1 (March 2009).
2. "Negotiating Colonialism: Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation," *IILAS Newsletter* 38 (September 2005): 20.

Conference Proceedings:

1. "Poetic and Dialectic: Narrative of Youth in Hou Hsiao-hsien's 'A Time to Live and A Time to Die' and Edward Yang's 'A Brighter Summer Day'," *Taiwan Studies in Global Perspective*, Proceedings of 2007 UCSB International Conference in Taiwan Studies (Centre for Taiwan Studies, UC Santa Barbara, 2008): 171-188.

Book Reviews:

1. "Review of David Der-wei Wang & Carlos Rojas, eds. *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History*," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, <http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/reviews/linpeiyin.htm> (November, 2007).
2. "Review of June Yip's *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*," *The China Review* vol.7, no. 2 (Fall, 2007): 233-236.
3. "Review of *Chinese Concepts of Privacy*," *China Information* vol. XVII, No. 2 (2003): 131-133.
4. "Review of Chang Ta-chun's *Wild Kids*," *C. L. E. A. R.* vol. 24 (December, 2002): 197-199.

Translations:

1. Translation of Huang Bo-lian's "A Stranger Arriving from Another Country (preface)," *Taiwan*

Literature English Translation Series no. 21 (July 2007): 3-9.

2. Translation of Liu Huan-yueh's "Placating Lost Souls and Praying for Them to be at Peace – The Mid Prime Festival of Universal Salvation in Worship of Lonely Ghosts," *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series* no. 14 (January 2004): 119-128.
3. Translation of Chung Ch'iao's "The Surveilant" and "Impressions of Tanshui," *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series* no. 13 (July 2003): 119-120 and 121-122.
4. Translation of Yang Suo's "Road of Suffering," *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series* no. 12 (January 2003): 115-122.
5. Translation of Li Ch'iao's "Parable of Growth – Preface to *The Swallow's Heart Berry*," *Taiwan Literature English Translation Series* no. 10 (December 2001): 3-8.

PhD. Thesis:

1. "Culture, Colonialism and Identity: Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Occupation Period," PhD Dissertation, University of London, 2001, 281 pages.

Research Proposal

Native Soil Writing in the 1950s and Early 1960s

Pei-Yin Lin

University of Cambridge

Main Questions

The proposed research intends to offer answers to the following questions:

- 1) Since Huang Shihui's promotion of native soil literature in the 1930s, how have the styles in native soil literature changed?
- 2) What kinds of role do female writers play and why are their positions often marginalised in Taiwanese literary history? What is the implication about the reception of their works?
- 3) If native soil writing show writers' attempt to reclaim a collective historical memory, have they fulfilled their goal or what limits have they encountered?
- 4) How can we read native soil writing in the 1950s and early 1960s?

General aims and relevance of research

- 1) Continuing and expanding previous research on native soil writing
- 2) Adding an alternative historiography of Taiwanese literature in the 1950s and early 1960s especially a revalorisation of those relatively marginalised authors
- 3) Offering a critical analysis on native soil writing and its limits

Background

As early as in Taiwan's Japanese period, a search for national/cultural identity and tendency of native soil writing have been significant issues for many writers. In the 1930s, Huang Shihui published "Why not promote Taiwanese native soil literature", initialising the native soil rhetoric in Taiwanese literature. Such an identity pursuing continued for a few

decades despite the shift of political regimes. The longing for a native soil, together with a nationalist thinking and growing demand for social reform, resulted in the native soil literary debates which took place during 1977-1978. The 1930s and late 1970s have long been considered the two “golden periods” of native soil writing. As a result, texts dealing with writers’ obsession with a particular place (either a village or a town) and expressing similar yearning for a sense of belonging produced in the 1950s and the first few years of the 1960s were less studied. The dominance of anti-communist and the modernist writing further worsens the marginalisation of native soil writing during this period. However, if we take a closer look at the literary production of this period, we are able to find ample examples of native soil writing.

In my PhD dissertation, dealing with Taiwan’s Japanese period, my main focus was on the relationship between nationalist rhetoric and colonial context. I continued my interest in nation-building and literature by extending my scope to contemporary native soil writing in the 1980s and 1990s, the topic of my 2-year postdoctoral research. In the project, I began to pay attention to female writers’ works into consideration. Following my long-term interest in Taiwanese literature and particular interest in issues surrounding gender and native soil imagination, I now wish to expand and consolidate my research by setting up a more comprehensive and systematic study of native soil writing as a literary genre. I believe such a study can be expected to contribute to our understanding of modern Taiwanese literature and to provide a new perspective on the politics inherent and limits in the historiography of modern Taiwanese literature.

Methodology

The methods I intend to adopt in this project include: case studies (in which a close reading on selected texts will be offered) and general survey (in which the particular context of the 1950s and early 1960s and the general literary production at that time will be discussed). My

research will consist of case studies of works by mainly, but not exclusively, female writers (Lin Haiyin, Qi Jun, Yu Lihua, and Nie Hualing). Crucial to the feasibility of the research outlined above is access to sources (mainly the National Central Library in Taipei and the National Library of Taiwanese Literature in Tainan). The proposed trip to Taiwan would enable me to access to both primary sources and secondary sources (such as newspapers and journals of that time), and to have a better grasp of the socio-political culture of Taiwan during the 1950s and early 1960s. If possible, I would like to conduct one or two interviews ideally with the offspring of the above-mentioned writers.

2009 年 [全球化下的臺灣文史藝術] 臺灣文史藝術國際交流計畫 執行報告

張必瑜(倫敦大學亞非學院)

執行期間 與 合作對象

2009 年八月中旬至九月中旬，與國立台灣大學台灣文學所合作

活動內容

參與了一項所內主辦的工作坊以及國立台灣大學主辦的國際會議。內容如下：

- ◎ 「家」與「國」的神州想像：台灣戰後初期小學教育中的空間建構，“交界與游移-- 近現代東亞的文化傳譯與知識生產 國際學術研討會”(二〇〇九年 九月十日及十一日，地點：台北市國立台灣大學)
- ◎ 尋找中興新村，“尋找五〇年代文化形貌”工作坊。(二〇〇九年 九月七日至十一日，地點：台北市國立台灣大學台文所)

研究案內容

這次回台灣，我主要是從兩方面下手，一是文獻調查，一是田野訪談，希望作的是兩相印證。我發現有關中興新村的資料實在很多，直至目前為止，把所有找到的資料文獻作了一個初步的整理，一般而言，共有以下幾個面向：

- 1，在 1955 年 中央正式決定 省政府疏遷。很多的研究在討論 當時的政策是怎麼形成的，以及 疏遷過程。除了國史館台灣文獻館有上千張的公文電子檔，另一個有價值的文獻，我認為，是台灣文獻館於 1998 年 曾經大規模的作過一次耆老的回憶記錄座談，共計一百多名參與疏遷的老省府員工參加。當我聯絡作訪談時，很多人已經不在了。
- 2，當時被再三再四 提出來的 [省府疏遷] 考量主要是防空，因此也研究討論：國府 1950 年代 整體的防空政策。

3, 中興新村規畫時期, 再再強調 其所借重 的是 英國 花園城市 (garden city) 之概念, 這又如何反映在其都市規畫上?

4, 中興新村建村以來的生活經驗, 這包括的不只是省府員工的工作經驗, 更加上了他們的家庭生活, 以及第二、第三代在此成長的經驗.

5, 省府與中央之間的角力、權力關係、以及勢力的消長.

6, 1997 年精省後, 省級政府 被廢除, 那麼昔日的省政府所在地 -- 中興新村, 其定位不明, 如何作 [都市更新] 的議題, 更是近十年來的熱門話題. 目前為止, 我查到大致有 15 項委託各大學、基金會所作的 更新計畫, 還有一些則是我沒有實際看到調查報告, 但是村民們被告知的一些 稍縱即逝的[點子](例如: 草藥園區...). 各類計畫宣布後經常過兩年又翻了案, 因此, 村民們也就見怪不怪了. 但是就在我回台灣之前沒多少, 因為馬英九要履行他 [愛台 12 項建設] 的競選承諾所作的決定性的新政策, 將中興新村將更新為「文化創意及高等研究中心園區」, 此計畫被行政院宣布定案, 這在村內形成強烈的反彈見. 更重要的是, [中興新村未來如何發展] 這項議題, 也就再度浮上檯面, 因為這個議題在廢省後遲遲未能定位, 因為省的存立就代表著國家對台灣是省還是國的一種象徵性的表態與宣示.

以上幾個層面, 利用國家圖書館、國立台灣大學圖書館、國家檔案局、國史館台灣文獻館等地, 我都已找到很多資料, 至於個人訪談的部分, 因為老陳凋謝, 我只找到了大約十位參與遷移省府工作的老人 以及他們仍住在村內的子女, 許多已重病在身, 我的目的主要是集中於 50 年代疏遷時期的經驗與地方感, 也就是想看看: 當地住民 既是省府員工(或眷屬), 又是中興新村村民的兩種身份 他們的經驗與感受. 當然 不可否認的, 這幾個不同面向其實都環環相扣, 習習相關. 在訪談過程中, 我的注意力 有時也會不知不覺地

被當地熱心的中興新村第二代文化人所推動的 [搶救中興新村] 運動而吸引，以致有時難免被活躍的運動者與其訴求所拉扯，有焦點模糊之虞。

在 [三民主義統一中國] 的口號仍叫得鎮天驚響的時代裡，中央、省、地方的三級政體是維繫國民黨大中國政治夢想的必要架構，但等到近十幾、二十年的政治氛圍遷移之後，省政府的存在對於 [一省之國] 真是有如芒刺在背。政治體的改組重構之餘，這個殘留下來的政治殘留社區，應是見證歷史的活標本。

我認為，不論是文化歷史上，政治上，或是空間上，中興新村都是個極其特殊的例子。它是國府撤退遷台後的 [政治標本]，一個國家治理的實驗室，也就是說，中興新村的在，支撐了一個中華民國，它呈現了國民黨治理下，可能，也可以出現的 [三民主義模範省樣本]，它是國民政府論述下的 [現代化國家治理] 的藍圖，以及所能承諾的治理樣板。換句話說，中興新村是一個二十世紀中期的政治夢工廠，將國民黨的政治意識形態轉化為空間實踐的一個樣板櫥窗。

研究案執行進度

由於訪台時間有限，我也僅能盡力而為。這次多虧教育部的補助與國立台灣大學台文所的接待，讓我們參與計畫者得以有較好的學院支持，同時也得以與國內同仁溝通。我目前仍在整理訪談的錄音口述的謄寫工作，預計可以將此次研究內容於明年的歐洲台灣年會發表，同時打算整理後投稿於期刊發表。

Report on Research undertaken in Taiwan from August-September 2009

Jeremy Taylor 戴杰銘
The University of Sheffield

I thank the NTU's Institute for Taiwan Literature for hosting me during my stay in Taipei over the summer of 2009. During my stay in Taiwan, research was undertaken at the following institutions:

- 檔案管理局: obtained information regarding film financiers held at various archives in different parts of Taiwan (some of which I was denied access to)
- 國史館: accessed archives relating to film exhibition policy; also photographic materials of relevance to project
- 國家電影資料館 access materials relating to film history; viewed films
- 新聞局: accessed film censorship files for Amoy-dialect films imported from Hong Kong
- 國民黨黨史會: accessed material relating to 勞軍 activities of Amoy-dialect celebrities
- 台灣分館: accessed 1950s publications on variety of topics
- 央圖: accessed 1950s publications on variety of topics, together with contemporary material of interest.

A substantial amount of material was collected from these archives (both hard copy and digital), and I am currently working through this material in the course of completing my current projects.

Research undertaken in Taiwan over the summer has enabled me to present a seminar at St Antony's College, Oxford, on 17 November 2009 ('The Hokkien frontline: the Amoy dialect films and China's Cold War'); and have also contributed to my work towards a monograph to be submitted to Routledge in September 2010 under the title of *Rethinking Transnational Chinese Cinemas: the Amoy-dialect Cinema of the 1950s*. The contribution of this funding will of course be specifically mentioned in the acknowledgements section of this book.

2009 MOE Project Report

Pei-Yin Lin, University of Cambridge

Thanks for the generous grant awarded to the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature, National Taiwan University, we were able to take forward our research proposal entitled “Exploring the Cultural Faces of Taiwan in the 1950s” (尋找台灣五〇年代文化形貌).

The team project, organised by Dr Chang Bi-Yu at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, is an integral part of all the four members’ continued research. Each member, according to his/her academic discipline, dealt with Taiwan’s cultural production and socio-historical context in the 1950s from different perspectives. My main training is in modern Chinese literature, so my project focuses on the native soil writing from Taiwan in the 1950s, especially those novels written by the “native” Taiwanese writers. I am particularly interested in the impacts the official policy (such as the anti-Communist ideology and the institution – the Chinese Literature and Art Award Committee (中華文藝獎金委員會) has exerted on the literary production of non-émigré writers.

My time in Taiwan can be roughly divided into three parts. The highlight of each part lies in my conference/workshop participation and presentation.

1) The International Conference on “The Cultures of Emergency: Cultural Production in Times of Upheaval, 1937-1957” in Singapore, August 14-16, 2009

I arrived in Taipei on August 10, 2009, and flew to Singapore soon afterwards to attend a conference entitled “The Cultures of Emergency: Cultural Production in Times of Upheaval, 1937-1957” held at the National University of Singapore from August 14 to August 16, 2009. During the conference, I presented a paper entitled “Towards a Brave New World: Intellectual Activism and Cultural Reconstruction in Post-war Taiwan (1945-1947)”. This paper is an extended part of my fore-mentioned MOE project, but the focus was primarily placed on the intellectual discourses reflected from the “Taiwan Old Magazine Reprint Series” (台灣舊雜誌覆刻系列) during the immediate few years after the end of WWII.

2) The Workshop at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature, NTU, September 7, 2009

After returning from Singapore, I reported my arrival to Professors Mei and Huang at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature. I made a few trips to the National Central Library to gather secondary sources related to my project. My time, however, was largely spent on reading the primary sources (the novels produced during the 1950s) and preparing my oral presentations

at the workshop and the “Jiaojie yu youyi” Conference. While formulating my analysis and writing the report on the relationship between literary production and the Nationalist government’s literary policy in the 1950s, I met up with other team-members to exchange research findings and discuss the workshop format.

At the September 7th workshop chaired by our project host Professor Huang Mei-er, each of us took turns to talk about our research interests. We firstly provided a summary of research conducted so far, and then presented in front of the faculty members and some graduate students our research outcomes. In the presentation, I outlined the various possible analytical frameworks, such as Bourdieu’s notion of literary field, and Chen Fangming’s post-colonial literary historiography, that have been employed in the study on the literary production of Taiwan in the 1950s. I then moved into some of my case studies, mainly writers clustering around the short-lived *Wenyou tongxun* (Newsletter for Literary Friends) such as Zhong Zhaozheng, Zhong Lihe, and Li Rongchun, explaining how we can better understand their success or failure/marginalisation in Taiwan’s literary historiography. In the last section of my presentation, I explored the possibility of a Hakka native soil paradigm as a buffer between the émigré writing and the Hoklo writers’ writing. Professor Huang gave us useful feedback, and the remarks made by the invited scholars (Professor Lee Cheng-chi and Professor Robert Chi) were helpful too.

3) The International Conference on *Jiaojie yu youyi*, September 10 & 11, 2009

In addition to the workshop, I, together with the other two team-members Drs Chang and Kushner, attended the international conference on *Jiaojie yu youyi* (Border-crossing and In-between-ness) organised by the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature, National Taiwan University, during September 10 and 11, 2009. I presented a paper entitled “Negotiating ‘*Wenming*’ in Popular Literature from Taiwan in the 1930s -- Taking Xu Kunquan and Lin Huikun as Examples”. The paper consists of four parts. The first part traces the discursive constructs of the concept *wenming*, while the second part concentrates on the love/marriage genre of the two selected writers’ novels, analysing how their ambivalence towards *wenming*, often equivalent to “modern”, is reflected in the fictive works. The third part traces the various ingredients that have contributed to the two writers’ literary imagination of *wenming*. The last section examines the writers’ contemplation of Taiwan in the spectrum of *wenming*. The paper concludes that between socialist writing and modernist writing, the two literary trends contemporaneous to that of popular novels, Xu’s and Lin’s works fit well in the niche. Both writers’ were socially-engaging like the former, and their works were to some extent aesthetically-innovative. It also proposes to look at their rather gendered-narratives as a manifestation of everyday or popular modernity. The conference provided me a good opportunity to exchange ideas with scholars in the field of modern Chinese literature, and thus was a particularly rewarding experience for me.

Overall, my stay in Taiwan from mid August to mid September under the MOE scheme has been both enjoyable and fruitful, mainly because of the materials I managed to access, and the various formal or informal dialogues I had with the Taiwan-based scholars and other conference participants.

「家」與「國」的地理想像：

臺灣戰後初期小學教育中的空間建構（1945-67）*

倫敦大學亞非學院 張必瑜

摘要

1987 年的解嚴後，方興未艾的本土論述漸成當代臺灣文學中的主要論述，日本殖民時期遺留下來的豐富文學遺產也因此漸成顯學。在重新審視日治時期的文學生產時，國族和道德主義常是評論的基準，故缺少鮮明抗日色彩的作品，如現代派的作家或通俗文學難免被邊緣化。直到近幾年來，學界才慢慢開始對通俗報章如《三六九小報》與《風月報》進行探討。本文擬以徐坤泉（筆名阿 Q 之弟）和林輝焜兩位作者為例，論述 1930 年代臺灣文壇的通俗長篇小說作家如何經由他們的作品對現代或文明作出回應。本論文將分新舊交混的婚戀小說，既中且西的現代生活想像，與大都會／世界 v.s.臺灣三部分，來探究這些作家們在此文明磋商過程中所流露的曖昧態度，而他們對新舊轉型中的社會之態度又如何在其女性角色的形塑中呈現。本文指出這些作者們的「性別化」敘述其實並非想像中的守舊或乏善可陳。相反地，它代表著一種迥異於左翼和現代派的，另類的，既進步又保守的「日常／通俗現代性」。

一、前言

「地方」是人文地理學中最重要的概念，被視為集體記憶的核心，而「地方感」則是一個透過記憶將一群人串連至塵封歷史的共同過往，是一個認同建構最重要的基礎之一，也是歸屬感所憑藉產生的所在地。在各種「地方」形態中，「家」是個理想的「地方」型式，是每個人感覺最自在舒服、最能夠「作自己」的地方。對許多地理學家來說，「家」被大多數人視為是人類的「第一個宇宙」、認同的基石，更是一個無法取代的意義中心，而「國」的概念，則是這種以地方感為基礎的延伸，一個現代人的重要認同標籤。

透過檢驗臺灣戰後初期的小學地理相關課程內容，這篇論文希望能呈現出國府在接收臺灣後的「地方感」建構方向與內容。六年國民義務教育中形塑出什麼樣的空間建構？臺灣戰後年輕一代的「空間感」有什麼特色？因此，我檢

* 論文草稿，請勿引用。

驗了 1945 年到 1967 年間¹臺灣小學教育裡與傳遞「地理知識」的相關科目——「常識」（低年級）、「社會」（中年級）、「地理」（高年級）三科，我檢驗了戰後二十年間，教育部三次修訂頒布的小學課程標準與細則、三十二冊相關教科書、以及各版的教學指引，作為分析臺灣戰後地方認同建構的文本。本篇論文的目的在檢視戰後臺灣教育所建構的空間感，並進一步探查其與臺灣認同間的關係。

近年來社會學科中新興的一股「文化轉向」(culturalturn)風潮，使得人文地理學的發展在二三十年間面貌大幅翻轉，然而，在這股風潮中，不只是人文地理學界吸收了馬克斯方法論、女性主義、後現代主義、後殖民主義、後結構主義等新的分析架構與觀點。相對地，人文地理學科中對「空間」與「地方」等概念的討論，也被人文社會學科所吸收，成為新興的焦點，例如社會學、人類學、哲學以及文化研究等領域，都引進了有關 space&place 等觀念，為各個人文社會學科注入了空間的思考面向，同時，也開始注意到「地方(place)」這個元素對意識型態與認同的影響。

本篇論文即是循此關懷為主軸，先簡單的介紹「地方感」的概念，再進入正題檢驗國民小學地理教育中的家國概念。針對臺灣戰後初期，小學教育中所教授的地理概念為研究對象，分析其中所呈現的空間意識，解讀隱含在文字與圖像中有關「家」與「國」的意象，其象徵意義，以及戰後國府教育中如何在臺灣新公民之中，建構中國認同。

「地方」(place)的概念一向是人文地理學中最重要的焦點議題，place 被視為是一個可以透過記憶，將一群人串連至其過去的重要認同建構所在。也就是「創造集體記憶的核心位置」。

簡單來說，所謂的「地方」(place)有兩個面向：一個是本質論的，一個是認識論的。根據美國地理學家 Agnew 的說法，一個「地方」之所以能成為一個「有意義的地點」有三個基本面向：地點(location)，場域(locale)，地方感(senseofplace)。

在這三個面向中，最重要的便是「地方感」。這指的是「某個特定地點給予我們的意義」，例如，「機場」，對有些人而言是歡樂渡假、探險尋奇的起點，對有些人而言，機場是個瘋狂採買名牌行動的代名詞，但對有些人而言，這是個離別傷感之傷心地，對附近居民而言，機場可能是個製造污染的討厭鄰居，對於工作人員而言，那是個得以維繫生計的地方……也就是說，「地方感」可以是

¹ 之所以會以 1968 年為分水嶺，一來，是因為當年配合文化復興運動之推動，教育方面也配合實施九年國教以及教科書統一編審制；二來，則因為 1968 年課程標準修訂後，結構上有了極大的變動，因為在這次課程標準修訂之後，小學「地理科」自此消失，所有相關的地理知識與歷史、公民結合，三科合而為一科長達六年的「社會科」。戰後臺灣教科書先是依據 1942 年在中國大陸的課程標準作修編，但遷臺後又經歷了 1952、1962 兩次課程標準修訂。

很私人的，也同時可以由一群人共享。這是依據每個人的生活經驗、社會地位，以及所處的文化環境不同，而產生的特殊感受。

正如 Relph 所說：「人們就是他們（所在）的地方，而一個地方就是其人民。雖然這些（人與地方）概念很容易區隔開來，但在經驗上卻是很難區分。」也就是說，人們的價值觀與行為，反映了他們所來自、所居住的地方，而一個地方，也是透過居住其間的人們而具體呈現。也就是說，「認同感」是與「地方感」是緊密相聯、不可切割的。

「家鄉」所引發的聯想，包涵著對過去的記憶、歷史，以及人民成就的檔案，同時，這個意念中的「家鄉」也似乎是一個永恆不變的、堅固牢靠的、可慰藉的避風港。因此，在全球化風潮裡所產生的疏離冷漠，快速變遷壓力下的焦慮，這個「家鄉」的意象似乎提供了一個逃避外在世界焦慮與不確定感的避風港。

二、教育與認同建構

學校教育作為意識型態國家機器（ISA）的一環，是形塑地方感與意識型態的兵家必爭之地。近幾十年來，社會科學界已普遍體認到「知識」是社會建構的產物，而「教育」傳遞的內容其實是有選擇性的價值觀。²學校不是中立自主的機構，而是個極有效率的「文化傳輸機制」，是提供「價值觀再製」功能的利器。就如葛蘭西所主張，要鞏固主導性意識型態，最關鍵的要素便是要控制在社會中身負保存與製造知識大任的機構——學校。這裡所謂的「知識」，是指經過教育當局與其他文化機構所挑選出來的「事實」，透過學校予以界說、保存、傳遞，予以正常化，並且大量再複製，這其實是建構出來的一套「現實」，不見得全然真實，也不全然符合每個人的利益。這對統治階級來說，學校教育是一個各方爭霸、尋求取得意識型態霸權的重要場域。因此，唯有了解教育體系與其內涵，才能解讀意識型態國家機器所意圖形塑的價值觀，以及其為既得利益者所複製的意識型態，正如 Michael Apple 所說，對知識（傳輸）的控制便是強化統治階級意識型態主導性的關鍵，而學校正是這種文化傳播價值觀再製的主要機制。因此，教育愈普及，意識型態的功效愈顯著。

之所以聚焦於小學教育，主要是因為小學教育的影響層面既深又廣，尤其是在戰後初期物資匱乏的年代裡，免費的教科書與國民義務教育的實施都影響深遠。日治後期實施義務教育，臺灣小學入學率已達 71%。戰後學齡兒童的就學率曾短暫下跌。但國府自 1949 年以後開始實施六年國民義務教育，數年間學童就學率快速增漲，入學率於 1951 年增加到 81.49%，1955 年漲至 92.33%，到

² Bourdieu, 1976, 1984 ; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977 ; Apple, 1979, 1976.

了 1968 年九年國教實施之前更達到了 97.67%。從戰後十年間高漲的學童就學率可以看得出來，臺灣學齡兒童強制入學率已達九成以上，可想而知，小學教育是影響、塑造新一代國民的重要場域。除了教育普及是一大因素外，其時程長達六年，課程內容也是有系統的編排規劃，其社會化之影響力不可小視。再加上國府自 1948 年起推行教科書免費配發政策，在那個物資極度缺乏、外來資訊困難的年代裡，免費教科書是大多數孩童擁有的主要讀物（對窮苦或是偏遠地區學童，很可能也是他們唯一的讀物），這種龐大的影響力極其罕見。

因此，我檢驗了 1945-67 年間在臺灣的小學教育裡，與地理知識相關的教科書內容。這裡所謂的「地理知識教育」，涵蓋了三個科目：「常識」（低年級）、「社會」（中年級）、「地理」（高年級）。我檢驗了戰後二十年共三版教育部編布的課程標準，三十二冊的以上各科課本，以及多冊教學指引。本文主要目的是檢視五〇、六〇年臺海局勢最危急、經濟物資最吃緊的年代裡，臺灣地理教育中所呈現出的「家」與「國」的概念與圖像。透過對地理教育課本內容分析，觀察並解讀在戰後黨國緊密控制環境下，思考以下幾個議題：戰後地理教育中塑造的什麼樣的家國想像？戰後教育建構了什麼樣的「地方感」？戰後一代年輕臺灣人與其所生長土地間的關係如何？同時，臺灣年輕一代的「地方感」是如何被形塑建構出來的？其「空間感」有什麼特殊？

三、課程標準的變遷

二次戰後國府治臺政策的重點之一在於教育，為因應治臺的「去日本化」政策，臺灣的教科書是特別「量身製作」的。大多採用中國大陸的教材（或直接翻印、或選用、或予以編輯改寫等），除了自然科學類仍沿用日本舊教材，翻譯為中文版，再作適度的增刪，其他科目多臺灣省中小學教材編輯委員會選定大陸出版教材中適用者，由原出版書局運臺銷售。³由於各類科目的需求不同（尤其是要考量消除日式思想，以及重建臺灣人對中國的忠誠與愛慕），再加上時間緊迫，必須在短時間內進行，並考量政治意識的適切性，因此戰後初期的臺灣教育與教材是十分混亂的。

一般而言，國小教育中有關地理的知識與概念通常是涵蓋於三個科目裡，包括了：

1. 「常識」（早期則為「國語常識」，大部分於國小低年級教授，早年有課本，1948 年後低年級不再用課本而只剩老師用的「教學指引」）
2. 「社會」（有時安排只在中年級，有時則是於中高年級教授，直到 1975 年後，

³ 歐用生 1990:173-4.

所有相關的社會科目課程全都合併進六年的「社會科」，不再細分史地常識)

3. 「地理」(大部分於高年級教授)

戰後的國小地理教育課程經常隨著課程標準的改變而變化，一來是臺灣的情況特殊，戰後的教學內容也就會因地制宜，有時必須個別處理，二來是因為教育界對於社會科整體的內容看法不同，也就在教學上有不同的想法，有些主張地理應該分科教學，有些則認為應當與社會、歷史二科結合成為一個總的「社會」科，因此戰後有過多次的分合，再加上，歷年來也有許多由教育廳編審委員會做的小幅修正，因此，即使在同一時期、屬於同一課程標準內，也會有不同的版本。尤其是戰後的數十年間，雖然有新的課程標準公布，但是因為編輯教科書需要時間，或是因為國家財政困難，有時候新課程標準公布後數年間，使用舊版教科書的狀況仍存在。這樣混亂的狀況一直到 1970 年代才消失⁴。

對國民黨而言，1949 年遷臺後為了要統一思想、鞏固民心，第一要務就是設計有效建立忠誠度與團結的課程。在 1968 年推行九年國民義務教育之前，臺灣經歷了三次的課程標準修編（分別在 1948、1952、1962 年）。這種十年一大改、五年一小改的狀態表現了國民黨對教育之重視，以及其對意識型態養成之殷切期盼。由於戰後臺灣教科書歷經多次課程標準的改革與修訂，其結構也變來變去，本文所檢驗的內容便是以 1968 年以前教授地理知識與概念的教科書內容為主要對象。之所以會以 1968 年為分水嶺，一來，是因為中華文化復興運動於該年實施，教育改革也同時進行，其中包括了九年國教以及教科書統一編審制的實施，大幅改變了教育生態；然而更直接的因素是隨著 1968 年課程標準修訂後，小學課程裡的「地理」科就消失了。

總的來說，從 1945 到 1968 年間，共有三次的課程標準制訂，所以我以歷屆課程標準修訂版本為經緯，將戰後這二十多年間的地理知識傳授分為三個版本，分別是：

1. 戰後初期版（按 1942 年版課程標準，1948 年小幅修訂）

- 1-4 年級 「國語常識」(共 8 冊課本)
- 5-6 年級 「地理」(共 4 冊課本) 包括 1950, 1957 兩次修訂本的不同版本，因為國家財務艱難，本版一直印到 1950 年代。

2. 1952 版（按 1952 年國民學校課程標準）

⁴ 進入 1970 年代以後，課程標準的研訂才逐漸定形。同時因為 1968 年的課程標準是一種政治產物，為配合反共國策於 1968 年與中華文化復興運動一起推動的，在實施後不甚理想。因此，教育部很快地又進行了新課程標準的研發，是在實驗試教後，才公布了 1975 年的新課程標準。自此教科書的內容有了很大的改變，而新舊教科書混用的狀態才有了真正的改善。

- 1-2 年級 「常識」(無課本，僅附教學指引)
- 3-4 年級 「常識」(共 4 冊課本)
- 5-6 年級 「地理」(共 4 冊) 這一版的課程標準，雖在 1952 年公布，但按此標準編寫印製的「地理」課本最早也要到 1958 年才出版

3. 1962 版 (按 1962 年國民學校課程標準)

- 1-2 年級 「常識」(無課本，僅附教學指引)
- 3-4 年級 「社會」(共 4 冊)
- 5-6 年級 「地理」(共 4 冊)

其中以戰後初期的版本最為特殊，課本以「編定本」與「審定本」二者兼用，原則上先是根據 1942 年國民政府在大陸上所修訂的「小學社會科課程標準」為準，再參考當時臺灣本身的需要，由臺灣省教育廳編審委員會負責修訂。1948 年 9 月國民政府正式通令公布了「小學課程標準」，並訂有「小學課程準實施辦法」，但是因為內戰已起，這項標準其實只有在臺灣一地實施。改動的幅度極少，新版最主要是將二次大戰結束後的新局勢內容予以更新修正，整體結構並未作太多更動。同時，自 1948 年以後，低年級常識科就不再用課本教學了。所以，這段期間的課本混亂，也有多種版本，同時，即使到了 1952 年教育部頒訂了「國民學校課程標準」，是遷臺後的第一次修訂之課程標準，也僅為局部修編。

其中值得注意的是，在 1968 年以前，臺灣的課程標準修訂過三次，因為戰後資源匱乏，新課程公布後，經常出現課本編排印製不及，以致課程標準公布後多年，新版教科書才得以印行上市。同時，新舊課本也常有同時使用的混亂現象。這尤其是以戰後初期版本最為混亂，同時印製的紙質圖像等也粗糙簡陋。

四、戰後國小地理知識傳授中五個家國想像的趨向

華裔人文地理學大師段義孚說得好：「對家鄉的忠誠是從小時候培養的。」因此，要了解一個人的地方感與認同，最直截了當的方式，便是去看看他在哪裡出生、成長、受教育的。因此，分析臺灣小學地理教育可以當作解讀臺灣人認同建構與地方感形成的關鍵。

正如亞波所說，教育之所以能夠影響與塑造意識型態要靠三個面向：課程規劃的設計、教科書的內容、潛在課程⁵。我在檢驗課程規劃以及課本內容外，也會考量潛在課程與學生價值觀的影響。

⁵ 「潛在課程」，指的是潛藏於正式課程與教育體制背後的目的，其所刻意營造的氛圍，以及深植的價值觀。這包括了學校的制度，標準化的日常作息，校園的布置與安排，行為規範，老師的價值觀，選擇獎罰的標準，教材的選用等等，這一整套的意識型態與價值觀會形成學校教育的深層結構，也就是潛在課程。(Apple, 1979: 49)

在這個過程中，我發現了幾個有趣現象。也就是這三版教科書利用地理知識所建構出來的認同，所傳遞的訊息呈現了一個強烈自我與他者間的差異。也就是說，地理概念中強調著中央與邊緣、內部與外部、源頭與延續、家園與敵國之區隔。這裡我歸納出在臺灣地理教育中所呈現的幾個與家國想像有關的訊息。包括了：

- (一) 我愛中華
- (二) 反共復國
- (三) 主權宣示與領土
- (四) 強說的鄉愁
- (五) 置身邊陲的臺灣

當然，在我們針對每個項目作分析之前，我先要強調，這五個有關家國概念的內涵其實是相互依存，不全然單獨存在的。我這裡雖然把它分開來談，這純粹是為了討論上的方便與易於理解，但是，其實各點之間仍有其呼應連結之處。

(一) 我愛中華

在所有的社會與常識課本中介紹中華民國的主題，一再出現。有時以詩歌來歌頌山川壯麗，有時訴諸民族情感，有時強調光輝史實與悠久歷史，有時則利用物產豐饒、文明發達，來作為偉大中華的例證，藉以培養學生熱愛中國的愛國心與情感。以這課〈中華民國〉為例，除了列舉中華民國的行政區域外，更是不斷重覆一套民族榮光的論述，把自己形塑為一個種族上優越的民族。課文中強調物產豐富、人多地廣、河山壯麗、泱泱大邦，不但自誇為「東亞領袖」，更自封為「世界四強」之一。這課主要是針對二次戰後剛剛加入中華民國的臺灣新國民所作，算是對「祖國」的簡介，在此同時，也透過歌頌中華祖國的偉大來培養臺灣年輕人對中國的孺慕之情。

這類沾沾自喜的民族自豪在社會、常識課文中經常出現，拿戰後初期版的國語常識第五冊〈我愛中華〉為例，這課課文傳遞了幾個重要的訊息：第一，中國是個偉大的國家，(且看上面的敘述：「人口眾多，物博地大……歷史悠久，文化發達」)。第二，我們的老家在中國大陸。所以，課文的結論是：「我愛老家，我愛中華」。依這課課文的邏輯，如果在大陸上的中華才是「老家」，那麼，臺灣不過是一個暫居之地、最多是個「新家」罷了。至於學生們如何看待他們所在的臺灣呢？課文裡卻完全沒提及。同時，這課課文是規劃在十月的第二周教授，因此，課文上方搭配了一張武昌起義的黑白印刻圖片，用以介紹雙十國慶的由來。當然，這樣的語言與訴求是針對二次戰後剛剛「回歸」祖國的新國民

而設計的，為的是要讓他們了解中國歷史。同樣的課題到了 1962 年版本時，內容變得較貼近學生生活，整體視覺上也有了很大的改進，同時，連內容的重點也轉移了。

在 1962 年社會科第一冊的〈偉大的中華〉，呈現的不再是對中華民國作介紹性的陳述，這課的課文不多，主要以圖像為主，這在早期仍是以文字編排敘述為主的課本中，是相當特別的，同時是用跨雙頁的彩色圖像為主要內容。這課的主題雖是偉大的中華，但課文的目的其實是在鼓吹反共。在視覺上，全課充滿了政治象徵符碼——國旗、標語，以及孫中山與蔣中正的相片。全課的正中央是國慶遊行的學生隊伍，他們手持國旗以及國父蔣公相片，課文中寫著：「肩靠著肩，手牽著手，踏上反共復國的道路！建立富強康樂的國家。」圖片下方則是夾道歡迎的老少群眾，揮舞著旗幟，上寫：「慶祝國慶，慶祝雙十節，中華民國萬歲」等口號。相較於圖像正中的這批學生，群眾被擠在最下方，在比例上也呈現了青年學子的重要性。這個簡單的圖像象徵著民眾對偉大中華的支持，尤其是這批追隨領袖的遊行學生更代表著戰後新一代三民主義年輕楷模、反共復國新國民的理想形象。與戰後初期版本的〈我愛中華〉一課比起來，1962 年版的〈我愛中華〉不但強化了圖像的視覺象徵，在課文中更是把原本僅是歌頌中華的重點，移轉到下一代所要擔負的反共任務上。同時，在學生學習這課課文的同時，學校也通常會安排參加國慶遊行並安排校內慶祝活動，因此這種課程的安排與訴求的轉變，進而強化了學生的社會化程度，不但讓學生親身經歷「慶祝」的過程，學習「正確」的慶祝方式，更引導學生在國家慶典中「感受」到民族自豪與建國的驕傲。

（二）反共復國

「反共復國」的主題不論是在常識、社會、還是地理課本中，處處可見，這個內容通常是與愛國的主題並陳呼應，似乎要愛國，就得要先反共。而且，在後來的版本中，愛國的內容更逐漸為反共主題所主導。以致「反共」與「抗俄」成為當時教科書中最重要的編輯原則。

先拿 1952 年兩課常識課文「反共抗俄」為例。第 21 課〈共匪的暴行〉課文譴責中共奪取大陸之不公義，以及其暴力苛政：「共匪即勾結蘇俄，乘機叛亂，竊奪政權……利用暴力……禍國殃民」，這所呈現的「匪情」，再利用一張集體農場的插圖來強化這種大陸人民為苛政壓迫的意象，這圖中農民作牛作馬，都顯得面黃肌瘦，即使是共黨幹部也看起來很憔悴瘦弱。相對地，接下來的第 22 課，則立即誇示著臺灣現代建設的成果：「政治民主，社會安定，農村繁榮，工商業發達，教育普及，士氣高昂」，並且自比為「亞洲反共抗俄最大的力量」，

兩者的對比也的確建立在某種實際情勢所建構出來的（例如，中共於 50 年代推動集體農場）。同時，在課文的最後又列舉了三項「使命」：「反攻大陸……驅逐俄寇……解救大陸同胞，建設新中國。」這兩課的目的昭然，反共與抗俄是光復河山的主要途徑。

戰後課本中的反共情懷剛開始主要是以簡單的政治「指控」為訴求。但是，到了 1962 年版，課本對於臺灣的經濟榮景與大陸饑荒苦難的對照增加了許多細節，強化了兩者在生活上的對比，使得學生對於反共的想像得以逐漸落實在生活裡。這種對照直接地比對著兩岸生活上的差距。不只是國民黨的經濟建設成果用來對照中國共黨政權對人民的壓迫，同時更強調日常生活中的「自由」。例如，〈臺灣今日的生活〉一課，不但提及政府新政使得生產建設顯著提升，人民豐衣足食，更強調：「我們在臺灣，生活在民主的社會裡，過的是自由平等的生活。人人在社會上有平等的地位，享有信教的自由，居住的自由和言論的自由。」對照的是最後一段對中國大陸的描述：「共匪奴役之下，家破人亡……牛馬不如的生活，和我完全不同。」也就是說，1952 年版本中大陸同胞作牛作馬的情況，在 1962 版的課本中有了改變，針對中共在 1950 年代後半推出大躍進、人民公社等政策後，課本中的大陸人民更被形容為「牛馬不如」了。

海峽兩岸截然不同的對比不但用課文來描繪，更用插圖來呈現。在這個跨雙頁的課文中，右方代表的是臺灣安和富庶的社會景象，上半描畫的是臺灣的繁榮建設（街道、店鋪、工廠林立，市街上車水馬龍），下方表現的是一個快樂美滿、三代同堂的理想家庭生活圖像；二者表現出臺灣社會成功地融合了傳統生活的圓滿幸福以及現代化建設的成就；左頁的圖像則是代表中國大陸，上方是共產主義實施後家園殘敗蕭條、土地棄耕的荒蕪，下半截則呈現出共黨統治下的慘況，在「人民公社」的招牌下，充斥著死亡、饑荒、殘酷以及貧窮。其中最觸目驚心的是左下角的兩雙綠色人腿，作為屍橫遍野的象徵。不論是圖像還是課文內容都指控著共產統治的凶殘，並對照著國民黨政權的正義。除了強調雙方天堂與地獄般的極端外，這種強調中華河山原本的美好，並誇示臺灣在國府建設後的富強，更是藉以突顯反共訴求的正當性。

（三）主權宣示與領土

從國際法的角度來看，國家行使的主權與其領土是密不可分的。就因為現代民族國家與其子民間的關係主要是以「領土」為基礎。這麼一來，國民黨在大陸的失守，如何能為其「中國正統政權」的宣示找尋藉口呢？依 Burghardt 之說法，三種最有效的領土權宣示方式包括：實際的控制、領土的完整性、文化與歷史淵源。既然國府失去了對中國大陸的控制，就已失去了統治國家的政

治主權。因此只能借助於最後的一個元素，也就是強調國民黨政權的歷史與文化正統性，以及其繼承中華道統與孫中山思想的地位。因此，在地理知識教授上，特別強調領土主權，也就是國民黨執政時期的「中華民國」疆域，把自己當成正統，把共產黨政權形容為「竊奪」。在另一個層面上，除了強調內賊僭越竊取，也指責外侮與侵略。

在堅持中華民國疆界與領土完整的理念下，在 1962 年前出版的地理課本，除了明列中華民國領土之外，也強調「失地」。失地問題被視為是「國家主權」被侵害的主要威脅。因此，這也是每一冊「本國地理」課本都會出現的主題。這包括了：「廣東沿海的割讓地和租借地」、「西南的失地和邊防要地」（第一冊）、「西北的失地和邊防要地」（第二冊）、「東北的失地和邊防要地」（第三冊）。

戰後初期版本中的課文經常將清代以來的失地詳列清單，對於失地喪權的理由不外是：被迫訂定不平等條約、強迫割讓；外國的強力介入，「侵略」或「強租」；或是「邊境空虛」，鄰國趁虛而入等等……我們隨便看幾段課文就可以看出這種「受害人」心態。這些課文大多強調民族尊嚴被踐踏、國家被欺侮，並提醒學童們必須謹記「恢復失土」的責任，並且要牢記那一些失土是「我們的」。

就是藉著醜化帝國侵略的狼子野心，可以為中國本身的衰弱找到藉口。同樣地，國府在內戰中的失守大陸，似乎也被當作像是歷史性失地一般，歸因於外國勢力（蘇聯）的侵略介入所導致，也就是說，在教科書中強調歷史上的失地，還有另一層目的，就是要把歷史上的失土與國府失去大陸劃上等，把國府的失守大陸當成不過又是一次不幸的歷史性事件而已，國民黨內戰失利的主因推給了蘇聯的介入。

要在教科書中強調由國民黨領導的中華民國政府是正統中國政府的代表，因此在社會與地理科裡，三種政治象徵圖像不斷重覆出現，包括了：地圖、國旗，以及政治領袖。這三種圖像中又以地圖最為有力。地圖代表的是「領土」，也就是現代國家組成的要素之一。戰後初期的課本中，雖然地圖的製作很粗糙、不精確，而且大多是以黑白色調為主，但地圖在地理想像上十分重要，尤其是對國家的想像特別有幫助。

1962 年以前的地理課本都是以兩課〈我國的疆域〉（一）與（二）為開端。開宗明義地界定了中國的疆域，並配合一張全頁大的「中華民國政區圖」，課文中的級任老師——「華老師」——不斷地強調中華民國的優越與強大，他說：「這是我們的中華民國！我們看，世界上有幾個國家能比得上我國這樣大呢？」在敘述完中華民國的「偉大」之後，就強調：「人民優秀，物產豐富，真是說不盡的可愛……我們國土以內南、北、東、西都是中華民族生存發展所必需的區域，中華民國國土不可割裂，不可隔離，而必須是完整無缺的。」到了第二課，更詳列所謂的「中華民國疆域」，包括了一連串國府認定「應該」算是中國的地方，

以及國民黨於 1949 年失去大陸（也就是失去政權）以前所訂定的行政區劃，在戰後初期版第一次（1950 年）修訂本中列舉的國土包括：35 行省、12 院轄市、海南行政區，以及西藏地方，但是到了第二次（1957 年）修訂本中，因為國府對蒙古獨立的態度改變，所以，又加入了蒙古地方。

（四）強說的鄉愁

除了強調民族精神，以及同仇敵愾的愛國情懷之外，這段時期的小學教科書中還有一個很有趣的現象，就是對鄉愁的培養。也就是說，小學生從三、四年級開始已經被教導，如何去懷想一個未曾去過的「家鄉」，也就是，那個被教科書稱為「老家」的地方。這個「家鄉」或是「老家」，指的並不是學童所生長的地方，不只是他們父執輩來自的地方，也不只限於先民渡海而來的閩南（或廣東），而是一個想像的地理空間，涵蓋的是那塊被形容為土地豐饒、民族優秀、物產豐榮、具五千年悠久歷史、海峽對岸的那個祖國神州。

拿 1962 年社會科第 1 冊第 1 章為例，它開宗明義地就教導孩子要思鄉，它說：「家鄉！家鄉！……它是我們生長的地方……不論是鄉村，都市，海邊，山旁，它是我們永遠懷念的地方。」以這樣一個觀點來作社會科的開端是很令人疑惑的。為什麼會用「我們永遠懷念的地方」這樣的語句來召喚一批九、十歲大的學童呢？第 1 課最後一段課文則進而闡述了這種「思鄉」情愁，並且引導學童去想像這種近似強說愁式的懷鄉情感，在本課課文中，小英與小華是從都市搬到鄉下的孩子，當地學童新民與建國領著他們在附近玩耍，當四個孩子爬上附近的山丘、俯視山下的村鎮景觀時，小英說：「我愛這美麗的村莊，我也想念都市，那裡是我生長的地方」，相反地，新民則說：「我父親告訴我，我們的家鄉是南京，在海的那一邊，那裡有山有水，是個地勢雄偉的地方。」也就是說，這種思鄉之情有兩種，前者是懷念出生成長的地方，後者則是懷想父母或祖先來自的源頭。

但是，要培養學童去懷念一個沒去過、也不了解的地方，這種想像出來的「鄉愁」情懷經常在「常識」與「社會」課本中出現。再舉一個例子，在第 4 冊的〈我國的首都〉課文中，呼應了第 1 冊的內容，新民的父親在春節假期中感嘆：「我們的故鄉在南京市，這座美麗的都市，可惜被萬惡的共匪占據了。」最後的結論是：「我們到臺灣來已經十多年了，我們在這裡過著舒適的日子，但是不要忘記我們的錦繡河山啊！」第 2 課〈我國的第一大都市〉課文裡，在談完了南京、上海之後，以新民興奮的話語作結尾：「我們要早日光復大陸，回到南京、上海去。」

這些課文創造了一個懷鄉的迷思，培養出一批所謂「心懷祖國」的年輕臺

灣人，也就是說：此地雖是好，但我們仍然思念、愛慕，或想像著另外一個地方。這種意識型態一直要到 1975 年課程標準修正公布後，才稍稍有了改善。

同時，值得注意的是，在教科書中的許多人名、地名都很有象徵意義。其中最明顯的便是前面兩版「地理」課本中的引言人，也就是領著學童遊歷中國的「華老師」，暗示著中華民國與其新子民之間的關係，華老師帶領學生就如同國府引領臺灣子民一般，是一種上對下、風行草偃的位階，同樣地，從都市裡搬到鄉間的學童叫：小華、小英。這「華」與「英」二字，可以象徵著中華，或菁英之意。似乎隱涉著他們從都市（也就是比較開發、現代的地方）搬到鄉間（也就代表著比較落後，比較鄉土的地方），小華小英象徵著具有較優越地位的外來者，也就是外省人，相對地，他們在鄉間的鄰居學童，一個叫建國、一個叫新民，這兩個名字也具有強烈象徵性，意謂著他們是中國的新國民，建設國家的棟樑，他們代表著本地的臺灣人。在課文中，雙方變成了好朋友，建國與新民還帶著小華小英在本鄉遊玩，暗示著外來者與本鄉人的和諧共存。

這樣的教科書形塑出一個奇異的氛圍，似乎書中每個人物都在懷想另個非此時此地的地方，這個教科書中所建構出來的「中國認同」，便是根據國民政府所描繪出來的一種地方認同想像。同時也是一種男性主導的地理想像產物。其中引導學生思鄉的師長與官方指導人物（父親、祖父、老師、校長、警察、村長、公務員等等）大多是男性，且為外省籍男性。不論是地理、常識或社會課本，女性的角色微乎其微。大多數的女性多是沉默的無名者，最多只是扮演傳統家庭中好母親、好妻子與好女兒的角色，即使有幾個得以「發聲」的女性人物。這些女性的存在，似乎也僅是為了支持男性主導的社會價值觀以及維繫男性秩序而出現的。

（五）置身邊陲的臺灣

臺灣的地位在所有的地理與社會教科書中，都是用來作為對應於中國大陸的（referencepoint）參考點而已。凡是講述有關「臺灣」的課文，最後都不免一定要提到中國大陸。尤其是「地理」，有關臺灣的內容少得可憐。即使是在以臺灣為主題的課文，但每每提及，不論是課文還是圖像，真正的重心仍放在中國大陸。這種談及臺灣的內容，通常有三種主要訴求：1，強調臺灣與大陸在種族與歷史上的淵源深厚（也就是說，「我們都是一家人」）；2，臺灣的物產豐富（所以，是反攻復國基地）；3，國民政府戰後在臺灣的建設成果（因此，比照起邪惡的中國共產黨，國民黨政府是一個促進繁榮且道德公義的政權）。

舉例來說，在 1962 年版社會第 1 冊第 11 課〈祭祖〉中，建國的父親對著兒子耳提面命地說：「我們的老家在福建省，大約在一百五十年前，有一位祖先

遷到臺灣來，他千辛萬苦，開墾荒地，才在這裡居住下來……國家是全國人民的家，這個大家庭是由黃帝開始建立的，所以我們都是黃帝的子孫，我們都是大家庭的一分子，要相親相愛，努力建設這個大家庭。」他心心念念地就是要強調這個「我們都是一家人」的理念；在同一冊第 12 課〈鄉賢的故事〉中，即使是提到被扭曲的吳鳳傳說，新民的父親都會先指著牆上的地圖說：「臺灣是中國的一省，在大陸的東南方……和福建省隔著一個臺灣海峽。」類似的例子多不勝數，都強調著一種特定的大中國中心思維邏輯，把臺灣視為大中華為中心放射後居於邊陲的外圍環節。

任何有關臺灣本土的課文內容，大多只是因為必須要提到與大陸相關的內容，或是強調臺灣本身的經濟物產與社會富足，足以擔負起復國使命與反共任務。也就是說，課本中有關這個島嶼的存在，似乎都是為了提及中國大陸才存在的。所以，即使是有關臺灣的課文，真正的主角仍是中國大陸，它僅被視為是暫時存身的新居，而非真正的家鄉。這種對本土的「怠慢」，比起介紹大陸其他各地的課文份量完全不成比例。例如：本國地理中介紹了幾個中國大城市，包括了：南京、上海和武漢，但相較之下，作為臺灣首善之區、國府臨時國都的臺北市卻一直都沒有特別章節介紹。

可以想見的，地理教科書中，中國的比重遠超過臺灣。從 1945 到 1967 年間，歷屆「本國地理」的課程標準中以臺灣為主題的地理課文只有一課，平均佔不到「本國地理」課文的百分之三。戰後初期的兩個修訂本（1950，1957）中，「本國地理」內容共計三冊，以及第四冊的前面四課共計 58 課，其中只有一課有關臺灣，所以僅佔「本國地理」內容的 1.724%。在 1952 年版課程標準修訂後，臺灣的內容比例變化不大，在三冊「本國地理」54 課課文中，臺灣仍只有一課，占了 1.85%的份量。直到 1962 年版，雖然有關臺灣的課文維持不變，仍是一課，但因為「本國地理」被縮減為兩冊 36 課，相對地，份量提升至 2.77%。

臺灣在社會科課本中的份量也好不了多少，當臺灣在「社會科」中出現時，之所以被提及，通常是與中國歷史與地理的內容相結合。例如，戰後初期版第一次（1950 年）修訂本的「社會」教科書中便將「鄭成功開闢臺灣」內容作為「臺灣省」主軸。這是第一次臺灣在小學常識課本中正式被提及（四上），課文中，臺灣的重要性似乎是建立在鄭成功將此作為反清復明的基地為由。這種斷層的史觀將早期臺灣史呈現得很片面，除了鄭成功的建設外，似乎別無其他歷史。同時，對臺灣島的敘述也僅止於物產之描寫，例如「草木全年皆綠，好花四時常開，所以人們叫它做美麗島。」、「本省的土壤肥美物產豐富。稻米一年兩熟，水果種類繁多。」雖然內容在 1962 年版社會科對臺灣的內容有大幅增加，但主要增加的仍是選擇性的臺灣歷史。強調的是臺灣與中國的關係，或是臺灣在國民政府治下的建設成果。

除了內文之外，地圖更呈現出臺灣的邊陲地位，這類的例子俯拾可得。從〈我國的地勢與位置〉這課中所附的一張「我國在世界上的位置」地圖來看，讀者很難找到臺灣，因為它最多只是海上的一個紅點而已；又如，在常識課本中的一幅「中國地形圖」，雖然圖中標示出中國各個重要高原、平原、山脈、河流等，但是臺灣卻是一片空白；另一個例子，在這張「我國的名山」地圖中，標示出中國歷史上的五嶽，以及大陸著名的峨眉山、廬山、黃山、天臺山等著名山嶽，但諷刺的是，高山佔全島三分之一以上、而且其中有 258 座超過 3,000 公尺以上高山林立的臺灣，在這張圖中，卻又是一片空白！就連位於臺灣中央的東北亞第一高峰——玉山——也未被標示出來。這樣的忽視，似乎暗示著國府統治者對於所在地臺灣的視而不見。這也似乎標示著，臺灣「不是我國」，以致臺灣的高山未能躋身於「我國的名山」之列。

五、結論

戰後臺灣小學地理教育中所塑造的「地方感」是一個大中國的地理想像，是奠基於其國民政府的國家需求、依其政治意義而建構的。生活中所體驗、身處與實踐的真實環境與人們的生活脫節，反而變成了有隔閡的異鄉。為使得年輕學子與想像中的「母國」建立「空間上的認同」，這失了根的地理教育卻造成了臺灣人與實際生活中的環境斷層，無法發展結結實實、有根可紮的土地情感，只能培養出虛幻飄渺的空間感，以及一種不知所云的懷鄉情愁。這種地理上的空白，似乎隱涉著臺灣是一塊「平景」(flatscape)。所謂的 flatscape 是什麼呢？正如瑞爾夫所定義的，是「一個無地方感的地理，不但缺乏多元的地景，也沒有具意義的地方。」也就是說，在臺灣的地理課本中，臺灣是一個面目模糊，不具意義的地方。

更有趣的是，純粹就地理課程的內容與結構來看，有關臺灣的討論在戰後二、三十年的教育中的確是與「中國地理」區隔開來的，「臺灣」這一課經常是放在「中國地理」架構之外處理，也就是放置在討論中國各大區域的課文以外。換句話說，雖然很多人指責國府遷臺後的政策一向是以「中國化」為指標，但是如果我們更深一層來分析這種中國化的政策時，其實可以發現，這種意識型態的推行產生出不同層次的歧視與排擠，「中國化」的原則雖然被許多人提出，視為臺灣戰後的主要國家政策，但是在實質的推行上，從來沒有把臺灣當自己人，並未將臺灣納入中國的區域地理範疇之內，反而將臺灣「他者化」，排擠於中國正統之外。

因此，臺灣的地理課本其實是把臺灣處理為「中國以外的區域」，也就是，為它指派了一個「outside」(外部)的位置，不論是在課文的討論或是地圖的呈

現上，臺灣也常常被處理得比西藏、新疆、蒙古等地區還要邊陲。臺灣的地理教育把這個自己居住的島嶼視為一個「正統中國（Chinaproper）」之外、多出來的附加領土而已。如果連小學課本都不能把「臺灣」視為是「自己的土地」，而把臺灣當作中國以外、一個比邊疆還要邊陲的地方，那麼，在這樣的地理教育與地方感的影響之下，它所創造出來的，其實是一種把「臺灣視為他者」的價值觀，呈現出國府長期以來有意無意的排擠，將臺灣與臺灣人放置在中國範疇與認同之外。因此，與其說，戰後教育是個中國化的意識型態養成，不如說，戰後教育是個他者化的過程，將戰後一代的年輕臺灣人教育成自認是低人一等，永遠懷想對岸的次等中國人。

正如 Relph 所說，真正的「地方感」建立於與實際整體環境的直接接觸，而且是透過身處其間的地方經驗所產生的。至於臺灣戰後教育所塑造的一種對「大中華」家國想像的虛構空間感，這只能算是一種虛構不真的空間感（inauthenticsenseofplace）。同時，臺灣戰後地理教育中所形塑的空間感，其缺憾不只是對大中國的虛擬想像而已，更間接造成學生對本身周遭環境的空白與疏離，這種無根、無家的漂泊與荒涼，使得臺灣新一代的空間感更加在環境中所產生的無空間感（placelessness），這種以大中華為重點的家國想像雖然形成了一種與本土疏離的地理想像，以及一種心心念念神州祖國的無根流散（diaspora）心情與身分。然而，這種強加於身、無根的地方感是很難長期維繫的。在強制的政治力消失後，一個自然發展、附著於自身所處土地的地方感，以及隨之而來的認同感，終將浮現。這也就解釋了為什麼戰後國民政府雖然有系統地、長期地塑造以中國為主體的認同，卻終將隨著民主化進程而淡化，取而代之的，則是一股從本土生根茁壯、新興的地方認同。昔日失根蘭花式的神州家國想像，已逐漸落實於生活，為身邊的山川風物所取代。

Victim's Justice:
Early Cold War East Asia and the Pursuit of a New Order⁶

日本戰犯的審判：中日關係歷史的觀察

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In December of 1974 a scrawny and raggedly dressed former Japanese imperial soldier was discovered in the jungles of Morotai, a dot of an island in the middle of the Indonesian archipelago. The Japanese media feverishly spilled rivers of ink reporting the story, following a pattern unleashed during the discovery of Yokoi Shōichi and Onoda Hirō, two Japanese soldiers found a bit earlier in formerly occupied jungles. Unfortunately, the glee did not last long. It was eventually uncovered that Nakamura was not Japanese, he was Taiwanese; his Chinese name was Li Guanghui. But the mystery unravelled even further because Li/Nakamura was not even a Han Chinese but an aboriginal Taiwanese, one of the many who volunteered for service, receiving a Japanese imperial military education and shipping off for combat in the late years of World War Two. Li/Nakamura's plight was that he lived for thirty years in the jungle believing he was a Japanese imperial subject but in the end he received the treatment of someone lesser. The postwar Japanese government only agreed to offer him half of what it paid other Japanese soldiers for lost wages.

From 1895 to the present day, the shifting sands of Taiwanese identity have been very much like those of Li/Nakamura, a soldier who through no effort of his own suffered three changes of nationality imposed on him by various administrations. We should remember that in the case of Taiwan, "Within a period of half a century, the Taiwanese had been put under the political domination first of the Qing, then of the Japanese, and finally of the Republic of China." With such quick reversion back and forth it was difficult to predict at any given moment who exactly ruled over Taiwan. Nonetheless, since the turn of the century the Japanese had ruled Taiwan and corralled many of its inhabitants into supporting the war. It was this influence that had to be resolved at the moment Japan's fifteen-year war in East Asia ended in the summer of 1945.

Either as volunteers or draftees Taiwanese soldiers in the Japanese imperial forces served in many capacities but often as translators and in other low-level jobs. Such positions frequently placed Taiwanese on the front lines in conflict with local Chinese or other ethnicities within

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Japan's Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. In essence Taiwanese had a dual identity, as Luo Jiurong points out, ethnically they stood as Han Chinese but legally until the end of 1945 they were recorded as Japanese nationals. This duality was bequeathed through the legacy of the empire and when that collapsed the very identity that undergirded the Taiwanese role in Japan's imperial enterprise quickly crumpled. The subsequent political problem soon became how to resolve Taiwan's historical role in Japan's imperial efforts and how to process such responsibility with an eye toward future policy.

The plight of Taiwanese – ethnic Han or aborigines - as pawns in the larger circumstances of the Sino-Japanese war helps us to start to understand the complicated process of the breakdown of the Japanese empire. More importantly, the manner in which justice was pursued in the immediate aftermath, what I call the legal adjudication of Japanese war crimes in East Asia, is a key element in unwinding the historical complexity of postwar power shifts, the formation of a Taiwanese identity and its connection to Japan's postwar foreign relations goals.

This article centers on three inter-related issues – analyzing how Japanese rule was restructured in the former colonies, dissecting the prosecution of Japanese war crimes and resolving the conundrum of collaboration within the former empire. These problems are intimately tied together due to the transformation of postwar identity and colonial politics but I am interested in following the story to the edge of the Japanese empire after 1945. My research will center on the issue of how Japanese war crimes were constructed in Taiwan and how that process intersected with postwar nationalism in Taiwan and Japan. Taiwan is a complex geographical space, never fully confirmed as a legal entity of the Japanese empire or the Qing. This legal liminality increased dramatically with Japan's surrender in 1945. Legal questions concerning jurisdiction, international law and the nature of colonial responsibility still weigh heavily today within the historical legacy of Japanese imperialism. Who exactly was responsible for Japan's war in Asia where ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese aborigines became soldiers for the Japanese and guarded Allied POWs? How should postwar punishment and mercy be meted out? Taiwan is an exceptionally difficult case study because unlike Korea or northern China the Japanese had not really worn out their welcome as colonial overseers. Because the island was on the periphery of the newly established geographic borders of Chinese Nationalist rule after 1945 Taiwan was at first not a priority for Chinese political management or military administration until a few years into the Cold War.

My aim in this research is to analyze the pursuit of justice in this postwar contested area of Japanese military and economic control. There were two major issues regarding war crimes trials in Taiwan: the Nationalists needed to determine who was legally defined as a Japanese or a Chinese (or aborigine?) because this affected the manner in which the individual would or

would not be prosecuted. Second, the KMT had to delineate a policy concerning treatment over all Taiwanese concerning the issue of collaboration. A third factor was the manner in which the Japanese responded; after all there were several hundred thousand left in Taiwan at the end of the war, including colonists and soldiers. For the Nationalist party it was in their best interest not to hold the entire island as traitors but neither could KMT leaders allow gross acts of Taiwanese collaboration to go unpunished. Given Taiwan's previous long durée as a colonial state the conditions conducive to cleaving it away from Japanese rule and culture initially appeared daunting. Dongyoin Hwang assesses that punishing Chinese collaborators was important to "re-establish national discipline and dignity." Delineating who was a traitor/collaborator, *hanjian* in Chinese, as opposed to a war criminal whose trials were separate, required an open and frank discussion about the entire nature of Japan's empire, Taiwan's role, and more importantly and perhaps most difficult, Chinese identity within that empire. Luo Jiurong encapsulates the entangled circumstances of those moments when he asks: "How could Taiwanese people convince the Chinese that despite their donning Japanese clothing, eating Japanese food, speaking Japanese, living in Japanese houses, and wearing Japanese slippers" they were still Chinese at their core. This was a deep question, the ramifications of which reverberate even today, and not only in Taiwan. Koen De Ceuster boldly remarks that a similar situation for other former Japanese colonies exists because, as he says, "Collaboration is the original sin in Korea."

Postwar trials concerning Taiwanese wartime behavior were a breed apart from mainland trials but indicative of two similarities – the KMT tried to assert that it was the commander and chief over all Chinese, including those of recently liberated occupied areas. Second, the pageantry or ceremony of the legal process provided the Nationalist party a platform from which it could demonstrate that it was legally and under the international banner of law administering Taiwan along the lines drawn by the Cairo Declaration of 1943. The tricky part was forging a new identity onto the Taiwanese and getting them to go along with the results of the new policies. We should not forget that for all intents and purposes throughout the 1930 and 40s those under the yoke of Japanese rule had no reason to expect a sudden conclusion to the Japanese empire. The end of Japanese colonial management called into question the entire nature of education many Taiwanese had acquired and the language they spoke.

This issue of victimhood in the postwar, that Taiwanese were trapped by Japanese colonialism and then ensnared under KMT rule, is reflective of Japanese immediate postwar attitudes as well. Japanese soldiers "trapped" by the war were stylized in the Japanese novella concerning a BC class war criminal, *I want to be left alone*, (*Watakushi wa kai ni naritai*). In Katô Tetsutaro's archetype of Japanese self-wallowing the plot focuses on the misaligned pursuit

of postwar justice concerning a student forced to be a prison guard during the war. Postwar the student was tried, he believed unlawfully, and then sentenced to be executed. Convicted and sentenced to death, although this was later commuted due to the intervention of MacArthur, Kato's writings came to light in a semi-fictional version. This self-pity of being convicted for crimes over which he had no control became the cornerstone of both the peace movement and the postwar structure of irresponsibility as Ishida Takeshi and Maruyama Masao have noted. Matsunami Jun suggests that this type of literature portrays the occupation, although grudgingly accepting the benefits, mostly in a negative light. Thus, postwar BC class war crimes trials appear as the calamitous result meted out to mostly unfortunate souls.

I aver in my research of the Japanese and Chinese archives that the method for examining the war crimes conundrum in the imperial periphery lays not in the often analyzed Tokyo War Crimes Trials of a small number of class A war criminals. Instead, we need to focus on unravelling the threads of the almost 5,700 BC class war crimes trials in East Asia. The massive number of these trials across Japan's former empire has codified historical opinions but this avenue for scholastic inquiry still pales in contrast to what Lisa Yoneyama calls the "Americanization of Japanese war crimes." Yoneyama examines the ways "in which legal and other discursive forces have produced the Asian/American as the agent-subject through and over which demands for different kinds of historical justice." This remains a key impediment to grasping the way in which East Asians dealt with the dissolution of the Japanese imperial structure in the postwar.

The current wave of history tends to examine memory and its interaction with history, but we have failed to notice deep in the background of this memory the larger role the courts and the media at the time exerted in molding this elastic memory into firmer public opinion. Part of the reason for this neglect is that scholarship has needed to spend time unearthing the details and horror of the atrocities themselves with less time to engage the manner in which legal responsibility was pursued for all but the most heinous events. Memory is one arena of emotional history but legal opinions hold just as much if not more weight in creating a *precedent* on which foreign policy and future strategy is built. One goal of my larger project is to examine the manner in which the Chinese, Japanese, and Americans used the political shifts in the early Cold War to engage in new domestic and foreign propaganda plans and politics to solidify support for their camps. During the late 1940s and 1950s propaganda goals in Asia shifted their axes and raised the banner of "humanity and justice." Each nation tried to prove its level of "justness" by illustrating their proper and legal pursuit of Japanese war criminals in the immediate postwar.

National memory is personal and domestic while legal opinions are transparent, publicized

and more important increasingly international. Following Peter Zarrow's work on political ritual in early Republican China, I will show that these postwar trials of Taiwanese served as "political rituals" and gave the populace a series of "solemn and repetitive practices that connect[ed] leaders and communities with larger, higher forces, be these God or gods, transcendental movements of history, the fate of the nation, the future of the people, or whatever." This process also assists in our understanding of the dismantling of the Japanese empire and how Chinese power and authority reaffirmed itself on the mainland, and in Taiwan. This legal process was the very definition of international law. Whether these were legal trials and not show trials is difficult to conclude given that many trials partly belonged to both categories. The system adjudicated public guilt and delineated who was Japanese and who was Chinese. This process legally untangled various issues but failed to do so culturally, leaving Taiwanese, Manchukuo, Korean, and colonial Japanese individuals to sort out their identities during the initial years of the early Cold War.

The lag in dismantling Japanese rule in China, as compared with the alacrity of the US occupation of Japan, demonstrates that Chinese military strategy did not play to American strength and it underscores the fact that China was still relatively out of the control of any one major military – the KMT, CCP, the US, and of course Japan. As Fujiwara Akira and others have ably demonstrated, on the eve of surrender Japan still had under its control a fraction over one million soldiers in China, not including those in Taiwan or Korea. Those on the home islands of Japan and the South Pacific were in poor condition to fight, but that was not the case in China. The KMT had to deal with the lingering Japanese military as they slowly repatriated but remained in many key positions. In addition, the KMT complained that the CCP blocked the postwar demobilization of Japanese soldiers by disturbing transportation and communication, or pilfering weapons transfers.

Immediate Postwar Taiwan

The numbers the KMT and CCP had to deal with in China were staggering: a little more than two million Japanese of whom slightly over one million were military POWs and 780,000 were civilians. Approximately 56,000 were defined as Korean, with 40,000 Taiwanese added brethren. Given the sheer numbers and their disparate locations the KMT quickly made a decision to retain Japanese train crews on staff. As Chinese Republican archives note, many prewar train lines in China were managed by foreigners so immediately following Japan's surrender crews of Chinese were not available in enough numbers to run the systems. "We must use these materials and Japanese technicians who are prisoners, *Rifu gongren*, to fix and

maintain the tracks in this early postwar time,” one report stated. The Chongqing Nationalist government reasoned that with properly operating transport it would be able to more quickly receive the Japanese weapons that were supposed to be delivered to KMT hands.

At the moment of the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945 no one – not the Chinese, the Taiwanese or the Japanese – could envision the future with any clarity. Commentary from the Japanese who became repatriates, *hikiagesha*, demonstrates the ambivalence the Taiwanese may have harbored toward the incoming mainland Chinese administrators and military, but that could just as much be a consequence of Japanese colonial arrogance. Shiomi Shunji, a long time Japanese economic specialist who worked in Taiwan for the colonial administration and who returned to the island by plane on September 9, 1945, aptly pointed to this duality in his postwar diary. Many Japanese were at first worried they would find themselves on the receiving end of vicious retribution but once the situation calmed down the former colonial population grew more relaxed, and some even opted to stay. The pay was good and technicians, those especially welcomed by the new Chinese rulers, believed they still had a lot more to “teach” the Chinese to help them modernize. General Albert Wedmeyer, head of US command in Chongqing, told KMT General He Yingqin that he wanted all Japanese out of China by the summer of 1946, except special dispensation was given to Taiwan where Japanese were permitted to remain until January 1947. Many Japanese in Taiwan wanted to stay; the Americans were acquiescent and the Chinese believed they needed Japanese technicians to remain. In the end approximately 7,000 Japanese technicians and their families (totalling about 28,000 Japanese) remained in Taiwan for the first few years after the end of the war.

It was not all love and roses between the native Taiwanese and Japanese colonial rulers and surrender offered the perfect opportunity to settle old scores. Groups of vigilantes and armed hoodlums formed gangs and harassed Japanese enclaves around the country. Just after the surrender there was an incident in the northern area of the capital Taipei called Dadaocheng where a score of Special Higher policemen were assassinated. The authorities took pains to keep such incidents from being publicized in the media and limited any announcements of aggression toward Japanese citizens because it was believed such news could further enflame public resentment. Certainly in the immediate months following surrender and at least until later 1946 Japanese military and police still greatly outnumbered KMT forces in Taiwan. Security required some flexibility in dealing with the dismantling of empire.

Efforts of Japanese at a personal level and government level reflects, as Sayuri Shimizu illuminates, that despite their new role as underlings in East Asia and facing domination by America through the occupation “many Japanese sought to define their nation’s place in postwar East Asia in ways autonomous of strategic imperatives imposed by the American occupation

overlord.” As the Chinese were coordinating their policy on Taiwan and asking how to assert themselves as the new rulers, the Japanese military had not yet retired its own efforts. General Okamura Yasuji, a Japanese military leader in charge of the imperial army in China, quickly developed a plan to allow Japan to assist China. This time it was a postwar plan. In his own words Okamura made two important contributions – first his postwar reflections demonstrated how geographically disparate Japanese military opinion was toward the surrender. On the homeland and on the Pacific Islands the Japanese faced imminent defeat at the hands of the Allies, at least due to the imperial military’s lack of planning or insufficient supplies. Okamura’s comments put into perspective the fact that many Japanese soldiers in China, in contrast, did not believe that they had actually lost the war. The imperial military’s China Expedition Force remained convinced that it had battled an eight-year series of unending victories on the mainland to remain undefeated. Second, Okamura retained such confidence in the Japanese military and Japan’s ability to aid postwar China that he drew up a document with the assistance of his colleagues on 16 August, the day after surrender. His program detailed that with the Japanese militarily out of the picture China was now the only superpower in East Asia and that it would be up to Japan to offer assistance so the region could continue the struggle against western imperialism.

As complicated as Taiwanese, if not Japanese, nationality was in the immediate period following surrender, identity was also relatively still fluid in the early days of the postwar. Zhang Rongshu was one such example of this disconnectedness. Born in 1925 Zhang was part of the Taiwanese voluntary corps that entered the Japanese navy. After deployment a US submarine torpedo sank his ship. Picked up after some fourteen hours at sea, out of three hundred on board only eighty-eight survived the attack. Even though he had fought for the Japanese side during the war, postwar he recollected in his memoirs that he began thinking that the Chinese who defeated the Japanese must be pretty great. He was fairly excited about their arrival in Taiwan but grew disappointed after his first actual encounter with KMT officials and soldiers. It is possible that Zhang also remained biased due to the influence of lingering Japanese wartime propaganda but it was mainland Chinese behavior in comparison to his own experience under the Japanese that changed his initial opinions. “First their [mainland Chinese] educational level was low, many were virtually illiterate. They had no moral compass and harassed the peasants. Second, they saw us from a colonial management standpoint, namely in calling those who had been soldiers for the Japanese imperial military ‘hanjian,’ or traitors. Third, they were corrupt. Fourth, I felt that none of them were patriotic,” Zhang coldly recollected.

At the end of Japanese colonial rule on paper the imperial military had already surrendered

but in reality on Taiwan the KMT and Japanese forces ruled in conjunction and in the beginning both sides wanted it that way. The last Governor General of Taiwan, Andô Rikichi, revealed in the final imperial Japanese report filed from Taiwan that his last months from August 1945 to April 1946 were mostly spent worrying about social order and taking care of repatriation efforts. In a similar manner, many Japanese looked fondly on their fifty-year project of modernizing Taiwan and somehow, like Okamura, could not really fathom that they had lost because the proof of Taiwan's colonial development demonstrated otherwise.

Alphabet Soup of War Criminals

Song Zhiyong assesses that KMT leaders estimated that removing the Japanese imperial military presence from Chinese territory and related matters were among the most pressing postwar issues. KMT motives focused on the practical issue of assuming dominant power in formerly occupied China, not on the strict pursuit "justice". The decomposition of colonial rule in Taiwan also focused on repatriating Japanese and determining which Taiwanese had committed war crimes or had been traitors to their motherland. The fact that Taiwan had been colonized for about a half a century by Japan made the denouement of the BC class war crimes trials involving Taiwanese more cumbersome than on the mainland.

Class A war crimes - those charged in Nuremberg and Tokyo - were labelled as crimes against peace. They were the men who planned and executed the "aggressive" war but did not necessarily sully themselves with the dirty job of directly putting the plans into action. The BC class was reserved for B conventional war crimes (rape, murder, illegal incarceration, abusing POWs, etc.) and C class, crimes against humanity. The B and C class crimes are legally slightly unusual. In traditional international law a defendant could not be tried for action against his own people or for actions committed before the war began. The creation of the new C class of crimes was a way to prosecute genocide and get around this legal barrier. The Japanese military did not implement a genocidal policy so their B class trials were for conventional war crimes for those in charge, and C class was for those who actually executed the crime though mostly defendants were just charged as a combined category, BC class.

Including Japan, BC class war crimes trials took place in forty-nine different locations. KMT managed trials began in February 1946 across ten cities including Taipei, Shenyang, Beijing, Nanjing, and elsewhere. The Nationalists brought 883 defendants to court and executed 149 of them. The Chinese pursued fewer war criminals and certainly executed less than England or Holland – interesting given the brunt of suffering the Chinese experienced during the war. In total across East Asia 5,700 were adjudicated and 984 were executed. It is important to note that

the scale of BC class trials dwarfs the numbers of Class A war crimes trials even though these lower trials receive much less scholastic attention. Of the group of 5,700, one hundred and seventy-three were Taiwanese, of whom 26 were executed. Korean / Taiwanese defendants made up 5.6% of those convicted of BC class crimes. The Japanese government, even though it had lost its sovereignty and mandate to have international relations with neighboring countries, paid stern attention to the domestic opinion of these trials on the mainland and conducted interviews with repatriates. Most, for many reasons, did not hold the mainland war crimes trials and legal conditions in high regard.

These BC class trials were military tribunals. At the same time in China, and many Taiwanese were caught up in these as well, there were many more trials that concerned who was a Chinese collaborator. Over 30,000 individuals were charged from 1945-1947 with the crime of being a traitor. About 6,000 were absolved but approximately 15,000 were convicted and for many the sentence was death. So great was the KMT pursuit of crimes of collaboration over Japanese war crimes that the Nationalists had to put a cap on collecting evidence because the courts could not handle the load and the government wished to concentrate more of its attention on the civil war with the Communists (CCP).

One reason why Chinese war crimes trials did not mete out justice as harshly to the Japanese as they did their own was because the Chinese civil war distracted KMT efforts, but also due to Chiang Kai Shek's own policy that promoted dealing with the Japanese aggressors in a unique fashion. General Chiang expressly announced his postwar policy of *yi de bao yuan*, "to repay hatred with kindness" on the day of Japan's surrender, 15 August 1945. The Chinese generalissimo broadcast a radio message to the nation clearly pronouncing that China held the "Japanese military clique as the enemy and not the Japanese people. We want to hold them responsible but do not want to seek revenge on the innocent, nor add to their suffering." The next day an editorial in the main Chongqing newspaper glossed the same message and editorialized that keeping the peace after the war was a difficult undertaking. Quoting Napoleon, the paper postulated that if China were too stringent postwar with the defeated Japanese the result could devolve into a more hateful scenario. However, remaining too lenient, the paper theorized and China risked assisting the Japanese "to once again rally to their fantasies" of imperial domination. The newspaper was adamant that it was necessary to destroy Japan's machines of war and lead them toward the road of democracy. "We have achieved the peace, now we have to complete it," the editorial concluded in a voice of hope. This was a brave move given the lingering Japanese mood on the Chinese mainland. An American led questionnaire polled Japanese in Beijing in December 1945 concerning their thoughts on the war, East Asia, and Japan. A clear majority of the respondents still believed that Korea was not mature enough

to be independent and that Taiwan should not be returned to China. Even more telling was that overwhelming percentage believed that Japanese were superior beings in East Asia and that if China had truly understood Japan's aims Japan would have won the war. Okamura Yasuji, the imperial militarist, certainly subscribed to this point of view and apparently so did many others. Even with surrender the Japanese were only going to slowly and reluctantly release their "imperial" way of thinking. Japanese wartime propaganda had formed a mindset that was not going to deflate overnight in spite of the collapsing empire.

The issue of adjudicating legal responsibility for war crimes and collaboration trials became a struggle for legitimacy between the Nationalists and the Communists. The CCP touched on the idea of benevolence, as Chiang had, but pushed further on the issue of pursuing war criminals. In part this was a calculated political move to show the Chinese populace that the CCP believed the KMT was reneging on its pledge to pursue Japanese war criminals, but it was also a move to force the issue more into the media spotlight. On September 14, 1945 the main organ of the Chinese Communist party in Yanan, *Liberation Daily*, printed an editorial preaching the need to "sternly judge war criminals" and claimed that Japan's militarists were fooling the Allies because they were just waiting for the right time to return.

Contestation over the administration of postwar Taiwan remained a pitched battle for legitimacy among three competitors – the KMT, the CCP and the remaining Japanese. The KMT initially dragged its feet in looking at war crimes trials but immediately faced the issue of *hanjian*, or traitors. This was not just a problem for the colonies but a big task within the mainland as well.

Hanjian or war criminal?

The idea of who faced indictment for being a traitor or was charged as a war criminal was an important issue in the immediate postwar as it continues to be today. At the outset there was no standard and each geographic region was told it would have to decide for itself how to try both traitors and Japanese war criminals but to do so in an even handed and juridical fashion. The courts and police were told "discrimination will not be tolerated" and that the highest court in each region should try traitors. War criminals would be treated by the special military courts set up for that purpose or measures would be put into place to extradite such individuals from appropriate governments like the US. Maintaining KMT party unity was an utmost priority but so was re-educating the Japanese POWs. Internal KMT discussions quickly ensued concerning the need to send instructors to where the Japanese were encamped to "guide" them and teach them the doctrine of Sun Yat Sen's "democratic principles".

According to the original dictionary definition, a *hanjian* was originally a loser in battle, a degenerate or scum of the Han race, or one who lived off of the invader's largesse or accepted tribute from the outside. This meaning then expanded to represent the scum of the Chinese nation, so a traitor in that situation was one who went against the state. Wada Hideho clarifies the issue when he notes that the issue of war crimes in Taiwan was like being stuck between being a war criminal and a traitor – it was a situation in which one could not come out a victor. One must remark that the Chinese understanding of *hanjian* is more malleable than the US legal definition of treason, which has no ethnic component within its mandate. *Hanjian* is deeply rooted in being Chinese. America is one of the few democratic societies to articulate the specific crime of treason in its constitution but this act is also notoriously difficult to assert and prove in open court. To sustain the charges at least two witnesses are necessary and the prosecutors must prove intent.

Being a traitor in the war of resistance against Japan compared with being deemed a war criminal was to deal with fuzzy lines of demarcation at best. What's more, who to try first was a dilemma – domestic criminals who could destabilize the fragile CCP-KMT united front or Japanese who potentially had the power to rise again and continue the occupation of China? At the start of the war, on August 8, 1938 the KMT government had already released a law, *xiuzheng chengzhi hanjian tiaoli*, (Amended Regulations for Punishing Traitors) which stated in part that informing the enemy or spies or taking part in leftist activities was synonymous with being a traitor, the penalty for which was death. The KMT might have softened its position after the war but by no means clarified it. On November 23, 1945 the Nationalist government again released a law, *chuli hanjian anjian tiaoli*, (Regulations for Dealing with Traitor's Cases) and they classified many government officials as traitors. Lin Qiuping notes that the difference between the more traditional Chinese definitions of traitor and the new postwar legalized definition was that previously being a traitor was defined by action but after World War Two it was no longer what you did but rather your job title and your position that defined whether you were a traitor. War criminals were widely defined through crimes such as “murder, starvation, enforcing slave labor...selling drugs, abuse, etc.” Traitors, on the other hand, were thrown into a more vague set of categories legally defined in one phrase as “those in China who cooperated with the enemy.”

In its December 6, 1945 promulgation the KMT further defined the legal status of a traitor as “having participated or conducted activities for a puppet organization or related group; acted on behalf of enemy or puppet structures, acted in a manner that benefits the enemy or goes against the benefit of the country....” The subtlety of what defined an act that benefitted a puppet organization was vague at best, and impossible to delineate at worst. The whole nature of

the *hanjian* issue was that virtually anyone with any connection or scant relation to the enemy or any Japanese controlled institution was inherently implicated. Obviously, for Taiwan this was a postwar dilemma of enormous consequence. The postwar situation in France and Korea was not too dissimilar. Such activities were defined as people who had plotted to oppose the nation or who disturbed the peace. Black marketeers, those who profited from the disorder and sold food and financial specie, were also included. A well known Chinese journalist watching traitor's trials in Shanghai remarked that no military person was ever tried as traitor and that many "economic traitors" escaped justice by using underhanded methods, *dixia gongzuo*. Local traitors even retained their positions in the village official ranks but lower file were charged.

The CCP defined traitor more simply as an "enemy of the people." Both the KMT and CCP struggled at the outset with separating the two categories of criminal activity – collaboration and war criminals – and at times there was not much of a distinction. In the CCP media the term *zhanfan hanjian* (war criminal traitor) frequently occurred as one phrase. Such criminals were the enemy Japan as well as the *wei*, the "imposter" Nanjing government officials presided over by the Wang Jingwei clique, and those Japanese and Chinese bureaucrats who had staffed the puppet government of the "fake" country of Manchukuo.

Who is Chinese - How to deal with traitors and war criminals?

In putting Taiwanese on trial we come to the heart of the matter concerning identity, law and the entire colonial enterprise. It is in this gap between policy and execution where a crucial element of the story lies: the postwar Chinese grasp of law and justice. The question was were they in pursuit of the same goal? All the WWII victors ironically wanted to try Japanese war criminals but what did they gain in the legal process of such pursuits? Further confounding the issue was legally defining who was Japanese and Chinese. The Japanese historian Oguma Eiji notes that the December 1945 change in the Japanese household registration law, *koseki* law, further confused the situation because it suddenly reverted a portion of Japanese citizens to their Taiwanese and Korean legal identities, instantly stripping them of Japanese rights. With one fell swoop this mass of colonial humanity was summarily discharged from the Japanese empire. It was not, however, until 1947 that Koreans in Japan received legal status as foreigners. Later with the 1952 San Francisco peace treaty they were given foreign residential permits.

The *hanjian* issue worried Taiwanese, those who were formerly Japanese. A memo from January 23, 1947 from the Xiamen City Taiwan Brotherhood Association pleaded that Taiwanese should not be pursued as war criminals because they were invaded by Japan and in the hands of occupiers for fifty-one years. After decades of resistance they happily regained

Chinese citizenship and identity. This memo sent to Nationalist party headquarters concerned the problem of Taiwanese legal status and whether such individuals could be charged as Japanese war criminals or not, considering their status as colonized subjects and then their sudden but not soon enough change in national status following Japan's surrender.

Just before the end of the war the KMT Ministry of Defense produced a clear policy how it aimed to deal with Japan postwar but the matter of Taiwan developed more as the result of a haphazard strategy in collaboration with Japanese assistance. Among other issues, the plan contained details suggesting the need to change the emperor system and alter the Meiji constitution so that authority rested in the hands of the Japanese people. The policy stated that to help change Japan meant to eradicate the politics and education that produced the fascist military society, which included Shintoism and the militarization of society. While the KMT detailed intricate plans for the Japanese, it faced difficulty providing such clarity of vision for its supposed Chinese brethren on the island of Taiwan.

In trials that the Nationalists adjudicated before fleeing to Taiwan Nationalists often tried Taiwanese as "Japanese." As demonstrated above, slightly more than one hundred Taiwanese were executed in military tribunals for BC class crimes across East Asia. Some Taiwanese also met more lenient judges and there was little uniformity in dealing with former colonized peoples – their sentences were more often than not the result of serendipity than policy. In one of the first test cases where a Taiwanese stood trial as a collaborator the outcome was unusual. Zhuang Sichuan worked for a newspaper in Wuhan and was found not guilty in a Hubei court because, as the judge said, as a Japanese national Zhuang had to obey orders and was thus not responsible for his actions.

The Japanese for their part merely tossed aside these Taiwanese who had supported the Japanese empire. They were abandoned people, *kimin* in the Japanese language. Hayashi Miki's story is far from lamentable but there were many worse. Hayashi was once Taiwanese who later took Japanese citizenship due to postwar exigencies. Even though he believed he remained Taiwanese or ethnically Chinese, after the war he could not really return because he did not speak Chinese he claimed. He only spoke Japanese, which would not have been unusual for his generation. Hayashi had been sent as a Japanese imperial guard to a POW camp in Borneo during the war when he was only sixteen. He said that he took to heart his Japanese officer's orders and did regard the POWS (men and women) as human. Hayashi returned to Japan after repatriating to Taiwan due to his colonial heritage. He had lost his Japanese identity postwar but no longer possessed a clear Chinese one; essentially he had become in the immediate postwar a legally lost soul. The Japanese empire demonstrated more clearly in its postwar easy dismissal of colonial identity what it really had stood for - a racially structured hierarchy that was

primarily interested in augmenting wealth for its ethnic Japanese subjects to the almost total exclusion of outsiders.

The first several years of KMT rule on Taiwan were an uncomfortable mediation between Japanese identity that had lost its lustre and an imposed mainland Chinese identity. Street violence between the native Taiwanese and mainland Chinese was not uncommon and to ascertain who was a mainlander (and thus a recent “Chinese” arrival) Taiwanese would make random checks on other Chinese, “making them speak Japanese or sing the Japanese anthem.” If they could speak Japanese then they had grown up under Japanese colonialism and were acceptable to the native born former colonials. The majority of Taiwanese might not have been pleased with their lot but they had little choice and had become Japanese in 1897 when two year moratorium allowing them to leave for the mainland was up and they automatically became Japanese citizens.

While Taiwanese on the mainland met with a mixed bag of legal outcomes, in Japan their presence reminded former fellow imperial subjects just what the empire had created. On July 17, 1946 an incident in the Shibuya section of Tokyo between a Japanese police officer and a Taiwanese national quickly escalated into armed conflict between Japanese and Taiwanese. Basically, though the final count remains murky, the incident left forty or so people injured and one Japanese policeman dead. The conflict concerned the fact that during the war many Taiwanese had come to live in Japan as Japanese imperial subjects but with the fall of the empire the legal status of peripheral former imperial Japanese in the new decolonized Japan reverted to alien status. In postwar Japan these Taiwanese were quickly forced into a second-class legal status. With few economic outlets to support their difficult postwar situation, many Taiwanese participated in the black market and underground economy, further exacerbating ethnic tensions in postwar Japan. Attitudes toward Taiwanese, which arguably had never been that great during the empire, only worsened and the Shibuya conflict with Japanese authorities represented this friction.

By the end of the 1940s as China teetered on the edge of falling into the grip of the CCP, Nationalist Party leaders looked toward Japan for assistance. Taiwanese citizens in Japan faced discrimination but the KMT look to curry favor with the newly surrendered Japanese government and combine forces with former imperial Japanese military might to use Taiwan as a springboard to reclaim the mainland. The fact that Chiang Kai Shek employed Japanese war criminals for this enterprise, to the exclusion of Taiwanese who had participated in Japan’s imperial expansion, speaks to the early Cold War philosophy of the KMT and how for many prewar Nationalist military officers training in prewar Japanese colleges often trumped postwar ethnic considerations. The February 28th, 1947 incident in Taiwan when KMT soldiers

massacred thousands of native Taiwanese in a conflict that pitted *benshengren*, or native-born Taiwanese Chinese, against *waishengren*, those who arrived recently from the mainland, underlined even more profoundly that the supposed bonds of Chinese ethnicity quickly frayed in the face of a larger conflict concerning who would rule postwar Taiwan. Chinese with a tainted Japanese upbringing struggled against the more “authentic” Chinese who were raised in the crucible of war against the Japanese on the mainland and who had brought the mantle of KMT rule to Taiwan.

The “White Group” and Ghosts of the Imperial Army

While the KMT was keen to identify Chinese traitors they were seemingly most lenient with the Japanese war criminal General Okamura Yasuji, a military leader the CCP labelled as public enemy number one. Okamura had spent most of the immediate postwar years under a form of house arrest in postwar China and was only grudgingly brought to a KMT military tribunal at the last possible moment. Okamura’s direct impact on postwar Taiwan remains to be debated in future scholarship as Taiwanese and mainland archives are more fully explored. Recent declassified American CIA evidence, along with Chinese and Japanese diaries, so far at least demonstrates that not only was Chiang’s policy of benevolence toward the Japanese useful in gaining an ally in East Asia but it also ultimately provided for Nationalist military confrontation against the CCP by employing Japanese military knowhow.

On January 26, 1949 Okamura Yasuji was declared not guilty by one of the last KMT military tribunals to adjudicate Japanese war crimes and on the 31st of the same month he was repatriated with about two hundred and sixty other paroled Japanese war criminals on an American vessel. According to one of the Chinese judges, the proceedings were a bit unusual and had the trappings of a kangaroo court. Chief judge Shi Meiyu told the other judges that he had been ordered by the Ministry of Defense to once again open up the Okamura trial after it had been adjourned for quite a while. Because it was such a sudden move the court was not fully prepared but that did not matter since Okamura’s second trial was not public and therefore only needed a court recorder and a few staff. The court completed legal formalities but no new evidence or questions were introduced. The trial may have been conducted in haste at the behest of the Ministry of Defense but all the judges agreed vociferously that Okamura was guilty. Chief Judge Shi Meiyu then took out two documents to show the other judges. One was from the Acting President of China Li Zongren and the other was from General Tang Enbo. Both telegrams laid out the case that Okamura held immense value to the future of the Nationalist Party’s goals in Taiwan and declared “Prisoner Okamura Yasuji is of use, please find him not

guilty.” Judge Shi Meiyu then also pulled out a sheet of paper from a set of documents that had the verdict “not guilty” written on it. The verdict already had the stamp of the new head of the Ministry of Defense Xu Yongchang clearly imprinted on it meaning that the decision had been made ahead of time without consulting the judicial branch.

By the late summer of 1949 US policy toward Taiwan was at a crossroads and it is possible that without the eruption of the Korean War the island would not have received the attention from the US military that eventually was bestowed on it. Given that the KMT was unsure of US attitudes toward the future of Nationalist rule, support clearly had to be secured elsewhere. Former Japanese imperial soldiers filled this potential power vacuum.

Ogasawara Kiyoshi, a former lieutenant colonel in the Japanese imperial forces in China, detailed the beginnings of the “White Group,” a collection of former Japanese officers who were hired by the KMT to travel to Taiwan and train the next generation of Chinese Nationalist soldiers. This team of ex-military Japanese officers formed a group during the American occupation of Japan and exported military knowledge to Taiwan, acts that contravened the laws of the occupation. The Chinese and Japanese archival records suggest that this move supplied the KMT with earnestly needed military expertise and offered the Japanese an income during times of penury. The relationship provided an outlet for Japanese soldiers to explicitly repay Chiang Kai Shek for what they termed his “magnanimous policy” of letting Japanese war criminals off easy at the end of the war. By the early part of 1949 memory of the war against the Japanese seemed to be quickly replaced in the minds of high level KMT staff with aggression toward the Chinese Communists in its place. In conversations between Okamura Yasuji and KMT General He Shili when the topic turned to World War Two, General He remarked, “Let’s just let bygones be bygones.” KMT military officials in early postwar Taiwan wished to focus on the current military crisis at the time, the Nationalists desire to fight against the CCP and retake the mainland. To this end Major General Cao Shicheng led several other members of the Chinese Mission to Japan and approached Okamura and several other high-ranking former imperial Japanese army officers in July 1949 to start up a group of Japanese officers to assist the Nationalists against the CCP.

Major General Cao Shicheng and his men brought a request from General Chiang Kai Shek to the effect that the civil war was not going well for the KMT. Nationalist military and political leaders were planning on retreating to Taiwan and regrouping for a future assault on the mainland. While regrouping to retake mainland China Chiang requested the help of old former imperial military “colleagues,” those Japanese who had trained and studied with their fellow Chinese students at prewar Japanese military schools. Several former members of the White Group also claimed that Okamura’s release from a serious war crimes trial in China was due to

the fact that he had promised such a team to Chiang in return for his freedom and repatriation back to Japan. Whatever the exact circumstances the result was that four former Japanese imperial officers, General Okamura Yasuji, Lieutenant Colonel Ogasawara Kiyoshi, Lieutenant General Sumida Raishirô and Lieutenant General Sogawa Jirô banded together and sought out other members. Japanese participants adopted Chinese aliases to throw the Americans off the scent and the name of the group took its label from the last name of one of the first leaders whose Chinese name was “White.” In Chinese parlance the word for white is *bai* and group is *tuan*, so the group was called *baituan*, the White Group, though in various renderings of transliteration it was also known as *paidan* and similar corruptions in the Japanese language.

The goal of the *baituan* was to retrain and help the KMT army regroup for a later mass assault on the mainland. The White Group’s classes and training were conducted near Beitou, just north of Taipei city, and Chiang Kai Shek came by frequently to attend. Japanese recollections of their own activities suggest that US military advisors either did not see that there were Japanese using Chinese aliases or were unaware even though they came into contact with each other. Ogasawara wrote that American military officials in Taiwan could not tell the difference between Chinese and Japanese soldiers. This turns out to be patently false though the record is still vague concerning whether the Americans cared because they had their own CIA-funded undercover Japanese groups working similar angles in Taiwan and elsewhere. After the White Group had been around for several years US Major General William C. Chase exchanged correspondence with the KMT Acting Chief of the General Staff, General Peng Meng-chi regarding Japanese military advisors assisting Nationalist forces on Taiwan. Obviously unsatisfied with the response Chase placed another series of requests higher up the ladder of administration to KMT Minister of National Defense Yu Ta-Wei. Chase wrote sternly that Americans specifically requested the Japanese presence cease because “the Japanese politico-military instruction will have a detrimental impact upon our agreed program of fostering the acceptance and use of US military doctrine as *Chinese* doctrine.” Ultimately, about eighty-three people worked for the White Group over its virtual two decades of existence. While the verdict over the group’s influence on Taiwan and Taiwanese-Japan relations remains for future research participants at the time strongly believed that the battle for Jinmen island, where the KMT destroyed two CCP divisions, was precisely the consequence of Japanese retraining. Recently declassified CIA records suggest that the White Group and similar groups that were funded directly through General Willoughby’s team within the American occupation forces in Japan not only failed to deliver on intelligence gathering but the efforts of Japanese former military men often amounted to veiled thievery. Moreover, “from the U.S. perspective, results of the Taiwan operations were not much better,” especially concerning military efforts to

retake the mainland.

We should also be skeptical regarding how much former Japanese soldiers really understood their postwar relations with the KMT. One fascinating episode concerns former imperial officer's use of colloquial Japanese language because when any Japanese soldier uttered a Japanese word that contained the element "baka," the KMT soldiers grew enraged. *Baka* in the Japanese language means stupid or ass and though it is more common in today's conversation during the imperial period it was commonly used against those being colonized and was quite often one of the Japanese pejorative terms that former colonies well remembered. Obviously the Chinese had heard this word quite often and even though they were dead set on fighting their Communist enemies if a Japanese instructor used the phrase *baka* "the face of the person who it was used toward suddenly transformed. It wasn't just the word "baka" it was also words like *bakabakashî* or *bakarashî* [which meant that some behavior was silly or ill-informed]. If these terms were uttered they gained the same facial reaction. The translator told us, 'it doesn't matter how much I offer excuses or explain they won't listen so please whatever you say just avoid using these words'," one White Group member recalled.

Conclusion

We often tend to think of World War Two East Asia history in one pattern - what did Japan do and why do the postwar government and people at large not take more responsibility for the atrocities committed? It is, to be sure, an easy mindset to fall into. The American occupation at first censored such questions while the Tokyo War Crimes Trials centred on placing blame on the military and not the civilian government or civilians. As I have attempted to demonstrate in this article, discussions of Japanese behavior postwar cannot be discussed merely within the national framework of Japanese history but concern extensive interaction with the Chinese on both the mainland and Taiwan. Early Cold War Japanese relations with its most important immediate East Asian allies were undoubtedly complex and also involved considerations that did not force the Japanese to necessarily think of themselves as losers in the war, especially when the KMT requested their military assistance. The adjudication of Japanese war crimes in China had to compete for public opinion with domestic crimes of the so-called collaborators and equally pressing issues of the Chinese civil war that quickly changed the paradigm for the defeated Japanese. The search for justice in postwar East Asia was anything but a black and white situation with victor and victim falling on either side of clear lines of legal boundaries.

The issue of the defeated Japanese military's role in postwar Taiwan remains a hotly contested political topic, which demonstrates how heavy colonial era political baggage weighs

on Japan and its East Asian neighbors even today. Many Taiwanese who write on this topic support an independent Taiwan and they enjoy analyzing the existence and record of the White Group because it shows how duplicitous Chiang was. Chiang Kai Shek often claimed that he was anti-Japanese but this new history, as the pro-independence group says, underscores how this was not the case. At the same time this history is linked with the current political situation in Taiwan, the struggle between those who are pushing for independence and those pushing for unification of some sort with the mainland. Critics point out that the KMT has no grounds to attack Taiwan independence movement leaders like Su Jingqiang if at the same time Nationalist party members cannot come clean about their long involvement with former Japanese imperial army officers during the early postwar period. Both sides employ the Taiwanese administration's involvement with the Japanese military through the White Group as an example to bash Chiang for using Japanese assistance, or to censure the KMT for not talking about this history in the same breath as the KMT criticizes groups that demand Taiwanese independence.

The manner and process through which the international community, beyond the scope of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, pursued Japanese war criminality was at times at odds with the new international definition of justice but the players were often more worried about the pragmatics of realpolitik at the time. The fact that these BC class trials were multifaceted and not always as vigorously controlled as one might have imagined, given the state of domestic affairs in China at the time that took precedence, should cause us to begin to chart new courses for historical inquiry away from an American centered approach to East Asian history. East Asian foreign policy developed on its own initiatives and for quite often different reasons than those of the European or American occupiers. More importantly, the legal and political decisions on which many of these trials were based continue to exert a formative pressure on how postwar Japanese understood the destruction of their former colonial empire and how Taiwanese conceived of their early postwar reconstituted position in East Asia.

文明的磋商：

1930 年代臺灣長篇通俗小說——以徐坤泉、林輝焜作品為例*

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摘要

1987 年的解嚴後，方興未艾的本土論述漸成當代臺灣文學中的主要論述，日本殖民時期遺留下來的豐富文學遺產也因此漸成顯學。在重新審視日治時期的文學生產時，國族和道德主義常是評論的基準，故缺少鮮明抗日色彩的作品，如現代派的作家或通俗文學難免被邊緣化。直到近幾年來，學界才慢慢開始對通俗報章如《三六九小報》與《風月報》進行探討。本文擬以徐坤泉（筆名阿 Q 之弟）和林輝焜兩位作者為例，論述 1930 年代臺灣文壇的通俗長篇小說作家如何經由他們的作品對現代或文明作出回應。本論文將分新舊交混的婚戀小說，既中且西的現代生活想像，與大都會／世界 v.s.臺灣三部分，來探究這些作家們在此文明磋商過程中所流露的曖昧態度，而他們對新舊轉型中的社會之態度又如何在其女性角色的形塑中呈現。本文指出這些作者們的「性別化」敘述其實並非想像中的守舊或乏善可陳。相反地，它代表著一種迥異於左翼和現代派的，另類的，既進步又保守的「日常／通俗現代性」。

一、前言

1987 年解嚴後，方興未艾的本土論漸成當代臺灣文學中的主要論述，日本殖民時期遺留下來的豐富文學遺產也因被視為「臺灣新文學」的濫觴而在 90 年代以後成為顯學。在重新審視日治時期的文學生產時，國族和道德主義常是評論和詮釋的基準。最明顯的例子便是學者們在討論皇民文學時，常企圖在字裡行間尋找作家受當時情境限制而曲筆隱晦地抒發他們關懷臺灣的愛國主義的蛛絲馬跡。缺少鮮明抗日色彩的作品，如現代派的作家翁鬧、楊熾昌的超現實美學，或通俗報章及文學雖已有學界先進的探討，但與賴和及楊逵等人相形之下，仍難免較少受到注視。但在談論現代性的課題時，除了泛左翼和現代派作家外，長篇通俗作品中所呈現的對文明與現代的接收與折衝之經驗亦不容忽視。本文因此擬以徐坤泉（筆名阿 Q 之弟，1907～1954），和林輝焜兩位作者之作品為例，探討 1930 年代臺灣文壇的通俗長篇小說作家在創作中（特別是婚戀小說）

* 初稿，請勿徵引。

如何對現代或文明作出回應。另一多產的小說劇作兼營的作家吳漫沙的一些作品如《韭菜花》⁷，與上述兩位作家作品頗有共通之處（特別是禮教道德觀），但因其 1940 年代以後之創作皇民色彩鮮明，通俗長篇的羅曼史敘述模式，既含有社會教化又兼具皇民元素，在此文有限篇幅內無法詳論，故不列入討論範圍。

關於通俗小說的研究，先前一些學者的研究（特別是對民國初期鴛鴦蝴蝶派的研究）頗值得借鏡。這些學者的研究至少可約略分為三種：第一種為側重作品文學性的研究，以夏志清對徐枕亞的駢文小說《玉梨魂》的解讀為代表。基本上，夏氏肯定才子佳人小說的文學性，僅管他難脫以西方文學經典為評比標準。第二種則是較為普遍的以社會學（即分析當時的社會脈絡）的角度審視這些作品，探討的重心為這些作品何以在當時受到歡迎，而這些作品又反映出什麼樣的都市社會風貌如人們的態度和想法，或此類文學在文學場域中所處位置等。此類代表有 Ng Mao-san 對《秋海棠》的討論文章以及林培瑞 (Perry Link) 的以「小市民」(一種介於五四菁英和勞動階級間的都會中產居民) 的觀點探討 1910 和 1920 年代中國都市特別是上海的小市民們究竟在想什麼，又關心著什麼的專書 (*Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Cities*)，當然前提是通俗小說和其讀者的心理有某種程度的聯結。而在臺灣文學的範疇中，對通俗文學的討論也以此類居多，毛文芳和柳書琴對《三六九小報》的解讀即可歸入此類。⁸第三類則是以周蕾 (Rey Chow) 為代表。她對提升這類作品的文學史地位，和這類作品提供了我們何種關於當時社會情境的知識較不感興趣，針對這群（大都是）男作家筆下的不對襯的女性角色書寫，而提出一套以通俗小說中的女性為出發點的閱讀方法。

此三種觀點各有千秋。雖然出發點十分不同，但其實這些切入點（至少在筆者探討的文本中）之中的界限並非絕對。本論文的切入視角與上述的第二種和第三種相近。簡單地說，可說是兩種的結合。筆者同意這類小說和當時的社會情境相關，故欲從中萃取一些主要議題來加以分析，以探討這些作品們所流

⁷ 《韭菜花》描述一群青年男女的愛情與成長，特別是他們想掙脫舊有的封建社會體系，對自由戀愛和個人解放的渴求。基本上是一部觸及娼妓和童養媳等社會問題的寫實小說。儘管小說的題目暗指了女性社會地位的低下，但故事中的女性角色大都十分正面，有著被塑造成新的社會價值的代表。反之，男性角色倒顯得薄弱。《韭菜花》因自由戀愛情節的插入而具備某程度的「現代」感，但進一步分析則可知如此的「現代」感仍停留在表層。主人翁們其實仍受制於社會期待，他們的快樂大抵仍建構在美好的婚姻上，而貞節，和柏拉圖式的精神戀愛等仍是書中一再強調的美德。本書的喜劇收場強化了此小說的道德教化意味——即青年男女該對愛情專一。吳漫沙常將要傳達的訊息訴諸於女性角色形塑之上。如《大地之春》小說中，女性原本（透過男主人翁一平的觀點評論而被再現）大都是追逐時尚，愛情和消閒者，缺乏男性的社會意識。但故事最後，女性角色卻搖身一變，不讓鬚眉，投入中日之間和平與親善的工作。

⁸ 見毛文芳，〈情慾、瑣屑與詼諧：《三六九小報》的書寫視界〉，《中研院近代史研究所集刊》46；柳書琴，〈通俗作為一種位置：《三六九小報》與 1930 年代臺灣的讀書市場〉，《中外文學》第 33 卷第 7 期，2004 年 12 月。

露的對文明或現代的態度。但筆者較感興趣的是這群作家們（而非閱讀者）在面對社會新舊轉型中如何自處，特別是他們的視閥在作品中又如何與都會書寫和女性角色的形塑結合而呈現。縱觀這些小說，新舊、中西交揉的想像比比皆是。故在下文中，筆者將以最盛行的婚戀愛情、物質生活層面的想像，與旅遊／都會書寫三大方面入手，分別論述文明／現代的觀念如何表現在這些面向，而在這些作品中，女性的角色塑造又與作品中對文明／現代的觀念之磋商之間有何關係。

二、新舊交混的婚戀小說

無論是否有以專書的形式問世，還是僅在報章上連載，劇情高潮跌宕，有情人未必能終成眷屬的婚戀小說是徐坤泉等小說家所偏好的形式。徐氏的《可愛的仇人》即為一例。本書最初曾由張文環譯成日文，於《臺灣新民報》連載。故事描述男主角志中和女主角秋琴各自嫁娶，有情人終未能結合的遺憾為主軸，進而發展兩人下一代的情感糾結。全篇人物刻畫善惡分明，道德教化意味濃厚，⁹男女人物多次呈現用情不專與賢妻良母的對比。如秋琴和她的亡夫建華，淑華和志中，及至第二代的萍兒和麗茹。建華誘奸少女，出沒花街柳巷，後染上梅毒而死，和秋琴的含辛茹苦，將三名孩子撫養長大的貞節成為鮮明對比。淑華對志中百般支持，在其事業失意時給予安慰。然而志中始終心懷秋琴，只當妻子是洩欲的工具（27，52），在妻子病逝後才感到罪惡，決心為淑華「守貞」，懺悔前非。此書中，柏拉圖式愛情和肉欲式的愛情成為對比。從頭到尾，志中對秋琴的非分之想常被他自己否定，即使兩人在夢境中靈肉合一，但美夢卻被淑華的幽靈所打破（32-37），以奸夫淫婦的說教收場。而當秋琴偶爾感嘆她與志中的無法結合，她的美夢同樣被驚醒（188-89）。故事後段秋琴病歿，志中感嘆兩人雖然無緣當夫妻，但秋琴的精神卻是屬於他的，他們的「體離神合」的感情在「肉欲」與「金錢」的現今社會是「絕對神聖」的（411）。

《靈肉之道》亦流露相對保守的婚戀態度。此書雖然提倡自由戀愛，但對婚前即縱情色欲則不以為然。在〈親友的信〉一章中即指出「自由戀愛」立意雖佳，但實際上卻成了「色欲的假胃」（214），不過是青年男女追逐肉欲之歡的藉口，和墮落的金錢社會的一部分。《靈肉之道》是部道德感極強的小說。在小說前的自序中，徐坤泉即明白地表示此書想描寫「金錢」與「肉欲」兩股驅力下所發生的罪惡，和人常常不由自主地陷溺其中的社會苦悶。從一開始雜亂的婚外情故事（如婢女阿春和已婚男主人潘生地的暗通款曲，潘的妻子也以偷情

⁹ 徐坤泉曾謙稱《可愛的仇人》為劣作，但他對於讀者是否當它作茶餘飯後的消閒讀物，或如何評價並不大在意。但當創作《靈肉之道》時，他自言創作動機是「受社會暗示的反響」，故以「粗野的筆法，描寫臺灣現社會的苦悶」，頗有文學反應社會的教化意圖。

作為報復)，即借潘妻的情夫黃田的「食色乃人之天性」的論調點出無知識的婦女如何「被他誘拐到一錯再錯，終而自走死路，真是社會的毒蛇猛獸」(53)，而描寫潘妻偷情的篇名則被賦予警示的標題：「遺恨千古」。再看牧師之子約翰，即使心性比富家子玩伴國魂來得陰沉，但大抵是位品學兼優的模範青年(104)。然而在阿蘭選擇國魂後，沉迷於咖啡館女給梅子的溫柔之中，兩人同病相憐，感情迅速加溫，也因此放浪形骸的約翰對半言半文的父親的說教信嗤之以鼻，感到與其信仰聖經，不如信仰性史(208)。

林輝焜在《臺灣新民報》上的日文連載小說《命運難違》，男主角李金池如《可愛的仇人》中的志中，是位家境富裕的留日世家子弟。他就讀京都大學，受過新式教育，看上去甚至和日本人無異（他連「換浴衣和繫帶子的手法」都和日人一模一樣）。他還喜歡逛咖啡館，偶爾還會與女服務生搭訕。他嚮往自由戀愛，拒絕聽從父命和不相識的女孩成親。因此和原本看似門當戶對的女主角鳳鶯擦肩而過。金池後來娶了讓他一見鍾情的富家女秀惠為妻，而鳳鶯則聽從父親安排，嫁給商人之子郭啟宗。秀惠的淺薄、嬌縱和善妒，啟宗和婆婆的虐待，兩人的婚姻皆不美滿，同時尋死之際，金池搭救了鳳鶯，兩人互相勉勵，故事以喜劇收場。與徐坤泉的上述三部作品相比，林輝焜的婚戀小說基調顯得較為輕鬆，而禮教道德訓育也淡化許多。

若說《命運難違》也帶有保守姿態，那麼本書的保守與其說是其對婦德的歌頌，倒不如說是在其如書名即可透露的不可違逆命運的宿命觀念。命運難測的想法在書中多處可見。如：陳太山在得知昔日朋友如今在中國的風光後感嘆「世事難料……人總離不開時、運、命，三者缺一不可」(301)，而他的女兒鳳鶯也附和道：「一切都是冥冥中自有安排……這全是運氣，人生這種事，常常是一步走差，萬般皆錯。但是，命運難測，以後的事誰也難料。」(301-2)鳳鶯自己對婚嫁亦抱著隨緣的態度，沒有任何憧憬。男女主角後來的各自嫁娶，卻竟然在同一天，婚宴也在同一處舉行，預設了兩人的「緣分」。最為巧合的是，兩人的家人（金池的父母和鳳鶯的公公及丈夫）各自乘坐的汽車後來迎面相撞，致使男女主角婚後的命運大為改變。金池繼承家業，後來因替父親友人償還債務而被迫開始自力更生的生活，和妻子秀惠漸行漸遠，鍾情之前咖啡館的女侍靜子。而鳳鶯的丈夫啟宗從此肺部受傷，原本疼愛她的公公在此車禍身亡後，婆婆開始對她冷言相待。一連串的誤解使她和啟宗的關係雪上加霜，而啟宗在引誘下對藝旦月嬌動了情。面對自己已變調的婚姻，金池和鳳鶯兩人都感萬念俱灰，企圖尋死。鳳鶯對妹妹哀嘆：「臺灣這些混沌無定的陋習，制度，我們處在一個荒謬的時代。出生在這種過渡期的我們，為什麼得過這種毫無意義的生活？」，「尤其是我們身為女人，真是雙重的不幸。」(358-9)而懦弱的金池擔憂離婚後將被社會誤解，而遲遲無法下定決心，僅能怨恨他「生在臺灣，又必

須在這個社會求生存」(570)，而生厭世心理。在求死之際才真正邂逅的男女主角在互相鼓勵後，更加確信「無法抗爭的命運」造成了他們的境遇，而命運的力量是「人力所無法與之抵抗」的(580)。儘管在批判力道上，林輝焜似乎比徐坤泉來得溫和，但業餘小說創作新人林輝焜卻抱持著期望藉小說以改善臺灣文化之用心。據其「後記」所言，他每天只能擠出2小時寫稿，期望「臺灣人對所有事物多寄予關心」。(593)他感嘆：「……連載小說期間，竟沒接獲一封批判性的投書，真是遺憾。我特意在小說中吹捧城隍爺和藝妓，大罵臺灣人缺乏自覺，但卻沒有人為此憤慨，詰問我的淺陋，照這樣下去，臺灣的文化永遠也無法發展。」(594)。但或許是如此宿命觀和不幸因緣捉弄屢見不鮮，讀者習以為常，以致未能觸發讀者對臺灣文化的反省。¹⁰

大體而言，徐坤泉的婚戀小說與林輝焜《可愛的仇人》皆流露對新社會／文明既迎還拒的曖昧態度和對自由戀愛的憧憬，而此主題又以對女性命運的描寫最為顯著。在《暗礁》中，秋琴和志中當年的無法結合便是因秋琴父親的封建思想所致（如兩家的姓氏是冤家）。《靈肉之道》中，阿春即是因家貧而被賣到潘生地家幫傭，飽受生地嫂的欺侮。為了反抗生地嫂，選擇委身潘生地。雖然她以肉體換來日後物質的優渥，擺脫原先身為奴婢的從屬地位，但始終仍是依附於潘生地之下。《可愛的仇人》則是藉由秋琴的一生道出對臺灣重男輕女的「畸形社會」(67)的不滿和對女子的同情。如當秋琴回憶年輕時學的〈棄婦詞〉，上至孔孟，下至顧況之等，最後歸罪於「東方之禮教遺毒過深」，所以婦女解放不過是「外皮而已，奢侈無度，日趨逸樂之方，胭脂水粉之解放而已」。因此在「舊道德日見崩壞」，「新道德尚未成立」之際，「女子的吃虧定歸不少」(68-69)。而在這「毒素充滿的社會裡」，男子「都是毒蛇猛獸」(86)，身為女子實為不幸。如麗茹和君子皆依附於萍兒的愛情與金錢支援之下。前者因萍兒變心，尋死獲救；後者為萍兒產下一子後，抱憾而逝。也因此，慧英代表的勇於追求自己幸福的角色（她堅持她與阿國的愛，不惜鬧家庭革命，最後有情人終成眷屬）誠屬少見。儘管本書對婦女命運多所同情，對舊社會的婚姻制度也表示不滿，然在另一方面，小說中仍流露出對婦女貞操的保守態度。秋琴的恪守婦道，盡力教養她的孩子，似乎仍是作者所推崇的。從蔡巡查對秋琴的敬意中，因為「新社會的論潮倡議，有時未必盡對的，必要因時因地而行」，而秋琴正是現有的模範，因此她才是「新時代的超越女性」(102)。換言之，「新女性」並非是完全擁抱新價值觀，而是折衷糅合新舊價值觀間（即一種改良版的禮教觀）的有所

¹⁰ 關於此故事未能引起迴響，李進益認為是因故事「設定在臺北都會，與中南部讀者有點隔閡，且內容情節的安排也欠缺一般通俗小說常見的俗腔濫套」。見李進益，〈日據時期長篇通俗小說的創作及主題探究——以徐坤泉、吳漫沙作品為主〉，<http://www.nchu.edu.tw/~chinese/eo04.html>

為也有所不為的女性。而在此禮教觀中，婚姻的自主是被肯定的，然而戀愛的限度仍是維持在「發乎情，止乎禮」。因此，與其說這些小說宣揚了個人反抗，倒不如說它們是在舊禮教規範下尋求一些通融的空間，作品中的這種對戀愛欲迎還拒的矛盾，以及整體而言趨於保守的基調，或許可被視作當時過渡時代的臺灣社會的特色。

《靈肉之道》中，女給梅子被塑造成「時代叛逆女性」和「舊社會的女勇士」(228)形象。梅子出身不錯的家庭，原是個「有識階級浪漫的女性」(197)，能說流利日語，並略懂漢文和英語。曾經勇於追求愛情，但因對方變心而流落至此。有趣的是，徐氏將梅子的叛逆與社會運動者的改革運動併為一談，對兩者的執意孤行似乎不以為然。如梅子在潦倒之際，開始懷疑她的叛逆選擇。而她的自我懷疑則和她對社會的質疑合一。她感嘆：「幾年前雖有許多的社會運動者，入獄的入獄，思想轉向的轉向，時到如今，可說是『西線無戰事』的了」(229)。臺灣的社會運動的式微和如她這般叛逆女性的身陷生活之苦恰成正比。藉由梅子的思考，徐坤泉引導讀者思索究竟是舊社會的不合時宜，還是梅子的本性不良。但依故事情節判斷，梅子終究沒有完全脫離舊社會的思考。換言之，梅子的叛逆是有些別無選擇的無奈，她祈求的仍不外乎與能憐愛她的男子結婚成家。約翰不告而別後，她的「從良」(到醫院當看護)其實是她自認自己「敗壞家風」的悔恨，以致當她在看護婦期間巧遇自己早已失聯的生母也無臉相認。儘管最終母女相認，前嫌盡釋，但父親仍不能諒解她，以致她遠走東京學習牙醫。可以說，她的叛逆最終仍不敵父系社會的道德輿論壓力。儘管最終梅子憑著專業養活自己，還環遊世界，「在二等的甲板上與一群的摩登女在玩著甲板哥兒天球」(495)，但可惜的是，摩登成功女子形象卻只在臺灣以外之地方才有可能實現。

與《靈肉之道》中的梅子類似，林輝焜《命運難違》中也出現一位獨立女性靜子，她願意委屈當金池的情婦或秘密的小妾。她對金池言：「戶籍上的名稱和社會上的地位，我都無所謂」，「只要你對我的愛不變心，我就心甘情願了」(562)。靜子甚至願意為金池獻上貞操，並揚言日後若結婚也會如實以告。但金池聽來，反如當頭棒喝，立即清醒，對靜子表明不會玷污她，認為「愛的表現不只在身體，還有其他方法」(564)。而讀者之後便發現金池的其他方法便是「把你(靜子)當戀人」，但「同時也當作妹妹來愛你」(568)。他自我安慰，「男人和女人的生活，沒有必要只追求純粹的肉體關係，正確健康的精神交往才是重要的」(567)。金池如此硬是把愛情「昇華」成兄妹之情說明了他的軟弱，也和他先前揚言談戀愛不一定要結婚，企圖尋求理想中的戀愛的論調自相矛盾(112)。表面上，他不願靜子的屈就，但另一方面，他擔心社會輿論的壓力和可能導致的經濟問題。最後僅能將無奈歸罪於「只能怨生在臺灣」(570)。反觀靜

子，雖然她對女性貞節觀提出反駁，指出金池的矛盾（金池的「發乎情止乎禮」的主因是因靜子尚是處女之身，換言之，若是其他女侍之流似乎就可另當別論），也不拘泥於婚姻的形式，但另一方面來說，她的不要求金池「違背社會規範」而離婚卻削弱了她這個角色可能有的顛覆力量，致使她的愛情至上論終究被淹沒於現有體制下和社會現實考量中。

除了女性角色的塑造外，本書展現的這種新舊並置的社會秩序大抵奠基在儒家思維上。小說裡例如阿國的「家貧親老，不擇祿而仕」的思考模式即是以儒家的父母在不遠遊為出發。因家貧而選擇不繼續升學的他，以《孟子》（出自〈盡心〉上）的「達則兼濟天下」（小說原文為「成則兼愛天下」，296）自勉。除了儒家思維外，書中對禮教道德的強調不時以傳播／輿論的方式展開。在《可愛的仇人》中，秋琴的貞烈經過了當地巡查的一番調查，因「輿論」的力量而使美名日漸傳開。而在《靈肉之道》中，生地嫂的自殺也是因她與黃田的奸情被登在報上無地自容，羞愧而死。小說結尾國魂病逝，他傳奇的一生和他和約翰間的兄弟情義也同樣被各報新聞記者們大書特書。

三、既中且西的現代生活想像

徐坤泉的《可愛的仇人》除了宣揚一種不新不舊的道德觀，亦呈現了既中且西的物質生活面的想像。例如當志中想斬斷他對秋琴的情絲，他想借助「關帝爺的青龍刀」和「張天師的法術」，但可惜，關帝爺的法力無法生效（30）。而當秋琴走投無路之際，基督教的力量卻如 *Deus ex machina* 出現。因著這位儼然是「上帝使者」的無名善心人士，上寫著：「上帝所賜的，用之無妨！」（91）的金錢援助才使她度過難關。從故事後來的推演得知，原來志中才是禮拜堂和英國姑娘背後的「上帝使者」，使基督教信仰和顏回的「願無伐善，無施勞」的為善不欲人知相結合。基督教的力量在故事中扮演重要角色，成為秋琴的精神支柱。但秋琴從〈創世紀〉所得的領悟，和她對臺灣人的祭祖拜佛等儀式卻不互相抵觸。她雖信基督，但也不強迫兒子阿國的信仰（134）。最明顯的例子為當秋琴的弟弟春生在酒樓教訓了曾調戲秋琴的莊醫師而被捕之後，莊醫師本想利用自己勢力，加倍警戒春生。夜行人再度出手幫忙，竟導致莊醫師自己被拘留，體現「善有善報，惡有惡報」。秋琴將好消息與教會的姑娘分享，她的滿足「好似上帝為他們報仇的樣子，那知是「夜行人」的努力呢？」（231），使得基督教的信仰和傳統因果報應觀念結合。最具想像力的段落出現在秋琴的一次夢境中。在夢裡，她對志中有著無限渴望，志中告知她，天國正在鬧革命，孫中山和耶穌不滿玉皇大帝一人大權在握的制度，形成「聯合戰線」，「不久或者能與關雲長拼個生死」（187）……「孫中山和耶穌均舉上『博愛』的旗號，孫中

山在東方運動一切的鬼神參加革命，耶穌亦在西方運動天國的革命」……「不久若能實現大總統制……大家都有投票權……入基督教……入天堂地獄均由天國的議會表決」(188)。在這異想天開中，中國社會的革命和基督教信仰，儘管一東一西，卻合而為一，共同對抗象征舊社會秩序／制度的關公信仰。而對「有情人終成眷屬」的期待，也在此想像中，與民主、民權等思想和基督教的天堂地獄觀結合在一起。

徐坤泉書中雜糅中西的想像也反映在作品敘述中多次出現的中西文學典故的引用或「外國」(含日本)文化的接受上。如《可愛的仇人》中出現的有：「易卜生傀儡家庭中的主婦」(36)；女主角秋琴自比娜拉，而建華為郝爾茂或是《群鬼》中的阿爾文(88)。而秋琴兒子阿國看的則是托爾斯泰的《復活》，女兒麗茹則是個菊池寬的小說迷(271)。而麗茹和萍兒外出約會時看的影片則是尾崎紅葉的家庭小說改編的《金色夜叉》(204)。同樣地，古典漢詩文的引用也數度出現。¹¹ 秋琴原是個女詩人，學過不少漢詩。有趣的是，秋琴在詩社從老師那裡所學的多是一些鼓吹傳統男尊女卑概念的詩詞，如牧子和顧況的〈棄婦詞〉等，而回憶自己年輕歲月所吟的詩歌也大抵充滿如「如此襟懷誰解得，萬千愁緒付流東」(177)的傷感自憐。而《靈肉之道》中男主角國魂(特別是在下冊)漂流他鄉的描寫，在某程度上與《魯賓遜漂流記》有些類似。¹² 《魯賓遜漂流記》原作內容豐富，觸及文化相對主義和帝國主義。但顯然，徐坤泉筆下的國魂突顯的是魯賓遜流浪(如〈一線之光〉一章)，和社會邊緣人的形象(如〈伶仃孤苦〉一章)，而非他冒險犯難的英雄主義。儘管國魂的流浪者形象和魯賓遜漂流荒島有些相似，如故事對他在荒島的歲月如此敘述：「可憐的國魂，真如魯賓遜的生活了，頭髮，鬚眉長得可怕」(443)，甚至透過心理描繪(*free indirect speech*)也頗有不顧文明束縛的豪氣，如國魂心想：「人們若要避免世間的罪惡苦痛，須要回到大自然的境地，我在這裡，天下間的什麼都干涉我不到的。法律，名利，一切的一切，絕對與我沒有關係了。哼！什麼是文明的社會？」(443)。但仔細檢視後，我們發現國魂的流浪最終仍是被包裝在理應父慈子孝的價值理想中。重回「文明」社會後，國魂變得多疑、善妒，可說是承襲了書中一再強調「以金錢和肉欲為先決條件」的當今社會的惡習。再者，國魂之所以流落荒島，也非如魯賓遜出於個人的反抗(父母)的海洋夢想的召喚，而是為了躲避債務的情非得已。特別是他臨死之際，醫院看護婦的欺貧行為更是對

¹¹ 中國古典文學也出現在其他作家如吳漫沙的作品中。以他的《韭菜花》為例，男主人翁和他的情人間的關係以《紅樓夢》中賈寶玉和迎春相比。在《大地之春》中，《西廂記》是男女主角談情說愛的點綴，纖細的女主角則以現代版林黛玉被形塑，而在另一章中，對中國古典文學的引用更成了青年男女互訴情衷的方式。

¹² 黃美娥曾指出魯賓遜成了當時英雄冒險犯難的代稱。見〈重層現代性鏡像：日治時代臺灣傳統文人的文化視域與文學想像〉(麥田，2004)，頁330。徐意裁的碩論也有短暫的討論，見頁84-85。

唯利是圖的社會的撻伐。縱使他的逃亡可視作擯棄親子人倫的個人選擇，但他念茲在茲的仍舊是妻子的婦德和父子之愛。也因此，徐坤泉筆下的漂流成了不具顛覆效果的，暫時的逃避。

徐坤泉作品中對文明交混雜糅的想像也可見於小說中不同形式的故事元素。除了上述的婚戀情節以及英雄冒險／荒島流浪書寫外，也展現了傳統故事中常見的親情渲染和俠義精神（儘管這並非中國文學的特有題材）。如《靈肉之道》中，國魂在將死之際與他的妻兒團圓，約翰則是在南洋發跡後，重返臺灣在亡母墓前懺悔，與家人重聚。阿蘭的化身女俠，在上海靠專門為人打抱不平的野狐大哥的幫助，順利尋到害她家破人亡的仇人，成功地「為父報仇」，為此故事添加了（父）仇不可不報的俠義元素，另一俠義精神的體現則可見於約翰對兒時玩伴國魂的妻兒發自「友誼義俠的心腸」（557）的關照。

而在林輝焜《命運難違》中，外國文化也出現多次。如金池在咖啡店調侃女侍時，女侍還時髦地口出英語回答（4）。鳳鶯與鳳嬌姐妹對牧逸馬的連載小說《七之海》著迷不已（34）。鳳嬌雖年輕，但卻閱讀了不少日文雜誌如《國王》和《富士》等（45）。金池和靜子在北投幽會時，哼唱的則是朝鮮民謠〈放浪之歌〉，而當他勸說鳳鶯不該有厭世輕生之念時，他引述的是盧梭名言。（581）然而這些外來的文化元素在臺灣人民的現代生活想像中並非都是容易親近的，有時亦會讓人感到與其格格不入。如對充斥報紙上的新詞如「菁英」，「modern girl」（被略稱為「摩卡」）和「modern boy」（被略稱為「摩伯」）等詞（83、86），便讓陳太山夫婦們感到難以理解。對陳太山而言，外來語的頻繁出現「簡直是各國語言的濫用」，（86），若是「直接拿來照用也就罷了，在日本……至少那些使用的人……把它〔外國語〕日本化得連外國人也看不懂！」（86）。乍看之下，陳太山似乎不大歡迎外來語。但他進一步解釋：「如果外國語因某種意義，被沿化成日語……我沒有異議」。因此，陳太山排斥的僅是這些詞匯的太過頻繁使用，甚至濫用，以致「先前好不容易習得的單字變得全無用處」（89）。而上述提及的出現於徐坤泉作品中的俠義元素也可見於林輝焜的《命運難違》。如在〈宿命〉一章中，金池見義勇為，成功地幫助素昧平生的楊文聰脫困，也因此認識了讓他朝思暮想的女孩——楊的女兒。而故事最終，金池同樣也是路見不平拔刀相助，意外救起正要尋死的鳳鶯。兩次的俠義行為都在故事推進中起著極大作用，前者開啟了金池戀愛至上論的契機，後者則讓本該成婚的男女主人翁終於邂逅，兩次難以解釋的巧合恰好證實了如書名所揭示的——人生果真難測，而命運確實難違。

四、大都會／世界 v.s. 臺灣

除了婚戀小說的形式和中西雜糅的生活想像外，徐坤泉作品中對文明的磋商也可見於其對不同都會，類似粗淺遊記的描寫。在徐的作品中，日本多次成為文明的指涉。值得注意的是，在徐氏的敘事中，與文明的交匯經驗並非全然是愉悅的。《暗礁》描寫的是繁華的東京與上海。前者「交通是非常複雜的」，會使初次抵達的人「神醉魂迷，五色無主，手足無所措」(171)。同樣在上海，也有電車和人群的描述，但相較於東京的令人迷亂，上海的景觀對志中而言是像電影畫面一般美麗(71-72)。書中的上海是「社交開放」之地，和臺灣有著天壤之別。但福州人卻是生活起居一切在閩江，大聲說話，因此是不衛生而且奇怪的(71)。對東京的描寫也出現在《可愛的仇人》中。對隻身前往東京留學的萍兒來說，東京的繁華更引發他的思鄉之情和對他遠在臺灣的戀人麗茹的想念，而倍覺「故鄉雲霓的可愛」(293)。漫步東京，「夜燈柱，一支一支的由他的身邊擦過，有許多的失業者，衣服破碎，垂頭喪氣的徘徊於路上，摩登的女郎，一個一個的，由他的左右行過……但卻不能侵入他的心窩」(293)。但當麗茹後來抵達「繁華絕頂」的東京後，她的「精神完全集中於車馬紛紛的人煙境界」(429)。和臺灣的警察相比，東京的警察「和藹可親」，而萍兒則對麗茹擔保，在日本即使犯罪，也「絕無先打而後定罪之尤」，他們兩人已「跳出恐怖的範圍了」(429)。此對東京的描寫似乎透露了能使每個人都受到合理的律法的保護之地才算得上文明的都會／社會。

如此臺灣／東京等同於壓抑／平等的對比再度出現在《靈肉之道》中。在此作品裡，東京是個比臺北「平等」而令人感到精神爽快的都會，而在臺北，總有「莫名奇妙的社會壓力」，且難免要作「俯首恭維」的變態行為(330)。而上海則是集合天堂與地獄之地。天堂是因各國女性所造就的美景，而地獄則是在這片繁華背後資本主義宰制的金錢社會。除了東京外，徐坤泉的《靈肉之道》還展現了相對少見的南洋書寫（由於經濟所迫，約翰離開女給梅子，到南洋另謀生路）。新加坡這個自由港對約翰來說是個運氣翻轉的契機。憑著他在萬金油公司的努力，他的生活開始好轉。而與當地女子絲耶的結婚更讓約翰搖身一變成為當時著名士紳。後來還周遊歐洲，甚至在遊船上和昔日戀人梅子相遇。在前往法國的途中，碧眼紅毛與華人的階級文化差別十分明顯。如和約翰同樣是一等艙的黃種人是新加坡當地的錫礦大王。然而他的「頭腦是極單純的，除了想賺錢以外，什麼禮儀作法，他都不知道」，不但「英語不大流暢」（英語似乎是文化水平的指標之一），而且在公共場合，因天熱而公然捲褲抓癢，儼然是「土頭土腦的資本家」形象(492-493)。巧遇梅子後，約翰邀請她到新加坡一遊。而相對於「野蠻」的臺灣的「假文明」，新加坡則是個相對開放、文明的社會，不會因男女玩在一起就認為是不當的行為(505)。

若說徐坤泉的都會／文明想像具有某程度的階級性，那麼英國／歐洲可說

是此中最具文化的。除了絲耶展現的大家風範和年輕一代（如約翰和絲耶的獨子保羅，而約翰決心帶國魂之子潘風聲赴歐深造）選擇英國／歐洲為留學地可見一斑。但伴隨著對英倫的憧憬卻是一份矛盾的心情。如絲耶囑咐她即將負笈英國的兒子保羅：「倫敦的地方，交通是很複雜的，比不得新加坡，運動雖好，卻不可過頭冒險，如賽馬，賽車的運動，是英國人的特趣，這樣的危險是很大的，你要注意才好。金錢又不可過頭浪費，你要記著，我們的家庭是宗教的家庭，所以聖經不可離開你的身軀的。」（510，粗體字為筆者所加）。這段臨行前的耳提面命頗能點出徐氏對文明的愛懼參半的觀感，而對文明的接受／收也該以「不可過頭」和不可忘「本」（有趣的是，此「本」指涉的是外來的基督教信仰）為原則。而上述的文明想像的階級性也可見於林輝焜的《命運難違》，只是徐坤泉「英國／歐洲—新加坡—東京—臺灣」的思考模式在林輝焜的作品中少了南洋書寫這部分，呈現「西洋—日本—臺灣」的模式。如鳳鶯感嘆：「最大的不幸是，自己生為臺灣的女性。她不敢奢望像西洋女子那樣，但至少能像日本婦女，有點自由。」（35），揭露了對於女性地位而言，日本比臺灣來得開放，而西洋又比日本來得開放。

五、結語

在日治時期臺灣文學的發展軌跡中，本文所探討的長篇通俗小說提供了以文化菁英為主導的臺灣新文學之外的另一種對文明磋商的面向。筆者從最普遍的題材，即婚戀小說著手，歸納出徐坤泉和林輝焜的小說中的一些類似的書寫模式。如這些小說中對文明的思考呈現出一種欲迎還拒的曖昧態度，而所流露的價值觀相對來說趨於保守。但此保守心態並非故步自封的一成不變，而是在對文明的接受／收過程中有所選取，也因此呈現了以改革而非顛覆為主的半新不舊的視閥。一方面，這些作品大談戀愛至上，婚嫁自由，但另一方面又訴諸於傳統儒家禮教道德（特別是其對發乎情，止乎禮的婦德的強調）來權衡文明，重申女子隱忍、貞烈等美德，駁斥太過頭的戀愛觀。也因此削弱也侷限了小說中少數叛逆前衛形象的女子角色（她們恰好都有似日本女性的名字如：君子，梅子，靜子）的可能性，而柏拉圖式的精神戀愛或兄妹之情總和耽溺肉體之樂成為正反對比。有趣的是，大多數是咖啡店或喫茶店的女給才有被賦予擔任叛逆女性的「特權」，所謂良家婦女或大家閨秀（《可愛的仇人》中慧英除外）都因禮教的桎梏而選擇有限。

這些長篇作品展現出的駁雜文明觀除了表現於對婚戀課題的態度，也表現在對物質生活層面的中西合璧的想像中，以及對不同的都會文明的比照中。在徐坤泉的小說中，基督教信仰和儒家思想並行不悖，孫中山和耶穌可以同心對

抗玉皇大帝。他以道德口吻與對金錢肉欲橫行的社會提出批判，重塑臺灣版的《魯賓遜漂流記》。而林輝焜的《命運難違》則是日英語言文化糅和俠義元素，盧梭與中國傳統宿命論對照。因著徐氏本人的南洋經驗，他的文明視閥除了歐美、東京、上海外，還多了新加坡，依開明／進步程度，形成了「英國／歐洲—新加坡—東京—臺灣」的世界觀，而林輝焜《命運難違》則出現「西洋—日本—臺灣」的層級觀。因此晉管這些知識分子們有著舊式教育背景，但他們的視閥在某程度上卻是頗為進步的。這些駁雜交混的元素，加上時而半言半文語句的穿插，寓社會教化於高潮起伏的家庭愛情悲喜劇中。就文學想像力而言，這些小說也相應世俗文化而有所創新，可說是在新文學之路外另闢蹊徑。甚至在教化方面，菁英新文學與這類通俗長篇倒有著一種彼此相通、互相改造，和殊途同歸的一面。這些作者們的「性別化」（即將其教化觀、文明觀，或都會敘述鑲嵌於女性角色形塑中）敘述，其實並非想像中的守舊或乏善可陳。相反地，它代表著一種迥異於左翼和現代派的，另類的，既進步又保守的「日常／通俗現代性」。