

**THE GREAT EXODUS: SOJOURN, NOSTALGIA, RETURN, AND
IDENTITY FORMATION OF CHINESE MAINLANDERS IN
TAIWAN, 1940S-2000S**

by

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Abstract

In the late 1940s and the early 1950s, the world witnessed a massive wave of political migrants out of mainland China in the wake of the Nationalist debacle and the Chinese Communist victory. Approximately 900,000 to 1 million people followed Chiang Kai-shek's regime across the sea to Taiwan. Most were low-ranking Nationalist soldiers and civil servants. There were also refugees from different walks of life, ordinary people drawn into the vortex of the Chinese civil war and ended up in Taiwan by sheer historical chance. The legacy of the great exodus continues to have important implications for Sino-American relations, as well as Taiwan's deepening democracy and quest for national identity nowadays. Nonetheless, the crux of the story remains poorly understood because of the ways in which the history of the Chinese civil war and the history of post-war Taiwan are framed in the existing literature.

The civil war migrants and their descendants are referred to as “mainlanders” or *waishengren* in Taiwan. This dissertation examines the civil war migrants (or first generation *waishengren*) from the moment they left mainland China to their eventual return decades later. The research focuses on the transformation of the migrants' *mentalités*—from “reluctant sojourners” in the 1950s to “cultural nostalgia” from the 1960s to the 1980s, and to “narrating the exodus” from the late 1980s and the early 1990s onwards. The study demonstrates the importance of the great exodus in shaping the lives and the worldviews of *waishengren* and the development of state-society relations and communal relations in post-war Taiwan. It also offers ways to rethink existing frameworks in the study of Chinese migration, and contributes to the project of theorizing diaspora. More importantly, using *waishengren* as an example, the dissertation argues that identity formation is a convoluted historical process engendered by people moving diachronically through time and physically through geographic localities. The mainlander identity is a product of a particular historical trajectory and actual lived experiences. The articulation of these experiences was mediated by the politics of remembrance and collective memory in response to changing sociopolitical contexts and shifting power relations.

Preface

This dissertation benefits from the testimonies of 20 civil war migrants. These individuals were interviewed by the author in Taiwan from June 2008 to August 2010. The interviews were conducted in accordance with the procedure and method approved by the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board (BREB) prior to the start of the research. The BREB certificate number for this study is **H07-02952**. The procedure and research progress were reviewed annually under the study period. An end of study report was submitted in March 2011. The audio recordings of the interviews were turned into MP3 files. They were saved in a keyword-guarded computer not connected to the Internet. In accordance with the consent form signed by both the interviewees and the author, the audio files will be stored in this way and remain confidential for at least three decades. They will be handed over to the UBC Asian Library afterwards and made open to the public. To ensure total anonymity before this, pseudonyms are used when the testimonies are cited in this dissertation. The same goes for related publications. The text of this dissertation is free of all personal information as defined in the Privacy Act of Canada.

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Last but not the least, I would like to express my most profound gratitude towards my parents and other members of my family. They have supported my pursuit of an academic career every step of the way. Their love and sacrifice is the main driving force behind this project.

A Note on the Romanization of Chinese Words

This dissertation makes use of the Pinyin system (Hanyu Pinyin) in general. The exceptions are the names of well-known historical figures, as well as the names of the authors and places in Taiwan. These are romanized in Taiwan's Wade-Giles system. The examples include Chiang Kai-shek (instead of Jiang Jieshi), Pai Hsien-yung (instead of Bai Xianrong), and Taipei (instead of Taibei). This mixed usage makes it easier for foreign readers and researchers to locate pertinent references and to identify certain individuals or geographic locations.

To my parents, sister, and the people of Taiwan

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

那種和別人不一樣的孤單感，我多年以後才明白，它來自流離。——龍應台，《大江大海一九四九》，二零零九年。

[*It took me years to understand where this different-from-others feeling of loneliness came from. It came from exile and separation.*.]—Lung Ying-tai, *Big River Big Sea* 1949, 2009.¹

But the difference between earlier exiles and those of our own time is, it bears stressing, scale: our age—with its modern warfare, imperialism, and the quasi-theological ambitions of totalitarian rulers—is indeed the age of refugee, the displaced person, mass immigration.—Edward Said, “Reflections on Exile,” 1984.²

1.1 Prologue

The year 2009 marked the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), an event that gave rise to a flurry of festivities and pageantries, both inside and outside of the country. Sixty years, or *yijiazi* (一甲子), completes a full cycle in Chinese cosmology. It signals the dawn of a new era. China’s rapid ascent to a major global powerhouse since Deng Xiaoping’s “open door” policy and economic reforms have inspired unprecedented optimism and patriotic fervour, engulfing not only a majority of its citizens but also many Chinese overseas. The overwhelming enthusiasm to celebrate the occasion was also spurred on by the success of the Beijing Summer Olympics a year before. In what could be described as the nation’s finest hour in modern history, hundreds of millions of Chinese basked in the splendour of state-sponsored extravaganzas, enjoyed spectacular performances put on by the world’s best athletes, and reflected on how far they had come. The PRC’s heroic national saga began in 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by Mao Zedong defeated the Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang* or KMT) and the Republic of China (ROC) ruled by Chiang Kai-shek. The year 2009 marked the 60th anniversary of this historic victory.³ Amidst the outpouring of

¹ Lung Ying-tai 龍應台, *Dajiang dahai 1949* 大江大海 一九四九 [Big river big sea 1949] (Taipei: Tianxia zazhi, 2009), 345.

² Edward Said, “Reflections on Exile,” in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, (ed.) Marc Robinson (San Diego/New York/London: A Harvest Book, 1994), 137-138. Said’s seminal article on exile was first published in 1984.

³ The sentiments of national pride and triumphalism are best illustrated by a state-sponsored epic called *The Founding of a Republic* (建国大业). The movie premiered in September 2009, and immediately became a

unfettered jubilation, the calamities suffered by the Chinese people in the past century—imperialism, war, catastrophic socialist experiments, Cultural Revolution, and the massacre at Tiananmen Square—seemed like distant memories. Yet the achievements of the nation came with a bitter irony. A country founded upon revolutionary ideals of equality and social justice saw ever-increasing social polarization and the suppression of the peasants, the workers, and the underprivileged on its way to greatness.

In stark contrast to the festivities and euphoria surrounding the PRC's genesis and national glory was the publication of a book entitled *Big River Big Sea 1949* (大江大海一九四九) in the very same year. The book was written by a Taiwan-born writer named Lung Ying-tai (龍應台, 1952-). Lung is a distinguished cultural critic and public intellectual in the Chinese-speaking world. Her first major work *Wild Fire* (野火集) played an important role in Taiwan's social movements and protest for democracy during the 1980s.⁴ She moved to Europe in the late 1980s and taught Chinese and Taiwanese literature at Germany's Heidelberg University, while continuing to publish numerous essays, commentaries, and short stories throughout the 1990s. After a stint in Taiwan's officialdom between 1999 and 2003, Lung joined the faculty of Hong Kong University.⁵

blockbuster movie in China due to official promotion and its “star power.” Chinese film celebrities from Hong Kong, Singapore, United States, and France took part in the movie. However, the participation of these international stars, many of whom were foreign nationals, sparked some controversies. See Wang Xingdong 汪兴东 and Chen Baoguang 陈宝光, *Jianguo daye* 建国大业 [The founding of a republic], DVD. Directed by Han Sanping 韩三平 et al. (Beijing: China Film Group Corporation, 2009); Shen Hua 申华, “Weirao Jianguo daye de taolun” 围绕建国大业的讨论 [The discussion surrounding *The Founding of a Republic*], *VOANEWS*, August 27, 2009, <http://www.voanews.com/chinese/news/a-21-2009-08-27-voa52-60912542.htm> [accessed May 7, 2011].

⁴ See Lung Ying-tai, *Yehuo ji* 野火集 [Wild fire] (Taipei: Yuanshen chubanshe, 1985). While teaching at Taiwan's universities in the early 1980s, Lung became a popular newspaper columnist known for her critical views of the KMT and social conditions on the island. In 1985, Lung published her articles and commentaries in *Wild Fire*, a book named after her famous newspaper column. The book became an instant sensation in Taiwan. *Wild Fire*'s broad appeal, especially to average citizens and young student activists, helped build momentum for the democracy movement on the island.

⁵ Lung went abroad to study in the United States during the 1970s. She returned to Taiwan after obtaining a PhD degree in English and American Literature from the University of Kansas and a short teaching stint at the City University of New York. She married a German national and moved to Europe in the late 1980s. In 1999, the prolific writer returned to the island and served as the Director of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei under Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九 1950-). Lung resigned from the government and joined the Hong Kong University in 2004. In 2005, with contributions from several major corporations, she established a foundation to promote literary and cultural activities, using her influence to bring famous writers and cultural workers from different parts of the world to Hong Kong. In early 2012, Lung returned to Taiwan again to take up an official position when Ma, who was re-elected president, put her at the helm of the Council for Cultural Affairs (文建會, CCA). The CCA is Taiwan's equivalent of a cultural ministry.

In 2008, she received a major fellowship from Hong Kong University's Culture and Humanities Fund. A writer's workshop was set up for her at the University's Robert Black College. *Big River Big Sea 1949* is one of the books she completed during this time. Over the years, Lung's works on various topics—democracy, cultural values, gender relations, and social justice—have incited heated debates in Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China, and Singapore. The prolific writer has also spoken out publically against prominent Chinese political leaders, such as Lee Kuan Yew and Hu Jintao, for their governments' suppression of free speech and basic human rights.⁶

Lung was born to a KMT military family in south Taiwan. Her parents were among the swarms of Nationalist supporters and war refugees who left Communist China during the Chinese civil war. The great exodus constituted the largest wave of political migrants out of mainland China in the 20th century.⁷ *Big River Big Sea 1949* is dedicated to her parents and their contemporaries—people whose lives were adversely affected and irrevocably altered by the struggle between the KMT and the CCP.⁸ The book is based on a large number of personal interviews conducted by Lung with the surviving civil war migrants in Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, and other overseas locations.⁹ Lung also draws on a sizable collection of memoirs, diaries, and oral history anthologies, most of which were published in Taiwan during the past two decades since the island's democratization and the end of Nationalist dictatorship.

Positioned on the losing side of the civil war, the exiles of 1949 became the antithesis of the PRC's founding myth and national glory. During the 1950s and the 1960s, the CCP propaganda machine regarded those who escaped to Taiwan as

⁶ For more, see Lung Ying-tai, *Qingyong wenming lai shuifu wo* 請用文明來說服我 [Please persuade me with civility] (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2006); Lung Ying-tai, "Xinghao wo bushi Xinjiapo ren" 幸好我不是新加坡人 [Thank God I am not a Singaporean], *Zhongguo shibao* 中國時報 [China times], October 10, 1994, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4dd553d80100fuwx.html [accessed February 10, 2012].

⁷ It was estimated that more than one million refugees entered Hong Kong during the Chinese civil war. According to the United Nations Hong Kong Refugees Survey Mission in 1954, 40% of the colony's population (approximately 900,000) arrived after 1945. For more, see Edvard Hambro, "Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong," *The Phylon Quarterly* 18:1 (1957): 69-81. In the meantime, approximately 908,500 to 1.15 million left mainland China for Taiwan in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. The estimated figures for the great mainland exodus to Taiwan will be discussed in Chapter 2.

⁸ Lung also presents stories about the experiences of German soldiers, Taiwanese soldiers serving in the Japanese army, as well as American and Australian POWs during WWII. There are also stories from the Taiwanese aborigines who fought in the Chinese civil war.

⁹ Lung Ying-tai, *Dajiang dahai 1949*, 360.

“remnants of Nationalist bandits” (国民党残匪) and “a treasonous bloc led by Chiang Kai-shek” (蒋介石卖国集团). They brought tyranny to the people of Taiwan. They were counter-revolutionaries and lackeys of American imperialism that had no place in Mao’s “New China.”¹⁰ On the other side of the Taiwan Strait, the Nationalist regime-in-exile also demonized the Chinese Communists and portrayed the CCP rule in mainland China as hell on earth. Yet the KMT prohibited any meaningful discussion of the civil war. The exiled Nationalist elites on the island were apprehensive about the political implications of discussing defeat.¹¹ Backed by the United States, Chiang’s government presented itself as “Free China” during the 1950s and the 1960s—a militarized anti-Communist bastion ready to strike back at the PRC and return to the mainland at any given moment.

A string of events in the 1970s transformed Cold War politics in East Asia and China-Taiwan-US relations. These included the PRC’s entry to the United Nations at the expense of the ROC, Nixon’s historic visit to China, the death of both Mao and Chiang, the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Beijing and Washington, and then Deng Xiaoping’s reforms.¹² Under Deng, peaceful negotiation overtook military conquest as the main policy in dealing with the renegade Nationalists and Taiwan.¹³ The official CCP line changed drastically. The civil war exiles were no longer bandits and traitors. Like the native Taiwanese and aborigines they trampled over, the exiled population became “fellow countrymen from Taiwan” (台湾同胞). The PRC would

¹⁰ See “Wancheng shengli, gonggu shengli, yingjie yijiuwuling nian yuandan” 完成胜利, 巩固胜利, 迎接一九五零年元旦 [Achieving victory, consolidating victory, welcoming the New Year’s Day of 1950], *Renmin ribao* 人民日报 [People’s daily], January 1, 1950, 1; Qian Junrui 钱俊瑞, “Naqi wenyi wuqi, jianjue huiji mei diguozhuyi” 拿起文艺武器, 坚决回击美帝国主义 [Pick up literary weapons, strike back at American imperialism with determination], *ibid.*, June 24, 1960, 7.

¹¹ An open discussion of the events leading the ROC’s downfall in China would raise touchy questions pertaining to social justice, state organization, democracy, and responsibility for the defeat. Inevitably, it would also come to question the ruling legitimacy of the KMT leaders who escaped to the island in 1949. The subject of Nationalist defeat in the civil war and the great exodus was taboo until the island’s democratization. Chapter 5 *Narrating the Exodus* will examine the official KMT line and the counter-narratives in further details.

¹² For more on Cold War politics and cross-Strait relations, see Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945-1992* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994); John W Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance: Nationalist China and American Cold War Strategy in Asia* (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 1997).

¹³ For more on the changes in Beijing’s policy towards Taiwan, see Zhao Suisheng, “Military Coercion and Peaceful Offence: Beijing’s Strategy of National Reunification with Taiwan,” *Pacific Affairs* 72:4 (1999-2000): 495-496; Kao Su-lan 高素蘭, “Zhonggong dui Tai zhengce de lishi yanbian (1949-2000)” 中共對臺政策的歷史演變 (1949-2000) [The development of the PRC’s policy toward Taiwan, 1949-2000], *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan* 國史館學術集刊 [Bulletin of Academia Historica] 4 (2004): 189-228.

welcome them back with open arms to visit their long-separated relatives, as Beijing hoped cross-Strait interactions would eventually pave the way for reunification.¹⁴

Big River Big Sea 1949 tears down the facade of official discourses and state-sponsored historiographies generated by both the CCP and the KMT. To borrow Walter Benjamin's indelible words, the book "brushes history against the grain" of interpretations put forward by victors and power-holders. Lung provides nuanced and engaging accounts of ordinary folks caught up in the whirlpool of brutal warfare and political turmoil in the late 1940s. The protagonists of her stories were not fighting for national glory or lofty political ideals, as these people neither understood the roots of the devastating cataclysm nor had the power to stop it. Most were simply struggling to survive. The narratives evoke memories of collective suffering and forced migration, memories that have for too long been swept under the rug of Cold War politics and two competing national histories. *Big River Big Sea 1949* became an instant bestseller in Taiwan and Hong Kong in 2009. It also stirred up discussion among some overseas Chinese communities. The book is banned in China for obvious reasons.¹⁵

Lung's book attracted considerable media attention internationally because of her credentials and extensive book promotion tour across the globe. Yet *Big River Big Sea 1949* is only one example among a growing body of literature focusing on the Chinese civil war and the great exodus in Taiwan since the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Most of these were based on oral history and personal memoirs. They were written and published by the surviving civil war migrants and their descendants, often with a strong sense of nostalgia and self-affirmation. Notable publications in the same year included Chi Pang-yuan's *The River of Big Torrents* (巨流河)¹⁶ and Chang Tien-wan's *Pacific*

¹⁴ See Xu Wei 许伟 and Mu Yang 穆杨, "Tamen gangcong Taiwan guilai" 他们刚从台湾归来 [They just came back from Taiwan], *Renmin ribao*, June 19, 1982, 4.

¹⁵ For a sympathetic but critical review, see Leo Ou-fan Lee, "Book Reviews: Lung Ying-tai, *Dajiang dahai-1949* (Big River, Big Sea-Untold Stories of 1949) and Chi Pang-yuan, *Juliuhe* (The River of Big Torrents)," *China Perspectives* no. 2010/1 (2010): 114-116. Although the book is officially banned in China, electronic versions are accessible on the Internet.

¹⁶ Chi Pang-yuan 齊邦媛, *Juliuhe* 巨流河 [The river of big torrents] (Taipei: Tianxia yuanjian, 2009). Chi is the daughter of Chi Shih-ying (齊世英, 1899-1987), a prominent Republican statesman from Manchuria. She was born in Manchuria in 1924. Like many Chinese who lived through the first half of the 20th century, her family became wandering refugees due to decades of war and social chaos in the country. Chi attended the exiled Wuhan University in Chongqing during the war against Japan. She arrived in Taipei in 1947 to take up a teaching job at the National Taiwan University (NTU). She later became a well-respected literary scholar who had a stellar academic career in Taiwan. *The River of Big Torrents* is her memoir. The book

1949 (太平輪一九四九).¹⁷ Besides books and memoirs, movies, TV dramas, and theatrical plays portraying the lives of civil war exiles in Taiwan, in particular stories about the “military family’s village” or *juancun* (眷村), have also enjoyed critical acclaim and box office success.¹⁸ Outside literary, arts, and media circles, oral history and heritage preservation projects put forward by civil organizations, such as the “Association of Mainlander Taiwanese” (外省台灣人協會), have proceeded quietly for some time.¹⁹

This dissertation examines the history of the civil war migrants in Taiwan from the moment they left mainland China in the late 1940s to their eventual return in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. It is a story about a group of people who ran away from the Chinese Communist revolution and followed the National regime across the sea, but not in the ways told by the CCP, the KMT, or the rhetoric of Cold War politics. The research illuminates the historical processes leading to the proliferation of publications and cultural activities centring on the great exodus in contemporary Taiwan. It attempts to show that these projects and the emerging discourse on the great exodus are embedded in

not only became a bestseller like Lung’s *Big River Big Sea 1949*, but also won a prestigious literary award in Taiwan. Renowned literary critic Leo Ou-fan Lee favours Chi’s work over Lung’s, as he suggests the latter was “over-written.” Lee’s opinion echoes earlier comments on Lung’s book made by another literary scholar Perry Lam (林沛理). See Leo Ou-fan Lee, “Book Reviews,” 115-117.

¹⁷ Chang Tien-wan 張典婉, *Tai ping lun 1949: hangxiang Taiwan de gushi* 太平輪一九四九: 航向台灣的故事 [*Pacific 1949: the stories of the journey to Taiwan*] (Taipei: Shangzhou chuban, 2009). Chang is a journalist and freelance writer. Her parents were among the exiles of 1949. *Tai ping lun 1949* explores the tragic fate of the *Pacific*, an ocean liner that sank on the cold winter night of January 27, 1949 en route to Taiwan from Shanghai. The story of the *Pacific* will be discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁸ *Juancun* were residential communities constructed by the state to house military personnel and their families. *Juancun* is usually translated as “military dependents’ village.” But the author would suggest that “military family’s village” is a more appropriate translation. In recent years, two television soap operas—*Goodbye, Loyalty Village Number Two* (再見, 忠貞二村, 2005) and *Story of Time* (光陰的故事, 2008-2009)—gained a wide following in Taiwan. The latter was the brainchild of famed television producer Wang Wei-chung (王偉忠, 1957-). *Story of Time* not only achieved great ratings, but also led to a surge of *juancun* nostalgia among the civil war migrants. In late 2008, Wang teamed up with acclaimed playwright Stan Lai (賴聲川, 1954-) to create a new theatrical play called *Formosa Village Number One* (寶島一村). The play was a smashing success. It won the accolades of critics in Taiwan. The performances were also well-received in China when the mainland tour began in January 2010. For more on recent cultural production pertaining to *juancun*, see Oscar Chung, “A Village on the Stage,” *Taiwan Review*, July 1, 2010, <http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=107222&CtNode=1337> [accessed June 10, 2011].

¹⁹ The Association of Mainlander Taiwanese was founded in Taipei in 2004 by a coalition of intellectuals, artists, and journalists. The objective is to sponsor cultural activities and heritage preservation projects relating to the civil war migrants and their descendants in Taiwan in order to promote multiculturalism and bridge the communal division resulting from the party politics in Taiwan. For more, see Waisheng Taiwan ren xiehui 外省台灣人協會, “Jianjie” 簡介 [Introduction], <http://www.amt.org.tw/> [accessed February 20, 2012].

the civil war migrants' and their descendants' search for identity amidst the island's political and social transformations in recent decades.

The findings presented in this dissertation demonstrate the importance of the great exodus in shaping the lives and the worldviews of the civil war migrants and the development of state-society relations and communal relations in post-war Taiwan. They offer new insights on the origins and the development of communal division in present-day Taiwan and contemporary cross-Strait relations. Using the civil war migrants in Taiwan as an example, the dissertation argues that identity formation is a convoluted historical process engendered by people moving diachronically through time and physically through different geographic localities. The identity of the civil war exiles and their descendants in Taiwan, which is still evolving, is a product of a particular historical trajectory and actual lived experiences. The articulation of these experiences is mediated by the politics of remembrance and collective memory in response to changing sociopolitical contexts and power relations.

The history of any given migrant community is nuanced and multifaceted. This dissertation focuses on one particular aspect central to the understanding of the civil war migrants in Taiwan—sentiments engendered by forced relocation and the longing for home. Renowned cultural and literary critic Edward Said famously wrote: “[e]xile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted.”²⁰ When discussing diaspora and displaced communities, historian/cultural anthropologist James Clifford suggested: “[d]iaspora cultures thus mediate, in a lived tension, the experiences of separation and entanglement, of living here and remembering/desiring another place.”²¹ This monograph illustrates the manifestations and the consequences of the “unhealable rift” and the “essential sadness” articulated by Said in the context of Chinese and Taiwanese history. It probes into the ways in which a group of displaced people experienced and dealt with the “lived tension” described by Clifford.

²⁰ Edward Said, “Reflections on Exile,” 137.

²¹ James Clifford, “Diasporas,” in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), 255. Clifford’s illuminating article on “diasporas” was first published in *Cultural Anthropology* 9:3 (1994): 302-338.

Through four main chapters, the dissertation examines the transformation of the civil war migrants' collective attitude or *mentalités*—from “reluctant sojourners” in the 1950s to “cultural nostalgia” from the 1960s to the 1980s, and to “narrating the exodus” from the late 1980s and the early 1990s onwards. The author borrows the term *mentalités* from the French Annales School of historiography to describe the prevailing worldview/sentiment among the civil war exiles in Taiwan as they lived through different historical periods. He does this for two main reasons. The first is to underscore the need to move away from the current emphasis on political history in Taiwan's post-war historiography, and argue for the importance of studying social and cultural history. The second is to illuminate the exiles' response to the changing political/social circumstances and material conditions of their existence. This dissertation is not an attempt to apply *mentalités* methodology to the study of Chinese and Taiwanese history. The author understands the potential problems associated with borrowed terms, especially between different historiographies and cultures. He also acknowledges the rich diversity within the school of *mentalités* history in Europe, as well as the intricate epistemological and methodological debates surrounding the scholarship.²²

Approximately 900,000 to 1 million people followed Chiang Kai-shek's tattered regime across the sea to Taiwan, an island lying on the south-eastern seaboard of mainland China with 6 million local inhabitants. The Nationalists had recently acquired Taiwan from Japan in the wake of WWII. The civil war exiles consisted of a large number of low-ranking KMT soldiers and civil servants. There were also expelled landlords, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, students, workers, peasants, housewives, and children—ordinary people drawn into the vortex of brutal fratricide between the KMT and the CCP. Many ended up in Taiwan by sheer historical chance. A majority of these individuals were forced to leave home under extreme and intense circumstances. They were deeply traumatized by the scars of war. Regardless of their social status and prior

²² Like many critics of the Annales School, the author has reservations about some *mentalités* historians' apparent obsession with the explanatory power of structural forces and quantitative analysis. The diversity and fragmentation of the research, focusing on small geographical units such as towns and villages, also poses a problem for theorization. For the merits and shortcomings of *mentalités* history, see Michelle Perrot, “The Strengths and the Weaknesses of French Social History,” *Journal of Social History* 10:2 (1976): 166-177; Patrick H Hutton, “The History of Mentalities: the New Map of Cultural History,” *History and Theory* 20:3 (1980): 237-259; Peter Burke, “Strengths and Weaknesses in the History of Mentalities,” in *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 162-82.

relationship with the KMT in China, most had lost all their worldly possessions upon reaching the island. They became “atomized” individuals separated from the previous political, social, and familial ties on the mainland. Inevitably, the civil war migrants came to depend on the regime-in-exile for survival.

The exiles also faced a “semi-Japanized”²³ indigenous population, who considered them outsiders and stooges of an oppressive regime. Though 50 years of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan had contributed to this communal tension, hostility towards the newcomers from China can also be attributed in large part to the tragic 228 Incident. On February 28, 1947, a massive anti-government riot broke out in the capital city Taipei. The upheaval soon spread to other major cities on the island, as frightened Nationalist officials, civilians, and garrison troops barricaded themselves in a few strongholds, while angry Taiwanese mobs lynched passersby and wreaked havoc on government properties. Triggered by a minor incident, the riot was a result of pent-up anger on the part of the Taiwanese since the retrocession from Japan in late 1945. The Nationalist administration in early post-war Taiwan was plagued by rampant official corruption, harsh economic exploitation, blatant employment discrimination, and the carpetbagging behaviour of newcomers and returnees from China. In response to the

²³ The term “semi-Japanized” is used to describe Taiwan’s pre-1945 residents because the islanders’ identity formation and transformation under Japanese colonialism has been a contested issue in Taiwan’s colonial historiography. The crux of the debate centred on whether the island’s inhabitants had become thoroughly Japanized, retained their ethnic Chinese identities, or forged a new Taiwanese identity. Most scholars in the field would agree that there were important differences between the newcomers from China and the island’s pre-1945 residents, and these differences were the results of Japanese colonial rule. For major contributions that have shaped the debate, see Leo T S Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Fong Shiao-chian 方孝謙, *Zhimindi Taiwan de rentong he muosuo: cong shanshu dao shaoshuo de xunshi fenxi, 1895-1945* 殖民地台灣的認同和摸索：從善書到小說的敘事分析, 1895-1945 [Searching for identity in colonial Taiwan: analysis of popular religious texts and novels, 1895-1945] (Taipei: Juliu, 2001); Chen Pei-feng 陳培豐, 「Tonghua」de tongchuang yimeng: rizhi shiqi Taiwan de yuyan zhengce、jindaihua yu rentong 「同化」的同床異夢：日治時期臺灣的語言政策、近代化與認同 [The different intentions behind the semblance of “Douka”: language policy, modernization and identity in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period] (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 2006); Wu Rwei-ren 吳叡人, “Fuermosa yishi xingtai—shilun riben zhimin tongzhi xia Taiwan de minzu yundong 「minzu wenhua」 lunshu de xingcheng (1919-1937) 福爾摩沙意識型態—試論日本殖民統治下臺灣民族運動「民族文化」論述的形成 (1919-1937) [The Formosan ideology—preliminary reflections on the formation of the discourse of 「national culture」 in the Taiwanese nationalist movement under Japanese colonial rule (1919-1937)], *Xinshixue* 新史學 [New history] 17:2 (2006): 127-218; Chen Tsui-lien 陳翠蓮, *Taiwan ren de dikang yu rentong: 1920-1950* 臺灣人的抵抗與認同：1920-1950 [The resistance and identity of the Taiwanese: 1920-1950] (Taipei: Yuanliu, 2008).

uprising, the KMT sent a punitive expedition to the island. In the ensuing bloodbath, the Nationalist forces massacred, arrested, and executed a considerable number of Taiwanese civilians. The Nationalists targeted the Japanese-educated elites in particular. The move effectively eliminated the cream of the crop of the island's political leadership, while cowing the rest into submission. The Incident became a hidden scar and a taboo subject. The islanders would remain silent on the issue until democratization 40 years after.²⁴ Most of the exodus population set foot on the island years after the Incident. They knew very little about the tragedy because of official censorship. Deeply immersed in their own misery, the exiles of the Chinese civil war showed little concern for what happened on the island before their arrival.

At the beginning of their exile in Taiwan, the civil war migrants had expected to return home within a few years, anticipating a final showdown between the KMT and the CCP in a global confrontation that pitted capitalism against communism. The end of the Korean War (1950-1953) and the stalemate over the two Taiwan Strait Crises (1954-1955, 1958) extended their sojourn indefinitely. The prolonged exile led to a profound sense of nostalgia, leading to a plethora of writings and cultural activities focusing on their hometowns in China from the 1960s to the 1980s. In the late 1980s, political reforms on both sides of the Taiwan Strait finally allowed the civil war exiles to revisit mainland China after four long decades. However, the “home” that the exodus population had longed for was nowhere to be found. The “reverse culture shock” of return and political transformation in Taiwan contributed a search for identity by the civil war migrants and their descendants centring on narrating the great exodus. This study tells this nuanced and fascinating story.

²⁴ Democratization and the rise of Taiwanese nationalism brought the issue back. Since the early 1990, there have been numerous political controversies surrounding the Incident. These were accompanied by heated scholarly debates on a wide range of issues—factors leading to the uprising, the number of deaths, official responsibility, reparations, and so on. Nowadays, the 228 Incident has become one of the most intensively researched topics in the island's post-war history. For a few key texts in the historiography, see George H Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965); Li Hsiao-feng 李筱峰, “Ereba shijian qian de wenhua chongtu” 二二八事件前的文化衝突 [The cultural conflict before the 228 Incident], *Si yu yan* 思與言 [Thought and word] 29:4 (1991): 185-215; Lai Tse-han, Ramon H Myers, and Wei Wou, *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwanese Uprising of February 28, 1947* (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1991); Chang Yan-hsien 張炎憲, et al., *Ereba shijian zeren guishu yanjiu baogo* 二二八事件責任歸屬研究報告 [An investigative report of the responsibility for the 228 Incident] (Taipei: Ererba shijian jinian jijinhui, 2006); Sylvia Li-chun Lin, *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan: The 2/28 Incident and White Terror in Fiction and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

1.2 Scholarly Engagements: Historiographies, Theories, and *Waishengren* Studies

This dissertation makes contributions to various academic circles, filling important lacunae in the study of displaced communities and the historiographies of modern China and modern Taiwan. It presents an interesting case study for research on how local communities responded to larger international events during the Cold War. The research also offers a way to rethink existing frameworks in the study of Chinese migration, and contributes to the project of theorizing diaspora. More importantly, the dissertation provides new insights on the study of mainlander/*waishengren* identity and the development of the communal division in Taiwan. It argues for a historical or “diachronic” approach to the study of identity formation. The approach pays attention to the movements of people through time and space. It also underscores the importance of storytelling and collective memory.

The great mainland exodus to Taiwan constituted one of the largest instances of population movements during the 20th century on account of war, revolution, and political turmoil. Even though the size of the exodus (approximately 1 million) pales in comparison with the massive population relocation programs overseen by the United Nations in Europe (tens of millions) or the Partition of India (approximately 12-15 million), it is roughly equivalent to the number of families (around 750,000) divided by the Korean War.²⁵ The sheer magnitude alone demands attention, not to mention the fact that the legacy of the great exodus continues to have important implications for cross-Strait interactions and Sino-American relations nowadays. Nonetheless, the crux of the story remains relatively obscure. Until the publication of Joshua Fan’s *China’s Homeless Generation* (2011), which examines the lived experiences of the Nationalist veterans in Taiwan through oral history, there has been little research on the subject.²⁶

There are three main reasons for this omission. The first is the dearth of scholarly interest in political migrants and refugees outside of Europe and outside of the realm of

²⁵ For more on the estimated figures, see Gunther Beyer, “The Political Refugee: 35 Years Later,” *International Migration Review* 15:1/2 (1981): 28-30; James A Foley, *Korea’s Divided Families: Fifty Years of Separation* (London/New York: Routledge/Curzon, 2003), 60.

²⁶ Joshua Fan, *China’s Homeless Generation: Voices from the Veterans of the Chinese Civil War, 1940s-1990s* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).²⁷ The civil war in China displaced millions of people. Many took up refuge in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Hong Kong's post-war refugee crisis was investigated by the UNHCR in the early 1950s.²⁸ There are also a number of studies on the topic.²⁹ By contrast, there has been virtually no discussion of the civil war exiles in Taiwan, despite the clear historical connection between these two instances of forced migration. The study of displaced communities, as many scholars in the field have argued, was heavily influenced by great power politics, especially during the Cold War. Moreover, the international bureaucracies and nation states sponsoring these studies usually focus more on solving the immediate problems caused by political exiles and refugees or fulfilling their own interests rather than understanding the lives and aspirations of these communities.³⁰ This dissertation not only fills an important lacuna, but also offers a vantage point to reconsider what has been left out by the existing framework.

The second reason for the omission is the KMT and the CCP rivalry, which was also tied to the Cold War. Since the 1950s, the two competing authoritarian single-party states had considerable influence not only on how the island's post-war history and the Chinese civil war were interpreted in China and Taiwan but also in North America. Upon relocating to Taiwan, the Nationalist elites attempted to turn demoralizing defeat into a narrative of revival and restoration. They presented the exiled ROC as "Free China" *vis-à-vis* the illegitimate and homicidal Chinese Communist regime on the mainland. The Cold War attracted American politicians, investors, and academics to Taiwan. The pro-Nationalist bloc viewed the island under Chiang's dictatorship as a bulwark against communism and a successful model of the East Asian developmental state. Moreover,

²⁷ For more, see Richard Black, "Fifty Years of Refugee Studies: From Theory to Policy," *International Migration Review* 35:1 (2001): 57-78.

²⁸ Edvard Hambro, *The Problem of Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong: Report Submitted to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (Holland: A W Sijthoff-Leyden, 1955).

²⁹ See Agnes S Ku, "Immigration Policies, Discourses, and the Politics of Local Belonging in Hong Kong (1950-1980)," *Modern China* 30:3 (2004): 326-360; Alan Smart, *The Shek Kip Mei Myth: Squatters, Fires and Colonial Rule in Hong Kong, 1950-1963* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006); Glen Peterson, "To Be or Not to Be a Refugee: The International Politics of the Hong Refugee Crisis, 1949-1955," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36:2 (2008): 171-195.

³⁰ For illuminating discussions on these matters, see Richard Black, "Fifty Years of Refugee Studies," 58-59; Charles B Keely, "The International Refugee Regime(s): The End of Cold War Matters," *International Migration Review* 35:1 (2001): 303-314; Liisa H Malkki, "Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 507-510; Glen Peterson, "To Be or Not to Be a Refugee."

foreign scholars banned from entering the PRC began to study Taiwan as a microcosm of China. Generally speaking, Western historians and area studies scholars were more interested in using archival sources brought to the island by the KMT to study China rather than looking into what was going on in Taiwan before the 1980s. The result was a limited understanding of the island's post-war developments and narrow interpretations. According to Murray A Rubinstein and Steven E Phillips, North American writings on post-war Taiwan focused exclusively on a set of narratives—"anti-Communist bastion," "repository of traditional Chinese culture," "economic miracle," and "democratic transition."³¹ After China abandoned the disastrous socialist experiments and opened its door in the 1980s, the island became a forgotten place for many China specialists.

On the other side of the coin, Western scholarship sympathetic to Communist China also contributed to the omission. Joshua Fan rightly points out that the historiography of the Chinese civil war in North America has focused exclusively on the causes and the outcome of the war.³² Considerable efforts were directed towards studying and analyzing reasons for the Communist success and the Nationalist failure. Chalmers Johnson's seminal text *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power* (1962) spawned a rich and evolving field of research that continues to the present day.³³ This vibrant and impressive scholarship grew out of China specialists' reaction against the political repression under McCarthyism. The latter posed the politically-charged question: "who lost China?" It was spurred on by the rebellious counterculture spirit in the 1960s and early 70s, as radical young scholars and public intellectuals voiced their opposition to the Vietnam War and American imperialism in Asia, and gazed favourably upon Mao's revolutionary utopia.

³¹ Murray A Rubinstein, "Introduction: The Taiwan Miracle," in *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, (ed.) Murray A Rubinstein (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 1994), 3-14; Steven E Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945-1950* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 14-15.

³² Joshua Fan, *China's Homeless Generation*, 5.

³³ Chalmers A Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937-1945* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1962). For other key texts in the field, see Mark Selden, *The Yen'an Way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Lloyd E Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1984); Chen Yung-fa, *Making Revolution: The Communist Movement in Eastern and Central China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Tony Saich and Hans J van de Ven (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution* (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 1995).

In more recent years, historians studying the Anti-Japanese War in China (1937-1945) such as Diana Lary and Stephen Mackinnon have argued that scholars should look more closely into the impacts of war and social dislocation on Chinese society. They considered forced relocation to be common among people living in China during the first half of the 20th century, and suggested that these experiences had great implications for the research on the state-society relations in modern China.³⁴ In the meantime, Michael Szonyi's fascinating study of *Quemoy* (金門) in *Cold War Island* (2008) revealed how local community and culture in Taiwan's island frontier were shaped by both the Chinese civil war and the Cold War.³⁵ This dissertation adds to the discussion by illustrating the effects of war and prolonged exile on a displaced community. It tries to bridge the 1949 divide, asking the readers to consider the Anti-Japanese War, the Chinese civil war, and the Cold War as a single unit of analysis in assessing the history of the mainland exodus to Taiwan. It also demonstrates how the civil war exiles responded to major shifts in the international politics during the Cold War, connecting global events to local developments.

The third reason for the lack of scholarly research on the great exodus is the newly emerged "Taiwan-centred" historiography. During the past two decades, democratization in Taiwan led to a major paradigm shift in how the island's historians envisioned the past. The new interpretive framework and research agenda examined Taiwan's history on its own terms rather than as an adjunct of a larger political entity, namely, China. The official KMT history, which was the only discourse allowed on the island before the late 1980s, has been largely discredited with the end of single-party rule. Taiwan-centred historiography had originated in a process called "indigenization" or *bentuhua* (本土化), a grassroots literary and cultural movement that began on the island

³⁴ See Diana Lary and Stephen R Mackinnon (eds.), *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Stephen R Mackinnon, *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937-1945* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

³⁵ Quemoy is a small island located just outside of Xiamen (廈門) off the coast of Fujian Province. It is still held by the ROC today. See Michael Szonyi, *Cold War Island: Quemoy on the Front Line* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

in the late 1970s.³⁶ It grew hand in hand with the protest for democracy and the quest for social justice in the 1980s, and emerged as a dominant discourse in the island state's quest for a new national identity under the presidency of Lee Teng-hui (李登輝, 1988-2000) and Chen Shui-bian (陳水扁, 2000-2008).³⁷ The Taiwan-centred paradigm not only led to a flurry of new publications and cultural projects on the island, but also contributed to a renewed scholarly interest in the West on Taiwanese studies.³⁸ Since the mid-1990s, there have been a considerable number of monographs that have offered illuminating insights on historical topics overlooked by Cold War sinologists—from the island's pivotal position in the forgotten history of the 17th century maritime world in East Asia, Dutch colonialism, Japanese colonialism to the once taboo 228 Incident.³⁹ Notwithstanding these exciting new developments, the story of the great exodus remains absent. As a matter of fact, the islanders' wholesale rejection of the official Nationalist history has rendered the 1949 migration an inadvertent casualty.

³⁶ Indigenization is arguably the single most important event in terms of political and cultural developments in the island's recent past. The process began in the late 1970s in the realm of literary production. In what came to be known as the "debate on the folk literature" (鄉土文學論戰), fictional tales that reflected local conditions and grassroots sensitivity began to gain ascendancy over Western literature and literary genres transplanted from China after WWII. The movement has contributed to the rise of "Taiwan subjectivity" (台灣主體性)—an intellectual and cultural discourse that considers the island as an independent entity and subject of analysis. Taiwan subjectivity is closely connected to Taiwanese nationalism and Taiwan independence movement. For an authoritative study of the genesis and the development of *bentuhua*, see Hsiao A-chin 蕭阿勤, *Huigui xianshi: Taiwan yijiuqiling niandai de zhanhou shidai yu wenhua zhengzhi bianqian* 回歸現實: 台灣一九七〇年代的戰後世代與文化政治變遷 [Return to reality: political and cultural change in Taiwan during the 1970s and the post-war generation] (Taipei: Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, 2008).

³⁷ For more on indigenization and Taiwan's question for national identity, see the essays contained in Stéphane Corcuff (ed.), *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan* (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 2002); John Makeham and A-chin Hsiao (eds.), *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan: Bentuhua* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2005).

³⁸ The rapid growth of recent scholarly interest in Taiwan can be illustrated by the sprouting of various academic associations devote solely to Taiwan studies since the early 1990s. The most prominent ones include: Conference Group on Taiwan Studies (CGOTS) affiliated with the American Political Science Association (1990), North American Taiwan Studies Association (1994), the European Association of Taiwan Studies at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (1999), and the Centre for Taiwan Studies at UC Santa Barbara (2003).

³⁹ For a few examples, see Murray A Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 1999); Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004). Liao Ping-hui and David Der-wei Wang (eds.), *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

Taiwan-centred historiography emphasizes the island's political and cultural independence. One of the more radical interpretations in this scholarship considers the island as having been ruled by successive “foreign colonial regimes” (外來殖民政權)—Spain/Holland, Ming loyalists, Qing, Japan, and the KMT.⁴⁰ In this discursive framework, the civil war migrants and their descendants became a monolithic ruling class who served as the instruments of the KMT's authoritarian rule in Taiwan. They have, until very recently, wielded considerable political power. They enjoyed disproportional state benefits and unfair advantages in education and official employment. Yet this “ruling class versus the oppressed native majority” dichotomy glossed over the social diversity within the civil war migrants. For example, the existence of a sizable social underclass consisting of the KMT veterans discharged before the early 1960s. These individuals received few state benefits. Most had lived in abject poverty before the late 1980s, and many still do today.

Joshua Fan's *China's Homeless Generation* seeks to address this issue.⁴¹ Through four wonderfully written chapters filled with engaging personal narratives, Fan sheds light on the trials and tribulations of low-ranking soldiers who followed the KMT across the sea. The book focuses on the theme of “home” (家). It examines the Nationalist veterans' lived experiences through time—“leaving home” during the 1940s, “feeling homeless” in Taiwan during the 1950s, “establishing home” on the island from the 1960s to the 1970s, and “returning home” in the 1980s and the 1990s. Fan is successful in

⁴⁰ The idea was first proposed by Shih Ming (Su Bing, 1919-) in the early 1960s. See Shih Ming 史明, *Taiwan ren sibai nian shi* 台灣人四百年史 [Four hundred year history of the Taiwanese people] (San Jose: Paradise Culture Associates, 1980). Shih is an advocate for Taiwan independence who espouses socialist views. He escaped to Tokyo Japan in 1952. The book is an epic polemic against the official KMT history, Japanese colonialism, and great power politics. It was written in exile and published in Japanese in 1962. *Taiwan ren sibai nian shi* was later translated and published in both Chinese and English. It became one of the founding texts in formulating the theoretical and legal framework for Taiwan independence and Taiwanese nationalism, alongside the works of other Taiwanese dissidents in exile, such as Peng Ming-min (彭明敏, 1923-), Wang Yu-teh (王育德, 1924-1985), and Huang Chao-tang (黃昭堂, 1932-2011). *Taiwan ren sibai nian shi* was banned under the martial law. Since democratization, the book has become widely popular among the supporters of Taiwan independence on the island, and served as an inspiration to numerous historical works.

⁴¹ Joshua Fan, *China's Homeless Generation*. Although Fan is the first historian in North America to look into the lives of impoverished Nationalist veterans. The first research on this community was conducted by an anthropologist in Taiwan named Hu Tai-li (胡台麗) in the late 1980s. Hu is also an expert on Taiwan's aboriginal culture and a renowned independent filmmaker. For more, see Hu Tai-li, “Ethnic Identity and Social Condition of Veteran-Mainlanders in Taiwan,” *Revue européenne des sciences sociales* 27:84 (1989): 253-265.

recovering the voices of ordinary soldiers, many of whom also suffered great injustices under the Nationalist rule. Yet the book's reliance on oral history puts limitations on the scope and the depth of the research. Moreover, it raises legitimate questions about the reliability of human memory to serve as historical evidence, a subject that will be discussed in the next section.⁴²

This dissertation aims at providing a more comprehensive and nuanced interpretation of the great exodus based on archival research and documentary sources. Personal narratives serve only as supplementary evidence. More importantly, instead of using oral testimonies given by the surviving civil war migrants as the mainstay of evidence, this study puts great emphasis on "historicizing" these narratives. It tries to illuminate the relationship between collective discourse/memory and the process of identity formation.

An important theoretical question raised by Fan is how the great exodus in Taiwan, or the "Homeless Generation" in Fan's terminology, could be considered a type of Chinese diaspora. The scholarship that Fan tries to engage with is the research on the overseas Chinese communities. His primary target is the field's founder and leading figure Wang Gungwu. Wang has insisted that "Chinese overseas" or "Chinese diaspora" do not include the inhabitants of Taiwan. The people on the island see themselves as part of China despite the political division between the PRC and the ROC.⁴³ Fan problematizes this rather simplistic notion. Other than ignoring the political and social changes in the democratized ROC during the past two decades, Wang's assumption does not take account the fact that 50 years of Japanese colonial rule had transformed Taiwan considerably. When the "Homeless Generation" set foot on the island, they were moving to a place where the social customs and languages were so different that it was perhaps more analogous to transnational migration than an internal migration.⁴⁴ In raising the point, Fan makes a strong argument against Wang's clear-cut dichotomy between internal migration and transnational migration defined narrowly by contested national borders. Wang's assertion seems out of touch with the unique historical situation faced by the

⁴² Fan conducted a large number of personal interviews. A bulk of the narratives contained in the book also came from published memoirs and personal accounts. As mentioned, these texts are part of the oral history projects put forward by the civil war migrants and their descendants in contemporary Taiwan.

⁴³ Joshua Fan, *China's Homeless Generation*, 6.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

Chinese civil war migrants in early post-war Taiwan. However, Fan does not provide further discussion of how the “Homeless Generation” actually fits into the theoretical framework of diaspora studies.

Leaving home and moving to an alien social and cultural environment has been a common experience for a great number of Chinese since time immemorial. In recent decades, research on Chinese transnationalism through the enlightening scholarship of Ien Ang, Aihwa Ong, Madeline Hsu, and Adam McKeown has demonstrated the multiplicity, hybridity, and fluidity of Chinese migrant identities and border-crossing activities in different temporalities and spatialities.⁴⁵ Despite ground-breaking works and thought-provoking theoretical debates over the years, the burgeoning scholarship on Chinese migration, which jumped on the bandwagon of diaspora studies, has hitherto paid little attention to experiences that are specific to political migrants. Though the civil war exiles in Taiwan did not move outside of their own national borders, the research findings contained in this dissertation will show that they did exhibit some “traits” that we have come to associate with diasporic communities, according to the definitions and taxonomical categories put forward by prominent scholars of diaspora, such as Gabriel Sheffer, William Safran, and Robin Cohen.⁴⁶ First, they had a traumatic exodus that broke up families and shattered communities. The event later became an important cultural marker for their identity formation. Second, they moved to a place where cultural/linguistic differences and troubled history with the local population contributed to considerable communal tension. Third, their lived experiences and cultural production on the island have been shaped by incessant longing for a distant homeland. They also assisted a regime-in-exile in working towards the recovery and restoration of that homeland. Fourth, when they were finally allowed to go back to the mainland in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, most of the exiles came to a painful and shocking

⁴⁵ Ien Ang, “Can One Say No to Chineseness? Pushing the Limits of Diasporic Paradigm,” *boundary 2* 25:3 (1998): 223-242; Adam McKeown, “Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842~1949,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58:2 (1999): 306-337; Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2000); Madeline Y Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000).

⁴⁶ See Gabriel Sheffer (ed.), *Modern Diasporas in International Politics* (London/Sidney: Croom Helm, 1986), 9-10; William Safran, “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return,” *Diaspora* 1:1 (1991): 83-84; Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 2nd edition (London/New York: Routledge, 2008), 17.

realization—they no longer felt at home in China. They returned to Taiwan with a broken heart and a profound sense of disorientation. But in the years that followed, many continued to visit their ancestral homes and relatives in China periodically.

Notwithstanding these “traits,” the civil war migrants in Taiwan are also very different from other diasporic communities in world history. First, they relocated with an authoritarian party-state, a regime that afforded them different degrees of political and cultural privileges over the indigenous communities, though the distribution of these privileges was neither absolute nor equal. It hinged upon absolute obedience and undue loyalty to the KMT. As we shall see in Chapter 3, many civil war exiles also suffered political repression under the Nationalist rule. Second, Chiang’s regime tried to “re-Sinicize” the local Taiwanese population through official propaganda, media censorship, and compulsory public education. Before democratization, the exiled KMT leaders turned the island into an international showcase for the Nationalist version of Chinese culture. Therefore, it was the semi-Japanized islanders who needed to adjust to the new cultural and linguistic hegemony brought by the newcomers from China, not the other way around.⁴⁷ Lastly, before their long-awaited return, the civil war migrants saw themselves and the island of Taiwan as an integral part of a Chinese state (the ROC). Many still do today, though national identity has become a contentious issue on the island since democratization, as the following discussion will show.⁴⁸

Where does this leave us? In light of the conflicting “traits,” could the civil war migrants or the “Homeless Generation” be considered a diasporic community? Perhaps we are asking the wrong questions. While what constitutes a diaspora is still being debated, none of the recognized diasporas in world history, whether Jews, Armenians, Indians, Chinese, the British, or blacks in the Atlantic World, fit perfectly into the description. This comes with recognition that these migrant groups are quite diverse

⁴⁷ Canadian scholar Scott Simon argues that the KMT rule of Taiwan can be seen as a form of colonialism. While conceptualizing the civil war migrants as an ethnic minority and a diaspora, he also suggests that their relationship with the semi-Japanized local population was a relationship of “colonial domination.” See Scott Simon, “Taiwan’s Mainlanders: A Diasporic Identity in Construction,” *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 22:1 (2006): 5-6.

⁴⁸ The national identity of the civil war migrants and their descendants is a complex and highly-contested issue in contemporary Taiwan. Despite various survey results and different arguments, most scholars would agree that the exiled generation tend to support reunification with China and view Taiwanese nationalism negatively compared to their children and grandchildren born on the island.

internally and historically.⁴⁹ In James Clifford's cogent words: "There is sometimes a slippage in the text between invocations of diaspora theories, diasporic discourses, and distinct historical experiences of diaspora."⁵⁰

This dissertation argues that this "slippage" can contribute to the collective project of studying and theorizing diaspora. In recent years, "diaspora" has taken on a broad meaning, describing a wide range of population movements. These include refugees, political exiles, immigrants, colonizers, overseas students, guest workers, and even tourists. In Cultural Studies, the term has become synonymous with subjective feelings and expressions of dispossession, alienation from the mainstream, and nostalgia. This prompted scholars such as Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur to call for more rigorous theorization, as they cautioned against uncritical and across-the-board application of the term to all forms of global displacement.⁵¹ Moreover, the studies in the field are moving towards what Sudesh Mishra called "the scene of archival specificity"—an emphasis on historically-based research on different migrant communities in world history in order to build a more diverse and solid foundation for the project of theorizing diaspora.⁵² This dissertation makes a contribution to this collective endeavour. Instead of tailoring historical specificity to fit the established framework and categories, it points to the limits of existing theories against the particularity of local experiences.

Joshua Fan is actually not the first to make use of the theories relating to "diaspora" in studying the great exodus. The idea was first proposed by scholars working on the subject of *waishengren* (mainlander) identity in contemporary Taiwan. Notable contributions include cultural anthropologists Chao Yen-ning (Antonia Chao), sociologist Chang Mau-kuei, and Canadian anthropologist Scott Simon. Chao's research focuses on examining what she called "diasporic narratives" (流亡敘事) of women and lower class Nationalist veterans under democratization and the rise of Taiwanese nationalism. She examines only a handful of stories, but these are deconstructed and analyzed in painstaking detail using a mesmerizing array of theories. Chao illustrates that these personal narratives are embedded in an intricate web of power relations weaved together

⁴⁹ For more, see Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 1-19.

⁵⁰ James Clifford, "Diasporas," 244.

⁵¹ Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (eds.), *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 3.

⁵² Sudesh Mishra, *Diaspora Criticism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 100-101.

by the dominant discourses on ethnicity, nationalism, family, social class, gender relations, and sexuality.⁵³ Meanwhile, both Chang and Simon argue that the civil war migrants and their descendants are articulating or constructing a “diasporic identity” when Taiwanese nationalism gained ascendancy over the Chinese nationalism promoted by the dethroned Nationalist regime.⁵⁴ These three studies grew out of a concern with the contested national identities and rising communal tension on the island since democratization. A major issue of contention has been *waishengren*’s identity. In order to gain perspective on how this dissertation contributes to this field of research, we need to first understand the political and social contexts that gave rise to *waishengren* studies.

The civil war migrants and their descendants are commonly referred to as “mainlanders” or *waishengren* (外省人) in Taiwan. Since the early 1990s, *waishengren* have been described in both intellectual and popular discourse as one of the “four major ethnic groups” (四大族群) on the island.⁵⁵ “Four major ethnic groups” is a corollary of Taiwan-centred ideology. Under the new discursive regime, the island is no longer part of a divided state or an appendage to mainland China, but an independent political entity formed by different ethnic groups. The concept of the “four major ethnic groups” gave rise to the use of the capitalized “Mainlanders/*Waishengren*, as many political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists have concentrated on exploring various issues related to

⁵³ See Chao Yen-ning 趙彥寧, “Daizhe caomao dao chu luxing—shilun zhongguo liuwang、nuxing zhuti、yu jiyi jian de jiangou guanxi” 戴著草帽到處旅行—試論中國流亡、女性主體、與記憶間的建構關係 [A forever banished uterus: Chinese diaspora, fertility, and the politics of suffering], *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* 台灣社會研究季刊 [Taiwan: a radical quarterly in social studies] 41 (2001): 53-97; Chao Yen-ning, “Jiaguoyuyan de gongkai mimi: shilun xia jiecheng zhongguo liuwang zhe ziwo xunshi de wuzhi xing” 家國語言的公開秘密: 試論下階層中國流亡者自我敘事的物質性 [Nationalistic language as an open secret: diaspora, cultural citizenship, and the materiality of mainlanders’ self-narratives], *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* 46 (2002): 45-85

⁵⁴ Chang Mau-kuei, “Waishengren: Exploring Diaspora Chinese Nationalism in Taiwan” (paper presented at the inauguration address for the Series on Identities in East Asia, Stanford University, Asia-Pacific Research Center, April 6, 2005); Scott Simon, “Taiwan’s Mainlanders: A Diasporic Identity in Construction,” 1-16.

⁵⁵ For a concise work on the historical development of “four major ethnic groups,” see Wang Fu-chang 王甫昌, *Dangdai Taiwan shehui de zuqun xiangxiang* 當代台灣社會的族群想像 [Ethnic imagination in contemporary Taiwan] (Taipei: Qunxue, 2003), 25. Also see Wang Fu-chang, “You ruoyin ruoxian dao daming dafang: Taiwan shehuixue zhong zuqun yanjiu de jueqi” 由若隱若現到大鳴大放: 台灣社會學中族群研究的崛起 [From obscurity to fanfare: the rise of ethnic studies in Taiwan’s Sociology], in *Qunxue zhengming: Taiwan shehuixue fazhan shi, 1945-2005* 群學爭鳴: 台灣社會學發展史, 1945-2005 [Interlocution: A thematic history of Taiwanese sociology, 1945-2005], (ed.) Hsieh Kuo-hsiung 謝國雄 (Taipei: Qunxue, 2008), 447-521.

“ethnic relations” (族群關係) in Taiwan, in particular since democratization. These issues include language use, employment disparity, social inequality, voting behaviour/partisan support, and national identity.⁵⁶

According to recent polls, about 10-13% of Taiwan’s current residents can be regarded as persons of mainlander origin. The other three major ethnic groups are “Hoklo/Minnan” (鶴佬/閩南), “Hakka” (客家), and “Aborigines” (原住民). Hoklo constitute approximately 70% of the island’s population, while Hakka and Aborigines account for 15% and 2% respectively.⁵⁷ The first two are often lumped together and are called the “native Taiwanese” (台灣人). They are the descendants of earlier migrants from China’s Fujian and Guangdong Provinces during the Ming and the Qing Dynasty and “plains aborigines.”⁵⁸ Both the native Taiwanese and the Aborigines lived under the Japanese colonial rule (1895-1945), as opposed to *Waishengren* who arrived between

⁵⁶ The earliest “ethnic relations” studies can be traced back to the work of Hill Gates. See Hill Gates, “Ethnicity and Social Class,” in *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*, (eds.) Emily Martin Ahern and Hill Gates (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1981), 241-281. Also see Tsai Shu-ling 蔡淑鈴, “Shehui diwei qude: shandi 、minke 、ji waisheng zhi bijiao” 社會地位取得: 山地、閩客、及外省之比較 [The attainment of social status: the comparison among aborigines, Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlanders], in *Bianqian zhong de Taiwan shehui (shangce)* 變遷中的台灣社會(上冊) [Taiwanese society in transition, Vol. I], (eds.) Yang Kuo-shu 楊國樞 and Chu Hai-yuan 瞿海源 (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1987), 1-44; Lin Chia-lung 林佳龍, “Weiquan shicong zhengti xia de Taiwan fandui yundong—minjin dang shehui jichu de zhengzhi jieshi” 威權侍從政體下的台灣反對運動—民進黨社會基礎的政治解釋 [The opposition movement in Taiwan under a patron-client regime—political explanation for the social base of the DPP], *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* 2:1 (1989): 117-143; Wu Nai-teh 吳乃德, “Guojia rentong he zhengdang zhichi: Taiwan zhengdang jingzheng de shehui jichu” 國家認同和政黨支持: 台灣政黨競爭的社會基礎 [Party support and national identities: social cleavages and party competition in Taiwan], *Minzuxue yanjiusuo jikan* 民族學研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica] 74 (1992): 33-61. Also see the essays contained in Chang Mau-kuei 張茂桂 (ed.), *Zuqun guanxi yu guojia rentong* 族群關係與國家認同 [Ethnic relations and national identity] (Taipei: Yeqiang, 1993); Shih Cheng-feng 施正鋒 (ed.), *Zuqun zhengzhi yu zhengce* 族群政治與政策 [Ethnic politics and policy] (Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1997).

⁵⁷ The percentages are approximated figures from various polls and surveys. For an example of a recent survey, see Xingzhengyuan keja weiyuanhui 行政院客家委員會 (ed.), *Xingzhengyuan keja weiyuanhui weituo yanjiu baogao: jiuqi niandu quanguo keja renkou jichu ziliao daocho yuanyiu* 行政院客家委員會委託研究報告: 九七年度全國客家人口基礎資料調查研究 [An investigative report of the Hakka population in Taiwan in 2008 by Council for Hakka Affairs of the Executive Yuan] (Taipei: Council for Hakka Affairs of the Executive Yuan, 2008), 71. In this report, the numbers are 70% Hoklo, 9% Mainlanders, 14% Hakka, and 2% Aborigines. The remaining 5% of the surveyed population provided alternative answers or refused to give a response.

⁵⁸ “Plains aborigines” or “Peipo communities” (平埔族群) were people of Malay-Austronesian stock who inhabited the coastal plains of Taiwan before large scale Dutch-Chinese colonization began in the 17th century. These aboriginal settlements were either struck down by diseases brought by the colonizers, or were assimilated into the Chinese communities. See Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese*.

1945 and 1955 with the KMT. This dissertation examines the history of first generation *Waishengren*. Rather than viewing the civil war migrants and their descendants in Taiwan collectively as an “ethnic group,” it tries to illuminate the historical developments and processes contributing to the formation of mainlander identity in contemporary Taiwan. Consequently, the lowercase “mainlanders/*waishengren*” will be used throughout the dissertation to denote the diversity and generational difference within the *waishengren* community. The same will apply for other ethnic labels, such as the “native Taiwanese” and the “aborigines.”

Waishengren literally means “people from outside the province.” The connotation of the Chinese word is quite different from its English translation “mainlanders” (people from mainland China). The term was already in use during the Anti-Japanese War. The Japanese invasion displaced a large number of people, many of whom escaped to inland provinces and remote regions of the country. In the Nationalist wartime capital Chongqing, local residents called the refugees from other provinces *waishengren*.⁵⁹ The use of the word carried on after 1945. The KMT personnel and Chinese migrants who went to Taiwan upon the island’s retrocession from Japan were also called *waishengren*. However, it should be noted that the island’s semi-Japanized residents had used other terms to describe the newcomers from China during the retrocession period. These included “mainland people” (大陸人), “inland people” (內地人), and the derogatory “mountain people” (阿山).⁶⁰ The word *waishengren* outlived its competitors and came to represent the civil war migrants and their descendants because of the mandatory “native place” or *jiguan* (籍貫) registration system under the KMT. Before democratization, the exiled ROC identified its citizens by provincial origins and patrilineal descent. An important emphasis was put on the categorical difference between “natives of the (Taiwan) Province” or *bensheng* (本省) and “outsiders of the Province” or *waisheng* (外省). According to sociologist Wang Fu-chang, this was done in order to maintain the semblance of a state representing all of China with people and elected representatives

⁵⁹ See Chou Pi-se 周碧瑟 (ed.), *Po Yang huiyilu* 柏楊回憶錄 [The memoirs of Po Yang] (Taipei: Yuanliu, 1996), 140-143. The other popular term for war refugees in Sichuan Province was “people coming down the river” (下江人). Many of the displaced population came from major cities along the Yangtze River.

⁶⁰ “Mountain people” or *a-sua* was a derogatory slang. It is no longer in use today. The term was a derivative of “Tang Mountain” (唐山), which means “mainland China” in the native Taiwanese dialect.

from both sides of the Taiwan Strait. It was also done to legitimize the political dominance of mainlander elites whose “central government” from China presided over the “local government” on the island formed by the native Taiwanese and the aborigines.⁶¹

In 1992, in the midst of the island’s democratization process, the *jiguan* registration system was abolished. Though main features of the ROC Constitution remained unchanged because of unresolved disputes, the end of *jiguan* became a major turning point for how communal difference on the island was perceived and imagined—from “native place/provincial origins” to “ethnic groups” (族群).⁶² The connotation of the term *waishengren* changed—from a collective term for provincial outsiders in the Nationalist registration system to an ethnic group in a multicultural and democratic state on the island of Taiwan—hence the capitalized “*Waishengren*.” The paradigmatic shift was accompanied by a considerable number of “ethnic relations” studies mentioned earlier.

Unfortunately, these developments have contributed to rising communal tension on the island, in particular between *waishengren* and the native Taiwanese of Hoklo origin. The formation of party politics along ethnic lines further aggravated the division between the mainlanders and the local Taiwanese, a division that had existed since the 228 Incident. In 1986, Chiang Ching-kuo allowed an opposition party—the Democratic Progressive Party (the DPP)—to form.⁶³ He also rescinded the martial law before his death in early 1988. From 1988 to 1993, Chiang’s native Taiwanese successor, Lee Teng-hui, outmanoeuvred conservative political forces in the KMT, and put forward a series of constitutional reforms. These reforms established the premise for the democratic

⁶¹ For more, see Wang Fu-chang 王甫昌, “You 「Zhongguo shengji」 dao 「Taiwan zuqun」: hukou pucha jibei leishu zhuanbian zhi fenxi” 由「中國省籍」到「臺灣族群」戶口普查籍別類屬轉變之分析 [From Chinese original domicile to Taiwanese ethnicity: an analysis of census category transformation in Taiwan], *Taiwan shehuixue* 台灣社會學 [Taiwan sociology] 9 (2005): 59-117.

⁶² Wang Fu-chang argues that the years from 1987 to 1993 were a crucial period for this transformation. For more, see Wang Fu-chang, “You ruoyin ruoxian dao daming dafang,” 510.

⁶³ For more, see Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo’s Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 405-407; Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy: Political Life in the Republic of China on Taiwan* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 126-135.

transition in Taiwan.⁶⁴ In 1996, Lee became the island's first democratically elected president under the threat of military exercises by the PRC in the Taiwan Strait. Beijing was extremely suspicious of Lee's intentions. The CCP thought the KMT's native Taiwanese chairman would steer the island towards declaring independence.⁶⁵ During his second term of presidency (1996-2000), Lee initiated a series of educational and cultural policies that contributed to the growth of "Taiwan-centred" consciousness, a process that Stéphane Corcuff calls the "symbolic dimension" of democratization.⁶⁶ Among the newly enacted measures, the most controversial was the rejection of the official KMT history, which emphasized the island's intimate ties with mainland China. This went hand in hand with the attempt to construct a new "Taiwan-centred" history.⁶⁷ The trend continued in the 2000s under Lee's successor, the DPP president Chen Shui-bian.

Many *waishengren*, especially the older exiled generation, have observed these developments with heavy hearts. Some felt increasingly alienated, stigmatized, or even offended by the emergence of Taiwan nationalism and Taiwan-centred history.⁶⁸ The native Taiwanese majority saw the changes under Lee's administration as long overdue poetic justice after decades of KMT/mainlander dominance in politics and in the realm of literary and cultural production. Not all *waishengren* were against these reforms. Nonetheless, the mainlanders did see many of the things they had once supported or believed in became politically incorrect. Some felt that their aspirations and voices were

⁶⁴ Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*, 242-294; Henry Shih-shan Tsai, *Lee Teng-hui and Taiwan's Quest for Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 163-192.

⁶⁵ The event came to be known as the Third Taiwan Strait Crisis. The PRC intended to use the threat of military exercises and missile tests to influence the election results in Taiwan. The tactic backfired. The United States dispatched its naval forces to the sea near Taiwan to watch over China's military exercises. Lee was elected president. Henry Shih-shan Tsai, *Lee Teng-hui and Taiwan's Quest for Identity*, 201-205.

⁶⁶ Stéphane Corcuff, "The Symbolic Dimension of Democratization and the Transition of National Identity under Lee Teng-hui," in *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*, (ed.) Stéphane Corcuff (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 2002), 73.

⁶⁷ This was best illustrated by a dispute over a new history textbook taught in Taiwan's middle school in 1997. The critics protested vehemently against the new textbook. They argued that the new interpretation was "pro-Japanese" and "anti-KMT/anti-Chiang Kai-shek." It also de-emphasized the relationship between mainland China and Taiwan. For more on the textbook controversy, see Wang Fu-chang, "Why Bother about School Textbooks?" in John Makeham and A-chin Hsiao (eds.), *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan*, 73-88; Stéphane Corcuff, "The Symbolic Dimension of Democratization," 83-92.

⁶⁸ Lee Teng-hui's policy not only led to *waishengren*'s prevailing sense of alienation, but also contributed to splits within the ranks of the KMT. Disgruntled defectors formed the New Party (新黨) in 1993 and the People's First Party (親民黨) in 2000. For an informative and insightful study of party politics in Taiwan during this period, see Dafydd Fell, *Party Politics in Taiwan: Party Change and the Democratic Evolution of Taiwan, 1991-2004* (London: Routledge/Curzon, 2005).

ignored by the current discourse of indigenization and Taiwanization.⁶⁹ The older generation began to write memoirs and give personal interviews to tell their stories. Mainlander scholars born and raised on the island started to explore the history of their own communities.

It was under these circumstances that the study of *waishengren* identity emerged. Scholars were intrigued by how the civil war migrants and their descendants dealt with this “identity dilemma” under the cultural policy of two native Taiwanese presidents, as well as the looming prospect of the island declaring independence. From the perspectives of Chao Yen-ning, Chang Mau-kuei, and Scott Simon, *waishengren* were actively producing counter narratives against the new Taiwan-centred discourse. In this context, the idea of “diasporic narrative” or “diasporic identity” came to represent mainlanders’ subjective feelings of displacement and dispossession against the nativist claims of Taiwanese nationalism. In illustrating this point, they each focused on different aspects. Chao illuminated the tension and dialectics between hegemonic discourse and individual agency. Chang called for study of the historical and structural forces contributing to the mainlander identity formation.⁷⁰ Simon brought colonialism into the discussion by drawing an interesting comparison between South Africa and Taiwan—the British/the Afrikaners/the blacks versus *waishengren*/native Taiwanese/aborigines.⁷¹ All three scholars considered identity formation to be fluid, situational, and constantly evolving.

French political scientist Stéphane Corcuff took a different approach in studying the mainlander identity dilemma. Corcuff’s main concern was national identity. Using

⁶⁹ For a good discussion of these issues, see Chang Mau-kuei 張茂桂 and Wu Hsin-yi 吳忻怡, “Guanyu minzu yu zuqun lunshu zhong de rentong yu qingxu: zunzhong yu chengren de wenti” 關於民族與族群論述中的認同與情緒: 尊重與承認的問題 [Identifications and emotions in national and ethnic discourse: the importance of respect and recognition], in *Minzu zhuyi yu liangan guanxi* 民族主義與兩岸關係 [Nationalism and cross-strait relations], (eds.) Lin Chia-lung 林佳龍 and Cheng Yung-nien 鄭永年 (Taipei: Xin ziran zhuyi chubanshe, 2001), 147-180.

⁷⁰ Chao Yen-ning, “Daizhe caomao dao chu luxing—shilun zhongguo liuwang、nuxing zhuti、yu jiyi jian de jiangou guanxi,” 54; Chang Mau-kuei, “Waishengren: Exploring Diaspora Chinese Nationalism in Taiwan.”

⁷¹ Simon considers the KMT authoritarian rule on the island from 1945 to 1987 as a form of “colonialism.” The comparison with South Africa was first made by Taiwanese historian Wu Rwei-ren. Wu suggested that *waishengren* in Taiwan were like the Afrikaners in South Africa. Both needed to construct a new identity to negotiate a new place in a democratized and decolonized state ruled by previously oppressed majority. Simon agrees with Wu’s framework in general. However, he likens *waishengren* to the British, the native Taiwanese to the Afrikaners, and the aborigines to the blacks. Scott Simon, “Taiwan’s Mainlanders: A Diasporic Identity in Construction,” 11-13.

surveys and questionnaires, he set out to find whether *waishengren* retained their Chinese identity or had jumped on the bandwagon of national self-determination under the presidency of Lee Teng-hui.⁷² After analyzing the data collected in 1997, Corcuff concluded that *waishengren*, in particular the younger generation, have shown a tendency to identify with Taiwan instead of China, a process he called “tropism.”⁷³ The political implications of Corcuff’s claim are significant. If the mainlanders are becoming “indigenized” or “Taiwanized,” the islanders might soon reach a consensus on the issue of national identity, which could challenge the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. However, in Corcuff’s latest work published in 2011, which provided another set of surveys on *waishengren* in 2007 under the presidency of Chen Shui-bian, Corcuff talked about the limitations of “tropism.”⁷⁴ He illustrated the fact that *waishengren*’s identity was dynamic and still evolving. On the one hand, descendants of the great exodus have become less inclined to identify themselves with this ethnic label in recent years. On the other hand, there has been little consensus among the mainlanders on important political issues including reunification with China, despite their near unanimous support for the KMT and uneasiness with the continued Taiwanization policy under Chen.⁷⁵ One of the more surprising results in Corcuff’s 2007 study was that 67% of the surveyed population (169 people) could accept Taiwan independence, if it was proposed by the KMT.⁷⁶

Corcuff’s research illustrates the difficulty of understanding a minority population who are not only socially diverse, but have also grown suspicious and defensive in the island’s politically charged environment. In an earlier monograph published in the same anthology with Corcuff’s first study, sociologist Li Kuang-chun suggested that scholars

⁷² Stéphane Corcuff, “Taiwan’s ‘Mainlanders,’ New Taiwanese?” in Stéphane Corcuff (ed.), *Memories of the Future*, 163-195; Stéphane Corcuff 高格孚, *Fenghe rinuan: Taiwan waishengren yu guojia rentong de zhuanbian* 風和日暖: 台灣外省人與國家認同轉變 [Gentle breeze and warm sunshine: the transformation of mainlanders’ national identity in Taiwan] (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2004).

⁷³ Tropism is a biological term used to describe a plant’s growth in a certain direction in response to external stimuli such as light and water. The term was used metaphorically by Corcuff to describe the “Taiwanization” of mainlanders. See Stéphane Corcuff, “Taiwan’s ‘Mainlanders,’ New Taiwanese?” 188-189; Stéphane Corcuff, *Fenghe rinuan*, 136-149.

⁷⁴ It should be noted that Corcuff did talk about the “limits” of tropism in his 1997 study. However, this part of the argument became more pronounced in the 2007 study. See Stéphane Corcuff, “Taiwan’s ‘Mainlanders,’ New Taiwanese?” 188; Stéphane Corcuff 高格孚, *Zhonghua linguo—Taiwan yujing xing* 中華鄰國—臺灣閬境性 [Neighbour of China—Taiwan’s luminality] (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2011), 168-173.

⁷⁵ Stéphane Corcuff, *Zhonghua linguo* 151-167.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 160-161, 168.

should look beyond the information provided by close-ended questionnaires and surveys. He demonstrated, through extensive personal interviews, how some *waishengren* could “mask” their identity when interacting with other communities on the island. *Waishengren* were reluctant to express their real opinions on certain issues, especially when they perceived the topics to be political sensitive or discriminatory. The second generation born in Taiwan were usually more successful in adopting what Li called the “masking” strategy, since a lot of them could speak Taiwanese (Hoklo/Minnan dialect).⁷⁷

During the past two decades, there have been a growing number of monographs and graduate theses that examined the history of different *waishengren* groups on the island. Most of these were produced by young mainlander scholars, and were based on oral history. They can be seen as part of the mainlander cultural projects centring on the great exodus mentioned earlier. These included illuminating anthropological works looking into the communities formed by the impoverished Nationalist veterans and the aboriginal women in Eastern Taiwan.⁷⁸ There were also monographs that focused on the military family’s villages, the exile students from Shandong Province, the evacuees from Zhejiang Province’s Dachen (大陳) Islands, and the soldiers and refugees who reached Taiwan via Vietnam, Burma, and Korea.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, a number of studies have probed

⁷⁷ Li Kuang-chun, “Mirror and Masks: An Interpretative Study of Mainlanders’ Identity Dilemma,” In Stéphane Corcuff (ed.), *Memories of the Future*, 116-118.

⁷⁸ As mentioned, the earliest research on the impoverished veterans in Eastern Taiwan was produced by anthropologist Hu Tai-li in the late 1980s. See Hu Tai-li, “Ethnic Identity and Social Condition of Veteran-Mainlanders in Taiwan.” For studies produced by young graduate students in more recent years, see Li Chi-ping 李紀平, “「Yubing yu nong」de dongbu tui fuhui laobing—yige tunken de huo lishi” 「寓兵於農」的東部退輔老兵——一個屯墾的活歷史 [“Military farm colonies” and the veterans settled by the Veterans’ Affairs Commission in the east—a history of frontier cultivation] (Master’s thesis, Hualien: National Dong Hwa University, Institute of Ethnic Relations and Culture, 1997); Lai Chin-hui 賴錦慧, “Zuqun tonghun yu zuqun guan—Siji xincun yuanzhumin funu de jingyan” [Ethnic intermarriage and ethnic identity—the experiences of aboriginal women in New Four Seasons Village] 族群通婚與族群觀—四季新村原住民婦女的經驗 (Master’s thesis, Hualien: National Dong Hwa University, Institute of Ethnic Relations and Culture, 1998); Wu Ming-chi 吳明季, “Shiluo de huayu—Hualien waisheng laobing de liuwang chujing jiqi lunshu” 失落的話語—花蓮外省老兵的流亡處境及其論述 [Lost words: the exile conditions and the discourse of mainlander veterans in Hualien] (Master’s thesis, Hualien: National Dong Hwa University, Institute of Ethnic Relations and Culture, 2001).

⁷⁹ See the essays contained in Chang Mau-kuei 張茂桂 (ed.), *Guojia yu rentong: yixie waishengren de guandian* 國家與認同：一些外省人的觀點 [Nation and identity: perspectives of some mainlanders] (Taipei: Qunxue, 2010). Also see Ko Kai-pei 柯凱佩, “Dachen ren yimin jingyan de rentong licheng” 大陳人移民經驗的認同歷程 [The migrant experience and identity of Dachen Islanders] (Master’s thesis, Hualien: National Hualien Teacher’s College, Department of Multiculturalism and Education, 2003); Shen Hsing-yi 沈幸儀, “Yiwang siqian ge zhengren: hanzhan shiqi 「fangong yishi」 zhi yanjiu” 一萬四千個證

into the national identity of different generation mainlanders.⁸⁰ The richness and diversity of these works, which have hitherto received little attention outside Taiwan, prompted the author and Chang Mau-kuei to call for a broad-based historical and sociological research to explore the nuances of *waishengren*. In a recent article, we provide a cursory review of these works, which we call “subgroup studies.”⁸¹ The article argues that the theorization of mainland identity must be grounded in a solid understanding of *waishengren*’s complex history. Future research should also pay attention to the various issues raised by the “subgroup studies,” and look into the significance of the great exodus in shaping the mainland communities on the island.⁸²

This dissertation is a step towards this direction. Most of the existing monographs on *waishengren* focus exclusively on contemporary developments. All of them make heavy use of social surveys and personal interviews conducted in recent years with insufficient understanding of the past developments that gave rise to present circumstances. This study constitutes a historical research based mainly upon archival sources. It tells the story of the civil war migrants from the moment they were forced out of China to their heartbreaking return. It pays attention to the linkages between larger international events and local developments. It illustrates the ways in which the experiences and sentiments engendered by forced migration and displacement, what Lung Ying-tai described as “exile and separation” or *liuli* (流離), played a crucial role in shaping *waishengren* communities in Taiwan. Identity is not only multilayered, situational, and defined by binary oppositions. It is also shaped by actual lived experiences, and more importantly, the recalling and re-imagination of these experiences

人：韓戰時期「反共義士」之研究 [Fourteen thousand witnesses: the study of “anti-Communist patriots” during the Korean War] (Master’s thesis, Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University, Department of History, 2007); Huang Hsiang-yu 黃翔瑜, “Zhiyue junmin zhi jieyun lai Tai (1949-1953)” 滯越軍民之接運來臺 (1949-1953) [Transportation of soldiers and civilians from Vietnam to Taiwan, 1949-1953], *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan* 11 (2007): 143-188.

⁸⁰ Sun Hung-yeh 孫鴻業, “Wuming、ziwo、yu lishi: Taiwan waishengren dierdai de shenfen yu rentong” 污名、自我、與歷史：台灣外省人第二代的身份與認同 [Stigma, self, and history: the status and identity of the second generation mainlanders in Taiwan] (Master’s thesis, Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University, Institute of Sociology, 2001); Tung Yi-ning 童一寧, “Waisheng disandai de guojia rentong” 外省第三代的國家認同 [The national identity of the third generation mainlanders] (Master’s thesis, Taipei: National Taiwan University, Department of Journalism, 2004).

⁸¹ Dominic Meng-Hsuan Yang and Chang Mau-kuei, “Understanding the Nuances of Waishengren: History and Agency,” *China Perspectives* 2010/3 (2010): 115-118.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 110.

under changing sociopolitical circumstances and shifting power relations. Exploring the nuanced history of *waishengren*, tracing the transformation of their *mentalités* through time, and understanding the different ways how memories of the past were evoked and articulated can help us gain better insights on the mainland identity question in contemporary Taiwan.

1.3 Methodology and Sources

The existing monographs on *waishengren* have benefitted from a considerable number of published memoirs, oral history anthologies, and personal interviews. These engaging and nuanced narratives offer a new discursive regime whereby we can recover the agency of the disadvantaged individuals whose voices have been muffled by hegemonic discourses of the nation-states. Joshua Fan's *China's Homeless Generation* discussed earlier is a good example. Yet personal recollections might offer limited evidence or "traces" of the past.⁸³ Since the founding of Columbia University Oral History Research Office in 1948, the validity of personal testimonies in historical research has been a controversial topic. One side of the debate argues that oral history is invaluable in recovering the lived experiences of communities that left no written records, or social groups suppressed by authoritarian regimes and hegemonic socioeconomic forces. The other side of the debate points to the fallibility of human memories, arguing that they are fragmented, selective, and inherently biased. The lack of other types of supporting evidence, such as documentary sources and material artefacts produced in the past, makes historical interpretation based solely upon personal testimonies less inclusive and less plausible.⁸⁴ Scholars studying social memory (or collective memory) have demonstrated, rather convincingly, that personal recollections are always mediated by

⁸³ Historians who adopted a postmodernist position, such as Keith Jenkins, argue that there should be a distinction between historical "evidence" and historical "traces." Evidence exists only in relation to the interpretation made by historians, while traces constitute various remnants of the past, which may or may not be sought out by individual historians when constructing their narratives. Keith Jenkins, *Re-thinking History* (London/New York: Routledge, 2003), 60.

⁸⁴ For two informative works on interpretive issues and methodological problems associated with oral history, see Paul Thompson, *Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Thompson and Ritchie are both proponents of oral history. However, they also talk candidly about the problems associated with the use of oral history.

political and social contexts. Thus, recalling the past is a social phenomenon instead of internal soliloquies. It is a constant process of narrative construction and reconstruction to produce meanings in response to changing situations and power relations. People are conditioned to remember and make significance of certain things at certain historical junctures. These remembrances could manifest themselves in objects, such as monuments, rituals, ceremonies, and geographic locations, as well as fictional texts and personal narratives.⁸⁵

In light of the debate, this study takes an integrative approach—incorporating archival documents (official reports, surveys, and statistics), media sources (newspapers and journal magazines), and personal stories (oral history and published memoirs). Overall, archival documents and media sources will serve as the mainstay of the evidence. Oral history anthologies and personal memoirs published in Taiwan in recent decades will provide supplementary anecdotes, or function as starting points for the archival research. The weight of evidentiary support for the main arguments made in this dissertation unequivocally gravitates towards archival and documentary sources—population census, social surveys, newspapers, and journal magazines. Other than the questions related to the reliability of human recollections and the socialization of memories, personal narratives are often less informative in illuminating the overall socioeconomic context, state-society/communal relations, and prevailing cultural trends in the past, which are the main focuses of Chapter 2, Chapter 3, and Chapter 4 respectively. These are more adequately illustrated by archival materials, as well as political and social commentaries published in the media sources in the past.

That being said, personal narratives still play an important part in the story told in this dissertation. They present vivid reminiscences of everyday life experiences and interesting anecdotes that add a “human dimension” to the interpretation. They also become important texts for understanding *waishengren*’s identity formation in contemporary Taiwan, which will be discussed in Chapter 5. The dissertation also benefits from the testimonies of 20 civil war migrants interviewed by the author in

⁸⁵ See Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, (trans./ed.) Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Halbwachs died in 1945 under German occupied France. The book was first published in 1950. Also see Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1-3, (ed.) Lawrence D Kritzman and (trans.) Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Taiwan from June 2008 to August 2010. The interviews were conducted strictly under the procedures approved by the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board (BREB).⁸⁶ Not all the testimonies are cited in this study. But when they do appear, pseudonyms will be used to safeguard the personal identity of the informants.

Print sources produced under the martial law in Taiwan (May 1949-July 1987) present their own set of problems. Strict censorship imposed by the KMT along with its anti-Communist nationalism means that published documents on the island were imbued with a heavy dose of Nationalist ideology and official misinformation.⁸⁷ Despite abundance in volume and richness in variety, they became unreliable sources of information in the eyes of many contemporary historians in Taiwan. This is especially true for those who worked on the 228 Incident and the KMT White Terror and those who tried to reconstruct the suppressed histories of the native Taiwanese and the aboriginal communities. Since democratization, scholars in Taiwan have turned to oral history *en masse* to uncover the “truth” behind state narratives, and build Taiwan-centred history from the bottom up.⁸⁸

Heavy reliance on oral history can be justified or even deemed necessary when looking into the histories of the native Taiwanese and the aborigines. However, it is hardly warranted in the study of *waishengren*. The civil war migrants dominated the literary and cultural scene on the island before democratization. There has been no shortage of historical records that told the mainlander story. Yet the Nationalist

⁸⁶ See the Preface of this dissertation for specific details.

⁸⁷ For studies of KMT propaganda and restrictions on publication, see Yang Hsiu-ching 楊秀菁 *Taiwan jieyan shiqi de xinwen guanzhi zhengce* 臺灣戒嚴時期的新聞管制政策 [The regulation of media press during the martial law period in Taiwan] (Banciao: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2005); Li Yi-yun 李衣雲, “Minzu chuantong de zhizao yu wenhua chuban de qianzhi—1945-1971 nian chuban xiangguan fagui zhi chutan” 民族傳統的製造與出版文化的箝制—1945-1971 年出版相關法規之初探 [The production of national culture and the restriction publication—a preliminary investigation of the publication laws from 1945-1971], *Taiwan shixue zazhi* 台灣史學雜誌 [The journal of Taiwan Historical Association] 4 (2008): 73-96.

⁸⁸ Besides historians’ deep suspicion of the written sources produced under the KMT dictatorship, there is another important reason behind the popularity of oral history in Taiwan. Most of the people who lived through the Japanese colonial period and the early post-war period are in their advanced years. They will presumably die out in the next decade or two. Therefore, a large number of interviews were conducted in order to preserve their testimonies as historical records for future research. For a good article on the emergence of Taiwan’s oral history since democratization and the specific problems associated with these endeavours, see Hsu Hsueh-chi 許雪姬, “Jinnian lai Taiwan koushu lishi de pinggu yu fanxing” 近年來臺灣口述歷史的評估與反省 [Reflections on Taiwan’s oral history in recent years], *Jindai zhongguo* 近代中國 [Modern China bimonthly] 149 (2002): 38-45.

ensorship remains an important factor to consider. The selection of primary sources is crucial to the integrity and validity of the interpretation provided in this dissertation. Each of the main body chapters will offer an extensive discussion of the research methodology, as well as how the primary sources are utilized. The methodology and source selection are especially important in Chapter 2, Chapter 3, and Chapter 4, and will be explained in great detail.

The archival research for this dissertation took place in Taiwan from March 2008 to September 2010, mostly inside the libraries and archives of Academia Sinica (中央研究院) in Taipei. These included the Institute of Modern History Kuo Ting-Yee Library (近代史研究所郭廷以圖書館), the Joint Library of Humanities and Social Sciences (人文社會科學聯合圖書館), Library of the Institute of Ethnology (民族學研究所圖書館), the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy Library (中國文哲研究所圖書館), and the Institute of History and Philology Fu Ssu-nien Library (歷史語言研究所傅斯年圖書館). The author also paid frequent visits to the island's largest depository of post-war publications in Taiwan, the National Central Library (國家圖書館). The National Taiwan University Library (國立臺灣大學圖書館) was another important site for this research. A number of sources were also culled from the National Taichung Library (國立臺中圖書館).

The primary sources utilized in this dissertation include the two largest newspapers in post-war Taiwan—*Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao*. The first is the official newspaper of the KMT. The second is one of the most successful privately-owned news agencies on the island before democratization. The primary sources also include two important journal magazines published in early post-war Taiwan—*Changliu* and *Ziyou zhongguo*. *Changliu* was the largest and probably the only travel magazine published in Taiwan during the 1950s and the 1960s. Meanwhile, *Ziyou zhongguo* was a popular political magazine founded by several prominent mainlander intellectuals in 1949. It was shut down by the KMT in 1960 for criticizing the government. Its chief editor and a few journalists were imprisoned. The dissertation is also informed by a considerable number of “reference magazines” or *wenxian zazhi* produced by the mainlander native place associations from the early 1960s to the 1980s. Besides newspapers and journal

magazines, this study also draws from a sizable collection of social surveys and statistical data collected by the provincial and the municipal authorities in Taiwan—population censuses, police reports, hospital records, and so on. These primary sources are complimented and supported by a great number of secondary sources. Lastly, several fictional works and personal accounts will serve as key texts in analyzing *waishengren*'s historical narratives in contemporary Taiwan.

1.4 Chapter Outline

This dissertation consists of four main body chapters—Chapter 2 *The Exodus*, Chapter 3 *Reluctant Sojourners*, Chapter 4 *Cultural Nostalgia*, and Chapter 5 *Narrating the Exodus*. They are organized both chronologically and thematically, examining different historical topics pertaining to the lived experiences of first generation *waishengren* and the transformation of their *mentalités* through time. The dissertation concludes with Chapter 6 *Epilogue*, which discusses the wider theoretical and political implications of this monograph.

The Exodus examines the civil war migrants' relocation from China to Taiwan through a rich collection of social data, evidence derived from two major newspapers, and oral history. A greater emphasis is put on what happened when the exiled population arrived on the island and their immediate impacts on the local society. The chapter provides an important discussion of the number and the making of the exodus population. It raises critical questions which challenge the previously held assumptions about the civil war migrants as a result of both the KMT and the CCP propaganda. It underscores the importance of social class and gender in understanding the history of *waishengren*. By presenting an overall picture of ordinary migrants and low-ranking soldiers adapting to their new environments, *The Exodus* reveals the devastating effects of war and forced relocation on the communal life of *waishengren*. The chaotic mass flight in the closing days of the Chinese civil war produced an “atomized” group of exiles in Taiwan consisting of socially isolated individuals, especially single men. What arrived at the shores of the island was a shattered community traumatized by the life-and-death struggle between the KMT and the CCP. Consequently, the great exodus came to define the

mainlanders in Taiwan—contributing to their communal isolation and unrelenting longing for home, which shaped their relationships with the regime-in-exile and the local population.

Building upon the premise established by *The Exodus, Reluctant Sojourners* probes into the lived experiences and the *mentalités* of *waishengren* during their first decade in exile. The research draws evidence from two important journal magazines, recent findings in the study of White Terror in Taiwan, newspapers, and oral history. It argues that the mainlanders' collective mindset during the 1950s, which could be termed "sojourner mentality," contributed to the "unholy alliance" between the mainlanders and the KMT, as well as the alienation between the mainlanders and the semi-Japanized native Taiwanese. The chapter illustrates the importance of seeing the Anti-Japanese War, the Chinese civil war, and the Cold War as a continuum in the civil war exiles' mental world and migrant experiences. At first, most *waishengren* expected to return home within a few years, anticipating a final showdown between the KMT and the CCP. The anticipation was based on the previous exile during the war against Japan. But by the end of the decade, their hopes were sorely disappointed by unfolding events in the Cold War. Rather than portraying *waishengren* simply as pawns of the KMT, the findings in *Reluctant Sojourners* suggest that the relationship between the regime-in-exile and the exile population was less cordial and reciprocal than what is commonly perceived. Not all *waishengren* were ardent supporters of the Nationalist Party or Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship. Not all were beneficiaries of the KMT authoritarianism. Like the island's pre-1945 residents, a considerable number of civil war migrants also fell victim to the Nationalist White Terror and anti-Communist witch-hunt, in particular during the 1950s. The development of close ties between the mainlanders and the KMT and the alienation between the mainlanders and the semi-Japanized islanders were wrought by specific historical conditions. On the one hand, social fragmentation created by the chaotic mass flight resulted in the predominance of the Nationalist state apparatus in the communal lives of the civil war migrants. On the other hand, *waishengren*'s sojourner mentality led to apathy for the plight of the native Taiwanese under the Nationalist rule. To make matters worse, years of bloody fighting against Japan in mainland China forged a nationalist sentiment that was profoundly anti-Japanese. This contributed to

waishengren's contempt and distrust for the semi-Japanized local residents, who the migrants thought came under the malicious influence of their former enemy. The mainlanders showed little interest in learning the local dialects or studying the indigenous cultures. They had no sympathy for the political aspirations of the native Taiwanese dissidents. Instead, many thought that "re-Sinicizing" the island's pre-1945 residents was not only a practical necessity, but also a politically and morally justified undertaking. In telling this nuanced story, the chapter offers a new perspective on the complex origins of communal division on the island, as opposed to the previous scholarship that focused mostly on the 228 Incident and the late 1940s.

Following a portrayal of *waishengren*'s *mentalités* and the state-society/communal relations in Taiwan during the 1950s, *Cultural Nostalgia* delves into the magazines and local history projects funded by the mainlander native place associations from the 1960s to the 1980s. The chapter argues that these cultural activities, which have hitherto been little studied or understood, marked an important transformation in *waishengren*'s *mentalités* from "reluctant sojourner" to "cultural nostalgia." The mainlander native place associations are mutual assistance groups established by the civil war exiles in Taiwan based on provincial ties. They were civil organizations but came under strict state regulations, like all other non-governmental groups on the island under the KMT martial law. In the late 1940s and the 1950s, a large number of these associations were established in Taiwan by the exiled provincial leaders to assist fellow natives arriving on the island. In the early 1960s, a few associations began to publish journals that explore the histories and cultures of their home provinces and counties in mainland China. They were soon followed by a throng of other associations. These texts were produced with no directives, no initiatives, and no financial assistance from the regime-in-exile. In fact, there was underlying tension between the provincial identities championed by the native place associations and the Nationalist ideology of national unity and steadfast loyalty to the Party. The associations had to manoeuvre carefully around the official KMT line when advancing their cultural agendas. The publication of native place magazines and the promotion of provincial histories/cultures grew into a concerted movement in the late 1960s. They were endorsed by the state in the early 1970s and lasted well into the 1980s. The research contained in *Cultural Nostalgia*

contributes to the historiography of the native place associations. The findings also offer another way to observe the intricate relationship between the KMT and the mainlanders, as well as the diversity among *waishengren* along the provincial lines. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the two main consequences of cultural nostalgia—continued alienation between *waishengren* and the island's pre-1945 residents from the 1960s to the 1980s and the “reverse culture shock” of belated homecoming. The act of constantly reminiscing about a distant homeland prevented *waishengren* from making meaningful connections with local cultures and peoples. It also resulted in romantic imaginations and writings about their native places in China. In late 1987, political reforms on both sides of the Taiwan Strait finally allowed the civil war migrants to visit their long-separated relatives in China. The romantic imaginations were shattered when the mainlanders came face to face with the harsh realities of their hometowns and the changes under the CCP rule. Most returnees no longer felt at home in mainland China. They went back to Taiwan with a broken heart. The reverse culture shock of return led to another major shift in *waishengren's mentalités* and contributed to the mainlander identity formation in contemporary Taiwan.

Starting in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the civil war migrants no longer reminisced about their “imaginary homeland” in China. Instead, stories of the great exodus—collective memories of forced relocation and resettlement in Taiwan—emerged as the dominant discourse in *waishengren's* cultural production and intellectual inquiry. The new discursive formation, which took shape alongside the island's democratization and search for national identity, can be observed in a growing number of personal accounts, memoirs, heritage site preservation projects, and academic works published in the past two decades. Most of these were produced by the civil war migrants and their descendants. Lung Ying-tai's *Big River Big Sea 1949* and the “subgroup studies” mentioned earlier can be considered part of this emerging discourse. *Narrating the Exodus* looks at how the Chinese civil war has been portrayed in literary and cultural texts produced in Taiwan from the 1950s to the present in response to changing political/social contexts and power relations. The objective is not to discover the “truth” behind the narratives but to understand why different stories about the same event were told at different historical junctures. The chapter illustrates how the official KMT

discourse of anti-Communist nationalism and heroic martyrdom put forward during the 1950s was gradually overshadowed by popular narratives that describe the civil war as a harrowing refugee experience at the present time. It argues that the new discourse constitutes the “founding myth” or the “founding trauma” for the ongoing process of mainlander identity formation in contemporary Taiwan, a process embedded in the larger discursive framework of “four major ethnic groups.” The findings in this chapter demonstrate the interplay between politics and historical narratives; between collective social memory and identity formation.

The Epilogue sheds light on the author’s personal background and his reasons for embarking on this research. It highlights the dissertation’s contributions to the study of *waishengren* identity, and expounds on the relationship between the history of the exiled generation on the island and the narratives put forward by their Taiwan-born descendants after the 1990s. The mainlander identity, which is still evolving and being contested, is a product of political and social changes in Taiwan in recent decades. However, it has origins in *waishengren*’s lived experiences and the transformation of their *mentalités* through time. Exile, displacement, and collective memory played a quintessential role in shaping the civil war migrants and their descendants. By telling *waishengren*’s story, this dissertation illustrates the importance of taking a historical or “diachronic” approach to the study of identity formation.

CHAPTER 2 THE EXODUS

The majority of the evacuees are coming as individuals or in small groups who must fend for themselves and find their own shelter and food. They are wet, tired, and dirty. Some have rifles and small arms, but they are rusty and in bad shape. Many soldiers have brought wives, children, and bundles containing all their worldly possessions.—A Doak Barnett, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*, 1963.⁸⁹

臺北市由於光復以來人口逐年增加，尤其海南、舟山撤退之後，人口急遽增加的結果，在四五年中由三十萬陡增到六十萬之後，整個市政工作可以說根本無法事先作何準備，一切工作現在已不是計畫，而是完全再做一種追的工作。—臺北市長吳三連，一九五二年。

[Due to the annual population increase after the retrocession, especially after the arrival of the evacuees from Hainan and Zhoushan islands, Taipei City's total population have surged from three hundred thousand to six hundred thousand in four to five years. The city's management team could not have prepared for this. There are no longer organized plans, but only expedient measures to try catching up.]—Taipei City Mayor, Wu San-lien, 1952.⁹⁰

2.1 Introduction

Arthur Doak Barnett (1921-1999) was born to American missionary parents in Shanghai, son of the well-known senior secretary for the YMCA in China, Eugene E. Barnett. He grew up in China before moving back to the United States at the age of fifteen. Like many offspring of the foreign missionaries in China, Barnett became a distinguished scholar and a prolific writer on China affairs. He taught at Columbia and John Hopkins, and later played an important role in shaping Nixon's policy towards the PRC in the early 1970s.⁹¹ Before his illustrious academic career, young Barnett worked in the Institute of Current World Affairs, and served as a special correspondent for *Chicago Daily News* in China between 1947 and 1949. The job took him to far-flung regions of the country—from the barren deserts of Xinjiang and Inner-Mongolia to thriving urban centres in the eastern seaboard, such as Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Nanjing. In these distant places, Barnett witnessed and recorded the collapse of the KMT regime in a collection of reportages. These writings were later published in 1963 under

⁸⁹ A Doak Barnett, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963), 297.

⁹⁰ Wu San-lien 吳三連, "Beishi renkou jizeng shizheng jihua kunnan 北市人口激增市政計畫困難 [Rapid population growth in Taipei makes managing the city difficult], *Zhongyang ribao*, October 4, 1952, 3.

⁹¹ Patrick E. Taylor, "A. Doak Barnett Dies; China Scholar, 77," *The New York Times*, March 19, 1999, <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/03/19/world/a-doak-barnett-dies-china-scholar-77.html> [accessed May 28, 2011].

the title *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*. The book became a timeless classic in the study of the Chinese civil war and the Communist Revolution, joining a wealth of journalistic accounts and confidential reports produced by other American reporters, diplomats, and intelligence officers in China during the 1930s and 40s.⁹² China specialists nowadays consider many of these early reports to be shallow and problematic, given most American informers' poor language training, insufficient knowledge of the country, limited mobility, and the political bias of their supervisors and chief editors, who acted as gatekeepers of information.⁹³ However, Barnett's book presents probably one of the most insightful Western accounts at this time due to his background and extensive travels in the country. A particular reportage in *China on the Eve* offers a vivid portrayal of the mass exodus in the closing days of the Chinese civil war.

In November 1949, Barnett arrived at Haikou (海口), the capital city of Hainan Island at the southern tip of China, one of the last remaining strongholds of the KMT. The young American found this remote harbour town, which had been free of the affairs on the mainland during Anti-Japanese War, teeming with tens of thousands of what he called "soldier-refugees"—routed Nationalist troops, civil servants, and their families. This motley group of vagrants came mostly from Guangzhou in the north, the largest urban centre in south China and one of the KMT's temporary capitals at the end of the civil war. The city was taken by the PLA just a few weeks prior to Barnett's arrival in Hainan. The fall of Guangzhou led to a great exodus of renegade soldiers and frightened civilian refugees to the south. An account in *China on the Eve* bears witness to the "refugee crisis" on Hainan Island:

⁹² These include journalistic accounts written by Edgar Snow, Jack Belden, Agnes Smedley, Harold Isaacs, John Hersey, Theodore White, and Annalee Jacoby, just to name a few, as well as reports and writings produced by a small group of young intelligence officers, diplomats, and intellectuals like David Barrett, John Davies Jr., John Service, and John Fairbank. The latter group came to be known as the "old China hands." Fairbank and Barnett both played an instrumental role in laying the foundation for the study of modern China in North America during the post-war era. Many of the old China hands were purged or questioned during the McCarthy era for their "sympathetic" view of the Chinese Communists and blamed for the "loss of China." Despite destroyed careers and personal travails, their writings inspired research on the Chinese revolution and Chinese civil war in the decades that followed, influencing the works of Chalmers Johnson, Mark Selden, Lloyd Eastman, Lee Chong-sik, Chen Yung-fa, Suzanne Pepper, Tony Saich, Hans van de Ven, and among many others.

⁹³ For a good discussion of the various problems associated with American accounts of China written during the 1930s and 40s, see Stephen R Mackinnon and Oris Friesen, *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930 and 1940s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Within Haikow [Haikou] itself, there is almost no place that is not jammed with soldiers and their families. They have set up housekeeping in churches, public buildings, schools, private homes, and on the sidewalks. On all the main streets, one has to thread through open-air “homes” to go anywhere. People and belongings are piled together in an incredible, filthy mess. Only the fortunate ones are able to keep dry; the others are exposed to the steady drizzle of fall rain.⁹⁴

Physical discomfort was aggravated by an overwhelming sense of disorientation and uncertainty. Barnett vividly captured this sense of disorientation as he eavesdropped on a conversation among five refugee soldiers:

This morning, I overheard a conversation carried on by five soldiers milling around in a crowd on the main wharf in Haikow. One impatient soldier said, “Let’s get going.” Another turned to him and snapped, “Alright, but where are we going?” No one seemed to have an answer to that one.⁹⁵

Unbeknownst to the young American reporter at the time, five months later, the demoralized troops and civilian refugees in Hainan would be hurled into the remaining KMT naval vessels and merchant fleet in the harbour, and shipped to Taiwan in a hastily planned and poorly executed eleventh hour withdrawal.⁹⁶ Taking place between late April and early May 1950, the retreat operation turned into a fiasco, leaving a considerable number of soldiers and civilian refugees behind. Those who managed to board the overfilled ships at the last moment watched helplessly as CCP mortars and heavy machine gun fire mowed down their comrades at the pier.⁹⁷ The ill-conceived withdrawal left the evacuees with little food and water on board. The survivors reached Taiwan with only the clothes on their backs after days of gruelling journey at sea. They were subjected to further hardship and deprivation due to inadequate government resources and housings to billet the soldiers and settle the civilian refugees. A similar

⁹⁴ A. Doak Barnett, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*, 297-298.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 303.

⁹⁶ Barnett visited Taiwan shortly after his trip to Hainan. Hainan and Taiwan were the two final stops in the book’s coverage of the civil war. In his reportage on Taiwan, Barnett focuses mostly on the KMT elite politics and military defense. See *ibid.*, 304-311. According to official KMT records, about 50,000 troops and refugees were evacuated from Hainan in late April and early May 1950. See Lin Tung-fa 林桶法, *Yijiusijiu da chetui* 一九四九大撤退 [1949, the great retreat] (Taipei: Lianjing, 2009), 64.

⁹⁷ See Wang Ta-kung 王大空 et al., *Likai dalu de na yitian* 離開大陸的那一天 [The day we left mainland China] (Taipei City: Jiuda wenhua, 1989), 146-149. According to this account, among the 11,000 military personnel in the KMT 64th Army stationed on Hainan Island, less than 7,000 individuals reached Taiwan.

but more organized retreat operation was carried out in the Zhoushan Islands (舟山群島) near the city of Hangzhou two weeks after Hainan.⁹⁸

The soldiers and refugees from Hainan and Zhoushan were among a steady stream of civil war migrants taking refuge on the island of Taiwan during the Nationalist regime's last days in mainland China. Between 1948 and 1955, tens of thousands of government officials, military personnel, and civilian refugees flooded into the island from different parts of China, or via Hong Kong, Vietnam, Burma, and Korea. The final large group of evacuees arrived from Dachen Islands off the coast of southern Zhejiang Province in the wake of the First Taiwan Strait Crisis (1954-1955). The US Seventh Fleet provided the aerial cover and transport for the withdrawal.⁹⁹

This chapter aims at providing a preliminary social history of this colossal population movement, focusing on ordinary refugees and low-ranking soldiers. The evidence presented in the following underscores the importance of social class and gender in understanding the history of the great exodus, and in understanding the state-society relations and communal relations in post-war Taiwan. Based on the various findings, the chapter argues that the chaotic mass flight in the closing days of the Chinese civil war produced an “atomized” migrant community on the island consisting of socially isolated individuals, especially single men. The instances of communal isolation were especially common among the lower class migrants. Prolonged military conflicts separate families and tear up the fabric of society. What arrived at the shores of Taiwan between 1948 and 1955 was a shattered community traumatized by the brutal warfare between the KMT and the CCP in mainland China, not to mention eight years of bloody fight against Japan prior to the civil war. Consequently, more than anything else, war and forced

⁹⁸ For more on the Zhoushan retreat, see Chang Hsing-chou 張行周, *Yinghai tongzhou* 瀛海同舟 [On the same boat at sea] (Taipei: Minzhu chubanshe, 1972); Chen Ling 陳玲, *Zhoushan chetui jimi dangan: liushi nianqian de yiye cansang* 舟山撤退機密檔案：六十年的一頁滄桑 [Secret files of the Zhoushan retreat: history from 60 years ago] (Taipei: Shiying, 2010).

⁹⁹ Dachen was among several of the off-shore islands still held by the KMT in the early 1950s. The islands were used as a naval base against Chinese Communist shipping and a launching pad for guerrilla forays into the southeast coast of China. During the First Taiwan Strait Crisis, the CCP launched a massive amphibious assault and occupied a strategically important northern island in the Dachen Island chain. This made the supply of the rest of the islands difficult, if not impossible. The Nationalists had no choice but to evacuate from Dachen with the help of the US naval forces. See Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (ed.), *China Confidential: American Diplomats and Sino-American Relations, 1945-1996* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 117-118, 124-125.

relocation came to define the lived experiences and subjectivities of the civil war migrants in the past, and the process of *waishengren* formation in contemporary Taiwan. Chapter 2 establishes this main theme that runs through every chapter of this dissertation.

The following sections will first introduce the main primary sources the author utilizes in this chapter, as well as the research methodology. The primary sources include a rich variety of evidence extracted from two major daily newspapers published in early post-war Taiwan, and a considerable number of social data and population statistics. The author will demonstrate that these sources were gathered and interpreted with the utmost methodological rigour, while acknowledging their biases and limitations. This is followed by an in-depth investigation of both the size and the making of the exiled population. The outcomes of research raise legitimate questions pertaining to previously held assumptions about the exodus population. These assumptions resulted from both the official propaganda of the KMT and the CCP. The chapter then delves into the various social impacts of the great exodus on local society. The analysis illuminates the importance of both social class and gender in *waishengren*'s relocation experiences. Based on a broad range of findings, the chapter puts forward the argument that *waishengren* were a displaced and "atomized" community dominated by socially isolated individuals during the 1950s.

2.2 Methodology and Sources

The journey into the social world of *waishengren* in early post-war Taiwan begins with the intensive reading of two important newspapers published in early post-war Taiwan—*Zhongyang ribao* (中央日報) and *Lianhe bao* (聯合報). In 1954, the average daily circulation for *Zhongyang ribao* was 67,170 copies, making it the most subscribed newspaper on the island, followed closely by another state-sponsored paper *Taiwan xinsheng bao* (臺灣新生報) at 62,238. The privately owned *Lianhe bao* came in third, selling 45,193 copies a day. The market share for the newspapers shifted dramatically during the late 1950s and early 1960s.¹⁰⁰ Successful advertisement strategy and popular

¹⁰⁰ Wang Tien-pin 王天濱, *Taiwan baoye shi* 臺灣報業史 [The history of the newspaper in Taiwan] (Taipei: Yatai tushu, 2003), 148; Chen Kuo-hsiang 陳國祥 and Chu Ping 祝萍, *Taiwan baoye yanjin sishi*

reportage style propelled *Lianhe bao* and the other private newspaper *Zhengxin xinwen/Zhongguo shibao* (徵信新聞/中國時報) to the top, surpassing all government papers. In 1965, *Lianhe bao* reigned supreme. Enthusiastic readers in Taiwan bought about 180,000 copies a day.¹⁰¹ *Zhongyang ribao*'s sales number remained high, and was estimated at around 100,000 per day in the same year, still among the top three newspapers in Taiwan, but a far cry from its heyday during the 1950s.¹⁰²

Established in 1928 during the Nanjing Decade (1927-1937), *Zhongyang ribao* or "Central Daily News" has been the main official organ for the KMT, much like its counterpart the CCP's *Renmin ribao* (People's Daily). *Zhongyang ribao* is among the longest running Chinese newspapers in the world, and its prolonged existence and wide circulation can be attributed almost exclusively to official sponsorship. In 2006, *Zhongyang ribao* stopped publishing in paper form, and became an online newspaper, after more than a decade of mounting financial losses. The paper's conservative political tone, stale reportage style, and the loss of public sector subscribers contributed to a meteoric plunge in sales after Taiwan's democratization.¹⁰³ Despite *Zhongyang ribao*'s irrelevance in contemporary Taiwan, the pre-1945 newspaper is considered an important primary source for research on the Republican period history and the KMT party history. The author would like suggest that *Zhongyang ribao* is also a useful source to examine the life of mainlander migrants and socioeconomic conditions in Taiwan.

Lianhe bao or "United Daily News" was the largest private media establishment among a small number of non-official newspapers that were able to thrive under the rigid publication laws of the KMT during the 1950s and the 1960s.¹⁰⁴ *Lianhe bao* was founded

nian 台灣報業演進四十年 [Forty years of newspaper industry in Taiwan] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1988), 49; Hung Kuei-chi 洪桂己, *Taiwan baoye shi de yanjiu* 台灣報業史的研究 [A research on the history of newspaper in Taiwan] (Taipei: Taipei shi wenxian weiyuanhui, 1968), 139.

¹⁰¹ Wang Tien-pin, *Taiwan baoye shi*, 243-268; Chen Kuo-hsiang and Chu Ping, *Taiwan baoye yanjin sishi nian*, 133-138.

¹⁰² Hung Kuei-chi, *Taiwan baoye shi de yanjiu*, 182-183.

¹⁰³ Wang Tien-pin, *Taiwan baoye shi*, 476-478.

¹⁰⁴ The others included *Zhengxin xinwen/Zhongguo shibao*, *Gonglun bao* (公論報), *Guowu ribao* (國語日報), and *Zili wanbao* (自立晚報). Among the private press, *Gonglun bao* had been the most critical of the KMT. The paper was shut down by the government in the early 1960s. *Guowu ribao* remained small and insignificant. *Zili wanbao*, which was also famous for criticizing the government, did not become important until the 1970s and the 1980s. Only *Zhengxin xinwen/Zhongguo shibao* was able to compete with *Lianhe bao*. Yet *Zhengxin xinwen/Zhongguo shibao* also did not become significant until the 1960s. During the mid-1950s, *Zhengxin xinwen/Zhongguo shibao* was still a small newspaper with only thousands of copies

in 1951, involving a merger among three newspapers—*Quanmin ribao* (全民日報), *Minzu bao* (民族報), and *Jingji shibao* (經濟時報).¹⁰⁵ Notwithstanding the joint ownership, the dominating figure behind the merger was retired KMT army officer and the head of *Minzu bao* Wang Ti-wu (王惕吾, 1913-1996).¹⁰⁶ Wang's vision, energy, and entrepreneurial talents played a major role in the success of *Lianhe bao* in the years that followed.¹⁰⁷ During the early 1950s, the small and heavily indebted private newspaper was no match for government-sponsored giants such as *Zhongyang ribao*. However, under Wang's leadership, *Lianhe bao* quickly surpassed all government newspapers. By the end of the decade, it was without a doubt the most commercially successful news agency in Taiwan. This remarkable achievement was a result of astute marketing campaigns and advertisement strategies, as well as a carefully maintained relationship with the Nationalist authorities. Except on two notable occasions, *Lianhe bao* supported the KMT, and offered only moderate criticisms of the government.¹⁰⁸ Today, *Lianhe bao* and its numerous subsidiaries are among the largest Chinese media conglomerates in the

in daily circulation. For more, see Chen Kuo-hsiang and Chu Ping, *Taiwan baoye yanjin sishi nian*, 90-103; Hung Kuei-chi, *Taiwan baoye shi de yanjiu*, 138-139, 182-183.

¹⁰⁵ The combined version of the newspaper started publishing in September 1951, but the merger among the three newspapers was not finalized until September 1953.

¹⁰⁶ Wang Ti-wu was a regimental commander in Chiang Kai-shek's personal security forces. He was forced into an early retirement after quarreling with Chiang's second-in-command in Taiwan, Chen Cheng. Some would later suggest that Wang's withdrawal from the army was an offshoot of a power struggle between Chen Cheng and Wang's superior officer Yu Chi-shih (俞濟時, 1904-1990). Searching for a second career, Wang took over a small and failing civilian newspaper owned by a friend. He later hatched a plan to join it with two other private newspapers to form *Lianhe bao*. For more on the life and career of Wang Ti-wu, see Peng Ming-hui 彭明輝, *Zhongwen baoye wangguo de xingqi: Wang Ti-wu yu Lianhe baoxi* 中文報業王國的興起: 王惕吾與聯合報系 [The rise of a Chinese newspaper empire: Wang Ti-wu and the Lianhe bao Group] (Taipei County, Banciao: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2001); Yeh Pang-tsung 葉邦宗, *Baohuang Wang Ti-wu* 報皇王惕吾 [The emperor of the newspaper Wang Ti-wu] (Taipei County, Banciao: Sifang shucheng, 2004).

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed account of Wang's leadership, management style, and business strategy, see Hsi Hsien-teh 習賢德, *Lianhe bao qiye wenhua de xingcheng yu chuancheng (1963-2005)* 聯合報企業文化的形成與傳承 (1963-2005) [*Lianhe bao* media enterprise's legacy and business practices, 1963-2005] (Taipei: Weixiu zixun, 2006).

¹⁰⁸ *Lianhe bao* openly challenged the KMT on two occasions. The first was leading a campaign against further government restrictions on media and publication in 1954. The second was voicing concern over the persecution of liberal intellectuals associated with *Ziyou zhongguo ban yuekan* (自由中國半月刊) in 1961. Wang Ti-wu's career in Chiang Kai-shek's personal security forces and his Huangpu Military Academy pedigree did save his newspaper from persecution. According to one biographer, Wang was summoned by Chiang Kai-shek on both occasions, and offered a chance to "explain" his newspaper's criticism of the government. These were second chances that many of his competitors in the civilian press did not get. Wang was skillful in his defence, and came out unscathed on both occasions. See Yeh Pang-tsung, *Baohuang Wang Ti-wu*, 169-170; 189-216.

world. Besides various newspapers and printing presses in Taiwan, the company also owns news agencies and publishing houses around the globe, including *World Journal News* (世界日報), which caters to the Chinese readers in Canada and the United States.

A common perception about media sources published in Taiwan under the martial law and press censorship (報禁), especially official KMT organs like *Zhongyang ribao*, is that they are not trustworthy.¹⁰⁹ The contents overflowed with “official misinformation”—anti-Communist propaganda and bogus facts fabricated to bolster the authoritarian party-state’s political legitimacy.¹¹⁰ As mentioned in Chapter 1, this is the reason why historians in contemporary Taiwan, especially those who worked on the 228 Incident and the KMT White Terror, have turned to oral history *en masse* in order to uncover the “truth” behind the KMT historiography. Before the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the publication industry in Taiwan was so completely dominated by the KMT that printed words seldom told the native Taiwanese and aboriginal side of the story. The author acknowledges the biases and limitations of newspapers published under martial law. It is indeed important for contemporary researchers to take all printed sources produced under the watchful eyes of KMT censors with a grain of salt—whether they were books, newspapers, journal magazines, official reports, or social survey data.

That being said, *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* offer a plethora of interesting and illuminating traces, which shed light on the social world of the civil war migrants in Taiwan. Notwithstanding official propaganda and trumped-up facts, these two newspapers are a goldmine of information for this study because of two important reasons. First, the editors, the journalists, and the readers of *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* were mostly mainlanders, especially during the 1950s and 60s. The content reflected the perspective of the civil war migrants, albeit censored by the KMT. Second, newspapers in post-war Taiwan were not merely propaganda instruments of the state. They also served as important social media. With wide circulation, *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* were the most important, if not the only source of information for the

¹⁰⁹ In order to exert a tight control on the media, the KMT announced a series of laws and regulations from 1949 to 1970, which limited the freedom of speech and put a cap on the number of private newspapers. The press censorship laws were not rescinded until the January of 1988. See Wang Tien-pin, *Taiwan baoye shi*, 152-168.

¹¹⁰ Specific examples of this “official misinformation” will be provided in both Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, when issues related to White Terror and the KMT interpretation of the Chinese civil war are discussed.

common folks. Without the Internet and the television, people used newspapers to find accommodations, to look for jobs, to locate separated relatives, and to search for love matches. While the front pages of these two newspapers were filled with monotonous anti-Communist slogans and official misinformation, the social news section, the arts and literature section, and the commercial ads section located in the back pages contained fascinating traces pertaining to the lives of the civil war migrants. These included social commentaries on housing shortage, news reports on crimes and suicides, debates on how to regulate the burgeoning illegal sex industry in the cities, and so on. The classified ads were especially interesting. These tiny cubicles of information were paid for by real people with real needs. They offer remarkable insights into a variety of social phenomena in early post-war Taiwan.

The information provided by *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* also led the author to other important sources. For example, through the advertisements posted on the newspapers, the author was able to obtain titles of a dozen magazines published during the 1950s and the 1960s. Upon further examination of these texts, he found that a travel magazine called *Changliu* (暢流) offered illuminating insights on the daily life of ordinary migrants. Though this chapter also draws on a few articles from *Changliu*, the author will provide more detailed information about this particular magazine in the next chapter, when its contents are used to illustrate the *mentalités* of the civil war migrants during the 1950s.

Finally, in order to gain a more comprehensive perspective of the various social phenomena reported by the newspapers, the author spent several additional months scouring the libraries and archives of Academia Sinica and the National Central Library for other types of historical records. Since the 19th century, there has been some debate within the community of academic historians in North America in regard to the pros and cons of using newspapers as a chief primary source. Many have raised concerns about the political and commercial interests behind news coverage.¹¹¹ Scholars studying newspaper

¹¹¹ For major contributors to this debate, see Lucy Maynard Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923); L. Salmon, *The Newspaper and Authority* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923); William Taft, *Newspapers as Tools for Historians* (Columbia, Missouri: Lucas Bros., 1970); Shannon Martin and Kathleen Hansen, *Newspapers of Record in a Digital Age: From Hot Type to Hot Link* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1998). Nowadays, the general consensus among academic historians seems to be that newspapers could provide illuminating evidence, but the

reports in early post-war Taiwan have suggested that profit-driven civilian press such as *Lianhe bao* had a tendency to provide extensive coverage of sensationalized stories involving murders, rapes, and suicides.¹¹² In fact, this tabloid style reportage can still be observed among popular news agencies in contemporary Taiwan. Consequently, anecdotal evidence derived from the newspapers needs to be checked with archival sources. The author thus embarked on a new round of research. The results were a wide range of population statistics and social survey data collected by various government agencies, as well as studies produced by a university and a university hospital in Taipei. Many of these will be presented in tables and graphs. They offer interesting information on the social profile of the civil war migrants, and help substantiate evidence found in the newspapers.

The first and the most obvious question that one might raise about aggregated social data gathered by government institutions under the KMT is once again the validity of the information collected. We will learn in the next section that the regime-in-exile actually inflated the size of its standing army during the 1950s to in order to deter the CCP invasion. However, not all official numbers were fabricated. In the same section, the readers will also discover that the island-wide population census conducted by the Nationalist authorities in 1956 was a totally different story. The 1956 census provides relatively trustworthy and detailed information about the island's post-war population. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that social data kept by Taiwan's local government agencies—reports on crimes and suicides for example—were deliberately falsified, when these were collected to improve administration and the actual governing of the island's population. Most importantly, the social data compiled by the provincial and municipal authorities in Taiwan were confidential information. They were intended only for the eyes government officials.¹¹³

researchers have to be attentive to the political bias and commercial interests behind the coverage. Moreover, the information gathered from the newspapers has to be analyzed and compared in conjunction with other types of sources.

¹¹² See Wang Tien-pin 王天濱, *Taiwan shehui xinwen fazhan shi* 臺灣社會新聞發展史 [The history of social news in Taiwan] (Taipei: Yatai tushu, 2002), 2-27; Chen Kuo-hsiang and Chu Ping, *Taiwan baoye yanjin sishi nian*, 121.

¹¹³ Most of the provincial and municipal statistical documents and books utilized in this chapter have an official file number. They also have a stamp of confidentiality in the front page, which states: "This is only for [internal] references, please do not publish" (本刊專供參考，請勿對外發表).

The second question one could have about using social surveys and population census as supporting evidence is the epistemological and methodological biases associated with the collection and tabulation of these data. This is a typical question faced by number crunchers across different disciplines in the Social Sciences, and a nagging one.¹¹⁴ With regard to our discussion, there could be errors caused by administrative negligence and miscalculation on the part of the KMT officials and census takers. The author would admit that this is a difficult question which cannot be answered with satisfaction. Due to the lack of historical evidence, we know very little about how the social data were collected in Taiwan before the 1970s (except for the 1956 census). Even if we do gain insight on the shortcomings and biases of these reports, historians cannot go back in time to conduct their own surveys. The only defence that the author would offer is that this monograph, like many other historical studies, is not set up to prove or disprove a particular social theory or to deal with problems associated with numerical causality. Rather, the objective is to tell a plausible story based on as much historical information as possible. Social surveys and population statistics produced in the past are just one type of evidence utilized. They alone do not constitute social reality, but offer traces that enable historians to formulate interpretations of the past.

Based on the primary sources and investigative methodology stated above, the following sections will provide a preliminary social history of the civil war migrants in early post-war Taiwan. The unfolding narrative of this chapter will demonstrate the efficacy of using a combination of media sources and social survey data to tell the story. A large collection of secondary sources, as well as some memoirs and personal narratives will also be employed as collaborating evidence. We shall now proceed to examine the nuanced history of this colossal population movement from the ground level, starting with the most basic question: “how many?” While the exact number of the exodus population will probably never be known, the information provided in the next section

¹¹⁴ The idea of scientific positivism associated with numbers and statistics came under attack in many of the Humanities and Social Sciences disciplines since the 1970s. In some extreme cases, it has become difficult for scholars in certain areas of research to employ statistical data in supporting their arguments. The situation prompted a growing number of scholars to propose a more eclectic approach, which recognizes both the contributions and shortcomings of quantitative methods. For an illuminating article, see Elvin Wyly, “Strategic Positivism,” *The Professional Geographer* 61:3 (2009): 310-322.

will help clarify some of the misconceptions about the mainlander migrants and about what happened in the aftermath of the KMT debacle in mainland China.

2.3 How Many?

Taiwan's population stood at 6.5 million at the end of the Japanese colonial rule.¹¹⁵ Nearly half a million were Japanese. Most were repatriated back to Japan between late 1945 and early 1946, leaving the local inhabitants at around 6 million.¹¹⁶ A great majority were native Taiwanese of Hoklo and Hakka ancestries. The Japanese had constructed state-of-the-art military installations, railways, industries, hydroelectric dams; built modern cities, where a small number of colonial elites thrived during fifty years of Japanese rule. However, the island was still a predominantly agrarian society in 1945. The intensive American bombing during the Pacific War destroyed a large number of roads, factories, and buildings in major cities between 1944 and 1945.¹¹⁷ Then in late February and early March 1947, a massive Taiwanese uprising (the 228 Incident) and the brutal KMT military suppression campaign that followed caused further damages to the island's already crippled infrastructure. The influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from different parts of China from 1948 to 1955, many with only the clothes on their backs, exerted incredible strain on the island's resources and social services, which had already been drained considerably by the pressing demands of the civil war and the collapse of the Nationalist currency system between 1946 and 1949. Simply put, the situation was bleak for both the civil war exiles and the local population, who bore the brunt of the great exodus. Nonetheless, there is a twist to the story. The size of the

¹¹⁵ The number is based on the last population census conducted by the Japanese colonial government in 1943. See Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu tongji shi 臺灣省行政長官公署統計室 (ed.), *Taiwan sheng wushiyi nian lai tongji tiyao* 臺灣省五十一年來統計提要 [Fifty-one years of statistical records in Taiwan Province] (Taipei: Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu tongji shi, 1946), 76-77.

¹¹⁶ From late 1945 to early 1946, approximately 480,000 Japanese were shipped back to Japan. About 320,000 (67%) were civilians and 160,000 (33%) were military personnel. See Li Tung-ming 李棟明, "Guangfu hou Taiwan renkou shehui zengjia zhi tantao" 光復後臺灣人口社會增加之探討 [A study of Taiwan's population increase after the retrocession], *Taipei wenxian* 台北文獻 [Taipei archives] 9/10 (1969): 217-219.

¹¹⁷ For more on the Allied bombing of Taiwan, see Chung Chien 鍾堅, *Taiwan hangkong juezhan* 臺灣航空決戰 [The air battles over Taiwan] (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 1996).

migrants might actually be smaller than what has previously been suggested, especially the number of military personnel.

When it comes to the size of the mainlander exodus to Taiwan, scholars who wrote about the island's post-war history referred to a wide range of approximate figures ranging from 1.5 million to as high as 3 million. Nowadays, these figures have become conventional wisdom to be cited without the need for references. For example, in Linda Chao and Ramon Myers' *The First Chinese Democracy* (1998) and Jay Taylor's *The Generalissimo's Son* (2000), the size of the émigré population was 2 million. In Denny Roy's *Taiwan: A Political History* (2003), the figure was 1.5 to 2 million, including 600,000 military personnel. Steven Phillips provided similar numbers in *Between Assimilation and Independence* (2003), whereas Diana Lary suggested between 2 to 3 million relocated to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek's regime in *China's Republic* (2007).¹¹⁸ Even Joshua Fan's latest research *China's Homeless Generation* (2011) put the total number between 1.8 to 2 million.¹¹⁹ In the meantime, French political scientist Stéphane Corcuff offered an approximate range from 908,500 to over 2 million. Nevertheless, Corcuff was the first Western researcher to point out that the existing numbers might be too high because the KMT puffed up its standing army on paper in order to deter Communist invasion. His supporting evidence came from the biography of Shah Kongsin (夏功權, 1919-2008), Chiang Kai-shek's *aide-de-camp* and strategic advisor in the early 1950s.¹²⁰

Until this day, the total number of the people—military personnel plus the civilian population—who left China for Taiwan from 1945¹²¹ to 1955 cannot be accurately determined. This is despite the fact that there have been many different calculations. The following discussion will show that the crux of the problem is the lack of reliable data on

¹¹⁸ Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*, 9; Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son*, 181; Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 76; Steven E Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence*, 89; Diana Lary, *China's Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 181.

¹¹⁹ Joshua Fan, *China's Homeless Generation*, 19.

¹²⁰ See Stéphane Corcuff, "Taiwan's 'Mainlanders,' New Taiwanese?" 164, 192-193, note 6.

¹²¹ Instead of the earlier 1948 to 1955, 1945 to 1955 is used here to account for the mainlander population residing in Taiwan before the great exodus began in late 1948. These included civil servants, journalists, merchants, migrant labour, and KMT garrison troops. Their number was around 30,000 to 40,000. These people also became political exiles because the war had prevented them from returning to mainland China until the late 1980s. For more, see **Table 1**.

the number of the Nationalist military personnel before 1969. Nonetheless, there is a reasonable range of estimates based on the available sources. In the light of these facts, the numbers put forward by preceding studies are too high.

There are a few obvious problems to begin with when one tries to determine the exact number of the exiled population. First, there was no reliable national census in mainland China before 1950 that would allow the demographers at the present time to extrapolate back using mathematical models.¹²² Second, the Japanese colonial population registry offers precise and often detailed information of the island's population, but only up to the end of the colonial period, a few years before the arrival of the great exodus. Third, the fall of government and disorganized mass flight made keeping accurate records extremely difficult, if not utterly impossible. For instance, the entrance and departure logs of the customs services in Taiwan do exist, but they are grossly inadequate.¹²³ During the chaotic last days of the civil war, the authorities in Taiwan simply lost track of the throngs of defeated troops, government employees, and civilian refugees flocking to the island. Many snuck in undetected, or entered with fake identifications. To make things worse, a considerable number of military personnel and their families arrived in restricted zones—airfields and naval bases that were not accessible to civilian customs officials.¹²⁴ Despite these limitations, there is one particular set of statistical data that offers relatively accurate information about the civilian migrants—the 1956 census.

The 1956 census was the first comprehensive population survey conducted by the KMT in Taiwan. This monumental undertaking not only satisfied administrative needs, but also served important political purposes. With swarms of unchecked war refugees and renegade troops flocking to the island, the infiltration of CCP spies and saboteurs became a potential threat. In the early 1950s, the regime-in-exile made several attempts to register Taiwan's rapidly growing population. Periodic population checks and experimental

¹²² The PRC conducted China's first nationwide population census in 1953, followed by another one in 1964.

¹²³ Li Tung-ming, "Guangfu hou Taiwan renkou shehui zengjia zhi tantao," 235-241.

¹²⁴ The Taiwan Provincial Government under the reign of Chiang Kai-shek's trusted aide Chen Cheng (陳誠, 1898-1965) did try to tighten the noose by enacting and enforcing a set of new entrance laws in February 1949. However, these measures fail to stem the tide of the great exodus. For more, see Hsueh Yueh-shun 薛月順, "Taiwan rujing guanzhi chutan—yi minguo 38 nian Chen Cheng danren shengzhuxi shiqi weili" 台灣入境管制初探—以民國 38 年陳誠擔任省主席時期為例 [A preliminary research on the entry restrictions in Taiwan—Chen Cheng as the Taiwan Provincial Governor in 1949], *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan* 1 (2001): 225-253.

surveys were performed between 1949 and 1954.¹²⁵ The experiences and technical know-how gained from these efforts later contributed to the compilation of the 1956 census.

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the Nationalist authorities devoted a considerable amount of time and manpower for this massive head-counting operation in 1956, and it was conducted in a well-organized and strict manner. The work began with months of meticulous planning and arduous training of census takers.¹²⁶ This was followed by the declaration of an all-night curfew a week in advance.¹²⁷ On the midnight of September 15 1956, the entire island shut down. People were ordered to return to their homes, stay up all night, and wait for the designated census takers to knock on the doors. Armed police brigades and army divisions patrolled every town and city on the island. Anyone caught wondering on the streets would be taken into custody immediately. In total, 150,000 government workers, policemen, and military personnel were mobilized.¹²⁸ In the next two years, hundreds of census officials and statistics experts worked day and

¹²⁵ There were periodic population checks during the early 1950s. These were often announced in the newspapers. For example, see “quansheng hukou zongjian jieding siyue erri juxing” 全省戶口總檢決定四月二日舉行 [The population check for the entire province will be held on April 2], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 21, 1950, 3; “Shiban zhengli huji jiangyou xiaoyue kaishi 試辦整理戶集將由下月開始 [A try out for compiling population registry will start next month], *ibid.*, September 3, 1952, 3; “gaishan huzheng de zhongdian 改善戶政的重點 [The main points in improving population registration], *ibid.*, September 3, 1953, 2. Also see, Lin Sheng-wei 林勝偉, “Zhengzhi suanshu: zhanhou Taiwan de guojia tongzhi yu renkou guanli” 政治算數: 戰後台灣的國家統治與人口管理 [Political math: state power and population management in post-war Taiwan] (PhD Diss., Taipei: National Chengchi University, Department of Sociology, 2005), 52-53.

¹²⁶ Taiwan sheng hukou pucha chu 臺灣省戶口普查處 (ed.), *Zhonghua minguo hukou pucha baogao shu* 中華民國戶口普查報告書 [An investigative report of the population of the Republic of China], vol. 1 (Taipei: Taiwan sheng hukou pucha chu, 1959), 21-23; “Wang Teh-pu zuo zhaoji taisheng hukou pucha zhuguan” 王德浦昨召集台省戶口普查主管 [Wang Teh-pu gathered the census supervisors yesterday], *Lianhe bao*, July 31, 1956, 3; “Banhao quanguo hukou pucha” 辦好全國戶口普查 [Getting the nationwide population registration done], *ibid.*, August 13, 1956, 2; “Zongtong zhongshi taimin hukou pucha banling xunchi qieshi banli” 總統重視台閩戶口普查撥令訓飭切實辦理 [The president considers the Taiwan-Fujian population census an important task, and orders it be carried out with precision], *ibid.*, September 7, 1956, 1.

¹²⁷ “Hukou pucha biao zhun ri wuyue shiyi shi kaishi jiaotong guanzhi” 戶口普查標準日午夜十一時開始交通管制 [A curfew starting on 11:00 pm will be imposed on the day of census taking], *ibid.*, September 4, 1956, 3.

¹²⁸ See Taiwan sheng hukou pucha chu (ed.), *Zhonghua minguo hukou pucha baogao shu*, 26-29; “Huzheng shi shang kongquian chuanguo taimin hukou pucha mingchen lingshi kaishi jiangyu mingchen liushi wancheng” 戶政史上空前創舉臺閩戶口普查明晨零時開始將於明晨六時完成 [The unprecedented task in the history of population registry, the Taiwan-Fujian population census will begin at 12:00 am and end at 6:00 pm tomorrow], *Lianhe bao*, September 15, 1956, 1.

night to calculate, tabulate, and analyze the massive data collected. The result was a wealth of reliable information about the island's early post-war population.

Accordingly, the 1956 census offers a relatively trustworthy figure of the civilian population arrived from China between 1945 and 1955—637, 155. On top of this, there were 2,917 individuals arriving in 1956. Most of them probably came from Hong Kong's Rennie's Mill Refugee Camp (調景嶺難民營).¹²⁹ In total, there were **640,072** civilian mainlander migrants living in Taiwan in 1956 (see **Table 1** and **Figure 1**).¹³⁰

Unfortunately, the KMT military personnel were not included until the second island-wide census in 1969. The size of the standing army and military expenditures were top secret at the time. A significant portion of the civil war migrants were soldiers and this presents a problem for scholars who want to determine the total number of the exodus population. When the military population were finally included in the 1969 census, a large number of the mainlander rank-and-file had already been discharged, and released into the general population. They were recorded as part of the “natural increase” in the government statistics. To make things even more complicated, from 1951 to 1969, tens of thousands of military personnel gained permission to marry and live outside the barracks when they were off-duty. When these individuals filed for the registration of their families, they and their native Taiwanese spouses also contributed to the rise of mainlander population in the population registry.¹³¹ Consequently, the mainlander population as a whole exhibited unusually high population increase rates (7-11%)

¹²⁹ The Rennie's Mill Refugee Camp was set up by the British colonial authorities in June 1950 to house tens of thousands of KMT refugees in Hong Kong. The Camp later developed into a Nationalist political and cultural enclave. The community was razed in the mid-1990s before Great Britain returned Hong Kong to the PRC. For more on Rennie's Mill's history, see Dominic Meng-Hsuan Yang 楊孟軒, “Diaojingling: Xianggong 「xiao Taiwan」 de qiyuan yu bianqian, 1950-1970 niandai 調景嶺: 香港「小臺灣」的起源與變遷, 1950-1970 年代 [Rennie's Mill: origin and transformation of “Little Taiwan” in Hong Kong, 1950s-1970s], *Taiwan shi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 [Taiwan historical research] 18:1 (2011): 133-183.

¹³⁰ **Table 1** and **Figure 1** are compiled according to the data provided by the 1956 census. For more, see Taiwan sheng hukou pucha chu (ed.), *Zhonghua minguo hukou pucha baogao shu*, vol. 2:1, 719-724. A caveat should be issued here about the 1956 census data. The figures are relatively trustworthy, but they are by no means accurate down to the last digit. A small number of vagabonds and roaming population, some of them discharged soldiers, apparently slipped under the radar of the government head-counting operation. For example, see “Beishi anquan jiancha juliu qibai yuren” 北市安全檢查居留七百餘人 [Security checks in Taipei, seven hundred people were arrested], *Lianhe bao*, August 30, 1958, 3. For a detailed analysis and estimate of the unregistered floating population in Taiwan before the 1970s, see Lin Sheng-wei, “Zhengzhi suanshu,” 67-69.

¹³¹ Lin Sheng-wei, “Zhengzhi suansu,” 71-73. The number of Taiwanese women who married mainlander men and how many of them actually changed their registration information before 1970 remain unclear.

compared to the native Taiwanese (2-3%) from 1952 to 1960. Without evidence to suggest average mainlander parents had a lot more babies than their Taiwanese counterparts, a large number of discharged soldiers and military personnel living outside of the barracks apparently had contributed to this rapid growth.¹³²

The crux of the question then becomes how many mainlanders in the army were discharged or lived outside their barracks before all the military personnel were included in the 1969 census. This is the part where researchers run into problems due to lack of reliable evidence. Unlike the 1956 census, personnel records declassified and made available to the public by the KMT military bureaucracy have been murky in the earlier years. The Executive Yuan Veterans' Affairs Commission (行政院國軍退除役官兵輔導委員會, EYVAC) is the official KMT organization set up to assist and manage army retirees. In one of its earliest statistical yearbooks published in 1985, figures from 1952 to 1968 are in aggregated numbers. Detailed annual records were only available after 1969.¹³³ All the statistical yearbooks that followed simply reprinted these numbers, while adding on new annual figures. There is no way for contemporary researchers to tell how many soldiers were expunged from the KMT army in the 1950s and 60s from the data presented by the military. In 1987, the EYVAC released a set of data, putting the total number of mainlander military personnel, including those who were discharged before 1969, at 582,086.¹³⁴ The figure seems to validate a common saying about the KMT forces that set foot in Taiwan—"a grand army of six hundred thousand" (六十萬大軍).¹³⁵ Adding this number with the 640,072 civilians recorded by the 1956 census would make an approximate figure around 1.2 million.

It is not hard to see why this simple mathematical calculation is problematic, and the actual size of the mainlander exodus must be lower than this figure. Even if we give the Nationalist military authorities the benefit of the doubt in the numbers it presented,

¹³² See Li Tung-ming, "Guangfu hou Taiwan renkou shehui zengjia zhi tantao," 225-226. Some of the increase in the early years came from soldiers and refugees arriving from Vietnam (1953), Burma (1953-1954), Dachen Islands (1955), and the 14,000 PLA POWs arriving from Korea (1954).

¹³³ See EYVAC (ed.), *Xingzhengyuan guojun tuichuyi guanbing fudao weiyuanhui zhonghua mingguo qishisi nian tongji tiyao* 行政院國軍退除役官兵輔導委員會中華民國七十四年統計提要 [The statistical yearbook of EYVAC in 1985] (Taipei: EYVAC, 1985).

¹³⁴ Hu Tai-li, "Yuzai yu fanshu," 111.

¹³⁵ For a recently published historical study in Taiwan that supports the Nationalist "grand army" theory, see Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 333-336.

the problem is once again the number of military personnel released into the general population. However, according to the same set of statistical data made public by the EYVCA in 1987, the KMT army discharged 122,000 of its personnel before 1961. If the above calculation were to be applied, those who left the military before the 1956 census was taken would be counted twice. Then, among these 122,000 individuals, how many left before 1956? During the course of the research, the author discovered a classified report filed by the EYVAC in 1967. The report indicates that 67,410 KMT army personnel (3,704 officers and 63,706 soldiers) left the army before 1956.¹³⁶ Assuming this number is correct, the number of the mainlander exodus should be about 1.15 million ($640,072 + 582,086 - 67,410 = 1,154,748$). Nonetheless, this does not account for the military personnel who did not leave the army, but gained permission to set up private households outside of the barracks before 1956. These individuals could also become “double entries” when numbers recorded by the 1956 census and military bureaucracy were added together.

Notwithstanding the calculation made above, a more fundamental problem lies in the validity of the figures provided by the EYVAC. As Stéphane Corcuff has shown, there is evidence to suggest that the KMT army during the 1950s and 60s was actually a lot smaller than what appeared on paper. While Corcuff only points to the testimony of one of Chiang’s closest advisors, there is documentary evidence to support his claim. The documentary evidence comes in the form of a confidential memorandum produced by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1958.¹³⁷ When evaluating military strength and logistic support on both side of the Strait as a basis

¹³⁶ The author discovered this unpagged booklet in the Institute of Modern History Library in Academia Sinica by chance. The stamp in the last page indicates that the document was originally stored in the official KMT archives. It was declassified in 2003 and sent to the library. EYVAC, *Xingzhenyuan guojun tuichuyi guanbing fudao weiyuanhui yewu gaikuang* 行政院國軍退除役官兵輔導委員會業務概況 [A general report from EYVAC] (Taipei: EYVAC, 1967).

¹³⁷ The Second Taiwan Strait Crisis started with a massive CCP artillery bombardment against Quemoy on August 23, 1958. When the PRC began shelling the ROC’s island outpost, the Eisenhower administration provided assistance and weapons to the KMT under the Sino-American Mutual Defence Treaty. The treaty was signed in 1954 during the First Taiwan Strait Crisis. The US Seventh Fleet kept the sea routes and supply lines to Quemoy open. The American long range artilleries and new air-to-air missiles helped the Nationalist military gained advantage over their Communist foes. Without securing the sky and the sea, the CCP did not send a landing expedition. The war ended in a stalemate, but artillery exchanges became a part of Quemoy’s daily life for the next two decades. The battle is also known as the “823 Artillery Battle” (八二三炮戰) in Taiwan. For more, see Michael Szonyi, *Cold War Island*, 64-78.

for US assistance to Chiang Kai-shek, the Agency reported that the KMT army in Formosa and its surrounding islands amounted to about 450,000.¹³⁸ If this was true, the size of the mainlander exodus would have been around or below 1,090,000 (640,000+450,000=1090,000). Certainly, there is a possibility that the American intelligence was wrong. This is only a single piece of evidence, and there have been other assessments that put the KMT army in the range between 500,000 and 600,000 during the 1950s. But like the CIA secret memorandum, most of these assessments were “speculations” as well.¹³⁹

However, even if the American guesswork was off the mark, those who are leaning towards the Nationalist “grand army” theory would still have to consider the issue of local draftees. News reports from *Lianhe bao* indicate that the KMT drafted a large number of Taiwanese youth into the army in the early 1950s.¹⁴⁰ The reports are confirmed by statistical data provided by the 1956 census, where a considerable number of young Taiwanese males in the age cohort 20-24 were “missing” from the civilian population. Accordingly, the number of new local recruits could be as high as 90,000 to 100,000.¹⁴¹ It seems that not all the six hundred thousand members of the “grand army” were mainlanders. Denny Roy has also suggested that the KMT military started drafting

¹³⁸ Morton H Halperin, *The 1958 Taiwan Straits Crisis: A Documented History* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation Research Memorandum, 1966), 4.

¹³⁹ For different assessments of the KMT army during the 1950s, see Lin Sheng-wei, “Zhengzhi suansu,” 69-70.

¹⁴⁰ “Shouqi tezhong buchong bing mingtian qi ruying jiang bianwei bage bingzhong” 首期特種補充兵明天起入營將編為八個兵種 [The first group of replacements for the special forces will report to training camps tomorrow. They will be divided into eight different types of units.], *Lianhe bao*, November 24, 1954, 3; “Dierqi changbai bing mingqi yingzhao ruying, gedi zhunbei relie huansong” 第二期常備兵明起應召入營各地準備熱烈歡送 [The second group of regulars are called into service yesterday. Great festivities will be prepared in different localities for their departure], *ibid.*, February 1, 1955, 3.

¹⁴¹ A great number of native Taiwanese recruits in the Nationalist army could be illustrated by the age-sex pyramid for the Taiwanese population constructed according to the 1956 census (see **Figure 4**). Assuming that the number of male and female population was roughly equal (whereas the number of males always exceeds the females in younger cohorts), about 1.1% of the male population from the 20-24 age cohort was “missing” from the civilian population. This equals to approximately 92,000 local Taiwanese youth who might have been drafted into the KMT military during this time. Some might suggest these were WWII casualties. However, this particular age cohort was too young to be those who had served and died with the Japanese army. In fact, in the two older cohorts (30-34; 35-39), we do see a slight decrease in male population that could be attributed to the war. In addition, the number of missing Taiwanese males was also too large to be White Terror victims. As we shall see in the next chapter, recent research on White Terror in Taiwan could only confirm thousands of cases. Moreover, a considerable number of political prisoners during the 1950s were actually mainlanders. All in all, 92,000 is a conservative estimate. The real number could be well over 100,000.

young Taiwanese men in August 1951. While the officer corps remained predominantly (90%) mainlanders between 1950 and 1965, the Taiwanese comprised a considerable number of the enlisted men and non-commissioned officers.¹⁴²

There is yet another important reason for historians and demographers to cast doubt on the figures presented by the KMT military authorities. It has to do with a troublesome and persistent social problem in early post-war Taiwan—"deserted soldiers and vagrants" (散兵遊民).¹⁴³ From 1949 to 1961, the authorities on the island rounded up approximately 60,000 lone male vagabonds. These were people with no registrations, no legal documents, and no local friends or relatives who could confirm their identities.¹⁴⁴ This army of vagabonds were the product of the chaotic mass flight and failed bureaucratic structure at the end of the civil war. A majority were deserters from the army both in mainland China and in Taiwan. The existence of this floating population might be a main contributing factor to the high crimes rates, suicide rates, and "pedestrian patients burials" (行旅病人收埋) among the mainlander population in early post-war Taiwan. These issues will be discussed later in section 2.5. Some of the renegade soldiers were sent to prisons or psychiatric wards. Most were reinserted into the army.¹⁴⁵ This might result in a considerable number of multiple entries in army records.

After considering all evidence, a 1969 population study produced by a local demographer named Li Tung-ming (李棟明) might offer the most plausible number after all.¹⁴⁶ Corcuff has also suggested that Li's study was accurate and reliable, when he took Li's figure as the lower end of his estimation.¹⁴⁷ The study was conducted immediately following the inclusion of the military personnel in the 1969 census. The innovative local demographer developed a sophisticated model to extrapolate the "social increase" (社會增加) in Taiwan's post-war population using the Japanese colonial records, the 1956

¹⁴² Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, 95.

¹⁴³ See "Sanbing youmin youduoshao qunian zhuohuo qiqian ren" 散兵遊民有多少去年捉獲七千人 [How many deserted soldiers and vagrants? Seven thousand individuals were rounded up last year.], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 27, 1950, 4; "liudong renkou dengji guanli banfa 流動人口登記管理辦法 [The registration law for the floating population], *ibid.*, April 8, 1950, 4; "Guanli liudong renkou 管理流動人口 [Managing the floating population], *ibid.*, December 2, 1953, 3.

¹⁴⁴ The highest figure recorded was in 1951, when 12,840 deserted soldiers were pulled from the streets. For the numbers each year from 1949 to 1961, see Lin Shengwei, *Zhengzhi suanshu*, 117.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 118-120.

¹⁴⁶ See Li Tung-ming, "Guangfu hou Taiwan renkou shehui zengjia zhi tantao."

¹⁴⁷ Stéphane Corcuff, "Taiwan's 'Mainlanders,' New Taiwanese?" 164.

census, the 1969 census, and a host of other statistical records kept by the KMT. Different from “natural increase,” which is the number of births exceeding the number of deaths, social increase is often a result of in-migration. After painstaking calculations and several different scenario analyses, Li came up with a figure for social increase in Taiwan between 1947 and 1965—**908,500**.¹⁴⁸ Given that no migrant groups other than *waishengren* could have contributed to this increase in the same historical period, this would most likely be the total number of the civil war migrants in Taiwan.

Li’s extrapolation was done with the utmost care and precision, but it was by no means perfect. Mathematical calculations and algorithmic models always have complex methodological problems, and should not be taken easily as representing reality. Faced with imperfect data, Li had to rely on some minor assumptions about the characteristics of Taiwan’s post-war population growth to bridge the gaps.¹⁴⁹ Some corollaries of his findings might be hard for contemporary researchers to swallow. For example, if the total number of the great exodus is 908,500 and the 1956 census already recorded 640,072 civilian mainlanders, the number of mainlander military population in 1956 would then become 268,428. This figure constitutes only about 30% of the total migrant population (See **Figure 2**), and is far below the over half million army personnel reported by the EYVAC or the 450,000 reported by the CIA. Was the rest of the KMT army made up by local Taiwanese recruits? Or, was there a considerable number of mainlander military personnel living outside army barracks, and they showed up both in the 1956 census and in the EYVAC records? A combination of these two factors seems like a possible scenario. There could be other factors that contemporary researchers have no knowledge of. More evidence is needed in order to substantiate Li’s calculation. In sum, from all the available sources, it should be fair to say that somewhere between **908,500** and **1.15 million** is a reasonable estimate, and the lower end of this approximation is the most likely number, that is, until new discoveries or release of further evidence from the KMT military bureaucracy can tell us otherwise.

Despite not being able to settle on an exact figure, the information contained in this section raises legitimate questions pertaining to two widely held assumptions about

¹⁴⁸ Li Tung-ming, “Guangfu hou Taiwan renkou shehui zengjia zhi tantao,” 242-243.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 243.

the émigré population as a result of both the KMT and the CCP propaganda. First, the idea that a majority of the great exodus were Nationalist military personnel needs to be reconsidered. The KMT authorities massaged the numbers to pump up the size of its standing army. The official party line described the loss of mainland China as a strategic military withdrawal and the island of Taiwan as a militarized anti-Communist stronghold. These not only contributed to the myth of the KMT “grand army,” but also influenced how generations of scholars viewed the history of 1949. A sizable civilian population suggests that this was more than a military retreat operation, but a large scale forced migration. For the most part, what happened between 1948 and 1955, especially in the year 1949, was a chaotic and intense mass flight with swarms of civilians travelling alongside routed and demoralized troops. Many war refugees joined the KMT army by sheer historical chance. They marched alongside defeated soldiers in order to leave the Communist-controlled areas. This interpretation is confirmed by a great number of oral histories published in Taiwan in recent decades, as well as 20 personal interviews conducted by the author for this study.¹⁵⁰

Second, the CCP party line denounced the civil war exiles as lackeys of Chiang Kai-shek and the stooges of American capitalism/imperialism.¹⁵¹ Though no serious historians would take the PRC’s propaganda at its face value, the Chinese Communist discourse seems to have a tremendous suggestive power in how the history of 1949 is written and imagined, not only in China but also in the West. Popular best-sellers in the past such as Sterling Seagrave’s historical novel *The Soong Dynasty* (1985) and the more recent book on the life of Madame Chiang Kai-shek *The Last Empress* (2010) are good

¹⁵⁰ Since the late 1980s, there have been hundreds of oral history volumes articulating the experiences of first generation mainlander migrants. These were either published by the military, the local governments, or by private non-profit organizations. Some of these were already mentioned earlier in Chapter 1. Some will later be introduced in Chapter 5. Among my 20 interviewees, only five were KMT army personnel or government employees when they came to Taiwan. Most were families of soldiers and civil servants, but some just have connections in the army. The story of Lo Yuan-yi (pseudonym) is a telling example. Lo’s father was a successful businessman who owned several pieces of real estate right next to a KMT air force base in Nanjing. Lo’s family thus became good friends with several Nationalist air force pilots who rented the family’s houses. Through these personal connections, Lo and his family rode the last few planes out of the encircled city. They came to Taiwan, and were probably recorded as members of a military contingent. In actuality, they were a refugee family, like tens of thousands of others who made the fateful decision to leave China in 1949. Lo joined the KMT air force after coming to Taiwan because there was very little alternative. Lo Yuan-yi 駱元義, interviewed by the author, Academia Sinica, Taipei, September 8, 2009.

¹⁵¹ See “Wancheng shengli, gonggu shengli, yingjie yijiuwuling nian yuandan,” *Renmin ribao*, January 1, 1950, 1; Qian Junrui, “Naqi wenyi wuqi, jianjue huiji mei diguozhuyi,” *ibid.*, June 24, 1960, 7.

examples.¹⁵² When people envisage the great exodus at the end of the Chinese civil war, they conjure up a vague image consisting of KMT high officials and politically-connected business tycoons. It is true that many of the civilian migrants were families of government workers and military personnel who had ties to the old regime in mainland China. However, tens of thousands of others did not, especially lower class migrants. This is best illustrated by the swarms of “deserted soldiers and vagrants,” many of whom were probably poor peasants pressed into the army in the closing days of the civil war. The next section will take a closer look at issues related to class and gender in the great exodus through an investigation of the civil war migrants’ immediate social impacts on the local society. It serves as a reminder that while empathizing with *waishengren*’s suffering and psychological trauma as a result of war and forced relocation, we also need to acknowledge the plight of the local population in Taiwan. They had no choice but to accept and accommodate the exiled population from mainland China.

2.4 The Great Exodus and Social Problems: Class and Gender

Although the actual number of the civil war migrants in Taiwan might be smaller than what has been suggested, the immediate impact of this colossal population movement on local society was nevertheless tremendous, if not epoch-changing. The mainlanders migrated with an authoritarian regime-in-exile, which exercised total control and remade the island politically, socially, culturally, and economically in the next four decades. Historian of colonial Taiwan Chou Wan-yao argues that the difficult transition from Japanese rule to Nationalist rule created a “lost generation” (失落的世代) among the indigenous population, especially young native Taiwanese age 15 to 25 at the time of the retrocession. According to Chou, an entire cohort of semi-Japanized local inhabitants were effectively silenced, as they were deprived of their language skill and professional training obtained under the Japanese rule, and forced to renounce their political

¹⁵² Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985); Hannah Pakula, *The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2010).

aspirations.¹⁵³ Focusing on the story of indigenous elites and their struggle for local autonomy under the KMT, Steven E Phillips suggests that native Taiwanese political leaders broke into different factions, and accommodated themselves to outside rule in flexible and complex ways that were neither assimilatory nor independence-seeking.¹⁵⁴ In more recent years, political and intellectual historians studying the origins of Taiwan nationalism such as Chen Tsui-lien put great emphasis on the early post-war period as an important crystallizing moment for a native Taiwanese identity different from China or Japan.¹⁵⁵

Telling the story from the perspective of migration history, this section examines the immediate social impacts of the great exodus on local society, a story which is rarely discussed in the existing literature. Gaining an intimate knowledge of these impacts allows us to appreciate the tremendous social and economic burden the mainlander migrants placed upon the indigenous community—severe commodity shortage, hyperinflation, shantytown neighbourhoods, and the growth of an illegal sex industry. The Taiwanese people were not only thwarted politically and culturally by the KMT, as the previous historians have suggested, but also suffered socially and economically due to the influx of tens of thousands of refugees. More importantly, probing into these impacts illustrates the role played by social class and gender in determining the migrant experience of *waishengren*, and teases out some of the underlying social and structural factors that shaped state-society relations and communal relations in post-war Taiwan.

Statistical data presented in the previous section suggest that many of the migrants were not military personnel locked away in distant bases and camps, but new immigrants introduced into an indigenous society. Many might come as “soldier refugees” as described by Barnett, but then left the units they came with. They stripped off their uniforms, and melted into the general population upon reaching the island. A cursory glance at the classified ads section of *Zhongyang ribao* reveals that the newcomers came

¹⁵³ Chou Wan-yao 周婉窈, *Haixing xi de niandai: riben zhimin tongzhi moqi Taiwan shi lunji* 海行兮的年代: 日本殖民統治末期臺灣史論集 [Marching towards the sea: essays on the history of late Japanese colonial period in Taiwan] (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2002), 12.

¹⁵⁴ Steven E Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence*, 14.

¹⁵⁵ Chen Tsui-lien, *Taiwan ren de dikang yu rentong: 1920-1950*. Chen’s study is controversial. Another group of scholars have argued that the development of an indigenous Taiwanese identity inside Taiwan (excluding the overseas Taiwan independence movement) only began in the late 1970s. See Hsiao A-chin, *Huigui xianshi*.

from different walks of life. In the early 1950s, the newspaper was filled with advertisements posted by a wide range of new businesses and services operated by *waishengren*. These included publishing houses, department stores, legal offices, beauty parlours, barber shops, garment stores, hotels, restaurants, patisseries, dental offices, medical clinics, Chinese medicine pharmacies, and so on. Most of these new businesses and services were set up by migrants from major urban centres in China such as Shanghai, Beijing, Nanjing, and Chongqing. Despite incredible hardship, the great migration contributed to a vibrant, rich, and diverse society that we witness in present-day Taiwan. While these hundreds of advertisements constitute another piece of evidence to show that not all the civil war migrants were KMT officials and military personnel, they also help demonstrate an important point—the social impacts of the great exodus were unevenly felt by the local communities. A majority of the mainlander migrants, whether rich or poor, congregated in a few major cities on the island.

According to statistical records kept by the Taipei Municipal Government (台北市政府), the capital city of “Free China” was home to approximately 160,000 *waishengren* in 1955 (military personnel excluded). This accounted for about 38% of the city’s total population, and the highest among any urban centres on the island (see **Figure 3**).¹⁵⁶ As a matter of fact, roughly one third of the non-military mainlander population resided in Taipei in 1955.¹⁵⁷ In the same year, *waishengren* living in other major cities such as Kaohsiung (高雄), Keelung (基隆), Taichung (臺中), and Tainan (臺南) were 15%, 10%, 8%, and 8% of the total mainlander population in Taiwan.¹⁵⁸ In sum, over 70% of the non-military mainlander population lived in the above five major cities in 1955.

¹⁵⁶ Taipei shi zhengfu zhuji shi 臺北市政府主計室 (ed.), *Taipei shi tongji yaolan* 臺北市統計要覽 [The statistical abstract of Taipei municipality] (Taipei: Taipei shi zhengfu, 1957), 35-36.

¹⁵⁷ Li Tung-ming 李棟明, “Jutai waishengji renkou zhi zucheng yu fenbu” 居臺外省籍人口之組成與分布 [The profile of the mainlander population in Taiwan], *Taipei wenxian* 11/12 (1970): 75.

¹⁵⁸ Kaohsiung shi zhengfu zhuji shi 高雄市政府主計室 (ed.), *Kaohsiung shi tongji yaolan* 高雄市統計要覽 [The statistical abstract of Kaohsiung City] (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung shi zhengfu, 1962), 7; Keelung shi zhengfu zhuji shi 基隆市政府主計室 (ed.), *Keelung shi tongji nianjian* 基隆市統計年鑑 [The statistical yearbook of Keelung City] (Keelung: Keelung shi zhengfu, 1959), 11-12; Taichung shi zhengfu zhuji shi 臺中市政府主計室 (ed.), *Taichung shi tongji yaolan* 臺中市統計要覽 [The statistical abstract of Taichung City] (Taichung: Taichung shi zhengfu, 1959), 6; Tainan shi zhengfu zhuji shi 臺南市政府主計室 (ed.), *Tainan shi tongji yaolan* 臺南市統計要覽 [The statistical abstract of Tainan City] (Tainan: Tainan shi zhengfu, 1962), 19-20.

There were three possible reasons for the concentration of civil war migrants in major urban centres. First, cities had a large number of empty houses and buildings left by the repatriated Japanese, and offered better social services and business opportunities. Second, being the sites where state institutions were located, major cities offered more government jobs and had better migrant support networks for the newcomers.¹⁵⁹ Third, communal tension between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese, which was intensified by the 228 Incident prior to the arrival of the great exodus, might have prevented some *waishengren* from taking up residence in the countryside, where they became a small minority among unfriendly and indifferent locals. Some of the mainlanders had little idea about the Incident and the Taiwanese discontent. They were nevertheless frustrated by the inability to communicate effectively with the local population, and were offended by the fact that many still preferred to speak Japanese in public.¹⁶⁰ After all, the mainlanders had suffered immensely during the war against Japan. They regarded any vestige of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, or anything Japanese in general, with intense and absolute detestation.

One of the most immediate problems created by the influx of a large number of refugees into major cities on the island was commodity shortage and hyperinflation, a severe economic downturn that wiped out hard-earned savings and threatened the livelihood of average citizens. In the late 1940s, the KMT squeezed Taiwan for agricultural produce, timber, and other natural resources to help the war effort in China.¹⁶¹ This contributed to the scarcity of food and daily necessities on the island. The

¹⁵⁹ The ads posted on the advertisement section of *Zhongyang ribao* suggest that there were three main types of mainlander communal support networks and groups during the early 1950s. Most of these operated in Taipei. They were the “native place associations” (同鄉會), the “alma mater societies” (同學會), and the “professional/trade associations” (同業公會). The mainlander native place associations will be the subject of investigation in Chapter 4 *Cultural Nostalgia*.

¹⁶⁰ While the KMT authorities wanted the native Taiwanese to stop using their regional dialects (Hoklo and Hakka) and learn Mandarin, some of the mainlanders did not agree to the idea, as many of them would also prefer to speak their own regional dialects. However, the speaking of Japanese was a totally different matter because Imperial Japan was considered by Chinese mainlanders as their sworn enemy, an evil force that was defeated after years of mass suffering and bloodshed. See “Shiyong riwen zhi jinling” 使用日文之禁令 [Laws banning the use of Japanese], *Zhongyang ribao*, August 12, 1950, 1; “Yanjin zai shuo riyu” 嚴禁再說日語 [The speaking of Japanese is strictly prohibited], *Lianhe bao*, June 7, 1955, 3. Denny Roy has suggested that some native Taiwanese refused to learn Mandarin and continued to speak Japanese as a gesture of defiance against the KMT. See Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, 95.

¹⁶¹ See Wang Hong-zen, “Class Structures and Social Mobility in Taiwan in the Initial Post-war Period,” *The China Journal* 48 (2002): 62-63.

situation was made worse by the failed currency reforms in mainland China, which resulted in the collapse of the nation's financial system. The flood of deserted soldiers and war refugees exacerbated Taiwan's fragile and over-exploited economy. From August 1945 to the end of 1950, the increase of commodity prices in Taiwan was over 600% per year. In order to stem the runaway inflation, the Taiwan Provincial Government initiated a series of measures, including a currency reform of their own in June 1949.¹⁶² The exchange rate was a jaw-dropping 40,000 old Taiwanese dollars for one New Taiwanese Dollar (NTD). The move effectively wiped out the life savings of many, mainlanders and Taiwanese alike, but benefitted a small number of hoarders, speculators, and corrupt KMT officials.¹⁶³ The reflections of a mainlander mining bureaucrat who had been stationed on the island since late 1945 provide a dramatic description of the economic crisis in early-postwar Taiwan:

The commodity price in 1949 was 7000 times of the commodity price in 1945. But this was only according the official index announced by the government. In reality, I felt that the situation could be a lot more serious. I could recall that right before the currency reform in 1949, when I lived in *Tazheng ting santiao tong* (near the first section of Changan East Road today) [台北大正町三條通/長安東路], I heard the vendors hawking at my front door every morning: "crispy fried rolls, 8,000 bucks each, come buy quickly!" The same sack used to sell for a dime or two when I first came to Taiwan. For this particular item, the price increase was 40,000 times to 80,000 times!¹⁶⁴

While a total breakdown of the economy and currency regime in Taiwan was averted with the arrival of the American aid in early 1951, life was extremely harsh for the

¹⁶² "Taiwan sheng bizhi gaige fangan" 臺灣省幣制改革方案 [The currency reform policy in Taiwan Province], *Zhongyang ribao*, June 15, 1949, 3.

¹⁶³ For more on Taiwan's post-war economic woes, see Pan Chih-chi 潘志奇, *Guangfu chuqi Taiwan tonghuo pengzhang de fenxi: minguo sanshisi nian zhi sishiyi nian* 光復初期臺灣通貨膨脹的分析: 民國三十四年至四十一年 [An analysis of the hyperinflation in early post-war Taiwan: 1945-1952] (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1980); Wu Tsung-min 吳聰敏, "Taiwan zhanhou de exing wujia pengzhang (1945-1950)" 臺灣戰後的惡性物價膨脹 (1945-1950) [Taiwan's hyperinflation (1945-1950)], *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan* 10 (2006): 129-159.

¹⁶⁴ Yan Yan-tsun 嚴演存, *Zaonian zhi Taiwan* 早年之臺灣 [Taiwan during the early years] (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 1989), 45. Yan (1912-?) was a mining specialist and petrochemical expert trained in Germany. The government sent him to Taiwan to help manage the island's natural resources and mining industry. Yan witnessed the 228 Incident in 1947. He spent a great deal of time talking about it in his memoirs. The memoirs was published in Taiwan after the lifting of the martial law. During the 1950s, Yan contributed to the development of Taiwan's chemical industry before going abroad to the United States in 1965. Yan worked in the Stanford Research Institute International and retired in the United States.

average people in Taiwan throughout the decade of the 1950s, whether the civil war migrants or the semi-Japanized local population.¹⁶⁵ With the CCP invasion from across the Strait looming and the firing zeal of the anti-Communist crusade burning, the regime-in-exile devoted most of the island's meagre resources towards rebuilding the tattered and demoralized army.¹⁶⁶ Very little was allocated for economic development and infrastructure building, hence there were other shortages that could not be addressed in a short period of time.

One of such shortages was housing. Take Taipei as an example, the city only had about 270,000 residents at the end of 1946, after the departure of approximately 130,000 Japanese nationals. In 1946 and early 1947, there were still plenty of empty facilities and bombed-out buildings in central districts of Taipei occupied formerly by the Japanese.¹⁶⁷ However, political turmoil and socioeconomic crisis as a result of the KMT's rapid disintegration in China soon forced investors and rich capitalists in the lower Yangtze region to relocate their assets and families to safe havens such as Hong Kong and Taiwan.¹⁶⁸ In a relatively short period of time, vacant dwellings left by the repatriated Japanese were filled, and there were not enough housing facilities to accommodate the tidal wave of civil war migrants arriving daily from different regions of China. The rates of annual population increase in Taipei during this time period were astonishing—168% in 1947, 139% in 1948, and 217% in 1949. As a result of the mainlander exodus, the city's population more than doubled in just a few years, reaching about 560,000 in 1951.¹⁶⁹

Besides the obvious gap between supply and demand, there was a more important underlying cause for the housing crisis in early post-war Taipei, and it really helped illustrate the importance of social class in understanding the history of the great exodus.

¹⁶⁵ “Dapi meiyuan yundi Tai” 大批美援運抵臺 [A large quantity of US aid arrived in Taiwan], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 28, 1951, 3. For more on the role played by the American aid in stabilizing Taiwan's post-war economy, see Lin Ping-yan 林炳炎, *Baowei da Taiwan de meiyuan (1949-1957)* 保衛大台灣的美援 (1949-1957) [VS de Beausset's Order of Brilliant Star] (Taipei: Taiwan dianli zhushi huishe ziliao zhongxin, 2004).

¹⁶⁶ From 1952 to 1956, the military and defence expenditures were about 80.9% of the total budget. Even in the late 1980s, more than half of the national budget went to the military. See Wang Hong-zen, “Class Structures and Social Mobility in Taiwan in the Initial Post-war Period,” 77.

¹⁶⁷ Yuan Yi-fang 元義方 (pseudonym), interviewed by the author, Chungshan District, Taipei, June 18, 2009.

¹⁶⁸ Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 195-196.

¹⁶⁹ *Taipei shi tongji yaolan*, 1952, 9-12.

In late 1948 and early 1949, financial capital brought by the first wave of wealthy and upper-middle class migrants from Shanghai and other major cities in China fuelled the real estate market in Taipei. Land speculators, wealthy entrepreneurs, retired generals, and exiled politicians bought and accumulated substantial amounts of property, often with the help of corrupt officials and KMT party members.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, when the main thrust of the refugee population began to pour into the island in late 1949, many fled with the withdrawing army and arrived with nothing at all, there were not only insufficient facilities to house everyone, but the price of real estate and rent had also become exorbitant. The following account in *Changliu* written by a mainlander journalist who toured the island's major cities in 1950 offers a vivid portrayal of the prevailing hardship among ordinary civil war migrants:

The most difficult challenge one faced living in Taiwan is the lack of housing. There is no workable solution to this problem, which is visible everywhere. There has been an increase in population, but no new housing projects being built. Those who came to the island with gold bars have no trouble renting or buying (a place). However, ordinary citizens such as freelance writers are in deep trouble. They cannot even find a place to rent. Moreover, the payment is shockingly high. A dwelling the size of “yizhang jianfang” (一丈見方, 3.3 square meters) will cost up to one “dan” (担, 50 kilograms) of rice a month. Fortunately, the state provides accommodations for those who are in the army, the civil service, and the education sector. These people do not have to live on the streets. In the streets of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Taichung, one can see a lot of *waisheng* people camping out on the streets. This is such a disgrace to the scenery (大煞風景).¹⁷¹

While filthy and dejected refugees wandering on the streets constitutes an unpleasant sight for a magazine columnist who was keen to describe the exotic and beautiful sceneries of Taiwan for his readers, the situation for a majority of civil servants who were lucky enough to have a roof over their heads was not much better. The accommodations provided by the state were often overcrowded and uncomfortable. The following passage written in 1950 by a low-ranking civil servant clearly illustrates this

¹⁷⁰ See Wu Chuo-liu 吳濁流, *Taiwan lianqiao* 台灣連翹 [Taiwanese forsythia] (Taipei: Caogen, 1995), 232-233; Hsueh Yueh-shun, “Taiwan rujing guanzhi chutan,” 232.

¹⁷¹ Ching Hsin 清心, “Lu Tai zaxie” 旅臺雜寫 [Travel accounts in Taiwan], *Changliu* 暢流 [Flow] 2:10 (1951): 30. Although this article was published in *Changliu* in January 1951, the account was written in December 1950.

point. This person wanted to move out of a jam-packed government dormitory because he thought it was no place to raise a family. He also hinted that the dilemma his family faced was common among the exiled community. These mundane murmurs attest to the scarcity of resources and the lack of options for many low-ranking government employees when they first came to the island:

We have about 30 families living together. All are cramped into this two-storey old Japanese-style building, including two bachelors. Each family occupies two rooms, with the size only four pieces of tatamis. It is not very spacious. The total number of people is over a hundred, and two thirds are children. This is something that we take a lot of pride in. The ages of these children range from the newly-born to 14. There are more boys than girls according one count. They jump and play all the time in every corner of this wretched place. The noise is unbearable.¹⁷²

The scarcity of housing contributed to a number of problems and disputes. Both the lower class *waishengren* and the native Taiwanese came out on the losing end.¹⁷³ First, there was widespread abuse and embezzlement in the scrambling over the Japanese estates that saw the transfer of a large amount of “enemy properties” into Nationalist party coffers and private hands at discounted prices or no cost at all.¹⁷⁴ The KMT apparently got the biggest piece of the pie, but many politically-connected *waishengren* and a small number of wealthy native Taiwanese also became chief beneficiaries in the process.¹⁷⁵ Though many of the Japanese facilities appropriated by the KMT were turned into dormitories for government employees and army barracks, from the passage shown above, we can see that the distribution of resources was by no means equal.

¹⁷² Luo Fan 落帆, “Woyu sanqian” 我欲三遷 [I want to move three times], *Changliu* 1:4 (1950): 12.

¹⁷³ “Fanghuang jiufen wenti” 房荒糾紛問題 [Disputes relating to housing shortage], *Zhongyang ribao*, June 4, 1951, 2.

¹⁷⁴ See Hsu Ching-jui 許清瑞, “Taiwan richan yizhuan anjian shencha zhi yanjiu” 臺灣日產移轉案件審查之研究 [An investigative report of the transfer of Japanese properties in Taiwan], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 20, 1952, 2; January 21 1952, 4; January 22, 1952, 4.

¹⁷⁵ See Chen Liang-chou 陳亮洲, “Zhanhou jinzhi richan zhuan yi riqi zhengyi chutan” 戰後禁止日產轉移日期爭議初探 [A preliminary study of the dispute surrounding the ban on transferring Japanese properties after the war], *Taiwan fengwu* 臺灣風物 [The Taiwan folkways] 51:3 (2001): 73-90; Wang Hong-zen, “Class Structures and Social Mobility in Taiwan in the Initial Post-war Period,” 56-59; Li Fu-chung 李福鐘, “Kuomintang dangchan qude zhi leixing fenxi” 國民黨黨產取得之類型分析 [A categorical analysis of the KMT’s assets], *Taiwan shixue zazhi* 5 (2008): 147-152.

Second, besides the scrambling over the Japanese estates, there were also instances of fraud and outright theft of public properties. As a matter of fact, it was quite easy for the mainlander officials to take advantage of the system and seize state possessions. An article published in the arts and literature section of *Lianhe bao* in 1957 entitled “huyu-ism” (淪浴主義) offers a scathing satire of the situation.¹⁷⁶ In colloquial Shanghainese, *huyu* (淪浴) is a term describing a common hoax by prostitutes and dance girls. They would first trick rich male patrons into marriage. Then, after these women got their hands on their husbands’ possessions, they would find various excuses for divorce or simply disappear. In Taiwan during the 1950s, the same term was used in certain upper-class mainlander circles to describe a simple but clever scheme to commandeer state properties. The perpetrators would first secure an official appointment that came with comfy accommodations. Then, they would resign from office, but continue to occupy the government housing. Some even sold these public properties, or rented them out for profit. The illegal selling or renting of state assets led to a considerable number of housing disputes with newcomers being evicted after spending a fortune purchasing or renting stolen government properties.¹⁷⁷ Some of these housing disputes even led to suicides.¹⁷⁸

Knowing that the structures left by the Japanese were not enough to house the civil war exiles, the regime-in-exile drew up various schemes to build official dormitories for civil servants and public housing for the average citizens throughout the 1950s.¹⁷⁹ However, the lack of adequate funding meant that a great number of these projects remained on the drawing board. Most of the hundreds of “military family’s villages” or *juancun* that dotted the landscape of Taiwan were not built until the 1960s and 70s.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Tung Shih-chang 童世璋, “Huyu zhiyi” 淪浴主義 [huyu-ism], *Lianhe bao*, February 16, 1957, 6.

¹⁷⁷ “Women de jiating bao hukou zhao fangzi” 我們的家庭報戶口找房子 [Our family, getting registered and finding a house], *Zhangyang ribao*, January 17, 1952, 4.

¹⁷⁸ “Wei beipo qianchu zhuwu Ku Yu-fen touhe yujiu” 為被迫遷出住屋顧瑜芬投河遇救 [Ku Yu-fen jumped into the river because she was evicted from her house. She was rescued.], *ibid.*, May 31, 1951, 4.

¹⁷⁹ “Shifu nixiang Taiyin daikuan jianzhu pingmin zhuzhai” 市府擬向臺銀貸款建築平民住宅 [The city government plans to obtain loans from the Bank of Taiwan to build housings for the average people], *Zhongyang ribao*, May 9, 1951, 4; “Zhongshi jianzhu shimin zhuzhai jie jue yanzhong fanghuang” 中市建築市民住宅解決嚴重房荒 [Taichung City is building public housing for its citizens in an effort to end serious housing shortage], *Lianhe bao*, October 4, 1951, 5.

¹⁸⁰ Although the history of the military family’s villages dated back to the beginning of the great exodus, most of the structures and facilities were not built until after the late 1950s. Due to the lack of revenue and

There were a small number of housing projects that were actually constructed during the 1950s.¹⁸¹ Nonetheless, reports from *Zhongyang ribao* in the early 1950s indicated that these new dwellings were too expensive for the average households.¹⁸² In 1956, a vitriolic column article published in *Lianhe bao* revealed that most of the 700 new residents of the state-sponsored “public housings” were members of the National Assembly (國民大會), the Legislative Yuan (立法院), the Control Yuan (監察院), as well as other high KMT officials. Some of these political elites already owned a few pieces of properties in Taiwan, prior to obtaining these new “public housings.”¹⁸³

The behaviours of upper class mainlanders deepened the misery of average migrants. They also gave rise to the third and the most serious problem engendered by the severe housing shortage—“illegal buildings” (違章建築). With no local contacts, no political connections, and very few options, a great number of lower class migrants and latecomers erected temporary shacks and built makeshift housings on whatever vacant pieces of land they saw, using whatever pieces of scrap materials they could scavenge. These shantytown neighbourhoods became the cancers of Taiwan’s inner cities, a vexing problem that troubled the municipal administrators for decades.¹⁸⁴

the prevailing mentality of a temporary stay on the island, these communities were often established by individual army units themselves right beside the camps. The builders made use of both old Japanese facilities and whatever scrap materials they could find to erect makeshift shelters. It was not until 1956, under the aegis of Madame Chiang Kai-shek and her “Chinese Women’s Anti-Communist and Anti-Soviet League” (中華婦女反共抗俄聯合會), the gathering of public donations for the construction of *juancun* began. See “Cong Chiang furen de weida yundong kan fangwu zhengce” 從蔣夫人的偉大運動看房屋政策 [Viewing housing policy from Madame Chiang’s great movement], *Zhongyang ribao*, May 26, 1956, 2. Also see Ho Ssu-mi 何思騷, *Taipei xian juancun diaocha yanjiu* 臺北縣眷村調查研究 [An investigative report of Taipei County’s military family’s villages] (Taipei County, Banciao: Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei County Government, 2001), 26-30.

¹⁸¹ “Xinjian pingmin zhuzhai yi dabufen wangong 新建平民住宅已大部完工 [Most of the new public housings have been completed], *Lianhe bao*, February 28, 1952, 2; “Shoupi shimin zhuzhai liangzhou hou ke jungong” 首批市民住宅兩周後可竣工 [The first batch of citizen housings will be completed in two weeks], *ibid.*, June 6, 1956, 3.

¹⁸² “Huodong fanghu taigui qi wuren wenjin 活動房屋太貴迄無人問津 [The portable houses are too expensive; there have been no buyers], *Lianhe bao*, October 31, 1951, 6; “Pingmin zhuzhai taigui” 平民住宅太貴 [Public housings are too expensive], *Zhongyang ribao*, October 2, 1952, 3.

¹⁸³ “Bubi qianxu” 不必謙虛 [There is no need for modesty], *Lianhe bao*, March 17, 1956, 3.

¹⁸⁴ The most prominent case of a dispute between shantytown residents and the Taipei Municipal Government in the 1950s was the extension of Roosevelt Road (羅斯福路). See “Luosifu lu weizhang jianzhu sanyue di qian zidong chaichu” 羅斯福路違章建築三月底前自動拆除 [The illegal buildings in Roosevelt Road need to be dismantled at the end of March], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 19, 1950, 4; “guidi jiuming!” 跪地救命! [kneeling and begging for our lives!], *ibid.*, February 19, 1951, 1; “Beishi tuojuan Luosifu lu zhengfu jueyu wancheng weijian jinqi fenduan chaichu” 北市拓建羅斯福路政府決予完成違建

Native Taiwanese politician and entrepreneur Wu San-lien (吳三連, 1899-1988)¹⁸⁵ was the mayor of Taipei from 1950 to 1954. He talked candidly about the problems created by the influx of soldiers and refugees in an autobiography published posthumously:

All of a sudden, a large number of troops withdrew to Taiwan. So we put them in elementary school classrooms. With units after units of soldiers settling in, students had to be broken into two or three different groups for class. This affected the progress and the quality of teaching greatly. When [and where] the troops should be billeted and when to pull them out became an important task during my four and a half year tenure as mayor.

Billeting soldiers was a relatively easy job compared to the settling of refugees from mainland China. In order to survive, refugees sought accommodations first. Fewer problems occurred if they simply took possession of vacant state facilities. If private properties were commandeered, disputes would arise. Many refugees simply built makeshift housings on any vacant land they came across. These dwellings became illegal buildings. The management of these neighbourhoods became a nagging problem in Taipei's administration for decades.¹⁸⁶

Wu's testimony attested to the plight of lower class migrants and rank-and-file soldiers. He also alluded to the fact that many native Taiwanese, especially city dwellers and school children, bore the brunt of the mainlander migration. The social and economic costs of the great exodus persisted throughout the 1950s. An editorial in *Lianhe bao* suggested that some of the regiments were still stationed in public schools in 1957, and the situation continued to cause great disturbance to normal school life.¹⁸⁷

今起分段拆除 [The widening of Roosevelt Road in Taipei; the city government is determined to accomplish the task; the illegal buildings will be demolished starting from today], *ibid.*, July 11, 1955, 4.

¹⁸⁵ Educated in Japan, Wu San-lien had been a renowned journalist and political activist during the Japanese colonial period. He became a prominent local Taiwanese political leader after the retrocession, and was elected to the National Assembly in mainland China. In 1950, the KMT appointed Wu the mayor of Taipei. He won a second term in the election of 1951. After serving out his term, Wu was elected to the Taiwan Provincial Assembly, and became one of the most influential Taiwanese politicians in early post-war Taiwan. His illustrious career later expanded into the realms of manufacturing, banking/insurance, mass media, and education. For more, see Tsai Chin-yan 蔡金燕, *Wu San-lien zhuan* 吳三連傳 [The biography of Wu San-lien] (Nantou City: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1997).

¹⁸⁶ Wu San-lien 吳三連, *Wu San-lien huiyilu* 吳三連回憶錄 [The memoirs of Wu San-lien] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1991), 133.

¹⁸⁷ "Guojun zhuxiao wenti jidai jie jue" 國軍駐校問題亟待解決 [The problem of billeting soldiers in schools needs to be resolved], *Lianhe bao*, March 3, 1957, 1.

Housing shortage was by no means the only social problem in Taipei brought on by the civil war refugees. The rapid increase in the city's inhabitants meant that there were not enough schools, hospitals, police stations, fire departments, amenities, utility services, roads, and public transportation.¹⁸⁸ Wu San-lien described himself as a “beaten head and scorched brow administrator” (焦頭爛額父母官) serving as mayor of Taipei.¹⁸⁹ The existence of a considerable floating population and the remarkable growth of peddlers and food-stands, especially in shantytown neighbourhoods, contributed to surging crime rates and a sanitation nightmare.¹⁹⁰ A comprehensive social survey report produced by a university in Taipei in 1961 showed that 25% of the “destitute population” (貧民) in Taipei were *waishengren*. Furthermore, the same report indicated that among the impoverished inhabitants recorded and categorized, mainlanders formed a majority of the most indigent group in the city at the time.¹⁹¹ The compiler of the survey suggested that the great migration did not raise the overall poverty level of the city, given that the percentage of destitute mainlanders was lower than the overall percentage of the mainlanders in Taipei (around 38%, see **Figure 3**). Nevertheless, he pointed to the fact that lower class *waishengren* were among the poorest because they were war refugees who came to the island with absolutely nothing.¹⁹² Another social survey conducted by the Taipei City Police in the late 1950s and early 60s revealed that more than a quarter of

¹⁸⁸ For the various social problems caused by the tremendous population growth in early post-war Taipei, see “Shiyihui linshi jiemu Wu San-lien baogao shizheng” 市議會臨時揭幕吳三連報告施政 [The city council convened for a temporary session. Wu San-lien reported on municipal administration], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 20, 1951, 4; Wu San-lien, “Beishi renkou jizeng shizheng jihua kunnan,” *ibid.*, October 4, 1952, 3.

¹⁸⁹ Wu San-lien, *Wu San-lien huiyilu*, 136.

¹⁹⁰ “Sanbing youmin youduoshao qunian zhuohuo qiqian ren,” *Zhongyang ribao*, January 27, 1950, 4; 蔡策 Tsai Tse, “Benshi de huanjing weisheng” 本市的环境衛生 [The sanitation of our city], *ibid.*, June 5, 1950, 4; “Women dui shizheng dangju de qiwang” 我們對市政當局的期望 [Our expectations for the municipal authorities], *ibid.*, October 4, 1952, 2; “Shifu dingding jindu zhengli shirong weisheng” 市府訂定進度整理市容衛生 [The city government made plans to address environmental problems and sanitation], *ibid.*, January 3, 1953, 3.

¹⁹¹ Wang Wei-lin 王維林, *Wushi niandu Taipei shi pinminqu zhi diaocha yu fenxi* 五十年度臺北市貧民區之調查與分析 [A survey and analysis of the slums in Taipei City, July 1961-June 1962] (Taipei: Taiwan Provincial Chung Hsing University, the Department of Sociology and Social Work, College of Law and Commerce, 1962), 45-54.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 52.

the 9,549 rickshaw pullers in the city were lower class mainlanders. Most of them came from Fujian and Shandong.¹⁹³

In addition to the problems associated with forced relocation and poverty, newspaper reports and population statistics seem to point to another form of social malaise associated with the great migration—the rapid expansion of an illegal sex industry. Probing into the intricate issues of sex and gender relations offers a window into one of the most critical features of the exiled population—a severe imbalance in sex ratio. Combined with the political situations and social conditions in post-war Taiwan, the shortage of mainland women had serious consequences.

There is ample evidence from both *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* to show that unlicensed places offering illicit sexual services, such as wine houses (酒家), tea rooms (茶室), coffee shops (咖啡館), and “public eateries” (公共食堂)¹⁹⁴ spread like wildfire in major cities on the island during the late 1940s and early 1950s, despite various efforts by the state and the local governments to clamp down on these establishments.¹⁹⁵ In fact,

¹⁹³ In 1958 and 1960, the Taipei City Police conducted two comprehensive surveys on the registered and unionized rickshaw pullers in the city. In December 1965, partial results of the surveys were posted on the weekend edition of *Lianhe bao* (聯合周刊), when the government put forward a plan to end rickshaw pulling, and turn the pullers into taxi drivers. According to the partial survey results posted, roughly 25% (2,355) of the 9,549 pullers in Taipei were mainlanders, 1,242 (13%) were from Fujian Province, and 1,113 (12%) were from Shandong Province. The survey also shows that only 21% (2,055) of 9,549 were native Taiwanese residing in Taipei. Therefore, the actual percentage of the mainland pullers could be a lot higher. See “Sanlun zhuan ye fubi xingtan” 三輪轉業撫脾興嘆! [Alas! The end of rickshaw pullers], *Lianhe bao*, the weekend edition, December 21, 1965, 5.

¹⁹⁴ The “public eateries” in early post-war Taiwan were different from communal canteens in China during the Great Leap Forward. They were only “public” in name. All were in fact private restaurants. In October 1949, in order to promote austerity and to put a ban on extravagant banquets and parties, the KMT authorities in Taiwan put forward a law that required all restaurants and wine houses to change their names to “public eateries.” There were also strict guidelines on the types of food and alcohol served, as well as the behaviour of the waitresses. Nonetheless, in reality, it was quite hard for the state to enforce these regulations. For more, see Chen Yu-jen 陳玉箴, “Shiwu xiaofei zhong de guojia 、 jieji yu wenhua zhanyan: rizhi yu zhanhou chuqi de 「Taiwan cai」 ” 食物消費中的國家、階級與文化展演: 日治與戰後初期的「臺灣菜」 [Nation, class, and cultural presentation: “Taiwanese cuisine” during Japanese colonial era and early post-war Taiwan], *Taiwan shi yanjiu* 15:3 (2008): 174-176.

¹⁹⁵ “Xianshi nuyiyuan zuo jihui...bing taolun tezhong jiujia cunfei wenti” 縣市女議員昨集會...並討論特種酒家存廢問題 [Female county and city representatives gathered yesterday...and they also discussed issues related to the continuation of licensed wine houses], *Zhongyang ribao*, October 12, 1952, 3; “Jinghua yincha shi” 淨化飲茶室 [Purify tea rooms], *ibid.*, November 15, 1953, 3; “Zhuofang sichang ru laju zhan dangju ming shangtao guanli fenghua qu banfa” 捉放私娼如拉鋸戰當局明商討管理風化區辦法 [Dealing with illegal prostitutes is like a tug of war. The authorities will discuss laws regulating the red light districts tomorrow], *Lianhe bao*, December 16, 1951, 7; Ho Fan 何凡, “Kafei guan de dengguang” 咖啡館的燈光 [The light of coffee shops], *ibid.*, April 1, 1955, 6; Ho Fan, “Dayu zhi zheng” 大慾之爭 [The

sex-oriented businesses were so lucrative that when local governments tried to legalize them in certain areas, disputes arose as to where the “red-light districts” should be located.¹⁹⁶ There were also reports indicating that government employees and members of armed forces were frequent customers. Officials who wielded tremendous power and influence indulged in extravagant debauchery, and used these businesses as meeting places for their social networking and under-the-table dealings, while common soldiers vented their pent-up lust and frustrations.¹⁹⁷ The situation of a large number of government officials and elected representatives paying routine visits to these special establishments was illustrated by an interesting news report during the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis. When the crisis occurred, the government put a strict ban on state employees going to wine houses in order to promote “wartime living” (戰時生活). Consequently, many of the “special businesses” (特種行業) in Taipei became empty, whereas those in the neighbouring towns started booming because the implementation of the ban was less thorough outside Taipei.¹⁹⁸

Lower class native Taiwanese women were often the victims of greedy local gangsters and businessmen that catered to mainlanders’ demands. The rapid growth of sex-oriented businesses contributed to the sales of young girls, particularly “adopted daughters” (養女)¹⁹⁹ in early-postwar Taiwan. There were a great number of news

debate on sex], *ibid.*, May 9, 1957, 6; Ho Fan, “zaitan chashi jiujia” 再談茶室酒家 [More on tea rooms and wine houses], *ibid.*, September 6, 1958, 6.

¹⁹⁶ Hsu Ko 許可, “Fengshan huzheng fenghua qu yanzuo qinglou zhurenweng” 鳳山互爭風化區願作青樓主人翁 [The fight for the right to set up red-light districts in Fengshan], *Lianhe bao*, June 12, 1956, 5; “Taichung changmen she hechu xian butong you fenzheng” 台中娼門設何處喜厭不同有紛爭 [The dispute over the location of red-light district in Taichung], *ibid.*, July 24, 1956, 5.

¹⁹⁷ “Xuejian sichang liao” 血濺私娼寮 [bloodshed at an illegal whorehouse], *Zhongyang ribao*, May 30, 1956, 5; “Jiguan yanke” 機關宴客 [Official parties], *Lianhe bao*, January 14, 1956, 3; “Zhici yijia?” 只此一家? [There is only one store?], *ibid.*, February 10, 1957, 2; “Xixie dahan jin fengkuang huajie qiangsha yi xianbing” 攜械大漢近瘋狂花街槍殺一憲兵 [A big guy armed with gun went crazy and shot dead a military police], *ibid.*, November 15, 1960, 3.

¹⁹⁸ “Jiewen jiujia hechu you” 借問酒家何處有 [Where can I find wine houses?], *Lianhe bao*, September 30, 1958, 5.

¹⁹⁹ “Adopted daughters,” or *sim-pua* (媳婦仔) in Taiwanese, were minors brought into a household as future wives or concubines for the family’s sons. Before 1945, it was a common practice not only in Taiwan, but in some parts of south China, in places that saw a severe imbalance in gender ratio. There were usually financial transactions involved between the two families, with one practically selling their daughter to the other one. Some of the *sim-pua* were abused by their adoptive families and treated like slaves. Others were sold into prostitution. For more on *sim-pua*, see Arthur P Wolf and Huang Chieh-shan, *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1980), 82-93.

reports and social commentaries describing minors from poor families forced into sexual slavery.²⁰⁰ A civil committee sponsored by the Taiwan Province Women's Association (臺灣省婦女會) was established in 1951 to rescue and assist these women.²⁰¹ Unfortunately, the committee lacked both the financial resources and personnel to help an overwhelming number of underprivileged girls sold into prostitution against the powerful pecuniary interests behind the booming sex industry.²⁰² A report filed by the Taipei City Police in 1956 indicated that 66% of the illegal prostitutes in the city were in fact "adopted daughters."²⁰³

Female prostitution and human trafficking were not new to the island. Taiwan was home to a great number of brothels, wine houses, theatres, and even dance halls during the Qing and throughout the entire Japanese colonial period, all providing sexual services to their male patrons.²⁰⁴ The scale, business practices, and even the nationality of the prostitutes working in a variety establishments differed, especially the disparity between businesses set up to satisfy Taiwanese lust and high-ended pleasure quarters geared to satiate Japanese desire. Yet the underlying social and demographic roots for the flourishing of red-light districts in Taiwan before 1945 had always been the same—an

²⁰⁰ There were a plethora of evidence to suggest that the exploitation of *sim-pua* became more serious in the 1950s compared to the Japanese colonial period and the Qing. See Hai-yin 海音, "Taiwan de sim-pua" 臺灣的媳婦仔 [The adopted daughters in Taiwan], *Zhongyang ribao*, March 12, 1950, 7; "Burong zuoshi de yangnu wenti" 不容坐視的養女問題 [We cannot just sit and watch on the problem of adoptive daughters], *ibid.*, May 21, 1951, 2; Fan Yi-fan 范亦範, "Cong hukou tongji kan Taiwan yangnu wenti" 從戶口統計看臺灣養女問題 [Looking at the problem of adoptive daughters in Taiwan from the perspective of population registry], *ibid.*, August 2, 1951, 2.

²⁰¹ This was the "Committee for the Movement to Protect Adopted Daughters in Taiwan Province" (臺灣省保護養女運動委員會). See Su Yu-chen 蘇玉珍, "Lu Chin-hua yu baohu yangnu" 呂錦花與保護養女 [Lu Chin-hua and the protection of adopted daughters], *ibid.*, July 24, 1955, 3.

²⁰² "Baohu yangnu weihui shengan zishen nanbao" 保護養女委會深感自身難保 [The Committee for the Protection of Adoptive Daughters faced great crises], *Lianhe bao*, December 3, 1958, 5.

²⁰³ "Jingcha zhengsu Baodou li yangnu heduo zhui fengchen" 警察整肅寶斗里養女何多墜風塵 [The police swept the Baodou District; they found many adopted daughters among the prostitutes], *ibid.*, March 15, 1956, 3.

²⁰⁴ For more on the history of the sexy industry in Taiwan, see Ko Jui-ming 柯瑞明, *Taiwan fengyue* 臺灣風月 [The wind and moon in Taiwan] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1991); Lin Hung-hsun 林弘勳, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan yanhua shihua" 日治時期臺灣煙花史話 [A history of the sex industry in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period], *Si yu yan* 33:3 (1995): 77-128; Chiu Hsu-ling 邱旭伶, *Taiwan yida fenghua* 台灣藝姐風華 [The grace of Taiwanese geisha] (Taipei: Yushan she, 1999); Chu Te-lan 朱德蘭, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan hualiu ye wenti (1895-1945)" 日治時期臺灣花柳業問題 (1895-1945) [The problem of sex industry during the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan (1895-1945)], *Guoli zhongyang daxue wenxueyuan renwen xuebao* 國立中央大學文學院人文學報 [National Central University journal of humanities] 27 (2003): 99-174.

imbalanced sex ratio and the presence of a large number of lone males away from home. These included male migrant workers in cities and towns, foreign sailors in ports, and the presence of the Japanese colonial officials, business elites, and garrison troops.²⁰⁵

A distinctive feature of the exiled mainlander population was an imbalance in the sex ratio. According to the 1956 census, among the civilian population, the male to female ratio was approximately 2:1 (See **Table 1**). If military personnel (lowest estimate around 270,000) were included, the ratio could be as high as 3:1. Moreover, for the civilian population, if age was taken into consideration, the imbalance in sex ratio was quite pronounced in groups between the ages of 30 and 66. The ratio reached 4:1 in particular among the migrant population between the ages of 44 and 52.²⁰⁶ These are clearly illustrated by the population age-sex pyramids for both the native Taiwanese and the mainlanders constructed according to the population statistics recorded by the 1956 census (See **Figure 4 and 5**).²⁰⁷

From the mainlander age-sex pyramid (**Figure 5**), we can presume that among the civilian population, there were a large number of middle-aged men who probably left their families in China and came to the island alone. This assumption is confirmed by a great number of marriage and dating ads (徵婚啟事/徵友啟事) posted by mainlander men in the classified ads section of *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* during the 1950s, as well as a plethora of reports, discussions, and anecdotes published in both newspapers.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Chu Te-lan, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan hualiu ye wenti," 103-105.

²⁰⁶ It is important to take age into consideration when looking at population statistics because *waishengren* age cohort 1-4 and part of age cohort 5-9 were obviously born in Taiwan. The Taiwan-born *waishengren* are often referred to as "second generation mainlanders" (第二代外省人). Their life experience and worldview are sometimes quite different from their parents or grandparents who migrated from China. There is also a difference in gender balance. As we can see in **Figure 5**, these two young mainlander age cohorts exhibit a more balanced gender ratio, a ratio similar to their native Taiwanese counterparts.

²⁰⁷ For more detailed information about the imbalance in sex ratio among the civil war exiles, see Li Tung-ming, "Jutai waishengji renkou zhi zucheng yu fenbu," 66-72.

²⁰⁸ Hsiao Fan 曉帆, "Jiashu" 家書 [Letters from home], *Zhongyang ribao*, May 26, 1952, 6; Nan Yeh 南野, "Dadan yishenqing" 打單一身輕 [I am happy to be alone], *ibid.*, January 11, 1954, 4; "Chengyi de qiqiu liangwei nanshi zhenghun 誠意的祈求兩位男士徵婚 [A sincere pleading for mate from two single men], *ibid.*, January 24, 1961, 4; Hou Chen-wu 侯振宇, "Guanggun tan hunyin" 光棍談婚姻 [Single guys talking about marriage], *Lianhe bao*, April 22, 1957, 2; "Jingmei fuhui dengji wubai kuangnan zhengqiu shunu" 景美婦會登記五百曠男徵求淑女 [Five hundred single men registered with Jingmei Women's Association in order to meet the ladies], *ibid.*, March 12, 1959, 2; "Yuanyang pu jiandie tu wuguang shise yinyuan lu 鴛鴦譜鵝鰈圖五光十色姻緣路 [Mandarin ducks and love birds, different roads to marriage], *ibid.*, weekend edition, January 15, 1966, 6. Some of the oral histories published in recent decades also offer strong supporting evidence to this claim. For example, a White Terror victim provides a vivid account of a group

In 1952, in a special series dedicated to family life in *Zhongyang ribao*, the dean of law from National Taiwan University (國立臺灣大學) talked about the legal implications for a prevailing phenomenon among the well-to-do *waishengren* called “Formosan wives” (寶島夫人). These were men who already married and had families in China, but found new local partners and established new households in Taiwan. These individuals thus committed bigamy, a crime punishable by law.²⁰⁹

Despite evidence of early marriages, not all were willing to start a new family in exile, or had the financial means to establish a household during the 1950s, hence the “special needs” that the thriving red-light businesses mentioned earlier catered to. The indigenous population, from a strictly mathematical point of view, must provide male civil war migrants with local partners because of the shortage of mainlander females. Nevertheless, intimate relations and marriages are not a zero-sum game determined simply by numbers, but influenced by socioeconomic factors, familial influence, historical chances, and personal choice. In the next chapter, we will learn that a majority of *waishengren* considered their stay on the island to be temporary during the 1950s. They also looked down on the local population, especially lower class native Taiwanese women. These became obstacles to mainlander/native Taiwanese unions.

On the other hand, average Taiwanese families did not want their daughters to tie the knot with mainlander men either. Communal tension and linguistic/cultural barriers were important factors. Moreover, the native Taiwanese parents feared their daughters and grandchildren would follow their husbands to China, if the Nationalist regime managed to fight its way back to the mainland.²¹⁰

To make matters worse, the regime-in-exile put forward laws that prohibited non-commissioned officers and common soldiers from getting married throughout the 1950s.

of lone middle-aged *waishengren* males residing in a hostel in downtown Taipei during the 1950s. These individuals survived on gold and valuables they brought from China. See Huang Hsiu-hua 黃秀華, *Wuhan da lushe* 武漢大旅社 [Wuhan Grand Hostel] (Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1995), 148-154.

²⁰⁹ Mei Chung-hsie 梅仲協, “Hongsi yilu faling qiantiao” 紅絲一縷法令千條 [One red thread, thousand law articles], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 16, 1952, 3-5.

²¹⁰ Hsu Hsueh-Chi 許雪姬, “1950 niandai qianhou Taiwan de shengji wenti: you 《pangguan zazhi》 tanqi” 1950年代前後台灣的省籍問題: 由《旁觀雜誌》談起 [The problem of provincial identity in Taiwan at the onset of the 1950s: the discussions in *Spectacle Miscellanea*] (A paper presented at Society and Culture on both Side of the Taiwan Strait during the Cold War, Taipei, Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica, June 5-6, 2008), 15.

With their plans to recover mainland China militarily, the Nationalist authorities worried that the military personnel would marry local women and settle down on the island. The laws were proclaimed by Chiang Kai-shek in January 1952. They were called the “Statutes for the Marriage of Army, Air Force, and Naval Personnel under the Martial Law Period” (戡亂時期陸海空軍軍人婚姻條例). Under these regulations, only the officers were allowed to marry, but they had to obtain permission from their superiors. The ban on marriage officially ended in 1959. However, the bureaucratic hurdles one had to jump over to apply for permission to get married in the army remained. The lack of money and local connections prevented many from even trying.²¹¹ For the tens of thousands of impoverished retired soldiers who received little pension, the prospects of getting married on the island were bleak.²¹²

In the final analysis, social class remains an important determinant. While many of the well-to-do mainlanders could manage to acquire “Formosan wives,” a sizable portion of the lower class could not. An EYVAC survey published in 1986 shows that about 41% of the veterans under the care of the state retirement homes were still not married, and 48% of the same surveyed population left their wives and families in mainland China decades ago.²¹³ In 1993, Wang Fu-chang examined the marriage patterns in Taiwan by analyzing the government’s nationwide social survey data. He discovered that mainlander/native Taiwanese marriages before 1971 had been mostly between mainlander men and native Taiwanese women. Very few mainlander women married native Taiwanese men. Furthermore, there was a considerable age gap (12-17 years) between the spouses—older *waishengren* husbands and young native Taiwanese wives. The data suggest that many of the *waishengren* who married local women married rather late in their lives.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Ma Tien-cheng 馬天成 (pseudonym), interviewed by the author, Taipei County, Hsintien, June 13, 2009.

²¹² For more on the marriage problems of lower class Nationalist soldiers, see Hu Tai-li 胡台麗, “Yuzai yu fanshu—Taiwan 「rongmin」 de zuqun guanxi yu rentong” 芋仔與番薯—台灣「榮民」的族群關係與認同 [Taros and sweet potatoes—ethnic relations and identity of “glorious citizens” in Taiwan], *Minzuxue yanjiusuo jikan* 69 (1990): 118-124.

²¹³ EYVAC (ed.), *Rongjia anyang rongmin shenghuo yixiang diaocha baogao* 榮家安養榮民生活意向調查報告 [An investigative report of the veterans living in EYVAC retirement homes] (Taipei: EYVAC, 1986), 48.

²¹⁴ Wang Fu-chang 王甫昌, *Guangfu hou Taiwan hanren zuqun tonghun de yuanyin yu xingshi chutan* 光復後台灣漢人族群通婚的原因與形式初探 [Causes and patterns of ethnic intermarriage among the Hoklo,

2.5 War, Exile, and an “Atomized” Community

The information provided in the previous sections opens the way for interpreting the mainlanders as an “atomized” exiled community dominated by lone males during the 1950s. Though many might have fled with their relatives, amidst the utter chaos created by the war, families were broken up, and it was mostly the men who got away. A number of social ills brought by the great exodus—shantytown neighbourhoods, rising crime rates, and illegal sex trades—can be attributed to these swarms of unbridled males. This was also a diverse migrant community, consisting of not only those who stood on the top of the political and social order, but also lowly civil servants, small businessmen, as well as vagrants and army deserters who were just dirt poor. The last section of this chapter will probe into the effects of war and forced relocation on the communal life of *waishengren*. It will present further evidence to suggest that the forced relocation to Taiwan broke communal and familial ties, and produced a large number of socially isolated individuals, in particular among the lower class male population. This atomization of community was an important historical factor leading to the forging of close ties between *waishengren* and the KMT.

The population data provided by the 1956 census demonstrate that a majority of the civil war migrants in Taiwan left home when the whole of China was engulfed in the bloody struggle between the KMT and the CCP, a war that claimed millions of lives.²¹⁵ **Figure 1** indicates that over 70% of the 640,072 civilian population arrived between 1948 and 1950. Close to 50% of the population arrived in the year 1949 alone.

There was a clear discrepancy in *waishengren*’s relocation experiences, however. This discrepancy was determined by political connections and social class. A small number of Nationalist elites and wealthy entrepreneurs—like Chiang Kai-shek’s entourage of generals, high officials, prominent socialites, and big capitalists from Shanghai, Nanjing, and other major urban centres—arrived comfortably on planes and

Hakka, and mainlanders in post-war Taiwan: a preliminary investigation], *Minzhu xue yanjiusuo jikan* 76 (1993): 58-66.

²¹⁵ While the 1956 census offers reliable information about the civilian migrants, there are no detailed records for the arrival of military personnel by year. However, judging from available sources, a majority of the army units arrived in Taiwan during the late 1940s and the early 1950s. See Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusiji da chetui*, 60-69, 333-336.

commercial liners. They came with their families and plundered wealth in China. The hundreds of thousands of routed soldiers and ordinary refugees escaped at the last moment under extraordinary and often excruciating circumstances. A majority were separated from their friends and families. The chaotic mass flight in the closing days of the civil war had important implications for *waishengren*'s history in Taiwan.

In a recently published book which focuses on human suffering and social transformation in China during the Anti-Japanese War, historian Diana Lary uses several *chengyu* (成語) or popular Chinese proverbs such as “The family is destroyed, the people lost” (家破人亡) and “forced to leave home and wonder aimlessly” (流離失所) to depict the misery of common people caught up in the cataclysm of war and revolution.²¹⁶ The brutality and deprivation of prolonged warfare changed society profoundly, breaking down the established order and tearing up the fabric of society. Lary goes so far as to say what China experienced during the eight years of bloody war against Japan not only had great implications for the CCP's rise to power, but also for what happened during the Cultural Revolution: “creating a social dissolution and fragmentation in which people could easily turn on each other.”²¹⁷ The author would like to suggest what happened during the Chinese civil war and the course of the exodus to Taiwan was the same kind of dissolution and fragmentation described by Lary.

The most striking and visible evidence of social dislocation and breaking down of established communal ties is the overwhelming number of personal ads searching for missing persons (尋人啟事). One could find more than a dozen of these in the classified ads section of *Zhongyang ribao* almost every single day between 1949 and 1952. There were also minor surges in the number of ads when soldiers and refugees arrived from Vietnam (1953), Burma (1953-54, 1961), Korea (1954), and Dachen Islands (1955). Some of the ads were put up by people in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, looking for relatives in Taiwan. The ads posters were common folks trying to rebuild divided families, shattered communities, and social networks in exile. Many searched desperately for families and friends separated during the ferocious fighting and the chaotic mass flight. There is no way for contemporary researchers to tell whether these people found

²¹⁶ Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War*, 4, 56.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

their loved ones on the island. Yet each single ad offers a tiny piece of the puzzle for the hundreds of thousands of stories that made up the mosaic of the great exodus.

Besides searching for missing friends and relatives, there were other ways to rebuild community in exile. For example, there were a small number of personal ads asking for adoptive parents (徵義父母啟事). These were posted by young mainlander men who wanted to establish new family ties in Taiwan by becoming the adoptive sons of elder couples. The following are three examples extracted from *Lianhe bao*:

1. A 25-year-old male from Manchuria, who was a student of a national university. He is a public servant now. He came to Taiwan by himself, and often feels lonely. He is asking for adoptive parents regardless of provincial origin. The potential candidates should be over 40 years of age from a good and honest family. Those who are interested in this proposal, please send letters to the following address....²¹⁸
2. A 23-year-old male from Zhejiang Province, graduated from an arts college in mainland China. He is now working in a military institute. He is a trustworthy and hardworking fellow. However, he is often beset by loneliness after work. He is asking for adoptive parents regardless of provincial origin. The candidates should come from a good and honest family. It does not matter if they are rich or poor, but they must have an interest in arts and literature. Those who are interested should send a letter with pictures....²¹⁹
3. A 26-year-old male from Shenyang (瀋陽) in Manchuria. He was a university student in China. He graduated from a local college in Taiwan last year. He now works for the KMT. He feels deeply lonely. He is asking for adoptive parents regardless of provincial origin. Suitable candidates should be middle-class, over 40, and came from a good and honest family....²²⁰

The contents of these ads suggest these young men had good education and secured government jobs (or they claimed to be such individuals). The main reason they were looking for adoptive parents was because they felt socially isolated in Taiwan. It is also interesting to note that many of the same ads emphasize that provincial origin is not a factor. Does this mean these young mainlanders were looking forward to the possibility of being adopted into a native Taiwanese family, or was there something more behind these ads? Without further evidence, there is no definite answer to this question.

²¹⁸ *Lianhe bao*, July 3, 1952, 5.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1952, 5.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1952, 2.

Nonetheless, ads for adoptive parents provide another piece of evidence to illustrate the social fragmentation of the mainlander population who arrived on the island in the late 1940s and the early 1950s.

Another type of commercial advertisement that offers important clues to gender and social relations in early post-war Taiwan is the employment ads for mainlander maids (徵外省女傭啟事). When the author first went through the missing persons ads in *Zhongyang ribao*, he noticed that there were a great number of requests for domestic help posted by *waishengren* families during the early 1950s. Some of these ads even specified provinces and regions in China that the potential applicants should hail from.²²¹ Many of the same ads ran for an extended period of time, suggesting that the demands were not met. While the scarcity of female migrants has been illustrated by the 1956 census, these commercial ads demonstrate how gender intertwined with social class. There was not only a scarcity of *waishengren* women, but also a scarcity of lower class *waishengren* women. This helps explain why so many of the impoverished Nationalist veterans had trouble finding wives. It also points to the fact that social isolation was more readily felt among the lower class male migrants.

In a personal interview with an octogenarian upper-class mainlander couple from Shanghai, the author was able to confirm this interpretation. When I asked the wife: “Did you hire a maid from Shanghai?” Her response was: “How was that possible? It was too hard.” She then proceeded to tell the author she hired a native Taiwanese maid with disappointing outcomes.²²² Following this lead, the author searched and found many writings of *waishengren* about their Taiwanese maids during the 1950s and the 1960s. These writings indicate that many well-to-do mainlander families did hire Taiwanese women in lieu of mainlander maids. The latter were very hard to come by.²²³ These

²²¹ For a few examples, see “Zheng laoma” 徵老媽 [Hiring babysitters], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 17, 1950, 8; “Zhaogu nuyong” 招雇女傭 [Hiring maids], *ibid.*, February 10, 1950, 7; “Xiao jiating zhengqiu nuyong” 小家庭徵求女傭 [A small family is asking for maids], *ibid.*, February 20, 1952, 6; “Zheng Xiangji nuyong” 徵湘籍女傭 [Maids from Hunan wanted], *ibid.*, March 7, 1952, 6.

²²² The informant was the wife of a high-ranking customs official from Shanghai. She and her husband were the individuals of highest social standing among the 20 civil war migrants interviewed by the author. Chiang Meng-tieh 江夢蝶 (pseudonym), interviewed by the author, Tianmu, Taipei, June 19, 2008.

²²³ Tsu Yueh 子曰, “Banjia yingou xianu” 搬家陰溝下女 [Moving, the ditch, and the maid], *Lianhe bao*, October 9, 1952, 6; Li Wan 麗婉, “Amei de chanhui” 阿妹的懺悔 [The repentance of A-mei], *Changliu* 1:8 (1950): 19; Shih Tsui-feng 施翠峰, “「Xianu」 kaoyuan” 「下女」考源 [The origin of Taiwanese

writings will become important primary sources in the next chapter, when the relationship between *waishengren* and the native Taiwanese is discussed.

In addition to evidence from the classified ads section of *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao*, communal disintegration of *waishengren* can also be illustrated by several key social indicators—crime rates, suicide rates, and the number for the burials of “pedestrian patients.” When browsing through the social news section of *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao*, the author noticed that there were a plethora of news reports on mainlander crimes and suicides during the 1950s.²²⁴ In these tales of human degeneracy and personal tragedy, a lot of the protagonists were lower class mainlander men. Nevertheless, the newspapers also reported on native Taiwanese/aboriginal crimes and suicides. Aggregated social data were needed in order to provide a more meaningful assessment of the evidence found in the news media. The author thus embarked on a quest to search for clues in the archives. After months of leafing through a mountain of government surveys and confidential statistic reports, several pieces of collaborating evidence were found. These suggested that *waishengren* were indeed overrepresented in recorded number of crimes and suicides in Taiwan during the 1950s.

According to the statistical data compiled by two different government agencies, the mainlander population had higher crime rates, suicide rates, and higher number for the burials of “pedestrian patients” compared to the native Taiwanese population. **Figure**

maid], *ibid.*, 12:9 (1955): 20-21; Chou Chun-liang 周君亮, “Xianu liezhuan” 下女列傳 [The stories of Taiwanese maids], *ibid.*, 14:4 (1956): 21-23.

²²⁴ The offences included thievery, armed robbery, rape, and murder. The following are just a few examples from a large pool of similar reports. See “Jiehuo qiangjie qifan qiangjue” 結夥搶劫七犯槍決 [A gang of seven robbers executed], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 24, 1950, 4; “Taiyuan lu jian” 太原路劫案 [The robbery at Taiyuan Road], *ibid.*, September 15, 1951, 3; “Wulai maochong yingxiong toujun bucheng zuozai.” 無賴冒充英雄投軍不成作賊 [A hoodlum posed as a veteran hero then stole army properties], *ibid.*, August 8, 1951, 5; “Taoyuan qiangjie an liang daitu luowang” 桃園搶劫案兩歹徒落網 [Robbery in Taoyuan. Two suspects were arrested], *Lianhe bao*, March 17, 1956, 3; “Ji yin youqi youhai qiming Chang Tien-yu panchu sixing” 既淫友妻又害其命常天佑判處死刑 [For killing a friend and raping the friend’s wife, Chang Tien-yu received the death penalty], *ibid.*, March 18, 1960, 3. For reports on *waishengren* suicides, see “Dushu fuzhai, zisha weisui Shandong lao huojia” 賭輸負債自殺未遂山東佬獲救 [A guy from Shandong attempted suicide because of gambling debts, but he was saved], *ibid.*, February 20, 1952, 6; “Yinwu shenfenzheng yi qingnian zisha” 因無身分證一青年自殺 [A young man committed suicide because he did not have an identification card], *ibid.*, October 30, 1953, 5; “Qingnian toulu, heyi jing zisha?” 青年投旅何意竟自殺? [Why did this young man commit suicide in a hotel?], *ibid.*, January 12, 1954, 3; “Shandong zhuanghan touhe zisha” 山東壯漢投河自殺 [A big guy from Shandong jumped into the river to commit suicide], *ibid.*, September 23, 1955, 3; “Chuanji nanzi xuandi zisha” 川籍男子旋邸自殺 [A guy from Sichuan killed himself at home], *ibid.*, March 9, 1960, 3.

6 and **Figure 7** illustrate the overall crime rates and suicide rates between the two populations. The data for **Figure 6** were collected by the Taiwan Provincial Police Administration²²⁵ between 1959 and 1972. **Figure 7** was constructed according to the number of suicides reported by the Taipei Municipal Government Bureau of Social Affairs between 1948 and 1973.²²⁶

In **Figure 6**, we can see that the mainlander crime rates were roughly twice that of the Taiwanese crime rates during the late 1950s and the early 1960s. Nonetheless, *waishengren* crime rates declined steadily throughout the 1960s until there was very little difference between the two populations at the end of the decade. **Figure 7** exhibits similar pattern. The civil war migrants had significantly higher suicide rates compared to the native Taiwanese population during the 1950s, but the rates diminished rapidly in the 1960s. It is interesting to note that for both populations, there is a discernible difference between suicide rates recorded in the 1950s and rates recorded during the 1960s.

The number of suicides in the KMT army during the 1950s is suspected to be quite high, but the information has never been disclosed. These deaths were often covered up by the military under the guise of sickness or training accidents. There are some contemporary narratives that offer remarkable accounts of suicides in the KMT army. For example, one personal testimony states that:

During the first five year, everyone wanted [the government] to recover the mainland. Later on, our nostalgia grew intense. Suicides became a serious problem around 1956. When you heard gun shots in the barracks, you didn't even have to check. Someone would come and tell you that so-and-so from X Battalion, Y Company, and Z Platoon had just killed himself. These people couldn't go home. They couldn't write letters. Correspondence was like collaborating with the Communist bandits! This was why these folks ended their lives.²²⁷

²²⁵ The Taiwan Provincial Police Administration (臺灣省警務處) belonged to the Executive Yuan. It was the highest office governing all police forces in Taiwan. The Administration was abolished in 1999. All of its personnel were incorporated into the ROC National Police Agency (內政部警政署).

²²⁶ Taiwan sheng jingwu chu 臺灣省警務處 (ed.), *Taiwan sheng fanzui tongji* 臺灣省犯罪統計 [Crime statistics in Taiwan Province], Vol.1-15 (Taipei: Taiwan sheng jingwuchu, 1959-1972); Taipei shi zhengfu zhuji shi (ed.), *Taipei shi tongji yaolan*, 1960, 1966, 1974.

²²⁷ See Sun Li-mei 孫立梅, "Waishengren de 「jia」: duoyi de jiyi yu yidong de rentong" 外省人的「家」: 多義的記憶與移動的認同 [Waishengren's "home": multiple memories and floating identity] (Master's Thesis, Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University, Institute of Anthropology, 2000), 36.

The third and the most striking indicator for communal disintegration among *waishengren* in early post-war Taiwan was the burial numbers for “pedestrian patients” in Taipei. “Pedestrian patients”²²⁸ (行旅病人) were loners and drifters buried by the state with public funds. These people were the poorest and the most isolated individuals. They had neither the financial means nor family and friends in Taiwan to arrange their funerals. The figures for the mainlander and the native Taiwanese burials are shown in **Table 2**.²²⁹ These cases were reported and handled by the Taipei Municipal Government Bureau of Social Affairs from 1948 to 1965. A browse through the numbers suggests that the mainlander burials exceeded the Taiwanese burials every year except 1956, 1964, and 1965. Nonetheless, *waishengren* constituted about 38% of the Taipei’s population during this time (see **Figure 3**). When the figures are adjusted to the mainlander and the native Taiwanese’s respective population percentages in the city, the contrast between the two becomes even more outstanding. **Figure 8** illustrates the results after the adjustment. The diagram suggests that if the size of the two populations was roughly equal, there would be two to five times more mainlander “pedestrian patients” than the native Taiwanese. **Figure 8** also shows that the difference between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese decreased over time, in accordance with the patterns exhibited by the crime rates and the suicide rates. The results from these three sets of statistical data might suggest several different things. First, some of the worst effects of communal dislocation were temporary. Second, the civil war migrants had established new social networks and contacts on the island over time. Third, the floating population had gradually “settled down,” or the state had tightened its noose on vagrants, criminals, and army deserters.

Finally, another important piece of supporting evidence for the civil war migrants’ communal isolation in early post-war Taiwan can be found in the recorded cases of mental illnesses by the National Taiwan University Hospital (臺大醫院, NTUH).²³⁰

²²⁸ There is an obvious typo in the original survey report. The English translation for 行旅病人 is “p[a]destrian” patients. To correct the mistake, the author uses the word “pedestrian” instead. See Taipei shi zhengfu zhuji shi (ed.), *Taipei shi tongji yaolan*, 1966, 544.

²²⁹ There is another set of data for the relief of “pedestrian patients” alongside the burial numbers. From 1946 to 1955, the native Taiwanese figures were higher than the mainlander figures. However, from 1956 to 1965, the number of mainlanders who received assistance from the Taipei Municipal Government far exceeded the native Taiwanese. See *ibid.*, 544.

²³⁰ The National Taiwan University Hospital started as a military hospital in Taipei. It became the first modern medical institution on the island. The Hospital was incorporated into the elite Taipei Imperial

Established by the Japanese colonial government in 1895, the Hospital is the birthplace of modern medicine in Taiwan and the leading medical research institute on the island. It was probably the only place in early post-war Taiwan that conducted research on psychological disorder, and offered treatments to patients. According to a comprehensive summary report published by the Psychiatric Department of the NTUH, *waishengren* were overrepresented in the number of mental patients during the 1950s and the early 1960s.²³¹ For example, in 1954, among the 1,428 individuals treated by the Hospital, 908 (64%) were mainlanders; 520 (36%) were native Taiwanese.²³² Mainlander males in particular constituted a majority of the patients.²³³ The head psychiatrist who put forward the NTUH report concluded that the main reason for a large number of mainlander men seeking treatment during the 1950s and the early 1960s was “the pressure generated by sudden relocation and change” (急遽遷徙變動所產生的壓力). Similar to the pattern shown by the above-mentioned social data, the number of mainlander psychiatric patients went down sharply during the 1960s. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that the native Taiwanese patients exhibited a reverse trend of steady increase, surpassing the mainlanders during the 1960s.²³⁴

Some might suggest that the state-sponsored healthcare, benefitting exclusively the military personnel and the public servants, might be the main contributing factor to a higher number of mainlander patients in the NTUH compared to the native Taiwanese.

University (台北帝国大学) in 1938, which later became the National Taiwan University in 1945. Nowadays, the Hospital continues to be recognized as the foremost medical research institute on the island.

²³¹ The report offers statistical analysis of close to 60,000 cases of mental illnesses treated by the NTUH between 1954 and 1974. A small number of aborigines and foreign nationals also received treatments from the Hospital during the 21-year span, but they were excluded from the study. See Lin Hsien 林憲, “Shehui bianqian chongji xia zhi jingshen jibing” 社會變遷衝擊下之精神疾病 [Psychological illnesses related to social transformation], in *Taiwan shehui yu wenhua bianqian (xiace)* 臺灣社會與文化變遷 (下冊) [Social and cultural changes in Taiwan, volume II], (eds.) Chiu Hei-yuan 瞿海源 and Chang Ying-Hwa 章英華 (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1986), 596-598. The author would like to thank Professor Wang Fu-chang from the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica for providing this report.

²³² *Ibid.*, 597.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 604.

²³⁴ Lin Hsien, “Shehui bianqian chongji xia zhi jingshen jibing,” 597. In 1974, the number of Taiwanese patients became 2.4 times of the mainlander patients. The higher number of Taiwanese patients in the early 1970s could be attributed to the severe economic downturn during the 1973 oil crisis. Many of the small and medium enterprises owned by the native Taiwanese suffered tremendous losses during the crisis. Contrary to the Taiwanese situation, a large number of the mainlanders served in the military or worked in the public sector. Their lives were not drastically affected by the recession because many mainlander families received food and other government subsidies on a regular basis.

However, this line of argument cannot explain why the number of mainlander patients dropped over time. Most importantly, it fails to explain why the mainlanders were only overrepresented in mental disorder, but not in other category of illnesses treated by the NTUH.²³⁵

The author would like to end this final section by presenting a passage extracted from an article. The article appeared in the social news section of *Lianhe bao* in 1954. It featured a special lecture given at an academic conference by Li Hsu-chu (李旭初), an American-trained military doctor who became the chief medical officer of the ROC Air Force.²³⁶ Dr. Li's speech offers a rather detailed and illuminating description of the psychological problems experienced by the civil war migrants in Taiwan during the 1950s. It also encapsulates the two main arguments of this entire chapter—the importance of social class and gender in understanding the history of *waishengren*, and how the great exodus produced an atomized exiled community:

Psychological disorder constitutes another looming threat to the well-being of individuals coming to Taiwan from mainland China. [I] will identify several factors. First, there is a sense of frustration. Among those who crossed the sea to Taiwan, some would constantly reflect on their glorious days in China, which is in stark contrast to the wretched state they are in at the moment, and pity themselves. There are some, who once commanded an entire regiment, now pulling rickshaws for a living. Drowned in the memories of the past, these people felt they spent their entire lives working hard but achieved nothing. Second, as time goes by, their nostalgia for home and desire to see separated relatives locked behind the iron curtain become stronger. In times when brothers went their separate ways and families scattered, many would break down and weep upon seeing sceneries or items that touched upon their deepest feelings of nostalgia. Third, the work load for most government employees is heavy, but the pay is rather low. In order to survive, most of the civil servants, even some of those who are in managerial positions, have to work long hours for peanuts. They are drained most of the time, both physically and emotionally. Fourth, living in times of great upheaval and social chaos, parents worried about their children's upbringing and education. It is also hard to sustain marriages, or maintain a semblance of normal family life. These contribute to additional emotional strain, making it hard for people to remain in good spirits. Single men and women are especially hard-hit by the situation. The prolonged exile makes some of them wonder if they would ever get a chance to get married and settle down. Fifth, [under these

²³⁵ Lin Hsien, "Shehui bianqian chongji xia zhi jingshen jibing," 604.

²³⁶ "Kexue yanjiang" 科學演講 [Science lectures], *Lianhe bao*, June 24, 1954, 3.

circumstances], individuals would become susceptible to illnesses. It is a wretched and miserable sight once they are bedridden.²³⁷

2.6 Concluding Remarks

The scene described by Arthur Doak Barnett on Hainan Island in late 1949 was how a majority of the civil war migrants left China for Taiwan. What arrived at the shores of Taiwan between 1948 and 1955, besides a small minority of KMT elites and wealthy entrepreneurs, were a ragtag group of traumatized, impoverished, and socially isolated individuals. A large number of them were men. They were former landlords, intellectuals, students, small merchants, state employees, rank-and-file soldiers, and people from different walks of life. Many of these faceless individuals were forced to leave home under dramatic circumstances. Regardless of their previous social status and relationship with the Nationalist regime in China, they had lost all worldly possessions upon reaching island. During the course of the exodus, they also witnessed hundreds of lives, including their own friends and relatives, perished right in front of their eyes in the horrendous carnage unleashed by the deep hatred between the KMT and the CCP. This is not counting the eight years of bloody struggle against Japan that turned the country upside down prior to the civil war. For some of the exiles from Manchuria, the journey had been much longer.

Never before in the annals of Chinese history has there been a generation of people whose lives were so deeply scarred by the atrocity of modern warfare and so profoundly shaped by exile and displacement. During the course of the interviews with the 20 civil war migrants in Taiwan, I was brought to tears by many of the personal stories. I marvelled at the strength of human spirit for survival against all odds. Grandiose political ideology and unwavering conviction to the anti-Communist cause did not sustain a young pregnant army wife with bound feet when she travelled days and weeks for hundreds of miles to locate her husband through combat zones littered with mangled corpses. Rather, it was the unyielding determination to bring a new life into this world and to reunite with

²³⁷ Liu Tsung 劉宗, “Dalu lai Tai renshi de ziran diren: duofa jibing de jiantao” 大陸來台人士的自然敵人: 多發疾病的檢討 [The natural enemies of the migrants from mainland China: examining the different illnesses], *Lianhe bao*, July 5, 1954, 3.

the love of her life that got her through the war and landed her in Taiwan.²³⁸ The words of a retired army colonel from north Jiangsu Province was also telling. This individual came from a landlord family. He was still in school when the war broke out. After his village was occupied by the CCP, he lost all contacts with home, as well as financial support. He lied about his age to join the KMT army with the help of his distant cousin who had enlisted earlier. When asked why he had decided to pursue a military career at such a young age, the reply was simply this: “How else could a lone teenage boy survive this war?”²³⁹

There are many different ways to understand the history of modern China and the history of the Chinese civil war. Rather than seeing things from the perspectives of revolution, class struggle, state building, nationalism, and military history, the author chooses to look into how common folks experienced the war. Rather than seeing things in terms of the two contending forces—the KMT versus the CCP; counterrevolutionaries versus revolutionaries; capitalist ideology versus socialist ideology...etc.—the author suggests we view things in shades of grey in order to understand how ordinary people reacted to cataclysmic events and made life-changing decisions under extreme circumstances. Most of the people who left China for Taiwan in the late 1940s and the early 1950s had no idea that their exile would last for decades, and their lives would become intertwined with the Nationalist regime on the island of Taiwan.

War separated families, uprooted individuals from established social networks, and broke communities into pieces. The great exodus contributed to the social problems and communal disintegration discussed in this chapter. We will later learn in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 that, like many other migrant communities who were forcibly displaced in world history, *waishengren* showed a strong desire to return and a tendency to reminisce and romanticize about their homeland in exile. Nonetheless, different from political migrants in other parts of the world, the civil war exiles in Taiwan relocated with an authoritarian regime-in-exile and never travelled outside of their national border. The semi-Japanized local population were made to bear the political, economic, and social

²³⁸ An Man-li 安曼麗 (pseudonym), interviewed by the author, Chungli (中壢 Zhongli) City, Taoyuan County, August 2, 2008.

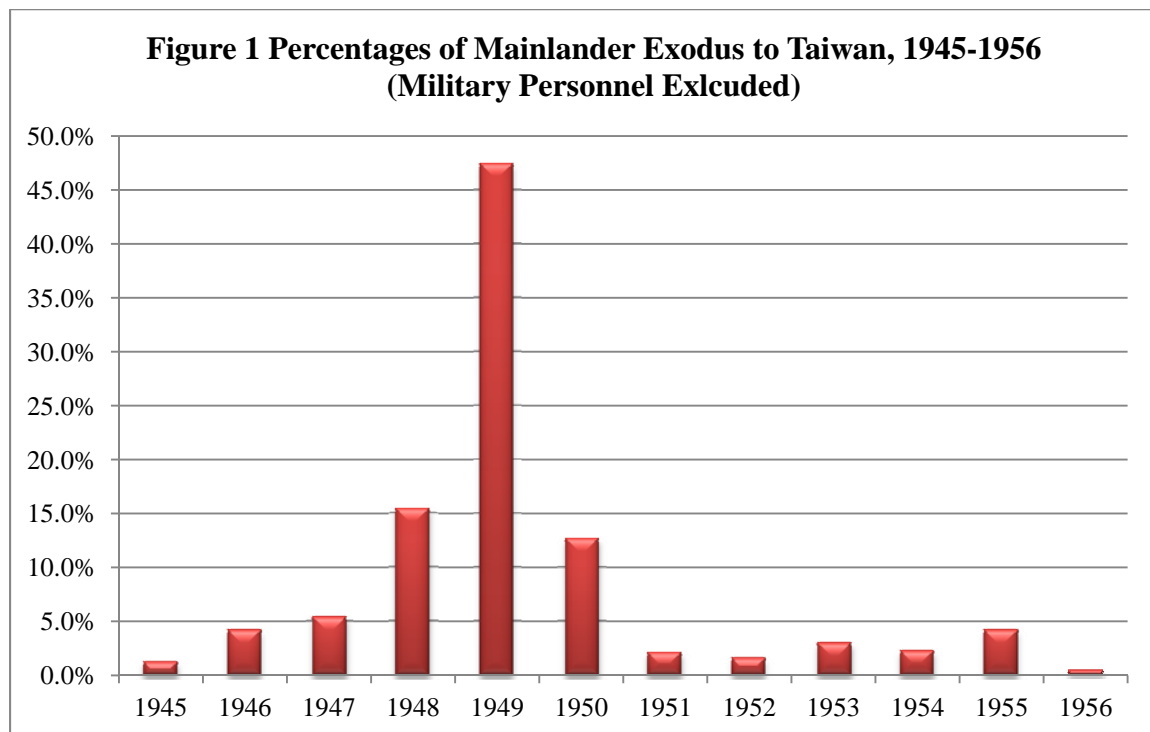
²³⁹ Liang Han-sheng 梁漢生 (pseudonym), interviewed by the author, Chungli City, Taoyuan County, June 20, 2009.

costs of the mainlander migration. They suffered in silence. As we shall see in the next chapter, the conditions created by the great exodus and the Cold War would shape the relationship between the civil war migrants and the regime-in-exile, as well as the relationship between the civil war migrants and the semi-Japanized local population.

Chapter 2 The Exodus: Tables and Figures

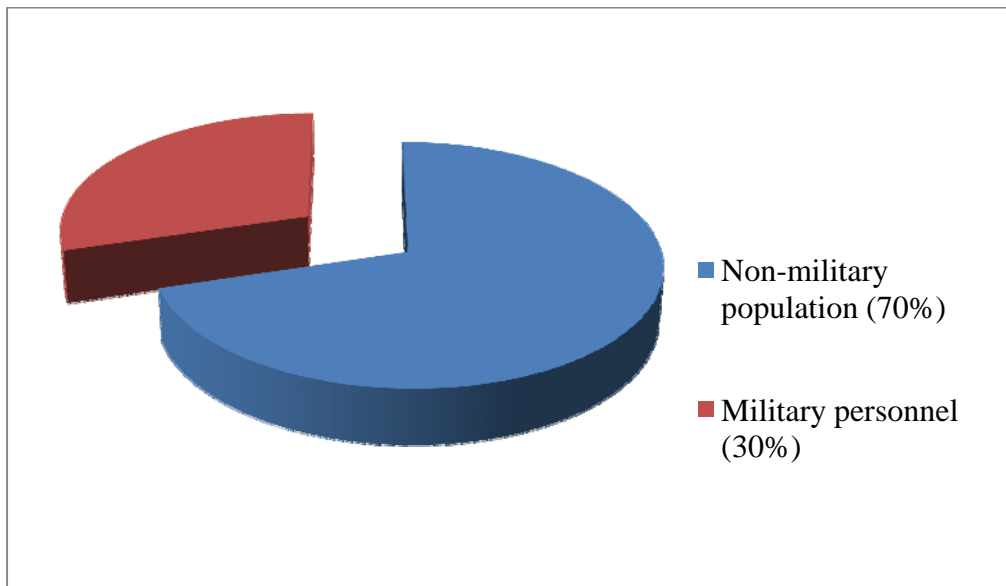
Table 1 The Number of Mainlanders Entering Taiwan, 1945-56 (Military Personnel Excluded)

Year	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio
1945	7915	6822	1093	6.24154
1946	26922	18062	8860	2.0386
1947	34339	23594	10745	2.19581
1948	98580	61679	36901	1.67147
1949	303707	199026	104681	1.90126
1950	81087	58604	22483	2.60659
1951	13564	8465	5099	1.66013
1952	10012	6632	3380	1.96213
1953	19340	13932	5408	2.57618
1954	14851	10829	4022	2.69244
1955	26838	15459	11379	1.35856
1956	2917	1620	1297	1.24904
Sum	640072	424724	215348	1.97227

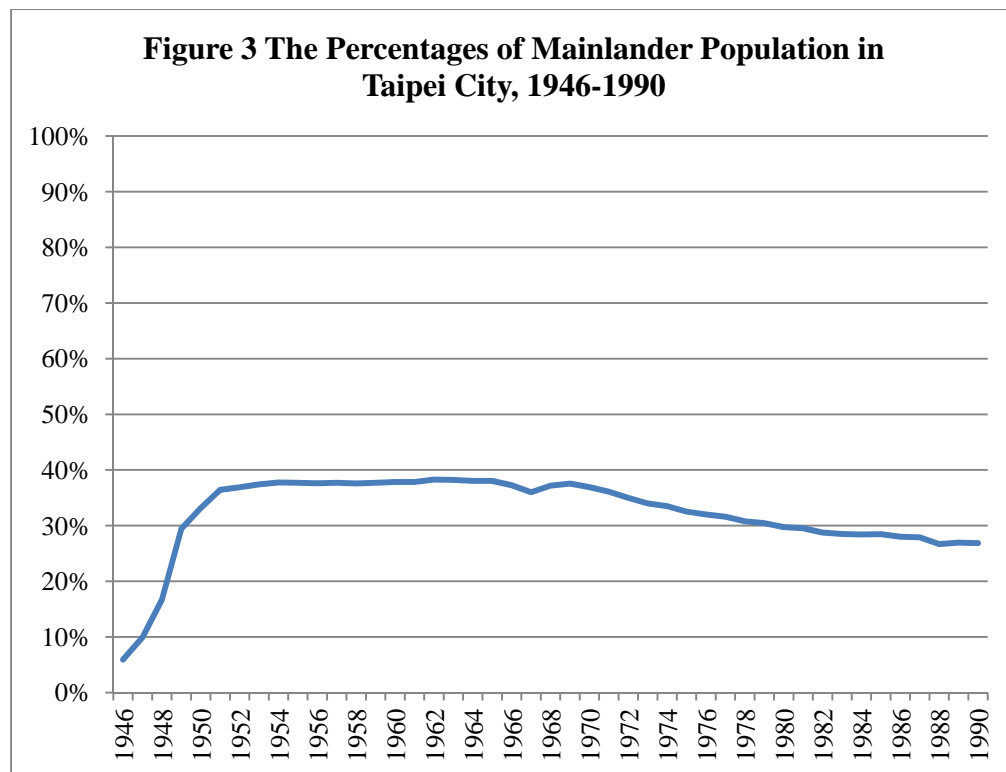


Source: Taiwan sheng hukou pucha chu (ed.), *Zhonghua minguo hukou pucha baogao shu*, 2:1, 719-724.

Figure 2 Estimated Percentages of Military Personnel and Non-Military Population among the Civil War Migrants in 1956 by Li Tung-ming



Source: Li Tung-ming, "Guangfu hou Taiwan renkou zengjia zhi taolun," 245-246.



Source: Taipei shi zhengfu zhuji shi (ed.), *Taipei shi tongji yaolan*, 1950, 1966, 1970, 1991.

**Figure 4 Population Pyramid of the Native Taiwanese Population in 1956
(Excluding Military Personnel)²⁴⁰**

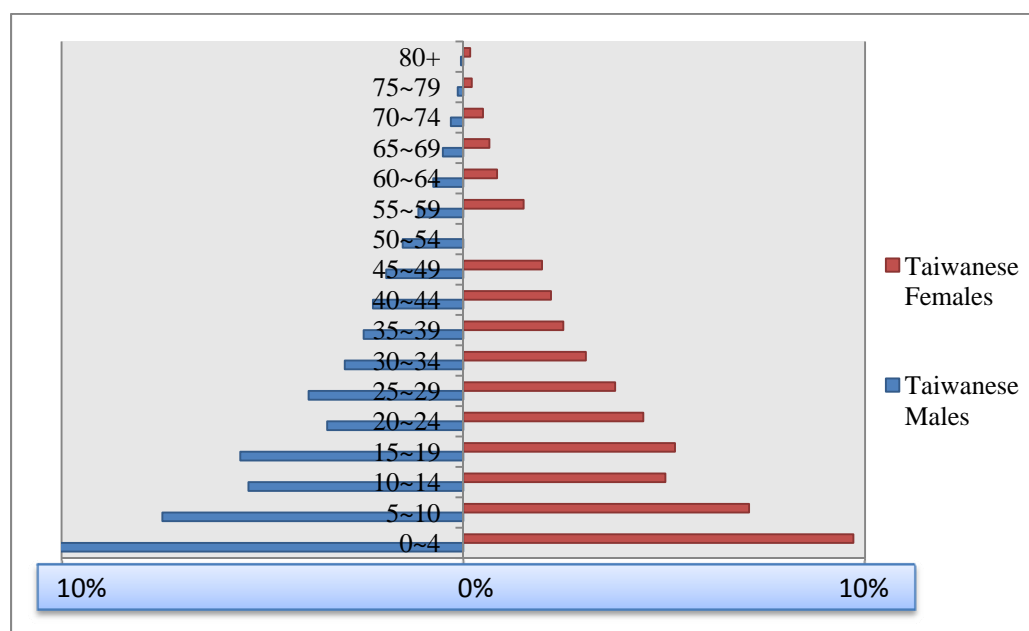
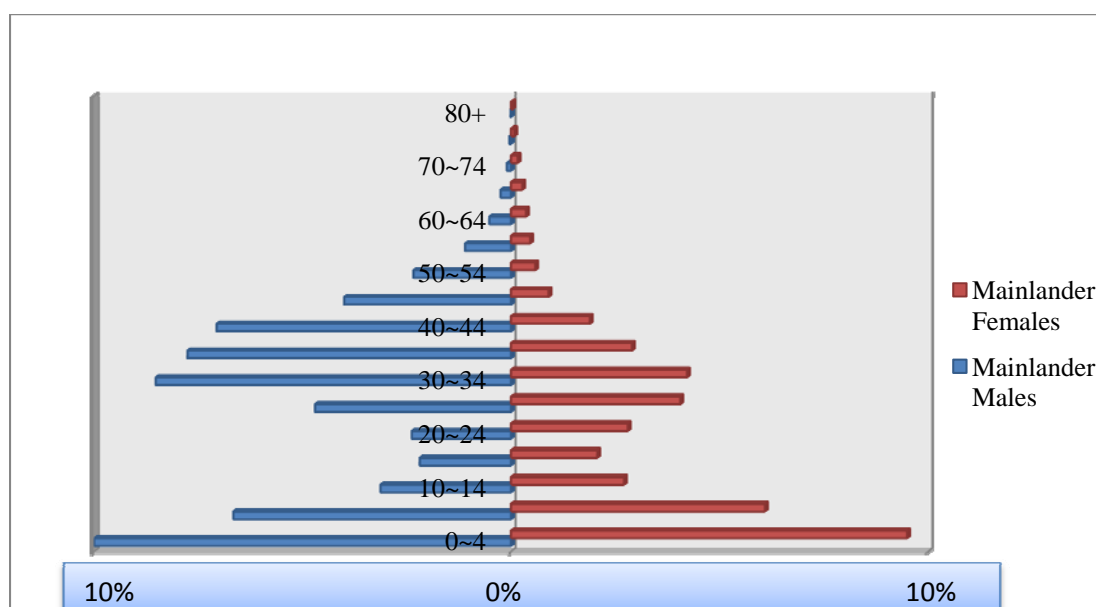


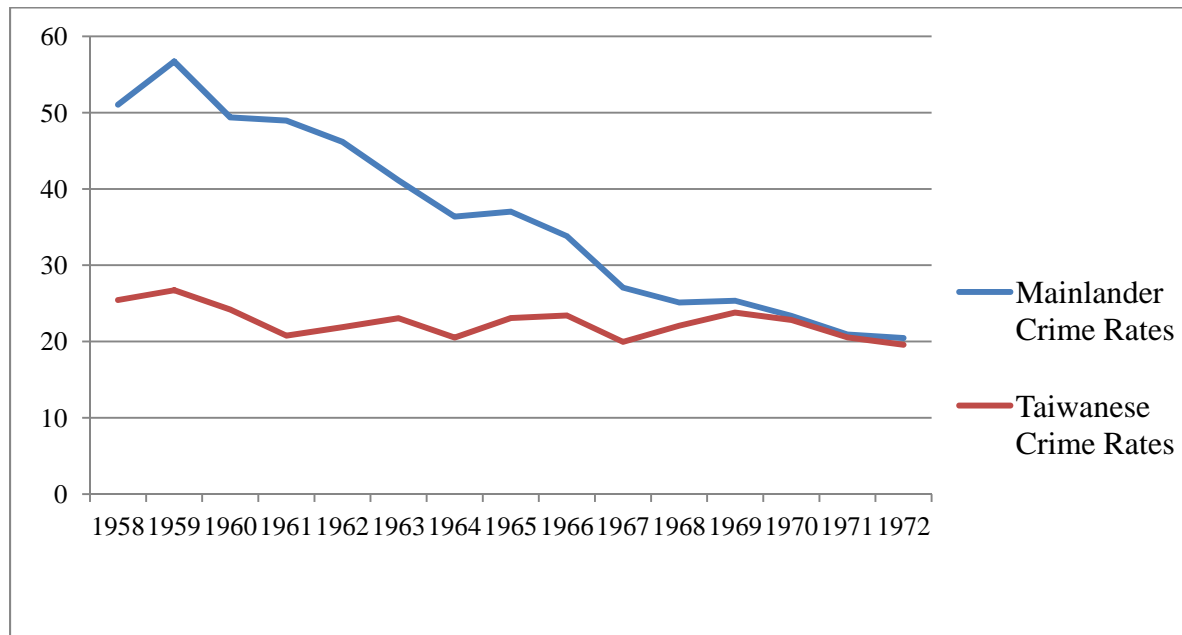
Figure 5 Population Pyramid of the Mainlander Population in 1956 (Excluding Military Personnel)



Source: Taiwan sheng hukou pucha chu (ed.), *Zhonghua minguo hukou pucha baogao shu*, 2:2, 1-6.

²⁴⁰ The number of native Taiwanese female age cohort 50-54 is missing from the original data.

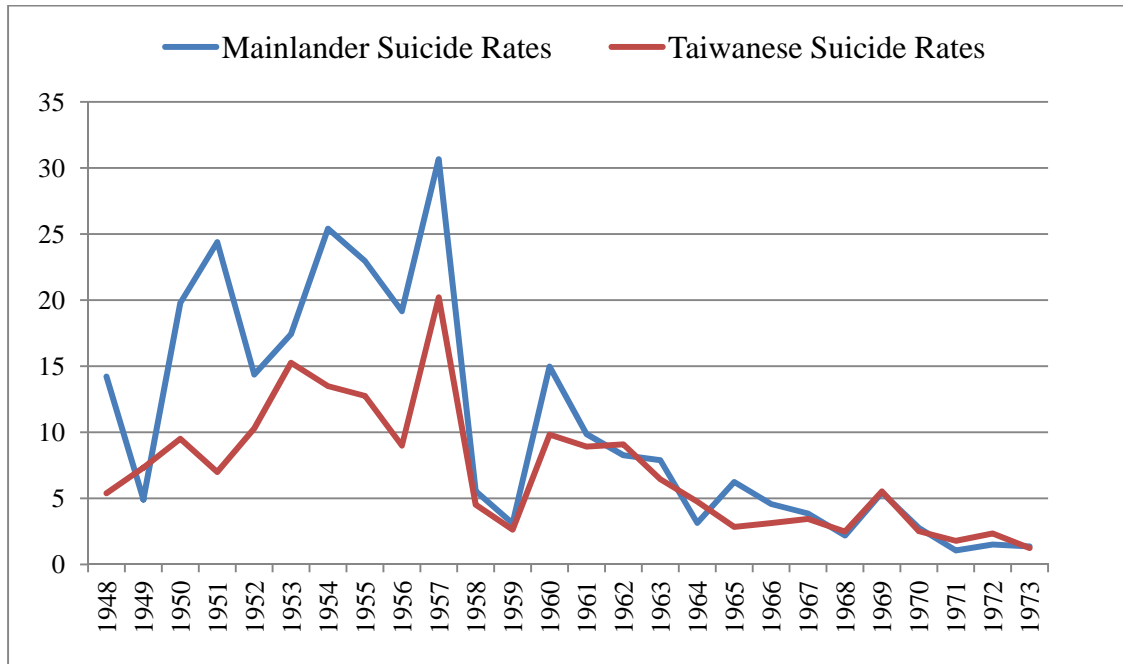
Figure 6 Crime Rates in Taiwan: Mainlanders versus the Native Taiwanese, 1958-1972²⁴¹



Source: Taiwan sheng jingwu chu, *Taiwan diqu fanzui tongji*, 1959-1972.

²⁴¹ Crime rates are calculated as the number of persons committing a crime per 10,000 in a given population. The author could not obtain the numbers before 1958. In 1958, the Taiwan Provincial Police Administration compiled its first comprehensive annual statistics on crimes in Taiwan.

Figure 7 Suicide Rates in Taipei City: Mainlanders versus the Native Taiwanese, 1948-1973²⁴²

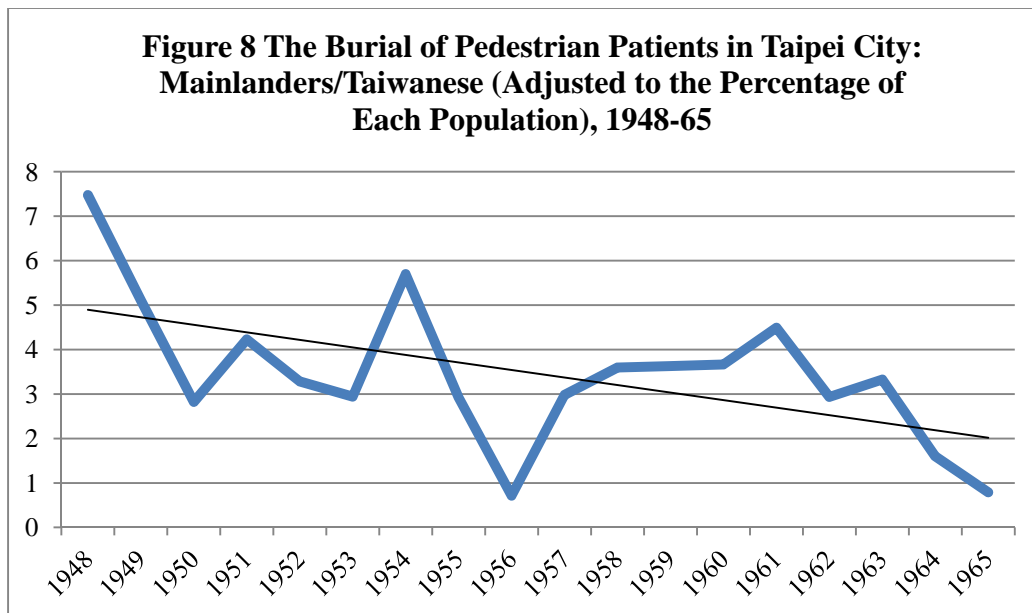


Source: Taipei shi zhengfu zhuji shi (ed.), *Taipei shi tongji yaolan*, 1960, 1966, 1974.

²⁴² The suicide rates are calculated as the number of suicides per 100,000 people in a given population. Scholars conducting research on suicides usually excluded minors under the age of 15 when working out the numbers because children rarely committed suicides. A high percentage of young adults in total population could distort the overall suicide rates. Unfortunately, the author could not find the figures of children under the age of 15 for either mainlanders or the native Taiwanese in Taipei that ran continuously from 1948 to 1973. Consequently, minors were not subtracted from the both populations when the chart was constructed. This is a shortcoming that the readers should be aware of.

Table 2 The Burial of Pedestrian Patients in Taipei City, Mainlanders versus the Native Taiwanese, 1948-1965

Year	Total Death Burials	Mainlanders	Native Taiwanese
1948	5	3	2
1949	47	32	15
1950	12	7	5
1951	24	17	7
1952	38	25	13
1953	47	30	17
1954	67	52	15
1955	61	39	22
1956	103	31	72
1957	132	85	47
1958	130	89	41
1959	141	97	44
1960	149	103	46
1961	161	118	43
1962	82	53	29
1963	141	95	46
1964	310	154	156
1965	192	63	129



Source: Taipei shi zhengfu zhuji shi (ed.), *Taibei shi tongji yaolan*, 1966.

CHAPTER 3 RELUCTANT SOJOURNERS

一二三，到臺灣。臺灣有個阿里山，阿里山上有神木，明年一定回大陸！—五零年代早期外省人之間流行的一首順口溜。

[One two three, coming to Taiwan; there is an Ali Mountain in Taiwan. On the Ali Mountain lies the divine tree. (We) will surely return to the mainland next year (across the sea)!]—A jingle among the *waishengren* in Taiwan during the early 1950s.²⁴³

[The] people from the mainland were not a monolith. In addition to the Guomindang (KMT) there were a lot of minor political parties and individuals who came from the mainland to Taiwan who were anti-communist but were also highly critical of the Nationalists.—Former US State Department official, Herbert Levin, 2001.²⁴⁴

3. 1 Introduction

On the morning of June 19, 2008, the author sat down on the couch of a comfortable and elegantly decorated living room to interview a retired KMT customs official named Fan Shih-chieh and his wife Chiang Meng-tieh.²⁴⁵ After walking for nearly an hour in Taiwan's scorching summer heat to locate the residence, almost on the verge of collapse from dehydration, the author breathed a sigh of relief when he finally entered an air-conditioned home. The octogenarian couple had relocated from Shanghai to Taiwan 60 years ago (June-July 1949) following government orders.²⁴⁶ Their deluxe apartment is situated in Tianmu (天母), an opulent and picturesque residential neighbourhood in Taipei. Located at the foot of Yangmingshan (陽明山), away from the smog and clamour of the city, this pleasant and cozy enclave was home to many high-

²⁴³ The author of the jingle is unknown, but people who lived through the 1950s remember hearing about it. "One two three" (一二三) at the beginning of the jingle represents the "123 Freedom's Day" (一二三自由日), an official holiday in Taiwan under the martial law period. The Day commemorated the arrival of 14,000 PLA POWs from the Korean War on January 23, 1954. The KMT propaganda apparatus promoted the POWs as "anti-Communist patriots" (反共義士) because they chose "freedom" by asking to be shipped to Taiwan instead of returning to mainland China. The author learned about this jingle from Professor Chang Mau-kuei, one of the most renowned experts on the mainlander community in Taiwan. For more on the PLA POWs in Taiwan, see Shen Hsing-yi, "Yiwang siqian ge zhengren: hanzhan shiqi 「fangong yishi」 zhi yanjiu."

²⁴⁴ See Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (ed.), *China Confidential*, 138.

²⁴⁵ Pseudonyms are used to protect the informants' identity.

²⁴⁶ The couple did not disclose the husband's title and rank during the interview. The wife was a homemaker. The husband boasted about taking 27 of his subordinates, their families, and many of their personal belongings to Taiwan on a large ship. This is a testament to the couple's social status. Fan Shih-chieh 范世傑 (pseudonym), interviewed by the author, Tianmu, Taipei, June 19, 2008.

ranking state employees, wealthy entrepreneurs, as well as families of the US Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) before the end of formal diplomatic relations between the ROC and the US in 1979.²⁴⁷

The interview got off on the wrong foot. Immediately, the husband became unhappy with how the questions were framed, in particular the use of the term *liuwang* (流亡) or “exile” to describe the mainlander migrant experience as a whole. The retired KMT customs official insisted he had government orders to transfer to the island, and his family were different from most of the refugees because they did not suffer much during the exodus. Consequently, Fan Shih-chieh was quite adamant that 1949 had been “migration” (遷徙) instead of “refugee experience” (逃難) or political exile, despite knowing that his family would be persecuted if they remained in Mao’s New China.²⁴⁸ Notwithstanding his obvious displeasure, Fan, who was brought up in a traditional Confucian education, showed great courtesy and forbearance towards a guest coming from afar by giving a short ten-minute testimony, before retiring to his bedchamber. The encounter taught the author valuable lessons about the diversity of the mainlander migrant experience, about the ineffable psychological trauma of displaced persons, about the tension between individual agency and collective discourse, and most importantly, about the sensitivity and compassion one needs to cultivate when interacting with living historical subjects.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ There were tens of thousands of American military advisors and CIA agents stationed in Taiwan between 1951 and 1979. The American MAAG group in Taiwan was one of the largest in the world during the 1950s and the early 1960s, with about 11,000 at one point. Their main tasks were to train Chiang’s army, collect intelligence, and supervise the deployment of Nationalist troops and American weapons in the Taiwan Strait. The overall objective was to maintain stability in the region, as military conflicts in the Strait could lead to the escalation of Cold War and a nuclear holocaust. Besides US military personnel and CIA agents, there were also state department officials and aid workers in a number of US-funded developmental agencies on the island. The American aid was instrumental in shoring up Taiwan’s defence against the PRC and stabilizing the island’s economy during the 1950s and early 60s. For more, see Lin Ping-yan, *Baowei da Taiwan de meiyuan*; Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (ed.), *China Confidential*, Chapter 2.

²⁴⁸ It has been difficult for ordinary civil war migrants to articulate their experiences due to the trauma of war and forced relocation, not to mention years of official KMT censorship and indoctrination. For the upper class mainlanders, the withdrawal from mainland China was a painful defeat that negated their careers and contributions in China. Moreover, in the wake of democratization, a few radical DPP politicians have openly ridiculed the KMT elites as a bunch of worthless losers from China. This led to resentment and touchy feelings among some of the civil war migrants.

²⁴⁹ In the subsequent interviews, the author paid a lot of attention to how the questions and discussions were framed. He avoided using politicized and value-laden terms in the context of Chinese language like “exile” or “refugee” (難民), and substituted these with more neutral terms like “political migrants” (政治移民) and “relocation” (遷移).

Fan's early exit turned out to be a blessing in disguise however. The timid wife Chiang Meng-tieh got a chance to tell her side of the story, whereas she was silenced by her overbearing spouse earlier.²⁵⁰ As I watched this diminutive and timorous woman suddenly come alive in the absence of her husband, I could not help but recall Urvashi Butalia's groundbreaking work on horrendous violence against women during the Partition of India *The Other Side of Silence* (2000). In the book, Butalia shows that women's voices were often muffled by the presence of their dominating male relatives during interviews.²⁵¹ This shy and soft-spoken old lady turned out to be one of the best informants among the 20 civil war migrants interviewed by the author. Her testimony was instrumental in identifying the reason behind the ads for mainlander maids mentioned earlier in Chapter 2. Moreover, Chiang's contempt for her own native Taiwanese maid led to further research, which contributed to the interpretation of the communal relations between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese in this chapter.²⁵²

Besides these illuminating insights, the most valuable lesson that the author gained from this interview is the knowledge about a particular mentality. The mentality was prevalent among the civil war migrants in Taiwan during the 1950s. When the author asked Chiang Meng-tieh questions about business establishments relocating from Shanghai to Taiwan, whether she had friends who opened up grocery stores or beauty parlours, the frail old woman lowered her head and paused for a moment. Then, she suddenly sat up from the chair, arched back straightened and blurry eyes opened wide. With a strong conviction, looking straight into the eyes of the author, the lady exclaimed: "We never thought we would stay in Taiwan. We were going to go back! We were going to go back!" The point was so important that she later stressed it once again during the interview.²⁵³ After this particular experience, the author began to ask other informants to

²⁵⁰ At the beginning of the interview, the author invited both interviewees to participate in the conversation. But the wife seemed hesitant to voice her opinion, and preferred to let the man of the house speak. She was also interrupted by her husband constantly when she tried to contribute to the discussion. It was not until the old gentleman retired to his bedroom that the wife was able to speak more freely. Fan Shih-chieh and Chiang Meng-tieh, interviewed by the author.

²⁵¹ Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (London: Hurst and Company, 2000), 12.

²⁵² The old lady told the author that her native Taiwanese maid stole things from her. Her contacts with the indigenous population appeared to be limited, but she seemed to have negative opinions of the local Taiwanese society as a whole.

²⁵³ Chiang Meng-tieh, interviewed by the author.

reflect on how they thought about the likelihood of returning to China when they first came to the island. He also started to read newspapers and journal magazines published during the 1950s with a different focus. The old lady's testimony was confirmed by the accounts provided by other interviewees, as well as a plethora of documentary sources. The mentality is also articulated by a jingle in early post-war Taiwan presented at the very beginning of this chapter.

Chapter 3 focuses on *waishengren's mentalités* during the 1950s. The mindset could be termed "sojourner mentality" (旅居心態).²⁵⁴ It argues that this particular mentality, which was a product of forced migration and prolonged experience in exile, played an instrumental role in shaping the relationship between the exiled population and the regime-in-exile, as well as the relationship between the exiled population and the local community. Drawing supporting evidence from two important journal magazines published in early post-war Taiwan, along with a host of other primary and secondary sources, this chapter outlines the historical development of the "unholy alliance" between the civil war migrants and the KMT. It also identifies the sojourner mentality as an important contributing factor to the alienation between the civil war migrants and the island's semi-Japanized population during the 1950s.

Following upon the format established in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 will first introduce the two journal magazines that form the basis of evidentiary support—*Changliu* and *Ziyou zhongguo*. It will explain why these two particular texts contain critical information, which can contribute to our understanding of the state-society relations and communal relations in Taiwan during the 1950s. This will be followed by an in-depth look at the mainlander's sojourner mentality mainly through essays and travelogues published in

²⁵⁴ Stéphane Corcuff has suggested that many mainlanders believed what the government told them. The island of Taiwan was merely a place of temporary exile before the KMT could recover mainland China. He called it "guest mentality" (作客的心態). See Stéphane Corcuff, "Taiwan's 'Mainlanders,' New Taiwanese?" 166. However, the author has decided to use a different term. During the course of the research, I came across different terms in both written sources and oral testimonies describing this particular mindset or situation. These included "Sojourn" (旅居), "Sojourn in Taiwan" (旅台), and "temporary stay" (暫居). For example, the native place associations established by the civil war migrants in Taiwan during the 1950s were often called "native place associations sojourning in Taiwan" (旅台同鄉會). After some considerations, the term "sojourner mentality" was chosen to portray the *mentalités* of the civil war migrants in early post-war Taiwan. Most mainlanders considered their stay on the island to be temporary at the beginning of the exile. This makes them "sojourners" by definition. More importantly, they certainly did not act like "guests" in Taiwan. Many of the civil war migrants worked for the Nationalist regime-in-exile, and the KMT ruled the island with an iron fist.

Changliu. The writings contained in *Changliu* suggest that many of the civil war migrants looked forward to a swift return to China, in particular during the first half of the 1950s. The confidence came from the migrants' earlier experiences in exile during the Anti-Japanese War. Meanwhile, essays and political commentaries culled from *Ziyou zhongguo* indicate that international situation during the early years of the Cold War also helped shape *waishengren's mentalités*. The chapter then goes on to show how this prevailing sense of transience and contingency influenced the political and social developments on the island during the 1950s.

Chapter 2 illustrated the diversity of the civil war migrants in terms of social class and migrants' relationship with the KMT. Not all *waishengren* were rich entrepreneurs, warlords, government officials, and military personnel; not all had close ties with the Nationalist regime in China. There were tens of thousands of "deserted soldiers and vagrants" recorded by the official records. Many were common folks who arrived in Taiwan with only the clothes on their backs. Chapter 2 also argued that the great exodus produced an atomized migrant community dominated by socially isolated males.

Drawing evidence from the editorials, the political commentaries, and the readers' responses in *Ziyou zhongguo*, as well as oral history and recent research on the KMT White Terror in Taiwan, this chapter reveals the underlying tension between the lower class civil war migrants and the exiled KMT regime during the 1950s. The fact that a considerable number of White Terror victims in early post-war Taiwan were mainlanders suggests a need to reconsider the current interpretation of state-society relations, which tends to equate *waishengren* with the KMT. Chapter 3 demonstrates how the historical conditions engendered by the great exodus—the civil war migrants' fragmented social ties and their longing for home—helped forge the close ties between the exiled population and the regime-in-exile. The sojourner mentality also contributed to the continued alienation between the civil war migrants and the semi-Japanized local population. Most *waishengren* were fixated on returning to mainland China during the 1950s. They paid scant attention to the languages, the cultures, and the political aspirations of the island's pre-1945 residents. Moreover, the mainlander writings about the semi-Japanized native Taiwanese were often tinged with prejudice. As reluctant

sojourners, *waishengren* looked constantly towards a distant homeland. They remained indifferent to the plight of the local population under the KMT rule.

3.2 Methodology and Sources

Chapter 3 will continue to draw supporting evidence from the two newspapers introduced in Chapter 2—*Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao*. The narrative will also rely on secondary sources and oral history. Nonetheless, as mentioned, the main evidentiary support will be derived from two widely circulated journal magazines in Taiwan during the 1950s—*Changliu* and *Ziyou Zhongguo*. The first was a travel magazine (旅遊雜誌), which has hitherto received little attention from historians and literary scholars. The second was a well-known political magazine (政論雜誌) published by prominent mainlander liberal dissidents in Taiwan, before it was shut down by the KMT in September 1960. The decision to employ *Changliu* and *Ziyou zhongguo* as the main supporting evidence for this chapter came after an extensive review of two dozen notable journal magazines published in Taiwan during the first two decades of the Nationalist rule.²⁵⁵ *Changliu* and *Ziyou zhongguo* had different styles and focuses, but they both stood out from most of the other publications in the age of KMT propaganda. With little government interference, *Changliu* was a rich repertoire of writings about travels and everyday experiences. Acting as the lone voice against Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, *Ziyou zhongguo* offered illuminating information about the political and social conditions on the island.

Changliu banyuekan (暢流半月刊) or “Flow Fortnightly” was founded in February 1950 by a group of mainlander officials working in the “Taiwan Railway Administration” (臺灣鐵路管理局, TRA).²⁵⁶ It was the largest and the most important

²⁵⁵ The notable ones included *Yefeng* (野風), *Shihui* (拾穗), *Dadao* (大道), *Ziyou qingnian* (自由青年), *Ziyou tan* (自由談), *Wenyi chunqiu* (文藝春秋), *Junzhong wenyi* (軍中文藝), *Youshi wenyi* (幼獅文藝), *Zhonghua wenyi* (中華文藝), and *Wenxing* (文星).

²⁵⁶ The Taiwan Railway Administration was established after the retrocession based on bureaucracy and infrastructure of the Taiwan Colonial Government Bureau of Transportation Railway Department (臺灣總督府交通局鐵道部, the TCGBTRD) under the Japanese. Since 1945, the TRA has been responsible for managing Taiwan's railway system. For more on the history both TRA and TCGBTRD, see Huang Chun-ming 黃俊銘, *Tiedao tanyuan tielu lishi zhilu: Taiwan zongdufu jiaotong ju tiedao bu ji jiaotong bu*

travel magazine in Taiwan during the 1950s.²⁵⁷ Under the auspices of the TRA, the bimonthly journal was set up to encourage railway tourism on the island, and to promote knowledge about modern transportation, hence the name “Flow.”²⁵⁸ At the very beginning, *Changliu* was meant for passenger reading on the train, a simple pastime offered by the TRA, free of charge. The writings focused mainly on scenic sights and popular tourist spots along the island’s major railway routes. Nonetheless, the editors of the magazine kept an open mind about the subject matter when reviewing submissions. They also exhibited great courtesy and professionalism when dealing with the contributors, in a manner that was unmatched by other journal magazines published during the same period.²⁵⁹ Consequently, *Changliu* soon gathered an army of supporters, and gained a reputation as a respectable venue for young mainlanders writers to publish their works, especially those who wanted to flex their creative muscles outside the rigid confines of the officially-sponsored publications.²⁶⁰

Taiwan tielu guanli ju dangan daoyin 鐵道探源鐵路歷史之旅: 臺灣總督府交通局鐵道部暨交通部臺灣鐵路管理局檔案導引 [A historical journey into the origin and the history of railway: an archival index for TCGBTRD and TRA documents] (Taipei: National Archives Administration, 2009).

²⁵⁷ The only other travel magazine published during the same period was *Tailu yuekan* (台旅月刊). *Tailu yuekan* was produced by a privately-owned travel agency in Taipei. The first issue started in February 1949, a year before *Changliu*. Only a few copies of the early issues survived to this day. This suggests the magazine either stopped publishing shortly after, or the circulation volume was small. See Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館 (ed.), “Taiwan jiyi wenxue jixing: bainian lai Taiwan wenxue zazhi tezhan” 臺灣記憶文學紀行: 百年來台灣文學雜誌特展 [Taiwan’s memory and literary journey: a special exhibition for a hundred year of Taiwan’s magazine], http://memory.ncl.edu.tw/tm_new/subject/literature/TWback02.htm [accessed August 8, 2011].

²⁵⁸ The name of the magazine was an abbreviation of the phrase “flowing of the goods” (貨暢其流). See “Fakan ci” 發刊詞 [A foreword to the magazine], *Changliu* 1:1 (1950): 2.

²⁵⁹ The members of *Changliu*’s editorial board went through several changes, but the positions had always been held by the TRA officials. The early board members included Chin Chi-wen (秦啟文), Wu Kai-hsuan 吳愷玄, Wu Yu-min (吳裕民), and Chien Chung-yueh (錢中岳). During the 1950s, *Changliu* was famous for its peer review process. The editors would not hesitate to turn down substandard works, even those submitted by established writers. The magazine also made sure that the contributors got paid on time, which was a rarity during the early 1950s. For more, see Chang Yu-ju 張毓如, “Chengzhe richang shenghuo de lieche qianjin—yi zhanhou ershi nian jian de Changliu banyuekan wei kaocha zhongxin” 乘著日常生活的列車前進—以戰後二十年間的暢流半月刊為考察中心 [Boarding the train of everyday life: a study of the *Changliu* fortnightly in post-war Taiwan during the first two decades] (Master’s Thesis, Taipei: National Chengchi University, Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Literature, 2008), 15-19, 26-29.

²⁶⁰ Frequent contributors to *Changliu* during the 1950s included a host of well-respected writers and artists. Prominent figures were Yi Chun-tso (易君左, 1899-1972), Chen Ting-shan (陳定山, 1896-1989), Lang Ching-shan (郎靜山, 1892-1995), Chien Ko-chuan (錢歌川, 1903-1990), and Hsieh Ping-ying (謝冰瑩, 1906-2000). See Yi Chun-tso, “Wei Changliu zuojia huaxiang” 為暢流作家畫像 [The profiles of *Changliu* writers], *Changliu* 2:8 (1950):16-18.

Like *Zhongyang ribao*, *Changliu* owed its success and longevity to official support.²⁶¹ However, unlike *Zhongyang ribao* and most of the other government-sponsored publications, the imprint of the Nationalist party-state seemed rather weak in *Changliu*. When performing the preliminary survey on the magazines published in early post-war Taiwan, the author was surprised to find that *Changliu* actually contained very little of the KMT's anti-Communist propaganda. There are two main reasons for this. First, the travel magazine was established by a group of civil servants working in the TRA with no initiatives or encouragements from the state. It was not part of the propaganda apparatus the regime-in-exile built on the island. Second, though *Changliu* was later put under the supervision of the KMT "Taiwan Railway Party Division" (臺灣鐵路黨部) in 1952, the journal was actually run by its editorial board with very little interference from the Party.²⁶² *Changliu* collapsed after its official sponsor, the TRA, ended its assistance package in 1991.²⁶³ But contrary to its dependency on official funding in the later years, during the 1950s and the 1960s, the travel magazine had been commercially successful.²⁶⁴ Financial independence meant a certain degree of editorial autonomy and creative artistic expressions. The autonomy was granted as long as the magazine did not publish materials that posed a direct challenge to the state's master narrative of anti-Communism and mainland recovery. Like most of the mainlander writers and intellectuals during the 1950s, the editors and the contributors of *Changliu* practiced self-censorship. They steered clear of the politically sensitive topics.

Changliu eventually became one of the longest running journal magazines on the island after WWII. The entire collection consists of nearly one thousand issues. These issues contain tens of thousands of travelogues, short essays, fictional stories, and social

²⁶¹ The TRA not only kept a stable quota of monthly subscription to fill its trains, but also made available to the magazine its printing facilities and retail/distribution networks at major train stations around the island.

²⁶² Chang Yu-ju has suggested that while *Changliu* was sponsored by an official government institution (the TRA), the editorial board had a relatively freehand in running the magazine. The mainlander officials and intellectuals associated with *Changliu* wanted to produce a magazine that the regular folks could actually enjoy. Their main goal was to improve the quality of life. Chang Yu-ju, "Chengzhe richang shenghuo de lieche qianjin," 19, 30-38.

²⁶³ The magazine stopped publishing in July 1991 due to the drastic cutbacks in the TRA's annual budget. See Lu Yu-ying 陸育英, "Linbie de hua" 臨別的話 [A final farewell], *Changliu* 993 (1991): 1.

²⁶⁴ The magazine paid most of its operating costs with revenue generated from the sales of the magazine and various spin-offs from the content of the issues—reprints of serial novels, poetries, paintings, and maps. Chang Yu-ju, "Chengzhe richang shenghuo de lieche qianjin," 24-26.

commentaries. The contributors not only wrote about popular tourist spots and exotic sceneries on the island, they also wrote about arts, literature, fashion, and about everyday life experiences. Despite the richness of *Changliu*, historians and literary scholars in Taiwan have hitherto paid little attention to the magazine.²⁶⁵ When the author examined *Changliu*, he found that the issues published during the 1950s contained a considerable number of writings produced by mainlander writers when they first came to the island. These writings help contemporary researchers gain a better understanding of the lives and the collective mentality of the civil war migrants, as well as their views on the local society.

Different from *Changliu*, which bowed down to the KMT, *Ziyou zhongguo banyuekan* (自由中國半月刊) or “Free China Fortnightly” stands as a towering symbol of mainlander liberal opposition against Nationalist authoritarianism in Taiwan. The bimonthly journal was without a doubt one of the most influential and widely read political magazines in Taiwan during the 1950s.²⁶⁶ *Ziyou zhongguo* was founded in November 1949 by a group of prominent mainlander liberal intellectuals, who supported the ROC because of their anti-Communist beliefs.²⁶⁷ Notable figures included Hu Shih (胡適, 1891-1962), Fu Ssu-nien (傅斯年, 1896-1950), Wang Shih-chieh (王世杰, 1891-1981), Lei Chen (雷震, 1897-1979), Mao Tzu-shui (毛子水, 1893-1988), Chang Fo-Chuan (張佛泉, 1907-1994), Hsia Dao-ping (夏道平, 1907-1995), Yin Hai-kuang (殷海光, 1919-1969), and Fu Cheng (傅正, 1927-1991).²⁶⁸ Hu Shih spent most of his time in the United States during the 1950s, but lent his name to *Ziyou zhongguo* and served as the

²⁶⁵ National Chengchi University student Chang Yu-ju’s unpublished master’s thesis remains the only research monograph based on the magazine.

²⁶⁶ For more on *Ziyou zhongguo*’s readership and the volume printed over the years, see Chung Ya-peng 鍾雅蓬, “Zhenglun zazhi yu Taiwan minzhu hua: 「Ziyou zhongguo」 gean yanjiu” 政論雜誌與台灣民主化: 「自由中國」個案研究 [Political magazines and democratization in Taiwan: a case study of “Free China”] (Master’s Thesis, Chiayi County: National Chung Cheng University, Department of Political Science, 2005), 58-59.

²⁶⁷ See Hu Shih 胡適, “Ziyou zhongguo de zongzhi” 自由中國的宗旨 [The objective and principle of Free China], *Ziyou zhongguo* 自由中國 [Free China] 1:1 (1949): 2; “Fakan ci” 發刊詞 [A foreword to the magazine], *ibid.*, 1:1 (1949): 2.

²⁶⁸ *Ziyou zhongguo* represented a continuation of the liberal political ideology and intellectual ruminations coming out of the May Fourth Movement (1919). Many of its earlier participants, such as Hu Shih, Fu Ssu-nien, and Mao Tzu-shui, were the main activists during the Movement. The younger editors, such as Yin Hai-kuang and Fu Cheng, came under the influence of their senior colleagues.

nominal president of the magazine until 1953.²⁶⁹ In the meantime, Lei Chen, a well-respected statesman and constitutional scholar, became the magazine's chief editor. Lei played a crucial role in both the establishment and the success of the magazine. It was Lei's name that later became synonymous with *Ziyou zhongguo*.²⁷⁰

Ziyou zhongguo received some official funding at the very beginning because of its anti-Communist ideology. Nonetheless, the government assistance was withdrawn altogether after 1953 due to rising tension between the liberal intellectuals and the Nationalist authorities.²⁷¹ Hsueh Hua-yuan, a historian renowned for his excellent and meticulous research on *Ziyou zhongguo*, has identified five distinct phases in the deteriorating relationship.²⁷² At first, the liberals conceded to Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship in Taiwan, considering it wartime expediency. However, after the hopes for an immediate return to the mainland began to diminish in the wake of a succession of events—the end of the Korean War (1953) and the two Taiwan Strait Crises (1954-1955, 1958)—the intellectuals associated with *Ziyou zhongguo* started to insist on democratic reforms. In late 1956, the magazine began to lash out against the KMT leadership, and demanded an end to a single-party state.

In late 1959 and the first half of 1960, *Ziyou zhongguo* launched an open attack on Chiang Kai-shek's "re-election campaign" for a third-term presidency, which the liberal

²⁶⁹ Hu Shih did not settle in Taiwan until 1957 when he took up a position as the head of the Academia Sinica in Taipei. In August 1951, he sent a letter of resignation to *Ziyou zhongguo*. The letter was a gesture of protest against the KMT authorities' effort to censor the magazine. See Hu Shih, "Zhi benshe de yifeng xin" 致本社的一封信 [A letter to Free China], *Ziyou zhongguo* 5:5 (1951): 5; "Ge duzhe de baogao" 給讀者的報告 [A report for the readers], *ibid.*, 8:3 (1953): 32. Hu's role as the titular head of the magazine ended officially in 1953, but he continued to lend support to *Ziyou zhongguo*, even after the arrest of Lei Chen in 1960.

²⁷⁰ Hsueh Hua-yuan 薛化元, *Ziyou zhongguo yu minzhu xianzheng: 1950 niandai Taiwan sixiang shi de yige kaocha* 自由中國與民主憲政: 1950 年代台灣思想史的一個考察 [Free China and constitutional democracy: an investigation of Taiwan's intellectual history during the 1950s] (Taipei County, Banciao: Daoxiang chubanshe, 1996), 62-63. For a detailed study of Lei Chen's life, career, and political thoughts, see Jen Yu-teh 任育德, *Lei Chen yu Taiwan minzhu xianzheng de fazhan* 雷震與臺灣民主憲政的發展 [Lei Chen and the development of constitutional democracy in Taiwan] (Taipei: National Chengchi University, Department of History, 1999).

²⁷¹ Besides assistance offered by the KMT party coffers, *Ziyou zhongguo* also received funding from the Ministry of Education (教育部), the military, and the Taiwan Provincial Government (臺灣省政府). For more on the finance of the magazine in the early years, see Jen Yu-teh, *Lei Chen yu Taiwan minzhu xianzheng de fazhan*, 81-82;

²⁷² The five phases were: (1) the period of harmony (交融期), November 1949-May 1951; (2) the period of friction (磨擦期), June 1951-December 1954; (3) the period of tension (緊張期), January 1955-September 1956; (4) the period of rupture (破裂期), October 1956-December 1958; (5) the period of confrontation (對抗期), January 1959-September 1960. See Hsueh Hua-yuan, *Ziyou zhongguo yu minzhu xianzheng*, 73-176.

intellectuals deemed unconstitutional.²⁷³ Lei Chen and his liberal allies also joined forces with influential native Taiwanese politicians, in an attempt to establish an opposition party.²⁷⁴ At that point, the KMT authorities decided that they could no longer tolerate *Ziyou zhongguo*'s activities. The magazine was shut down in September of 1960. Lei Chen and three other members on the editorial board were arrested. They were accused of high treason and jailed for the crime of aiding the CCP.²⁷⁵ Scholars and journalists associated with *Ziyou zhongguo*, along with their native Taiwanese political allies, were cowed into submission. After the incident, there was no collective effort to challenge the KMT's ruling legitimacy on the island for at least two decades.²⁷⁶

Ziyou zhongguo is a gold mine of information for this study for two important reasons. First, the magazine was the lone voice of opposition against the KMT during the 1950s. Besides democracy, freedom of speech, and political reform, the liberal intellectuals were also concerned with social justice and ordinary people's livelihood. Consequently, *Ziyou zhongguo* offered penetrating commentaries on a wide range of social and economic problems in Taiwan. Though the voices of the mainlanders

²⁷³ See "Chiang zongtong buhui zuocuo jue ding leba?" 蔣總統不會做錯決定了吧? [Did President Chiang make the wrong decision?], *Ziyou zhongguo* 20:12 (1959): 3; "Jingxiang Chiang zongtong zuoyi zuihou de zhonggao" 敬向蔣總統作一最後的忠告 [A final and sincere advice for President Chiang], *ibid.*, 22:3 (1960): 3-4.

²⁷⁴ See Lei Chen 雷震, "Women weishenme pojie xuyao yige qianger youli de fanduidang" 我們為什麼迫切需要一個強而有力的反對黨 [The reasons why we need a strong opposition party], *ibid.*, 22:10 (1960): 7-10; "Xuanju gaijin zuotanhui de shengming 選舉改進作談會的聲明 [An announcement from the meeting to improve elections], *ibid.*, 22:12 (1960): 18;

²⁷⁵ Hsueh Hua-yuan, *Ziyou zhongguo yu minzhu xianzheng*, 159-173; Jen Yu-teh, *Lei Chen yu Taiwan minzhu xianzheng de fazhan*, 265-283. Also see Su Jui-chiang 蘇瑞鏘, *Chaoyue dangji, shengji yu guoji—Fu Cheng yu zhanhou Taiwan minzhu yundong* 超越黨籍、省籍與國籍—傅正與戰後台灣民主運動 [Transcending partisanship, provincial identity, and national identity—Fu Cheng and the democracy movement in post-war Taiwan] (Taipei: Qianwei, 2008), Chapters 4-5.

²⁷⁶ The downfall of *Ziyou zhongguo* was a prominent example of the KMT White Terror in Taiwan. The magazine later served as an inspiration for the democracy movement on the island. The writing and publication about *Ziyou zhongguo* began in the late 1970s and the early 1980s after the death of the magazine's former chief editor Lei Chen. However, academic research on the magazine did not begin in earnest until the declassification and publication of important historical sources after democratization, in particular under the presidency of Chen Shui-bian (2000-2008). These sources included diaries and memoirs of the liberal intellectuals associated with the magazine, as well as the confidential military court records kept by the ROC Ministry of National Defense (國防部). For a good review of the studies and publications related to *Ziyou zhongguo*, see Jen Yu-teh, *Lei Chen yu Taiwan minzhu xianzheng de fazhan*, 5-9. For declassified government records, see Chen Shih-hung 陳世宏 et al. (eds.), *Lei Chen an shiliao huibian: Guofang bu dangan xuanji* 雷震案史料彙編: 國防部檔案選集 [A documentary collection of the Lei Chen case: from the archives of the Defence Ministry] (Taipei County, Hsintien City: Academia Historica, 2002).

dominated, the magazine did try to incorporate the views of the local Taiwanese leaders in its later issues.²⁷⁷ Second, *Ziyou zhongguo* published feedback from its readers. The “letters from the readers,” which became a regular feature of the magazine since the early 1950s, offered remarkable insights into the tension between the civil war migrants and the KMT.²⁷⁸ Many of the letter senders were ordinary civil servants and common soldiers, who were frustrated with low pay and the political repression in government institutions and in the military.²⁷⁹

Based on the methodology and sources stated above, the following sections will provide a narrative of the civil war migrants’ *mentalités*, as well as their relationships with the Nationalist regime-in-exile and the local society during the 1950s. We will start with a look into *waishengren*’s sojourner mentality through travelogues and essays found in *Changliu*. Some of the commentaries and writings from *Ziyou zhongguo*, *Zhongyang ribao*, *Lianhe bao*, and a travel magazine published in mainland China called *Luxing zazhi* will also be presented as supporting evidence.

²⁷⁷ Several prominent native Taiwanese politicians published articles in *Ziyou zhongguo*. Notable figures included Kuo Yu-Hsin (郭雨新, 1908-1985), Li Wan-ju (李萬居, 1901-1966), Kao Yu-shu (高玉樹, 1913-2005), Yang Chin-hu (楊金虎, 1898-1990), and Yang Chi-Chen (楊基振, 1911-1990). Most of the Taiwanese writings appeared in the issues published between 1958 and 1960. This was the time when the mainland liberal intellectuals tried to forge an alliance with local Taiwanese leaders to form an opposition party to challenge the KMT. The Nationalist leadership considered the move as a major threat to their single-party rule on the island. This was the main reason behind Chiang Kai-shek’s decision to shut down the magazine and arrest its editors.

²⁷⁸ Since the founding of *Ziyou zhongguo* in 1949, the editors had encouraged readers to send letters voicing their opinions, concerns, and grievances. However, it was not until late 1951 and early 1952 that the “letters from the readers” became a regular feature in *Ziyou zhongguo*. The magazine received a growing number of letters from the general public in the second half of the 1950s, in particular after the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis. These letters revealed abuse of power, official corruption and various injustices under the KMT rule in early post-war Taiwan. Many of the letter senders used aliases and pseudonyms to protect themselves. Due to limited space, the magazine was only able to publish a small number of these letters. For more, see Fu Cheng 傅正, “Cong benkan de ‘duzhe toushu’ shuodao guoshi wenti” 從本刊的「讀者投書」說到國是問題 [Talking about issues concerning our nation from the perspective of “readers’ letters”], *Ziyou zhongguo* 21:10 (1959): 36.

²⁷⁹ A well-known incident caused by the readers’ letters published by *Ziyou zhongguo* was the so-called Chen Huai-chi Affair (陳懷琪事件). Chen was a middle-ranking officer in the KMT army. In late 1958, he sent a letter to *Ziyou Zhongguo*. The letter criticized the Nationalist indoctrination program in the military. The magazine published his letter in early 1959. The army high command was infuriated by the letter. The authorities discovered Chen’s identity quickly because he had used his real name in the letter. Under the threat of being persecuted by the state, Chen not only denied writing the letter but also launched a lawsuit against *Ziyou zhongguo*. For more, see Chen Huai-chi, “Gemin junren weihe yaoyi ‘gou’ ziju?” 革命軍人為何要以「狗」自居 [Why should revolutionary soldiers considered themselves “dogs” (of Chiang Kai-shek)?], *ibid.*, 20:2 (1959): 30; Hsueh Hua-yuan, *Ziyou zhongguo yu minzhu xianzheng*, 155-158.

3.3 Reluctant Sojourners

If one has to find a single word to describe the entire mainlander community in early post-war Taiwan, the word will most definitely be “sojourners.” When the civil war migrants set foot on the island, most had considered it a temporary refuge. The migrants anticipated going back to mainland China in a few years. The mindset permeated the literary texts produced at the time. The front pages of the official KMT organ *Zhongyang ribao* were filled with political slogans and official plans about mainland recovery.²⁸⁰ In addition, the arts and literature section of the newspaper was replete with writings that expressed a strong willingness to go home.²⁸¹ For example, in early 1950, a soldier in the KMT army wrote:

[T]aiwan is not a place for us. The warmth of family can only be found in mainland China. Mainland China is where our parents, wives, children, relatives, friends, ancestral graveyards, and farmsteads are. How could we give up all hopes and abandon them?

We are soldiers who protect the country and safeguard its people. Why should we huddle together on this island? Let’s join our hearts together and fight back to the mainland!²⁸²

In 1952, the author of a travel account stated: “Looking back on the Anti-Japanese War, I was in Sichuan. Now I am in Taiwan. The goal of returning home remains the same. These stops are only detours along the way.”²⁸³

²⁸⁰ One of the enduring themes of the official KMT line in Taiwan before democratization was victory over the CCP and a glorious return to the mainland (反共復國). Chapter 5 *Narrating the Exodus* will provide a closer look at the Nationalist propaganda during the 1950s, in particular how it influenced the interpretation of the Chinese civil war and the great exodus. For a few examples of the government plans and slogans for mainland recovery, see “Lijin tuzhi jianshe Taiwan zhengjun jingwu zhunbei fangong” 勵精圖治建設臺灣整軍經武準備反攻 [Concentrate on governing Taiwan and build up the military to prepare for the mainland recovery], *Zhongyang ribao*, October 4, 1950, 1; “Mingnian liangda zhongxin renwu jianshe Taiwan fangong dalu” 明年兩大中心任務建設臺灣反攻大陸 [Two main tasks for next year: building up Taiwan and fighting back to mainland China], *ibid.*, October 7, 1950, 1. “Mingnian du shizheng zhongdian lixing guojia zongdongyuan” 明年度施政重點厲行國家總動員 [The focus of the official policy for next year: nationwide mobilization], *ibid.*, October 15, 1951, 1.

²⁸¹ See Ju Ling 如陵, “Yuan huanxiang” 願還鄉 [Wanting to go home], *ibid.*, November 29, 1950, 8; Wang Han-cho 王漢倬, “Dahui laojia qu” 打回老家去 [Fighting back to our homeland], *ibid.*, January 23, 1952, 6.

²⁸² Li Pu-ping 李不平, “Women de fennu” 我們的憤怒 [Our anger], *ibid.*, January 4, 1950, 6.

²⁸³ Wang Han-cho, “Suao zhixing” 蘇澳之行 [The trip to Suao], *ibid.*, May 12, 1952, 6.

While writings plucked from *Zhongyang ribao* could be easily dismissed as official propaganda, publications that operated with little interference from the state, such as *Ziyou zhongguo*, *Changliu*, and *Lianhe bao* offer better supporting evidence to the civil war migrants' sojourner mentality. For example, when the famous May Fourth intellectual Fu Ssu-nien died in December 1950, many of the respected mainlander scholars seemed reluctant to succeed him as the principal of the island's highest learning institution, the National Taiwan University. An editorial in *Ziyou zhongguo* offered an interesting comment on the situation: "[A] lot of the individuals do not want to take up the position as the head of the National Taiwan University. One of the main reasons is that they are eager to go back to the mainland, and do not really want to stay here."²⁸⁴ In early 1951, a mainlander journalist ended his travelogue in *Changliu* with a series of assertions. After reflecting on the people, the places, the things he saw in Taiwan, the person declared: "[we] are all travellers and refugees in Taiwan. We are all waiting for the day of the final victory for the mainland recovery. We are all going to go home. Let us look forward to this day, my friends!"²⁸⁵ In 1955, a mainlander writer reflected on the meaning of "home" (家) in the arts and literature section of *Lianhe bao*. He wrote: "The war made me lose my home. In the meantime, what I have built here [in Taiwan] is only a traveller's shed."²⁸⁶ These writings represented a widespread sense of transience and temporality among the mainlander migrants in early post-war Taiwan. They were only a few examples from a plethora of similar texts produced at the time.

In the early 1950s, the mainlanders' sojourner mentality was neither a self-delusion nor a myth, like many would later suggest, but a real sentiment. The expectations for an eventual return to mainland China should not be simply attributed to the KMT's powerful propaganda apparatus, which bombarded the island's residents with the certitude of a final victory over the CCP at every turn. Scholars studying the history of propaganda have demonstrated that the persuasiveness of the message was highly conditional, predicated upon historically-specific variables under different political,

²⁸⁴ Fang Hao 方豪, "Lun Taida xiaozhang" 論台大校長 [Commenting on the principal of the NTU], *Ziyou zhongguo* 4:4 (1951): 6.

²⁸⁵ Ching Hsin, "Lutai xaxie," 30.

²⁸⁶ Tai Sheng 代生, "Jia" 家 [Home], *Lianhe bao*, August 29, 1955, 6.

social, cultural, and economic contexts.²⁸⁷ The credibility of the Nationalist leadership had suffered a devastating blow in the wake of the civil war. The general public in Taiwan, whether they were newcomers from mainland China or local inhabitants, had learned to take the government's word with a grain of salt. People living under the martial law in Taiwan did not have the freedom of expression, but they were by no means a gullible mass easily duped by the state's political rhetoric.

Rather, a strong belief in their eventual return on the part of the civil war migrants was based on prior experiences of exile during the Anti-Japanese War and the international situation during the early years of the Cold War in East Asia. Without knowing what would eventually happen in the future, people evaluated their situation at a particular juncture in history based on previous experiences and immediate circumstances. Moreover, as an exiled community dominated by socially-isolated individuals separated from their families, the migrants' unremitting longing for home also contributed to this particular mindset. This chapter illustrates the importance of seeing the Anti-Japanese War, the Chinese civil war, and the Cold War in a continuum; *waishengren's* sojourner mentality was a product of prolonged experience with war and displacement. This perspective allows for a more nuanced and historically-informed interpretation of the relationship between the civil war migrants and the KMT, and between the civil war migrants and the local population.

As a rich repository of writings about everyday experiences, selections from *Changliu* published during the 1950s offer interesting historical texts to examine mainlanders' sojourner mentality. The writings contained in the magazine suggested that many of the mainland writer had considered themselves temporary travellers on the island. They exhibited a sense of detachment from the local reality, and demonstrated only superficial understanding of the indigenous culture and society. When visiting famous tourist spots in Taiwan, the exiled writers often immersed themselves in the recollections of similar sites they had visited in China. Rather than learning about their new environments and getting to know the local population, the civil war migrants indulged in memories of the past. The narrative contained in this section describes a

²⁸⁷ See Garth S Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 4th edition (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2006.)

displaced and atomized community beset by feelings of solitude, rootlessness, and nostalgia, but still optimistic about the prospects of an eventual return.

One of the regular features in *Changliu* during the 1950s was a poetry column called “poems about sojourning in Taiwan” (旅臺詩鈔). The column ran continuously for a decade, starting in March 1950 (issue 1:2) and ending in February 1960 (issue 20:12). Each column contained somewhere between four to eight pieces of writing. In total, thousands of poems were produced in a span of ten years. The contributors included not only writers and intellectuals affiliated with the magazine, but also people from different walks of life. “Poems about sojourning in Taiwan” covered a wide range of topics, such as beautiful sceneries on the island, memories of past events, reminiscences about separated family members, and eulogies written for deceased friends during the war, and so on. The texts articulated various feelings in exile, from passive acceptance to nostalgia for home; from solitude and melancholy to simple pleasures in life.²⁸⁸ The style of these poems varied, but the dominant leitmotif had always been a strong willingness to return to the bosom of the motherland across the sea. The sentiment was shared by many of the other travelogues and essays found in the magazine.²⁸⁹

Mainlander travel writings in Taiwan were, in fact, a by-product of their sojourner mentality. Considering their stay on the island temporary, those who could afford it took the opportunity to visit the island’s popular tourist spots, while waiting for the government to launch the campaign for mainland recovery. Consequently, the exiled writers produced a great number of travelogues on the island, especially during the early 1950s. As the most important travel magazine published at the time, *Chiangliu* contained many of these writings. Nonetheless, the magazine was by no means the first and the only historical text where travelogues produced by mainlanders in Taiwan could be found.

²⁸⁸ For more, see 羅敦偉 Lo Tun-wei, “Yiwen fuxing shengdi de zhanwang—lutai shichao xu” 藝文復興聖地的展望—旅臺詩抄序 [The prospects of a cultural renaissance—a preface to poems about sojourning in Taiwan], *Changliu* 7:1 (1953): 3-4.

²⁸⁹ For a few examples, see Fu Hung-liao 傅紅蓼, “Hongliao huakai you yi nian” 紅蓼花開又一年 [One more year after the blossom of hongliao flower], *ibid.*, 1:1 (1950): 16; Li Li 黎黎, “Menghui jiangnan” 夢回江南 [The dream of going back to Jiangnan], *ibid.*, 1:6 (1950): 9; Wu Kai-hsuan 吳愷玄, “Haitian guyan” 海天孤雁 [Lone goose overseas], *ibid.*, 1:9 (1950): 8; Hsueh Yin 雪茵, “Jiayuan lian” 家園戀 [Love for the homeland], *ibid.*, 5:8 (1952): 22-23.

Mainlander travel writings about the island actually began before the publication of *Changliu* in early 1950. A small number of mainland Chinese tourists had visited Taiwan before the arrival of the great exodus.²⁹⁰ Fifty years of Japanese colonial rule had prevented most Chinese mainlanders from travelling to the island.²⁹¹ Moreover, the recovery of Taiwan had been touted in China as an important symbol of Chinese national pride, overcoming the shame of defeat at the hands of the Japanese in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).²⁹² This turned the island into a site of wonder and curiosity for mainlander journalists and tourists at the end of WWII. From 1946 to 1947, a major travel magazine based in Shanghai called *Luxing zazhi*²⁹³ featured a number of travelogues on Taiwan. In one of the accounts, a scholar from Xiamen University (廈門大學) wrote in early 1946:

Taiwan is liberated after decades of enemy rule. The light of freedom is regained. The Taiwanese are so fortunate! I know many people in mainland China often thought about the scenery in

²⁹⁰ Chang Yu-ju has pointed out that the editorial style of *Changliu* could be traced back to several railway travel magazines published in mainland China during the Republican period. Chang Yu-ju, "Chengzhe richang shenghuo de lieche qianjin," 38-47. Meanwhile, commercial tourism and travel writings in Taiwan developed under Japanese colonial rule. For more, see Lu Shao-li 呂紹理, *Zhanshi Taiwan: quanli, kongjian yu zhimin tongzhi de xingxiang biao* 展示臺灣：權力、空間與殖民統治的形象表述 [Exhibiting Taiwan: power, space and image representation of the Japanese colonial rule] (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 2005), 346-390.

²⁹¹ A caveat should be issued here on the fifty years of "separation" between China and Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule. First of all, there were actually considerable trade activities and travels between the island and certain areas of mainland China under Japanese rule, especially the port cities of southern Fujian Province. Second, there were also Taiwanese residents who travelled to Manchuria, north China, and other areas under Japanese rule to take up jobs and do business. The islanders were part of the circulation of people and colonial agents in the Japanese colonial empire. Third, a small number of the native Taiwanese dissidents who protested against Japanese colonial rule went to China to join the KMT and the CCP. For more, see Wu Wen-hsing 吳文星, *Riju shiqi zai Tai "huaqiao" yanjiu* 日據時期在臺「華僑」研究 [A study of the "overseas Chinese" in Taiwan under Japanese rule] (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1991); Hsu Hsueh-Chi 許雪姬 et al., *Rizhi shiqi zai "Manzhou" de Taiwan ren* 日治時期在「滿洲」的台灣人 [Taiwanese in Manchuria under Japanese rule] (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2002); J Bruce Jacobs, "Taiwanese and the Chinese Nationalists, 1937-1945: the Origins of Taiwan's 'Half-Mountain People' (Banshan Ren)," *Modern China* 16:1 (1990): 84-118.

²⁹² See Cheng Tzu 鄭梓, *Zhanhou Taiwan de jieshou wu chongjian: Taiwan xiangdai shi yanjiu lunji* 戰後臺灣的接收與重建：臺灣現代史研究論集 [Taiwan's recovery and reconstruction after the war: an anthology of Taiwan's modern history] (Taipei: Xinhua tushu gongsi, 1994), Chapter 1.

²⁹³ *Luxing zazhi* (旅行雜誌) was a travel magazine published during the Republican period in China. The magazine was founded in Shanghai in 1927. It stopped publishing in 1954 after the Communist takeover. The magazine was produced by one of China's first commercial travel agencies, China Travel Ltd. (中國旅行社), hence the English translation of the journal. The agency started as a subsidiary company of the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank (上海商業儲蓄銀行), but it later became an independent firm.

Taiwan. Everyone wanted to be there and enjoyed the view. I myself was no exception. When I thought about Taiwan in the past, a sense of sadness and mystery always came to mind. The time is different now. When Taiwan is mentioned, I feel somewhat curious and excited.²⁹⁴

In another travelogue written in May 1946, a mainland journalist suggested that the capital city Taipei was: “a little bit like Shanghai, but also similar to Hangzhou.” The reporter then went on to say: “During the past week, the tropical and exotic features of the city impressed me. It was like watching a Hollywood supernatural children’s fairy tale. I was mesmerized.”²⁹⁵

Obviously, these colourful remarks were sensationalist embellishments in order to help promote tourism on the island, rather than professional journalistic accounts of the local conditions. In general, the Chinese travellers who toured the island before the great exodus considered Taiwan a pleasant, peaceful, and orderly society, in stark contrast to widespread military conflicts and social chaos in China. They were also fascinated by the island’s tropical vegetation, breathtaking scenery, and exotic mountain tribes.²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the early visitors possessed only superficial knowledge of the local society because they were temporary travellers whose stay on the island was rather short. Moreover, like many tourists and sightseers throughout the ages, the early Chinese visitors to Taiwan tended to view everything through the lens of preconceived ideas and prejudices—the “Shanghai-Hangzhou” analogy of Taipei and the “Hollywood supernatural children’s fairy tale” comment for example. Scholars studying tourism, mobility, and cultural exchange in various social and political contexts have suggested that travel writings tell researchers more about the travellers themselves rather than shedding light on the local societies they attempted to describe.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Huang Chi-ping 黃寄萍, “Yi Taiwan zhiyou” 憶臺灣之遊 [Reflections on the trip to Taiwan], *Luxing zazhi* 旅行雜誌 [China traveler] 20:1 (1946): 21.

²⁹⁵ Yu Feng 予風, “Jiadao nongyin zhong youshang Taibeishi” 夾道濃蔭中遊賞台北市 [Sightseeing in Taipei amidst deep green], *ibid.*, 20:7 (1946): 43.

²⁹⁶ For more, see Kai Ming 開明, “Taiwan de lunkuo” 臺灣的輪廓 [The profile of Taiwan], *ibid.*, 20:2 (1946): 53-56; Chen Chi-ying 陳其英, “Taiwan huanyou ji (shang)” 臺灣環遊記(上) [A trip around Taiwan, I], *ibid.*, 20:9 (1946): 5-9; Chen Chi-ying, “Taiwan huanyou ji (xian)” 臺灣環遊記(下) [A trip around Taiwan, II], *ibid.*, 20:10 (1946): 21-28; Chu Mei 朱梅, “Dong Taiwan huanyou ji” 東臺灣環遊記 [A trip around eastern Taiwan], *ibid.*, 21:6 (1947): 21-25.

²⁹⁷ See major contributors see Daniel J Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Antheneum, 1961); Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976); John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*

What is interesting about the travelogues and essays found in *Changliu* is that they resembled the writings produced by early visitors published in *Luxing zazhi* in many aspects.²⁹⁸ In other words, although the civil war migrants actually resided in Taiwan, their mentality and perspective were somewhat similar to tourists from China who had visited the island between 1946 and 1947. First, like the early visitors, the mainlanders writers only focused on describing what they considered exotic geographical features and breathtaking scenery on the island. Scant attention was paid to the local population and their cultures. Most of the travelogues in *Changliu* expressed fondness for Taiwan. The writings marvelled at the island's picturesque natural beauty, lush environment, tidy streets, friendly people, and bizarre native tribes. Nevertheless, the contents of these texts also suggested that their authors made very little substantive connections with the indigenous society.²⁹⁹ Although the civil war migrants enjoyed what the island had to offer, there was a prevailing sense of detachment and indifference to their new environments. Second, writings found in *Changliu* and *Luxing zazhi* both had a tendency to downplay or even ignore altogether the island's Japanese colonial legacy. The peoples and cultures in Taiwan were presented strictly from a perspective of Chinese history.³⁰⁰ As we shall see later in this chapter, this omission became an obstacle to the relationship

(London: Sage Publications, 1990). In more recent years, scholars have moved away from the authenticity versus the pseudo-events framework put forward by the works of Boorstin, MacCannell, and Urry. They adopted a more holistic approach to the study of tourism, looking at the complex interplay among different actors, discourses, as well as the underlying political and socioeconomic structures of tourism. For more, see Erve Chambers, *Native Tours: the Anthropology of Travel and Tourism* (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 2000); Edward M Bruner, *Culture on Tour: Ethnography of Travel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

²⁹⁸ There could be another contributing factor to the similarity between the writings found in *Luxing zazhi* and *Changliu*, namely, editorial preference. The writers who had worked for the former might be involved with the latter as well. Nonetheless, a cursory review of the editorial boards of the two magazines ruled out this possibility. *Luxing zazhi* and *Changliu* were founded and operated by two different groups of people.

²⁹⁹ For a few examples of the mainlanders travel writings in Taiwan published in *Changliu*, see Chao Chun-hao 趙君豪, "Xinshang Taichung" 欣賞台中 [Enjoying Taichung], *Changliu* 1:1 (1950): 9; Yin Hsueh-man 尹雪曼, "Gaogang Qingdiao" 高港情調 [The atmosphere in Kaohsiung], *ibid.*, 2:3 (1950): 4-5; Wu Kai-hsuan 吳愷玄, "Tahsi du zhoumo" 大溪度週末 [A weekend in Tahsi], *ibid.*, 2:4 (1950): 16; Chien Kung-lai 錢公來, "Fengshan youji" 鳳山遊記 [The trip to Fengshan], *ibid.*, 4:11 (1952): 14; Hsiao Chuan-wen 蕭傳文, "Tainan zhiyou" 台南之遊 [Visiting Tainan], *ibid.*, 7:4 (1953): 20-21; Na Lien-chun 那廉君, "Tainan yiriyou" 台南一日遊 [One day in Tainan], *ibid.*, 16:4 (1957): 18-19.

³⁰⁰ When the mainlanders talked about the local histories and social customs of the places they visited in Taiwan, the writers often focused on the developments under the Ming and the Qing. They looked for traces of "Han" culture. The Dutch and the Japanese colonial legacies were often ignored. See Wu Chia-ching 伍稼青, "Xianjing de Tainan" 閒靜的台南 [Quiet Tainan], *ibid.*, 1:12 (1950): 17; Hsu Yin-hsiang 徐蔭祥, "Chiayi youji" 嘉義遊記 [The trip to Chiayi], *ibid.*, 9:5 (1954): 18-19.

between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese. Like their predecessors, the civil war migrants tended to filter everything through preconceived notions and experiences. They saw only the things they wanted to see in Taiwan.

One thing separates the great exodus from the early mainland Chinese visitors however. Unlike their predecessors, the civil war migrants were political exiles and war refugees, not tourists. Consequently, many had considered their situation in Taiwan an extension of their earlier experiences during the Anti-Japanese War.³⁰¹ This is illustrated by a considerable number of essays published in *Changliu* that made casual comparisons between the wartime exile in Sichuan and the living conditions in Taiwan.³⁰² In 1950, the chief editor of the magazine Wu Kai-hsuan (吳愷玄) wrote:

I got used to listening to the sound of the rain in Chongqing at night. Now I am in Taiwan. But the rainy nights here seem to pull me back to Sichuan. Chongqing was the temporary capital during the war against Japan. Today, Taiwan is the base for mainland recovery. The situation might be different, but the goal and meaning are the same.³⁰³

In 1951, another writer made an interesting comparison between bamboo shacks in Chongqing and the Japanese wooden houses in Taiwan. The person concluded the essay by saying:

A friend of mine from a foreign country who had witnessed the [Japanese] bombing of Chongqing once said: "The houses in Chongqing are made of tofu, but the hearts of the people in Chongqing are made of steel." I would like to end this essay with this particular quote in the hope that

³⁰¹ For writings about the experiences during the Anti-Japanese war, see Fan Lu 繁露, "Yi Lung er" 憶龍兒 [Thinking about my son Lung], *Zhongyang ribao*, May 17, 1952, 6; Hsieh Cheng-fu 謝徵孚, "Taiyang zhaozai Qiangui daoshang" 太陽照在黔桂道上 [Sun shining on the roads to Guizhou], *Changliu* 2:7 (1950): 7-8; Li Wan 麗婉, "Yu ye" 雨夜 [Raining night], *ibid.*, 3:7 (1951): 21. Hsiao Chuan-wen 蕭傳文, "Yi Yuelushan" 憶岳麓山 [Reflecting on the Yuelu Mountain], *ibid.*, 4:2 (1951): 18-19.

³⁰² See Hou An 厚菴, "Shiyin xianhua" 市隱閒話 [Gossips from obscure corners of the city], *ibid.*, 1:3 (1950):12-13; Wu Chia-ching, "Xianjing de Tainan," *ibid.*, 1:12 (1950): 17; You Yan 有嫻, "Tan fangkong dong" 談防空洞 [Talking about air raid shelters], *ibid.*, 3:6 (1951): 28; Chen Chih 綦芝, "Sichuan de huagan" 四川的滑竿 [The slipping pole in Sichuan], *ibid.*, 12:9 (1955): 23; Lu Wang-chia 陸望嘉 "Sishu ji" 思蜀記 [Thinking about Sichuan], *ibid.*, 14:6 (1956): 5-7; Hou An, "Zai Taiwan wang Chongqing" 在臺灣望重慶 [Looking at Chongqing from Taiwan], *ibid.*, 14:9 (1956): 11-12; 14:11 (1957): 18-19.

³⁰³ Wu Kai-hsuan, "Yeyu yi Bayu" 夜雨憶巴渝 [Thinking about Sichuan and Chongqing on rainy nights], *ibid.*, 2:3 (1950): 10.

Taiwan's future will be brighter and stronger. There are just too many similarities between the houses in Taiwan and Chongqing.³⁰⁴

In this particular account, we can see that the writer uses the house as a metaphor representing fortitude and perseverance in exile, linking past experiences in China with the present circumstances in Taiwan. The tone is apparently optimistic, hinting that the sojourn will eventually end.

The tendency to draw parallels between wartime travels in China and the exodus to Taiwan is also illustrated by an overwhelming number of travel writings about different places in mainland China, which the civil war migrants had visited in the past, mostly during the Anti-Japanese War.³⁰⁵ For a journal magazine set up to encourage railway tourism in Taiwan, *Changliu* actually contained a lot more writings about specific locations in China than popular tourist spots in Taiwan. These “reflection writings” illustrated deep emotional attachment to particular sites in China, and conveyed a strong desire to return and visit these places once again. For the mainlanders who lived in Taiwan during the 1950s, the island was merely one stop along the road. It was not the end of the journey.

Oftentimes, the civil war exiles searched their memories for similar experiences from the past when they visited different places on the island. For example, a mainland writer celebrated the Mid-Autumn Festival (中秋節) in 1951 with friends in Green Lake (碧潭), a popular tourist destination near Taipei. After returning from the trip, the individual reflected on a similar drinking and boating excursion that happened twenty

³⁰⁴ See Hou An, “Chongqing de zhuwu” 重慶的竹屋 [The bamboo houses in Chongqing], *Changliu* 2:10 (1951): 38.

³⁰⁵ See Tang Tien 唐鈿, “Yi Chongqing nan wenquan” 憶重慶南溫泉 [Reflections on hot spring in south Chongqing], *ibid.*, 5:1 (1952): 25; Sung Tzu 松滋, “Wozi ai Chengdu” 我自愛成都 [I love Chengdu], *ibid.*, 5:12 (1952): 14-15; Hsieh Ping-ying 謝冰瑩, “Chengdu zayi” 成都雜憶 [Miscellaneous reflections on Chengdu], *ibid.*, 8:7 (1953): 31-32; Hsiao Yu 效愚, “Yi Daming hu” 憶大明湖 [Remembering the Daming Lake], *ibid.*, 7:3 (1953): 24-26; Wang Kang 王康, “Yi Guilin” 憶桂林 [Reflections on Guilin], *ibid.*, 8:12 (1954): 28-29; Chi Shi-shan 積石山, “Emei shan yiyu” 峨嵋山憶遊 [Reflections on the trip to the Emei Mountain], *ibid.*, 10:7 (1954): 10-11; Chou Yi-ou 周一鷗, “Baiyun wanhua yi Hengyue” 白雲萬壑憶橫嶽 [White cloud and deep valleys: remembering the Heng Mountain], *ibid.*, 10:9 (1954): 18-19; Tun yuan 豚園, “Changjiang yi” 長江憶 [The reflections on the Yangtze River], *ibid.*, 14:3 (1956): 17; Huo Kung 豁公, “Chunlai wozi yi Kunming” 春來我自憶昆明 [Recalling the days in Kunming during spring], *ibid.*, 17:5 (1958): 12-13.

years earlier. The excursion took place on the shores of the famous West Lake (西湖), near his hometown Hangzhou. He wrote:

I cannot stop thinking about the West Lake. The thoughts grow deeper with time. We are stranded in an overseas location (身在海外) at the moment. When can our dream [of seeing the West Lake again] ever be fulfilled? [The excursion] today brought back fond memories of the West Lake. I thought about the moon light over the water. I thought about the wonderful Mid-Autumn Festival night I spent at the West Lake twenty years ago, after the outbreak of the 918 Incident [the Mukden Incident, 1931]. I am overwhelmed with feelings of loss and disorientation at this moment!³⁰⁶

In 1954, a mainlander intellectual wrote the following passage upon visiting the famous Chihnan Temple³⁰⁷ (指南宮) in Taipei:

I love mountain climbing, and I love the view at Chihnan Temple. But coming here on top of the Chihnan Mountain, I am beset by nostalgia. [The feeling of] nostalgia is like the sound of echoes in the empty valleys and in the field, calling me from every direction.

The scenery at Chihnan Temple is no match for the famous mountains and ancient temples in my hometown in Jiangnan (江南). But if one makes the effort to climb all the way to the top of the mountain and look down, some of the great sites in Jiangnan probably cannot compare to this...For a person who went on exile for tens of thousands of miles to come here...despite being physically tired and dispirited, he cannot help but think about the distant home in the mainland beyond the clouds on the other side of the shore.³⁰⁸

Accounts like these help illustrate the sojourner mentality of the mainlander migrants in early post-war Taiwan. It was not until the end of the 1950s that the number of these

³⁰⁶ Li Hsiung 李雄, “You Bitan yi Xihu” 遊碧潭憶西湖 [Touring the Green Lake and thinking about the West Lake], *Changliu* 4:8 (1951): 28-29.

³⁰⁷ Chihnan Temple was built in the late 19th century. It was one of the earliest and the most important Daoist temples in north Taiwan.

³⁰⁸ Li Erh-kang 李爾康, “Xiangchou yizai Chihnan gong” 鄉愁亦在指南宮 [Writing about nostalgia in Chihnan Temple], *Changliu* 9:6 (1954): 14-16.

“reflection writings” began to decrease, but they remained a regular fixture in *Changliu* well into the 1960s.³⁰⁹

The travel accounts, essays, poems published in *Changliu* during the 1950s not only offer a great illustration of the mainlander migrants’ sojourner mentality, but also point to an important historical fact. For many, the exodus to Taiwan was not their first experience with war and displacement. Historians of modern China, such as Paul A Cohen and Joseph Esherick, have argued for the importance of seeing through the dividing line of 1949. They suggest that contemporary researchers could get a better understanding of developments under the CCP if they start paying attention to prior developments under the KMT. The year 1949 represented a watershed, but not an unbridgeable chasm.³¹⁰ By the same token, the author would suggest that one cannot fully appreciate the mindset of the civil war migrants in early post-war Taiwan without an understanding of their previous experiences in China. The country was in turmoil during the first half of the 20th century. The Republican state, which was disorganized and dysfunctional to begin with, was pushed to the brink of elimination by the Japanese invasion during the late 1930s and the early 1940s. Nonetheless, after years of bloody resistance and perseverance, the outbreak of the Pacific War finally helped China turn the tide against Japan. Thus, it is not hard to see why the mainlanders had drawn parallels between their wartime exile in China and their situation in Taiwan during the early 1950s. With the Korean War raging and the clashes between the American-led capitalist countries and the Soviet-led Communist states in other parts of the world, many felt that another global war was not far from the horizon. This sentiment was clearly expressed by a great number of editorials and political commentaries published in *Ziyou zhongguo* before 1956.³¹¹ Hu Shih’s famous motto during the Anti-Japanese War—“hanging on

³⁰⁹ For more, see the comments made by a long-time reader. Chung Pao-nan 程抱南, “「Changliu」chuankang shinian” 暢流創刊十年 [The ten-year anniversary of *Changliu*], *Changliu* 21:1 (1960): 11.

³¹⁰ Paul A Cohen, “The Post-Mao Reforms in Historical Perspective,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 47:3 (1988): 518-540; Joseph W Esherick, “Ten Thesis on the Chinese Revolution,” *Modern China* 21:1 (1995): 47-48.

³¹¹ See Hu Shih 胡適, “Minzhu yu jiquan de chongtu” 民主與集權的衝突 [The conflict between democracy and authoritarianism], *Ziyou zhongguo* 1:1 (1950): 5-8; “Benkan yizhounian” 本刊一週年 [The first anniversary of the magazine], *ibid.*, 3:10 (1950): 3; “Hanzhan yinian dui shijie de yingxiang” 韓戰一年對世界的影響 [Korean War’s influence on world politics after one year of fighting], *ibid.*, 5:1 (1951): 5.

and waiting for change” (苦撐待變)—was often cited as an inspiration.³¹² The mainlanders thought they could eventually go home, if they only remained patient and waited for things to change.

Although most of the mainlanders thought the prospects of returning to China were real in the early 1950s, with the passing of time and the continued economic stagnation and political paralysis under the Nationalist rule, some began to doubt their future. By the second half of the 1950s, the liberal intellectuals associated with *Ziyou zhongguo* began to challenge the status quo. The clash between *Ziyou zhongguo* and the Nationalist leadership had produced interesting historical evidence, which pointed to an underlying tension between the civil war migrants and the KMT during the 1950s. The contents of the magazine also shed light on the instrumental role played by the civil war migrants’ sojourner mentality in shaping the relationship between the exiled population and the regime-in-exile.

3.4 Prolonged Exile and the “Unholy Alliance”

Scholars studying state-society relations in Taiwan under the KMT tended to focus more on the relationship between the regime-in-exile and the native Taiwanese. The quest for ethnic social justice after democratization set the stage for a considerable number of studies looking into the 228 Incident and the KMT White Terror against Taiwanese political activists.³¹³ Meanwhile, the fascination with the island’s relatively smooth transition from a single-party dictatorship to a full-fledged democracy has inspired great scholarly interest in the island’s local politics and electoral system. The earlier studies showed how the exiled KMT regime consolidated its political power by

³¹² Hang Li-wu 杭立武, “Kucheng daibian—wei ‘Ziyou zhongguo’ erzhou nian zuo” 苦撐待變—為「自由中國」二週年作 [Hanging on and waiting for change—celebrating the second anniversary of *Ziyou zhongguo*], *Ziyou zhongguo* 5:11 (1951): 8-9; Wu Hsiang-hsiang 吳相湘, “‘Kucheng daibian’ yu fangong kange bisheng xinnian,” 「苦撐待變」與反共抗俄必勝信念 [“Hanging on and waiting for change” and the belief in the victory over Communism], *ibid.*, 5:11 (1951): 10-13.

³¹³ For a good overview of both the research on the 228 Incident and the White Terror in Taiwan, see Chang Yan-hsien 張炎憲 and Chen Mei-jung 陳美蓉 (eds.), *Jieyan shiqi baise kongbu yu zhuanxing zhengyi lunwen ji* 戒嚴時期白色恐怖與轉型正義論文集 [An anthology of White Terror under the martial law and transitional justice] (Taipei: Wu San-lien Taiwan shiliao jijinhui, 2009). Also see Hou Kun-hung 侯坤宏, “Zhanhou Taiwan baise kongbu lunxi” 戰後臺灣白色恐怖論析 [White Terror in post-war Taiwan], *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan* 12 (2007): 139-203.

purging political opposition, training native Taiwanese cadres, manipulating the elections, and pitting the Taiwanese local factions against each other.³¹⁴ These works were later expanded and critiqued by the enlightening scholarship of Alan M Wachman, Chen Ming-tung, Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, Shelley Rigger, Steven E Phillips, Jen Yu-teh, Yao Ren-to, and many others.³¹⁵

By comparison, there has been less research on the relationship between the *waishengren* and the KMT, especially during the 1950s. The conventional wisdom is that the mainlander community is synonymous with the exiled party-state. The civil war migrants are often portrayed as instruments of Nationalist authoritarianism in Taiwan. They work mostly in the military, in the civil service, and in state-owned industries. In particular, the army personnel and the residents of *juancun* have been staunch supporters of the KMT political candidates in elections, earning them the nickname “iron ballot troopers” (鐵票部隊). The close ties between the exiled population and the regime-in-exile were well-documented by a considerable number of sociological and anthropological studies.³¹⁶ Nevertheless, most of these studies offered little insight on the historical factors and processes leading to *waishengren*’s overrepresentation in the KMT

³¹⁴ See Li Hsiao-feng 李筱峰, *Taiwan zhanhou chuqi de minyi daibiao* 臺灣戰後初期的民意代表 [Elected representatives in early post-war Taiwan] (Taipei: Zili wanbao she wenhua chuban bu, 1986); Wu Nai-teh, “The Politics of a Regime Patronage System: Mobilization and Control within an Authoritarian Regime” (PhD Diss., Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, 1987); Wu Nai-teh 吳乃德 and Chen Ming-tung 陳明通, “Zhengquan zhuanyi he jingying liudong: Taiwan difang zhengzhi jingying de lishi xingcheng” 政權轉移和精英流動: 台灣地方政治精英的歷史形成 [Regime change and elite transformation: the historical formation of Taiwanese elites in local politics], in *Taiwan guangfu chuqi lishi* 台灣光復初歷史 [Taiwan’s history during the early retrocession period], (ed.) Lai Tse-han 賴澤涵 (Taipei: Research Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences, Academia Sinica, 1993), 303-334.

³¹⁵ Alan M Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization* (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 1994); Chen Ming-tung, *Paixi zhengzhi yu Taiwan zhengzhi bianqian* 派系政治與臺灣政治變遷 [Clique politics and the political transformation in Taiwan] (Taipei: Yuedan, 1995); Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*; Shelley Rigger, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999); Steven E Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence*; Jen Yu-teh 任育德, *Xiangxia zhagen: Zhongguo Kuomintang yu Taiwan difang zhengzhi de fazhan (1949-1960)* 向下扎根: 中國國民黨與臺灣地方政治的發展 (1949-1960) [Planting the roots: the KMT and the development of local politics in Taiwan, 1949-1960] (Taipei County, Banciao: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2008); Yao Jen-to 姚人多, “Zhengquan zhuanyi zhi zhili xing: zhanhou Kuomintang zhengquan dui rizhi shidai baojia zhidu de chengxi yu zhuanhua” 政權轉移之治理性: 戰後國民黨政權對日治時代保甲制度的承襲與轉化 [Governmentality and regime change: the transformation of baojia system after 1945], *Taiwan shehuixue* 台灣社會學 [Taiwanese sociology] 15 (2008): 47-108. Also see Wu Nai-teh “Bentu jingying de yanxu he duanceng: huiying Yao Jen-to” 本土菁英的延續和斷層: 回應姚人多 [The continuity and discontinuity of local elites: a response to Yao Jen-to], *ibid.*, 16 (2008): 193-197.

³¹⁶ See the studies listed in Chapter 1, note 56.

officialdom. Rather, they focused on describing the different characteristics, as well as the inequalities between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese.³¹⁷

There was one particular monograph that offered a more nuanced interpretation of the relationship between the exiled population and the KMT regime-in-exile however. Sociologist Kung Yi-chun argued that the underlying reasons for *waishengren*'s allegiance to the KMT were often ignored.³¹⁸ The mainlanders fled to the island with Chiang's defeated regime. Therefore, many simply regarded all *waishengren* as Nationalist supporters, and overlooked the diversity within the migrant community. Rather than taking the bond between *waishengren* and the regime-in-exile as a given, Kung attributed the development of the relationship to a series of policies put forward by the KMT between 1950 and 1969. These policies were designed to expand party membership, to gain control of the livelihood of the migrants, and to isolate most of the mainlanders from the indigenous communities. Kung's research concentrated on the Nationalist party machine's infiltration of the army, the military family's villages, and the EYVAC.³¹⁹

Building upon Kung's research, the narrative contained in this section depicts a more precarious relationship between the civil war migrants and the KMT during the 1950s. Chapter 2 has demonstrated that not all *waishengren* were Nationalist supporters, or had ties to the old regime in mainland China, especially "deserted soldiers and vagrants." Drawing evidence from *Ziyou zhongguo*, oral history, and recent research findings on the White Terror in Taiwan, this section suggests that considerable tension had existed between the exiled population and the regime-in-exile during the earlier years. The tension was a result of the political repression and other injustices suffered under Nationalist authoritarianism. Nevertheless, the discontent towards the regime did not lead

³¹⁷ There are exceptions though. There have been a few unpublished graduate theses looking into the career path of *waishengren*. For example, see Chung Chi-nien 鍾基年 "Zuqun tezhi yu zhiye shengya—waisheng ji zuqun congshi jungongjiao hangye yuanyin zhi tantao" 族群特質與職業生涯—外省籍族群從事軍公教行業原因之探討 [Ethnic characteristics and career path—a probe into the reasons for the mainlanders' overrepresentation in the army, the civil service, and the education sectors] (Master's Thesis, Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University, Institute of Anthropology, 1992).

³¹⁸ See Kung Yi-chun 龔宜君, 「Wailai zhengguan」 yu bentu shehui: gaizao hou Kuomintang zhengquan shehui jichu de xingcheng (1950-1969) 「外來政權」與本土社會: 改造後國民黨政權社會基礎的形成 (1950-1969) ["Alien regime" and local society: the formation of the KMT's social basis after the reformation of the Party, 1950-1969] (Taipei County, Banciao: Daoxiang chubanshe, 1998), 37-70.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 71-99.

to collective actions against the KMT. With the exception of a small number of liberal intellectuals associated with the *Ziyou zhongguo* magazine, the migrants did not actively seek alternatives by working with the local population. Instead, most of them continued to support an oppressive political apparatus, not only because the regime provided them with livelihood, but also because political stability in Taiwan was considered the key to mainland recovery. Thus, the sojourner mentality played an important role in the formation of the close ties between *waishengren* and the KMT. This section suggests that the “unholy alliance” should be understood in the context of the historical circumstances and the *mentalités* engendered by the great exodus. While Kung’s monograph put great emphasis on the role of the KMT party apparatus and state-sponsored welfare system in co-opting a diverse migrant community, this chapter attempts to explore the issue from the perspective of the civil war migrants.

One important historical text where the migrants’ perspectives may be explored is *Ziyou zhongguo*. The political magazine was probably the only open public forum in Taiwan during the 1950s where alternative voices could be heard.³²⁰ This was especially true after 1956, when the confrontation between the liberal intellectuals who ran the magazine and the Nationalist leadership intensified. At first, the relationship between the KMT authorities and the magazine was cordial and reciprocal.³²¹ The intellectuals who founded *Ziyou zhongguo* in late 1949 were staunch advocates of liberal democracy, and were vehemently anti-Communist. They looked forward to the full implementation of the ROC Constitution under the tutelage of the KMT, and considered Mao’s New China as a totalitarian state. The chief editor, Lei Chen, and many of the mainlander writers associated with the magazine had worked closely with the KMT during the Anti-Japanese War and the civil war. They continued to lend their support to Chiang’s faltering regime upon reaching Taiwan.³²²

³²⁰ Chung Ya-peng, “Zhenglun zazhi yu Taiwan minzhu hua,” 56-65.

³²¹ The KMT actually provided funding and assistance when *Ziyou zhongguo* was first established. See Hsueh Hua-yuan, *Ziyou zhongguo yu minzhu xianzheng*, 56-63, 75-89.

³²² *Ziyou zhongguo*’s initial support for Chiang Kai-shek’s leadership in the war against Communism can be illustrated by several editorials. See “Lun tuanjie duiyu fangong kange de biyao” 論團結對於反共抗俄的必要 [The importance of solidarity in the struggle against Communism], *Ziyou zhongguo* 1:2 (1949): 2; “Cunwang juexu zaici yiju: Chiang zongtong fuzhi hou women de yuanwang” 存亡絕續再此一舉: 蔣總統復職後我們的願望 [Fighting for survival: our hopes for President Chiang after his return to power], *ibid.*,

Nonetheless, underneath the thin veil of reciprocity, tension began to build up quickly. The underlying reason was the irreconcilable difference between liberals' democratic ideals and exiled KMT leaders' effort to build a single-party state on the island. Historians who specialize in *Ziyou zhongguo*, such as Hsueh Hua-yuan and Ren Yu-teh, have demonstrated that the regime-in-exile and the magazine took a progressively more hostile stance towards each other from mid-1951 to mid-1956.³²³ With full American support following the outbreak of the Korean War, Chiang Kai-shek grew ever more determined to maintain his absolute political authority in Taiwan.³²⁴ Convinced that political dissent and disunity led to the downfall of the old regime in mainland China, the Generalissimo, his eldest son, Chiang Ching-kuo, and their close political entourage became more and more impatient with the "friendly advice" from the liberals.³²⁵

Ziyou zhongguo had begun to express minor concerns about government policy since the early 1950s. These included abuses in the criminal justice system, clampdown on free speech, and the official KMT doctrine in the public school curriculum.³²⁶ Nevertheless, the magazine's all-out attack against the Nationalist leadership did not start until the publication of issue 15:9 in October 1956. The issue was dubbed the "special birthday edition" (祝壽專號) because it came out on Chiang Kai-shek's 70th birthday, a

2:6 (1950): 2-3; "Tantan Kuomintang de gaizao" 談談國民黨的改造 [Talking about reforming the KMT], *ibid.*, 3:4 (1950): 4.

³²³ Hsueh Hua-yuan, *Ziyou zhongguo yu minzhu xianzheng*, 89-137; Jen Yu-teh, *Lei Chen yu Taiwan minzhu xianzheng de fazhan*, 195-196.

³²⁴ For more on the reorganization of the KMT during the early 1950s, see Bruce J Dickson, "The Lessons of Defeat: The Reorganization of the Kuomintang on Taiwan, 1950-1952," *The China Quarterly* 133 (1993): 56-84; Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*, 23-44.

³²⁵ For a heated exchange between Chiang Ching-kuo and Lei Chen about the magazine's criticism of the KMT's political activities in the army, see Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*, 53.

³²⁶ See "Zhengfu buke you renmin ruzui" 政府不可誘人民入罪 [The government cannot trick people into committing crimes], *Ziyou zhongguo* 4:11 (1951): 4, 31; Yin Hai-kuang 殷海光, "Gongchandang de yuyan keyi xiyong ma?" 共產黨的語言可以襲用嗎? [Can we borrow the language from the Communists?], *ibid.*, 5:4 (1951): 9; Hsu Fu-kuan 徐復觀, "「Jihua jiaoyu」 zhiyi" 「計畫教育」質疑 [Doubts on the "planned education"], *ibid.*, 6:9 (1952): 8-9; "Zai qiwan yu Kuomintang zhe—dule qiquan dahui xuanyan yihou" 再期望於國民黨者—讀了七全大會宣言以後 [Our expectations for the KMT—after reading the proclamations of the Seventh Plenipotentiary Meeting], *ibid.*, 7:9 (1952): 3-4; "Yi zhengyan qingzhu Chiang zongtong dangxuan lianren" 以諍言慶祝蔣總統當選連任 [Admonitions upon the celebration of President Chiang's re-election], *ibid.*, 10:7 (1954): 3-4.

rather unpleasant birthday gift.³²⁷ The “special birthday edition” contained sixteen articles questioning the discrepancy between official rhetoric and reality. The articles brought attention to several major issues. These included democracy, the need for an opposition party, freedom of speech, KMT control of the military, government interference with the judicial system, and Nationalist party doctrines in education. They also argued for the need to convene a conference on mainland recovery, which would take into consideration different political opinions.³²⁸

The birthday edition was reprinted a dozen times and was widely circulated. The issue caused quite a sensation among the general public in Taiwan, but incurred the wrath of the aging dictator. Government newspapers and journal magazines launched a concerted attack on *Ziyou zhongguo*. The magazine was banned in all public schools, libraries, and official institutions. The KMT secret police also began to harass and terrorize private printing houses associated with the magazine.³²⁹ The official sanctions and intimidations did not deter the liberal intellectuals. The birthday edition was soon followed by 15 consecutive editorials from 17:1 to 18:4 (July 1957-February 1958). These editorials were usually referred to as the “series on today’s problems” (今日的問題系列) because of their common titles. These editorials discussed the causes, as well as the solutions, for a wide range of political, social, and economic problems under Nationalist rule.

At the fore front of all concerns was the recovery of mainland China. As reluctant sojourners, the mainlanders were eagerly hoping to go home. The second editorial in the

³²⁷ On the eve of his 70th birthday in 1956, Chiang Kai-shek announced in the KMT party media that he would seek advice from the entire nation (meaning Taiwan), and the overseas Chinese community. The Nationalist leadership stated it would listen to different opinions and draw up national policies accordingly. Chiang’s move was eerily similar to what his chief rival Mao Zedong did in roughly the same time period, when the latter started the “Hundred Flowers Campaign” in China. Scholars have different interpretations of Mao’s intentions. Meanwhile, the intentions of Chiang’s move also remain unclear. Chiang’s announcement prompted the liberal intellectuals associated with *Ziyou zhongguo* to launch an open attack on the KMT. See “Zhengfu he yulun douying zhongshi zheci de fanying!” 政府和輿論都應重視這次的反應! [Government and media should pay attention to the reaction this time!], *Ziyou zhongguo* 15:10 (1956): 4; Lei Chen 雷震, “Women de taidu” 我們的態度 [Our attitude], *ibid.*, 15: 10 (1956): 6-9.

³²⁸ “Gei duzhe de baogo” 給讀者的報告 [A report for the readers], *ibid.*, 15:9 (1956): 35.

³²⁹ Hsueh Hua-yuan, *Ziyou zhongguo yu minzhu xianzheng*, 137-141.

“series on today’s problem” was especially illuminating.³³⁰ First, it revealed a growing popular suspicion towards the government as a result of the latter’s inability to deliver on its promises by the late 1950s. Second, the editorial also offered a remarkable comment on how civil war migrants’ sojourner mentality influenced state-society relations during this time. The editorial started out by saying:

Mainland recovery is the first and the most important concern of everyone. The question is the key to understanding all other major problems in Free China. If we do not sort out this matter, other problems cannot be resolved. However, we believe that many really feel lost when they think about this particular question.

Generally speaking, there are two sayings about this particular matter. One comes from the government. The [KMT] officials have been overwhelmingly confident about the eventual success of mainland recovery...The other saying comes from the general public, usually off the record comments. People started to think differently as time goes by. The officials should not just think that people would continue to believe whatever the government said without suspicion. The officials should also not think that as long as they kept intimidating the people—making people keep their mouths shut—the government would be able to maintain the current situation, and the people would be afraid to say what is really on their minds.³³¹

The same article goes on to suggest that a major war between the two global superpowers in the late 1950s had become less likely in the wake of a succession of international events—the end of the Korean War, the division of Vietnam, and the growth of the Non-Aligned Movement after the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. It then accuses the KMT of using mainland recovery as a pretext to justify authoritarian rule in “Free China”:

The prospects of mainland recovery have not been good for some time. However the [KMT] officials not only continue to pay lip service to its inevitability, but also put forward policy based on the assumption that “[we will] return to the mainland soon.” This has led to a number of problems....because “[we will] return to the mainland soon,” ordinary people are made to endure “temporary circumstances” and to accept “provisional measures.” When people see the

³³⁰ The first editorial serves as an introduction to the entire series. It stresses the importance of telling the truth. See “Jinri de wenti yi: shi shenme jiushuo shenme” 今日的問題一: 是什麼, 就說什麼 [Today’s problems I: telling things the way they are], *Ziyou zhongguo* 17:3 (1957): 3-4.

³³¹ “Jinri de wenti er: fangong dalu wenti” 今日的問題二: 反攻大陸問題 [Today’s problems II: the issue of mainland recovery], *ibid.*, 17:3 (1957): 5.

government take unreasonable steps or carry out repressive policies, they think all of this is only temporary. People accept it because they believe things will be good after returning to the mainland. Under the pretext of “recovering mainland China,” the authorities can do whatever they want. In the past few years, there have been serious human rights abuses and anti-democratic developments.³³²

Here, we can see that the editorial was incisive in pointing out that the civil war migrants’ sojourner mentality actually made them susceptible to the state’s political manipulation. The intellectuals associated with *Ziyou zhongguo* thought the situation should no longer be tolerated. Therefore, the rest of the thirteen editorials in the series and most of the political and social commentaries published in the magazine from 1957 to 1960 argued for a wide range of reforms.³³³ In September 1960, the effort to build an opposition party with the native Taiwanese political leaders eventually led to the downfall of the magazine.

The “series on today’s problems” caused another sensation, and provoked further attacks from the official organs. The second editorial drew the most flack. In a predictable move, the KMT press denounced the piece as part of a Communist conspiracy to discredit the government. While reactions from the Nationalist authorities were to be expected, the article also came under criticism from non-official circles for suggesting that “the recovery of mainland is impossible” (反攻無望論). Many mainlanders considered *Ziyou zhongguo*’s analysis of the international situation pessimistic; its tone rather depressing. Though some were unhappy about what the government was doing and were beginning to have doubts, they were not ready to accept the fact that they would

³³² “Jinri de wenti er: fangong dalu wenti,” 7.

³³³ The reforms proposed by liberal intellectuals affiliated with *Ziyou zhongguo* included the following—brining accountability to the Nationalist bureaucracy and military, ending corruption and nepotism in Taiwan’s local elections, putting forward a new economic policy, cutting back on military spending, reforming the education, as well as the need for freedom of press and a strong opposition party. For more, see “Jinri de wenti san: women de junshi” 今日的問題三: 我們的軍事 [Today’s problem III: our military], *Ziyou Zhongguo* 17:4 (1957): 3-4; “Jinri de wenti wu: women de jingji” 今日的問題五: 我們的經濟 [Today’s problem V: our economy], *ibid.*, 17:6 (1957): 3-7; “Jinri de wenti shisan: women de jiaoyu” 今日的問題十三: 我們的教育 [Today’s problem XIII: our education], *ibid.*, 18:2 (1958): 3-4; “Jinri de wenti shisi: Jinnian de zhengzhi xinli yu zuofeng” 今日的問題十四: 近年的政治心理與作風 [Today’s problem XIV: the political mentality and policy in recent years], *ibid.*, 18:3 (1958): 3-6; “Jinri de wenti shiwu: fanduidang wenti” 今日的問題十五: 反對黨問題 [Today’s problem XV: the opposition party], *ibid.*, 18:4 (1958): 3-4; Chi Shih-ying 齊世英, “Jingbing, chuhai, tuanjie” 精兵、除害、團結 [Cut back on the size of the standing army, weed out bad elements, and stick together], *ibid.*, 20:6 (1959): 195; Hu Yueh 胡越, “Guoshi shiwen” 國事十問 [Ten questions about national issues], *ibid.*, 22:3 (1960): 8-9.

probably never go home. Most probably also did not agree that democratic reforms should be put before mainland recovery. In its defence, the magazine argued it was merely presenting objective reality based on credible information, in contrast to unrealistic official propaganda.³³⁴

Yet in late October 1958, approximately eight months after the publication of the last editorial in the “series on today’s problems,” an event took place that seriously shook the general public’s faith in Nationalist regime’s commitment to mainland recovery, and made *Ziyou zhongguo*’s editorial seemed almost prophetic. In the aftermath of the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis (or the 823 Artillery Battle), Chiang Kai-shek issued a joint declaration with the US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. In exchange for America’s continued support, the KMT proclaimed that the mission to restore the freedom of people on the mainland would be accomplished mainly by political means, not by force.³³⁵ Dulles left Taiwan satisfied, as the US put a rein on Chiang’s unrealistic fantasy of returning to the mainland. Meanwhile, the international community breathed a sigh of relief after warding off another possible Cold War escalation. But the proclamation did serious damage to the KMT’s credibility in Taiwan, especially among the mainlander community whose only wish was to go home. Many suspected that the Nationalist leadership might have given up on its historical mission, despite fervent denial from the latter.³³⁶

³³⁴ For more on the reactions from government and the unofficial mainlander circles, as well as the response of the magazine, see “Guanyu 「fangong dalu wenti」 de wenti 關於「反攻大陸問題」的問題 [The questions about “the question of mainland recovery], *Ziyou zhongguo* 17:5 (1957): 6-8.

³³⁵ At first, Chiang Kai-shek was extremely reluctant to offer any public statements that would rule out the military option, fearing the domestic opposition. However, Dulles was able to force the stubborn dictator to make the announcement after some tough negotiations. For more on the negotiations behind the 1958 Sino-American joint declaration, see Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (ed.), *China Confidential*, 127-129; Chang Shu-ya 張淑雅, “Taihai weiji yu meiguo dui 「fangong dalu」 zhengce de zhuanbian” 臺海危機與美國對「反攻大陸」政策的轉變 [Taiwan Strait crises and US attitude toward “reconquering the mainland” in the 1950s], *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica] 36 (2001): 267-285.

³³⁶ For more, see “Lun fangqi zhudong shiyong wuli zhi chengnuo” 論放棄主動使用武力之承諾 [On the promise to give up the military option for mainland recovery], *Ziyou Zhongguo* 19:9 (1958): 5-6; Shih Chih-hua 施治華, “Fenxi zhongmei huitan jieguo ji 「bu shiyong wuli」 shengming 分析中美會談結果及「不使用武力」聲明 [An analysis of the result of the Sino-American talks and the announcement of “giving up the military option”], *ibid.*, 19:9 (1958): 11; “Sheizai 「hu shuo」?” 誰在「胡說」? [Who is “talking nonsense?”], *ibid.*, 19:10 (1959): 35.

The civil war migrants' discontent towards the KMT leadership in the late 1950s can be observed in the "letters from the readers" (讀者投書) section of *Ziyou zhongguo*. The editors started the section in the early 1950s to provide its audience with an open forum to discuss issues raised by the magazine. Although there had been various feedbacks and occasional criticisms against the government before 1956, it was after 1957, and in particular between 1958 and 1960, that a large number of letters complaining about the various injustices and political repression under the Nationalist system began to appear.³³⁷ Problems between the migrants and the KMT had existed at the very beginning of the exile. Nonetheless, the mainlander community's growing dissatisfaction with the regime's performance in the late 1950s led to a sudden outburst of anger and resentment. Many of the letter senders were lowly civil servants and common soldiers.

One of the main mainlander grievances was that government wages were below minimum subsistence level. The pay of the low-ranking state employees and military personnel had been a source of discontent since the early 1950s.³³⁸ As an atomized exiled population who possessed little capital and local connections, a lot of the civil war migrants worked for the state, for lack of a better choice. But most were barely getting by because of the extremely low government salaries. The Nationalist authorities had raised the salary level twice, once in 1950 and again in 1953. However, the pay increase continued to lag behind inflation rates. The Nationalist regime also distributed rice, salt, oil, and other daily necessities to public servants and military personnel with families. This was support that a majority of the impoverished native Taiwanese and aboriginal families did not get.³³⁹ Despite this, many low-ranking government officials and common soldiers felt that the state's salary structure and its distribution of benefits were unfair. The upper-level ministers and officers got most of the share, while the rest were made to

³³⁷ Fu Cheng, "Cong benkan de 「duzhe toudou」 shuodao guoshi wenti," 36.

³³⁸ See Lin Ping-kang 林炳康, "Gongjiao renyuan daiyu banfa de jiantao yu gaishan zouyi" 公教人員待遇辦法的檢討與改善建議 [The suggestions on how to improve the salary of civil servants], *Ziyou zhongguo* 5:9 (1951): 14-16; Huang Chung 黃鐘, "Gongjiao deqi yang" 公教得其養 [Feeding civil servants and teachers], *ibid.*, 8:8 (1953) 13-14; Wang Ta-jen 王達人, "Buping zhiming" 不平之鳴 [Voices of discontent], *ibid.*, 9:8 (1953): 31.

³³⁹ Tao Shih-Chih 陶實之, "Shishi tiaozheng gongjiao renyuan daiyu pingyi" 適時調整公教人員待遇評議 [The need to raise the salary level of the civil servants and teachers], *ibid.*, 15:8 (1956): 6-7.

endure perpetual poverty. Moreover, over 85% of the state budgets in Taiwan during the 1950s consisted of “military expenditures.” The state considered these expenditures top secret, and kept them confidential. This gave rise to suspicion of corruption and foul play.³⁴⁰ While there had been sporadic complaints before the mid-1950s, letters from the readers published in *Ziyou zhongguo* showed that some were getting impatient and even angry with the KMT authorities by the late 1950s.

In early 1957, a heavily indebted middle school teacher provided a table listing his income and monthly expenses in detail. The person asked the government to raise the salary level immediately.³⁴¹ In May 1958, an impoverished and indignant retired army captain criticized the military pension system. In a tirade against the EYVAC, the individual wrote:

We received about 80% of our regular pay for our pension. The money is distributed every three months. As a retired captain, this comes to a total of 172 NTD per month, only five dollars per day. After deducting the [KMT] party fee and the [civil servants'] insurance every month, how can we survive on this? However, this is nothing compared to the humiliation of getting this 80% pay, which is not even enough for food and drinks...[W]e were revolutionary soldiers. We are also KMT party members. We are angry and resentful about the situation we are in.³⁴²

In June 1960, three rank-and-file soldiers sent an angry letter to *Ziyou zhongguo* describing various abuses and injustices in the army. They were fed up with government lies, and were indignant about the discrepancy between the official propaganda and the reality. The letter stated:

In the mid-March, the high command sent a colonel to talk to us about various problems in the military. [The colonel] said a private now received over 300 NTD, which is quite high. But in real life, our monthly salaries are—45 dollars for private second class, 48 dollars for private first class, and 70 dollars for corporal. A private earned a lot less [than these positions]. There is such a huge

³⁴⁰ “Jungongjiao renyuan daiyu weihe buneng heli gaishan?” 軍公教人員待遇為何不能合理改善? [Why can't we find a way to provide reasonable salaries for the military personnel, the civil servants, and teachers?], *Ziyou Zhongguo* 20:4 (1959): 5-6.

³⁴¹ Liu Ming 劉鳴, “Daiyu haibu tiaozheng ma?” 待遇還不調整嗎? [When can the salary level be adjusted?], *ibid.*, 16:3 (1957): 30.

³⁴² Chi Chi-tsai 季濟才, “Yige jia tuiyi junguan de huyu” 一個假退役軍官的呼籲 [Appeal from a retired army officer], *ibid.*, 18:10 (1958): 31.

difference between our actual income and what the colonel had told us. Who is playing tricks on us?³⁴³

These were only three examples from a considerable number of the same kind of letters published *Ziyou zhongguo* in the late 1950s.³⁴⁴ In fact, the discontent towards the Nationalist authorities had risen to such an extent that when the state proposed another pay raise to address the situation in July 1960, many became sceptical of the government's intentions. Some began to demand full disclosure of the national budget and the new salary scheme.³⁴⁵ Rumour has it that the ROC Ministry of National Defence got tens of thousands of complaint letters from soldiers when the proposal was discussed in the Legislative Yuan.³⁴⁶

Another source of tension between the civil war migrants and the regime-in-exile during the 1950s was political repression. The problem was especially serious in the military and in the civil service. Historians writing about the political of history Taiwan, such as Denny Roy have suggested that the KMT White Terror was: “[not] solely an anti-Taiwanese campaign; thousands of [m]ainlander refugees were killed as well.”³⁴⁷ The civil war migrants were not only the instruments of Nationalist authoritarian rule in

³⁴³ Tiao Tu-ko 刁兔戈, “Yiquin shibing de jige yiwen” 一群士兵的幾個疑問 [A few questions from a group of soldiers], *Ziyou zhongguo* 22:12 (1960): 21.

³⁴⁴ Also see Ting Kai-cheng 丁開誠, “Tuichuyi guanbing daiyu zhiyan” 退除役官兵待遇直言 [Speaking frankly about retired military personnel's pay], *ibid.*, 19:6 (1958): 31; Hu Hsu-yi 胡虛一, “Jiaoshi yu ‘qiong’!—jieshao zhongxue jiaoshi de daiyu jiqi shenghuo” 教師與「窮」!—介紹中學教師的待遇及其生活 [Teachers and “poverty”!—the income and the life style of middle school teachers], *ibid.*, 20:11 (1959): 16-17; Wang Tao-kuei 汪道揆, “Tantan lizhi junwen ren yuan de shenfen yu daiyu” 談談離職軍文人員的身分與待遇 [Let's talk about the status and salary level of retired military clerks], *ibid.*, 21:7 (1959): 31; A Chu 阿珠, “Qingsu gaishan xiaji guanbing juanshu de shenghuo” 請速改善下級官兵眷屬的生活 [Please help improve the livelihood of low-ranking military families immediately], *ibid.*, 21:9 (1959): 31; Ching Hsi 精希, “Wanban gankai xie zhengshan!” 萬般感慨卸征衫! [Rueful thoughts after retiring from the military!], *ibid.*, 22:2 (1960): 31.

³⁴⁵ “Gongjiao daiyu tiaozheng an Xingzhengyuan gongbu neirong yaodian” 公教待遇調整案行政院公布內容要點 [The Executive Yuan announced a new proposal to raise state employees' pay], *Zhongyang ribao*, July 3, 1960, 1; Yiqun lujun zhongxiaji junguan 一群陸軍中下級軍官, “Women duiyu tiaozheng daiyu an de kangyi” 我們對於調整待遇案的抗議 [Our protest against the new salary adjustment], *Ziyou zhongguo* 23:2 (1960): 29; Tiao Lien-shan 刁聯珊, “Xiwang gongbu daiyu tiaozheng an mingxibiao” 希望公布待遇調整案明細表 [We hope the government will open the books on the new salary scheme], *ibid.*, 23:2 (1960): 29.

³⁴⁶ “Cong daiyu tiaozheng an de fazhan yu jieshu zhanwang zhengju qiantu” 從待遇調整案的發展與結束展望政局前途 [Looking into future political developments from the beginning to the end of the new salary adjustment proposal], *ibid.*, 23:1 (1960): 6.

³⁴⁷ Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, 90.

Taiwan, they were also its victims. While state persecution of the intellectuals associated with *Ziyou zhongguo* offered a glaring example per se, a large number of writings published in the magazine during the second half of the 1950s provided convincing evidence to this interpretation. Many of the political commentaries condemned the KMT for invasion of privacy and human rights abuses. They also asked the authorities to stop performing background checks on those who came from the mainland, and to stop putting political dissidents and suspected “Communist spies” in jail without due process.³⁴⁸ Meanwhile, in “letters from the readers,” ordinary civil servants and common soldiers complained about the expansion of the KMT surveillance/informants network in the workplace, as well as the abuse of power by those who were put in charge of the internal security system and the military police apparatus.³⁴⁹

A reader’s letter from a soldier in 1959 offered vivid illustration of the resentment and misery felt by a lot of mainlanders at the time. Many thought they were trapped in a repressive and unjust system with no way out. The letter described a private conversation between two good friends in the army, who got together to celebrate Chinese New Year. Like many lower class civil war migrants at the time, these were two atomized lone males who left their families in China. The conversation goes as follows:

A: Did you ever think about the teachings and instructions in the army, whether they were right or not?

B: I have never thought about it—no—I dared not even thinking about it.

A: Why?

B: Because there are a lot of (KMT) party members in the military. Those who are not party members are constantly being watched. If one is not careful, he could be sent to “troublemakers’

³⁴⁸ “Ziqing yundong yaobude!” 自清運動要不得! [Stop the self-cleaning campaign!], *Ziyou zhongguo* 13:9 (1955): 3-4; “Qing zhengfu qieshi baozhang renquan!” 請政府切實保障人權! [We plead the government to respect individual human rights!], *ibid.*, 19: 11 (1958): 24-26; “Qingsu tingban 「dalu laitai guomin diaocha」!” 請速停辦「大陸來臺國民調查」! [Please stop performing survey on the “citizens from mainland China” immediately!], *ibid.*, 21:11 (1959): 5.

³⁴⁹ Chen Li-hsing 陳力行, “Wo taochu liangxin shuohua!” 我掏出良心說話! [I speak from the bottom of my heart!], *ibid.*, 16:9 (1957): 28; Tse Ming 則鳴, “Wosui zhidao de jinri junshi zhi yimian” 我所知道的今日軍事之一面 [A particular aspect that I know about today’s military], *ibid.*, 17:6 (1957): 30; Hsieh Hsiu-ju 謝琇如, “Yizai suowei anquanshi zhuren” 異哉所謂安全室主任 [What is this thing called the head of the security room?], *ibid.*, 18:1 (1958): 38; Li Shih-lung 李士龍, “Zhian jiguan ying zhisuo jingti” 治安機關應知所警惕 [The police apparatus should be warned], *ibid.*, 18:2 (1958): 31; Chiu Chung-yan 邱仲言, “Yige junren dui 「yijun waijia」 yundong de kanfa” 一個軍人對「以軍為家運動」的看法 [A soldier’s view of the “treating army like home” movement], *ibid.*, 22:1 (1960): 24-25.

units” (the name has now been changed to “military discipline units”). The treatment one receives in these units is inhumane.

A: How could you get used to a life under constant surveillance?

B: It was painful at first, but now I am used to it.³⁵⁰

Writings found in *Ziyou zhongguo* have suggested that many civil war migrants lived under the shadow of the KMT White Terror. Nevertheless, the extent to which political repression and state violence affected the *waishengren* community in early post-war Taiwan has not been fully understood until recent decades. Since the island’s democratization, there have been a growing collection of published oral history accounts, indicating that a considerable number of mainlanders were executed, jailed, or pressed into military service against their will, especially in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. Many *waishengren* were accused of being “Communist spies” and “leftist seditionists,” but were found to be innocent decades after. The well-known victims included the principals and student leaders among the “Shandong exile students,” famous writer/historian Po Yang (柏楊), and renowned playwright and broadcaster Tsui Hsiao-ping (崔小萍).³⁵¹

Shandong exile students (山東流亡學生), for example, were a group of approximately 8,000 teenage pupils from several middle schools in Shandong Province. In order to continue their education, these students followed their principals and teachers and evacuated with the KMT when their cities and towns fell to the CCP. However, en route to Taiwan, the male students were pressed into the KMT army at gunpoint in July 1949 while on the Penghu Islands (Pescadores). Several principals, teachers, and student leaders protested vehemently. They were accused of working for the CCP and executed. The rest of the group were cowed into submission after some of the recalcitrant students were tortured and brutally murdered. Being victims of state violence, the Shandong students showed remarkable resilience. Some worked their way up to the top of the Nationalist bureaucracy. Some became leading intellectuals and prominent business

³⁵⁰ Tien Hsin 田心, “Xinnian yutong” 新年語痛 [The New Year’s sorrow], *Ziyou Zhongguo* 20:4 (1959): 29.

³⁵¹ The life and career of Po Yang will be discussed in Chapter 5. For the story of Tsui Hsiao-ping, see Chu Te-lan 朱德蘭, *Tsui Hsiao-ping shijian* 崔小萍事件 [The Tsui Hsiao-ping Incident] (Nantou City: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 2001).

leaders in Taiwan. They formed a unique *esprit de corps* because of the traumatic exile and the injustice suffered at the hands of the KMT.³⁵²

Historian Michael Szonyi has suggested in *Cold War Island* (2008) that in Quemoy (金門), one of the ROC's offshore islands, any pre-1949 links to mainland China could automatically turn people into objects of suspicion.³⁵³ In Taiwan, the government also viewed the civil war migrants with a jaundiced eye. The chaotic mass flight in the closing days of the civil war meant that infiltration of CCP agents in Taiwan was a potential threat to the regime. During the early 1950s, the state not only rounded up deserted soldiers and vagrants, performed population surveys, but also undertook a systematic campaign to exterminate hidden CCP cells.³⁵⁴ Research on White Terror cases in Taiwan since the late 1990s has demonstrated an important fact—many of the native Taiwanese leftist and anti-government movements in the late 1940s and the early 1950s were actually influenced by political activists, students, and even undercover CCP agents from mainland China.³⁵⁵ While a great number of the victims in the KMT anti-Communist witch-hunt in the early post-war years were native Taiwanese, there is strong

³⁵² For more on the Shandong exile students, see Wang Pei-wu 王培五 *et al.*, *Shizijia shang de xiaozhang—Chang Min-chih furen huiyilu* 十字架上的校長—張敏之夫人回憶錄 [The principal on the cross—the reminiscences of Mrs. Chang Min-chih] (Taipei: Wenjing chubanshe, 1999); Tao Ying-hui 陶英惠 and Chang Yu-fa 張玉法, *Shandong liuwang xuesheng shi* 山東流亡學生史 [The history of Shandong exile students] (Taipei: Shandong wenxian she, 2004); Chen Yun-chuan 陳芸娟, “Penghu qianxiang—Shandong xuesheng liuwang zhi lu” 澎湖槍響—山東學生流亡之路 [The gunshots on the Pescadores—the road of exile for the Shandong students], in Chang Mau-kuei (ed.), *Guojia yu rentong*, 149-209.

³⁵³ Michael Szonyi, *Cold War Island*, 38.

³⁵⁴ See “Guofang bu chujue si panni” 國防部處決四叛逆 [The Ministry of National Defence executed four traitors], *Zhongyang ribao*, June 11, 1950, 1; “Kanluan shiqi jiansu feidie zongtong gongbu tiaoli” 戡亂時期檢肅匪諜總統命令公布條例 [The president proclaimed the laws to root out the Communists under the martial law], *ibid.*, June 14, 1950, 1; “Panni liwei Liu Ju-hsin zuozai machangting fufa” 叛逆立委劉如心昨在馬場町伏法 [A member of the Legislative Yuan, traitor Liu Ju-Hsin, was executed yesterday in Machangting], *ibid.*, July 10, 1950, 5; “Gongfei yi fufei fenzi zishou banfa benyue ershiyi ri qi shishi” 共匪及附匪份子自首辦法本月二十一日起實施 [The laws and regulations for the surrender of the CCP party members and Communist followers will be enacted on the 21st of this month], *ibid.*, September 18, 1951, 1.

³⁵⁵ The most prominent examples were the “Four Six Incident” (四六事件) in 1949 and the “Lu Ku Incident” (鹿窟事件) in 1952. For more, see Lai Tse-han 賴澤涵 and Wu Wen-hsing 吳文星 (eds.), *Taiwan shengli shifan xueyuan 「Silu shijian」* 臺灣省立師範學院「四六事件」 [Taiwan Provincial Normal College and the “Four Six Incident”] (Nantou City: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 2001); Lan Po-chou 藍博洲, *Mailang geyong dui: zhuiyi yijusiji nian Silu shijian (Taida bufen)* 麥浪歌詠隊：追憶一九四九年四六事件(臺大部份) [The Mailang singing team: reminiscences of the Four Six Incident in 1949 (the part on the NTU)] (Taipei: Chenxing chuban, 2001); Chang Yan-hsien 張炎憲, *Luku shijian daochoa yanjiu* 鹿窟事件調查研究 [An investigative report of the Luku Incident] (Taipei County, Banciao: Taipei xianli wenhua zhongxin, 1998).

evidence to suggest that a considerable number of *waishengren* also suffered during the same period.

When the commemoration and the study of the White Terror in Taiwan commenced in earnest under the second presidency of Lee Teng-hui, the newly democratized government set up a non-profitable organization called the “Compensation Foundation” (補償基金會) in early 1999 to review claims and distribute money to the victims and their families.³⁵⁶ In the ten years that followed, the Foundation reviewed over 8,000 cases, most of which were compensated. According to a ten-year summary report produced by the Foundation in 2009, among the 6,139 individuals who received reparations from the state, 57.7 % (3,542) were native Taiwanese and 42.3% (2597) were mainlanders.³⁵⁷ Given that *waishengren* only accounted for about 10-15% of the island’s population in Taiwan, the report suggests that number of the mainlander victims seemed relatively high.³⁵⁸ The scholars commissioned by the Foundation to compile the report also point to the limitation of their study however. With a rough estimate of 14,000 to 16,000 White Terror victims in post-war Taiwan based on the number of military court case files discovered, the 8,000 cases reviewed by the Foundation represent only half of those who suffered injustice under the KMT’s authoritarianism.³⁵⁹ The identity of the rest

³⁵⁶ The full name of the Foundation is “The Compensation Foundation for Improper Trials and Verdicts Relating to Seditious and Communist Spies during the martial law period” (財團法人戒嚴時期不當叛亂暨匪諜審判案件補償基金會). The organization was established in 1999 with official funding and the cooperation of various government ministries. Nonetheless, it was given full autonomy of its activities. The board members are made up of government representatives, academic historians, human rights activists, judges, and victims’ families. For more, see Ni Tzu-hsiu 倪子修 et al. (eds.), *Zouguo shinian yingxiang weilai: buchang jijinhui shi zhounian jinian zhuanhu, 1999-2009* 走過十年迎向未來: 補償基金會十周年紀念專書, 1999-2009 [Walking past ten years and looking forward to the future: a commemorative volume for the tenth anniversary of the Compensation Foundation, 1999-2009] (Taipei: Buchang jijinhui, 2009), 16-31.

³⁵⁷ Chiu Jung-chu 邱榮舉, Chang Yan-hsien 張炎憲, and Tai Pao-tsun 戴寶村, *Zhanhou Taiwan zhengzhi anjian shuliang yu leixing fenxi (1949-1987)* 戰後台灣政治案件數量與類型分析 (1949-1987) [An analysis of the number and the type of political prisoner cases in post-war Taiwan, 1949-1987] (Taipei: Buchang jijinhui, 2009), 26-27.

³⁵⁸ Chiu Jung-chu, Chang Yan-hsien, and Tai Pao-tsun, *Zhanhou Taiwan zhengzhi anjian shuliang yu leixing fenxi*, 29.

³⁵⁹ There have been different estimates of the number of White Terror victims in Taiwan. According to the existing evidence—declassified government dossiers and court case files—the number falls between 14,000 and 16,000. There could be additional victims who did not leave a paper trail, especially during the late 1940s. For more on the estimated figures, see Chiu Jung-chu, Chang Yan-hsien, and Tai Pao-tsun, *Zhanhou Taiwan zhengzhi anjian shuliang yu leixing fenxi*, 199; Hou Kun-hung, “Zhanyou Taiwan baise kongbu lunxi,” 143.

of the victims may never be revealed, as there have been a decreasing number of applicants coming forward since 2008.³⁶⁰

While the existing data have already shown a high number of mainlander victims, there is a great possibility that the civil war migrants might also constitute many of the remaining cases for two important reasons. First, as a migrant community dominated by socially-isolated males, deceased victims had no families in Taiwan who could file reparation claims after democratization. The victims' relatives in China probably did not even know these individuals had followed the KMT to Taiwan, but considered them "missing persons" during the civil war. Second, the Foundation's report illustrates that a majority of the White Terror cases and executions happened between 1950 and 1955, when the KMT was hunting for leftists and CCP spies instead of the advocates for Taiwan independence. The latter became the main targets only after 1961.³⁶¹

The disproportionately high number of mainlander White Terror victims and the discontent of many lower-ranking soldiers and civil servants towards the KMT open a way to rethink the formation of the "unholy alliance" between *waishengren* and the KMT in early post-war Taiwan. First, the chaotic mass exodus described in the previous chapter played a significant role. It is not hard to see why an atomized migrant community with very little local alternatives was susceptible to the employment security and welfare benefits offered by the party-state. Second, the ever-present internal security apparatus and the severe punishments against suspected "Communist spies" cowed many into submission. The KMT not only wooed the mainlanders with employment and welfare benefits, but also ruled them with an iron fist. Third, the civil war migrants' sojourner mentality constitutes another important contributing factor to the establishment of the "unholy alliance," if not the most important one. The mentality was especially crucial during the 1950s, when the actual welfare benefits and career advancements

³⁶⁰ Over 60% of the cases were filed between 2000 and 2002. See Ni Tzu-hsiu et al. (eds.), *Zouguo shinian yingxiang weilai*, 29. The Compensation Foundation argues that the privacy of the victims and their families should be safeguarded. Therefore, the military court case files with no applicants coming forward are kept confidential from the general public at this point. However, scholars investigating White Terror in Taiwan argue that the files should be made public for academic research. People have the right to know the truth. The disagreement between the two has led to tension between the Foundation and the scholarly community over the years.

³⁶¹ Chiu Jung-chu, Chang Yan-hsien, and Tai Pao-tsun, *Zhanhou Taiwan zhengzhi anjian shuliang yu leixing fenxi*, 17, 23, 56.

offered by the state were negligible for most people. As a community in exile, the mainlanders were constantly preoccupied with thoughts of return. Many were unhappy living under a repressive regime that kept most of its employees under constant surveillance and in perpetual poverty. This was especially true for a great number of the rank-and-file soldiers. Many of these individuals were either kidnapped by the retreating KMT army units, or forced by circumstances to join the service in the closing days of the civil war. But most of the civil war migrants had endured the situation. They assisted the regime-in-exile in building up and expanding its ruling apparatus on the island. In the process, tens of thousands of innocent people were persecuted, many of whom were mainlanders.

The 1958 Sino-American Joint Communiqué shook the general public's confidence in the Nationalist regime's ability to deliver on its promises. It led to an outpouring of anger and resentment, a manifestation of the pre-existing tension between the mainland migrants and the KMT. Those who worked in the civil service and the military vented their anger against the regime-in-exile, and *Ziyou zhongguo* offered an open forum for many of the disgruntled state employees to do so. Nevertheless, the discontent neither led to an all-out rebellion against the state, nor did it provide the support for the magazine's attempt to build an opposition party with the native Taiwanese leaders. From the perspective of the civil war migrants in the 1950s, despite all of its fallings, the regime-in-exile remained their best chance to go home in a civil war that had not yet ended.

3.5 Neighbours and Strangers: *Waishengren* and the Local Population

The sojourner mentality not only played an instrumental role in the forging of the “unholy alliance” between the exiled population and the regime-in-exile, but also contributed to the continued alienation between the civil war migrants and a majority of the island's pre-1945 inhabitants—the native Taiwanese.³⁶² The estrangement between

³⁶² Due to the lack of documentary evidence and the necessity to limit scope of this study, the following discussion will only focus on the relationship between *waishengren* and the native Taiwanese population.

waishengren and the semi-Japanized local residents in turn helped further consolidate the “unholy alliance.”

Anthropologists and sociologists who visited Taiwan in the past, such as Hill Gates during the 1970s, have observed “two separate and unequal ethnic groups” living side by side on the island—the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese. Gates attributed the formation of these two opposing groups to a host of historical factors as a result of the circumstances created by the mainlander migration and the island’s Japanese colonial legacy. The differences between the two were illustrated in official employment, residential segregation, language, and marriage patterns.³⁶³ Gates’ observations have been supported by a great number of “ethnic relations” studies mentioned in Chapter 1. The narrative presented in Chapter 2 also suggested that the upper-class civil war migrants moved into districts vacated by the repatriated Japanese. This contributed to a certain degree of *de facto* residential segregation in the capital city.³⁶⁴ In addition, Kung Yi-chun’s research mentioned in the previous section demonstrated that state-sponsored accommodations separated a considerable number of *waishengren* from the indigenous society. Approximately one-third (28.6%) of the *waishengren* lived in the military family’s villages, or lived on farms, in retired homes, and in hospitals sponsored by the EYVAC.³⁶⁵

It is true that differences in employment, language use, marriage pattern, as well as a certain degree of residential segregation all played an important role in the division between the exiled population and a majority of the island’s pre-1945 residents. However, these are manifestations of the continued communal alienation, rather than the causes. Moreover, despite manifestations of division, there were also manifestations of integration and daily interactions, such as cohabitation and intermarriage. For example, if about one-third of the mainlanders were consistently “isolated” from the local society, what about the other two-thirds? Also, the previous chapter has suggested that some of

³⁶³ Hill Gates, “Ethnicity and Social Class,” 260-266.

³⁶⁴ A caveat should be issued here. According to Li Tung-ming, the concentration of *waishengren* in major cities did decrease over time from 1955 to 1965, see Li Tung-ming, “Jutai waishengji renkou zhi zucheng yu fenbu,” 75-84.

³⁶⁵ Kung Yi-chun, 「Wailai zhengguan」 yu bentu shehui, 99.

the single *waishengren* males married local Taiwanese women during the 1950s.³⁶⁶ People could live and work alongside each other, but their hearts never met. The communal cleavage in early post-war Taiwan was a much more subtle and complicated historical process than previous studies have shown. This section provides evidence to suggest that the mainlander's sojourner mentality during the 1950s was one of the key underlying factors to these developments.

There has been little historical research on communal relations in early post-war Taiwan except studies related to the 228 Incident in early 1947. The Incident took place before the arrival of the great exodus. Most historians agreed that the KMT's massacre of the local inhabitants represented a major breaking point in the relationship on the part of the native Taiwanese population. The Taiwanese thought their protest against Nationalist misrule was justified, and they regarded the brutal suppression following the Incident as an egregious injustice and a betrayal. Scholars of the 228 Incident also argued that "cultural conflict" (文化衝突)—the differences in political views, social customs, and expectations created by 50 years of Japanese colonial rule—was an important cause of the Taiwanese uprising.³⁶⁷ In the meantime, there have also been suggestions that prejudices held by mainland officials towards the semi-Japanized local inhabitants, epitomized by the derogatory term "enslavement" (奴化), were another major source of the Taiwanese discontent.³⁶⁸ The prejudices led to discrimination against the Japanese-

³⁶⁶ For more research on the nuanced relationship between intermarriage in Taiwan and ethnic assimilation, see Wang Fu-chang 王甫昌, "Zuqun tonghun de houguo: shengji tonghun duiyu zuqun tonghua de yingxiang" 族群通婚的後果: 省籍通婚對於族群同化的影響 [The consequences of ethnic intermarriages: the impacts of intermarriages on ethnic assimilation in Taiwan], *Renwen ji shehui kexue jikan* 人文及社會科學集刊 [Journal of social sciences and philosophy] 6:1 (1993): 231-267; Wang Fu-chang, "Taiwan de zuqun tonghun yu zuqun guanxi zaitan" 台灣的族群通婚與族群關係再探 [A further investigation of the ethnic intermarriages and the ethnic relations in Taiwan], in *Shehui zhuanxing yu wenhua bianqian: huaren shehui de bijiao* 社會轉型與文化變遷: 華人社會的比較 [Social change and cultural transformation: comparisons among the Chinese societies], (eds.) Lau Siu-kai 劉兆佳 et al. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 2001), 393-430.

³⁶⁷ For the "cultural conflict" thesis, see Li Hsiao-feng, "Eerba shijian qian di wenhua chongtu," 185-215; Chen Yi-shen 陳儀深, "Lun Taiwan Eerba shijian fasheng de yuanyin" 論台灣二二八事件發生的原因 [The causes of the 228 Incident in Taiwan], in *Eerba xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* (1991) 二二八學術研討會論文集 (1991) [Essays from the academic conference on the 228 Incident, 1991], Chen Yung-hsing 陳永興 et al. (Taipei: Eerba minjian yanjiu xiaozu, 1992), 44-47, 55.

³⁶⁸ The idea of "enslavement" was put forward by the mainlander officials who were sent to govern Taiwan in 1945. Faced with the Japanization of the islanders, the officials thought the Taiwanese were "enslaved" by a vicious and hostile culture, and needed to be re-Sinicized. The Taiwanese elites detested the label. They considered it demeaning, and argued the idea became part of the KMT's justification for the

educated local elites in official employment and public office, prompting some scholars to argue that the KMT rule represented not emancipation from foreign domination, but another form of colonialism for the island's pre-1945 inhabitants.³⁶⁹

While the Taiwanese side of the story has been told by the studies related to the 228 Incident, there has been little research focusing on the perspectives of the civil war migrants.³⁷⁰ The analysis of the essays and travelogues contained in *Changliu* has suggested the civil war migrants showed very little concern for the local society, and exhibited only marginal interest in indigenous cultures and languages because of their sojourner mentality. Moreover, when the island's history and cultural heritage were mentioned, these were discussed only in the context of Chinese history. The Japanese colonial legacies were either downplayed, or ignored all together.³⁷¹ Instead, the exiled population and the regime-in-exile both agreed that the semi-Japanized local inhabitants needed a crash course on the Chinese language and culture to re-connect with their ancestral roots. The education of the younger generation native Taiwanese was especially important. The Nationalist state put great emphasis on the learning of Mandarin and the KMT version of "traditional Chinese values" at the expense of indigenous dialects and

discrimination against the native Taiwanese in official employment. For more, see Chen Tsui-lien 陳翠蓮, "Qu zhimin yu zai zhimin de duikang: yi yijiusiliu nian 'tairen nuhua' lunzhan wei jiaodian" 去殖民與再殖民的對抗：以一九四六年〈臺人奴化〉論戰為焦點 [Decolonization versus re-colonization: The debate over the "enslavement of Taiwanese" in 1946], *Taiwan shi yanjiu* 9:2 (2002): 145-201.

³⁶⁹ Chen Tsui-lien, *Taiwan ren de dikang yu rentong 1920-1950*; Scott Simon, "Taiwan's Mainlanders: A Diasporic Identity in Construction."

³⁷⁰ In more recent years, there have been a small number of monographs looking into the troubled relationship between the native Taiwanese women and mainland men, mostly from the perspectives of the latter. Yu Chien-ming examines female discourse in the media press during the late 1940s on various topics. These included images of native Taiwanese women, prostitution, maid, and marriage. While describing the prevailing communal tension, Yu presents a more nuanced picture intersected by gender and social class. In the meantime, Huang Ying-che demonstrates the unequal relationship between mainland men and the native Taiwanese women through a novel written by a male mainland writer in 1951. For more, see Yu Chien-ming 游鑑明, "Dang waishengren yujian Taiwan nuxing: zhanhou Taiwan baokan zhong de nuxing lunshu (1945-1949)" 當外省人遇見臺灣女性：戰後臺灣報刊中的女性論述 (1945-1949) [When mainlanders met Taiwanese women: female discourse in post-war Taiwanese newspapers and magazines, 1945-1949], *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 47 (2005): 165-224; Huang Ying-che 黃英哲, "Kuajie zhe de kuajie yu xugou: Tao Jing-sun xiaoshuo <Tamsui he xinzhong> xianxian de zhanhou Taiwan shehui xiang" 跨界者的跨界與虛構：陶晶孫小說〈淡水河心中〉顯現的戰後臺灣社會像 [Border crossing and fiction: social phenomena of post-war Taiwan in Tao Jing-sun's *Double Suicides at Tamsui River*], *Taiwan shi yanjiu* 18:1 (2011): 103-132.

³⁷¹ For additional examples, see Yeh Chih-sheng 葉芝生 "Taiwan hua yi" 臺灣話 (一) [Taiwanese, part I], *Changliu* 2:2 (1950): 6-7; Chen Tsung-shan 陳宗山, "Ming luwang jianguo shilue" 明魯王監國史略 [The chronicle of Prince Lu], *ibid.*, 2:7 (1950): 5-6; Liu Yeh 柳葉, "「Baibai」yu 「ganchang」de lishi" 「拜拜」與「趕場」的歷史 [The history of "baibai" and "ganchang"], *ibid.*, 4:1 (1951): 20.

social customs.³⁷² Denny Roy has suggested that the Nationalist language and education policy in Taiwan constituted a form of “cultural imperialism” scarcely different from the assimilation policy the Japanese had attempted.³⁷³ The local population felt oppressed under the system. The native Taiwanese complained bitterly about mainlanders’ unfair advantages in public education system, in entrance exams to the universities and in the civil service.

Historical texts published during the 1950s suggest that most of the mainlanders writers remained ignorant of, or indifferent to, the discontent of the native Taiwanese under the KMT rule. For example, Ho Fan³⁷⁴ (何凡) was a distinguished writer and a well-respected mainland journalist in post-war Taiwan. His daily column in the arts and literature section of *Lianhe bao* called “On a pane of glass” (玻璃墊上) is the longest running newspaper column on the island after 1945 (1953-1984), and had been one of the most popular pastime readings. In a column article published in 1956 to celebrate the eleventh anniversary of the island’s retrocession, Ho argued that the division between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese no longer exist. Based on his observation of the daily interactions between a group of mainlanders and native Taiwanese rickshaw pullers in a station in front of his house, Ho stated:

It has been eleven years since Taiwan’s retrocession. The patriotic fervour of [our] Taiwanese compatriots contributed to enthusiastic learning of Mandarin among the old and the young [people]. The division [between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese] due to the language barrier no longer exists.

³⁷² Liang Shih-chiu 梁實秋, “Wo jiao guowen de yidian jingyan” 我教國文的一點經驗 [My experience in teaching Chinese], *Ziyou zhongguo* 6:5 (1952): 25-26; “Guoyu yanshuo jingsai dahui” 國語演說競賽大會 [Comments on Mandarin speaking competition], *Zhongyang ribao*, December 16, 1950, 3; Ho Jung 何容 “Liunian lai bensheng guowu yundong de jiantao” 六年來本省國語運動的檢討 [Reflections on the Mandarin learning campaign in Taiwan during the past six years], *ibid.*, November 17, 1951, 3.

³⁷³ Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, 96.

³⁷⁴ Ho Fan was the pen name of Hsia Cheng-ying 夏承楹 (1874-2002). Ho was one of the most celebrated mainlanders writers and journalists in Taiwan. He was born and raised in Beijing, but married a talented Taiwanese female writer named Lin Hai-yin (林海音, 1918-2001). The couple settled on the island in 1948. During their long careers, Ho and Lin made important contributions to the development of literature and journalism in Taiwan. For more on the life and career of Ho Fan, see Hsia Tsu-li 夏祖麗, Ying Feng-huang 應鳳凰, and Chang Chih-chang 張至璋, *Cangmang muse li de ganlu ren: Ho Fan zhuan* 蒼茫暮色裏的趕路人: 何凡傳 [A lone traveller amidst hazy twilight: biography of Ho Fan] (Taipei: Tianxia yuanjian, 2003).

Last year, a Japanese consul named Shimizu (清水) suggested that there has been tension between the native Taiwanese and the mainlanders after returning to Japan. He said that the Taiwanese “still miss the Japanese rule.” If we put the question of patriotic nationalism aside and only look at the progress [the KMT government] made in the past eleven years, [we can see] there have been considerable improvements in the political status and livelihood among the Taiwanese. People can see these with their own eyes. Under these circumstances, what could be the reasons for this “Taiwanese nostalgia for alien rule?”³⁷⁵

Ho was not alone in arguing that the relationship between the civil war migrants and the semi-Japanized local population was amicable during the 1950s. Many thought whatever the “differences” the two might have could be easily overcome by a common Chinese ancestry and love for the Chinese nation, as well as the career advancement and material benefits provided by the state.³⁷⁶

Nonetheless, Ho’s assertions not only contradict observations made by the Japanese and the American diplomats stationed in Taiwan, but also go against *waishengren*’s own daily encounters with the local communities.³⁷⁷ One of the mainlander frustrations with the Taiwanese was their continued use of Japanese in daily conversation, and even in conducting official businesses. The act represented open defiance against government’s ban on speaking, writing, and publication in Japanese.³⁷⁸ Reporting on the pervasiveness of the phenomenon in some of the local government offices, a mainlander journalist wrote in *Lianhe bao* in 1955:

The use of the Japanese language in some of the government offices in Taipei County is especially prevalent. Some of the regular folks who visited these offices thought they made a mistake of entering a Japanese consulate. Ten years have passed since the retrocession of Taiwan. If a state employee was willing to learn Mandarin, he or she could have learned how to speak it, despite not

³⁷⁵ Ho Fan 何凡, “Guangfu zai guangfu” 光復再光復 [Liberation and liberation again], *Lianhe bao*, October 25, 1956, 8.

³⁷⁶ See Yu Mi-chien 游彌堅, “Shi 「Taiwan ren」” 釋「臺灣人」 [Explaining what is “Taiwanese”], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 26, 1950, 3; Ju Yin 茹茵, “Jiexian” 界線 [The line of division], *ibid.*, February 12, 1950, 6.

³⁷⁷ For the observations made by an American foreign service officer, see Nancy Bernkopf Tucker (ed.), *China Confidential*, 172-173.

³⁷⁸ For the ban on the use of the Japanese, see “Shubao jinyong riyu” 書報禁用日語 [A ban on Japanese books and newspapers], *Zhongyang ribao*, August 10, 1950, 5; “Shiyong riwen zhi jinling” 使用日文之禁令 [Laws banning the use of Japanese], *ibid.*, August 12, 1950, 1. Also see Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, 95.

being really fluent. Moreover, the use of the local Taiwanese dialect would also be acceptable. Why did [the native Taiwanese clerks] have to speak Japanese? [I] cannot really understand their motives.³⁷⁹

There were many other similar writings talking about the same problem.³⁸⁰ Another account written by a mainlander reader published in *Lianhe bao* around the same time was also indicative. The person was obviously disturbed by the behaviour of his native Taiwanese compatriots:

This is really an old topic. I do not know how many people have already raised the issue. Although this habit [of speaking Japanese] has died down a little bit, it never went away completely. In public places and on the buses, I often encountered individuals who had come under the heavy influence of “Japanese imperial education” (皇民化). When these folks conversed loudly in Japanese without considering the feelings of people around them, I really felt ashamed for them.³⁸¹

The dismay of the mainlanders is relatively easy to understand. The Taiwanese act was not only a gesture of exclusion against the newcomers from China, but also constituted an affront to the civil war migrants’ anti-Japanese legacy. But despite feeling “ashamed” for those who flaunted their Japanese language skills in public, most of the civil war migrants seemed to have little clue as to why some of the native Taiwanese would continue to do this.

There are three plausible explanations for the inability of the mainlanders to understand or sympathize with the behaviour of the native Taiwanese. The sojourner mentality engendered by war and exile played a significant role in the latter two. First, a great majority of the civil war migrants arrived a few years after the 228 Incident. Strict government censorship suggested that most newcomers possessed little knowledge of the

³⁷⁹ Chen Fen 振奮, “Ribin hua dao chu kewen” 日本話到處可聞 [Japanese could be heard everywhere], *Lianhe bao*, November 28, 1955, 5.

³⁸⁰ Kung Shih 貢士, “Shancheng jinshuo riyu” 山城禁說日語 [A ban on speaking Japanese in the mountain town], *ibid.*, November 16, 1954, 5; “Xishuo riben hua yifei zhongguo ren” 喜說日本話疑非中國人 [Those who like to speak Japanese came under suspicion of not being Chinese], *ibid.*, January 7, 1955, 5.

³⁸¹ Yu Shu-ju 游叔汝, “Yanjin zaishuo riyu” 嚴禁再說日語 [The speaking of Japanese should be strictly prohibited], *ibid.*, June 7, 1955, 3.

tragedy that took place on the island in early 1947. Second, many of the civil war migrants in Taiwan were also refugees in the previous war against Japan. They tended to project their own experiences onto the local population, leading to preconceived ideas about the suffering of the islanders under Japanese colonial rule. Consequently, most felt confused and disturbed when Taiwanese insisted on speaking Japanese. Third, the mainlanders' longing for home contributed to their collective indifference towards the local communities. With the exception of *Ziyou zhongguo* in the late 1950s, major newspapers and magazines published at the time, such as *Zhongyang ribao*, *Lianhe bao*, and *Changliu* paid scant attention to the lives and the aspirations of the native Taiwanese.³⁸² Instead, most of the texts focused on mainland China. When Taiwanese history and society were mentioned and discussed occasionally, the mainlander writings provided superficial and often biased comments.

For example, one of the most frequent remarks about the native Taiwanese was superstition. Since the late imperial times, folk religions, combining elements of Daoist, Buddhist, Confucian, and a hodgepodge of local traditions, have been a major force influencing state-society relations in most parts of south China, including Taiwan.³⁸³ Fifty years of Japanese colonial rule did little to root out the local religious practices. The temple establishments and various local cults remained an integral part of life for the islanders after retrocession. Nonetheless, the mainlander writers considered the Taiwanese religious practices, especially the extravagant “worship festivals” (拜拜) dedicated to various local deities throughout the year, a sign of ignorance and backwardness. While some credited the indigenous population for retaining their Chinese cultural identity under Japanese rule, most of the comments about these activities were

³⁸² For articles in *Ziyou zhongguo* arguing that the government should pay more attention to the views of the native Taiwanese, see “Jinri de wenti jiu: women de difang zhengzhi” 今日的問題九：我們的地方政制 [Today's problem IX: our local politics], *Ziyou zhongguo* 17:10 (1957): 3-5; Chiu Shui 秋水, “Taiwan ren dui Chen neige de qiwang” 臺灣人對陳內閣的期望 [The expectations of the Taiwanese for Chen's cabinet], *ibid.*, 19:7 (1958): 9-11; Yang Chin-hu 楊金虎, “Yige Taiwan ren dui jianshe Taiwan cheng mofan sheng de kanfa” 一個臺灣人對建設臺灣成模範省的看法 [The view of a Taiwanese on turning Taiwan into a model province], *ibid.*, 18:11 (1958): 11-13; “Taiwan ren yu dalu ren” 臺灣人與大陸人 [The native Taiwanese and the mainlanders], *ibid.*, 23:2 (1960): 3-4.

³⁸³ The important role played by local regions in state governance and cultural unity in late imperial China was proposed by anthropologist James L Watson. For an overview of the major studies and debates on Watson's groundbreaking ritual orthopraxy thesis, see the essays by Kenneth Pomeranz, Michael Szonyi, Paul R Katz, Melissa J Brown, and Donald Sutton contained in *Modern China* 33:1 (2007).

unequivocally negative. The mainlander writings pointed to the meaninglessness and the wastefulness of the extraordinary amount of financial and human resources that the local population have squandered on the lavish banquets during these festivals.³⁸⁴ They thought these resources could be better spent on improving public infrastructure, or, on the most important task of all—the recovery of mainland China. The criticism was a moot point, however. In the next chapter, we will see that the civil war migrants became involved in promoting their own local histories, folk cultures, and religions. This happened in the 1960s, when a great number of *waishengren* started to realize that their temporary sojourn in Taiwan had turned into an indefinite exile.

Another type of mainlander writing about the local population often found in the media sources published during the 1950s was *waishengren* employers describing the various troubles they had with their native Taiwanese maids.³⁸⁵ Some of these writings were real life stories, and some were fictional tales. Chapter 2 has demonstrated that the lack of lower class mainlander women gave rise to a demand for domestic help among the migrant community. While most had asked specifically for mainlander maids in the newspaper ads, many families hired Taiwanese maids instead, for lack of a better choice. A lot of the mainlander employers soon became frustrated with the “erratic” behaviours of these young local women who entered their households. The tension apparently stemmed from miscommunication due to linguistic and cultural differences. Nonetheless, the mainlander writings exhibited an obvious bias against these underprivileged native Taiwanese women. The Taiwanese domestic servants were often described by their employers as infantile, ignorant, lazy, capricious, and pretentious individuals, who were

³⁸⁴ See “「Baibai」daguan: Taiwan minjian de yizhong jingren langfei 「拜拜」大觀: 臺灣民間的一種驚人浪費 [Looking at “worship festival”: a shockingly wasteful habit of the native Taiwanese], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 12, 1951, 4; Chiang Meng-lin 蔣夢麟, “Dui quansheng nongmin tongbao de jidian xiwang” 對全省農民同胞的幾點希望 [Several expectations for farmers in the entire province], *ibid.*, February 5, 1952, 4; “Sanchung zhen 「bai」 zai” 三重鎮「拜」災 [Troubles caused by the worship festivals in Sanchung], *Lianhe bao*, June 5, 1956, 5; Ho Fan, “Ji 「baibai」 ji” 擠「拜拜」記 [Going to the worship festival], *ibid.*, June 5, 1956, 6; Yang Yi-feng 楊一峯, “Taiwan de baibai” 台灣的拜拜 [The worship festival in Taiwan], *ibid.*, 7:9 (1953): 11-12.

³⁸⁵ Historian Yu Chien-ming has pointed out that the media discourse about the native Taiwanese maids in early post-war Taiwan was intersected by complex issues of gender and social class, and at the same time, conditioned by specific historical circumstances. Yu’s research focused on the late 1940s. For more, see Yu Chien-ming, “Dang waishengren yujian Taiwan nuxing,” 197-206.

prone to job-hopping.³⁸⁶ A number of fictional stories presented the native Taiwanese maids as country bumpkins and dishonest thieves.³⁸⁷ Some depicted them as loose women who attempted to seduce their male bosses.³⁸⁸ The employers, whether male civil servants or housewives, often played the role of a mentor, guiding stray sheep back to the flock. The tone of the mainlander voice in these writings was often condescending and pedagogical. Interestingly enough, many of the same accounts also alluded to the fact that some of these Taiwanese maids had received a good education under Japanese rule, and were quite willing to work hard if they saw a good chance for advancement.

The mainlander writings about the local folk religions and the native Taiwanese maids illustrate the unequal relationship between the civil war migrants and the local communities under KMT rule, especially in the realm of cultural production. On the one hand, the voices of the native Taiwanese were completely silenced. Contemporary researchers are left with one-sided and distorted accounts written by mainlander writers. On the other hand, these texts offer evidence that *waishengren*, given their position of political and cultural dominance during the 1950s, had looked down upon the native Taiwanese majority.

More importantly, the civil war migrants had their minds set on returning to mainland China. Despite some degree of residential segregation, many lived and worked side-by-side with the native Taiwanese. The historical texts drawn from major media sources published during the 1950s suggest that the migrants from mainland China showed little interest in learning the local dialects and social customs. Moreover, their views of the Taiwanese were often tinged by prejudice. Nor did the migrants express sympathy for the suppression of native Taiwanese under the KMT because they were subjected to the same authoritarian rule. Rather, the civil war migrants remained

³⁸⁶ For good examples, see Tsu Yueh 子曰, “Banjia, yingou, xianu” 搬家陰溝下女 [The Moving, the ditch, and the maid], *Lianhe bao*, October 9, 1952, 6; Chou Chun-liang 周君亮, “Xianu liezhuan (shang)” 下女列傳(上) [The stories of maids, part I], *Changliu* 14:4 (1956): 21-23; Chou Chun-liang, “Xianu liezhuan (xia)” 下女列傳(下) [The stories of maids, part II], *ibid.*, 14:5 (1956): 16-19; Li Er-kang 李爾康, “Xu xianu liezhuan shang” 續下女列傳上 [The stories of maids, part I], *ibid.*, 14:11 (1957): 15-17; “Xu xiannu liezhuan xia” 續下女列傳下 [The stories of maids, part II], *ibid.*, 14: 12 (1957): 15-17.

³⁸⁷ Li Wan 麗婉, “Amei de chanhui” 阿妹的懺悔 [The repentance of A-mei], *Changliu* 1:8 (1950): 19; Kang Ling 康齡, “Xianu” 下女 [Maids], *ibid.*, 23:9 (1961): 31-32.

³⁸⁸ See Yi Han 宜寒 “Zhufu” 祝福 [Blessings], *Zhongyang ribao*, December 21, 1953, 4; Li Er-kang, “Xu xianu liezhuan shang,” 15.

sojourners from distant lands detached from the concerns and aspirations of the local communities during their first decade of exile on the island.

In October 1958, a native Taiwanese writer wrote an article in *Ziyou zhongguo*, pleading the KMT authorities to reform the electoral system in Taiwan in order to incorporate more Taiwanese into the governing structure. It also suggested that the mainlanders should bear most of the responsibility for the deepening communal alienation on the island, and asked the Nationalist leaders in power to take the division between the civil war migrants and the local communities seriously.³⁸⁹ The article was among a small number of the essays written by Taiwanese intellectuals and political leaders that appeared in the magazine during the late 1950s. The text conveys the view of the local population in a concise and lucid manner:

[The] government should respect the wishes of the Taiwanese people. Nowadays, most Taiwanese keep their mouths shut on important issues and reforms concerning our nation. They are indifferent. They do not want to ask questions, or hear anything about [these issues]. [They] think time will solve everything. This is an extremely dangerous phenomenon. There is a common saying among the Taiwanese these days. It's called "gongye mocha" (talking won't do any good). This [self-enforced] silence—the feelings of depression and disappointment—are getting worse by the day. Why do the Taiwanese remain silent, depressed, and disappointed? There are many reasons. To put it succinctly, the main cause is government ignoring the needs of the Taiwanese people.³⁹⁰

Unfortunately, the native Taiwanese advice, along with *Ziyou zhongguo* intellectuals' advocacy for democratic reforms on the island fell on deaf ears. The discontent of the Taiwanese continued to grow under the thin ice of enforced silence under the KMT's authoritarian rule, and eventually became an important impetus to the democracy movement two decades later.

³⁸⁹ The article actually quotes another essay published earlier in the magazine on this. See "Jinri de wenti jiu: women de difang zhengzhi," 5.

³⁹⁰ Chiu Shui, "Taiwan ren dui Chen neige de qiwan," 9.

3.6 Concluding Remarks

During the 1950s, the *waishengren* in Taiwan were neither an “ethnic group” nor a “diaspora.” They would be more aptly described as a group of “atomized sojourners” forced into exile in a place which many of them considered a backwater region of their country recently re-acquired from Japan. Most thought they could return to mainland China in a relatively short period of time. This chapter has demonstrated that this sojourner mentality had far-reaching consequences for Taiwan’s post-war history. Ordinary civil war migrants helped sustain an authoritarian regime-in-exile, despite the fact that many did not have close ties with the KMT in China, and a great number of them suffered under the same system. Many *waishengren* considered themselves victims of the civil war and the CCP. Deeply immersed in their victimhood and nostalgia, most of them showed little interest in local society. They rarely thought about the political and socioeconomic consequences of their migration for the local population, whose voices had been muffled by the Nationalist regime-in-exile with their help.

In *Between Assimilation and Independence* (2003), Steven E Phillips suggests that: “Just as neither assimilation nor independence expressed adequately Taiwanese goals, however, the term ‘colonialism’ does not convey full the reality of Nationalist policies on the island.”³⁹¹ By the same token, the findings presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 also compels us to rethink state-society relations in early post-war Taiwan. There is no denying that, for the island’s pre-1945 residents, KMT rule constituted an imposition of another foreign rule scarcely different from Japanese colonialism. The civil war migrants were victims of the Chinese civil war, but their relocation victimized the native Taiwanese and the aborigines as a whole. Telling the story from the perspective of the mainlanders should not blind us from the overall political/social hierarchies and power relations in post-war Taiwan before democratization. Chapter 3 suggests that there were important nuances overlooked in the story. A small group of mainlander liberal intellectuals affiliated with *Ziyou zhongguo* tried to form an alliance with local Taiwanese politicians to build democracy from the bottom up, when realistic hopes for return faded. Tension existed between the lower class mainlanders and the KMT, in particular those

³⁹¹ Steven E Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence*, 14.

who were excluded from the Nationalist pension and social welfare system. Moreover, a considerable number of the White Terror victims during the 1950s were actually *waishengren*. These findings call into question the existing interpretation, which tends to portray the civil war migrants collectively as stooges of the KMT and the native Taiwanese collectively as the victims of Nationalist state violence. They also illuminate the key role played by the sojourner mentality in forging the “unholy alliance” and in contributing to the continued alienation between *waishengren* and the semi-Japanized local population.

Chapter 4 will demonstrate that civil war migrants’ sojourner mentality in the 1950s was later turned into a concerted effort to publish local histories of their native places in China during the three decades that followed. Borrowing a term coined by the writings of the great mainlander novelist Pai Hsien-yung, the author calls the phenomenon “cultural nostalgia.” There is a fundamental difference between the “reluctant sojourner” phase and the “cultural nostalgia” phase of the great exodus. Most of the civil war migrants still hoped to return home during the 1960s and the 1970s. However, with the passing of time and the changing international circumstances, they became less and less confident of its eventuality. The export-oriented economic growth in the 1960s ushered in a new era of prosperity on the island. Despite great improvements in material well-being, the migrants’ prolonged exile gave rise to persistent feelings of emptiness, melancholy, and disorientation, a gaping void that needed to be filled. Many *waishengren* began to immerse themselves in publications and cultural activities centring on their hometowns and home provinces in mainland China. The mainlander native place associations became a major driving force behind many of these activities. In case they should never return home, their children would know at least where their parents had come from. Chapter 4 will tell the story of *waishengren*’s “imaginary homeland” and the consequences of this imagination.

CHAPTER 4 CULTURAL NOSTALGIA

不過，臺北是我最熟的一真正熟悉的，你知道，我在這裡上學長大的——可是，我不認為臺北是我的家，桂林也不是一都不是。也許你不明白，在美國我想家想得厲害。那不是一個具體的「家」，一個房子，一個地方，或任何地方——而是這些地方，所有關於中國的記憶的總合，很難解釋的，可是我真想的厲害。——白先勇，《驀然回首》，一九七八年。

[*But I am most familiar with Taipei—really familiar with it. You know, I grew up and went to school here—nonetheless, I don't consider Taipei my home, neither was Guilin. Maybe you wouldn't be able to understand. I missed home dearly in America. There was no physical “home,” a house, a place, or any place—it's a collection of memories about China. It's very hard to explain, but I was beset by nostalgia.*.]—Pai Hsien-yung, *Moran huishou*, 1978.³⁹²

愛國始於愛鄉，勵今重在鑑往。——鍾樹楠，四川文獻發刊詞，一九六二年。

[*The love for the nation starts with the love for the native place; inspirations for the present times can be found in lessons from the past.*]—Chung Shu-nan, A preface to *Sichuan wenxian*, 1962.³⁹³

4.1 Introduction

Pai Hsien-yung (白先勇, 1937-) is one of the most celebrated Chinese novelists in the 20th century.³⁹⁴ Pai contracted tuberculosis at an early age, a disease that ravaged millions of children in China. Poor health subjected him to prolonged periods of isolation and solitude, but it cultivated a knack for reading, self-reflection, and creative writing. As a result of his illness, Pai grew into a precocious, sensitive, erudite, and taciturn young man. He began to publish short stories while still attending high school. When Pai became an undergraduate student at the National Taiwan University in 1960, he founded a literary journal with a few fellow classmates called *Xiandai wenxue* (現代文學). The journal enjoyed both critical and commercial success on the island, and pioneered a whole new literary genre. The genre became the dominant literary trend in Taiwan during the 1960s. It later came to be known as the “modern literature,” a literal translation of the

³⁹² Pai Hsien-yung 白先勇, *Moran huishou* 驀然回首 [Looking back suddenly] (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1978), 167-168.

³⁹³ Chung Shu-nan 鍾樹楠, “Fakan ci” 發刊詞 [A preface to the magazine], *Sichuan wenxian* 四川文獻 [Sichuan reference] 1 (1962): 1.

³⁹⁴ For Pai's career and his various contributions to the development of modern Chinese literature, see Pai Hsien-yung, *Taipei ren* 臺北人 [Taipei characters], 29th edition (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 2007), 343-357.

magazine's Chinese title.³⁹⁵ *Xiandai wenxue* fostered a generation of young writers and literary scholars from Taiwan, who played an important role in the study and development of Chinese literature during the second half of the 20th century.³⁹⁶ From 1963 to 1964, Pai honed his skills in the University of Iowa's prestigious Writer's Workshop program. He published several novellas during this time. The novellas offered illuminating accounts of Chinese migrant experiences in America, one of the first among such works published since World War II.³⁹⁷ Upon obtaining a master's degree from UI, Pai went on to teach Chinese literature at UC Santa Barbara from 1965 to 1994. After retiring from teaching, the energetic novelist embarked on various lecture tours in mainland China's major universities, where his works received belated attention.³⁹⁸ In recent years, Pai has dedicated himself to the study, restoration, and re-enactment of Kunqu (崑曲), a Chinese opera form originated in the 14th century near the present-day Shanghai area.³⁹⁹

Most of Pai's stories were written between the early 1960s and the early 1980s. In the decades that followed, these remarkable tales not only attracted an army of loyal fans,

³⁹⁵ The "modern" genre in Taiwan was inspired by Western modernism. Yet it arose from a very different political and historical context. The literary style that associated with *Xiandai wenxue* could be considered a form of passive resistance against the stifling intellectual climate in Taiwan during the 1960s. Many of the proponents were young mainlander writers and artists, but there were also some Taiwanese intellectuals. Collectively, these aspiring young people felt suppressed by both the political system and the worldview of their dominating parents who only wanted to reminisce about the good old days in mainland China. The "modernists" in Taiwan were influenced by Western philosophical ideas, such as Existentialism, Absurdism, Nihilism, and Psychoanalysis. Declaring war against time-honoured Chinese values and the Enlightenment rationality associated with the May Fourth Movement, young writers and artists in Taiwan tried to articulate the abstract, the extreme, the absurd, and the incomprehensible through their creative works. For more, see David Der-wei Wang 王德威, *Taiwan: cong wenxue kan lishi* 臺灣: 從文學看歷史 [Taiwan: seeing history through the perspective of literature] (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 2005), 301-306.

³⁹⁶ Notable writers and intellectuals affiliated with *Xiandai wenxue* included Wang Wen-hsing (王文興, 1939-), Ou Yang-tsu (歐陽子 1939-), Chen Jo-hsi (陳若曦, 1938-), and Leo Ou-fan Lee (李歐梵, 1942-). See *ibid.*, 303.

³⁹⁷ Most of these short stories were published in *Xiandai wenxue* in 1964—*Death in Chicago* (芝加哥之死), *Going up to the Skyscraper* (上摩天樓去), and *Pleasantville* (安樂鄉的一天). In Taiwan, these writings are often referred to as "overseas students' literature" (留學生文學).

³⁹⁸ Pai returned to mainland China in 1987 when he was invited to give a series of talks at Shanghai's Fudan University (復旦大學). This was the first time that the great writer set foot in China after 39 years. More extensive lecture tours in other Chinese universities started after his retirement from UC Santa Barbara in 1994.

³⁹⁹ See Pai Hsien-yung, *Pai Hsien-yung shuo Kunqu* 白先勇說崑曲 [Pai Hsien-yung talks about Kunqu] (Taipei: Lianjing, 2004).

but also won much praise from literary critics around the world.⁴⁰⁰ Pai has also been an avant-garde artist, who does not shy away from edgy and controversial themes. The point is best illustrated by his novel *Crystal Boys*, published in the early 1980s, in which he unveils his homosexuality.⁴⁰¹ C T Hsia, one of the pioneering scholars in the study of modern Chinese literature, compared Pai's achievements to towering literary giants such as Lu Xun (魯迅) and Eileen Chang (張愛玲).⁴⁰² Nowadays, Pai's works continue to inspire admiration and scholarly debates for their refined and colourful prose, perceptive descriptions of complex human emotions, multi-layered metaphors, and artistic sensuality.⁴⁰³

A recurring theme in Pai's fictional stories is "cultural nostalgia" or *wenhua huaixiang/wenhua xiangchou* (文化懷鄉/文化鄉愁). Cultural nostalgia encapsulates the mentality of an exile—a drifting sense of homelessness and a never-ending search for belonging that evokes memories from an elusive and distant past. Pai's sexual orientation made him an outcast to society in China, Taiwan, and the United States during most of his adult life. Yet the melancholic feeling of displacement articulated by his works also arose from a specific historical context. Exile and dislocation had been an integral part of the great novelist's early life. Pai was born to an esteemed Chinese Muslim family in Guangxi Province just days after the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War. His father was a highly decorated military commander and a prominent leader in the KMT's Guangxi Clique (桂系), General Pai Chung-hsi (白崇禧, 1893-1966).⁴⁰⁴ Growing up in Guilin (桂

⁴⁰⁰ English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Korean translations of Pai's stories were published in different countries. Several of the most popular stories were adapted into movies, TV dramas, and theatrical plays. These have delighted audiences in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, mainland China, and the United States. For more, see Pai Hsien-yung, *Taipei ren*, 349-357.

⁴⁰¹ See Pai Hsien-yung, *Niezi* 孽子 [Crystal boys] (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1984). For a good discussion of Pai's gender orientation and his works, see Tseng Hsiu-ping 曾秀萍, *Guchen · Niezhi · Taipei ren: Pai Hsien-yung tongzhi xiaoshuo lun* 孤臣、孽子、臺北人：白先勇同志小說論 [Lonely officials, unworthy sons, and Taipei characters: a study of Pai Hsien-yung's gay novels] (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 2003).

⁴⁰² For Hsia's appraisal of Pai's works, see Hsia Chih-tsing 夏志清, "Pai Hsien-yung lun (shang)" 白先勇論(上) [On Pai Hsien-yung, part I], *Xiandai wenxue* 現代文學 [Modern literature] 39 (1969): 1-15.

⁴⁰³ For a recent publication that brings together the latest research and scholarly essays on Pai's writings, see Chen Fang-ming 陳芳明 and Fan Ming-ju 范銘如 (eds.), *Kua shiji de liuli: Pai Hsien-yung wenxue yu yishu guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 跨世紀的流離：白先勇的文學與藝術國際學術研討會論文集 [Exile across different centuries: an anthology for the international conference on the literary art of Pai Hsien-yung] (Taipei County, Jhonghe: INK Publishing, 2009).

⁴⁰⁴ The Guangxi Clique was a military faction in the KMT that held considerable political power and had their own sphere of influence during the Republican era. Most of the members hailed from the Guangxi

林), a city synonymous with beauty, where the region's unique karst formations produce stunning and world-renowned scenery, the great writer's privileged upbringing did not shelter him from the harsh reality of war. At the tender age of six, Pai and his family were hurled into a train loaded with terrified refugees when the Japanese forces approached the outskirts of Guangxi's provincial capital. The horrid scene of Guilin engulfed in flame as the train left the station was forever etched in his memory. The escape from Guilin was followed by sojourns in Chongqing, Shanghai, Nanjing, and Hong Kong, before landing in Taiwan in 1952. In October 2008, at an academic conference honouring his lifetime achievements in Taipei, Pai told the audience: "Looking back on my life, I was 'born in sorrow and misery' (生於憂患). My entire childhood was the life of a refugee running off to various places."⁴⁰⁵

No other works in the great novelist's oeuvre embody the historicity of cultural nostalgia better than *Taipei Characters*.⁴⁰⁶ The book contains 14 novellas describing the lives of mainlanders in Taipei a decade or so after the great exodus. The protagonists include people from different walks of life—retired generals, glamorous socialites, depressed university professors, low-ranking civil servants, small shop owners, domestic servants, Chinese opera singers, prostitutes, vagrants, and so on. Despite different social status and personal circumstances, these individuals were united by their tendency to reminisce about the bygone years on the mainland. They had families and friends in China they desperately wanted to see again; they all had unfinished business over there. Everyone was trapped in a perpetual limbo between going home and settling down;

Province. Pai Chung-hsi was one of the Clique's leading figures. Historians consider Pai a brilliant military strategist and a resourceful battlefield commander, especially in the war against Japan. For more on the Guangxi Clique, see Diana Lary, *Region and Nation: The Kwangsi Clique in Chinese Politics, 1925-1937* (London/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Eugene William Levich, *The Kwangsi Way in Kuomintang China, 1931-1939* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1993).

⁴⁰⁵ Chen Fang-ming and Fan Ming-ju (eds.), *Kua shiji de liuli*, 8.

⁴⁰⁶ The novellas contained in *Taipei Characters* first appeared as individual stories in different issues of *Xiandai wenxue* from 1965 to 1971. An anthology was produced in 1971 to bring these stories together. The title of the book was *Taipei ren* (臺北人). Shortly after the publication of *Taipei ren*, English translations of some of the stories were published in Hong Kong and North America. In 1982, with Pai's editorial assistance, the University of Indiana Press published the first complete English translation of *Taipei ren*. See Pai Hsien-yung, *Wandering in the Garden, Waking from a Dream: Tales of Taipei Characters*, (ed.) George Kao (trans.) Pai Hsien-yung and Patia Yasin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

between past memories and present circumstances.⁴⁰⁷ The nostalgia affected the course of their lives in many ways, and came to define an entire generation of people at a particular juncture in history.⁴⁰⁸ Pai's fictional characters vividly capture the predicament faced by the civil war migrants in Taiwan, when temporary sojourn became permanent exile; when the hopes of going home have all but faded. There was a gaping void that needed to be filled, and the void could only be filled by evoking distant memories of an unreturnable homeland.

This chapter argues that one way to understand *waishengren*'s cultural nostalgia is to examine the magazines and the historical projects funded by the mainlander native place associations from the 1960s to the 1980s. These cultural activities, which have hitherto been little studied or understood, even in Taiwan, marked an important transformation in the civil war migrants' *mentalités* starting in the early 1960s. While most of the mainlanders considered their stay on the island to be temporary during the 1950s, in the 1960s and the 1970s, many began to realize that they might never go back. As time went by, the official propaganda gradually lost its persuasiveness against the harsh realities. Diminishing prospects of mainland recovery and the longing for home contributed to a flowering of publications and related cultural activities centring on the native place. The trend started in the early 1960s and lasted well into the 1980s, before political reforms on both sides of the Taiwan Strait finally allowed the civil war exiles to return.

The mainlander native place associations or *waisheng tongxianghui* (外省同鄉會) are mutual assistance groups formed by the civil war migrants based on native place ties.

⁴⁰⁷ For more, see Ou Yang-tsu 歐陽子, "Pai Hsien-yung de xiaoshuo shijie: 「Taipei ren」 zhi zhuti tantao" 白先勇的小說世界: 「臺北人」之主題探討 [The world of Pai Hsien-yung's novel: the main themes of *Taipei Characters*], in Pai Hsien-yung, *Taipei ren*, 1-29; Yu Chiu-yu 余秋雨, "Shiji xing de wenhua xiangchou 「Taipei ren」 zhi zhuti tantao" 世紀性的文化鄉愁: 「臺北人」之主題探討 [The centennial cultural nostalgia: probing into the main themes of *Taipei Characters*], in Pai Hsien-yung, *Taipei ren*, 31-52; Liu Jun 劉俊, *Beimin qinghuai: Pai Hsien-yung pingzhuan* 悲憫情怀: 白先勇評傳 [Sympathy and compassion: a biography of Pai Hsien-yung] (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 2000), 247-327.

⁴⁰⁸ At the beginning of *Taipei Characters*, Pai dedicates the book to his parents and their generation, who experienced endless sorrow and mystery in their times. He quotes "The Lane of Black Gown" (烏衣巷), a famous poem by Tang Dynasty poet Liu Yuxi (劉禹錫, 772-842 AD), to articulate the theme of the book. "The Lane of Black Gown Mansions" describes the lives of exiled aristocrats from north China living in Nanjing during the Eastern Jin Dynasty (東晉, 316-420 AD). Some of the literary critics argue that *Taipei Characters* exhibits the mentality of "exiled nobility" (落難貴族) because of the poem. They neglect the fact that some of Pai's protagonists in the book also came from the lower-class backgrounds.

Tongxianghui is a product of migration. Similar organizations can be found in other Chinese migrant communities both inside and outside of the country. The study of *tongxianghui* in late imperial China and during the Republican era has been crucial to the scholarly debate on “civil society” and “public sphere” in China. The study of native place associations in post-war Taiwan offers an interesting case for comparison. This chapter will provide a discussion of the major works on *tongxianghui*, and explain the contribution of this study to *tongxianghui* historiography. It will demonstrate the flexibility and adaptability of native place ideas and institutions to changing political and social circumstances—from refugee relief in the 1950s to the promotion of native place histories and cultures in the three decades that followed. The narrative opens the possibility to see limited agency under the rigid confines of KMT authoritarianism, and reveals the often neglected processes of negotiation in dictatorial regimes. Finally, the chapter sheds light on two important consequences of mainlander cultural nostalgia. The cultural production centring on the native place history contributed to continued alienation between the civil war migrants and a majority of the local Taiwanese population and the “reverse culture shock” of returning home after 1987.

4.2 Methodology and Sources

The story of *waishengren*’s cultural nostalgia will be told by *waisheng tongxianghui*’s publications in Taiwan from the 1960s to the 1980s. The narrative will also be supplemented by supporting evidence culled from *Zhongyang ribao*, *Lianhe bao*, *Ziyou zhongguo*, oral history, and a large collection of secondary sources. The author first learned about the activities of the mainlander native place associations when reading the newspapers. During the 1950s, these groups posted a large number of public announcements and ads in *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao*. There were also sporadic news reports about them. Evidence collected from the newspapers suggests that *tongxianghui*’s community support networks played an important role in resettling an uprooted and atomized population in Taiwan.

Yet newspapers published at the time offer limited information about the inner workings of the mainlander native place associations and their relationship with the

Nationalist regime. These are important questions to consider since *tongxianghui* is crucial to the debate on “civil society” and “public sphere” in China. To gain more insight, the author searched for additional sources in the libraries of Academia Sinica. *Tongxianghui* publications were not hard to find. The author soon amassed a considerable number of periodicals, books, and pamphlets produced by 42 different mainland native place associations. He also gained information on government laws and regulations governing these associations. On top of these, he found three secondary sources on the topic.⁴⁰⁹ Upon examining the *tongxianghui* publications more closely, the author made an important discovery that shaped the main argument of this chapter. The discovery has to do with the timing and nature of these publications.

With two notable exceptions, *waisheng tongxianghui* did not publish or distribute any printed materials to their members or the general public during the 1950s.⁴¹⁰ As a matter of fact, many did not even keep records of their own finances and activities during the first decade in exile. Nonetheless, from the early 1960s onwards, in stark contrast to the lack of cultural activities in the preceding decade, these associations began to turn out a large number of publications. Most of these were journals dedicated to exploring the histories and cultures of their home provinces or counties in mainland China. As we will see later, these texts were produced and distributed by *tongxianghui* with no initiatives or financial incentives from the regime-in-exile. In fact, there was underlying tension between the provincial identities championed by the native place associations and the KMT ideology of national unity and steadfast loyalty to the Party. Consequently, the journal publishers had to tread carefully when expressing their allegiance to the native place, and when promoting their cultural agendas. They did a stellar job. In a clever rhetorical ploy, the love for the native place was subsumed under the love for the nation.

⁴⁰⁹ These are the works of Li Hsiao-ling, Chung Yan-yu, and Hsu Li-chuan. They will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁴¹⁰ The two exceptions were *Hainan jianxun* (海南簡訊) in 1951 and *Yixing xiangxun* (宜興鄉訊) in 1955. The circulation volumes for these two journals were quite small. *Hainan jianxun* stopped publishing before the end of the decade, while *Yixing xiangxun* continued to publish in the 1960s and the 1970s. For more on both, see Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui 中國地方文獻學會 (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao* 中國地方文獻社團薈要 [A summary report of the Chinese local reference organizations] (Taipei: Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui, 1985), 78, 211-212; Chu Chieh-fan 朱介凡, “Cong 「Yixing nuxun」 shuoqi” 從「宜興女婿」說起 [Talking about the “Yixing son-in-law”], *Lianhe bao*, January 6, 1958, 6; Hsu Ao-jun 徐鰲潤, “Yetan 「Yixing nuxu」” 也談「宜興女婿」 [Talking about the “Yixing son-in-law” also], *ibid.*, January 11, 1958, 6.

Tongxianghui's self-serving promotion of provincialism was touted as a subsidiary project under the state's anti-Communist crusade and the ultimate goal of mainland recovery. In 1970, the associations' local history projects gained official recognition when the "Society for the Study of Chinese Local References" (中國地方文獻學會, SSCLR) was formed under the auspices of the state.

The mainlander native place associations in Taiwan produced two types of journals in the period under study—the "bulletin" magazine and the "reference" magazine. The first type usually fell under names like *tongxun* (通訊), *huixun* (會訊), *xiangxun* (鄉訊), *jianxun* (簡訊), and *tongxiang* (同鄉). These could be translated as "communiqué," "association news," "native place news," "newsletter," and "native place" respectively, hence the word "bulletin." The second type was often referred to as *wenxian* (文獻). The literal translation of *wenxian* is "documents" or "documentary sources." However, instead of using these translations, the author has chosen another word to denote *wenxian*: "reference." The reason for the word selection is to underscore *tongxianghui* publishers' intention when they printed and circulated these journals. Like compiling an encyclopaedia, the main purpose of *wenxian* publications was to create a repository of knowledge about their respective native places.⁴¹¹ Other than the need to assuage their homesickness, the study of native place histories and cultures was done for the sake of rebuilding communities, and for educating younger generations about their ancestral lands. Unfortunately, the influence of native place *wenxian* projects on the younger generation born in Taiwan was limited.

In theory, the "bulletin" magazines and the "reference" magazines served two different functions. The first offered an open forum in which to announce community news and events, and to facilitate communication among members. The second were set up for the study and the promotion of native place histories and cultures. Generally speaking, the organizations based on smaller geographical units, such as municipal and county associations, issued "bulletin" magazines, whereas the larger provincial

⁴¹¹ For the historical origin and the meaning of *wenxian*, see Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 3.

associations produced “reference” magazines.⁴¹² In practice, there was very little difference between the two. Due to limited funding and human resources, most of the *waisheng tongxianghui* in Taiwan published only one journal. And more often than not, it was the promotion of native place histories and cultures that took precedence over the communicative function.

Tongxianghui journals and cultural activities were all privately funded, even as the Nationalist authorities embraced these projects in the 1970s and the 1980s. Most of the mainlander native place associations received next to nothing from the state. The longevity of a native place magazine thus depended upon the largesse of their fellow provincials. Some continued to publish well into the 1990s, and even until the present day.⁴¹³ Others disappeared within just a few years.⁴¹⁴ The mainlander native place associations also differed to a great extent in terms of membership size, communal solidarity, and financial resources. These affected the publication, as well as the circulation volume for the magazines. A common problem faced by many of the associations since the 1980s was a gradual decline in funding and membership, as a considerable number of the elderly members began to die out. Moreover, when Chiang Ching-kuo lifted the ban on travel to mainland China in late 1987, the civil war exiles no longer needed to indulge in cultural nostalgia centring on their “imaginary homeland.” They could finally go home, reunite with families, and see what had happened to their native place with their own eyes.

Despite a noticeable decline in *tongxianghui* publications during the past two decades, the period from the 1960s to the 1980s was without a doubt the golden age of *wenxian* publication. Some of the more well-to-do native place associations sold and distributed tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands copies of their journals, not

⁴¹² There were a few exceptions. For example, the Taipei Henan (河南) native place association ran two magazines. It began publishing a reference magazine in March 1969 called *Zhongyuan wenxian* (中原文獻). In 1974, the association realized that it needed another periodical to facilitate communication among Henan natives living in Taiwan. Another magazine called *Henan tongxiang* (河南同鄉) was set up for this purpose. See “Fakan ci” 發刊詞 [Preface to the magazine], *Henan tongxiang* [Henan native place] 1 (1974): 1.

⁴¹³ Among the 42 *waisheng tongxianghui* journals examined by the author during the course of research, 16 are still publishing after 2009. *Rehe tongxun* (熱河通訊, 1963-2011) and *Ningbo tongxiang* (寧波同鄉, 1963-2011) are probably two of the longest running native place magazines in Taiwan.

⁴¹⁴ For a few examples, see *Anhui wenxian* (安徽文獻, 1971-1972), *Chaoxun* (潮訊, 1971), *Jianli wenxian* (監利文獻, 1983), *Huaxian wenxian* (華縣文獻, 1981-1986), *Ningdu wenxian* (寧都文獻, 1983-1984).

only to fellow countrymen on the island, but also to native place members resided in foreign countries. For example, Taipei Ningbo native place association handed out approximately 4,000 copies of its journal *Ningbo tongxiang* (寧波同鄉) every month to Ningbo natives in Taiwan and in other parts of the world, all for free.⁴¹⁵ In 1971, the Zhejiang native place association boasted a monthly circulation of 5,000 copies for its *Zhejiang yuekan* (浙江月刊). A great number of these were shipped overseas.⁴¹⁶ In the case of *Henan tongxiang* (河南同鄉), which was a quarterly produced by Taipei Henan native place association, the sales numbers soared from approximately 3,000 copies per issue in 1974 to nearly 10,000 in 1985 after eleven years of continuous running and expansion.⁴¹⁷ When *Guangdong wenxian jikan* (廣東文獻季刊) debuted in January 1971, the Guangdong native place association first distributed 5,000 copies. However, they were soon flooded with requests from Guangdong natives living overseas, mostly in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia. Two thousand more copies had to be printed and mailed out.⁴¹⁸

The extent and scope of *tongxianghui* cultural activities from the 1960s to the 1980s gave rise to questions pertaining to the history of the mainlander native place associations in Taiwan and the degree of autonomy they possessed in a tightly controlled authoritarian state. Before the story of mainlander cultural nostalgia can be told by the associations' *wenxian* journals, we must first examine the scholarly debate on *tongxianghui*. We also need to gain a better understanding of *waisheng tongxianghui*'s origin, as well as their development in Taiwan before the 1960s. The following two sections will explore these issues.

⁴¹⁵ Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 325.

⁴¹⁶ Chang Hsing-chou 張行周, "Zhejiang yuekan ji Zhejiang gedi wenxian jianshu" 浙江月刊暨浙江各地文獻簡述 [A brief report on *Zhejiang yuekan* and the other Zhejiang reference magazines], *Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui niankan* 中國地方文獻學會年刊 [Yearbook of the SSCLR] 1 (1971): 44.

⁴¹⁷ Jiao Yun-ying 饒蘊英, "「Henan tongxiang」 faxing shiyi nian" 「河南同鄉」發行十一年 [The eleventh year anniversary of *Henan tongxiang*], *Henan tongxiang* 48 (1985): 28.

⁴¹⁸ Chu Hsiu-hsia 祝秀俠, "Guangdong wenxian jikan bianji jishu" 廣東文獻季刊編輯記述 [The editor's note for Guangdong reference quarterly], *Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui niankan* 1 (1971): 56.

4.3 The Historiography of *Tongxianghui*

Tongxianghui (同鄉會) can be translated literally as “associations for the same native place” or “associations for fellow-provincials.” They are voluntary mutual assistance groups formed by migrant communities inside and outside of China. *Waisheng tongxianghui* established by the civil war migrants were by no means the first of their kind on the island. During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), early settlers from southern Fujian and northern Guangdong founded and operated a number of civil and religious organizations based upon native place ties.⁴¹⁹ Under Japanese colonial rule, tens of thousands of migrant labourers and sojourning merchants, a majority of them also from Fujian and Guangdong, set up an island-wide association called *Zhonghua huiguan* (中華會館) to protect themselves against the exploitation of the colonial government and the local Taiwanese business elites.⁴²⁰

Associations based on native place ties have a long history in Chinese society. Nonetheless, as Bryna Goodman has pointed out, the term *tongxianghui* itself was not used until the Republican period.⁴²¹ According to Ho Ping-ti, the precursors to modern *tongxianghui*, namely, *huiguan* (會館) and *gongsuo* (公所), could be traced back to the reign of Emperor Yongle (永樂帝, 1402-1424) during the Ming Dynasty.⁴²² When

⁴¹⁹ See Chou Tsung-hsien 周宗賢, “Taiwan huigan de yanjiu” 台灣會館的研究 [Research on huigan in Taiwan], *Tamkang xuebao* 淡江學報 [Tamkang journal] 24 (1986): 237-252.

⁴²⁰ For *tongxianghui* activities under Japanese colonial rule, see Wu Wen-hsing, *Riju shiqi zai Tai huaqiao* 日據時期在台灣的華僑, Chapter 3; Hsu Hsueh-chi 許雪姬, “Taiwan Zhonghua zong huiguan chengli qian de Taiwan huaqiao”, 1895-1927 臺灣中華總會館成立前的「臺灣華僑」, 1895-1927 [The “overseas Chinese” in Taiwan before the establishment of the Chinese Native Place Association, 1892-1927], *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 20 (1991): 99-129.

⁴²¹ According to Goodman, the term *tongxianghui* denoted a new and self-consciously “modern” form of the native place associations that came into existence during the Republican period. See Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1995), 220-238.

⁴²² *Huiguan* can be translated as “meeting hall.” A majority of the native place associations in China set up a physical location, where the members could meet, do business, provide assistance to one another, and practice communal religions. Many of the overseas Chinese communities also erected *huiguan* in foreign countries. *Gongsuo* could be translated as “common place” or “public hall.” The term was used interchangeably with *huiguan*, though *gongsuo* carried a connotation of commercial activities, which made it somewhat similar to the word “guild” in English. Many of the native place associations in late imperial China indeed overlapped with trade organizations and labour associations. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that the native place associations in China were very different from the guilds in the West. For a good discussion of the relationship between *tongxianghui* and trade/labour organizations in China, as well as the various terms for different civil associations in Chinese, see *ibid.*, 29-41. Also see William T Rowe,

Yongle moved the imperial capital from Nanjing to Beijing in 1421, many of the southerners who migrated with the court formed mutual assistance groups to help cope with the process of relocation.⁴²³ However, based on a broader definition of native place associations, other scholars have suggested earlier origins in the Southern Song period (1127-1279), or even back in the days of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD).⁴²⁴ During the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing, these organizations flourished in the fast-growing urban centres of late imperial China, providing assistance to migrant labour, sojourning traders, and civil service exam candidates from the countryside. Varied in size and constitution, the native place associations not only played a key role in urban politics, but also performed a wide range of social functions—banking, commercial trade, lodging services, social welfare, religious worship, funeral arrangements, conflict mediation, and so on.⁴²⁵

The native place associations in Chinese cities before the onslaught of Western imperialism generated a great deal of scholarly interest, in particular their role as a mediating force in state-society relations. The crux of the debate revolved around Max Weber's "rationalization thesis," which set the "failure" of Chinese cities to develop capitalism and civil society as a foil to the "success" of European cities. Weber believed that urban social groups in late imperial China were obstacles to modernization. Contrary to their European counterparts, the narrow provincialism of Chinese associations forestalled the rise of a collective urban civil identity, and prevented the formation of autonomous social organizations that could challenge the established feudal order.⁴²⁶ In the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, Western officials and missionaries had documented the commercial and social activities of many Chinese urban social groups.

Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1984), 253-258.

⁴²³ See Ho Ping-ti 何炳棣, *Zhongguo huiguan shilun* 中國會館史論 [A historical treatise on huiguan in China] (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1966), 14-15; Also see Richard Belsky, *Localities at the Center: Native Place, Space, and Power in Late Imperial Beijing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 26-40.

⁴²⁴ See Chuan Han-sheng 全漢昇, *Zhongguo hanghui zhidu shi* 中國行會制度史 [A history of Chinese guilds and associations] (Taipei: Shihuo chubanshe, 1978), 92-94. Chuan book was first published in Shanghai during the 1930s.

⁴²⁵ For more on native place associations' activities in late imperial China, see Quan Hansheng, *Zhongguo hanghui zhidu shi*, 112-120; William T Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889*, Chapters 7-10; Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, 14-38.

⁴²⁶ For illuminating discussions of Weber's view on Chinese cities, see William T Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889*, 2-6; Richard Belsky, *Localities at the Center*, 7-8.

While the early works had informed Weber's argument, the later ones tended to reinforce it.⁴²⁷ Western writings about *tongxianghui* were later followed by more sophisticated studies produced by the Japanese historians—Wada Sei, Kato Shigeshi, Niida Noboru, Imahori Seiji, just to name a few. Arguing in the same vein, Japanese scholars also viewed Chinese urban organizations as roadblocks to modernity because of their nepotism and parochialism.⁴²⁸

Ho Ping-ti's seminal work *Zhongguo huiguan shilun* [A historical treatise on huiguan in China] (1966) was a reaction against both the earlier Western publications and the Japanese scholarship. In the book, Ho employed the German term *landsmannschaften*⁴²⁹ to describe *huiguan* and *gongsuo*. He drew a very different picture of *tongxianghui* during the Qing and the Republican era compared to his predecessors. Building upon sociologist Dou Jiliang's pioneering research in the 1940s, Ho argued that native place associations contributed to China's interregional trade and national integration. They were vibrant, resourceful, and constantly changing.⁴³⁰

Despite Ho's polemic, the exorcism of Weber's ghost took place only in recent decades. It started in the 1980s when William Rowe published his ambitious two-volume study of Hankou (漢口, Hankow) during the late 18th and the early 19th centuries.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ For early studies and surveys produced by Westerners in China, see D J MacGowan, "Chinese Guilds or Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXI (1888-1889):133-192; Hosea B Morse, *The Gilds of China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Wash Ltd., 1909); Sidney D Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York: George H Doran Company, 1921); John S Burgess, *The Guilds of Peking* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928). Weber's interpretation of *huiguan* was influenced by both MacGowan and Morse. See Richard Belsky, *Localities at the Center*, 29.

⁴²⁸ See Ho Ping-ti, *Zhongguo huiguan shilun*, preface 1, English Abstract, 1; Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, 42. The Japanese historians who studied China in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries had an agenda. Imitating the West, they set China and the rest of the East Asia up as a foil to their own progress and modernity. For more on this aspect, see Stephan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

⁴²⁹ *Landmannschaften* refers to Jewish immigrant benevolent organizations established based on their European birthplaces during the 19th and the 20th centuries in America. The term has origin in the fraternity groups formed among German university students during the 12th and the 13th centuries.

⁴³⁰ Ho Ping-ti, *Zhongguo huiguan shilun*, preface, 1-3, 101-114. For Dou's study, see Dou Jiliang 竇季良, *Tongxianghui zuzhi zhi yanjiu* 同鄉組織之研究 [Research on the native place associations] (Chongqing: Zhongzheng shuju, 1943). In Dou's mind, *tongxianghui*'s narrow provincialism posed a problem to China's progress and national unity. However, he suggested that native place sentiments were ephemeral in the country's development. There was a natural tendency for "native place outlook" (鄉土觀念) to evolve into a greater "community outlook" (社區觀念), and then to "national outlook" (國家觀念). Ho's interpretation of *huiguan* was influenced by Dou's argument.

⁴³¹ See William T Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889* and *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press,

Meticulously researched and eloquently argued, the work turned Weber's thesis on its head. Rowe demonstrated that trade organizations with native place ties in the city, which he described as "guilds," actually exhibited autonomy and functionality analogous to their European counterparts. The urban organizations in Hankou not only constituted a powerful and effective mediating force in the city's administration, but also served as a catalyst for the crystallization of a common municipal identity.⁴³²

Rowe's research, along with the works of Mary B Rankin and David Strand, which illustrated elite and labour activism in Zhejiang and Beijing respectively, sparked a heated academic debate.⁴³³ The debate centred on whether "civil society" or "public sphere" had existed in late imperial China or the Republican era, as well as on the nature of Chinese "civil society" and "public sphere" in comparison to their Western counterparts. After much discussion and exchange of ideas, a great number of scholars came to question the efficacy of Weber's theory and the premise of a unilateral path to Western-style modernity.⁴³⁴ An emerging scholarly consensus in the 1990s was that while civil organizations in China might have displayed characteristics similar to their European counterparts, these should be understood and interpreted in the context of the country's own historical development.

Bryna Goodman's *Native Place, City, and the Nation* (1995) reflected this growing consensus. The book offered a nuanced and fascinating account of *tongxianghui*'s development in Shanghai under changing socioeconomic circumstances

1989). Rowe focused on commercial activities and "guild" functions in the first volume. Most of his arguments about the native place associations were made in the first volume. He examined the political and social forces that resolved communal conflicts in the second volume.

⁴³² William T Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889*, 248-251, 337-340. An important corollary to Rowe's argument was that, without Western imperialism, China might have developed capitalism on its own. See *ibid.*, 345.

⁴³³ See Mary B Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1986); David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and the Politics in the 1920s* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1989); William T Rowe, "The Public Sphere in Modern China," *Modern China* 16:3 (1990): 309-329. The term "public sphere" is derived from the works of Jürgen Habermas, which was influenced by Max Weber's rationalization theory.

⁴³⁴ For different scholarly opinions on the "civil society/public sphere" debate, including Rowe's reflections on the theoretical underpinnings and methodology of his research on Hankou, see the articles contained in Philip C C Huang et al., "Symposium: 'Public Sphere'/'Civil Society' in China? Paradigmatic Issues in Chinese Studies, III," *Modern China* 19:2 (1993): 107-240. Also see Elizabeth J Perry, "Trends in the Study of Chinese Politics: State-Society Relations," *The China Quarterly* 139 (1994): 704-713; Marie-Claire Bergère, "Civil Society and Urban Change in Republican China," *The China Quarterly* 150 (1997): 309-328; Timothy Brook and B Michael Frolic (eds.), *Civil Society in China* (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 1997).

and political regimes, from the opening of the city as a treaty port in the mid-19th century to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. It made a decisive break with the previous scholarship, which revolved around Weber's theory. Goodman suggested that the dichotomies at the centre of that debate—tradition versus modernity, regionalism versus nationalism, particularism versus cosmopolitanism, and so on—were not mutually exclusive in the context of *tongxianghui* in Shanghai. The central thesis of the book was the flexibility, adaptability, and utility of native place identities and institutions to the forces of economic, social, and political change in the city.⁴³⁵ In Goodman's story, the native place sentiments and nationalist sentiments were not antithetic, but compatible. Moreover, the tradition/modernity binary was a moot point since her study illustrated not a withering of old ideas and institutions, but radical changes and modernization projects facilitated by the supposedly "feudal" and "backward" *tongxianghui*.⁴³⁶ Lastly, according to Goodman, the relationship between *tongxianghui* and the state during the Republican era should be best understood not as either complete autonomy or absolute state control, but shifting areas of partial autonomy, interpenetration, and negotiation.⁴³⁷

In the past decade, our knowledge of *tongxianghui* was further enriched by two illuminating historical works: Madeline Hsu's study of Chinese immigrants in the United States from Guangdong's Taishan (台山) County in *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home* (2000) and Richard Belsky's probe into a long-neglected topic in the study of *huiguan*—the scholar-official lodges in Beijing's Xuannan (宣南) District—in *Localities at the Center* (2005). Lauded as a major contribution both to Asian American history and the study of transnationalism, Hsu's monograph was not about *tongxianghui* per se, but about the importance of native place ties in the making of an elastic and dynamic transnational community that straddle between South China and America at the turn of the 20th century. *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home* illustrated the role played by the native place networks in helping new immigrants settle down in the United States—providing loans, temporary lodgings, employment opportunities, legal assistance, mailing services, remittance services, and so on. Moreover, in a fascinating chapter focusing on

⁴³⁵ See Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and the Nation*, 3.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 302-304.

qiaokan (僑刊), journals produced by the native place associations from Taishan, Hsu demonstrated that these publications constituted a lively forum whereby a geographically dispersed migrant population could share ideas, information, and produce cultural texts together.⁴³⁸ The *tongxianghui* magazines became both the instrument and the manifestation a transnational “imagined community” centred on Taishan.

Like Hsu, Belsky also pointed to a link between native place associations and “imagined communities.” *Localities at the Center* explored the *longue durée* of the scholar-official lodges in Beijing from the 15th century to the Communist takeover. The lodges were guesthouses and study complexes for the civil service exam candidates funded by provincial elites. In late imperial China, they became an important place for court nobles, scholar-officials, business leaders, and exam candidates from different provinces and regions to meet, build connections, and discuss affairs of the state. Belsky portrayed the scholar-official lodges as a site of mediation between the imperial centre and the rest of the country, a locus where identification with a larger “imperium” was formed.⁴³⁹ Like Goodman, Belsky emphasizes on the adaptability of native place ideas and institutions and the compatibility between native place identities and national identity.⁴⁴⁰

The story of *waisheng tongxianghui* in Taiwan offers new insight on the study of native place associations, while reinforcing the arguments made by Goodman, Hsu and Belsky. The existing research stops at 1949. The current scholarship also offers little knowledge of wartime developments between 1937 and 1949. Although the native place associations withered in mainland China under the PRC, where there was very little space for social activities outside the purview of the state, these associations continued to

⁴³⁸ Madeline Y Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 124-155.

⁴³⁹ Richard Belsky, *Localities at the Center*, 74-75, 137-138.

⁴⁴⁰ It should be noted that there is a difference between the national consciousness in late Qing and the Republican era discussed by Goodman and the identification with “imperium” put forward by Belsky. Belsky made this point clear when he drew on Goodman’s research. He wrote: “Huiguan rituals served both to consolidate corporate coherence and identification with the native-place community and to foster communication with the civil imperium...What the ritual activities of scholar-official huiguan reveal is that a similar process had occurred in Beijing among the scholar-official elite well before the period with which Goodman is concerned. The consciousness reflected in the ritual activities should not be described as ‘nationalist.’ Yet the rituals do clearly represent identification of on the part of the participants with an empire-wide pool of elites who saw themselves as worthy to serve the throne and participate in the governance of the realm.” See *ibid.*, 138.

develop in Taiwan under the KMT. Prior to the Communist takeover, *tongxianghui* in China had begun to lose some autonomy. The Nanjing government enacted laws and set up official agencies to bring all social organizations under state control, a harbinger of things to come under the CCP. Complete state domination over society was never achieved under the KMT, however. The Japanese invasion obliterated the apparatus built by the Nanjing government. In the midst of war and widespread suffering, the native place associations established by the displaced population themselves assisted the Nationalist authorities in refugee relief. Similar process took place in Taiwan years later, when *waisheng tongxianghui*'s community support networks played a vital role in helping the civil war migrants resettle on the island. The need for these associations to perform vital social functions explains why the KMT did not do away with them completely. Nonetheless, the organization of *waisheng tongxianghui* in Taiwan was weak during the 1950s due to stringent state regulations and the sojourner mentality of the civil migrants. The associations made a comeback in the 1960s, when they became the instruments for promoting native place histories. The following narrative in this chapter demonstrates the adaptability of native place associations, as well as shifting boundaries of autonomy and negotiation between the state and these mutual assistance groups, an important point argued by both Goodman and Belsky. It also illuminates the process in which native place sentiments were made compatible with nationalist sentiments. Finally, the following story echoes Hsu's idea linking *tongxianghui* journal publication and cultural projects with cross-border imagination and community identity formation. The Taishanese in the United States and the mainlanders in Taiwan both articulated their nostalgia and sense of community through native place magazines, albeit under two radically different sets of circumstances.

In Taiwan, there have only been three monographs that looked into *waisheng tongxianghui*, all of them graduate theses. They constitute important secondary sources for this study, providing vital information regarding *tongxianghui* funding, organization, and activities. Nonetheless, as we will see later, the authors of these works tend to view the mainland native place associations as instruments of the KMT, and overlook the process of negotiation between the two. As a result, they are unaware of the historical significance of the *wenxian* projects put forward by *tongxianghui*. Anthropology student

Li Hsiao-ling was the first to examine *waisheng tongxianghui* in 1979. Her research focused mainly on Taipei Henan (河南) native place association.⁴⁴¹ Li's thesis was based on archival materials, observations, and a social survey conducted by Li.⁴⁴² Li was a member of Henan *tongxianghui*. Therefore, her study offered first-hand accounts of the association's activities. Unfortunately, it failed to stimulate further scholarly interest on the topic. The second work by Chung Yan-yu appeared belatedly in 1999. Chung's monograph, which is arguably the best of the three, presented an encyclopaedic history of *waisheng tongxianghui* in Taipei from 1946 to 1995. The work was built upon a large collection of official documents, newspapers, and *tongxianghui* publication.⁴⁴³ In 2005, another history student Hsu Li-chuan followed Chung with a study of Taipei Jiangxi (江西) *tongxianghui*. Despite some additional insights, Hsu's interpretations are similar to those of Chung's.⁴⁴⁴ All three studies started their stories in the late 1940 when the great exodus arrived on the island. They neglected the fact that the native place associations established by the civil war migrants in Taiwan actually had originated in mainland China in the midst of war against Japan.

4.4 *Waisheng Tongxianghui* in Taiwan during the 1950s

Huiguan and other native-place organizations had existed in Taiwan during the Qing and the Japanese colonial era, prior to the arrival of the great exodus. However, there was little connection between the associations established by settlers, sojourning merchants, and migrant labourers from South China before 1945 and the associations

⁴⁴¹ Li also examined *tongxianghui* in Taipei established by migrant workers from other parts of the island, such as Nantou (南投) and Yilan (宜蘭).

⁴⁴² See Li Hsiao-ling 李效玲, "Minjian shetuan zhi yanjiu: yi Taipei diqu tongxiang zuzhi wei li" 民間社團之研究: 以台北地區同鄉組織為例 [A study of civil organizations: the native place associations in Taipei] (Master's Thesis, Taipei: National Taiwan University, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1979).

⁴⁴³ Chung's monograph is also the only one that was published. See Chung Yan-yu 鍾豔攸, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi—Taipei shi zhi waisheng tongxianghui (1946-1955)* 政治性移民的互助組織—台北市之外省同鄉會 (1946-1955) [Associations for mutual assistance among political migrants—The mainlander native place associations in Taipei, 1946-1955] (Taipei County, Banciao: Daoxiang chubanshe, 1999).

⁴⁴⁴ Hsu Li-chuan 徐麗娟, "Taipei shi Jiangxi tongxianghui zhi tantao" 台北市江西同鄉會之探討 [An investigation of the Jiangxi Native Place Association in Taipei] (Master's Thesis, Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University, Department of History, 2005).

founded by the civil war migrants after 1945.⁴⁴⁵ The precursors of *waisheng tongxianghui* in Taiwan were the native place associations in mainland China, in particular the ones formed by displaced communities during the Anti-Japanese War. The Japanese invasion engendered tens of millions of refugees, many of whom fled inland to cities like Wuhan, Chongqing, Chengdu, and Kunming.⁴⁴⁶ The news reports in *Zhongyang ribao* indicated that *tongxianghui* founded in Sichuan and other inland provinces played an important role in refugee relief and resettlement. Working in concert with the exiled Nationalist government, the native place associations provided food, temporary lodgings, financial aid, transportation, medical care, and employment opportunities to fellow provincials displaced by the war.⁴⁴⁷ The wartime capital Chongqing became a major hub of *tongxianghui* activities.

In his 1943 study, Dou Jiliang documented various fund-raising campaigns and emergency relief efforts, all of which were hosted by *luyu tongxianghui* (旅渝同鄉會) or “associations for fellow provincials sojourning in Chongqing.”⁴⁴⁸ For example, when the city of Wuhan fell in late 1938 after more than four months of fierce fighting, a large number of Hubei refugees fled across the provincial border to Sichuan. Hubei *luyu tongxianghui* not only set up a temporary shelter to house the refugees, but also built a

⁴⁴⁵ The only exceptions were some of the associations set up by the mainlander migrants from Fujian and Guangdong during the early retrocession period. Chung Yan-yu alludes to the fact newcomers from these two provinces did try to recruit the native Taiwanese because of shared ancestry. Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 19-20. Nonetheless, there is little evidence to suggest a great number of the local Taiwanese participated in *waisheng tongxianghui*. Even if some did, the rising communal tension between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese, the one that eventual led to the tragic 228 Incident, made native Taiwanese participation in mainlander organizations less likely to continue.

⁴⁴⁶ For more on the refugee crisis during the Second Sino-Japanese War, see Diana Lary and Stephen R MacKinnon (eds.), *The Scars of War*; Stephen R Mackinnon, *Wuhan, 1938*; Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War*.

⁴⁴⁷ See “Nanjing luyu tongxianghui chouhua jiuji nianbao” 南京旅渝同鄉籌劃救濟難胞 [The Nanjing native place association have plans to assist refugees], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 9, 1939, 4; “Gesheng tongxianghui xiejiu nanmin qingxing” 各省同鄉會協救難民情形 [The native place associations are helping refugees from their respective provinces], *ibid.*, August 11, 1939, 4; “Gedi tongxianghui quan nanbao shusan” 各地同鄉會勸難胞疏散 [The native place associations from different areas urge the refugees to evacuate], *ibid.*, July 8, 1938, 4; “Jiuji nanmin: ge tongxianghui zuo choushang banfa” 救濟難民: 各同鄉會昨籌商辦法 [Helping the refugees: the native place associations got together yesterday to discuss the means], *ibid.*, January 24, 1941, 3; “Guangdong tongxianghui jiuji laiye tongxiang” 廣東同鄉會救濟來渝同鄉 [The Guangdong native place association provide emergency relief for fellow provincials coming into Chongqing], *ibid.*, February 6, 1945, 3; “Hengyang luyu tongxianghui jiuji Heng laiye nanbao” 衡陽旅渝同鄉會救濟衡來渝難胞 [The Hengyang native place association in Chongqing provides assistance to Hengyang refugees coming into Chongqing], *ibid.*, February 19, 1945, 3.

⁴⁴⁸ *Yu* (渝) is the abbreviated name for Chongqing, while *lu* (旅) denotes “sojourn” or “sojourning.”

textile factory and an elementary school. These facilities benefitted hundreds of families.⁴⁴⁹ Between June 1940 and December 1941, Shaoxing (紹興) *luyu tongxianghui* raised hundreds of thousands of *yuan*⁴⁵⁰ to provide emergency relief for refugees from seven northern Zhejiang counties ravaged by a double whammy of Japanese invasion and a disastrous drought in 1940.⁴⁵¹ Besides privately-funded undertakings, the native place associations also participated in state-sponsored activities, such as the overseas Chinese assistance program, “support the army movement” (勞軍運動), and the city’s municipal air raid defence corps.⁴⁵²

The previous chapter suggested that many of those who relocated to Chongqing during the Anti-Japanese War also followed the Nationalist regime to Taiwan. Similar to Chongqing, the island’s capital city Taipei also became the centre of *tongxianghui* activities when the tide of the civil war turned against the KMT in the late 1940s.⁴⁵³ The chaotic mass flight and the crumbling state apparatus in the closing days of the civil war meant most of the exiled population, regardless of their social status and previous relationship with the KMT in mainland China, had to fend for themselves when they reached Taiwan. Many newcomers arrived literally with only the clothes on their backs and urgently needed assistance in many aspects of their daily lives. Native place ties constitute one of the ways in which an atomized and displaced population rebuilt their communities in exile—finding employment, searching for accommodation, and reconnecting with friends, relatives, and colleagues. Initially modelled after their predecessors in China, the title of the mainlander native associations in early post-war Taiwan—*lutai tongxianghui* (旅台同鄉會) or “the association for fellow provincials sojourning in Taiwan”—illustrates both semantic and institutional continuities between the wartime associations formed in mainland China and the associations established in

⁴⁴⁹ Dou Jiliang, *Tongxianghui zuzhi zhi yanjiu*, 96-97.

⁴⁵⁰ The exact figure was 105, 267. 64 *yuan* (元). Dou did not specify the currency. However, judging from the historical context in which the study was produced, *yuan* could only be the Nationalist legal tender *fabi* (法幣). In the late 1930s and the early 1940s, *fabi* still held some of its value. Tens of thousands of *yuan* was a considerable amount of money.

⁴⁵¹ Dou Jiliang, *Tongxianghui zuzhi zhi yanjiu*, 97-98.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 100-101.

⁴⁵³ The situation is illustrated by a great number of announcements and advertisements in the classified ads section of *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* during the late 1940s and the early 1950s. These were posted by the various mainlander native place associations in Taipei.

Taiwan. Above all, the title aptly describes the collective mindset of the civil war migrants during the 1950.⁴⁵⁴ This part of the story has already been told in the previous chapter.

Social survey data provided by the Taipei Municipal Government Bureau of Social Affairs show that 62 *waisheng tongxianghui* registered with the municipal authorities between 1948 and 1955, whereas there had only been five *tongxianghui* in 1947. Fifteen associations were founded in 1951, 14 in 1952, 19 in 1953, and 8 in 1954. By 1960, there were 92. The number grew steadily over the years to nearly 300 in the mid-1990s.⁴⁵⁵ Li Hsiao-ling was the first to examine the records kept by the Bureau of Social Affairs in the late 1970s. She identified three “peaks” (高峰期) in the number of mainlander native place associations established in Taipei: between 1951 and 1954, between 1968 and 1970, and after 1977.⁴⁵⁶ Chung Yan-yu, whose research extended into the mid-1990s, came to a similar conclusion, while adding that the third “peak” extended from 1978 to 1988.⁴⁵⁷ Meanwhile, Hsu Li-chuan demonstrated that, in the case of the Jiangxi native place groups, most of the municipal and county-level sub-associations were not formed until the 1970s and the 1980s, and many were set up only after the martial law was repealed in 1987.⁴⁵⁸ Li, Chung, and Hsu held somewhat different views on the contributing factors to the “peaks” in *tongxianghui*’s activities after the 1960s, but they all agreed that the establishment of a large number of associations in the early 1950s was due to “practical needs” (實際需要).⁴⁵⁹ Chung, in particular, described Taipei’s

⁴⁵⁴ For a few examples see “Shandong sheng Qingdao shi lutai tongxianghui choubei hui dengji huiyuan gonggao” 山東省青島市旅台同鄉會籌備會登記會員公告 [A call for members from the preparatory committee for the Shandong Province Qingdao City native place association sojourning in Taiwan], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 17, 1950, 6; “Hebei lutai tongxianghui tonggao” 河北旅台同鄉會通告 [A message from the Hebei native place association sojourning in Taiwan], *ibid.*, January 19, 1950, 7; “Hunan lutai tongxianghui qishi” 湖南旅台同鄉會啟事 [Announcements from the Hunan native place association sojourning in Taiwan], *ibid.*, May 25, 1950, 1. Also see Li Hsiao-ling, “Minjian shetuan zhi yanjiu,” 35.

⁴⁵⁵ See Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 70-71. A total of 326 *waisheng tongxianghui* were formed in Taipei from 1946 to 1995, and thirty of which had ceased to function by 1996, leaving only 296 associations.

⁴⁵⁶ Li Hsiao-ling, “Minjian shetuan zhi yanjiu,” 54.

⁴⁵⁷ Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 72-73.

⁴⁵⁸ Hsu Li-chuan, “Taipei shi Jiangxi tongxianghui zhi tantao,” 19-23.

⁴⁵⁹ Li attributed the peak of *tongxianghui* activities in the early 1950s to the needs of civil war migrants in rebuilding their lives and social network. Agreeing with Li’s argument, Chung suggested that government regulations restricting the formation of larger associations combining several counties and districts was another main contributing factor to the establishment of a great number of associations. Li and Chung held different views on the reasons for the rise of *tongxianghui* activities in the 1960s and the 1970s. Li argued

Hebei (河北) native place association as a safe haven for the refugees from that province in the late 1940s.⁴⁶⁰

The news reports and announcements posted by different *waisheng tongxianghui* in the classified ads section of *Zhongyang ribao* and *Lianhe bao* offer a glimpse of the associations' activities in early post-war Taiwan. In July 1949, the Dongbei (東北) native place association doled out money to hundreds of impoverished students exiled from Manchuria. The association also struck a deal with the National Taiwan University Hospital to offer sick Dongbei natives arriving in Taiwan free medical treatment.⁴⁶¹ Several months later, in December 1949, the Jiangsu (江蘇) native place association started a program to register unemployed fellow provincials in Taipei. The aim was to help these people find jobs through the association's social network.⁴⁶² In June 1953, upon receiving more than 20 letters in a single month from destitute and jobless fellow provincials seeking help, the head of the Zhejiang (浙江) association in Taipei, a talented and successful businessman, donated all proceeds from the sale of a commercial product he invented to his native place association. The money was then used to set up a no-interest loan program to help Zhejiang natives start new businesses in Taiwan.⁴⁶³

Providing relief for the tens of thousands of exiles stranded in Hong Kong's Rennie's Mill Refugee Camp was the largest collective effort by *waisheng tongxianghui* in the early 1950s. The native place associations were instrumental in raising money, gathering supplies, and making available their social networks and contacts for the Hong Kong refugee program run by the state-sponsored Free China Relief Association (中國大

that the growth of native place associations in the later period was due to both the prolonged exile and socioeconomic transformations brought by Taiwan's economic take-off, whereas Chung considered government cultural policy and elections to be the most important reasons. Hsu, on the other hand, proposed that Taiwan's ostracization from the international community in the 1970s and the end of martial law in 1987 prompted the Jiangxi natives in Taipei to re-connect with their fellow provincials by forming new associations. See Li Hsiao-ling, "Minjian shetuan zhi yanjiu," 54-55; Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 73; Hsu Li-chuan, "Taipei shi Jiangxi tongxianghui zhi tantao," 16, 21-22.

⁴⁶⁰ Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 20.

⁴⁶¹ "Dongbei tongxianghui choukuan jiuji tongxiang" 東北同鄉會籌款救濟同鄉 [The Dongbei native place association raises fund to help fellow provincials], *Zhongyang ribao*, July 16, 1949, 4.

⁴⁶² "Jiangsu tongxianghui jue dengji shiye tongxiang" 江蘇同鄉會決登記失業同鄉 [The Jiangsu native place association decided to register unemployed fellow provincials], *ibid.*, December 15, 1949, 4.

⁴⁶³ "Canhe jiareqi Zhejiang Cheng Chia-chun chushou zhuanli quan jiuji shiye tongxiang" 餐盒加熱器浙江成家駿出售專利權救濟失業同鄉 [Zhejiang's businessman Chang Chia-chun donated all proceeds from the sale of a meal box patent to assist unemployed fellow provincials], *Lianhe bao*, June 6, 1953, 3.

陸災胞救濟總會, FCRA).⁴⁶⁴ In the late 1940s and the early 1950s, those who reached Taiwan were anxious to find out if their friends and families had gotten out of China and landed in Hong Kong. Many turned to their native place associations for help. From September 1950 to January 1952, 41 different *waisheng tongxianghui* in Taiwan sent money donated by their fellow provincials to Hong Kong via FCRA. The contributions ranged from thousands to tens of thousands New Taiwan Dollars (NT).⁴⁶⁵ *Tongxianghui* were also involved in helping some of the returnees from Europe and Southeast Asia.⁴⁶⁶ In 1955, they took part in the state's effort to settle tens of thousands of evacuees from Dachen Islands.⁴⁶⁷

Social networks based on native place ties also helped reunite families. One of the individuals interviewed by the author for this study was a mother of five children from Guangxi Province. Her husband was a local police chief working for the KMT. He fled to Hong Kong before the Communist takeover, leaving his family behind. The wife, who

⁴⁶⁴ The FCRA was a non-governmental charitable organization established by the exiled ROC in April 1950. The organization was formed under the auspices of the Ministry of Interior (內政部), and charged with the task of providing relief to refugees victimized by the CCP. One of the main tasks of FCRA during the 1950s and the 1960s was to help the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. FCRA was a civil organization only in name. Its executive board was populated by prominent KMT officials. Most of the operating fund and relief payout were supported by government revenue and an excise tax on movies. Charitable donations from the general public in Taiwan accounted for only a small portion of the organization's annual income. The KMT used FCRA's refugee program to denounce the CCP internationally. For more, see Dominic Meng-Hsuan Yang, "Diaojingling: Xianggong 「xiao Taiwan」 de qiyuan yu bianqian, 1950-1970 niandai," 134.

⁴⁶⁵ "Ge shengxian tongxianghui fen juankua jiu nanbao muqian yiyong sishiyi qi" 各省縣同鄉會紛捐款救難胞目前已有四十一起 [Forty one provincial and county-level native place associations have donated money to help the refugees (in Hong Kong)], *Lianhe bao*, February 11, 1952, 2. Also see "Fujian lutai tongxiang zhuyi" 福建旅臺同鄉注意 [Fujian natives sojourning in Taiwan pay attention], *Zhongyang ribao*, August 4, 1950, 8; "Lutai eren mukuan jiuji liugang tongxiang" 旅臺鄂人募款救濟流港同鄉 [Hubei natives sojourning in Taiwan raised money to help fellow provincials exiled in Hong Kong], *ibid.*, June 4, 1951, 4.

⁴⁶⁶ "Anzhi banfa jueyi sanxiang" 安置辦法決議三項 [Three ways to settle (the refugees)], *Lianhe bao*, April 8, 1952, 2; "Dalu jiuzai zonghui huanying luou huaqiao bingjiang wei jieyue gongzuo wenti" 大陸救災總會歡迎旅歐僑胞並將為解決工作問題 [The FCRA welcomes the returnees from Europe, and will help them find jobs], *ibid.*, April 9, 1952, 2; Zhiyuan lutai qiaobao weiyuan hui zhankai gongzuo" 支援旅泰僑胞委會展開工作 [The committee works on supporting the overseas Chinese in Thailand], *ibid.*, April 18, 1952, 1.

⁴⁶⁷ "Dachen nanji yibao minji renshi yuqian Fuzhou tongxianghui weiwen" 大陳南甌義胞閩籍人士逾千福州同鄉會慰問 [The Fuzhou Native Place Association provides relief for thousands of Fujian natives among the Dachen refugees], *ibid.*, February 17, 1955, 3; "Fudao anzhi Dachen yibao zuo fenzu xuanwei" 輔導安置大陳義胞昨日分組宣慰 [Different organizations arrived (in Keelung) yesterday, and offered assistance to refugees from Dachen], *ibid.*, February 19, 1955, 3; "Yunong gongshang geye yibao fenbie fudao jiuye" 漁農工商各業義胞分別輔導就業 [Helping refugees in fishery, agriculture, industry, and businesses obtain jobs], *ibid.*, April 16, 1955, 3.

escaped from the clutch of the CCP, was determined to join her husband. She reached Hong Kong after a treacherous journey with several of her children only to find that her husband had already left for Taiwan. The lady and her children were housed in the Rennie's Mill Refugee Camp for several years before reuniting with her husband in Taiwan in 1955. She told the author that the native place connections kept her and her children alive en route to Hong Kong, and directed her to the Camp. While residing in the Camp, Rennie's Mill's Guangxi *tongxianghui* located the whereabouts of her husband and helped her send letters.⁴⁶⁸

Besides refugee relief and family reunion, the mainlander native place associations also afforded their fellow provincials with additional benefits, helping the poor weather through hard times. For example, Taipei Ningbo *tongxianghui* was probably the most prosperous and dynamic native place association in early post-war Taiwan in terms of membership size, finances, and charitable activities.⁴⁶⁹ Its registered members enjoyed a long list of benefits during the 1950s and the 1960s. These included a free medical clinic run by licensed doctors in the association's head office as well as discounts at designated stores, services, and clinics operated by Ningbo natives. The association also provided financial aid for impoverished families with new born babies, academic scholarships for students, no-interest small business loans and career consultation for the unemployed, free legal advice for the poor and burial services in the association's communal graveyard.⁴⁷⁰ Evidence culled from newspaper reports and commercial ads suggests that some of the other *waisheng tongxianghui* tried to offer similar benefits to their fellow provincials during the 1950s. Nevertheless, the actual

⁴⁶⁸ Liu Cheng-hui 柳誠慧 (pseudonym), interviewed by the author, Tachih (大直), Taipei, October 12, 2008.

⁴⁶⁹ See Chang Hsing-chou 張行周 et al. (eds.), *Ningbo tongxianghui huishi dierce* 寧波同鄉會會史第二冊 [A history of the Ningbo native place association volume II] (Taipei: Taipei shi Ningbo tongxianghui, 2006), 4-5.

⁴⁷⁰ "Ningbo tongxianghui sheli jiangxuejin" 寧波同鄉會設立獎學金 [Ningbo Native Place Association set up scholarships], *Lianhe bao*, August 21, 1952, 2; "Ningbo tongxianghui ban shengyu buzhu" 寧波同鄉會辦生育補助 [The Ningbo native place association provides subsidies for child birth], *ibid.*, October 2, 1952, 3; "Yong tongxianghui juban xiaoben wuxi daikuan" 甬同鄉會舉辦小本無息貸款 [The Ningbo native place association offers loans with no interest to start a business], *Zhongyang ribao*, March 23, 1955, 4; "Taipei shi Ningbo tongxianghui wushier niandu zhengmu weiyuan hui choumu lejuan yuanqi" 臺北市寧波同鄉會五十二年度徵募委員會籌募樂捐緣起 [Taipei Ningbo native place association calls for charitable donations for the year 1963], *Ningbo tongxiang* 2 (1963): 5.

programs and services they were able to provide paled in comparison with the Ningbo association.⁴⁷¹

The importance of native place ties to a displaced and atomized migrant community extended far beyond the actual material benefits made available by *tongxianghui*, which were often limited due to the severe shortages in early post-war Taiwan. For the tens of thousands civil war migrants who left their families in China, the fellow natives in Taiwan were their extended families in exile. The following case, which involved the drowning of a student in a premier secondary school run by the state, is revealing. In July 1958, *Ziyou zhongguo* published a letter from an indignant reader. The letter unveiled corruption and mismanagement in Provincial Taichung Girl's Senior High School (省立臺中女子中學). According to the whistle-blower, the school had been badly managed since 1954 under the principal in question. There were numerous allegations of wrongdoing and nepotism. In May 1958, poor management and wilful disregard for public safety finally led to the tragic drowning of a 19-year-old female student in the school's swimming pool. To downplay the incident, the principal, who had connections in high places, pulled strings to stifle media coverage. She also put pressure on the victim's family to settle out of court.⁴⁷² The letter uncovered what happened and forced the school to address the situation. Though there is no further evidence to show how the issue was actually resolved other than the back and forth between the whistle-blower and the principal in *Ziyou zhongguo*, the episode illustrates the importance of native place ties.⁴⁷³ The letter sender was not related to the victim's family by blood. He

⁴⁷¹ "Taipei shi Dongbei tongxianghui dunqing fuke shengshou Han Chi-feng yisheng yizhen liangzhou" 臺北市東北同鄉會敦請婦科聖手韓奇逢醫師義診兩週 [Dongbei native place association in Taipei offers free medical treatment from the renowned gynaecologist Han Chi-feng], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 27, 1950, 3; "Wenzhou tongxianghui ban dongling jiuji" 溫州同鄉會辦冬令救濟 [The Wenzhou native place association doles out winter alms], *ibid.*, December 27, 1958, 4; "Hubei tongxianghui zuofa jiangxuejin" 湖北同鄉會昨發獎學金 [Hubei native place association handed out scholarships yesterday], *Lianhe bao*, October 29, 1956, 2; "Yixing tongxianghui shezhi zhuxue jin" 宜興同鄉會設置助學金 [Yixing native place association set up scholarships], *ibid.*, October 10, 1958, 5; "Fuzhou tongxianghui dingqi fan zhenmi" 福州同鄉會定期發賑米 [The Fuzhou native place association distributes rice and alms periodically], *ibid.*, January 24, 1959, 5.

⁴⁷² For more on the case, see Wu Ssu-chuan 巫褖川, "Yuqing checha Taichung nuzhong nibi xuesheng an—jiujiu haizi men" 籲請澈查臺中女中溺斃學生案—救救孩子們 [A plea for a thorough investigation of the student drowning in Taichung Girl's Senior High School], *Ziyou zhongguo* 19: 1 (1958): 31

⁴⁷³ See Shen Ya-li 沈雅利, "Taiwan shengli Taichung nuzi zhongxue lai han" 臺灣省立臺中女子中學來函 [A letter from the Taiwan Provincial Taichung Girl's Senior High School], *ibid.*, 19: 2 (1958): 25; Wu Ssu-

was willing to stick his neck out and offend the power holders for no reason other than the fact that he came from the same native place. He refused to remain silent while his fellow provincials suffered great injustice.

The high profile domestic dispute case involving the mayor of Keelung Lin Fan-wang (林番王, ??-1965) offers another good example. The mayor was a local Taiwanese. Lin's wife was a Jiangsu native. In 1961, she appealed to Taipei Jiangsu *tongxianghui* for help, accusing her husband and step-children of mistreatment and physical abuse. Jiangsu community leaders actually discussed the case during the association's annual board meeting. The elders decided that a direct intervention by *tongxianghui* was not in the best interests of all parties. They preferred that the couple work things out with the help of their close friends. Nonetheless, the *tongxianghui* board members made a fairly strong public statement in support of the wife. The Jiangsu leaders warned: "if the situation in the Lin family does not improve, the fellow provincials [from Jiangsu] will not remain silent."⁴⁷⁴ The above two were not isolated occurrences. A considerable number of news reports in the 1950s indicated that many of the mainlander native place associations provided assistance and communal support to the underprivileged fellow provincials. They raised awareness and incited public outcry against social injustices that resulted in the suffering of their natives.⁴⁷⁵

In short, native place ties were an integral part of the mainlander community, in particular during the 1950s. *Tongxiang* relations were especially important in the civil service and education sectors where many of the migrants found employment. In 1956,

chuan, "Bozheng shengli Taichung nuzhong nibi xuesheng an gengzheng han" 駁正省立臺中女中溺斃學生案更正函 [A rebuttal to the letter from the Taiwan Provincial Taichung Girl's Senior High School], *ibid.*, 19: 3 (1958): 31.

⁴⁷⁴ "Linjia jiufen buru xinjing taitai kusu tongxiang" 林家糾紛步入新境太太哭訴同鄉 [New developments in Lin family's domestic dispute; the wife went to her native place association and cried for help], *Lianhe bao*, June 9, 1961, 3.

⁴⁷⁵ For a few examples, see "Ping gejie juanzhu Yu Yan-chuan yishu" 屏各界捐助于彥權遺屬 [Pingtung County residents donated funds to support Yu Yuan-chuan's family], *ibid.*, August 21, 1952, 5; "Taitung luji tongxiang zhiyuan Chen Yu-ching an" 臺東魯籍同鄉支援陳玉卿案 [Shandong native place members in Taitung supported the reinvestigation of Chen Yu-ching's case], *ibid.*, September 25, 1954, 5; "Gejie funu shen zhengyi jiji yuanzhu Li Tsung-chih" 各界婦女伸正義積極援助李宗芝 [Women from different organizations demand justice and rally behind Li Tsung-chih], *ibid.*, April 20, 1955, 3; "Juliusuo nei xiaofan baobi lusheng tongxianghui jue daocho zhenxiang" 拘留所內小販暴斃 魯省同鄉會決調查真象 [A peddler died in police custody: Shandong native place association is determined to get to the bottom of things], *ibid.*, February 17, 1958, 3.

Lianhe bao published an interesting article about politics and personal relationships in public schools. The article offers a sardonic but realistic portrayal of the dilemma faced by many school principals in Taiwan, who were expected to hire their fellow provincials. The following passage extracted from the piece illustrates both the pervasiveness of *tongxiang* relations and the intricacy of managing these relationships:

Nowadays, with all the people you know coming from mainland China, *tongxiang* are like your own family. As head of the family, you would be expected to take care of those being referred. If you hire a lot of people from your native place, your school will exhibit heavy favouritism. Others will call it the “xxx native place association.” Hence, your job performance will be viewed with a jaundiced eye. If things do not work out, your fellow *tongxiang* could become your worse enemies...Those who once hailed you as a community leader will treat you like strangers. They will say you have failed to take care of your own people, and threaten you with paybacks and retributions after everyone gets back to mainland China.⁴⁷⁶

Though the passage describes what happened in public school, contemporary readers can imagine that similar processes went on in other state institutions populated by *waishengren*.

Despite the pervasiveness of *tongxiang* relations and the high number of *tongxianghui* established, it is important to recognize that during the 1950s and the early 1960s, most of the mainlander native place associations were weak in terms of membership and organization. Although they played an important role in the initial settlement of the civil war migrants, the material benefits that most of the associations could continue to provide were rather limited. Evidence collected from the newspapers and *tongxianghui* publications suggests that many of the early *tongxianghui* lacked sufficient funds to convene regular meetings and to run charity and communal assistance programs like the ones offered by Ningbo *tongxianghui*. Even some of the larger associations failed to assist destitute provincials. Taipei Hebei *tongxianghui* was a good case in point. In 1962, the Hebei association had about 1,200 members and boasted 80,000 NTD in total endowment funds collected. However, by the admission of the

⁴⁷⁶ Yi Teh 一得, “Xiaozhang kujing” 校長苦經 [The difficulties faced by school principals], *Lianhe bao*, 10 May 1956, 6. The author would like to thank Professor Wang Fu-chang from The Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica for providing this important reference.

association's own chairman, it had to turn down some of the requests for help from impoverished and needy members. The main reason was the lack of money and manpower.⁴⁷⁷

Some of the associations, for all intents and purposes, existed only in name during the first decade in exile. Taipei Rehe (熱河) *tongxianghui* was a good example. Although talks of forming an association started as early as May 1950, the need to make ends meet for most Rehe natives shelved the plan indefinitely. A formal association was not established until 1962.⁴⁷⁸ The case of Taipei Wuxi (無錫) *tongxianghui* represented another type of situation. Different from the indigent Rehe natives, the migrants from Wuxi appeared to have enough financial capital and human resources. Unfortunately, Wuxi *tongxianghui* was beset by disunity and infighting among its members from the very beginning. The association was disbanded not long after it was formed. When some of the members tried to start a new *tongxianghui* in 1959, the inauguration meeting turned into a fiasco. The police had to be called in to maintain order, as hundreds of Wuxi natives squabbled over unresolved disputes. In the end, everyone walked out in disgust.⁴⁷⁹

To put things in perspective, the success of Taipei Ningbo *tongxianghui* mentioned earlier was the exception rather than the rule given the harsh economic conditions on the island during the 1950s. The Ningbo association received substantial donations and endowments from its founding members, which helped establish a permanent office and maintain a full-time staff.⁴⁸⁰ These were Ningbo entrepreneurs based in Shanghai, who were not only wealthy, but politically connected. Many of them had transferred part of their assets to Taiwan prior to 1949. The strength of Ningbo *tongxianghui* was also bolstered by the massive evacuation from the Zhoushan Islands in

⁴⁷⁷ Wang Ping-chun 王秉鈞, "Jinnian de hua" 今年的話 [Talking about this year], *Hebei huikan* 河北會刊 [Hebei association magazine] 2 (1962): 1.

⁴⁷⁸ Tan Shang-ching 譚尚清, "Benhui shi zenyang dansheng de" 本會是怎樣誕生的 [How our association came into existence], *Rehe tongxun* 熱河通訊 [Rehe bulletin] 1 (1963): 15-16.

⁴⁷⁹ "Shetuan xiaoxi: Wuxi tongxiang yijian duo chengli dahui liuchan" 社團消息: 無錫同鄉意見多成立大會流產 [Community news: Wuxi natives have failed to establish an association due to infighting among participants at the inauguration meeting], *Lianhe bao*, May 4, 1959, 2.

⁴⁸⁰ See Chang Hsing-chou et al. (eds.), *Ningbo tongxianghui huishi dierce*, 4-5.

May 1950, just outside of Ningbo.⁴⁸¹ In the wake of the Zhoushan retreat, the association's membership swelled to more than 3,000 in a span of two years.⁴⁸² But the most important contributing factor to the capacity of Ningbo *tongxianghui* was its connection to the apex of the Nationalist political power. Chiang Kai-shek's hometown Fenghua (奉化) lies south of Ningbo. The Ningbo native place association made his two sons Chiang Ching-kuo and Chiang Wei-kuo (蔣緯國, 1916-1997) "honorary directors" (名譽理事).⁴⁸³ The Generalissimo himself was declared the patriarch of all Ningbo natives in Taiwan.

Ningbo *tongxianghui* was not alone in seeking patronage from prominent political figures. The practice was actually quite common among the native place associations in Taiwan. For example, Hainan (海南) *tongxianghui* made Madame Chiang (Soong May-ling, 1898-2003) its honorary chairwoman. In the meantime, Guangxi *tongxianghui* and Nanjing *tongxianghui* bestowed the same honour to Pai Chung-hsi and K T Li⁴⁸⁴ (李國鼎, 1910-2001) respectively.⁴⁸⁵ According to Hsu Li-chuan, most of the Jiangxi native place association's board members in the early days were KMT party dignitaries.⁴⁸⁶

Having influential party members sitting on the board of directors does not mean that *tongxianghui* were under state control, however. Both Li Hsiao-ling and Chung Yan-yu have pointed out that most of the honorary chairmen and honorary executive directors were nominal positions.⁴⁸⁷ Records kept by the associations suggest that few of the esteemed KMT leaders actually participated in *tongxianghui* meetings and activities. Each association was run autonomously by community leaders elected by its own

⁴⁸¹ According to one estimate, approximately 70,000 KMT troops and 50,000 civilian populations were evacuated from the Zhoushan Islands in 1950. See in Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 336.

⁴⁸² Chang Hsing-chou et al. (eds.), *Ningbo tongxianghui huishi dierce*, 5.

⁴⁸³ For a list of Ningbo native association's board of directors, see "Benhui jianlishi gaixuan" 本會監理事改選 [The re-election for the board of directors], *Ningbo tongxiang* 寧波同鄉 [Ningbo native place association], 1 (1963): 5.

⁴⁸⁴ Born and raised in Nanjing, K T Li or Li Kwoh-ting was a high-ranking KMT official in Taiwan. He held a number of key positions in the ROC government, including the general secretary of the American aid, economic minister, and the finance minister from the 1950s to the 1970s. Li is lauded for developing the island's export-oriented economy. He is considered the "father of Taiwan Miracle." See Sophia L Wang, *K. T. Li and the Taiwan Experience* (Taipei: National Tsing Hua University Press, 2006).

⁴⁸⁵ Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 111.

⁴⁸⁶ Hsu Li-chuan, "Taipei shi Jiangxi tongxianghui zhi tantao," 29.

⁴⁸⁷ Li Hsiao-ling, "Minjian shetuan zhi yanjiu," 38; Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 111.

members.⁴⁸⁸ Nonetheless, *tongxianghui* organizers had to follow a strict set of regulations and guidelines laid down by the state when trying to expand their memberships and organizations. These regulations and guidelines will be discussed in the next section.

The ambiguous role of the mainlander native place associations in Taiwan, both as self-governing civil organizations and instruments of an authoritarian single-party state is, in many ways, analogous to the relationship between *tongxianghui* and the state during the Republican era described by both Goodman and Belsky. There was neither complete *tongxianghui* independence nor absolute state control but shifting areas of partial autonomy, interpenetration, and negotiation. Although the native place association assisted the state in resettling the civil war migrants, as we will learn in the next section, the Nationalist authorities viewed provincial identities embodied in *tongxianghui* as a divisive force that threatened the unity of the party and the interests of the state. *Tongxianghui* organizers were supporters of the KMT, or high-ranking Party members, or military commanders retired from politics. Nevertheless, they had to tread carefully when publishing *wenxian* magazines that articulated native place sentiments.

Economic deprivation during the 1950s meant most of the *tongxianghui* possessed little financial means to attract new members and expand their organizations, let alone pursue any sort of cultural agendas. Whatever meagre resources they had acquired were utilized in meeting the pressing concerns of everyday. Moreover, the prevailing sojourner mentality also contributed to the inertia of *tongxianghui*. If people thought they could go back to China anytime soon, there was little incentive to invest in infrastructure building, such as a permanent headquarters and a communal graveyard. There was little incentive to strengthen the established social networks. Cultural projects centring on their hometowns and provinces would also be meaningless. But a different process was underway by the onset of the 1960s. In the previous chapter, we learned that international events in the Cold War had a profound influence on state-society relations in Taiwan. The Sino-American joint declaration in October 1958 shocked many mainlanders. It shook the general public's confidence in the Nationalist regime's ability to deliver on its promise of mainland recovery. With time passing and the hopes of return fading, the

⁴⁸⁸ The records of *tongxianghui* board meetings and financial statements can be found in their respective magazines. Also see the information provided in Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*.

outlook of the civil war migrants began to change. The three decades that followed the 1950s were to become the golden age of *tongxianghui* cultural activities.

4.5 Wading into Nostalgia: *Waisheng Tongxianghui's Wenxian Projects*

In *China's Homeless Generation* (2011) Joshua Fan describes an important transformation for the lower class KMT soldiers in Taiwan from being “homeless” (無家可歸) in the 1950s to “establishing home” (成家) in the 1960s and the 1970s. He writes: “[d]uring the 1960s and 1970s, most of the Homeless Generation were no longer physically homeless, but many, especially those who came to Taiwan without family, still could not escape from the psychological aspects of homelessness.”⁴⁸⁹ This chapter demonstrates that the “psychological aspects of homelessness” portrayed by Fan were not limited to disenfranchised Nationalist veterans, but shared by many of the civil war migrants. *Waisheng tongxianghui's* cultural projects centring on the native place embodied these sentiments. As mentioned, the mainlander native place associations did not publish periodicals or distribute any printed documents to their members during the 1950s. Native place ties were an important part of *waishengren's* social life in early post-war Taiwan, but they were utilized mainly for refugee relief, charity, social networking, and conflict mediation. Nonetheless, from the early 1960s onwards, there was a growing movement by the *tongxianghui* leaders to promote the histories and social customs of their hometowns and provinces in mainland China through publication—books, pamphlets, local chronicles, and most importantly, “reference” or *wenxian* magazines. There were also efforts to collect material artefacts, to hold exhibitions, and to build cultural museums. These were done with no instructions, initiatives, or financial assistance from the regime-in-exile.

Previous studies of *waisheng tongxianghui* in Taiwan, namely, those by Li, Chung, and Hsu have mentioned the associations' promotion of native place histories. Yet they offered little insight on how the *tongxianghui* cultural projects actually started, and more importantly, the historical significance of these activities. Rather, Li, Chung, and Hsu focused on explaining the “peaks” in the number of new associations established

⁴⁸⁹ Joshua Fan, *China's Homeless Generation*, 107.

from the late 1960s to the late 1980s by linking them with concurrent events. All three made a positive connection between the island's economic take-off during this time and the rising number of mainlander native place associations. The export-oriented economy engendered an increasingly affluent society in which people could devote leisure time and money to their social organizations and other private pursuits.⁴⁹⁰

The economic reason was important, but it was obviously not the only reason. Chung attributed the growth of *tongxianghui* to political mobilization from the top, in particular the “Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement” (中華文化復興運動, CCRM) in 1966 and the supplementary election for national representatives in 1969.⁴⁹¹ The CCRM was the largest state-sponsored cultural campaign in post-war Taiwan. It commenced in late 1966, amidst much fanfare, when Chiang Kai-shek called upon the nation to restore “traditional” Chinese culture. The “traditions” were strictly defined according to the KMT's version of Confucianism and anti-Communist nationalism—to say the least. The campaign lasted well into the 1980s. Nowadays, sociologists and historians in Taiwan suggest that the campaign was Chiang's counterpart to Mao's Cultural Revolution, which the former thought was destroying the fabric of Chinese society. Scholars also agree on the most obvious: the CCRM only affected Taiwan, and it had no influence on the events unfolding in mainland China. They hold different views on the historical significance of the CCRM in Taiwan, however. Some argue that the Movement imposed a Sino-centric cultural hegemony at the expense of the local Taiwanese cultures. Others suggest it was superficial, hollow, and that it had no meaningful effect.⁴⁹² Seeing the native place associations as instruments of the KMT

⁴⁹⁰ Li Hsiao-ling, “Minjian shetuan zhi yanjiu,” 55; Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 73; Hsu Li-chuan, “Taipei shi Jiangxi tongxianghui zhi tantao,” 22.

⁴⁹¹ Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 73. Under the martial law, the elections for all national-level representatives were postponed until the recovery of mainland China. The 1969 supplementary election for Legislative Yuan members (立法委員) was set up to adjust the number of representatives according to the post-war population growth on the island. The election was limited to members representing Taiwan. For more, see Tien Hung-mao, *The Great Transition: Political and Social Change in the Republic of China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989), 184.

⁴⁹² The CCRM engendered a wide range of cultural activities. These included publication of ancient classics and Western books, relic preservation projects, movies and theatre productions, reforms in education, outreach programs for the Chinese overseas, fellowships for foreign sinologists, and so on. For an overall review of the studies related to the CCRM and the major debates, see Lin Kuo-hsien 林果顯, 「*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong tuixing weiyuanhui zhi yanjiu*」 (1966-1975)—*tongzhi zhengdang xing de jianli yu zhuanbian* 「中華文化復興運動推行委員會之研究」 (1966-1975)—統治正當性的建立

under martial law, Chung focused on their roles in supporting the state-sponsored CCRM and in mobilizing *tongxiang* social networks for elections. Li and Hsu have alluded to civil war migrants' longing for home and their need to recreate communal identities in exile as contributing factors to the growth of *tongxianghui* in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.⁴⁹³ However, like Chung, their emphasis on “quantity” (the number of new native place associations established each year) over “quality” (the actual activities of these associations) prevented both from seeing an obvious point—the most pivotal moment for *waisheng tongxianghui*'s growth and development was in the early 1960s. This was the moment when the first *wenxian* magazine started publishing. The culmination of *tongxianghui* activities at the cusp of the 1970s stemmed from a process that started much earlier.

In September 1962, *Sichuan wenxian* (四川文獻), the first “reference” magazine was produced by a small group of provincial leaders from Sichuan with their own money. The magazine came about after approximately two years of planning. The group consisted of a dozen individuals affiliated with Taipei Sichuan *tongxianghui*. They were retired government officials, university professors, and businessmen.⁴⁹⁴ Five of them were members of the National Assembly (國民大會), including the group's charismatic leader Chou Kai-ching. Many of the *tongxianghui* leaders in Taiwan, especially during the 1950s and the 1960s, were provincial representatives elected in the 1947 national election held in mainland China, when the ROC Constitution was first promulgated. These included members of the National Assembly, the Legislative Yuan (立法院), and the Control Yuan (監察院). The National Assembly was the largest body, consisting of

與轉變 [The research on the Committee for the Promotion of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (1966-1975)—the establishment and transformation of ruling legitimacy] (Taipei County, Banciao: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2005), 4-12.

⁴⁹³ Li Hsiao-ling, “Minjian shetuan zhi yanjiu,” 54-55; Hsu Li-chuan, “Taipei shi Jiangxi tongxianghui zhi tantao,” 22. Hsu argued that Taiwan's ostracization from the international community in the early 1970s was the other main reason behind the rise of *tongxianghui* activities among the Jiangxi natives in Taipei.

⁴⁹⁴ For a list of Sichuan *wenxian*'s editorial board members, see Chou Kai-ching 周開慶, “Tan difang wenxian de zhengli: Sichuan wenxian chengli de jingguo he jinkuang” 談地方文獻的整理: 四川文獻成立的經過和近況 [Talking about the collection of local references: the events leading to the establishment of Sichuan reference and recent developments], *Sichuan wenxian* 45 (1966): 1. By the mid-1980s, a few of the original members had either left or deceased. They were replaced by additional members, and the number of the editorial member reached 13. Sichuan *wenxian* was a tight-knit group. Nine of the founding members still sat on the editorial board in the 1980s. See Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 101.

approximately 3,000 elected officials hailed from thousand of counties and regions across the country. Due to the outbreak of the civil war, the election proceedings excluded the Chinese Communists and their allies. Consequently, most of the local politicians elected to the Assembly were either KMT party members or provincial leaders allied with the Nationalists. Among the 3,000 members in mainland China, only about half of them landed in Taiwan.⁴⁹⁵ The exiled Assembly, which was dissolved in 1991 when the island state democratized, had long been regarded as a powerless rubber stamp of the KMT. Invested with the power of electing the president and amending the Constitution, the Assembly members, whose tenures were extended indefinitely by the martial law, voted time after time to keep the Generalissimo and his eldest son in power.⁴⁹⁶ This study does not challenge this interpretation. The previous chapter has argued that most of the civil war migrants, regardless of their social status and relationship with the KMT in China, ended up supporting the regime-in-exile in Taiwan. Other than the political power, social privileges, and material benefits that came with the unholy alliance, shoring up the government seemed like the migrants' best chance to go home. For the Assembly members, many of them diehard Nationalist supporters to begin with, there was little doubt where their loyalty lay. However, the narrative presented in this chapter does open the possibility to see limited agency under the rigid confines of Nationalist authoritarianism. The story of how *waisheng tongxianghui*'s cultural projects took off in the early 1960s not only demonstrated the adaptability of native place ideas and institutions, but also unveiled the process of negotiation under the cloak of state-imposed uniformity in Taiwan.

⁴⁹⁵ See Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*, 178-181.

⁴⁹⁶ The National Assembly eventually became an empty shell populated by incapacitated and dying old men in the 1980s. The institution became a main target of attack when the island marched towards democratization. The political activists who protested for democratic reforms in Taiwan dubbed the representatives elected in 1947 "ten-thousand-year congress" (萬年國會). The aging representatives were viewed as relics of the past and a bastion of KMT conservatism. The entire Assembly was phased out in 1991. The surviving members were granted a handsome retirement package. A new Assembly was formed by both the KMT and the DPP members. They enacted several important constitutional reforms in the following decade, including the end to the institution itself. The National Assembly was dissolved in 2005. For more on the constitutional reforms and the democratic transition in Taiwan, see Tien Hung-mao, *The Great Transition*, 155-156, Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*, 176-224.

Chou Kai-ching (周開慶, 1904-1987), the chief architect of *Sichuan wenxian*, was a patriot and a model KMT official with a stellar career in mainland China.⁴⁹⁷ As an idealistic young man attending Beijing Normal University (北京師範大學) in the 1920s, Chou participated in a major student protest against the warlord government. He was shot and wounded, and later incarcerated by the authorities in Beijing. Upon his release, the ardent student activist joined the KMT, and worked for the Party's newspapers in Hankou and Chongqing. During the 1930s, Chou became a diligent political officer in various Nationalist army units. When the war against Japan broke out, he enlisted as a high-ranking political commissar in the KMT officer training corps. Gaining a reputation as a talented writer, propagandist, and an able administrator, Chou rose through the ranks quickly. By end of the war, he served as the head magistrate of two important counties in Sichuan. In 1947, Chou was elected to the National Assembly. Despite his devotion and service to the nation, Chou was also a man deeply in love with his native province Sichuan, in particular his hometown Jiangjin (江津).⁴⁹⁸ The prolonged exile in Taiwan gave rise to a profound sense of nostalgia. The longing for home was further fuelled by the harsh political reality on the island—all communication with the mainland severed and the only source of information was the official propaganda, which portrayed the CCP rule in China as hell on earth.⁴⁹⁹ For Chou, the very thought of Chinese Communists purging his families and destroying his hometown while he could do absolutely nothing vexed him. Like many *waishengren* described in Pai Hsien-yung's *Taipei Characters*, Chou lived in perpetual reminiscences of his former life on the mainland. After retiring from politics in the mid-1950s, the talented writer looked for ways to alleviate his distress and fill the gaping void in his heart.

In July 1960, Chou founded a private organization called "Sichuan Reference Study Group" (四川文獻研究社) with eleven of his close friends, all of them Sichuan

⁴⁹⁷ For more on the life and career of Chou Kai-ching, see the articles contained in "Chuang kang yu wenwu guan chuangban ren Chou Kai-ching gong shishi shi zhounian zhuanji" 川康渝文物館創辦人周開慶公逝世十周年專集 [A commemorative anthology paying tribute to the founder of Sichuan-Xikang-Chongqing Cultural Museum Chou Kai-ching upon the tenth anniversary of his passing], *Chuan kang yu wenwu guan niankan* 川康渝文物館年刊 [Yearbook of Sichuan-Xikang-Chongqing Cultural Museum] 16 (1997): 170-183.

⁴⁹⁸ Jiangjin lies just southwest of Chongqing. It has become a thriving suburban district of the sprawling Chongqing Municipality nowadays.

⁴⁹⁹ We will learn more about the KMT anti-Communist propaganda in the next chapter.

natives. The objective of the Group was to gather and preserve historical documents and artefacts for the research on Sichuan during the Republican era.⁵⁰⁰ It was not long before Chou and his colleagues began to draw up plans to publish some of the historical sources and writings they gathered. Two years and two months later, *Sichuan wenxian* was born. The expenses for publication were paid for by the group members' own money and donations from other Sichuan natives.⁵⁰¹ *Sichuan wenxian* was published as a monthly journal. The first few issues looked like cheaply produced pamphlets, containing only about a dozen pages or so. The shoddiness of production obviously had to do with insufficient funds.

Despite poor quality, the impact of the magazine was immediate. After only two issues, Chou and his colleagues got over 600 letters of support from readers wanting to become regular subscribers, to join the Sichuan native place association, or to submit their own writings and historical sources for publication. Around 80% of the letters came from Sichuan natives, whereas the other 20% were people from other provinces who felt connected to Sichuan because they had lived and worked for an extensive period of time there.⁵⁰² Encouraged by the positive feedback, Chou and his friends decided to launch a major publicity campaign in the following year to further promote the magazine. In 1963, they posted ads in the newspapers announcing a whopping giveaway of 2,000 free copies for a special issue published in July of that year entitled "Sichuan and the Anti-Japanese War." The tactic succeeded. The level of response from enthusiastic readers far exceeded their expectations, as the magazine's head office was soon swamped with letters of request. The number of people asking for free copies reached 3,000 in less than two months. As a result of this, Chou and his colleagues had to post a note of apology to letter senders because they no longer had enough copies to give away to latecomers.⁵⁰³ In the next three to four years, subscribers grew steadily. *Sichuan wenxian* also opened up foreign markets, as issues were mailed out to readers in Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, Japan, Korea, Europe, and America. In order to encourage continued subscription, the price was kept below the cost of production—one NTD per issue and ten NTD for one

⁵⁰⁰ Chou Kai-ching, "Tan difang wenxian de zhengli: Sichuan wenxian chengli de jingguo he jingkuang," *Sichuan wenxian* 45 (1966): 1.

⁵⁰¹ See Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 102.

⁵⁰² Bianzhe 編者, "Zhi duzhe" 致讀者 [A message to the readers], *Sichuan wenxian* 3 (1962):1.

⁵⁰³ See Bianzhe, "Bianhou ji" 編後記 [The editor's note], *ibid.*, 13 (1963): 20.

year subscription.⁵⁰⁴ But the publishers appeared to make money in other places. In a shrewd business move, Chou and his colleagues used *Sichuan wenxian* as a vehicle to promote their own writings and other publications put out by the Study Group. From the 1960s to the early 1980s, hundreds of books titles, many of them reprints of local historical records related to Sichuan were advertised and sold with the help of the magazine.⁵⁰⁵

The success of *Sichuan wenxian* set an example for others to emulate, as similar processes began to take place among other *waishengren* communities. In January 24, 1963, Taipei Rehe native place association introduced *Rehe tongxun* (熱河通訊). *Jiangsu wenxian* (江蘇文獻) debuted the following day. Taipei Ningbo native place association quickly followed suit with their own magazine *Ningbo tongxiang* in August the same year. The fact that a well-endowed and politically-connected association like Ningbo *tongxianghui* did not produce a magazine until 1963 illustrates the transformation in the *mentalités* of the civil war migrants argued by this chapter. By the end of the decade, a dozen or more journals appeared. The important ones included *Dapu huixun* (大埔會訊) in 1964, *Guizhou wenxian* (貴州文獻) and *Guangxi wenxian* (廣西文獻) in 1965, *Jiangxi wenxian* (江西文獻) and *Hubei wenxian* (湖北文獻) in 1966, *Fujian wenxian* (福建文獻) and *Zhejiang yuekan* in 1968, *Hunan wenxian* (湖南文獻) and *Zhongyuan wenxian* (中原文獻) in 1969, and *Shaanxi wenxian* (陝西文獻) in 1970.⁵⁰⁶

The trend continued throughout the 1970s and the early 1980s. The *wenxian* magazines sponsored by *waisheng tongxianghui* reached 48 in 1985. The increase in the number of new magazines corresponded to a rising number of new associations established, as well as the growth in *tongxianghui* membership. A majority of the new associations were formed based on smaller geographic units, such as counties and

⁵⁰⁴ Bianzhe, "Chuangkan si zhounian" 創刊四週年 [The fourth anniversary of the magazine], *Sichuan wenxian* 48 (1966): 1-2.

⁵⁰⁵ See Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 102-110.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 8. A number of the *tongxianghui* magazines, such as *Dapu huixun* were not recorded in the volume published by the SSCLR. There are two plausible explanations for this. These magazines either went out of existence before the establishment of the SSCLR in 1970, or their *tongxianghui* simply did not join the SSCLR.

cities.⁵⁰⁷ In the meantime, the publication of books, anthologies, and pamphlets—focusing on native place histories and cultures—was also on the rise. A cursory reading of the reference magazines mentioned above and their various spin-offs revealed a hodgepodge of information—official documents, local chronicles (方志), county chronicles (縣志), biographies, memoirs, poetries, pictures of art works, as well as miscellaneous writings about social customs, local cuisines, operas, ballads, folklore, dialects, proverbs, and practically anything about their respective provinces, counties, and regions in China.

It should be noted that nine of the reference magazines mentioned above, including *Sichuan wenxian*, started printing and circulating before Chiang Kai-shek called upon the nation to restore Chinese culture in December 1966. Hence, cultural production centring on the native place cannot be simply regarded as an adjunct to the state-sponsored projects, namely, the CCRM. Rather, it should be more aptly described as a spontaneous movement led by the provincial leaders affiliated with *waisheng tongxianghui*. When the CCRM got underway in the late 1960s, the *wenxian* magazine producers responded quickly to the official agenda and used it to their own benefit. Also, the drive to produce native place histories should not be viewed as an undertaking involving only a small number of provincial elites. Although the movement was started by the *tongxianghui* leaders, many of whom were high-ranking KMT officials and military personnel retired from politics, there was widespread support for the idea among their fellow provincials. The six hundred letters of support received by the editors of *Sichuan wenxian* have illustrated the point.

Many of the mainlander native associations, which existed only on paper or lay dormant during the 1950s, were resuscitated by the drive to produce historical knowledge and miscellaneous information about their home provinces and counties. For example, when Taipei Rehe *tongxianghui* was finally established in 1962 after more than a decade of procrastination, one of its main tasks was to publish *Rehe tongxun*. There was a deeper

⁵⁰⁷ For a comprehensive list of the 48 magazines and their publishers, see Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 42-48. It is interesting to note that the native Taiwanese also took the opportunity to produce studies about their own local histories. There were 29 Taiwanese *wenxian* group formed during this time. These cultural activities might have contributed to the “indigenization” in the following decades.

meaning behind the Rehe reference project. In July 1955, the PRC wiped Rehe Province off the map by breaking it into several districts, and then merging these districts with the neighbouring provinces.⁵⁰⁸ The abolishment of the province created a profound feeling of dispossession and a sense of identity crisis among the Rehe natives in Taiwan. The Rehe community leaders saw *wenxian* magazine publication as an effective way to rally the dispirited fellow provincials. In the preface to the magazine, they argued for the importance of preserving Rehe's rich history consisting of Han, Manchu, and Mongolian cultures.⁵⁰⁹

The case of Taipei Hubei *tongxianghui* is also revealing. The association was founded as early as 1947. But it was plagued by recurring financial difficulties throughout the 1950s, hence the lack of activities.⁵¹⁰ The publication of *Hubei wenxian* brought new life and new blood into the organization. In early 1966, a group of young mid-level civil servants from Hubei wanted to start their own reference magazine. They were inspired by the success of *Sichuan wenxian*. These individuals raised money among themselves and sought support by knocking on the doors of provincial elders affiliated with Hubei *tongxianghui*.⁵¹¹ Some of the senior leaders were hesitant to give their blessings at first due to the financial burden the endeavour entailed. The project finally got underway under the auspices of Wan Yao-huang (萬耀煌, 1891-1977). Wan was a former warlord from Hubei. He allied with the KMT and had served as the governor general of Hubei in the 1940s. Wan became a high-ranking Nationalist Party member and

⁵⁰⁸ Parts of Rehe were absorbed by Hebei Province, Liaoning Province, and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region.

⁵⁰⁹ For more, see "Fakan ci" 發刊詞 [A preface to the magazine] *Rehe tongxun* 1 (1963): 2; Li Ying-kuo 李蔭國 "Sanyan liangyu, hua jiachang" 三言兩語，話家常 [Casual talks, in a few words] *ibid.*, 1 (1963): 18.

⁵¹⁰ See Liu Yun-shih 劉韻石 et al. (eds.), *Hubei lutai tongxianghui huishi* 湖北旅台同鄉會會史 [The history of the Hubei native place association in Taiwan] (Taipei: Taipei shi Hubei tongxianghui, 1984), 7-12.

⁵¹¹ According to the records provided by Taipei Hubei *tongxianghui*, these civil servants were university students who served together in the government mandated officer training corps between the late 1950s and the early 1960s. They formed a private group based on their native place origin. In the spring of 1966, one of the members in the group got sick. He was hospitalized. Many went to visit him. The group members reminisced and talked about the past. They then made a collective decision to follow the example set by the Sichuan natives. For more, see Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo defang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 92-95.

a close advisor to Chiang Kai-shek later in his career. Like many former local potentates in China, he retired from politics after arriving in Taiwan.⁵¹²

The need for *wenxian* magazine publishers to gain nominal support from the corridors of Nationalist power underscores the underlying tension between the native place identities championed by *tongxianghui* and the official KMT ideology. In a single-party state, people's loyalty should lie only with the party's supreme leader. National unity and the party doctrines were elevated above everything else, whereas provincial and personal ties were considered backward, "feudalistic" (封建), divisive, and harmful to the nation.⁵¹³ According to Bryna Goodman, during the Nanjing Decade, the Nationalist authorities had tried to exercise control over the native place associations by placing them under the supervision of the Social Bureau and local party branches. Statutes governing civil organizations were proclaimed, stating that all *tongxianghui* activities should be carried out in accordance with the official guidelines. Nonetheless, as mentioned, absolute state control was far from being accomplished. The native place associations enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy under the Nationalist rule.⁵¹⁴ The most important reason for the demise of *tongxianghui* under the PRC was the CCP's ability to extend its reach deep into the social fabric of the nation.⁵¹⁵

While *tongxianghui* languished in China, new associations sprang up in Taiwan in the wake of the great exodus. The authorities on the island did not put forward drastic measures to limit these activities. When the state apparatus was in disarray, the regime-in-exile needed all the help it could get in settling the civil war migrants. The KMT also

⁵¹² For the life and career of Wan Yao-huang, see Shen Yun-lung 沈雲龍 et al., *Wan Yao-huang xiansheng fangwen jilu* 萬耀煌先生訪問紀錄 [The reminiscences of Mr. Wan Yao-huang] (Taipei: Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica, 1993).

⁵¹³ The official KMT line on *tongxianghui* is perhaps best illustrated by an article published in *Zhongyang ribao* in 1929. See Tso Jen 作人, "Gao ban tongxianghui zhe" 告辦同鄉會者 [An advice to those who organize native place associations], *Zhongyang ribao*, March 5, 1929, 5. Some of the local party branches even proposed to ban all native place associations and alma mater societies. See "Susheng dangbu zhijian liang weiyuan juxing changhui...jianyi zhongyang jinzhi tongxuehui tongxianghui deng zuzhi" 蘇省黨部執監兩委員舉行常會...建議中央禁止同學會同鄉會等組織 [The Party's executive and supervisory committees in Jiangsu Province held their regular meetings...they proposed that the central government should ban all alma mater societies and native place associations], *ibid.*, August 16, 1929, 4.

⁵¹⁴ Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation*, 291-304.

⁵¹⁵ For more on the dissolution of the native place associations under the PRC, see Richard Belsky, *Localities at the Center*, 256-258. Richard Belsky has pointed out that the Chinese Communists not only saw the native place associations as "feudal remnants" unfit for New China, but also considered them obstacles to complete state domination over society.

wanted to utilize the associations' transnational connections to rally the Chinese overseas behind its anti-Communist crusade.⁵¹⁶ However, native place sentiments led to selfish provincialism and nepotism, which constituted a threat to the interests of the party-state.⁵¹⁷ Recognizing that native place associations were a double-edged sword, the exiled Nationalist leaders took similar steps as they did in China to regulate *tongxianghui* activities in Taiwan.

In March 10, 1950, representatives from several government offices, including the Civil Affairs Division of the Taiwan Provincial Government (臺灣省政府民政廳), Party Provincial Headquarters (省黨部), Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters (臺灣省保安司令部), and the Taipei Municipal Government, met to discuss the laws and regulations concerning *tongxianghui*.⁵¹⁸ The resulting statutory laws promulgated in 1950 followed the principles and guidelines laid down by the KMT Social Bureau earlier in June 1942. They were later sanctioned by the Ministry of the Interior (內政部) in May 1951 with minor revisions. Though there were other minor revisions down the road, the essential features of the laws remained unchanged until democratization.⁵¹⁹

Under the said laws, all native place associations formed in Taiwan were required to submit a formal request to their respective local authorities and register with the government. A particular article banned those who “have made speeches or have taken actions against the Three Principles of the People” or who “have infringed upon the interests of the state and the nation” from becoming members of the native place associations.⁵²⁰ Two important aspects of the laws demonstrate the regime-in-exile's

⁵¹⁶ A considerable number of news reports in the 1950s suggested that *tongxianghui* were used by the exiled KMT to reach the Chinese overseas. For a few examples, see “Minnan tongxianghui zuo kai zuotan hui” 閩南同鄉會昨開座談會 [The Minnan native place held a meeting yesterday], *Lianhe bao*, June 23, 1952, 2; “Guangdong tongxiang zuo yan qiaodai” 廣東同鄉昨宴僑代 [The Guangdong natives held a banquet for overseas representatives yesterday], *ibid.*, November 2, 1952, 3.

⁵¹⁷ This concern is best illustrated by a newspaper editorial that appeared in 1951, see “Diyu guannian yu tongxianghui” 地域觀念與同鄉會 [Regionalism and the native place associations], *ibid.*, December 3, 1951, 2.

⁵¹⁸ “Fudao tongxianghui yi shangding banfa” 輔導同鄉會已商定辦法 [The guidelines for the native place association in progress], *Zhongyang ribao*, March 10, 1950, 4.

⁵¹⁹ For more, see Chung Yan-yu, *Zhengzhi xing yimin de huzhu zuzhi*, 30-56.

⁵²⁰ For all articles of the law, see “Taiwan sheng moumou tongxianghui zhangcheng zhunze” 臺灣省某某同鄉會章程準則 [The standard laws for organizing native place associations in Taiwan Province], *Taiwan sheng zhengfu gongbao* 臺灣省政府公報 [The bulletin of the Taiwan Provincial Government] 71 (Summer 1950): 1056-1058.

determination to curb the power and the influence of *tongxianghui*. First, associations established in different parts the island were kept isolated from each other, and made to report to different local governments. No island-wide associations, whether based on a single province or a county, were allowed to form. Establishing a combined *tongxianghui*, namely, a larger provincial association overseeing a number of smaller county-level associations was strictly prohibited. Associations consisting of multiple provinces were also banned, except the special exemptions made for provinces and regions with a smaller number of mainlander migrants, such as Dongbei (Manchuria).⁵²¹ Second, the Nationalist authorities wanted to make sure that widespread provincialism in the army, one of the main reasons for the KMT's military defeat in mainland China, would be eradicated in Taiwan. Military personnel were not allowed to participate in *tongxianghui* activities unless they retired from the army.⁵²² Tough regulations, as well as the bureaucratic labyrinth people had to go through when trying to establish an organization help explain the inertia of *tongxianghui* in the 1950s, beside the factors already mentioned.

When the movement to produce local *wenxian* started in the early 1960s, the provincial leaders knew full well the political implications of promoting native place sentiments. Many of them were high-ranking KMT party members and military officers retired from politics. In fact, their elevated positions allowed for a certain degree of freedom to pursue private projects that might come into conflict with the interests of the state. The native Taiwanese certainly did not have an equal opportunity to promote their communal cultural agendas. Moreover, a somewhat more relaxed political atmosphere in the 1960s and the 1970s, compared to the anti-Communist witch hunt during the 1950s, also opened the door for cultural activities and artistic expressions outside the rigid confines of the official propaganda, as long as these did not pose a direct challenge to the state.

Evidence suggests that *tongxianghui* reference magazine publishers had proceeded with extreme caution when expressing their allegiance to the native place at first. This was especially true before the associations' local history projects gained

⁵²¹ "Shehui chu: Taiwan sheng zhengfu daidian" 社會處: 臺灣省政府代電 [The Bureau of Social Affairs: An announcement relayed by the Taiwan Provincial Government], *Taiwan sheng zhengfu gongbao* 80 (Winter 1950): 1172-1173.

⁵²² "Taiwan sheng zhengfu shehui chu han" 臺灣省政府社會處函 [A letter from the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Taiwan Provincial Government] *ibid.*, 29 (Spring 1963): 2.

official recognition in 1970 with the establishment of SSCLR. If *tongxianghui* leaders were not careful about the things they said. Their journals and study groups could be shut down by the government. In a rather clever rhetorical ploy, the love for the native place was subsumed under the love for the nation. The study of native place histories and the revival of native place cultures were presented as an integral part of the mission to recover mainland China.

In the very first reference magazine, Chou Kai-ching's colleague Chung Shu-nan wrote a preface, which set the tone for *tongxianghui*'s local history projects:

The love for the nation starts with the love for the native place; inspirations for the present times can be found in lessons from the past. When mainland China is currently under the destructive forces of Communism, we publish this booklet named *Sichuan wenxian* to collect and preserve historical references about our native place with this particular thought in mind....This booklet demonstrates our boundless nostalgia for home and everlasting concern for our nation. We hope to rediscover spiritual heritage of our virtuous ancestors, and to provide coverage for the mass suffering in our hometowns under a ruthless regime. We also want to record the accomplishments of our fellow natives sojourning in Taiwan. This will help boost the morale, turning grief and indignation into strength. [The booklet] will inspire Sichuan natives to strive for greater achievements in the glorious undertaking to recover mainland China, achievements that will surpass their contributions in the 1911 Revolution and in the Anti-Japanese War. It is the duty of Sichuan natives to our compatriots across the nation [to publish this booklet].⁵²³

In an article that appeared in the second issue, Chou linked the strength and identity of the nation to historical research and the preservation of material artefacts. Making use of the official propaganda, which claimed that the CCP had destroyed traditional cultures and authored fake histories, he made a strong argument for the need to promote the study of local histories.⁵²⁴ In another piece published in the eighth issue defending the idea of native place, Chou admitted that provincial ties could lead to “clique-forming and private dealings” (結黨營私). Yet he suggested that the excess was usually the exception rather than the rule. Moreover, Chou argued that those who considered native place sentiments

⁵²³ Chung Shu-nan, “Fakan ci,” *Sichuan wenxian* 1 (1962): 1

⁵²⁴ Chou Kai-ching, “Women de zhiqu” 我們的旨趣 [Our aim and interest], *ibid.*, 2 (1962): 1-2.

anachronistic were biased. They neglected the importance of primordial ties to the well-being of a nation, a society, and individuals. Reiterating the magazine's motto, he wrote:

If an individual does not possess ideas or act in certain ways to demonstrate the love for his native place, it is hard to believe that this person could genuinely have any affection for other people, and as an extension, any affection for the nation. The idea of native place is the root of [a person's] love for the others and love for the nation. It should be cherished by everyone.⁵²⁵

Others quickly followed suit in linking their *wenxian* projects to the ultimate goal of mainland recovery. The editors of *Rehe tongxun* stated in the preface to their magazine:

The main tasks of this journal are to report on the affairs of our association, to conduct research on our native place based on a variety of available resources, and to offer information about our homeland. This is an open forum. We expect all fellow provincials to participate and provide materials for research. This will assist the mission to recover mainland China.⁵²⁶

The head of Taipei Ningbo native place association quoted the writings of both Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek in the preface to *Ningbo tongxiang*, and argued:

In a time when the Communist bandits destroyed families and had great contempt for ethical values and principles, [we] should utilize *tongxianghui* to strengthen personal ties and promote mutual assistance among the people in order to save our nation, save our homeland, and rebuild the country. The promotion of native place sentiments is not out of date. It is the most difficult and important mission of our time, and an integral part of the anti-Communist crusade to recover mainland China.⁵²⁷

There are other ways to connect local histories with the official KMT history. In 1966, Jiangxi *tongxianghui* and Hubei *tongxianghui* launched their reference magazines to commemorate the "Fourth Two Incident" (四二事件) and the 1911 Revolution

⁵²⁵ Chou Kai-ching, "Tan xiangtu guannian" 談鄉土觀念 [Talking about the idea of native place], *ibid.*, 8 (1963): 1-2

⁵²⁶ See "Fakan ci," *Rehe tongxun* 1 (1963): 2.

⁵²⁷ Shui Hsiang-yun 水祥雲, "Gexin dongyuan sheng zhong tongxianghui zhi gongzuo—dai fakanci" 革新動員聲中同鄉會之工作—代發刊詞 [The task of the native place associations under the voices of reform and mobilization—a substitute preface], *Ningbo tongxiang* 1 (1963): 1.

respectively.⁵²⁸ The former was a struggle between the KMT and the CCP in Jiangxi Province during the Northern Expedition (1926-1928). The Incident was among a series of events leading to the collapse of the First United Front, and according to the Nationalist official line, exposed the inherent evil of the Chinese Communists.⁵²⁹ By paying homage to the Nationalist historiography, the editors of *Jiangxi wenxian* and *Hubei Wenxian* wanted to show that their publications served the interests of the KMT.

When the CCRM was declared later in the same year, other native place associations that had previously watched from the sidelines got an even better justification to start printing their own journals. A cursory reading of the prefaces and articles published in the *tongxianghui* magazines after 1967 indicated that the associations were quick to take advantage of the official agenda. The study of provincial histories and the publication of reference magazines were touted as building a foundation for CCRM's campaign to revive traditional Chinese culture.⁵³⁰

From the late 1960s onwards, the number of journals sponsored by *waisheng tongxianghui* grew like “bamboo shoots in spring after a rain,” to phrase it in a well-known Chinese idiom. Besides those already mentioned in front, other notable ones included *Nanjing tongxun* (南京通訊) in 1969, *Dongbei wenxian* (東北文獻) in 1970, *Guangdong wenxian* (廣東文獻), *Hebei pingjin wenxian* (河北平津文獻), *Chaoxun* (潮

⁵²⁸ Li Ching-fang, “Hubei wenxian she jiyao,” 93.

⁵²⁹ On April 2, 1927, the Chinese Communists instigated an uprising against the KMT-dominated Jiangxi Provincial Government, and arrested most of the Nationalist officials and supporters in the provincial capital Nanchang (南昌). Despite initial success, the seizure of power was later defeated after the military commanders in the region swore allegiance to the KMT, and purged the Communist elements in their armies. The Incident held special meaning for senior Jiangxi leaders in Taiwan because some of them were the people jailed by the CCP during the Incident. See Chiang Po-chang 姜伯彰, “Fakan ci” 發刊詞 [A preface to the magazine], *Jiangxi wenxian* 江西文獻 [Jiangxi reference] 1 (1966): 1-12.

⁵³⁰ For a few examples, see Wang Fu-chou 王撫洲, “Zhongyuan wenxian fakan ci” 中原文獻發刊詞 [A preface to Zhongyuan reference], *Zhongyuan wenxian* 中原文獻 [Zhongyuan reference] 1:1 (1969): 1-2; Yang Chia-lin 楊家麟, “Fuxing zhonghua wenhua yu Yunnan difang wenxian—dai fakan ci” 復興中華文化與雲南地方文獻—代發刊詞 [The restoration of Chinese culture and the local reference for Yunnan—a substitute preface], *Yunnan wenxian* 雲南文獻 [Yunnan reference] 1 (1971): 11-12; Chang Yi-hung 張益弘, “Wei fayang Hunan jingshen jin yijie—jianlun fuxing zhonghua wenhua zhidao” 為發揚湖南精神進一解—兼論復興中華文化之道 [A suggestion for the promotion of Hunan spirit—also talking about the way to revive Chinese culture], *Hunan wenxian jikan* 湖南文獻季刊 [Hunan reference quarterly] 3:2 (1975): 93; “Fakan ci” 發刊詞 [A preface to the magazine], *Shandong wenxian* 山東文獻 [Shandong reference] 1:1 (1975): 6-7; Sun Fa-min 孫法民, “Fuxing zhonghua wenhua yu tongxianghui” 復興中華文化與同鄉會 [The restoration of Chinese culture and the native place association], *Hebei pingjin wenxian* 河北平津文獻 [Hebei, Beijing, and Tianjin reference] 6 (1980): 156-158.

訊), *Danyang wenxian* (丹陽文獻), *Yunnan wenxian* (雲南文獻) in 1971, *Shanxi wenxian* (山西文獻) and *Gansu wenxian* (甘肅文獻) in 1973, *Shandong wenxian* (山東文獻) in 1975, *Fengxiang wenxian* (豐縣文獻) and *Suiyuan wenxian* (綏遠文獻) in 1977, *Guangxi wenxian* (廣西文獻) in 1978, *Jianli wenxian* (監利文獻) and *Huaxian wenxian* (華縣文獻) in 1981, *Yangzhou wenxian ziliao* (揚州文獻資料) in 1983, *Zaoyang wenxian* (棗陽文獻) and *Xiaoxian wenxian* (蕭縣文獻) in 1984.

The establishment of the “Society for the Study of Chinese Local References” in April 1970 contributed to the steady growth of reference magazine publication in the 1970s and the 1980s. This was the moment when *waisheng tongxianghui*’s promotion of native place histories gained official recognition. In the late 1960s, many of the reference magazine editors and native place association organizers began to communicate among themselves as the scale and the momentum for *wenxian* publication grew.⁵³¹ The Nationalist authorities took notice of these developments. They decided to endorse these activities and bring them under state supervision. There was no direct evidence to suggest why the government adopted this policy. Nonetheless, two possible reasons can be surmised based on what we know so far. First, *wenxian* publications, despite their promotion of native place sentiments, seemed to support the cultural agendas put forward by the CCRM and uphold the sacred mission of mainland recovery, hence the success of *tongxianghui* in making use of the official rhetoric. Second, *tongxianghui*’s cultural projects were endorsed or sponsored by many of the senior Nationalist Party members retired from politics.

In May 1969, Chou Kai-ching, Wan Yao-huang, and several other prominent figures behind the publication of reference magazines were summoned to a conference in Academia Historica, the bastion of official KMT history.⁵³² Government representatives

⁵³¹ Many of the early *wenxian* publishers took notice of other new magazines and books being published, and voiced their support for others. See “Qianyan” 前言 [Preface], *Sichuan wenxian* 7 (1963): 1; Huanying 「Guizhou wenxian」 「Yunnan wenxian」 歡迎「貴州文獻」「雲南文獻」 [Welcoming “Guizhou reference” and “Yunnan reference”], *ibid.*, 30 (1965): 1-2; Chou Kai-ching, “Tan difang wenxian de zhengli: Sichuan wenxian chengli de jingguo he jingkuo,” *ibid.*, 45 (1966): 1 “Tongxiang jinxun” 同鄉近訊 [Native place news], *Jiangxi wenxian* 10 (1967): 31.

⁵³² Academia Historica or *Guoshiguan* (國史館) had origin in mainland China. The institution was established in the early days of the Republican period to store government papers and to produce the official history of the ROC. In Taiwan, it became a major repository for the KMT’s party documents.

and historians sat and listened to their reports. After the meeting, Chou and his colleagues from *Sichuan wenxian* were charged with the task of contacting other *tongxianghui*—associations that were currently publishing or had plans to publish reference magazines and local history books—and merging them into a collective society. A year later, the SSCLR was born.⁵³³ Under the new arrangement, the state would provide the operating costs for the SSCLR and played an advisory role to the Society. The SSCLR was required to hold annual meetings and publish yearbooks. The yearbooks would report on new findings and publications, as well as other *tongxianghui* cultural activities.⁵³⁴ Under the auspices of the state, *wenxian* magazine publishers not only gained a collective forum, but also participated in a series of island-wide historical and cultural exhibitions sanctioned by the government in the early 1970s. Tens of thousands of people attended these events.⁵³⁵ Encouraged by the turnout for the exhibitions, the *tongxianghui* that formed the SSCLR proposed to build cultural museums for different provinces and regions in mainland China to house and display the historical documents and cultural artefacts they had gathered permanently. Nevertheless, due to the lack of government subsidies, only a few—Sichuan and Shaanxi native place associations among them—managed to set up their own museums.⁵³⁶ *Sichuan wenxian* actually stopped publishing in 1982. The magazine was replaced by a yearbook for “Sichuan-Xikang-Chongqing Cultural Museum” (川康渝文物館).⁵³⁷

⁵³³ See Chou Kai-ching, “Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui chengli jingguo” 中國地方文獻學會成立經過 [The events leading to the establishment of the SSCLR], *Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui niankan* 1 (1971): 32-35; Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 9-12.

⁵³⁴ For more on organization and activities of the SSCLR, see Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 13-70.

⁵³⁵ Li Shih-Hsien 李士賢, “Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui yinian lai zhi gongzuo” 中國地方文獻學會一年來之工作 [The work done by the SSCLR in the past year], *Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui niankan* 1 (1971): 37; Li Shih-Hsien, “Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui sannian lai zhi gongzuo” 中國地方文獻學會三年來之工作 [The work done by the SSCLR in the past three years], *ibid.*, 2 (1973): 37.

⁵³⁶ See Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 35; Chung Jung-chao 鍾容昭, “Chuan kang yu wenwu guan zhi chengli ji xiankuang” 川康渝文物館之成立及現況 [Sichuan—Xikang—Chongqing Cultural Museum’s inauguration and its current situation], *Chuan kang yu wenwu guan niankan* 1 (1983): 1-12; Shaanxi wenwu guan choujianhui 陝西文物館籌建會, “Xingjian Shaanxi wenwu guan gongzuo jianxun” 興建陝西文物館工作簡訊 [A brief on the task of constructing the Shaanxi Cultural Museum], *Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui niankan* 9 (1980): 162-164.

⁵³⁷ Xikang Province (西康省) was established by the Nationalist regime in China in 1939 and abolished by the CCP in 1955. Better known to Western audiences as the “Kham” region of eastern Tibet, the area is inhabited by many different ethnic and religious groups, and has been a corridor of trade and cultural

Notwithstanding the recognition from the Nationalist authorities and the establishment of the SSCLR, the financial assistance provided by the state to each of the native place associations was in fact quite limited.⁵³⁸ The government wanted to keep an eye on what the associations were doing and utilized them to promote the CCRM. But the state had no intention of paying for the cultural projects put forward by *tongxianghui*. At the end of the day, the associations and individual publishers bore the cost of *wenxian* magazine production and related cultural activities. The civil war migrants' longing for home contributed to a large number of reference magazines and books published, but the longevity of these projects rested upon the funding and resources the publishers were able to muster and maintain. Most of the mainlander native place associations offered publications to their members and to anyone who would ask for them at fairly low prices, or even free of charge.⁵³⁹ The associations also donated copies to public libraries and universities in Taiwan. In some instances, the donation extended to foreign research institutions in Japan, Europe, and the United States.⁵⁴⁰ These were done in order to encourage academic research on their home provinces and counties. The largesse had contributed to mounting deficits for some of the associations.

Tongxianghui publishers, in particular those without a sizable endowment or frequent donations from their members, were mired in financial difficulties. Some of the journals ran out of money and ceased to exist quickly, while others had to publish intermittently. The trials and tribulations of *Hunan wenxian* were a good example. In February 1969, a college professor from Hunan started the magazine as a bimonthly journal with his own pension. A small number of close friends also chipped in some

exchange between Tibet and China proper. The eastern part of Kham had a sizable Han Chinese population. It was incorporated into Sichuan Province in 1955.

⁵³⁸ “Cong lishi xue de guandian laikan difang wenxian de zhineng jiqi fazhan fangxiang” 從歷史學觀點來看地方文獻的職能及其發展方向 [Looking at the function and the development of the local references from the perspective of historical scholarship], Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 553.

⁵³⁹ For example, among the first three *tongxianghui* periodicals published in the 1960s, both *Rehe tongxun* and *Ningbo tongxiang* were free. In the meantime, *Sichuan wenxian*, as mentioned, charged only one NTD per issue and ten for a full year subscription. See “Benkan gaoyue” 本刊稿約 [The guidelines for submission], *Rehe tongxun* 1 (1963): 12; Chang Hsing-chou, “Ningbo tongxianghui yu Ningbo tongxiang yuekan” 寧波同鄉會與寧波同鄉月刊 [The Ningbo native place association and the *Ningbo tongxiang* monthly], Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 325; “Benshe tejian zhengqiu jinian dinghu qishi” 本社特價徵求紀念訂戶啓事 [A special offer for subscribers to commemorate our magazine], *Sichuan wenxian* 13 (1963): 1.

⁵⁴⁰ See Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 110, 258, 325.

money. After eight issues, the professor had exhausted his life savings. The magazine went into bankruptcy in April 1970. The Taipei Hunan native place association took over the franchise and financed *Hunan wenxian* as a quarterly. In June 1973, the magazine stopped publishing again due to the lack of funds. *Tongxianghui* leaders threw in the towel when the association itself ran into deficit. It was not until the head of the Hunan association gained long-term financial support from a number of well-to-do Hunan natives to establish a separate publishing company in early 1975 that the magazine was up and running once again.⁵⁴¹ *Hunan wenxian* was not the only one that had problems with finances and had to stop publishing for an extended period of time. *Jiangsu wenxian*, *Guizhou wenxian*, and *Hebei pingjin wenxian* went through similar ordeals.⁵⁴²

Another problem associated with the reference magazines is the authenticity of the information published. In an academic conference held in October 1979, the chief editor of *Hunan wenxian* admitted that most of the *tongxianghui* journals did not have the time and the manpower to verify the historical accuracy of the writings and materials submitted by their fellow provincials.⁵⁴³ Despite a fair amount of local chronicles, official documents, paintings, maps, and other material artefacts gathered and categorized by *tongxianghui* workers for the benefit of their members, most of the civil war migrants preferred to rely on memories when writing about their own native places. Memories were a major source of information about mainland China before *waishengren* were finally allowed to return in 1987. They were the main driving force behind mainlanders' cultural nostalgia and *tongxianghui*'s local reference projects. In countless articles, biographies, autobiographies, and anecdotes published in the reference magazines, the civil war migrants described everything they could remember about their hometowns. Oftentimes, contributors would apologize for their lack of knowledge or fading memories,

⁵⁴¹ Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 98-99.

⁵⁴² Chu Pei-lien 朱沛蓮, "Jiangsu wenxian de zhengji yu zhengli" 江蘇文獻的徵集與整理 [The collection and categorization of Jiangsu reference], *Zhongguo difang wenxian xuehui niankan* 1 (1971): 41-42; Hu Kuo-fan 胡國藩, "Guizhou wenxian zhi dansheng yu fusu" 貴州文獻之誕生與復甦 [The birth and resuscitation of Guizhou reference], *ibid.*, 1 (1971): 60; Feng Chao-tang 馮著唐, "Hebei pingjin wenxian gaishu" 河北平津文獻概述 [An overview of Hebei pingjin reference], *ibid.*, 1 (1971): 61.

⁵⁴³ Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 553.

and invite others to fill in the blanks. Different interpretations and recollections of the past sometimes gave rise to frictions and disputes among fellow natives.⁵⁴⁴

Despite financial difficulties, and at times, great personal sacrifices in publishing local references, many of the first generation *waishengren* devoted their time and energy wholeheartedly to these activities. The promotion of native place histories and cultures illustrated civil war migrants' attempt to consolidate their provincial identities and construct imagined communities when temporary sojourn became permanent exile. For the exiles of 1949, educating their children and grandchildren born in Taiwan about a distant native land they had never been to was an important task. The following passage was written by the chief editor of *Huaxian wenxian*. It provides us with a clear sense of what many of the *tongxianghui* magazine publishers tried to accomplish:

After living in Taiwan for ten years, our hearts began to settle down. On the one hand, we established new families here. On the other hand, we still miss our relatives in China and reminisce about the mountains and rivers over there. The irreconcilable feelings between the new and the old have been raging in our minds. In the midst of war, social chaos, and separation, we raised the next generation. Our hard work has also contributed to the steady economic growth. Run-down houses became new; small shacks became large buildings. We recognize the significance of culture to human beings. The founding of a literary forum for *Huaxian's* past is predicated upon the importance of building a channel in which to connect the next generation youth with our native land, to link the past with the future, and to provide an open forum for communication between our native members.⁵⁴⁵

For the civil war exiles, the *wenxian* magazine projects had a deeper meaning and served a greater purpose beyond wallowing in nostalgia. The younger generation needed to learn about where their parents and grandparents came from. They needed to cultivate the same love for their ancestral lands in China. The promotion of native place histories is about fostering and maintaining a sense of community.

⁵⁴⁴ Zhongguo difang wenxian she (ed.), *Zhongguo difang wenxian shetuan huiyao*, 85, 95.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 359.

4.6 The Consequences of Cultural Nostalgia

The efforts to connect the younger generations to a distant and unfamiliar native place in mainland China appear to have had mixed results. *Waishengren* born and raised on the island showed only lukewarm interest in the cultural projects put forward by *tongxianghui*. As mentioned, a common problem faced by a majority of mainlander native associations since the 1980s was a gradual decline in funding and membership when a considerable number of the elderly members began to die out. The social survey conducted by Li Hsiao-ling in late 1979 clearly illustrated this trend. According to Li, among the 2,927 registered members of the Taipei Henan native place association, 2,332 (80%) were above the age of 50. The 50-59 cohort alone formed almost half (46%) of the members. The survey also suggested that those above the age of 40 joined the association voluntarily, whereas members below 40 were often prompted by their parents, relatives, and friends. Over 60% of the members enjoyed reading the magazine produced by the association, most of them over the age of 50.⁵⁴⁶ This suggests a simple point. Those who physically left China decades ago were the ones most likely to fall under the spell of cultural nostalgia. Different from their children and grandchildren, the civil war migrants had experienced the trauma of the great exodus and the agony of separating from their families. This important generational difference was confirmed by a number of contemporary studies done by political scientists and sociologists.⁵⁴⁷

Yet *waisheng tongxianghui*'s promotion of native place histories and cultures reflected a particular outlook and collective mentality. The fixation with a homeland faraway and the efforts to maintain their provincial identities prevented the mainlanders from making meaningful connections with local histories, cultures, and peoples. It contributed to the continued alienation between *waishengren* and a majority of the native Taiwanese from the 1960s to the 1980s. Despite living in Taiwan for decades, most civil war migrants did not consider the island their true home. Rather, they possessed a strong sense of exceptionalism, (and an added sense of superiority for those who held political

⁵⁴⁶ Li Hsiao-ling, "Henan tongxianghui huiyuan zhi taidu fenxi" 河南同鄉會會員之態度分析 [The analysis of Henan native place association members' attitude], *Henan tongxiang* 23 (1979): 16-18.

⁵⁴⁷ See Stéphane Corcuff, *Fenghe rinuan*; Li Kuang-chun, "Mirror and Masks: An Interpretative Study of Mainlanders' Identity Dilemma;" Sun Hung-yeh, "Wuming、ziwo、yu lishi: Taiwan waishengren dierdai de shenfen yu rentong"; Tung Yi-ning, "Waisheng disandai de guojia rentong."

power) which separated them from most of the other local population. The perspective had influenced the younger mainlanders, though, as we have seen above, there was an important generational difference.⁵⁴⁸

The act of constantly reminiscing about a distant homeland in China also contributed to reverse culture shock, when most of the civil war exiles were finally allowed to return in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. As mentioned, in *tongxianghui*'s cultural projects, recalling the past was more important than providing authentic historical information. In the reference magazines, we see a great number of romantic accounts produced by the first generation *waishengren* about their home villages and provinces. Most of these were written based on memories. These idealistic imaginings and representations were shattered when the exiles of 1949 came face to face with the harsh realities of their hometowns—poverty, run-down houses, ruined ancestral graves, and deceased or estranged relatives. In the eyes of the returnees, too much had changed under Chinese Communist rule. The homeland that they had longed for was nowhere to be found. The mainlanders went back to China to fulfill a lifelong dream and to end their search for belonging. Yet many were sorely disappointed by the things they witnessed and the people they encountered. They returned to Taiwan with a broken heart and a profound sense of disorientation.⁵⁴⁹

The mainlanders' heartbreaking journeys actually started in the early 1980s after China opened its doors to the rest of the world. Under Mao, the official PRC line had considered those who escaped to Taiwan during the civil war as stooges of the KMT. They were “bandits,” “traitors,” and “pawns of US imperialism.”⁵⁵⁰ They were the cancers that must be removed from New China. Deng Xiaoping's reform policy not only changed the country's engagement with the world, but also provided new initiatives for

⁵⁴⁸ Second generation *waishengren* often feel being excluded from the local society, especially those who grew up in *juancun*. For writings that express these sentiments, see “Waisheng qingnian de kumen” 外省青年的苦悶 [The misery of mainland youth], *Zhonghua zazhi* 中華雜誌 [China journal] 21 (1983): 52; Chu Tien-hsin 朱天心, *Xiangwo juancun de xiongdi men* 想我眷村的兄弟們 [Thinking about my brothers in the military family's village] (1992; repr., Jhonghe: INK Publishing, 2002), 76-79.

⁵⁴⁹ For a good article expressing these sentiments, see Bianji bu 編輯部, “Xiangjian buru bujian?” 相見不如不見? [Is it better not to meet after all?], *Yuanjian zazhi* 遠見雜誌 [Global views monthly] 12 (1987): 26-27.

⁵⁵⁰ See “Wancheng shengli, gonggu shengli, yingjie yijiouwuling nian yuandan,” *Renmin ribao*, January 1, 1950, 1; Qian Junrui, “Naqi wenyi wuqi, jianjue huiji mei diguozhuyi,” *ibid.*, June 24, 1960, 7.

cross-Straits relations. On January 1, 1979, Beijing announced that it would stop shelling the KMT's defensive outpost Quemoy. It also issued "a proclamation to the compatriots in Taiwan" (告台灣同胞書). The proclamation adopted a reconciliatory policy towards the exiled regime on the island, calling for "three links and four flows" (三通四流). "Three links and four flows" promoted trade, travel, postal service, as well as a series of economic and cultural exchanges across the Taiwan Strait.⁵⁵¹ Suspicious of the CCP's intentions, Nationalist authorities in Taipei responded with the so-called "three no's policy" (三不政策)—no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise. However, the KMT could not stem the tide of people entering China clandestinely through foreign locations. It was estimated that approximately 10,000 to 50,000 *waishengren* in Taiwan had gone back to the mainland to see their relatives via Hong Kong, the United States, Japan, Thailand, Philippines, Singapore, and other Southeast Asian countries before 1987.⁵⁵² By the second half of the 1980s, the Nationalist authorities came under heavy pressure to initiate reforms. In August 1986, hundreds of retired Nationalist soldiers started to protest against EYVAC's unjust pension system, which excluded a considerable number of early retirees and subjected many to perpetual poverty. The number of disgruntled veterans soon grew into tens of thousands in just a few months. The movement raised widespread public concern about the well-being of the aging and impoverished veterans.⁵⁵³

In early 1987, another group of retired Nationalist soldiers gained support from the newly formed opposition party, the DPP.⁵⁵⁴ They formed an association, and launched what came to be known as the "*waishengren* homebound movement" (外省人返鄉促進運動). On May 10, 1987, Mother's Day, the veterans staged a demonstration in

⁵⁵¹ Joshua Fan, *China's Homeless Generation*, 110; Chiu Hei-yuan 瞿海源 et al., *Dalu tanqin ji fangwen de xingxiang* 大陸探親及訪問的影響 [The effects of visiting relatives in mainland China] (Taipei: Guojia zhengce yanjiu xiliao zhongxin, 1989), 113-114.

⁵⁵² Chiu Hei-yuan et al., *Dalu tanqin ji fangwen de xingxiang*, 12; Yin Ping 尹萍, "Guixiang jie" 歸鄉結 [Return home complex], *Yuanjian zazhi* 12 (1987): 16-17.

⁵⁵³ See Hu Tai-li, "Ethnic Identity and Social Condition of Veteran-Mainlanders in Taiwan," Hu Tai-li, "Cong shachang dao jietou: laobing ziji yundong gaishu" 從沙場到街頭: 老兵自救運動概述 [From the battlefield to the streets: an overview of KMT veteran's self-help movement], in *Taiwan xingxing shehui yundong* 臺灣新興社會運動 [New social movements in Taiwan], (eds.) Hsu Cheng-kuang 徐正光 and Sung Wen-li 宋文里 (Taipei: Juliu tushu, 1990).

⁵⁵⁴ The DPP leaders were protesting against the KMT's infamous "blacklist" (黑名單). The blacklist contains the names of political dissidents and Taiwan independence activists resided in foreign countries. Most of these people were ROC citizens, but they were barred from entering Taiwan. By supporting the *waishengren* homebound movement, they hope to further their own cause.

front of Taipei's Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall. They distributed leaflets to the passersby. They wore T-shirts and held up billboards printed with emotionally-charged slogans and taglines, such as "I missed you dearly, mother!" and "the army kidnapped me; please send me home!"⁵⁵⁵ Different from the protest against the EYVAC, the homebound movement was initially boycotted by a majority of KMT veterans, who saw an alliance with the DPP as an act of betrayal. Nonetheless, the protestors won overwhelming sympathy and support from the general public. With martial law being lifted on July 15, 1987, the voices of the masses could no longer be ignored. Many pointed to the unfairness and the hypocrisy of the existing situation. A small number of people with money, political connections, and foreign contacts could violate the law, enter the PRC secretly, and return with impunity. Those without financial means and overseas connections were made to watch painfully from the sidelines. On November 2, 1987, amidst the island's steady march towards democracy, the ROC government finally granted its citizen the right to visit relatives in mainland China with some minor restrictions.⁵⁵⁶ The new policy was announced when Chiang Ching-kuo, who was gravely ill and at the end of his life, gave his blessings at last. According to Joshua Fan, the protests of the Nationalist veterans touched Chiang personally. The Generalissimo's son served as the chairman of EYVAC from 1956 to 1965, and had always felt indebted to the soldiers.⁵⁵⁷

As soon as the travel ban was lifted, the civil war exiles flocked to mainland China en masse. Travel agencies ran on 24-hour shifts and airline tickets became precious commodities. According to official statistics, the number of Taiwan residents who visited China surpassed 200,000 in one single year.⁵⁵⁸ The size of the returnees grew steadily in the next few years as the government eased many of the remaining restrictions.⁵⁵⁹ Yet

⁵⁵⁵ Li Chih-teh 李志德, "Kaifang tanqin ershi nian sixiang de meng congci buzai zuo" 開放探親 20 年思鄉的夢從此不再做 [Twenty years after the lifting of the travel ban to China; there is no longer the dream of nostalgia], *Lianhe bao*, May 6, 2007, A14.

⁵⁵⁶ The applicants must have relatives within the third degree in China. Active military personnel and civil servants were prohibited from entering China. These minor restrictions will be lifted in a few years.

⁵⁵⁷ Joshua Fan, *China's Homeless Generation*, 111.

⁵⁵⁸ Chiu Hei-yuan et al., *Dalu tanqin ji fangwen de xingxiang*, 41

⁵⁵⁹ From November 1987 to June 1991, the ROC Red Cross Society, the organization put in charge of assisting mainlanders' return, recorded more than 50 million round trips between Taiwan and China, mostly via Hong Kong. There were also over 130,000 requests searching for separated relatives and nearly 40 million US dollars of remittance sent from Taiwan to China. See Hsu Hsueh-chi 許雪姬, "Diba zhang:

multiple surveys have suggested that a majority of the returnees did not want to go back to live in the mainland after their initial trips.⁵⁶⁰ Instead, they returned to Taiwan. Some never set foot in the mainland again. Many opted for periodic visits to their relatives in China. All of this happened despite the fact that governments on two sides of the Strait both demonstrated willingness to provide assistance for relocation. The reasons for the civil war migrants' decision varied, from politics (many *waishengren* did not trust the CCP), the inability to cope with the poor living conditions and medical services in China, to the need to return to their families in Taiwan. Nonetheless, from a great number of accounts written by the mainlanders about their returns, reverse culture shock was without a doubt the main contributing factor.

Waishengren's road home was a strenuous one, not only physically but also mentally. An elderly returnee to northern Anhui wrote the following passage after witnessing the physical destructions under the CCP rule and learning that his entire extended family, except for one distant cousin, had starved to death during the Great Leap Forward:

I do not resent the fact that my hometown is still poor, backward, and filthy. The only thing I really cannot accept is that the trip shattered the cherished images in my memory. I cannot find mere shadows of them! My hometown has become a completely different and alien place. I have truly become a homeless person. I wanted to cry out, but my tears went dry already. My heart is dripping blood.⁵⁶¹

A famous poet visited his hometown Cihuo (慈谿) in Zhejiang Province in 1988. He jotted down the following:

liangan guanxi” 第八章：兩岸關係 [Chapter 8: cross-strait relations], in *Zhonghua minguo hongshizi hui bainian shi: 1904 nian—2003 nian* 中華民國紅十字會百年史 1904 年—2003 年 [One hundred year history of the Red Cross Society of the ROC], (ed.) Chang Yu-fa 張玉法 (Taipei: Zhonghua minguo hongshizi zonghui, 2004), 710-715.

⁵⁶⁰ See Chiu Hei-yuan 瞿海源 et al., *Dalu tanqin ji fangwen de xingxiang*, 122-123; Chien Chun-an 簡春安, “Rongmin dalu anyang zhi xinli ji shehui shiying” 榮民大陸安養之心理及社會適應 [Psychological and social adjustment of KMT veterans living in China] (paper presented at Zuqun yu wenhua fazhan xueshu yantao hui, Taipei, August 12, 2004), 171-180.

⁵⁶¹ Feng Teh-ping 封德屏 (ed.), *Sishi nian lai jia guo: fanxiang tanqin sanwen* 四十年來家國：返鄉探親散文 [Home and country in the past forty years: essays on visiting relatives in mainland China] (Taipei: Wenxun zazhi she, 1989), 110.

[W]hen I returned to Cihuo, I tried to look for traces of my childhood memory. I could only conjecture up fragments of the past, which did not match the picture [in front of me]. I thought I was suffering from a dreadful case of amnesia and panicked. I wept and cried out so loudly that my older brother became quite worried.⁵⁶²

Another returnee described his sad meeting with his surviving relatives in Shandong. The person left home when he was a teenager during the Anti-Japanese War. He had not seen his family or heard from them for 50 years:

The moment when I was about to ask where mom and dad were, my youngest sister dragged me into another room. We hugged each other and cried. She wept and told me: “Father died in a [land reform] struggle section. His body was thrown into the wilderness. Mother missed you so much that she cried until her eyes went blind. She died during the Cultural Revolution. No one was there to take care of the funeral because our older brother and his wife also got sick and died. Our old house was completely demolished...” Before she could finish, my heart ached like being cut by a knife. My head hurt like it was about to explode. At that moment, I wanted to go back to Taiwan right away and put an end to this dreadful trip.⁵⁶³

There are hundreds of published accounts written by the mainlanders who returned to China in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. They all tell similar heart-wrenching stories.

4.7 Concluding Remarks:

This chapter has illustrated an important transformation in the mentalités of *waishengren* from reluctant sojourners in the 1950s to cultural nostalgia from the 1960s to the 1980s. The narrative sheds new light on *tongxianghui* historiography, and the interpretation of state-society relations in post-war Taiwan. The chapter also discusses in detail both the manifestations and consequences of cultural nostalgia. The incessant longing for an abstract and distant native place helped maintain communal and provincial identities among *waishengren*. But it also prevented the migrants from making substantial

⁵⁶² Feng Teh-ping (ed.), *Sishi nian lai jiayguo*, 58.

⁵⁶³ Hsueh Chi-kuang 薛繼光 et al., *Xiangguan chuchu—waishengren fanxiang tanqin zhaopian gushi shu* 鄉關處處—外省人返鄉探親照片故事書 [Home everywhere: a pictorial story book of mainlanders' return home] (Taipei County, Jhonghe City: INK Publishing, 2008), 112-113.

connections with the local cultures and peoples. Despite cohabitation and considerable intermarriage, the hearts and minds of mainlanders were tied to their native places and separated families in China. The long-awaited homecoming did not cure civil war migrants' homesickness and put a final end to the search for belonging. In a pungent irony, the mainlanders arrived back in Taiwan in a way that resembled the day they set foot on the island four decades ago—shocked, exhausted, emotionally drained, and many with only the clothes on their backs. Oftentimes, the returnees gave everything away to their needy and poverty-stricken relatives in China, including their own luggage and personal belongings. Meanwhile, they came to a painful realization that the “home” they had longed for lived only in their memories. While the trauma of the great exodus shaped the civil war migrants' outlook from the 1950s to the 1980s, the reverse culture shock has given rise to a new round of identity formation since the late 1980s and the early 1990s. The new search for belonging was imbedded in the island's democratization and indigenization processes during the past two decades. Instead of writing about native place histories and cultures, the civil war exiles and their descendants would write about the collective trauma of the great exodus. The next chapter will attempt to historicize the emergence of this “refugee discourse” among *waishengren* in contemporary Taiwan.

CHAPTER 5 NARRATING THE EXODUS

集中一切兵力，確保台灣基地，拯救大陸同胞復興中華民國。一年準備、二年反攻、三年掃蕩、五年成功。——總統播告全國同胞，一九五零年，五月十七日。

*[Concentrate all military forces, secure the base in Taiwan, rescue fellow countrymen on the mainland, and restore the Republic of China. One year preparation, counter-offensive in the second year, mop-up operation in the third, mission accomplished in five years.]—Chiang Kai-shek's broadcast to the nation, May 17, 1950.*⁵⁶⁴

正好家裡有一個船說要到臺灣去喔.....我想這個船是自己招商局的船，我叔叔是船長，很快就回去嘛，我就好啊就上船了.....我想旅行。想去一個海島。就來了。——一位上層階級女性外省移民之回憶，九零年代晚期。

*[There happened to be a ship bound for Taiwan in our family business...I thought this was our own commercial liner and my uncle was the captain. It should be a short trip. Thus, I said "yes," and went aboard...I wanted to travel. I wanted to go to a sea island. That's how I came.]—Recollections from an upper-class female mainlander migrant in the late 1990s.*⁵⁶⁵

5.1 Introduction

A day before the eve of the Chinese New Year in January 27, 1949, crew members of a mid-size ocean liner named *Pacific* (太平洋輪) set out for the cold murky waters of the West Pacific Ocean against the scenic backdrop of the dimming twilight, not knowing this would be their last journey. *Pacific* was among a large fleet of privately owned passenger liners and cargo ships that took regular cruises between mainland China and Taiwan since Japan returned the island to Nationalist China in the wake of World War II. When the tide of the civil war turned decisively against the KMT in the late 1940s, these scheduled liners became extremely busy, transporting human beings, precious metals, cultural artefacts, government files, machineries, weapons, and ammunitions from Shanghai to the major ports in Taiwan, such as Keelung and Kaohsiung.⁵⁶⁶ On board the overcrowded vessel on that fateful evening were approximately 900 to 1,000 weary passengers plus 124 crew members. The ship's

⁵⁶⁴ “Wei chetui Zhoushan Hainan guojun zongtong bogao quanguo tongbao” 為撤退舟山海南國軍總統播告全國同胞 [The president's broadcast to the nation on behalf of the evacuated troops from Zhoushan and Hainan Islands], *Zhongyang ribao*, May 17, 1950, 1.

⁵⁶⁵ Chao Yen-ning, *Daizhe caomao dao chu luxing*, 214-215.

⁵⁶⁶ For a comprehensive list of the ship types and tonnage, see Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 262-272.

company, the Central United Shipping Corporation (中聯輪船公司), sold only about 500 tickets for the trip, given that was *Pacific*'s maximum capacity. The other 400 or 500 had bribed the gatekeepers or simply snuck on board.⁵⁶⁷ The gross overloading of human cargo was compounded by excess freight. *Pacific* carried a large but unspecified amount of silver dollars from the Chinese Central Bank (中央銀行). It also took on factory equipments, 600 tons of steel, government files, printing machines, and an assortment of commercial goods.⁵⁶⁸ When departing from the pier, the ship was so dangerously overfilled that it had to cruise at a snail's pace to avoid capsizing. It was a catastrophe in the making.

In the fall of 1948, China's economy was in shambles and the KMT armies were rolling back on all fronts. Rumours of a massive CCP offensive across the lower Yangtze region triggered a panic flight in the Shanghai-Nanjing area. The region housed most of the wealthy entrepreneurs and well-to-do urban middle class in the country, and had been the heartland of the Nationalist political support.⁵⁶⁹ With the PLA assault imminent, boat tickets and airline vouchers to safe havens like Hong Kong and Taiwan became precious commodities. Wealthy businessmen, high-ranking government officials, and prominent socialites pulled strings and bribed their way onto ships like the *Pacific*. Those who were less well-to-do but nonetheless felt compelled to leave the country resorted to a vast repertoire of trickery and illegal means to get on any seafaring vessels out of China.

Pacific never made it to port on that day. Shortly after departing from Shanghai for Keelung in north Taiwan, the ship's captain shut off lights and cruised in pitch dark of the night to evade the wartime curfew imposed by the Nationalist authorities. Several hours after departure, *Pacific* collided with a returning cargo ship near the Zhoushan Islands south of the Hangzhou Bay.⁵⁷⁰ The smaller cargo ship sank immediately.

⁵⁶⁷ The exact number of people on board cannot be determined because a large number of the passengers did not purchase tickets, and were not recorded in the Company's registry like the 508 ticket holders. Lin Tung-fa and Chen Chin-chang provide the figure of 932, while Chang Tien-wan suggests the number might surpass 1,000. See Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 294; Chen Chin-chang 陳錦昌, *Jiang Zhongzheng qiantai ji* 蔣中正遷台記 [A chronicle of Chiang Kai-shek's relocation to Taiwan] (Hsintien: Xiangyang wenhua, 2005), 84; Chang Tien-wan, *Taiping lun* 1949, 24.

⁵⁶⁸ For more, see Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 303-304 and Chang Tien-wan, *Taiping lun* 1949, 24.

⁵⁶⁹ Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 195-196; Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 260.

⁵⁷⁰ The cargo ship was *Jianyuan lun* (建元輪) owned by another private shipping company. *Jianyuan lun* was on a return trip from Keelung to Shanghai. The ship was loaded with coal and timber from Taiwan.

Seventy-two lives from the cargo ship's crew were lost at sea. A few survivors managed to climb onto their victimizer, but to no avail. Though still afloat, the hull of the *Pacific* was severely damaged in the collision. Sea water began to inundate the lower decks immediately. With excess weight, the commercial liner went under in less than fifteen minutes amidst horrifying screams and heart-wrenching pleas of women and children in the dark of the night. Thirty-eight lucky passengers including six crew members were rescued by an Australian destroyer passing by hours later, while the rest drowned or died of hypothermia in freezing waters of the cold winter sea.⁵⁷¹ Many victims were wealthy entrepreneurs and celebrities from the major urban centres of the lower Yangtze, who carried their life savings in the form of precious metals, jewellery, cultural artefacts, and other luxury items. The subsequent lawsuit for property damage and reparations eventually brought down the Central United Shipping Corporation.⁵⁷²

The shipwreck claimed a great number of lives and ruined many families. It caught the attention of the KMT authorities and the Chinese national media in early 1949 because some prominent statesmen and socialites were on board. The surviving families' meteoric fall from grace and their lawsuit against the shipping company had been prime material for journalistic sensationalism. Extensive media coverage in both China and Taiwan led to overwhelming public sympathy and charity for the victims' families.⁵⁷³ Nonetheless, the media sensation surrounding the ship's sinking proved to be short-lived. The *Pacific* disaster soon became irrelevant, as a tidal wave of defeated Nationalist troops and tattered war refugees began to pour into Taiwan a few months later. The story was

⁵⁷¹ Existing secondary sources suggest only 30 or 40 people survived. Nevertheless, a newspaper article published in *Zhongyang ribao* in early 1949 seems to suggest there were about two hundred survivors stranded on the Zhoushan Islands. See "Taiping lun yunan taisheng fu shefa yingjiu" 太平輪遇難台省府設法營救 [The *Pacific* sank at sea. Authorities in Taiwan tried to rescue the survivors], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 2, 1949, 2. Chang Tien-wan also alluded to the fact that fishermen from Zhoushan Islands were pulling survivors out of the water by daybreak. See Chang Tien-wan, *Taiping lun 1949*, 35.

⁵⁷² For the activities of the victims' families and trial proceedings, see "Taiping lun beinan luke jiashu zhuyi!" 太平輪被難旅客家屬注意! [The families of the *Pacific* tragedy pay attention!], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 25, 1950, advertising columns, 5; "Taiping lun an jin bianlun 太平輪案今辯論 [The *Pacific* case goes on trial today], *ibid.*, February 12, 1950, 4; "Taiping lun an shisi[ri] xuanpan zuori bianlun zhongjie" 太平輪案十四[日]宣判昨日辯論終結 [The verdict for the *Pacific* case will be reached on the 14th, as the litigation process ended yesterday], *ibid.*, February 9, 1950, 4; Chang Tien-wan, *Taiping lun 1949*, 36-43.

⁵⁷³ See "hunxi guilai: Taiping lun nanshu weiyuanhui jin juxing zhuisi dahui" 魂兮歸來: 太平輪難屬委會今舉行追思大會 [Requiem for the returning souls: a commemorative ceremony held by the committee of victims' families], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 27, 1950, 4.

relegated to virtual oblivion when the Nationalist regime itself had to seek refuge on the island at the end of 1949.⁵⁷⁴

In early 2005, *Pacific*'s tragic final voyage regained public attention. A made-for-television documentary film entitled *Searching for the Pacific: Diasporic Memories and Stories of the Journey to Taiwan*, produced jointly by the DPP and the Phoenix Satellite Television (鳳凰衛視) in Hong Kong, achieved high ratings in Taiwan, and received an enthusiastic response from some audiences in Hong Kong.⁵⁷⁵ Then, in 2009, one of the journalists in Taiwan who worked on the 2005 film project published a book based on the testimonies of the survivors and victims' families.⁵⁷⁶ The growing popularity of the *Pacific* story also manifested in a joint venture by major film corporations in mainland China and Taiwan in recent years. The plan was to make a big budget epic romance telling the story of the 1949 exodus through *Pacific*'s tragic last journey with a plot reminiscent of James Cameron's blockbuster hit *Titanic* (1997). Internationally renowned Chinese action film director John Woo was chosen to direct the movie along with the participation of several high-profile stars from Taiwan, China, and South Korea.⁵⁷⁷ Unfortunately, a dispute arose over the copyright of the original script, which resulted in the project being shelved for the time being.⁵⁷⁸ Meanwhile, surviving families of the *Pacific* disaster held a commemorative ceremony the same year. They also started

⁵⁷⁴ There were a few exceptions. For example, the sinking of the *Pacific* appeared in a story written by Pai Hsien-yung. In 1988, renowned mainland Chinese director Xie Jin (謝晉, 1923-2008) made a popular movie called *The Last Aristocrats* (1989) based on Pai's fictional story. Chang Tien-wan, *Tai ping lun 1949*, 48.

⁵⁷⁵ See Yu Pen-chia 游本嘉 and Hung Hui-chen 洪慧真, *Xunzhao Taiping lun: guanyu lisan de jiyi, guanyu hangxiang Taiwan de gushi* 尋找太平輪：關於離散的記憶，關於航向台灣的故事 [Searching for the Pacific: diasporic memories and stories of the journey to Taiwan], Documentary Film, DVD. (Taipei: the Democratic Progressive Party, Division of Ethnic Affairs and Phoenix Satellite Television, 2005).

⁵⁷⁶ Chang Tien-wan, *Tai ping lun 1949*.

⁵⁷⁷ Zeng Jiaxin 曾家新, "Wu Yusen pai Zhongguo ban 《Titanic》 zaixian Taiping lun shijian" 吳宇森拍中國版《泰坦尼克號》再現太平輪事件 [John Woo will make a Chinese version of the *Titanic* in order to recreate the *Pacific* Incident], *Da jiyuan* 大紀元 [The epoch times], March 12, 2009, <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/9/3/13/n2460857.htm> [accessed November 25, 2010].

⁵⁷⁸ The Taiwanese film corporation that owned the right to the script decided to make a television drama series alongside the movie. The plan caused Woo and the mainland China movie syndicate to back out of the deal. Yang Lin 楊林, "Wu Yusen qidao 'Taiping lun' zhipian ren yu banquan fang qi fenzheng" 吳宇森棄導《太平輪》制片人與版權方起紛爭 [John Woo gave up the *Pacific* project, as dispute arose between the producer and the copyright owner], *Xinjin bao* 新京報 [New Beijing newspaper], March 29, 2009, http://big5.xinhuanet.com/gate/big5/news.xinhuanet.com/ent/2009-03/29/content_11093014.htm [accessed November 25, 2011].

lobbying the government in Taiwan to declare January 27 as “the great migration day” (大移民日).⁵⁷⁹

The bustle of commercial, cultural, and commemorative activities surrounding the story of a long forgotten shipwreck represent an emerging discourse centring on the great migration between 1948 and 1956 among *waishengren* in Taiwan. This new discursive formation, which began to develop in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, could be termed “exile and separation narratives”⁵⁸⁰ (流離敘事) or “refugee stories” (逃難故事). The trend can be observed in a growing number of oral history anthologies, memoirs, heritage site preservation projects, and scholarly works published in the past two decades. Most of these were put forward by the civil war migrants and their descendants, especially the latter. Lung Ying-tai’s *Big River Big Sea 1949* (2009) and the “subgroup studies” mentioned in Chapter 1 are among many manifestations of this emerging discourse.

This chapter demonstrates that narrating the exodus constitutes a “founding myth” or “founding trauma” for the ongoing process of mainlander identity formation in contemporary Taiwan. It traces the historical development of this emerging discourse by reading selected literary and cultural texts produced on the island from the 1950s to the present. Performing a Foucauldian “archaeology/genealogy”⁵⁸¹ of knowledge, the research illuminates the ways in which the events during and following the Chinese civil war have been depicted and interpreted in Taiwan’s literary and cultural scene in

⁵⁷⁹ Yu Ming-huang 游明煌, “Taiping lun jinian bei houren cu chongjian” 太平輪紀念碑後人促重建 [Victims’ families push for the reconstruction of Pacific’s memorial stele], *Lianhe bao*, January 19, 2009, A10.

⁵⁸⁰ Terms describing the mainlander narratives in contemporary Taiwan such as *liuli* (流離) and *lisan* (離散) are often translated as “diaspora” or “diasporic” in Taiwan. Chapter 1 demonstrated that scholars like Chao Yen-ning, Chang Mau-kuei, and Scott Simon have applied diaspora theory to the study of mainlanders. Chao Yen-ning in particular has proposed the idea of “diasporic narratives” or *liuwang xushi* (流亡敘事). However, Chapter 1 also discussed the “slippage” between diaspora theory and *waishengren*’s migrant experiences. This is why the author decided to translate these terms literally instead of using the word “diaspora.”

⁵⁸¹ Michel Foucault suggests that instead of analyzing discursive practices in terms of their historical truth and underlying structures, scholars should perform what he calls “archaeology of knowledge.” Archaeology of knowledge examines the genesis, variations, and transformations of a particular discursive formation in history. Later, Foucault expands his theory and focuses on “genealogy of knowledge.” The genealogy method focuses specifically on discursive changes in response to historical contingency, changing social context, and the expansion of state power. There have been many forgotten and marginalized discourses lost in the annals of history. For more on Foucault’s works, see Michel Foucault, *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, (eds.) Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: New Press, 2003).

response to changing political and social contexts and shifting power relations. The chapter begins with an investigation of the state-sponsored anti-Communist literature and official propaganda during the 1950s. A fabricated tale of heroic martyrdom called “the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan” is presented as an exemplar of the KMT’s interpretation of the Chinese civil war. By promoting and canonizing a fictitious story through its propaganda and education apparatus, the regime-in-exile put limitations on what could be said about the defeat. The tale of the five hundred martyrs illustrates exiled KMT leaders’ attempt to turn humiliating collapse and chaotic mass flight into a self-fulfilling prophecy for the final victory against the CCP. The official line put forward during the early post-war period was later overshadowed by popular narratives describing the Chinese civil war as a colossal population movement and a harrowing refugee experience. Although the process really began in the late 1980s with works such as *The Day We Left Mainland China* and *Look Who’s Cross-talking Tonight*, Po Yang’s bestselling war novel *Alien Land* published in 1961, and Chang To-wu’s popular five-volume memoirs *Miscellanies of a Foot Soldier*, published between 1976 and 1981, are identified as important precursors. The new discursive formation arose partly because of *waishengren*’s agonizing return discussed in the previous chapter. It has also been shaped by the twin forces of indigenization and democratization. Since the late 1980s and the early 1990s, many mainlanders felt the loss of political and cultural privileges. They also felt denigrated and alienated by the growing momentum of Taiwanese nationalism and the Taiwan-centred history.⁵⁸² The new historiography often portrays *waishengren* collectively as outsiders or the stooges of Chiang Kai-shek’s authoritarian rule. Narrating the exodus is rooted in *waishengren*’s endeavour to redefine their existence as an integral part of the island when abstract and idealistic imaginations of a distant homeland in China have been shattered. Portraying the civil war as a shared refugee experience—a story of exile from mainland China and resettlement in Taiwan with new beginnings—allows the exiles and their descendants to reinvent themselves as a migrant minority in Taiwan with its own unique and heartbreaking history. It fits into the larger discursive

⁵⁸² For more, see Li Kuang-chun, “Mirror and Masks: An Interpretative Study of Mainlanders’ Identity Dilemma”; Chang Mau-kuei and Wu Hsin-yi, “Guanyu minzu yu zuqun lunshu zhong de rentong yu qingxu: zunzhong yu chengren de wenti.”

framework of “four major ethnic groups” in the island state’s quest for national identity. Mainlanders’ refugee stories are based on actual historical experiences, but narrating the exodus cannot be viewed apart from the changing sociopolitical contexts and shifting power relations on the island.

5.2 Methodology and Sources

Scholars studying traumatic events, social memory, and oral history have been grappling with the political and social implications of articulating the past since French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs put forward the concept of “collective memory.”⁵⁸³ After years of debate, important questions remain about the nuances of human psychology and the capacity of individual agency in mediating collective memory and social discourse.⁵⁸⁴ Yet most scholars would agree that our knowledge and recollections of the past are inevitably conditioned by the contexts in which these texts and articulations are produced.⁵⁸⁵ Other than considering context, a historical study based on textual analysis also needs to demonstrate the historical significance and representativeness of the texts selected. The idea that all cultural texts are essentially products of their times should not lead to a random selection or a capricious interpretation. A particular story, painting, or theatrical play created in the past might catch the eye of contemporary observers. However, they could be rather unimportant or received differently by historical agents living under different time periods and political/social circumstances.

The research conducted for the three preceding chapters has afforded the author with invaluable insights on the overall political and social conditions in post-war Taiwan, as well as the transformation in *waishengren*’s *mentalités*. When doing research for this chapter, the author focused on two particular aspects. The first was to read as much as

⁵⁸³ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*.

⁵⁸⁴ For a good article on this, see Anna Green, “Individual Remembering and ‘Collective Memory’: Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates,” *Oral History* 32:2 (2004): 35-44.

⁵⁸⁵ See James E Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust, Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*; Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). For more on the major issues and debates in the field, see Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From Collective Memory to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105-140; Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

possible the literary and cultural texts published in post-war Taiwan. The second was reading literary and cultural texts against their respective times. The texts chosen for analysis in this chapter are the result of a broad and extensive study of the literary and cultural texts published in Taiwan from the early 1950s to the present time. The study took an entire year, mostly inside the libraries and archives of Academia Sinica in Taipei. The author first consulted a considerable number of studies produced by literary scholars and cultural critics in Taiwan. These secondary sources can be found in the footnotes throughout this chapter. He then performed a cursory reading of at least two dozen titles produced in different decades, paying attention to government censorship, audience response, and the texts that might have been overlooked by the existing studies. Finally, he chose the texts that would be discussed and used as examples in this dissertation.

Not to lose sight of the role played by personal experience and individual agency in creative works, the author put great emphasis on researching the life and career of the authors. The following sections will demonstrate how the writers' personal backgrounds influenced their works. What emerges from this chapter is a multi-faceted depiction of literary and cultural developments in post-war Taiwan intersected by individual stories. The significance of hitherto little discussed historical texts in *waishengren's* refugee discourse, such as Po Yang's *Alien Land* and Chang To-wu's *Miscellanies of a Foot Soldier*, will be analyze in detail.

Although the texts selected for this study are the result of extensive research, the author would not shy away from admitting that his predilections have influenced the selection of these writings and scripts over their contemporaries. When it comes to appraising cultural and literary works, personal taste does count. If one feels no cognitive, emotional, or psychological connections to a particular piece of artistic creation at certain levels, he or she cannot offer a meaningful analysis. Viewed from this perspective, all selections are inherently biased and arbitrary. Yet the author's own personal background might offer some justification. The author was born and raised in Taiwan during the late 1970s and the 1980s. He possesses firsthand knowledge of the popularity and the lasting influence of several texts chosen for this study. He remembers reciting the heroic deeds of "the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan" in a speech contest back in elementary school in the mid-1980s. This shows how far the KMT went to promote the story, even when the

recovery of mainland China by military means had become all but a distant dream. He recalls reading a copy of Po Yang's *Alien Land* borrowed from a friend in the attic and of becoming an instant fan of Po's literary genius. He listened to Lai Sheng-chuan's *Look Who's Cross-talking Tonight* on audio tapes with classmates while attending junior high school. Though the author had no understanding of the historical events and narratives that informed Lai's work back then, because he was born and raised in a native Taiwanese family, the taped performance left a lasting impression for one simple reason: it was utterly hilarious. Both Po and Lai's works were popular among people of different ages and social backgrounds on the island. While the following sections will focus on these texts, it is important to recognize that they are but a few representative examples drawn from a large pool of creative works. On that note, we shall revisit the early 1950s, when the story of *waishengren* in Taiwan began.

5.3 Anti-Communist Literature and the Making of the Five Hundred Martyrs

In mid-May 1950, approximately a year and a half after the *Pacific* tragedy, the KMT evacuated tens of thousands of routed troops and civilian refugees from the Zhoushan Islands. Though the withdrawal was rather anticlimactic, without fierce firefights and last-minute heroics, it was an event that, in hindsight, became the finale of the Nationalist debacle in mainland China. The retreat from Zhoushan, along with the loss of Hainan Island earlier in a more chaotic fashion, led to further crumbling of morale in Taiwan, which had been hanging by a thread since the remnants of the Nationalists sought refuge on the island in the latter half of 1949.⁵⁸⁶ With Zhoushan and Hainan fallen to the CCP, the KMT lost two major stepping stones in their fight to recover the mainland. In the meantime, the regime's main ally the United States adopted a "wait until the dust settles" policy and published the China White Paper in August 1949. After years of failed intervention and millions spent to support a seemingly lost cause, US President Harry Truman and his Secretary of State Dean Acheson decided to stop abetting Chiang's

⁵⁸⁶ For accounts of the Zhoushan and Hainan withdrawals, including the divisions involved, major campaigns, and estimated numbers of troops and civilian refugees, see Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 63-65.

corrupt regime and to give the CCP a free hand in “liberating” Taiwan.⁵⁸⁷ The loss of American support contributed to a prevailing sense of despair and disorientation among the civil war exiles on the island between 1949 and 1950.⁵⁸⁸ This was perhaps best illustrated by the words of an upper-middle rank mining official who had been stationed in Taiwan since the retrocession. Reflecting on “popular sentiment” (人心) during this unsettling period, the official states: “at the time, many of those who came from the mainland thought: ‘the end is probably near’ (恐怕快完了).”⁵⁸⁹ It was under these difficult and distressing circumstances that Chiang Kai-shek enunciated one of his most famous political slogans in Taiwan. Vexing over the withdrawals from Hainan and Zhoushan, which sounded the death knell for his grandiose vision to remake China, Chiang asserted in May 17, 1950, one day after the Zhoushan retreat: “one year preparation, counter-offensive in the second year, mop-up operation in the third, mission accomplished in five years.”⁵⁹⁰ The line demonstrated the sexagenarian dictator’s stubborn conviction to the anti-Communist cause, and his wilful determination to lead the defeated exiles back to mainland China.

Chiang’s address to the nation after the devastating loss of Hainan and Zhoushan set the tone for the anti-Communist propaganda and literary production in Taiwan during the 1950s. The genre eventually became a dominant discursive regime supported by Nationalist military/police apparatus, state censorship laws, and a considerable number of émigré intellectuals, who, regardless of their previous relationship with the KMT on the mainland, became dependent on the exiled regime for livelihood. For the KMT elites who escaped to the island, the events leading to the ROC’s collapse on the mainland had been painful, shocking, and utterly demoralizing. Furthermore, the looming threat of Chinese

⁵⁸⁷ For an insightful analysis of the international and domestic factors in the US leading to Truman’s policy towards China, see Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). Also see Chang Shu-ya, “Taihai weiji yu meiguo dui ‘fangong dalu’ zhengce de zhuanbian.”

⁵⁸⁸ The crumbling morale and social order in Taiwan in early 1950 could be observed in several newspaper articles. See “Zhengchi gangji suqing tanwu dujue guanmin chuguo taobi” 整飭綱紀肅清貪污杜絕官民出國逃避 [Tightening up the inspection to end corruption and prevent officials and civilians from leaving the country], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 10, 1950, 1; “Bensheng zhian lianghao ruchang zhongwai renshi wuxiang jingrao 本省治安良好如常中外人士毋相驚擾 [The public order is well-maintained in Taiwan. There is no need for the foreign nationals to panic.], *ibid.*, January 12, 1950, 4.

⁵⁸⁹ Yan Yan-tsun, *Zaonian zhi Taiwan*, 46.

⁵⁹⁰ “Wei chetui Zhoushan Hainan,” *Zhongyang ribao*, May 17, 1950, 1.

Communist invasion from across the Strait—hence their impending destruction—was real and intensely felt before the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 and the resumption of American aid in early 1951. Therefore, something had to be done to prevent a total breakdown of morale among the routed troops and frightened refugees, as well as to indoctrinate the semi-Japanized native Taiwanese and aborigines about the evils of Communism.⁵⁹¹

In late 1949, a group of intellectuals working closely with the KMT led by Sun Ling (孫陵, 1914-1983) and Feng Fang-min (馮放民, 1919-) began to promote “anti-Communist literature” (反共文學) in major newspapers on the island.⁵⁹² In less than a year, the China Literary Association (中國文藝協會, CLA) was established in May 1950. The Association was founded by approximately two hundred exiled mainlander intellectuals with pecuniary support from the KMT. The leading figures in the CLA were Chang Tao-fan (張道藩, 1897-1968), Wang Lan (王藍, 1922-2003), Chen Chi-ying (陳紀滢, 1908-1977), and Wang Ping-ling (王平陵, 1898-1964).⁵⁹³ The CLA published

⁵⁹¹ For more on the emergence of the anti-Communist literature and state censorship apparatus, see Yeh Shih-tao 葉石濤, *Taiwan wenxue shigang* 台灣文學史綱 [The historiography of Taiwanese Literature], 2nd edition, (Kaohsiung: Chunhui chubanshe, 1993), 86-110; Peng Jui-chin 彭瑞金, *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong sishi nian* 台灣新文學運動四十年 [Forty years of new literature movement in Taiwan] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1991), 74-101; David Der-wei Wang 王德威, “Yizhong shichu de wenxue?—fangong xiaoshuo xinlun” 一種逝去的文學？—反共小說新論 [A faded literature?—a new perspective on the anti-Communist novels], in *Ruhe xiandai, zenyang wenxue? shijiu 、 ershi shiji zhongwen xiaoshuo xinlun* 如何現代，怎樣文學？：十九、二十世紀中文小說新論 [How to be modern and how to construct literature?: a new perspective on the Chinese fictions during the 19th and the 20th centuries] (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing Company, 1998), 141-147; Ying Feng-huang 應鳳凰, *Wuling niandai Taiwan wenxue lunji—zhanhou diyi ge shinian de Taiwan wenxue shengtai* 五〇年代台灣文學論集—戰後第一個十年的台灣文學生態 [Essays on the Taiwanese literature during the 1950s—the first decade after the war] (Kaohsiung: Chunhui, 2004), 50-52; Li Hsiao-feng 李筱峰 et al., “Jiuwei de fuhao—cong 「zhengzhi biaowu」 tuxiang kang liang Jiang zhengzhi” 久違的符號—從「政治標語」圖像看兩蔣政治 [The symbols of the past: examining the politics of two Chiangs through the images and signs of “political slogans”], *Taiwan shiliao yanjiu* 台灣史料研究 [Taiwan historical materials research] 27 (2006): 1-17; Lin Kuo-hsien 林果顯, “Zhanzheng yu xuanchuan: 1950 niandai biaoyu de xingcheng yu kunjing” 戰爭與宣傳：1950年代標語的形成與困境 [War and propaganda: the formation and the predicaments of political slogans in the 1950s], *Taiwan shixue zazhi* 4 (2008): 45-71.

⁵⁹² David Der-wei Wang, “Yizhong shichu de wenxue?” 142; Peng Jui-chin, *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong sishinian*, 68.

⁵⁹³ See Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai Taiwan wenxue lunji*, 50-51. For goals of the CLA and specific issues on writing, see 張道藩 Chang Tao-fan, “Lun dangqian wenyi chuanguo sange wenti” 論當前文藝創作三個問題 [Expounding on three issues in the current literary production], *Zhongyang ribao*, May 6, 1952, 3. According to Ying Feng-huang, the two hundred literary scholars who founded the CLA had close

literary magazines and handed out prestigious annual awards with handsome prize money to writings that exposed the various evils of the CCP and bolstered the fighting morale.⁵⁹⁴ In late 1950, the CLA started a campaign to “take literary art to the army” (文藝到軍中去). In 1955, Chiang Kai-shek coined the term “fighting genre” (戰鬥文藝), and stepped up the effort to promote anti-Communist literature in the army. These gave rise to a considerable number of army novelists.⁵⁹⁵

In short, during the 1950s, exiled literary scholars in Taiwan worked in concert with the KMT to produce a large number of anti-Communist novels, short stories, poems, song lyrics, and plays that were by-and-large in line with a set of plots and ideologies laid down by the state.⁵⁹⁶ They not only put the anti-Communist political goal before the freedom of artistic expression, but also practiced self-censorship by rejecting and boycotting alternative works. The most prominent example of this collective vigilance was demonstrated by the “cultural cleansing movement” (文化清潔運動) in 1954. In late summer of that year, over 400 intellectuals and professional writers from 36 social organizations affiliated with the CLA signed a joint declaration calling for the eradication of the so-called “three evils” (三害)—red, yellow, and black.⁵⁹⁷ The red represented leftist writings; the yellow indicated graphic portrayals of carnal relations and sexual perversities; the black denoted tabloid-style half-truths and malicious defamations.⁵⁹⁸ Within a month after the initial call, approximately three hundred social organizations and two million individuals had signed pledges to support the movement. Consequently,

ties to the KMT and obtained official appointments. See Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai Taiwan wenxue lunji*, 50-51.

⁵⁹⁴ Yeh Shih-tao, *Taiwan wenxue shigang*, 87; Peng Jui-chin, *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong sishinian*, 74-75.

⁵⁹⁵ The most popular ones were Ssuma Chung-yuan (司馬中原, 1933-), Chu Tsi-ning (朱西甯, 1927-1998) and Tuan Tsai-hua (段彩華, 1933-). They were dubbed by their peers as the “three musketeers in the army” (軍中三劍客). For more on the popular army writers, see David Der-wei Wang, “Yizhong shichu de wenxue?” 142-143; Peng Jui-chin, *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong sishinian*, 77-79.

⁵⁹⁶ See Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang, “Literature in Post-1949 Taiwan 1950-1980s,” in Murray A Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, 406-407. Ying Feng-huan points to a few anti-Communist novels that were banned by the KMT in the 1950s. The themes and plot lines of these deviated somewhat from the state ideology. See Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai Taiwan wenxue lunji*, 72-79.

⁵⁹⁷ “Zhankai wenhua qingjie yundong zuyi zhuan yi shehui fengqi” 展開文化清潔運動足以轉移社會風氣 [Starting the cultural cleansing movement and transform the social atmosphere], *Zhongyang ribao*, August 8, 1954, 3.

⁵⁹⁸ “Zhiyou zhongguo gejie tuixing wenhua qingjie yundong lixing pumie sanhai xuanyan” 自由中國各界推行文化清潔運動厲行撲滅三害宣言 [Different circles in Free China promote the cultural cleansing movement; the eradication of the three evils declaration is strictly proceed], *ibid.*, August 9, 1954, 3.

the KMT banned ten different journal magazines in the same year that supposedly contained these evil traits.⁵⁹⁹

Since the late 1980s, there has been a heated debate among literary historians on the legacy of the anti-Communist literature. Under the influence of indigenization, native Taiwanese scholars such as Yeh Shih-tao and Peng Jui-chin considered the KMT and the exiled intellectuals as repressive alien forces bearing down on sprouts of Taiwanese literature and identity growing out of the Japanese colonial modernity. Concentrating their effort on recovering (or re-constructing) an authentic genealogy of indigenous literary pedigree, they denounced the 1950s as a barren cultural wasteland despite hundreds of titles and tens of millions of words produced.⁶⁰⁰ This bleak and monotonous portrayal of anti-Communist literature provoked reactions from other scholars calling for reassessments, as well as more nuanced interpretations of these writings against the backdrop of political and social contexts during the 1950s. Chi Pang-yuan drew interesting parallels in major themes and narrative techniques between Taiwan's anti-Communist literature and China's "scar literature" (傷痕文學) in the wake of the Cultural Revolution in an attempt to assert the former's significance in modern Chinese literature.⁶⁰¹ Following Chi's lead, David Der-wei Wang demonstrated the nuanced diversity within the anti-Communist novels under political constraints, and suggested these works were the products of real trauma and the lived experience of the exiled mainlanders during the 1950s.⁶⁰² There was also Chiu Kuei-feng's important interpolation, suggesting that female writers enjoyed unprecedented opportunities for

⁵⁹⁹ The figures for the individuals and social organizations came from the newspaper reports promoting the movement. They might be bloated for propaganda purposes. For a rather complete list of newspaper articles relating to the cultural cleansing movement, see Hu Fang-chi 胡芳琪, "Yijiuwuling niandai Taiwan fangong wenyi lunshu yanjiu" 一九五〇年代臺灣反共文藝論述研究 [A study of the anti-Communist literature in Taiwan during the 1950s] (Master's Thesis, Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University, Institute of Taiwan Literature, 2007), 188-189. Also see Hsueh Hua-yuan 薛化元, *Zhanhou Taiwan lishi yuelan* 戰後台灣歷史閱覽 [An overview of Taiwan's post-war history] (Taipei: Wunan tushu chubanshe, 2010), 127-128.

⁶⁰⁰ Yeh Shih-tao, *Taiwan wenxue shigang*, 88-89; Peng Jui-chin, *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong sishinian*, 75-76. A conservative estimate put the number of writers from 1,500 to 2,000 and the total words produced around 70 million. See David Der-wei Wang, "Yizhong shichu de wenxue?" 147-148.

⁶⁰¹ Chi suggests that Taiwan's anti-Communist literature should be considered a "prologue" (序曲) of China's scar literature during the second half of the 20th century. Chi Pang-yuan 齊邦媛, *Qianian zhilai* 千年之淚 [Tears of one thousand year] (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1990), 29-48.

⁶⁰² David Der-wei Yang, "Yizhong shichu de wenxue?" 148-156.

publication and gained wide recognition for their works during this period. Viewed from a feminist perspective, the 1950s was not a desolate cultural wasteland. Instead, it marked the dawn of a golden age for women writers, and the articulation of feminine subjectivities in post-war Taiwan.⁶⁰³ Ying Feng-huang, on the other hand, cautioned against overemphasizing the role played by the KMT state at the expense of the networks and associations formed by the writers themselves. Like Chi, Wang, and Chiu, Ying considered the 1950s to be an exuberant and productive era despite official censorship. Inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital/field/habitus, she proposed a triangular analytical scheme for understanding literary production that shed light on the interplay between the KMT party apparatus, the popular press, and academia.⁶⁰⁴

While the author tends to agree with Chi, Wang, Chiu, and Ying, who have tried to offer various assessments of anti-Communist literature against their proper historical times and political circumstances, he would like to take the level of investigation one step further. By focusing on the different representations of events during and following the Chinese civil war, this chapter provides a diachronic analysis, which examines how the same subject matter was portrayed in texts produced in different historical periods. A broad reading of the notable anti-Communist novels produced during the 1950s clearly indicates that the massive population movement in the aftermath of the Chinese civil war was relatively insignificant in their narrative construction. Given that the collective experience of suffering and dislocation endured during the course of the exodus—war, social chaos, sense of deprivation, separation from loved ones...etc.—could become powerful ammunition to fire up the anti-Communist sentiments, it is striking that these accounts appeared sparingly in the literary texts produced during the ROC's first ten years in Taiwan, and in subsequent decades until the late-1980s. Rather, the anti-

⁶⁰³ Chiu Kuei-fen 邱貴芬, "Cong zhanhou chuqi nuzuoia de chuanguozuo tan Taiwan wenxue shi de xushu" 從戰後初期女作家的創作談台灣文學史的敘述 [A description of the Taiwanese literary discourse from the perspective of female writers in post-war Taiwan] *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 [Chung-wai literary monthly] 29:2 (2000): 313-335. For more on the life and career of the prominent female writers in early post-war Taiwan, see Ying Feng-huang 應鳳凰, *Wenxue fenghua: zhanhou chuqi shisan wei zhuming nuzuoia* 文學風華：戰後初期 13 著名女作家 [Literary carnival: thirteen famous female writers in early post-war Taiwan] (Taipei: Weixiu zixun keji, 2007).

⁶⁰⁴ Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai Taiwan wenxue lunji*, 9-13; Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai wenxue chubun xianying* 五 0 年代文學出版顯影 [Facsimiles of the literary publications in the 50s] (Taipei County, Banciao: Cultural Affairs Bureau of Taipei County, 2006), 283-287.

Communist writings generally concentrated on two major themes. First, political upheavals, communal conflicts, and social malaise during the anti-Japanese war (or the entire first half of the 20th century) that set the stage for the CCP's rise to power. Second, how mainland China, or regions under the control of the CCP during the anti-Japanese war became hell on earth under a tyrannical land reform regime and endless class struggles that saw the degradation of humanity, tattering of the social fabric, and the eradication of time-honoured values.

Chen Chi-ying's *The Story of Di Village* (1951) is a good example.⁶⁰⁵ The novel is considered an important founding text of the anti-Communist genre in Taiwan. *The Story of Di Village* describes communal relations in an anonymous village in north China. The book illustrates how a small rural community weathered major famines and wars from the turn of the 20th century to the eve of the Chinese Communist victory. The protagonist of the story is an impoverished and illiterate village fool named "Stupid Kid Chang" (傻常順兒). Chang was bullied, despised, and treated as a social pariah by other villagers throughout his life, before the arrival of the Chinese Communists. When the CCP "liberated" his community, the Communist cadres implemented the policy of "turning upside down" (翻身). Chang, the person of the lowest social status, was made the head of Di village. The result of the change was devastating. The latter part of the book depicts a carnival of fratricide under the Communist reign of terror, leading to the demise of Stupid Kid Chang's former tormentors. The story ends with a spine chilling finale of Chang himself being buried alive by vindictive villagers led by the Communist cadres, who turned against Chang.⁶⁰⁶ In a similar fashion, Chiang Kuei's critically

⁶⁰⁵ *The Story of Di Village* began as a serialized novel in *Ziyou zhongguo* magazine from April to October 1950. The book length version was first published in 1951 by Chen's own publishing company. The popularity of the novel in the early 1950s was in large part due to Chen's role as a leading figure of the CLA, hence official promotion and financial support. However, the book's vivid and realist portrayal of a large number of colourful characters against the backdrop of real historical events also contributed to its success. See Chen Chi-ying 陳紀滢, *Dicun zhuan* 荻村傳 [The story of Di village], 3rd edition, (Taipei: Chongguang wenyi chubanshe, 1955), 211.

⁶⁰⁶ Chen also wrote three other anti-Communist novels during the 1950s. These focused on different themes and historical periods—*Chidi* 赤地 [Red land] (1955), *Huaxia banian* 華夏八年 [The experience of Hua and Xia families during the Anti-Japanese War] (1957), and *Jiayuner xianchuan* 賈雲兒前傳 [The early life of Jiayuner] (1960). The mainlander exodus to Taiwan was mentioned in passing only in the third.

acclaimed *Whirlwind*⁶⁰⁷ (1957) and Ssuma Chung-yuan's *Barren Land*⁶⁰⁸ (1961) also describe the developments in rural communities that contributed to the CCP's rise to power, though with different narrative style and writing technique. Meanwhile, Pan Jen-mu's *Cousin Lianyi* (1952)⁶⁰⁹ and Wang Lan's *Blue and Black* (1958)⁶¹⁰ reveal the sinister and destructive nature of the Chinese Communists through the lives of young students. The motif of the former is the exuberance and idealism of youth misguided and exploited by the CCP. The latter focuses on the convoluted romantic relationships among three young protagonists in war and revolution. In both *Cousin Lianyi* and *Blue and Black*, the core of the narrative focuses on events during the anti-Japanese war. The relocation to Taiwan is only mentioned in passing at the end.

Other notable anti-Communist novels written and published during the 1950s include Chu Hsi-ning's *The Love of Big Torch* (1952), Pan Lei's *The Red River Trilogy* (1952), Po Yang's *Locust Flying Southeast* (1953), Eileen Chang's *Rice Sprout Song* (1954), and Peng Ko's *Fallen Moon* (1956).⁶¹¹ While these works have been praised for their innovative writing style and literary value, it is interesting to note that their plot lines also lack any substantial discussion of the migrant experience between 1948 and

⁶⁰⁷ *Whirlwind* was completed in 1952. However, due to the lack of official support, it was not published until 1957. Chiang Kuei used his own life-savings to publish about 500 copies of the book. Despite its humble beginning, *Whirlwind* quickly received the accolades of prominent intellectuals such as Hu Shih and C. T. Hsia. The latter praised Chiang in his renowned seminal work on modern Chinese literature *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (1961). See Chiang Kuei 姜貴, *Xuanfeng 旋風* [Whirlwind] (Taipei: Jiuge chubanshe, 1999), 574-579.

⁶⁰⁸ *Barren Land* was written in 1953. The manuscript went through a few revisions. The text was not published until the early 1960s. See Ssuma Chung-yuan 司馬中原, *Huangyuan 荒原* [Barren land], 12th edition, (Taipei: Huangguan, 1991); Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai Taiwan wenxue lunji*, 64-65.

⁶⁰⁹ *Cousin Lianyi* won the CLA annual literary award in 1952. Only a small number of the original texts were in circulation. In 1985, a reprint edition was published with a new preface by Pan. See Pan Jen-mu 潘人木, *Lianyi biaomei 漣漪表妹* [Cousin Lianyi] (Taipei: Chun wenxue chubanshe, 1985), 1-13.

⁶¹⁰ Wang Lan's magnum opus is one of the bestselling romance epics in post-war Taiwan. The story portrays the lives of young students and intellectuals during the anti-Japanese war. Since the novel first appeared in 1958, there were numerous adaptations, including theatrical performances, a movie, and a TV drama series. See Wang Lan 王藍, *Lan yu hei 藍與黑* [Blue and black] (Taipei: Chun wenxue chubanshe, 1979).

⁶¹¹ See Chu Hsi-ning 朱西甯, *Dahuoju de ai 大火炬的愛* [The love of big torch] (Taipei: Chongguang wenyi, 1952); Pan Lei 潘壘, *Honghe sanbu qu 紅河三部曲* [The red river trilogy] (Taipei: Baofengyu she, 1952); Eileen Chang 張愛玲, *Yangge 秧歌* [Rice sprout song] (Hong Kong: Jinri shijie she, 1954); Peng Ko 彭歌, *Luoyue 落月* [Fallen moon] (Taipei: Zhiyou zhongguo chubanshe, 1956). For Po Yang's work, see Ying Feng-huang 應鳳凰, "Cong huangchong dongnan fei dao Yiyu: xunzhao Kuo Yi-tung de wenxue shi weizhi" 從《蝗蟲東南飛》到《異域》：尋找郭衣洞的文學史位置 [From *Locusts Fly Southeast* to *Alien Land*: seeking Kuo Yi-tung's position in literary history], *Quanguo xinshu zixun yuekan* 全國新書資訊月刊 [New books monthly] 113 (2008): 10-21.

1955. Chu's book is comprised of short stories, mostly about life in the military during the war against Japan. Only two stories are about army life in Taiwan during the early 1950s, and the great retreat in 1949 does not appear to carry any weight or significant meaning in the narratives. Pan's novel is a semi-autobiographical account about the tragic life of a young overseas Chinese, who left Vietnam for China and enlisted in the KMT army to fight the Japanese. The hero of the story experienced a harsh life in wartime China, and was persecuted by the Vietnamese Communists when he returned. Po's *Locust Flying Southeast* depicts the atrocities committed by Soviet troops in Manchuria at the end of World War II, while internationally acclaimed writer Eileen Chang's *Rice Sprout Song* describes the hunger and suffering of ordinary peasants in south China as a result of the CCP's land reform during the early 1950s.⁶¹² Peng Ko's *Fallen Moon* consists of reflections by a famous Chinese opera performer recounting her acting career, failed marriage, and participation in espionage during the war.

It should be noted here that sporadic accounts of the exodus can be found in the literary texts produced during the 1950s, such as articles in the arts and literature section of *Zhongyang ribao* and literary magazines such as *Changliu*. In these writings, there are some descriptions of the hardship endured when leaving China for Taiwan. However, these are often presented with a heavy dose of KMT anti-Communist ideology.⁶¹³ An important point is that these are exceptions rather than the norm. What we see much more often with the publications in the 1950s, besides the anti-Communist novels mentioned

⁶¹² Eileen Chang (1920-1995) is one of the most prolific and celebrated female writers in 20th century China. Her writings during the late 1940s depicting life in Japanese occupied Shanghai and Hong Kong have been praised by different generations of literary critics. Chang left Communist China in 1952, and worked for the United States Information Services in Hong Kong before settling in the United States in 1955. During her stint in Hong Kong, she published *Rice Sprouting Song* and *Naked Earth* in 1954, the only two anti-Communist novels she wrote. While the former was published in Taiwan, the latter was banned for political reasons. David Der-wei Wang 王德威, "Chongdu Chang Ai-ling de *Yangge* he *Chidi zhi lian*" 重讀張愛玲的《秧歌》和《赤地之戀》 [Re-reading Eileen Chang's *The Rice Sprout Song* and *Naked Earth*], in *Yuedu Chang Ai-ling: Chang Ai-ling guoji yantaohui lunwen ji* 閱讀張愛玲: 張愛玲國際研討會論文集 [Reading Eileen Chang: an anthology of the international conference on Eileen Chang], (ed.) Yang Tse 楊澤 (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing Company, 1999), 138-144.

⁶¹³ See Chi Fan 豈凡, "Shei shi nanbing shi nushen" 誰識男兵是女身 [Who knows that this male soldier is a girl], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 5, 1950, 6; Ai Wen 艾雯, "Zhe yi nian" 這一年 [This past year], *ibid.*, February 24, 1950, 6; Fu Hung-liao 傅紅蓼, "Wo zenyang taochu Shanghai" 我怎樣逃出上海 [How I escaped from Shanghai], *Changliu* 4:5 (1951): 24-25.

above, are fictitious “insider reports” (內幕報導) on mass suffering, famines, massacres, corruption, nepotism, and sexual perversions in Communist China.⁶¹⁴

Three previous chapters have offered important clues as to why the exiled mainlanders had written so little about the great exodus and events in the Chinese civil war from the 1950s to the 1980s. As “reluctant sojourners” in the 1950s, many thought a final showdown between the KMT and the CCP would eventually take place and the prospects of return were real with the end of the civil war, one way or the other. Thus, the forced relocation to Taiwan was no different than their exile in other parts of China during the war against Japan. The great migration between 1948 and 1955 constituted a harrowing refugee experience for many, but it did not hold any special meaning for the civil war migrants at the time. The mainland literary scholars assisted the exiled KMT to produce a large number of anti-Communist works for a war that never came. When the hopes for return started to fade in the 1960s and the 1970s, a profound sense of loss and nostalgia began to set in. The literary texts and cultural activities centring on the mainlanders’ hometowns and provinces in China began to proliferate at the expense of other subject matters. The process went on until the actual return in the late 1980s, which shattered idealistic images of an “imagined homeland” and changed how the mainlanders viewed themselves in relation to China and Taiwan.

Nonetheless, to better understand why *waishengren* refrained from writing about the great migration until the floodgate was finally opened in the late-1980s—with the lifting of martial law and the heartbreaking return of the mainlanders—it is important to examine how the great retreat of 1949 was portrayed in the official KMT propaganda. With strict censorship laws and the docile compliance of leading literary scholars/artists,

⁶¹⁴ These fabricated “insider reports” about what happened in China under the Communist rule filled the pages of *Zhongyang ribao* during the early 1950s. For examples, see “Tiemu Shanghai: puyi doushi jian die” 鐵幕上海：僕役都是間諜 [Shanghai in the iron curtain: the servants are all spies], *Zhongyang ribao*, January 17, 1950, 2; Yeh Jen 野人, “Subei sharen ye qianli xue liuhong” 蘇北殺人夜千里血流紅 [After a night of killing in northern Jiangsu, the red blood flows thousands of miles], *ibid.*, January 19, 1950, 8; “Dongbei zhenxiang: renmin bei cansha jiaoshi zao pohai” 東北真相：人民被殘殺教士遭迫害 [The truth in Manchuria: people were butchered and the priest were purged], *ibid.*, February 11, 1950, 2; “Dalu chongman chise kongbu fei ziyi jiti tusha” 大陸充滿赤色恐怖匪恣意集體屠殺 [Mainland China is filled with red terror, and the bandits went on a killing spree], *ibid.*, May 30 1951, 3; “Fei nuesha huijiatu yiyong qiwanyu ren” 匪虐殺回教徒已有七萬餘人 [Seventy thousand Muslims were already killed by the Communist bandits], *ibid.*, November 3, 1951, 1; “Dalu jinnian dalu xue gongfei jinxing datusha” 大陸今年大流血共匪進行大屠殺 [Mainland China saw massive bloodshed this year with Communist bandits’ massacre], *ibid.*, January 9, 1952, 1.

one can posit that the official representation of historical events exerted great influence on popular discourse and civilian publications before democratization.⁶¹⁵ As mentioned, the events leading to the ROC's collapse on the mainland had been painful, shocking, and utterly demoralizing for the KMT elites who escaped to the Taiwan. Consequently, they tried to turn the monumental failure in China and the claustrophobia of being confined to a small island with meagre resources into a self-fulfilling prophecy for final victory. This overriding tendency dominated the official representations of the events during and following the Chinese civil war for decades to come.

For the KMT leaders, the defeat and the subsequent relocation to Taiwan represented a rite of passage before the glorious crusade against Communism could be won. This “recovery nationalism” (中興復國) was articulated by a series of political slogans. For example, Chiang's famous motto: “one year preparation, counter-offensive in the second year, mop-up operation in the third, mission accomplished in five years.” There were also other catchphrases promoted by the KMT through its powerful propaganda apparatus comprised of radio broadcasts, the press, and the compulsory public education system. These included lines such as “never forget the lesson of Ju”⁶¹⁶ (毋忘在莒), “wash off the shame and restore the nation” (雪恥復國), and “give back my rivers and mountains” (還我河山).⁶¹⁷ Under the rubric of this recovery nationalism ideology, the chaotic mass flight was euphemized in military terms such as “retreat” (撤退) and “displacement” (轉進), or encapsulated in bureaucratic language like “the

⁶¹⁵ For the hegemonic influence of the KMT official discourse in the popular sentiment of post-war Taiwan, see Lin Kuo-hsien, “Zhanzheng yu xuanchuan,” 65-67.

⁶¹⁶ The lesson of Ju (莒) refers to the restoration of the Kingdom of Qi (齊) during the Warring States Period (475-221 BC) in China. In 284 BC, the Kingdom of Qi was invaded by several neighbouring countries, and were on the verge of annihilation with only two cities holding out. Ju was one of the cities. At the last moment, a Qi nobleman named Tian Dan (田單, ??-??) led the remaining Qi forces in successfully defending the two cities. Building on his victories, Tian eventually drove out the invaders and restored the Kingdom of Qi. Chiang Kai-shek and his propagandists used the story as an allegory for the KMT's final triumph over the CCP.

⁶¹⁷ For more on the KMT's major political slogans in post-war Taiwan, see Li Hsiao-feng et al., “Jiuwei de fuhao—cong 「zhengzhi biaoowu」 tuxiang kang liang Jiang zhengzhi,” 2-39. For research on the propaganda apparatus and the method of dissemination, see Lin Kuo-hsien 林果顯, “Richang shenghuo zhong de fangong zhishi jiangou—yi 《guangbo zazhi》 wei zhongxin (1952-1956)” 日常生活中的反共知識建構—以《廣播雜誌》為中心 (1952-1956) [Constructing anti-Communist ideology in daily life: a study of the *Radio Broadcasting Magazine*, 1952-1956], *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan* 14 (2007): 181-213; Lin Kuo-hsien, “Zhanzheng yu xuanchuan,” 45-71.

relocation of the Central Government” (中央政府播遷來台). More importantly, instead of defeat and mass exodus, the heroic last stance against swarms of PLA troops constituted KMT propagandists’ ideal image of the events that transpired during 1949. This is best illustrated by “the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan,” a fabricated resistance story par excellence canonized by the KMT propagandists in Taiwan during the early 1950s.

“The five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan” (太原五百完人) depicts the heroic last stand of some five hundred civil servants and policemen who committed suicide when Taiyuan, the capital city of Shanxi Province, fell into the hands of the Chinese Communist forces on April 24, 1949. The source of the story came from Yan Hsi-shan (閻錫山, 1883-1960), the prominent statesman/warlord who had dominated Shanxi politics in the first half of the 20th century since the 1911 Revolution. Yan and his supporters were driven out by the CCP in 1949.⁶¹⁸ Taiyuan was one of the largest commercial, industrial, and mining centres in north China and a major hub for the country’s railway system. The fate of the civil war campaign in the north thus hinged upon taking the city. The Communist forces laid siege to Taiyuan and its surrounding area after winning a series of battles against Yan’s provincial troops and his Nationalist allies in the latter half of 1948. After months of preparation, the PLA undertook a massive campaign to capture Taiyuan in early 1949. When the defensive situation became hopeless, Yan boarded a plane to safety in the Nationalist capital Nanjing, and proceeded to take command of the battle from there through sporadic cable relays, and with diminishing success. Before losing all communications with the beleaguered city in late April, Yan asserted that he received a final telegram sent by a group of five hundred civil servants in the Shanxi Provincial Government who vowed to fight to the bitter end, commit suicide, and then burn their own bodies.⁶¹⁹ Then, according to the “testimonies”

⁶¹⁸ Yan was forced to leave Shanxi briefly because he fought against Chiang Kai-shek in the Central Plain War (中原大戰) in 1930. However, he returned soon after an agreement reached with the latter. For more on Yan’s career in Shanxi, see Donald Gillian, *Warlord: Yan Hsi-shan in Shansi Province* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967).

⁶¹⁹ These individuals were led by Yan’s own deputy provincial governor Liang Hua-chih (梁化之, 1906-1949), the head of the special police force Hsu Tuan (徐端, ??-1949), the chief of Shanxi Police Bureau Shih Tse-cheng (師則程, 1903-1949), and the director of Shanxi Women’s Association Yan Hui-ching (閻慧卿, 1910-1949). See “Taiyuan wubai wanren chengren jingguo” 太原五百完人成仁經過 [The last stand

given by a few anonymous “survivors,” who managed to break out of Taiyuan and reach the nation’s capital a month later, Yan presented the Nationalist authorities in Nanjing with a moving story of how these courageous individuals met their heroic end.⁶²⁰

Little evidence exists to tell us Yan’s motive in telling the story. Nonetheless, two conclusions can be reached based on reasonable conjecture. First, from Yan’s perspective, the idea that many of his subordinates fought the CCP until their last dying breath, then committed suicide by self-poisoning and self-immolation might help alleviate harsh criticism for the loss of his own province. After all, Yan abandoned his troops and flew to safety before the PLA launched the final coup de grâce on his beleaguered provincial stronghold. Second, after losing his army and sphere of influence, Yan needed to regain political support and restore his reputation amidst the elite power struggle in the nation’s capital. The jostle for position became apparent towards the end of the civil war, especially in the wake of Chiang Kai-shek’s temporary “retirement” from national politics in late January 1949. After leaving Shanxi, Yan became the head of the Executive Yuan (行政院) and served as the minister of defence in the crumbling Nationalist government from June 1949 to March 1950, both were important positions of power and prestige. Nonetheless, Yan’s glorious days in giddy heights proved to be short-lived. Without his army, supporters, and territorial base, Yan was quickly squeezed out by Chiang Kai-shek, when the latter re-asserted power in Taiwan in early 1950. Yan then went into virtual retirement, serving only in ceremonial posts for the government.⁶²¹

While Yan withdrew from politics in Taiwan, his story was picked up by the exiled KMT leaders, and his dead followers were promoted in earnest as a role model to be emulated by the entire nation.⁶²² With the Nationalist propaganda machine behind it,

of the five hundred martyrs in Taiyuan], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 19, 1951, 5. Liang Hua-chih was also known as Liang Tun-hou (梁敦厚). He had worked as the personal secretary of Yan Hsi-shan and later became his deputy during the civil war. Yan Hui-ching was the younger sister of Yan Hsi-shan. For individual biographies of the five hundred martyrs, see Shanxi wenxian she 山西文獻社, *Taiyuan wubai wanren chengren sanshi zhounian jinian* 太原五百完人成仁三十周年紀念 [Commemorating the 30th anniversary of the five hundred martyrs in Taiyuan] (Taipei: Shanxi wenxian she, 1979), 128-132, 141-146.

⁶²⁰ Shanxi wenxian she, *Taiyuan wubai wanren*, 134.

⁶²¹ For events following Chiang Kai-shek’s third “retirement” from the national politics and his return to power in Taiwan, see Lin Tung-fa, *Yijiusijiu da chetui*, 71-151. For the re-organization of government and reshuffling of ministerial positions, see *ibid.*, 153-196.

⁶²² The initial decision to commemorate the five hundred martyrs was made by the ROC state in the second half of 1949. However, the plan could not be carried out until the government relocated to Taiwan. See Shanxi wenxian she, *Taiyuan wubai wanren chengren sanshi zhounian jinian*, 136-137.

the five hundred civil servants and policemen who died in Taiyuan were quickly elevated to the status of national martyrs; their noble sacrifices consecrated in the records of KMT official history. In September 13, 1950, Chiang Kai-shek issued an executive order as the reigning president of the ROC, making the study and propagation of the five hundred martyrs into law.⁶²³ At the same time, a magnificent mausoleum was constructed in their honour in Yuanshan (圓山), on the scenic northern hills overlooking the capital city Taipei.⁶²⁴ On February 19, 1951, Chiang Kai-shek and the core of the Nationalist leadership attended the mausoleum's inauguration ceremony, paid their ritual respect, and wrote public eulogies printed in the newspapers, extolling the heroic deeds of the five hundred brave souls who chose death over surrender to the wicked Communists.⁶²⁵ Since then, the Taipei City Government and the Shanxi Native Place Association hosted similar commemorative ceremonies at Yuanshan every year in April with public funds. These ceremonies lasted well into the 1980s.⁶²⁶ In 1970, the five hundred martyrs were bestowed the highest honour in the annals of ROC history when they were inducted into the National Hall for Revolutionary Martyrs (國民革命忠烈祠). More importantly, the story was written into grade school textbooks. The five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan appeared in the textbooks from 1955 to 1961. The story was taken out between 1962 and

⁶²³ *Taiyuan wubai wanren chengren sanshi zhounian jinian*, 2.

⁶²⁴ “Yuanshan jin juxing gongji zhaoyao wubai wanren hun” 圓山今舉行公祭招搖五百完人魂 [A public memorial service was held on behalf of the five hundred martyrs today extolling the souls of five hundred martyrs], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 19, 1951, 1. “Yuanshan jin juxing gongji zhaoyao wubai wanren hun, 1; Chiao Peng-shu 喬朋書, “Liang Hua-chih he Taiyuan wubai wanren lizan: wei Taiyuan wubai wanren zhong luocheng dianli zuo” 梁化之和五百完人禮讚—為太原五百完人塚落成典禮作 [A eulogy of Liang Hua-chih and the five hundred martyrs written for the occasion of the opening ceremony for the five hundred martyrs' mausoleum], *ibid.*, February 18, 1951, 4.

⁶²⁵ “Zhongshu ji kejie dangpai renshi zuo gongji wubai wanren” 中樞暨各界黨派人士昨公祭晉五百完人 [The party central and members from various parties paid tribute to Shanxi's five hundred martyrs yesterday], *ibid.*, February 21, 1951, 1.

⁶²⁶ See “Taiyuan wubai wanren ming xunnan wuzhou nian gejie jiang juxing gongji” 太原五百完人明殉難五周年各界將舉行公祭 [Public memorial service for the 5th anniversary of the five hundred martyrs in Taiyuan], *Central Zhongyang riba*, April 23, 1954, 1; “Taisheng gejie jin ji Taiyuan wubai wanren” 臺省各界今祭太原五百完人 [Taiwan mourned the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan today], *ibid.*, April 24, 1966, 3; “Gegjie zuotian gongji Taiyuan wubai wanren” 各界昨天公祭太原五百完人 [Different social circles held public memorial service for the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan yesterday], *ibid.*, April 26, 1976, 3; “Beishi gejie gongji Taiyuan wubai wanren” 北市各界公祭太原五百完人 [Taipei's social circles held memorial services for the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan], *ibid.*, April 24, 1983, 7; “Taiyuan wubai wanren chengren sanshiba nian gejie zuo gongji zhuisi” 太原五百完人成仁三十八年各界昨公祭追思 [Different social circles held memorial services for the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan upon the 38th anniversary of their martyrdom], *ibid.*, April 25, 1987, 6.

1981, only to be re-inserted after 1982.⁶²⁷ Children in Taiwan had to memorize and recite the heroic sacrifices of the five hundred martyrs, and learn to fight Communism with the same vigor and dedication. Consequently, in Taiwan, the story became a widely known episode in the Chinese civil war, which many believed to be true until the 1980s.

The myth of the five hundred martyrs has been deconstructed nowadays. In 1983, a local historian in mainland China named Liu Cunshan (刘存善) came across a commemorative volume for the Taiyuan martyrs compiled by the Shanxi Native Place Association in 1979.⁶²⁸ Intrigued by the legend, he embarked on a fact-finding trip to investigate the truth behind the story. After five years of exhaustive archival research and numerous personal interviews, Liu concluded that only 46 government officials and police officers committed suicide when Taiyuan fell on April 24, 1949. Among these 46 individuals, only 18 were on the list of the enshrined martyrs in Taiwan.⁶²⁹ Furthermore, while Yan might have made up most of the names on the original list, at least 70 of the “martyrs” were identified either through documentary sources, or the testimony of surviving relatives. Among these, seven were still alive, and doing quite well. They were interviewed by Liu in the late 1980s. Others included the eighteen individuals who died in battle, eight executed by the CCP, and three were actually killed by Yan’s own forces. Among the 70 identified “martyrs,” there were also a number of double entries. The same person died twice on Yan’s list. In addition, a large number of these suspected “martyrs” apparently died due to other reasons, or simply vanished without a trace during the civil war.⁶³⁰ A recently published book in Taiwan speculates that the nameless five hundred martyrs might be Japanese mercenaries, who accepted high salaries in China after 1945, serving as advisors and officers, assisting Yan’s effort in fighting the Chinese Communists. However, the book provides little substantial evidence to back up the claim.

⁶²⁷ For more, see Chang Shih-ying 張世瑛, “Taiyuan wubai wanren: yiduan guogong lishi de xiangxiang yu suzao” 太原五百完人：一段國共歷史的想像與塑造 [The five hundred martyrs: imagining and inventing an event in the Chinese civil war], in *Yijiusiji nian: Zhongguo de guanjian niandai xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 一九四九年：中國的關鍵年代學術討論會論文集 [1949: Symposium on a crucial year in China], (ed.) Ho Chih-lin 何智霖 (Taipei County, Hsintien City: Academia Historica, 2000), 627-633.

⁶²⁸ See Shanxi wenxian she, *Taiyuan wubai wanren chengren sanshi zhounian jinian*.

⁶²⁹ Liu Cunshan 刘存善, “Taiyuan wubai wanren diaocha baogao” 太原五百完人调查报告 [An investigative report of the five hundred martyrs of Taiyuan], *Shanxi wenshi zilao* 山西文史资料 [Shanxi literary and historical materials] 60 (1988): 122-128.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 132-142.

The argument is based on two pieces of circumstantial evidence. First, historical records show that there were a considerable number of Japanese military personnel working in Yan's provincial army before the Taiyuan campaign. Second, defeated Japanese troops during the Pacific War had a tendency to commit mass suicide.⁶³¹

Whether or not the five hundred martyrs were Japanese soldiers is beside the point. Although a few of Yan's high-ranking officials and a family member did kill themselves and asked subordinates to burn their bodies when the CCP entered the city, the engaging tale of the five hundred martyrs putting up fierce resistance against hordes of PLA troops proves to be nothing more than Yan's own figment of imagination. Chang Shih-ying, the first historian to examine the legend from the perspective of state propaganda and collective memory in Taiwan, gives two plausible reasons why the story was chosen over the tens of thousands of KMT soldiers and officers who died on the battlefields in China against the CCP. First, they were exceptional because most were low-ranking civil servants—office clerks, policemen, and firefighters. While it was the duty of enlisted men to fight and die on the field, the civil servants were not expected to make the same sacrifice. Second, the tale of Taiyuan martyrs illustrates one of the ways in which KMT leaders' dealt with provincial identities and regionalism among *waishengren* as mentioned in the previous chapter. Those who fought and died in the Taiyuan campaign did not give their lives for Chiang Kai-shek, the KMT state in Nanjing, or "the nation." They were struggling to maintain Yan's provincial regime and Shanxi elites' regional interests, which were often at odds with Chiang's government in Nanjing. By conferring upon them the status of national martyrs and by performing ritual ceremonies in their honour over the years, the KMT propagandists hoped to downplay regionalism and dispel the ambiguity of what they really died for.⁶³²

The effort in promoting, commemorating, and canonizing a fabricated story of resistance over a span of decades also demonstrates Nationalist leaders' attempt to control and manipulate historical memory for political purposes. Under the rubric of anti-

⁶³¹ Yang Yi-hsiang 楊怡祥 and Yang Hung-ju 楊鴻儒, *Meishu shang de yinghua—shenmi de jiamian budui yu* 「Taiyuan wuban wanren」 *zhenxiang* 梅樹上的櫻花—神秘的假面部隊與「太原五百完人」真相 [The cherry flowers on plum trees—secret army and the truth about "the five hundred martyrs in Taiyuan"] (Taipei: Yuanshen guan, 2009).

⁶³² Chang Shih-ying, "Taiyuan wubai wanren," 626- 627.

Communism and recovery nationalism, what Chiang and the KMT elites wanted people (especially the exiled population) to remember about the last days of the Chinese civil war was a triumph of human spirit against the dark forces of Communism, not a demoralizing defeat followed by a chaotic and panicky mass flight. Heroic deeds of self-sacrifice embodied in the story of the five hundred martyrs—a group of anti-Communist patriots fighting with great determination even in the face of ineluctable destruction—came to represent the official KMT interpretation of the civil war. This is clearly stated in one of the earliest official eulogies written for the five hundred martyrs:

When the Communist forces swept through north China, when the entire nation wavered and wanted to negotiate [with the CCP], when those so-called “liberals” [minzhu renshi] joined [the CCP], and when high officials and wealthy people fled overseas, they [the five hundred martyrs] never gave up the anti-Communist belief. They sacrificed their lives for the entire nation. These are such admirable deeds!⁶³³

The official KMT interpretation of the civil war was intimately tied to its legitimacy to rule as an authoritarian one-party state on the island. Democracy was a luxury that had to be deferred until the final victory against the CCP was won, and China was united under the banner of the KMT. Strict adherence to this interpretation made the articulation of alternative discourse rather difficult before democratization. Rigid censorship laws, an oppressive military/police apparatus, and compliant intellectuals meant that the state narrative dominated much of the writings and publications of the events leading to, or following the CCP victory in mainland China before the late 1980s. Nevertheless, there were some important exceptions. The next section introduces two exceedingly popular literary texts in post-war Taiwan. One was written in the 1960s and the other one produced in the late 1970s and early 80s. These two works contain plot lines that present a challenge to the KMT’s interpretation of the Chinese civil war and the great retreat of 1949. They represent an important shift from a focus on the state, recovery nationalism, and anti-Communist ideology to the “people.” For this reason, they could be considered

⁶³³ Li Keng 力耕, “Diao Taiyuan wubai wanren zhong” 弔太原五百完人塚 [A eulogy for Taiyuan five hundred martyr’s mausoleum], *Zhongyang ribao*, February 15, 1951, 3.

important precursors to the rise of popular discourse on the exodus in the late 1980s and early 90s.

5.4 Precursors: *Alien Land* and *Miscellanies of a Foot Soldier*

When literary historians examine texts produced in Taiwan during the two decades that followed the 1950s, they focus on two main topics—the emergence of “modern literature”⁶³⁴ in the 1960s and the debate surrounding the “Folk Literature Movement” (鄉土文學運動) in the 1970s.⁶³⁵ Collectively, these works demonstrate how literary and cultural production corresponded to the social and economic transformations engendered by Taiwan’s economic take-off, as well as the rise of a younger generation of mainlander and Taiwanese writers, who espoused sentiments and mentalities that were different from their parents.⁶³⁶ Focusing on the experience of the exiled mainlander and the theme of narrating the exodus, this section offers an alternative perspective in studying literary texts produced under the same period. The focal point of the discussion is centred on two bestsellers written by two first generation mainlander authors, one in the 1960s and the other one in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The first is an anti-Communist novel that tells the heart-wrenching story of the KMT guerrilla forces fighting in the border region of China, Burma, and Thailand during the 1950s—Po Yang’s *Alien Land* (1961). The second is the memoir of a low-ranking KMT soldier that foreshadowed the “veteran’s literature” (老兵文學) in Taiwan during the 1980s and 1990s—Chang To-wu’s five-volume works *Miscellanies of a Foot Soldier* (1976, 1978, 1978, 1979, 1981).

⁶³⁴ For a discussion of the “modern literature” in Taiwan during the 1960s, refer back to the beginning of Chapter 4.

⁶³⁵ For more on the emergence of the Folk Literature Movement and indigenization, refer back to the discussion in Chapter 1. Also see Yeh Shih-tao, *Taiwan wenxue shigang*, 137-165; Peng Jui-chin, *Taiwan xin wenxue yundong sishinian*, 149-194.

⁶³⁶ For an excellent essay on this, see Chiu Kuei-fen 邱貴芬, “Fanyi qudong xia de Taiwan wenxue shengchan—1960-1980 xiandai pai yu xiangtu wenxue de bianzheng” 翻譯驅動下的臺灣文學生產—1960-1980 現代派與鄉土文學的辯證 [Literary production in Taiwan propelled by translation—the dialectic between the modernist literature and the folk literature, 1960-1980], in *Taiwan xiaoshuo shilun* 臺灣小說史論 [Essays on Taiwan literary history] Chen Chien-chung 陳建忠 et al. (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 2007), 197-273.

Po Yang (柏楊, 1920-2008) is the pen name of Kuo Yi-tung⁶³⁷ (郭衣洞). Po was a prolific writer, a popular historian, an incisive and controversial political commentator, and a renowned human rights advocate in Taiwan, who possessed a loyal following among Chinese readers around the world. His scathing criticism of the “dark side” of Chinese culture in *The Ugly Chinese* (1985) led to heated debate in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Chinese overseas, and created quite a stir in mainland China in 1986.⁶³⁸ The book was eventually banned by the PRC in the aftermath of the Tiananmen protest. Po came from a well-to-do landlord/merchant family in Henan (河南) Province. Prompted by both patriotic fervor and an unhappy childhood under a dominating father and heroin-addicted stepmother, he left high school to join the army when the war against Japan broke out in 1937.⁶³⁹ Po received training in the elite KMT Three People’s Principles Youth Corps⁶⁴⁰ (三民主義青年團). However, his rebellious tendency caused numerous problems with authority. He bounced around different KMT units before leaving the service and forged a fake identity in order to enroll in the exiled Northeast University (東北大學) in Chongqing. Upon graduating from university, Po returned home, then travelled to Manchuria, Beijing, and Shanghai. He tried to become a journalist in all these places, but each attempt to launch a career was cut short by the fall of the three cities during the civil war. At his last stop in Shanghai, Po was recruited by the KMT Navy, and went to Taiwan in early 1949.

In Taiwan, Po’s non-conformist views and outspoken manner soon landed him in trouble. Shortly after arriving on the island, he was accused of being a Communist spy for listening to CCP radio broadcasts and for openly praising PLA’s well-maintained discipline in Manchuria. The price was six months of torturous interrogation in a KMT

⁶³⁷ The birth name of Po is Kuo Ting-sheng (郭定生). Kuo Yi-tung was a fake name that Po used to get into different schools and institutions throughout his life. Po also possessed other pseudonyms in his many writings, but he is best known to Chinese readers as either Po Yang, Kuo Yi-tung, or Teng Ko-pao (鄧克保). The last name is the alias Po used for *Alien Land*.

⁶³⁸ Po Yang 柏楊, “Choulou de zhongguo ren” 醜陋的中國人 [The ugly Chinese] (Taipei: Linbai chubanshe, 1985).

⁶³⁹ According to Po’s memoir, he and several high school classmates had decided to follow a senior student to join the CCP in Yenan. However, one day before they embarked on the trip, the senior student was arrested by the KMT authorities. Po states: “This was the only time in my life that I could have joined the Chinese Communists.” Chou Pi-se (ed.), *Po Yang huiyilu*, 88-89.

⁶⁴⁰ The Three People’s Principles Youth Corps was established by Chiang Kai-shek in 1938. Chiang put Chen Cheng and his son Chiang Ching-kuo in charge of the organization.

military prison.⁶⁴¹ Upon being released from jail, Po acquired teaching positions in different schools, but was never able to keep a stable job until he was recruited into the literary division of the China Anti-Communist Youth Corps (中國青年反共救國團) in 1954.⁶⁴² Headed by Chiang Ching-kuo, the Youth Corps was the main vehicle for the KMT's recruitment of new party members in Taiwan. It was during this time that Po wrote most of his anti-Communist novels. These included the *Locust Flying Southeast* introduced in the last section.⁶⁴³ The book was published one year before his stint in the Corps. It probably won him the job because *Locust* received CLA's annual award for best anti-Communist fiction in 1953.

Po left the KMT in 1959 over a highly publicized affair with a young female student in the Corps, which led to his first divorce and the wrath of Chiang Ching-kuo. After antagonizing Generalissimo's eldest son and the apparent successor, Po found sanctuary working as a columnist for *Zili yanbao* (自立晚報), a private newspaper that had a reputation for presenting alternative views to the Nationalist official line.⁶⁴⁴ *Alien Land* started as a series of fictitious reports in the social news section of the newspaper in 1961 on the remnants of the KMT forces fighting in the China-Burma-Thailand border region.⁶⁴⁵ However, because of the unexpected and enthusiastic response from the

⁶⁴¹ Chou Pi-se, *Po Yang huiyilu*, 193-202.

⁶⁴² The China Youth Corps was established in 1952 and modeled after the earlier Three People's Principles Youth Corps and the CCP's Communist Youth League of China. Headed by Chiang Ching-kuo, it became one of the largest KMT party organizations in Taiwan, and the main building block for the younger Chiang's political power on the island.

⁶⁴³ For a complete list of the novels, see Ying Feng-huang, "Cong *huangchong dongnan fei dao Yiyu*," 14-15; Shen Chao-chun 沈超群, "Po Yang shengping yu xiezu sixiang—Po Yang shishi zhounian jinian" 柏楊生平與寫作思想—柏楊逝世周年紀念 [The career and writings of Po Yang—commemorating one-year anniversary of Po Yang's passing], *Zhuanji wenxue* 傳記文學 [Biographical literature] 94:6 (2009): 35.

⁶⁴⁴ Founded in 1947 by a group of mainlander journalists, *Zili wanbao* or "Independence Evening Post" was the first evening newspaper in post-war Taiwan. The paper was banned on three different occasions for criticizing the government in the 1950s before being taken over by the Tainan Gang (台南幫) in 1961. The Tainan Gang was the most powerful native Taiwanese business syndicate in early post-war Taiwan. Its leaders exerted certain influence over local politics. This was the reason why the newspaper was able to survive and even thrive under martial law. For more, see Pai Chiung-fang 白琮芳 (ed.), *Zili wanbao shishi nian* 自立晚報四十年 [Independence Evening Post in the past forty years] (Taipei: Zili wanbao, 1987).

⁶⁴⁵ There have been numerous studies related to the KMT guerrilla army in the Golden Triangle. These studies focus mainly on ethnic relations in Burma and Thailand, refugee relief, Cold War international politics, and drug trade. For studies that explore the international disputes and domestic consequences generated by the exiled Nationalist forces in north Burma, see Robert H Taylor, *Foreign and Domestic Consequences of the KMT Intervention in Burma* (Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University, 1973); John W Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance*, Chapter 8; Victor S Kaufman, "Trouble in the Golden Triangle: The United States, Taiwan, and the 93rd Nationalist

audience, the story was published as a book-length novel in the same year first by the *Independence*, then by a small publishing house founded by Po.⁶⁴⁶

In March 1968, the unbridled writer's persistent defiance of authority finally caught up with him. The KMT arrested Po under the pretext of ridiculing Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Ching-kuo in a newspaper comic strip.⁶⁴⁷ He was found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to twelve years in the military prison on Green Island, in which he served nine.⁶⁴⁸ While the KMT authorities allowed Po to continue writing during his incarceration (but refuse to allow him to publish), they were reluctant to release him even after Po served out the reduced sentence. Nonetheless, pressure from the United States and Amnesty International secured Po's release in 1976. After democratization, Po became a high-profile victim of KMT White Terror, and an internationally renowned free speech and human rights activist.⁶⁴⁹

Since it first appeared 1961, *Alien Land* (異域) has become one of the bestselling war novels in Taiwan. Conservative estimates put the sales of different editions, including a hodgepodge of different pirated copies, at approximately one million over several decades.⁶⁵⁰ Po wrote the story in first person, posing as a middle-ranking KMT army staff officer under the pseudonym of Teng Ko-pao (鄧克保). In the story, Teng divulges classified information on the KMT anti-Communist guerrilla forces fighting in

Division" *The China Quarterly* 166 (2001): 440-456. For issues related to CIA covert operations and opium trade, see Alfred W McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade* (Brooklyn, New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1991). For in-depth research on communal relationship between guerrilla fighters and local tribes, see Chang Wen-Chin, "From War Refugees to Immigrants: The Case of the KMT Yunnanese Chinese in Northern Thailand" *International Migration Review* 35:4 (2001): 1086-1105; Chang Wen-Chin, "Identification of Leadership among the KMT Yunnanese Chinese in Northern Thailand" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 33:1 (2002): 123-146.

⁶⁴⁶ See Teng Ko-pao 鄧克保 (Po Yang), *Yiyu 異域* [Alien land], 2nd ed. (Taipei: Xingguang chubanshe, 1977), 132-133, 197-199; Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai wenxue chuban xianying*, 220-221.

⁶⁴⁷ The Nationalist authorities considered Po's translation of a particular line in American comic Popeye the Sailor Man an open ridicule of the Generalissimo and his son. Po was detained by the Investigation Bureau (調查局) immediately after the publication of the strip. According to Po's recollections, he was subjected to harsh interrogation and severe beating until he confessed to the crime of high treason. See Chou Pi-se, *Po Yang huiyilu*, 251-272.

⁶⁴⁸ Under the DDP, the state cleared Po Yang's name. The government announced that the charges against him was based on flimsy evidence and coerced self-confessions. For a comprehensive report on Po's case, see Jiancha yuan 監察院, *Kuo Yi-tung panluan an diaocha baogo* 郭衣洞叛亂案調查報告 [An investigative report of Kuo Yi-tung's treason case] (Taipei: Jiancha yuan, 2004).

⁶⁴⁹ See Hsu Chao-chun, "Po Yang shengping yu xiezuo sixiang," 37-38.

⁶⁵⁰ Ying Feng-huang, "Cong huangchong dongnan fei dao Yiyu," 18; Ying Feng-huang, *Wuling niandai wenxue chuban xianying*, 221.

the treacherous jungles of the Golden Triangle. *Alien Land* portrays the wretched existence of exiled KMT soldiers and their families from Yunnan Province who were left to fend for themselves against the PLA, the Burmese troops, and rapacious indigenous tribes in the border region of China, Burma, and Thailand. Consequently, the remnants of the Nationalist forces in north Burma came to be known as the “orphan army” (孤軍). The breach-of-confidentiality reportage style adopted by the novel lent an air of authenticity to the narrative, and attracted a large number of enthusiastic readers in Taiwan. By the early 1960s, many had apparently become jaded by the monolithic party line and the stale official representations, though most would not voice their objections openly for fear of the Nationalist police, censors, and informers. According to Po’s memoirs, the source for *Alien Land* came from a young journalist working under him in the *Independence*, who had interviewed many of the repatriated guerrilla fighters from Burma during the mid-1950s.⁶⁵¹

The novel remained in circulation despite KMT censorship probably because of its overwhelming popularity, hence the handsome profits the book generated. When Po’s works issued by his own publishing house were banned by the government after his incarceration in 1968, private commercial presses continued to print copies of *Alien Land* under different titles. The author’s imprisonment actually made the book even more popular, leading to a proliferation of pirated copies.⁶⁵² Interestingly enough, as Taiwanese literary historian Ying Feng-huang points out, despite *Alien Land*’s great commercial success, the work received little attention from the scholarly community even after democratization.⁶⁵³ The story was made into a feature film in 1990 entitled *A Home Too Far* by a joint venture of Hong Kong and Taiwanese movie companies.⁶⁵⁴ The film

⁶⁵¹ Chou Pi-se, *Po Yang huiyilu*, 247. In a recent publication, a retired research fellow in Academia Sinica, who once served as a child soldier in north Burma, has suggested that a high-ranking commander in the guerrilla forces who befriended Po in the 1950s and the 1960s was actually the person who provided most of the information. See Hsun Yi-hui 覃怡輝, *Jinsanjiao guojun xuelei shi (1950-1980)* 金三角國軍血淚史 (1950-1981) [The blood-and-tear history of the KMT army in The Golden Triangle, 1950-1981] (Taipei: Academia Sinica/Lianjing, 2009), 2.

⁶⁵² Ying Feng-huang, “Cong *huangchong dongnan fei dao Yiyu*,” 18

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶⁵⁴ See Yueh Yun-chiao 葉雲樵, *Yiyu 異域* [A home too far], DVD. Directed by Chu Yen-ping 朱延平 (Taipei: Xueze youxian gongsi, 1990); Pan Ta-yun 潘大芸, “Taichan biandao 「gongchan」 kasi、gangtai hezuo xinmoshi dakai haiwai shichang yiwu zuofa zugong jiejing” 臺產編導「港產」卡斯、港臺合作新模式打開海外市場異域作法足供借鏡 [Taiwanese editor and director with “Hong Kong” cast—*Yiyu*, a

garnered high returns at the box office in both Taiwan and Hong Kong, and sparked a new round of popular frenzy for the novel in the early 1990s. However, the renewed popularity of the book soon faded, and it failed to spark any meaningful scholarly discussion once again.

This chapter asserts *Alien Land*'s significance. It argues that the novel represents an important antecedent to the popular narrative of the exodus, which emerged during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Given Po's rebellious tendency and the circumstances in which the text was produced, it is not surprising that *Alien Land* contains elements that the Nationalist authorities considered problematic, despite the work being labelled as an anti-Communist novel. The first element has to do with the issue of social class. According to Po, a former classmate working for the KMT military police headquarters paid him a visit in private, and told him to stop writing the novel when the serial stories of *Alien Land* first appeared in *Independence*. The person informed Po that the Nationalist army high command was unhappy with the storyline, especially with the portrayal of high-ranking generals abandoning their troops to take up comfortable positions in Taiwan. The "intimidator" left Po with a bone-chilling message: "You are in big trouble. We cannot just blatantly shut down the newspaper [*Independence*], but we can shut you down."⁶⁵⁵ While it would take several years for the authorities to finally lose patience and put Po behind bars, the overt criticism of the KMT elites in *Alien Land*'s plot not only marks a significant break from the state propaganda, but also represents the first instance when the issue of social class was raised in the mainland exodus. We have seen in Chapter 2 how class is important in understanding the migrant experience of the mainlanders. In Po's story, we see the mid and lower-ranking military personnel and their families left to fend for themselves, while their commanders absconded to safety with embezzled funds.

Another important point where *Alien Land* deviated from the official discourse is the novel's dramatic portrayal of the chaos and ordeals during the course of the exodus, especially in its first chapter entitled "The Debacle of the Army in Yuanjiang's Rugged

new model for Taiwan and Hong Kong's collaboration to open the overseas markets], *Zhongyang ribao*, October 21, 1990, 12.

⁶⁵⁵ Chou Pi-se, *Po Yang huiyilu*, 247.

Terrains” (元江絕地大軍潰敗).⁶⁵⁶ The term “debacle” (潰敗) raised eyebrows of the Nationalist censors since the image of panic and disorganized mass flight goes directly against the exiled regime’s effort to manipulate historical memories about the exodus, an effort epitomized by promoting heroic resistance story of the five hundred martyrs. Po’s vivid account of the KMT soldiers and refugees’ heart-wrenching experience, when they undertook the difficult and treacherous journey from Yunnan to north Burma, brings the audience to the verge of tears:

Under the guidance of Yeh Weng-chiang and Tiao Tung-tsai, the orphan army marched towards Mansung south of Cheli. Mansung was a relatively larger village pretty close to the Burmese border. The sun was already setting when we left Cheli. Therefore, the army moved under the dimming light of the stars, and followed unnamed footpaths into unknown mountains. Like lambs being chased by wolves, we lowered our heads and scurried. No, it was not walking, but more like running....Many of our colleagues became exhausted. They fell to the ground and never got up again. Many moaned and groaned, and tried to lie down, but were dragged up by their buddies, or forced up by blows from rifle butts. The most pitiable were our families. When we caught up with them, I held An-kuo [Teng’s son] in one arm, and used the other arm to drag Cheng-fen [Teng’s wife] along. She [Cheng-fen] sobbed and begged for a break constantly. I said to her: “No!” She cried and screamed: “Just let me die here!”⁶⁵⁷

This dramatic portrayal of mass suffering during the course of the exodus, seemingly rare in the anti-Communist writings produced during the 1950s, gradually emerged as a dominant discourse when the mainlander community reflected on the civil war and the relocation to Taiwan after democratization in the late 1980s.

Finally, *Alien Land*’s emphasis on the themes of family and nostalgia for home also separates it from most of the other anti-Communist novels. Evidently, these two themes have contributed to the novel’s enduring popularity. Although the tone of the novel is definitely anti-Communist and the plot describes launching an offensive campaign to retake mainland China, the narrative neither harps on the KMT’s propagandist slogans, nor does it show unwavering support for Chiang Kai-shek and the

⁶⁵⁶ Teng Ko-pao, *Yiyu*, 1-50.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

Nationalist leadership in Taiwan.⁶⁵⁸ Instead, *Alien Land* focuses on the close bond formed among families and friends under unsettling and excruciating circumstances. This can be illustrated by a passage extracted from the novel. When reflecting on a reunion with families and colleagues in a small town near Yunnan's provincial capital Kunming in late 1949, a month before embarking on the dangerous and heartbreaking retreat into Burma, the protagonist of the story Teng Ko-pao writes:

The family reunion left a deep impression in my mind. A month after this, [our] army crumbled. Those who raised wine classes celebrating on my behalf on that night were either captured, or met their deaths on the battlefield. When I put these down in words, feelings of melancholy filled my heart. However, I do not feel ashamed [for surviving]. One day, I will eventually die on the China-Burma border region either in the hands of the Chinese Communists or Burmese army, or, bitten by a poisonous snake. I will have no regrets. I will go to that world which must exist [heaven], reuniting with my friends and holding my two children in arms once again, and smile. Oh! My two poor children! They perished after a year in the China-Burma border. One died in my arms. The other fell from the top of a coconut tree expecting his father's return from battle. Oh, heavens!⁶⁵⁹

The emphasis on family is tied to relentless struggle for the restoration of homeland even in the face of diminishing hope. This is exemplified by Teng's decision at the end of the story to stay and fight with a small number of diehard guerrilla forces in 1954, defying the UN resolution and orders from Taiwan to evacuate.⁶⁶⁰ In the preface to the novel, speaking on behalf of those who gave up the chance to start a new life in Taiwan and chose to endure miserable conditions in the jungles and continue their insurgency against the CCP and the Burmese army, Teng states: If we die in battle, then [our bodies] will rot together with the grass and the trees. If we win, we get to go home. It is just as simple as that!"⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁸ For the KMT guerrilla forces' excursion into Yunnan, see Teng Ko-pao, *Yiyu*, 85-136; Hsun Yi-hui, "*Jinsanjiao guojun xuelei shi*," 79-90.

⁶⁵⁹ Teng Ko-pao, *Yiyu*, 12.

⁶⁶⁰ In 1953, Burmese government launched a formal complaint against the KMT government in Taiwan over the KMT guerilla forces stationed within its northern border region. The case eventually reached the UN. Facing mounting international pressure, the Nationalist government evacuated nearly 7,000 guerilla fighters and their families between late 1953 and mid-1954. However, about 4,000 refused to evacuate, and continued to operate in the border region of China, Burma, and Thailand. They formed alliances with indigenous ethnic groups, engaged in opium trade, and hired themselves out as mercenaries for the Government of Thailand. For more, see Hsun Yi-hui, "*Jinsanjiao guojun xuelei shi*," 141-170; 181-344.

⁶⁶¹ Teng Ko-pao, *Yiyu*, 2.

It is this do-or-die/never-give-up attitude in articulating a strong longing to return to China combined with the trauma of war and exile suffered by the ordinary people that contribute to *Alien Land*'s lasting appeal. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, when the real prospects for return faded with time in the early 1960s, the civil war migrants sank into deep cultural nostalgia. Published at this critical juncture, Po's novel served as an allegory for *waishengren*'s unfulfilled dreams. It left indelible marks on the hearts and minds of many. David Der-wei Wang's illuminating words help underline this point:

The book [*Alien Land*] remained a perennial bestseller long after the anti-Communist genre had faded. Besides the captivating battle scenes and exotic social and cultural landscape, the main reason is that it touches upon the unspeakable and hidden pain of an entire generation of readers.⁶⁶²

While Po Yang's *Alien Land* encapsulated the unspeakable pains of the civil war exiles when they realized in the early 1960s that going home had become impossible, Chang To-wu's five-volume memoirs *Miscellanies of a Foot Soldier* (代馬輪卒手記) published from the late 1970s to the early 1980s became the harbinger of social and political transformations in Taiwan. During the 1980s, the quest for social justice and democracy led to growing concerns about the impoverished and unmarried retired Nationalist veterans. Chang's writings stood at the forefront of this social trend. They paved the way for the development of the "veteran's literature" in subsequent decades, which became part of the emerging discourse on the great exodus.

The birth name of Chang To-wu (張拓蕪, 1928-) was Chang Shih-hsiung (張時雄).⁶⁶³ Chang was born and raised in Jing County (涇縣), an impoverished rural backwater in southern Anhui Province made famous by the New Fourth Army Incident

⁶⁶² David Der-wei Wang, "Yizhong shichu de wenxue?" 149.

⁶⁶³ In an interview in 1975, Chang admitted that he changed names several times during his life, especially during the anti-Japanese war and the Chinese civil war, when he had deserted different military units. In the early 1950s, Chang was stationed at a military base in Kaohsiung. His commanding officer gave him the name Chang To (張拓). Chang added another word "wu" (蕪) to express deep nostalgia for home. He envisioned the family plot "overgrown with weeds" (荒蕪). For more, see Pai Pu 白步, "Bucan laobing: shiren Shen Tien fangwen ji" 不殘老兵: 詩人沈甸訪問記 [Unhandicapped soldier: interview with the poet Shen Tien], in *Daima shuzu shouji* 代馬輪卒手記 [Miscellanies of a foot soldier, volume I] Chang To-wu (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1975), 3.

during the Anti-Japanese War.⁶⁶⁴ Like Po, Chang came from a wealthy landlord/merchant family. This afforded Chang with a combined six years of education, four in the county's public elementary school and two in a traditional Confucian academy. These set an important foundation for a literary career later in his life.⁶⁶⁵ However, unlike Po who left home after finishing high school, Chang was separated from his family at a much younger age when the Japanese invasion destroyed much of the family business, and condemned the Chang clan to heavy debt in 1937.⁶⁶⁶ The misfortune contributed to the death of Chang's doting grandfather and mother, and turned his father into a depressed and ill-tempered gambling addict, who beat the mourning teenage boy constantly. To make things worse, Chang's father remarried shortly after, and the stepmother was hostile towards children of the previous wife, much like what happened in Po's family.⁶⁶⁷ Thus, at the tender age of twelve, Chang was forced to take up apprenticeship in an oil distillery at a neighbouring county in 1940, where, like most young apprentices in traditional Chinese workshops, he was subjected to harsh menial labour and constant physical abuse from an exploitative owner, and lived a life of virtual slavery.⁶⁶⁸ After four years of hunger, deprivation, and wretched existence without gaining any practical skills or craft, Chang left the distillery in disgust and joined an anti-Japanese militia organized by local elites in January 1944. When the militia disbanded in October of the same year, his squad leader took Chang and the remaining members to join a regular KMT unit. From this point onwards, Chang began a career in the Nationalist army that spanned almost three decades in China and Taiwan until his retirement in 1973.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁴ In January of 1941, the KMT forces in east central China encircled and annihilated the Chinese Communist New Fourth Army operated in south Anhui. For more on the historical significance of the Incident, see Gregor Benton, *New Fourth Army: Communist Resistance Along the Yangtze and the Huai* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999).

⁶⁶⁵ For more on Chang's education and how it influenced his writing, see Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 179-188; *Daima shuzu buji* 代馬輪卒補記 [Miscellanies of a foot soldier, volume IV] (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1979), 105-110.

⁶⁶⁶ Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 4.

⁶⁶⁷ Chang attributes much of the misery in his life to his stepmother. According to Chang, it was his stepmother who deprived him of the opportunity to receive proper education. She forced him out of the house to take up the apprenticeship in the oil distillery. See Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu waiji* 代馬輪卒外記 [Miscellanies of a foot soldier, volume V] (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1981), 151-162.

⁶⁶⁸ Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 165-172; *Daima shuzu buji*, 132-135.

⁶⁶⁹ According to Chang, he was nearly rejected by the militia because he was too young and had slim physical stature. He could not even lift up a rifle, let alone shooting it. Nevertheless, the ability to read and

Chang's lengthy career in the KMT military was neither illustrious nor honourable. The accounts in *Miscellanies* exhibit mediocre, comical, and even antihero qualities. The five-volume memoirs are filled with anecdotes of misdemeanours, tomfoolery, ill-fated encounters, unintended consequences, and personal failures. Chang spent half of his 29 years in service bouncing around different units either as a lowly foot soldier, or a non-commissioned staff from corporal to sergeant. By his own admission, Chang fought in neither of the major battles during the anti-Japanese war and the Chinese civil war. His only combat merit was taking two Japanese soldiers prisoners in an ambush when serving in his hometown militia.⁶⁷⁰ When Chang finally passed the officer corps' exam and was promoted to second lieutenant in 1959, a result of a series of mistakes and a twist of fate, the promotion actually led to the reduction of his modest pension.⁶⁷¹ Consequently, Chang had to find work to support his family after 29 years of service, a great embarrassment to cap off a life beset by failures, frustrations, and imprudent decisions.

Chang was not a literary star in the military like the aforementioned anti-Communist writers such as Ssuma Chung-yuan and Chu Hsi-ning. He was also no match for Po Yang, whose rhetorical skills and penetrating commentaries were considered by the KMT authorities as a serious threat to the regime. Although Chang did some writing in his spare time, and had won a few awards for his poetry, he remained relatively unknown as a literary figure in Taiwan until the publication of the first volume of *Miscellanies* in 1976.⁶⁷² While the memoirs quickly elicited a whirlwind of praise from the literary critics, Chang did not initially intend to write about his experience in the military. Though the Nationalist censorship showed signs of loosening up in the 1970s, writing on sensitive subject matters could still lead to unwanted attention from the

write got him accepted into the militia, and then into the KMT regulars. Most of the low-ranking soldiers and officers were illiterate at the time. There was a great demand for literate men to do the paperwork, as well as to interpret orders passing down from high command. See Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu yuji* 代馬輪卒餘記 [Miscellanies for a foot soldier, volume III] (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1978), 102-103.

⁶⁷⁰ See Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 25-26.

⁶⁷¹ In the KMT military, the non-commissioned staffs and officer corps are under two different pension systems. The years accumulated in one system cannot be transferred to the other system. Therefore, Chang lost all of his previous contributions and privileges under the non-commissioned staff system when he retired as an officer in 1973. Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu xuji* 代馬輪卒續記 [Miscellanies of a foot soldier, volume II] (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1978), 21-33.

⁶⁷² For a complete list of Chang's early awards, see Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu yuji*, 222.

authorities.⁶⁷³ Yet a pivotal event changed Chang's perspective both on life and on writing. Shortly after retiring from the army, he suffered a major stroke that put him in a coma for eight days, and crippled the left side of his body. The near-death experience had a transcendental effect. Chang accepted the Christian faith, and perceived his miraculous survival as being given a new lease on life to accomplish something meaningful and to pursue higher goals. Moreover, the cost of surgery and rehabilitation depleted the family's savings, and the meagre army pension was not enough to pay for his living expenses. Like many of the lower-rank mainlander military personnel, Chang married and settled down late in his life. In desperate need of money, Chang was encouraged by a group of close friends, many of whom were also retired army writers, to submit his works to *China Arts*, a literary magazine set up by Executive Yuan's Veterans Affairs Commission.⁶⁷⁴ Chang thus began to write short reflections on his experience in the army for a serial column in the magazine in 1975 with the help of editors working in *China Arts*, who were sympathetic to his plight. These accounts were latter pulled together in a collected volume entitled *Miscellanies of a Foot Soldier*, and published in the following year.⁶⁷⁵

The Chinese title of the memoirs is *daima shizu* (代馬輸卒). The phrase literally means "porters in substitution for horses." The inspiration for the title came from Chang's experience serving in a KMT artillery battalion in southern Jiangsu Province immediately after the victory over Japan. Chang recalled that many of low-ranking soldiers in the battalion, including himself, were subjected to demeaning treatment as livestock, literally.⁶⁷⁶ During his long military career, Chang rubbed elbows with some of the lowest and the least respectable elements in the KMT armed forces. Prolonged

⁶⁷³ In an interview in 2007, Chang expressed gratitude towards the editors of *China Arts* and Erya chubanshe, who took a risk in publishing *Miscellanies*. He also alluded to the fact that someone had threatened him by saying: "You would be in Green Island now if you were not old and crippled." See Hsu Chang-chi 許張吉, "Chang To-wu de sanwen yanjiu" 張拓蕪的散文研究 [Research on Chang To-wu's prose] (Master thesis, Chiayi County: Nan-hua University, Department of Literature, 2008), 135,

⁶⁷⁴ *China Arts* (中華文藝) magazine was founded in 1971 under the auspices of the Veterans Affairs Commission of the Executive Yuan (EYVAC). The editors and most of the contributors were veterans from the KMT army. The purpose of setting up the magazine was to provide retired military personnel with a venue to explore their literary potentials. The magazine stopped publishing in 1985.

⁶⁷⁵ For more, see Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu xunji*, 259-268.

⁶⁷⁶ According to Chang, soldiers in his company were ordered to haul heavy guns and ammunitions in lieu of horses and donkeys. They wore uniforms that identified them as *daima shuzu*. For more, see Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 15-18.

experience in the common ranks afforded Chang with a profound appreciation of the harsh life experienced by ordinary soldiers, many of them landless peasants who were forced to join the service during the war and ended up in Taiwan against their will. The characters appear in *Miscellanies* included country bumpkins, sadistic brutes, drunken sex addicts, shameless cheaters, and idealistic youth. Many of these veterans are depicted as both wily and resourceful. Despite the lack of formal education, financial resources, and political connections, they came up with every possible means to survive the war and gain small advantages over the system that oppressed them. These faceless and insignificant individuals came to be known as “old oily soldier” (老兵油子) or “old fried breadstick” (老油條) in colloquial Chinese.⁶⁷⁷ Like Po’s “orphan army” in Burma, Chang’s “old oily soldier/old fried breadstick” represents a stark contrast to the iconic “five hundred martyrs” promoted by the Nationalist propaganda machine.

It is this candid and somewhat sardonic portrayal of army life with all its vitality, perseverance, and ugliness that won Chang the unanimous acclamation of literary critics and the adulation of the general public in a time when the roots of democracy and social movements began to grow on the island.⁶⁷⁸ Besides mounting praise from the literary community, the prolific use of regional dialects, army slang, and detailed descriptions of events also lent Chang’s prose an air of authenticity. This prompted some intellectuals to argue for the memoirs’ value as a genuine historical work.⁶⁷⁹

There was no reliable estimate of how many copies of *Miscellanies* were sold over the years. Nonetheless, the popularity of Chang’s memoirs can be illustrated by the number of reprints for the first four volumes. Volume I was reprinted as many as twenty times. Volume II was reprinted thirteen times. Volume III and IV went through seven and

⁶⁷⁷ For more on *laobing youzi*, see Chu Ko 楚戈, “Kanbujian de leishui—xu daima wushu” 看不見的淚水—序「代馬五書」 [Invisible tears: a preface to the five volumes of *Miscellanies* of a foot soldier], Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu waiji*, 15.

⁶⁷⁸ Within a few years after the publication of the first volume, there are 22 different reviews and commentaries. Many commentaries on *Miscellanies* by Chang’s contemporaries can be found in the prefaces and appendices of the newer editions.

⁶⁷⁹ See Li Chen-chou 李震洲, “Cong shouji dao xuji: Chang To-wu dabing shijie de tansuo” 從手記到續記: 張拓蕪大兵世界的探索 [From *Miscellanies* volume I to volume II: a probe into Chang’s To-wu’s world of soldiers], in Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu buji*, 187-194; Hsiao Hsiao 蕭蕭, “toulou shengming de fengfang—wodu *Daima shuzu sanshu*” 透露生命的芬芳—我讀「代馬輪卒」三書 [Uncovering the fragrance of life—reading three volumes of *Miscellanies*], *ibid.*, 195-202.

four editions respectively. All of these sales happened in less than a decade.⁶⁸⁰ In a 2007 interview, Chang told a graduate student that a total of 28 editions had been issued for the first volume alone since 1976.⁶⁸¹ With the overwhelming success of *Miscellanies* in the late 1970s and the early 80s, it is easy to see how Chang's writings have contributed to a growing number of published memoirs and fictional works based on the lives of lower class KMT veterans in the decades that followed, many with vivid descriptions of their experience during exodus. These were written by both the first and the second generation mainlander writers.⁶⁸² Even though these later publications came under a different label, namely, the "veteran's literature" instead of "soldier's literature" (大兵文學) associated with Chang's works, *Miscellanies* is without a doubt an important precursor to these writings.

The significance of *Miscellanies* does not end here however. Chang's bestselling memoirs not only brings the life of lower-rank KMT military personnel, who comprised a bulk of the migrant population, to the forefront of popular attention, but also provides an alternative interpretation of the great exodus that is different from the recovery nationalism promoted by the KMT regime. In *Miscellanies*, Chang boasts his record of deserting from the army eleven times, and re-entering different units both in China and Taiwan. According to Chang, the common soldiers in the KMT army invented a term for such behaviour called "slipping away" or *kaixiao chai* (開小差). Everyone had done it at least once or twice during the war.⁶⁸³ Before the government crackdown on "deserted soldiers" in Taiwan during the 1950s, desertion was common in the Nationalist army due to mistreatment of the common ranks, and the widespread practice of dragooning soldiers during the anti-Japanese war and the civil war. However, there have been very little writings on the phenomenon due to official censorship. *Miscellanies* provide one of the earliest accounts of *kaixiao chai* published in Taiwan. In three separate vignettes, Chang

⁶⁸⁰ Chao Yu-ming 趙玉明, "Xiaoqian Chang To-wu—*Daima shuzu de shu he ren*" 消遣張拓蕪—代馬翰卒的書和人 [Making fun of Chang To-wu—*Daima shuzu*, the man and the book], in Chang To-u, *Daima shuzu waiji*, 10-11.

⁶⁸¹ Hsu Chang-chi, "Chang To-wu de sanwen yanjiu," 135.

⁶⁸² For a collected volume on these works, see Chi Pang-yuang 齊邦媛 and David Der-wei Wang 王德威 (eds.), *Zuihou de Huangpu* 最後的黃埔 [The last of the Whampoa breed] (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing, 2004).

⁶⁸³ Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 82-83.

describes how he and another soldier named “Old Pan” (老潘) absconded from the army to go to Taiwan in search of greener pastures in March 1948, seeing the island as one of the few places that had not been ravaged by the civil war. The journey was hazardous and full of twists and turns, but the two managed to reach their destination unscathed. Chang’s memoirs offer vivid and fascinating descriptions of how he and Old Pan evaded the KMT military police in Shanghai, played tricks to sneak on board a British-owned commercial liner, hid in one of the lifeboats, posed as regular passengers during meal times, and dodged customs inspection in Taiwan when arriving at *Keelung*.⁶⁸⁴

These descriptions written in the mid and late 1970s represent a major break from the previous interpretations and an important antecedent to the rising popular narrative of the mainlander exodus during the late 1980s and the early 1990s. State and ideology, more specifically, recovery of the mainland and anti-Communist nationalism are no longer important. In Chang’s account, the journey to Taiwan is neither a strategic retreat as presented by the Nationalist propaganda, nor a traumatic debacle as described by Po’s *Alien Land*. Rather, it is about two ordinary people facing difficult situations in times of bloody civil war and social upheaval, and forced by the pressing circumstances to make a decision. In hindsight, the trip to Taiwan changed their lives forever, and kept them away from home for decades. However, Chang and his partner did not comprehend, or were incapable of comprehending the gravity of the decision they were making in early 1948. The two renegade soldiers went to Taiwan to avoid fighting in the Chinese civil war and to seek better employment. This was a reasonable course of action taken by two *laobing youzi* (old oily soldiers) based on their survival instincts wrought by experiences during the Anti-Japanese war, as well as their selfish desire for advancement.⁶⁸⁵ This discursive shift from the emphasis on state and ideology to the emphasis on the individual and mundane concerns, a trend started by Po’s *Alien Land*, becomes even more pronounced in Chang’s accounts. Furthermore, *Miscellanies* provides one of the earliest depictions of the mass departure from mainland China to Taiwan. What we see in Chang’s memoirs is not a heroic last stand, or an orderly withdrawal, but a breakdown of political and social

⁶⁸⁴ Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 82-89; *Daima shuzu xuji*, 83-92; *Daima shuzu yuji*, 118-120.

⁶⁸⁵ With a letter of introduction from their former captain, Chang and Old Pan enlisted in a police brigade in Taipei. However, they soon felt jaded by the training exercises and the life in the barracks. They escaped once again, and each found a job somewhere else on the island. See Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu xuji*, 91-92.

order in the Nationalist-controlled area. The scene at the docks of Shanghai described by Chang—the gathering of a large swarm of weary and disoriented refugees/renegade soldiers waiting for boats out of mainland China, and desperate individuals who resorted to various tricks to bypass inspections and get their families on board—would later be reiterated by numerous memoirs and oral accounts published in the late 1980s and the 1990s.⁶⁸⁶ Chang’s accounts thus blur the lines between soldiers and refugees; between official personnel and civilian population, and open the door for re-interpreting the events during and following the Chinese civil war as a massive population movement and a chaotic mass flight.

5.5 Narrating the Exodus: the Founding Myth of *Waishengren*

Alien Land and *Miscellanies* represent important precursors to the rise of a new popular discourse on the mainlander exodus to Taiwan because of the specific elements contained in their narratives, elements that make these two works stand out from the writings of their contemporaries. Nevertheless, it is still important to recognize that all literary texts are essentially products of their times. Po’s novel was written at a juncture when the real prospects for mainland recovery diminished; when cultural nostalgia began to set in for the civil war exiles. Consequently, *Alien Land* resonated with the unfulfilled hopes of an entire generation of readers, which in turn contributed to the novel’s popularity and lasting appeal. Nevertheless, the regime-in-exile was less tolerant of political dissent and alternative discourse during the 1950s and the early 1960s. Po was persecuted for spreading “seditious ideas.” Conversely, Chang’s five-volume memoirs were published between 1976 and 1981, as roots of democracy began to grow in Taiwan. As the previous chapter has shown, the plight of retired lower class KMT soldiers was one of the main social issues that drew a great deal of public attention during the 1980s. *Miscellanies* served as a harbinger for this social movement. If Chang were to publish his memoirs during the 1950s or the 1960s, he could have ended up in jail like Po.

The political and social transformations in Taiwan during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, namely, the twin processes of indigenization and democratization,

⁶⁸⁶ See Chang To-wu, *Daima shuzu shouji*, 85-88; *Daima shuzu buji*, 57-58.

have changed state-society relations. They altered how a majority of people on the island perceive issues pertaining to civil rights, social justice, ethnicity, and national identity.⁶⁸⁷ The monumental transformation came as a result of three important factors. First, there was a major shift in East Asia's Cold War politics during the 1970s. Nixon's visit to China and the Sino-American rapprochement in 1972 led to the ostracization of the ROC from the international community.⁶⁸⁸ The process culminated in the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between the United States and China at the expense of Taiwan in 1979. Although the Carter administration immediately put forward the Taiwan Relations Act to provide some assurance to the Nationalist regime, the diplomatic setbacks generated a crisis of legitimacy for the KMT. The Party's top leaders who rallied under the Generalissimo's eldest son Chiang Ching-kuo after the death of the former in 1975 came under tremendous pressure to undertake reforms. These developments widened the scope of political participation, and expanded the range of permissible discourses.⁶⁸⁹ Second, the success of export-oriented industrialization since the second half of the 1960s contributed to unprecedented economic prosperity and led to the emergence of an exuberant middle class dominated by the native Taiwanese, who formed the basis of support for the rising political and cultural trends.⁶⁹⁰ Third, the coming of age of a new generation of mainlander and native Taiwanese scholars, writers, artists, filmmakers, young students, and political activists born and raised on the island after World War II. They provided both the leadership and intellectual inspiration behind the twin processes of indigenization and democratization, for whom Hsiao A-chin coined

⁶⁸⁷ There have been a great number of publications on the island's social and political developments during this period. For insightful and meticulously-researched monographs on indigenization, see Hsiao A-chin, *Huigui xianshi* and John Makeham and A-chin Hsiao (eds.), *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan: Bentuhua*. For the island's democratization, see Alan M Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization*; Tien Hung-mao (ed.), *Taiwan's Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition: Riding the Third Wave* (Armonk, New York: M E Sharpe, 1996); Linda Chao and Ramon H Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*; Shelley Rigger, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy*.

⁶⁸⁸ The ROC lost its seat in the United Nations to the PRC in 1971, when the Nixon administration advised by Henry Kissinger began taking steps to end the policy of isolating Communist China.

⁶⁸⁹ Some historians have suggested that the US President Jimmy Carter's emphasis on promoting human rights had an impact on Chiang Ching-kuo's decision to curb the regime's heavy-handed crackdown on political dissent and widen the scope of political participation. See Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son*, 328-330; Denny Roy, 152-156.

⁶⁹⁰ See Robert A Scalapino, "Foreword," in Tien Hung-mao (ed.), *Taiwan's Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition*, xi; Murray A Rubinstein, "Political Taiwanization and Pragmatic Diplomacy: The Era of Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui," in Murray A Rubinstein (ed.), *Taiwan: A New History*, 437-446.

the term the “return to reality generation” (回歸現實世代).⁶⁹¹ These great transformations help explain why dominant ideologies promoted by the KMT during the 1950s and 60s, namely, anti-Communism and recovery nationalism gradually lost their appeal in the decades that followed. These were replaced by a search for, or a reconstruction of, literary works and historical narratives rooted in “native soil” (鄉土), hence the genesis of indigenization and a Taiwan-centred discourse.⁶⁹²

The political and intellectual developments leading to the rise of Taiwan-centred history/ideology and the construction of the four major ethnic groups have already been discussed in Chapter 1. The previous chapter illustrated the transformative effects of the civil war migrants’ reverse culture shock. The final section of this chapter will show that the emergence of a new popular discourse on the mainlander exodus is embedded in the *waishengren* community’s attempt to redefine themselves as an integral part of the island when faced with the growing momentum of Taiwanization. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in the process of deconstructing the official KMT history, the newly emerged Taiwan-centred historiography has a tendency to exclude the civil war migrants and their descendants. Worse of all, *waishengren* are sometimes considered a monolithic and privileged ruling class associated with the authoritarian Nationalist regime. Narrating the great exodus as a refugee experience and a collective trauma thus became an important part the mainlander identity formation since the late 1980s. On the one hand, the collective discourse on the great exodus serves as the “founding myth” or the “founding trauma” that binds the civil war migrants and their descendants of different social classes and provincial origins into a single group, or, as some might argue, a single ethnicity. On the other hand, it helps to remove the stigma of being associated with the KMT as ruthless colonizers. Narrating the exodus repositions *waishengren* as a minority migrant group living on the island with its own distinct history. The history of the mainlander community began when the first generation migrants left China and established new homes and families in Taiwan—in cities and towns, in military family’s villages, and in farm colonies located at the remote corners of the island. Both the surviving civil war

⁶⁹¹ See Hsiao A-chin, *Huigui xianshi*, 1-9.

⁶⁹² For more on the origin and the evolution of indigenization (*bentuhua*) and the rise of “Taiwan-centred” discourse, refer back to the discussion in Chapter 1.

exiles and their descendants have actively participated in the construction of this new narrative since democratization.

The development of this new discourse took place at the same time as the island state went through the process of democratization with the founding of the DPP (1986), the lifting of martial law (1987), and the first parliamentary, municipal and county elections under the two-party system (1989).⁶⁹³ The end of Nationalist censorship and the gradual eclipse of *waishengren*'s political dominance contributed to a growing number of personal narratives and cultural productions pertaining to the great exodus. In 1989, two particular works signalled a major shift in the mainlanders' *mentalités* and collective social memory. The first is an oral history anthology entitled *The Day We Left Mainland China* (離開大陸的那一天). The second is an extremely popular theatrical performance written and directed by internationally-renowned playwright and director Lai Sheng-chuan called *Look Who's Cross-talking Tonight* (這一夜，誰來說相聲). These two stood at the forefront of a vast and growing number of literary and cultural texts, paving the way for aforementioned projects, such as the rediscovery of *Pacific*'s final journey and Lung Ying-tai's *Big River Big Sea 1949*.

The Day We Left Mainland China was published by a private commercial press.⁶⁹⁴ The book contains the exodus stories of 21 civil war exiles, many of whom are respected public figures and intellectuals among the *waishengren* communities. Among them are famous anti-Communist army writers Chu Hsi-ning and Tuan Tsai-hua, historian Hu Chiu-yuan⁶⁹⁵ (胡秋原, 1910-2004), and a popular journalist named Wang Ta-kung⁶⁹⁶ (王大空, 1920-1991). Other members consist of individuals from different walks of life—a screenwriter, a physician, writers, entrepreneurs, artists, military officers,

⁶⁹³ For major political developments leading to democratization in Taiwan, see Linda Chao and Ramon Myers, *The First Chinese Democracy*, 128-175; Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son*, 405-430.

⁶⁹⁴ Wang Ta-kung et al., *Likai dalu de nayitian*.

⁶⁹⁵ Hu Chiu-yuan was a renowned intellectual historian and a controversial figure in Taiwan. For more on Hu's life and career, see Chang Shu-han 張淑涵, *Hu Chiu-yuan zhuan: zhixin jubi yi shusheng* 胡秋原傳: 直心巨筆一書生 [The biography of Hu Chiu-yuan: the integrity and heart of an intellectual] (Taipei: Crown Culture Corporation, 1988).

⁶⁹⁶ Wang Ta-kung was born and raised in Beijing. He joined the Nationalist army at the age of 13. In Taiwan, Wang became a journalist and one of the most popular radio hosts of the KMT-sponsored Broadcasting Corporation of China (中國廣播公司, 1928-). See Jiuge wenxue wang 九歌文學網, "Wang Ta-kung" 王大空 [Wang Ta-kung], <http://www.chiuko.com.tw/author.php?au=detail&authorID=585> [accessed March 7, 2011].

and government officials. *The Day* offers vivid portrayals of the chaotic flight at the end of the civil war. The scenes described in the book resonate with the pictures offered by Po Yang and Chang To-wu. However, different from Po's nostalgia for home and Chang's survival instincts and selfish opportunism, the leitmotif of the stories in *The Day* is "exile and separation" or *liuli* (流離). *Liuli* represents mass suffering and dislocation in the midst of wars, political upheavals, or nature disasters. The term articulates the psychological trauma of being forcibly removed from one's family and native land to embark on a journey to destination unknown. The personal accounts in the book provide remarkable descriptions of social chaos and carnage in the closing days of the Chinese civil war. They tell stories of terrified refugees and routed KMT soldiers trampling over each other to climb on to the "last train," the "last plane," or the "last boat" out of China.

Some of the contributors to this landmark anthology were authors of anti-Communist literature. Others were prominent public figures. They supported the official KMT line for decades. They had never published or talked openly about how they left mainland China until this point. The publication of a book like *The Day* in 1989, a year or so after the end of the martial law and the lifting of the ban on travelling to mainland China, illustrates an important point—civil war migrants' reverse culture shock played a crucial role in changing their collective discourse. Instead of reminiscing about their hometowns and provinces in China, they began to reflect on the great exodus. These new recollections would have great implications for the mainlander identity formation further down the road. The point is clearly demonstrated by the short introduction to the book. The introduction writes:

The Day We Left Mainland China presents a shared history of numerous individuals who left home and country. These witnesses of time describe scenes of a panic mass flight in the late 1940s through their writings or oral accounts. The purpose is not to crack open historical wounds. Regardless of whether "mainland" still exists in reality or has become a beautiful nostalgia, we rescue history [of the exodus] because history offers a sense of direction for the future.⁶⁹⁷

The editors and contributors to *The Day* were rather vague about what this "future" would be in 1989, since they had not yet experienced indigenization in full throttle under

⁶⁹⁷ Wang Ta-kung, *Likai dalu de nayitian*, back cover.

the second term presidency of Lee Teng-hui. Nonetheless, many had apparently started to rethink their relationship vis-à-vis China and Taiwan. After their journey home, many came back with a new found appreciation for Taiwan. The civil war migrants began to consider the island their permanent home. The great migration that happened forty years ago thus began to take on important symbolic meanings. It later became the “founding myth” or the “founding trauma” of *waishengren* communities in Taiwan.

Contrary to *The Day*’s sombre tone, Lai Sheng-chuan’s theatrical play *Look Who’s Cross-talking Tonight* presents the great exodus in satire and comedy. Appearing in the same year as *The Day*, *Look* is the much anticipated sequel to Lai’s highly original and widely successful *That Evening, We Performed Cross-talking* (1985).⁶⁹⁸ Both plays represent Lai’s endeavour to resuscitate a dying Chinese performing art called “cross-talking” or “comic dialogue” (相聲).⁶⁹⁹ However, *Look* constitutes a key text in the formation of the mainlander popular discourse on the great exodus because of two specific acts in the play.

Lai Sheng-chuan (賴聲川| 1954-) is the author and director of over thirty popular plays and several hit television series. He is also the architect behind award-winning feature films in Berlin, Tokyo, and Singapore. One of his best-known works to date is the internationally-acclaimed *The Peach Blossom Land* (1992). Known to the international media as Stan Lai, the famed artist is recognized as one of the most influential Chinese language playwrights and theatre directors in the world.⁷⁰⁰ Unlike most of the second

⁶⁹⁸ See Lai Sheng-chuan, *Nayiye, women shuo xiangsheng* 那一夜，我們說相聲 [That evening, we performed cross-talking], DVD. Directed by Lai Sheng-chuan (Taipei County, Hsinchuang City: Qunsheng chuban gongsi, 1993). The play premiered in March 1985 in The National Arts Hall in Taipei. The performances were later made into DVDs in 1993.

⁶⁹⁹ The original meaning of *xiangsheng* was “imitation” or “lampoon” (像生). The performance is comprised of a single person monologue, or multiple performers engaging in a comic dialogue on stage. The dialogue between two protagonists later became the most popular, altering the Chinese characters representing performance from (像生) to a homonym (相聲). The latter literally means “conversation” or “cross-talking.” *Xiangsheng* developed as part of the growing urban culture during the Ming Dynasty. It became widespread as a form of popular entertainment during the Qing Dynasty and the Republican era. For more, see Wang Jue 王決, Wang Jingshou 汪景寿, Teng Tianxiang 藤田香, *Zhongguo xiangsheng shi* 中国相声史 [A history of *xiangsheng* in China] (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 1995).

⁷⁰⁰ For more on the career of Lai Sheng-chuan and his works, see Tao Ching-mei 陶慶梅 and Hou Shu-yi 侯淑儀 (eds.), *Chana zhong: Lai Sheng-chuan de juchang yishu* 剎那中：賴聲川的劇場藝術 [In a split second: Lai Sheng-chuan’s theatrical arts] (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2003); Lai Sheng-chuan, *Lai Sheng-chuan de chuanyi xue* 賴聲川的創意學 [The creative philosophy of Lai Sheng-chuan] (Taipei: Tianxia zazhi, 2006).

generation *waishengren* in Taiwan, Lai was born and raised in Washington DC during the 1950s, where his father served as a member of the ROC diplomatic corps to the United States. He obtained a PhD degree in Performing Arts from UC Berkeley in 1983. Upon completing his degree, Lai returned to Taiwan, and became the founding dean of the College of Theatre at Taipei National University of the Arts (國立臺北藝術大學). In 1984, with the help of his wife and a group of enthusiastic young actors, Lai founded a private theatre group called Performance Workshop (表演工作坊), and began to produce plays in Taiwan. The Workshop adopted an open forum of collective brainstorming, which involved the players in the writing of scripts. Lai also created new genres and methods by combining traditional and contemporary elements, and encouraged actor improvisations and interactions with audiences during the actual performances.⁷⁰¹ These bold and revolutionary measures contributed to the group's overwhelming success at the box office, and won the adulation of the critics. Under Lai's leadership, the Workshop not only became the main driving force behind Taiwan's contemporary theatre, but also influenced the development of performing arts in China with the group's extensive mainland tour in recent years.⁷⁰²

The debut of *Look* in 1989 provided another prominent example of the emerging new discourse centring on the great exodus. This is illustrated by the play's two opening acts entitled "sailing away" (離航) and "refugee's journey" (難民之旅).⁷⁰³ In "sailing away," the scene of the chaotic mass flight at the docks of Shanghai portrayed first by Chang To-wu, then by the contributors to *The Day* is reinvented as a black comedy. This is played out when one of the protagonists in the comic dialogue talks about his father's

⁷⁰¹ See Tsai Yi-chen 蔡宜真, "Lai Sheng-chuan juchang jiti jixing chuanguo de lai yuan yu shijian" 賴聲川劇場集體即興創作的來源與實踐 [The origin and the development of collective creation and improvisation in Lai Sheng-chuan's theatre] (Master thesis, Tainan City: National Cheng Kung University, Department of Chinese Literature, 1999); Pai Tai-tse 白泰澤, "You *Qianxiye women shuo xiangsheng kang Lai Sheng-chuan suo lingdao de jiti jixing chuanguo* 由《千禧夜，我們說相聲》看賴聲川所領導的集體即興創作 [Understanding the group improvisation methods of Lai Sheng-chuan through *Millennium Teahouse*] (Master's thesis, Taipei: National Taiwan University, Department of Drama and Theatre, 2001).

⁷⁰² A recent play that received enthusiastic audience response and raving reviews in China was *The Village* (2008-2009). See Oscar Chung, "A Village on Stage," 60-65.

⁷⁰³ Lai Sheng-chuan, *Zheyiye, sheilai shuo xiangsheng* 這一夜，誰來說相聲 [Look who's cross-talking tonight], DVD. Directed by Lai Sheng-chuan (Taipei County, Hsinchuang City: Qunsheng chuban gongsi, 1989).

botched attempt to leave Shanghai for Keelung at the end of the civil war. The effort failed miserably because he had mistakenly boarded a vessel bound for the Soviet Union in the midst of all the chaos and pandemonium. What we see in this particular act is a large swarm of panicky refugees and renegade soldiers vying for positions to get close to the pier. They play different dirty tricks to get on the few remaining vessels out of the city. Some of the tricks are downright hilarious. “Sailing away” is also filled with cynical but side-splitting comments on various taboo issues under the Nationalist censorship, including the collapse of morale and of the national economy on mainland China in 1949. The second act of “refugee’s journey” presents the withdrawal from the port city of Qingdao in Shandong Province in caricature. The Qingdao Retreat (青島撤退) in May-June 1949 was lauded as an outstanding strategic and logistical manoeuvre in the annals of the Nationalist military history. However, one of the protagonists in the act calls the entire operation “fleeing from Qingdao” (青島逃難). Moreover, a military family’s village established by the state to house the evacuees from Qingdao is jokingly referred to as a “refugee camp” (難民營). Lai’s creative genius shines through in this particular act. He offers incisive and criticism of the KMT White Terror and the official propaganda in a series of bizarre and laughable incidents that happened in the village. These bizarre incidents are the result of miscommunication because *juancun* residents speak different regional dialects which are mutually incomprehensible.⁷⁰⁴

Lai’s rendering of the great exodus in 1949 as a shared refugee experience and his ridicule of the KMT’s defeat in *Look* demonstrate the extent of change in the island’s political climate since the end of martial law. Compared to its prequel *That Evening*, *Look* is obviously more vocal and vitriolic in challenging and criticizing the KMT. Premiering in 1985, *That Evening* talked about various topics in the ROC’s history, but it avoided talking about the civil war and the exodus to Taiwan. Lai’s other major work during the 1980s, the internationally acclaimed *Secret Love in Peach Blossom Land*

⁷⁰⁴ For example, “refugee’s journey” describes how a jumpy villager, who had been avoiding the KMT authorities since coming to Taiwan because of minor wrongdoing in mainland China, mistakenly thought the head of the village and the local police were coming to arrest him. During a routine door-to-door visit, the said villager barricaded himself in the house and refused to come out. The visitors were perplexed, since they simply wanted to inform him about an upcoming neighbourhood cleaning competition held by the village’s residents’ association and the local authorities. The misunderstanding was caused by the head of the village’s heavy Shandong accent, which turned the word “notify” (通知) into “arrest warrant” (通緝). “Lai Sheng-chuan, “Zheyiye, sheilai shuo xiangsheng,” act II.

(1986), did touch upon the pain of separating lovers in 1949, but the refugee discourse was not fully developed until *Look* in 1989.⁷⁰⁵

The narratives contained in *The Day* and *Look* represent an emerging discourse centring on the great exodus. Democratization and *waishengren*'s heartbreaking return home put the final nail in the coffin for the official KMT interpretation of the Chinese civil war, as well as the state's "recovery nationalism." Once the floodgates of memory were open, there was no going back. Since the late 1980s and the early 1990s, there have been a growing number of published personal memoirs, oral history volumes, fictional stories, heritage site preservation projects, as well as scholarly works. A large part of the effort was directed at studying the military family's villages. According to the statistics provided by the ROC Ministry of National Defence, there were close to 900 *juancun* communities located in different parts of the island in the mid-1980s with about 110,000 families.⁷⁰⁶ A considerable number of the second generation *waishengren* grew up in *juancun*, including internationally renowned writers like Lung Ying-tai and Chu Tien-hsin (朱天心, 1958). The latter wrote one of the most widely read stories about *juancun*, *Thinking About My Brothers in the Military Family's Village* (1992).⁷⁰⁷ By the early 1990s, the second generation had moved out, and most of the villages were populated by the aging exiled generation. Many houses became dilapidated due to lack of maintenance and repair. In the mid-1990s, the government passed a law to demolish these residential communities in order to build new public housing. This led to heated policy debates and protests from some of these communities. A large number of cultural projects and studies pertaining to *juancun* were produced in the late 1990s and the early 2000s.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁵ See Lai Sheng-chuan, *Anlian taohuayuan* 暗戀桃花源 [Secret love in peach blossom land], DVD. Directed by Lai Sheng-chuan (Taipei County, Hsinchuang City: Qunsheng chuban gongsi, 1999). *Secret* premiered in March 1986, and has since become one of Lai's most commercially successful and critically-acclaimed plays. Besides two extensive international tours (1991, 1999), a widely popular China tour (2006), and an English adaptation of the play performed at Stanford University (2007), the play was made into an award-winning feature film entitled *The Peace Blossom Land* in 1992.

⁷⁰⁶ Ho Ssu-mi, *Taipei xian juancun dao cha yanjiu*, 23.

⁷⁰⁷ Chu Tien-hsin 朱天心, *Xiangwo juancun de xiongdi men*. For more on the stories and writings about *juancun* see Su Wei-chen 蘇偉貞, *Taiwan juancun xiaoshuo xuan* 臺灣眷村小說選 [Selected novels on the military family's villages in Taiwan] (Taipei: Eryu wenhua, 2004).

⁷⁰⁸ For a few examples, see Pan Kuo-cheng 潘國正, Huang Ming-heng 黃名亨, and Huang Wen-yan 黃文彥 (ed.), *Hsinchu shi juancun wenwu zhuanji* 新竹市眷村文物專輯 [An album of military family's village's cultural artefacts in Hsinchu City] (Hsinchu City: Hsinchu City Government, Cultural Affairs Bureau, 1997); Lin Shu 林樹 et al., *Hsinchu shi juancun tianye diaocha baogao shu* 新竹市眷村田野調查

Another focal point of scholarly investigation was the settlements formed by lower class KMT soldiers and aboriginal communities in eastern Taiwan. This field of research was first pioneered by anthropologist Hu Tai-li in the late 1980s. Hu's work was inspired by the veterans' narratives and street protests, a social movement forecasted by Chang To-wu's instructive writings in the late 1970s and the early 1980s.⁷⁰⁹ The research was later continued in a number of graduate theses, many by students affiliated with the National Dong Hwa University (國立東華大學) in Hualien.⁷¹⁰ In the meantime, the study of other "subgroups" in *waishengren* communities has also been ongoing. These "subgroups" include the exile students from Shandong, the evacuees from Dachen Islands, and the soldiers and refugees who reached Taiwan via Vietnam, Burma, and Korea.⁷¹¹ In more recent years, a collection of illuminating studies and oral history anthologies on different communities and social groups were also published by the Association of Mainlander Taiwanese.⁷¹²

Collectively, these scholarly works and cultural projects not only reinterpreted the events during and following the Chinese civil war, but also redefined *waishengren*'s relationship vis-à-vis China and Taiwan. The process was in part aided by the abolishment of the official *jiguan* registration system in 1992, which further reduced *waishengren*'s already diminishing identifications with their home provinces in China. The great migration between 1948 and 1955 then gradually became an important signifier for the civil war migrants and their descendents in *waishengren* identity formation centred on the island of Taiwan.

報告書 [A field report of the military family's villages in Hsinchu City] (Hsinchu City: Hsinchu City Cultural Centre, 1997); Ho Ssu-mi, *Taipei xian juancun daocho yanjiu*; Chen Chao-hsing 陳朝興 et al., *Juancun wenhua baocun daocho yanjiu, diyi qi* 眷村文化保存調查研究, 第一期 [Historical and cultural preservation of the military housing community, stage 1] (Taipei: Taipei City Government, Department of Cultural Affairs, 2002).

⁷⁰⁹ Hu Tai-li, "Ethnic Identity and Social Condition of Veteran-Mainlanders in Taiwan."

⁷¹⁰ Li Chi-ping, "「Yubing yu nong」de dongbu tuifuhui laobing"; Lai Chin-hui, "Zuqun tonghun yu zuqun guan"; Wu Ming-chi, "Shiluo de huayu."

⁷¹¹ Tao Ying-hui and Chang Yu-fa, *Shandong liuwang xuesheng shi*; Chen Yun-chuan, "Penghu qianxiang—Shandong xuesheng liuwang zhi lu"; Shen Hsing-yi, "Yiwang siqian ge zhengren: hanzhan shiqi 「fangong yishi」 zhi yanjiu"; Ko Kai-pei, "Dachen ren yimin jingyan de rentong lichen"; Huang Hsiang-yu, "Zhiyue junmin zhi jieyun laitai (1949-1953)."

⁷¹² See Waisheng Taiwan ren xiehui 外省台灣人協會, "Zhuanan gongzuo/chuban pin" 專案工作/出版品 [Specialized projects/publications], <http://amtorg-amtorg.blogspot.com/> [accessed March 11, 2011].

Most of the existing literary works, cultural projects, academic research, and oral history anthologies pertaining to the mainlander communities are put forward by second and third generation *waishengren*, many with the help of their parents, grandparents, local communities, and local governments. These efforts have contributed to the publication of a tremendous number of personal stories by the surviving civil war migrants in Taiwan during the past decade. Besides the established tropes of refugee experience, such as catching the “last boat” out of mainland China or being pressed into the retreating KMT army, alternative narratives of the great exodus also started to appear. My interview with the elderly couple from Shanghai presented at the beginning of Chapter 3 is a good example. But there are even more unusual stories. A retired Chinese opera actress told anthropologist Chao Yen-ning she was a tourist who became a reluctant political migrant. The actress stated emphatically: “I wanted to travel. I wanted to go to a sea island. That’s how I came.”⁷¹³ This lady was born to a wealthy merchant family, which allowed her to go on a sightseeing tour in Taiwan even in the midst of the civil war in China. She later found out that she could no longer return to the mainland. Because while she and her companions wore straw hats, travelled around the island, and gorged upon juicy pineapples produced by Taiwanese farmers, the PLA laid siege to her hometown Beijing. This unfortunate woman thus became an exile by sheer chance of history. Chao was fascinated by this narrative. The phrase “wearing a straw hat and travelling around” eventually became the title for one of her monographs on *waishengren*. The fact that this particular experience could be told, recorded, and published in 2001, but not before the late 1980s, illustrates the overall argument this chapter tries to make.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

In his cogent analysis of Japanese society under American occupation in *Embracing Defeat*, a book that won the Pulitzer Prize and a host of other prestigious awards, historian John Dower suggests:

⁷¹³ Chao Yen-ning, *Daizhe caomao dao chu luxing*, 71.

[The] preoccupation with their own misery that led most Japanese to ignore the suffering they had inflicted on others helps illuminate the ways in which victims' consciousness colors the identities that all groups and people construct for themselves.⁷¹⁴

Surely, the violence and injustice suffered by the native Taiwanese and aboriginal communities as a result of the great mainlander exodus to Taiwan paled in comparison to dreadful human misery and horrendous battlefield carnage created by Japan's imperialist ambitions. Moreover, the comparison between Chinese mainlanders and the Japanese is problematic. After all, many of the civil war migrants in Taiwan had been victims of Japanese invasion in China. More importantly, there is a difference between overseas colonial expansion and political exile. Yet one could argue that, like other power-holders forced to come to terms with changing circumstances and power relations, *waishengren* reacted and justified themselves in similar ways as their abominable foes, the Japanese. As a migrant community and a displaced community, first generation *waishengren* possess contradictory characteristics. They are both victims of the Chinese civil war and reluctant accomplices to a colonizing regime-in-exile in relation to the semi-Japanized local residents on the island.

This chapter has attempted to "historicize" the narratives centring on the great exodus put forward by *waishengren* in contemporary Taiwan. It argues that narrating the exodus constitutes an important, if not the most important, element in the ongoing process of mainlander identity formation on the island. Faced with the stigma of being associated with an authoritarian regime after democratization, the civil war migrants and their descendants put great emphasis on narrating the traumas of the great exodus. They try to present themselves as a migrant minority displaced by war who finally found a home on the island.

Yet beyond the apparent utilitarian purposes, there are more important historical reasons why narrating the exodus was impossible before the late 1980s. The most important reason is the political reason. For the KMT, the years between the late 1940s and the early 1950s constituted a period of shame and utter humiliation. Any serious discussions of the events leading to the Nationalist regime's downfall in mainland China could raise touchy questions about social class, state organization, democracy, and

⁷¹⁴ John W Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of WWII* (New York: W W Norton, 1999), 29.

ultimately, responsibility for the defeat. Inevitably, these questions would challenge the legitimacy of the top KMT leaders who escaped to the island in 1949. Therefore, it is not hard to understand why the ghosts of the five hundred martyrs had to be summoned from their graves to defend the altar of Nationalist authority and the anti-Communist crusade. For the civil war migrants, their early hope of returning to China during the 1950s and their cultural nostalgia for home from the 1960s to the 1980s contributed to the lack of writing on the great exodus until recent decades. The reverse culture shock of return in the late 1980s and the rise of Taiwan-centred ideology led to a fundamental change in *waishengren*'s *mentalités* and a new search for belonging. The search no longer focuses on mainland China, but on the history of their own communities in Taiwan. As of now, *waishengren* are converging on a new identity loosely defined by the great exodus, despite the fact that some mainlanders have rejected both the ethnic label and the idea of a collective social group associated with the term *waishengren*. The consolidation, transformation, or even evaporation of a collective *waishengren* identity will rest upon future developments influenced by international politics, socioeconomic developments, and changing cross-Strait relations.

Finally, it should be noted that the author does not intend to argue that the trauma and psychological pains of forced relocation experienced by the hundreds of thousands of civil war exiles between 1948 and 1956, especially the lower class soldiers and civilian refugees, were unreal or fabricated. This can be demonstrated by his effort to present a preliminary social history of the great exodus in Chapter 2. The more important question to ask however is, why people chose to articulate these lived experiences at a certain historical juncture, and not earlier. This chapter illustrates the interplay between politics and historical narratives; between collective social memory and identity formation. It also serves as a reminder that, as historians, our interpretations and perspectives are inescapably coloured by the times we live in, the things we have witnessed, and the ideas to which we have been exposed. Writing a history of the great mainland exodus to Taiwan with an emphasis on migrant *mentalités* and identity formation would have been beyond the imagination of China/Taiwan specialists decades ago.

CHAPTER 6 EPILOGUE

In May 2004, I was on a plane travelling back to Taiwan to collect sources for my master's thesis. The thesis examines the origins of the 228 Incident in Taiwan. I signed up for an overseas Taiwanese sightseeing tour via Japan offered by a local travel agency in my hometown, Richmond, British Columbia. The tour first arrived in Japan's Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe region for a few days and then went to Taipei. The discounts offered by the agency not only saved me hundreds of dollars in airfare, but afforded me a chance to visit the cultural heartland of Japan and its various historical sites. For a person born and raised in a Hoklo family with Japanese-speaking grandparents, this was a long-anticipated pilgrimage. The members of the tour group came not only from the Vancouver area, but also major cities in the US, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Dallas, and New York.

Despite my initial enthusiasm, I soon felt rather uncomfortable around my fellow travellers. Most of the two dozen tour members were over the age of 50, half of them well into their retirement. But age and generation gap was not the main issue. What made me feel awkward and uneasy was the way in which these Taiwanese living in North America talked about the politics in Taiwan, and the intense emotions these conversations often elicited. Throughout the entire trip, whether on the airplane or on the tour bus in Japan, my fellow sightseers never stopped talking about the DPP. They did this for days on end. The comments were harsh and vitriolic. The focal point of their abomination was Chen Shui-bian, the DPP candidate who had been re-elected president of the ROC amidst great controversy just two months earlier.⁷¹⁵ One person could start at

⁷¹⁵ Although the KMT had the majority of popular support, it lost the 2000 presidential election to the DPP because of internal division. A considerable number of the Nationalist constituents did not support their party's nominee Lien Chan (連戰, 1936-). They voted for James Soong (宋楚瑜, 1942-) instead. Sung withdrew from the KMT to run for the president. The split of the KMT voters handed the presidency to the DPP, the opposition party with a minority constituency at the time. Soong's supporters later formed the People's First Party (親民黨, PFP). When the KMT and the People's First Party collaborated in 2004, the KMT supporters, many of whom were *waishengren*, thought victory was within their grasp. Various forecasts also favoured the KMT to win. However, the day before voting, there was an assassination attempt on the DPP presidential candidate and incumbent Chen Shui-bian and vice president (Annette) Lu Hsiu-lien (呂秀蓮, 1944-). When the two campaigned in the streets of Tainan, gunshots were fired at their open-roofed car. Chen and Lu sustained only minor injuries. They were rushed to a local hospital immediately. The event shocked the island's voters, and the DPP garnered a great deal of public sympathy. The KMT went on to lose the 2004 election by a slim margin (less than 30,000 votes or the margin of

any moment and the rest would follow. Some of the discussions became quite intense and vehement to a point that our Japanese bus driver, who did not understand Mandarin became quite worried that he had done something to offend us. Our local guide, who was a young Taiwanese lady living in Japan, did her best trying to direct the groups' attention away from overheated discussions towards the magnificent scenery of the Japanese countryside.

It occurred to me that I was travelling with a bunch of *waishengren*, a group of people my parents and grandparents often referred to as *goa-seng-a* (外省仔) in Taiwanese (Hoklo/Minnan dialect).⁷¹⁶ But I could neither understand their anger nor their viewpoints. Growing up in a Hoklo household with no marital ties to mainlander families, I had a limited understanding of what the term *waishengren* represented. Attending school in Taiwan, I did notice that the principals and some of the older teachers spoke Mandarin with funny accents, accents that were different from my parents. My friends and I often made fun of an elderly janitor who lived alone in a ramshackle shed behind our classroom. The accent of this person was even less intelligible. He was unkempt, smelly, and prone to strange outbursts for reasons unknown. I did not know he was a retired Nationalist veteran, just as I had no idea that many of my teachers and classmates came from mainlander families. My family immigrated to Canada in the early 1990s. I spent most of my formative years living in Toronto before moving to the Greater Vancouver area. I was sheltered from the tumultuous political developments and social transformations on the island.

When I decided to work on the 228 Incident for my master's thesis, I had a crash course on Taiwanese history. I learned, for the first time, how my own relatives had suffered under Nationalist rule. My father's uncle was among the local elites executed by

0.2%). The Nationalist supporters protested vehemently against the results of the election with massive street protests and lawsuits, but to no avail. The controversy surrounding the 2004 election still reverberates today. Many KMT supporters continue to believe that Chen faked his own assassination, despite forensic evidence and investigative reports that suggest otherwise. For more on the 2004 election, see Scott Simon et al., "Domestic and International Considerations of Taiwan's 2004 Presidential Election: An Interdisciplinary Roundtable," *Pacific Affairs* 77:4 (2004/2005): 683-713.

⁷¹⁶ The Hoklo dialect for *waishengren* is *goa-seng-lang*. *Goa-seng-a* is a derivative of *goa-seng-lang*. It is also a derogatory term, but not as offensive as the aforementioned *a-sua* (mountain people) in Chapter 1.

the KMT in Yilan (宜蘭) County during the 228 Incident.⁷¹⁷ My maternal grandfather was arrested and jailed for years because he had been drafted by the Japanese Imperial Navy and had fought in the Philippines during the Pacific War. A small number of Japanese army retirees took up arms against the government during the 228 Incident. Consequently, any Taiwanese who once wore Japanese army uniforms automatically became targets of suspicion. I learned about all these things when conducting research for my thesis. I was both shocked and indignant. Decades of forced silence even among family members attests to the degree of repression under the KMT rule and its residual effects. Even after democratization, my parents and grandparents wanted to shelter their offspring from the horrors of the past.

Under these circumstances, it is not hard to understand why I had little sympathy for my fellow tour members at that particular moment. The dominant discourse of the 228 Incident considers *waishengren*'s carpetbagging behaviour a major contributing factor to native Taiwanese discontent and the subsequent uprising. *Waishengren* also served as the instruments of Nationalist suppression and decades of authoritarian rule on the island. Despite being annoyed, I kept silent and listened carefully to their opinions on various topics, from Chen Shui-bian's dirty political manoeuvres to the evils of the Taiwan independence movement. My fluent Mandarin, a product of the KMT's re-Sinicization policy and cultural hegemony on the island, masked the fact that I came from a native Taiwanese family.

Upon arriving in Taipei, I visited the National Central Library frequently to collect books and historical documents. The Library sits across the street from the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall near the Kaidagelan Boulevard (凱達格蘭大道), where the Presidential Office Building and government ministries are located. I took regular strolls in the vicinity of the Library during study breaks, and came across many retired Nationalist soldiers. These old veterans were still protesting against the 2004 election, long after the KMT politicians and media people had left the scene. They gathered in small groups and waved the Nationalist flags to the passersby. One day, on my way to

⁷¹⁷ For more on the execution of local elites in Yilan during the 228 Incident, see Chang Wen-yi 張文義 and Shen Hsiu-hua 沈秀華, *Gamalan Ererba: Yilan 228 koushu lishi caifang jilu* 噶瑪蘭二二八: 宜蘭 228 口述歷史採訪記錄 [Gamalan 228: records of oral history of the 228 Incident in Yilan] (Taipei: Zili wanbao she wenhua chuban bu, 1992).

lunch, I happened to walk by a group of three sitting under the shade of towering government buildings in scorching mid-summer heat. They took notice of my approach and stopped their conversation. I smiled and gave them a polite nod. One of them stood up and came forward as if he was going to say something to me. The other two pulled him back and said: “Let it go! Let it go!” (算了吧! 算了吧!). The veteran sighed and sat back down. He gazed blankly into distant space. Tears came streaming down his wrinkled face. I was confused and intrigued by his behaviour. Different from my encounter with the well-to-do mainlander tourists from North America a month ago, I found myself feeling genuinely sorry for these aging soldiers. Yet I had little idea why they were protesting.

These chance encounters with *waishengren* left an indelible mark in my memory. Years later, they became the inspiration for a PhD research project looking into the history of the great mainland exodus to Taiwan. The project was driven in part by an attempt to find answers to my lingering questions about the mainlanders. Why do they perceive the rise of Taiwan-centred ideology and Taiwanese nationalism as a threat? Why do they feel out of place amidst the island’s democratization and social transformation? Why do they support the KMT? Were they instruments of Nationalist authoritarian rule, or there is more to the story? Is there a collective *waishengren*/mainlander identity? If there is such a thing, what are its origins and characteristics? What is the relationship between *waishengren* identity and the contested national identities (Chinese national identity versus Taiwanese national identity) in contemporary Taiwan?

This dissertation has examined the history of the civil war migrants or first generation *waishengren* in Taiwan from the late 1940s to the early 1990s. The second and the third generations and those who had immigrated to foreign countries, like the members of the Japan tour group mentioned earlier, are excluded. The dissertation also talks very little about gender relations, intermarriage, and the relationship between the civil war migrants and aboriginal communities. Therefore, the answers this study can provide in regard to the questions above are essentially limited. However, the dissertation does provide some new insights on major issues raised by the existing studies on *waishengren*.

There has been no research on the mainlanders who resided outside Taiwan. Available statistics show that tens of thousands of mainlanders migrated to foreign countries from the mid-1950s to the 1970s, mostly to the United States.⁷¹⁸ In the meantime, major contributors to the study of *waishengren* in Taiwan, such as Stéphane Corcuff and Joshua Fan, have pointed to the importance of generational difference. They suggest that the mainlanders born in Taiwan, many with native Taiwanese or aboriginal mothers, have become more localized compared to the exiled generation. Corcuff talked about the “indigenization” of *waishengren* during the 1990s under the presidency of Lee Teng-hui, a process he called “tropism.”⁷¹⁹ Nonetheless, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Corcuff later had reservations about his previous proposal when he discussed the limitations of “tropism” in a recently published study. After analyzing the data from a survey he conducted in 2007 at the end of Chen Shui-bian’s term in office, Corcuff illustrates that *waishengren*’s identity is dynamic and still changing. Most continue to support the KMT and have concerns about the Taiwanization policy under Chen. Yet there has been little consensus on important political questions among mainlanders, including reunification with China. Interestingly enough, Corcuff found that 67% of his survey population (169 individuals) could accept Taiwan independence, if it was proposed by the KMT.⁷²⁰ Drawing on social surveys conducted in the 1990s, Fan stated that while most of the exiled generation continued to identify themselves as either Chinese or *waishengren*, more and more of the second generation have started to see themselves as Taiwanese. Among the third generation, more identify themselves as Taiwanese than *waishengren*. In Fan’s view, the “Homeless Generation” will soon die

⁷¹⁸ There has been little research on *waishengren* who moved to foreign countries. The migration began in the mid-1950s numbering in the thousands. Tens of thousands emigrated in the early 1970s when the ROC withdrew from the United Nations. Most went to the United States. For more on the statistics, see Qiaowu weiyuanhui 僑務委員會 (ed.), *Qiaowu ershiwu nian* 僑務二十五年 [Twenty five years of overseas work] (Taipei: Haiwai chubanshe, 1957), 131; Chen Jen-yung 陳仁勇, “Zuqun guanxi yu zhengzhi pingdeng zhi yangjiu” 族群關係與政治平等之研究 [A study of ethnic relations and political equality] (Master’s thesis, Taipei: National Chengchi University, the Institute for Research on Three Principles of the People, 1994), 2-3.

⁷¹⁹ Stéphane Corcuff, “Taiwan’s ‘Mainlanders,’ New Taiwanese?” 188; Stéphane Corcuff, *Fenghe rinuan*, 136-149.

⁷²⁰ Stéphane Corcuff, *Zhonghua linguo*, 168.

out and disappear. Their descendants would gradually become the same with the rest of Taiwan as “New Taiwanese” (新台灣人).⁷²¹

“New Taiwanese” was a popular political catchphrase during the late 1990s and the 2000s. According to Stéphane Corcuff, the term can be traced back to one of President Lee Teng-hui’s speeches in 1995.⁷²² It represented Lee’s effort to forge a new imagined community based on Taiwan-centred ideology. The term was coined in a well-known political conversation between Lee and the KMT mayoral candidate Ma Ying-jeou during Taipei’s fiercely contested mayoral election in 1998. The idea played out dramatically in what appeared to be a staged dialogue in Taiwanese between the two. On December 5, 1998, at a massive campaign rally in support of Ma, native Taiwanese Lee asked *waishengren* Ma, “where are you from?” Ma replied, “here is my report to President Lee: I am a Taiwanese. I grew up eating Taiwanese rice and drinking Taiwanese water. I am a new Taiwanese. I was raised in Taipei’s Bangka (艋舺) area. I am a genuine Taipei person.”⁷²³ Ma later won the election over his political foe, the incumbent Chen Shui-bian. On the one hand, Corcuff considers Ma’s emphatic declaration a calculated political move. He sees Ma as a “moderate prounificationist” paying lip service to the rhetoric of “New Taiwanese” only to gain native Taiwanese votes. On the other hand, like Fan, Corcuff seems optimistic about the prospects of *waishengren*’s Taiwanization in the long run.⁷²⁴

Li Kuang-chun also considers generational difference an important factor in studying *waishengren*. However, he sees mainlander identity differently from Corcuff and Fan. Li points to the fact that many of the second generation mainlanders can speak fluent Taiwanese. They could effectively “mask” themselves when interacting with other communities on the island.⁷²⁵ Moreover, Li cautions against the use of close-ended/multiple-choice surveys and questionnaires without a clear understanding of the meaning behind a certain choice. Based on extensive personal interviews, Li argues that

⁷²¹ Joshua Fan, *China’s Homeless Generation*, 152-153.

⁷²² Stéphane Corcuff, “Taiwan’s ‘Mainlanders,’ New Taiwanese?” 186.

⁷²³ There are different versions of translation for this conversation, but they all convey the same message. See Stéphane Corcuff, “Taiwan’s ‘Mainlanders,’ New Taiwanese?” 187; Joshua Fan, *China’s Homeless Generation*, 151.

⁷²⁴ Stéphane Corcuff, “Taiwan’s ‘Mainlanders,’ New Taiwanese?” 187-189.

⁷²⁵ Li Kuang-chun, “Mirror and Masks,” 116-118.

identity is multi-layered and contingent upon the parties and situations involved.⁷²⁶ The rise of Taiwan-centred ideology and Taiwanese nationalism has forced the mainlanders to adjust themselves socially. Yet Li suggests that what *waishengren* identify with or aspire to is embedded in historical development, as well as life circumstances of different generations.⁷²⁷

Chao Yen-ning, Chang Mau-kuei, and Scott Simon have also put great emphasis on history, narrative construction, contingency, and sociopolitical context when they employed the term “diaspora” to analyze *waishengren*. The mainlander narratives and identity are “diasporic” because increasingly *waishengren* feel deprived, alienated, and out of place amidst the surging tide of Taiwanization, regardless of generation. Different from most of her peers who tend to view the mainlanders collectively as an ethnic group, Chao Yen-ning takes a gendered and deconstructive approach. Her ethnographic fieldwork underscores the particularities of individual stories against the dominant political and social discourses on ethnicity, femininity, and sexuality. Chao considers these mere constructs of a male-centric and nationalistic meta-narrative.⁷²⁸ Chang Mau-kuei argues that *waishengren* are becoming a diaspora because many feel they can barely recognize their own country since democratization.⁷²⁹ Yet as Li has already demonstrated, the reactions of mainlanders against political and social transformations under democratization and indigenization are rather complicated. Therefore, Chang and the author argue for the importance of historical research in understanding the nuances of mainlander identity.⁷³⁰ Scott Simon also considers *waishengren* as a diaspora, but in a more critical sense. He draws parallels between the colonial situation in South Africa and Taiwan under Nationalist/mainlander rule. Simon suggests that many *waishengren* have recently begun to portray their family histories as a diasporic journey from China to

⁷²⁶ Li Kuang-chun, “Mirror and Masks,” 102-104.

⁷²⁷ Li considered “lived experiences” and “collective memory” as the most important factor in the identity formation of the first generation *waishengren*. The second generation have been influenced more by factors such as education and intermarriage. For more, see *ibid.*, 107-112.

⁷²⁸ See Chao Yen-ning, “Daizhe caomao dao chu luxing—shilun zhongguo liuwang、nuxing zhuti、yu jiyi jian de jiangou guanxi.” For further analysis of Chao’s works, see Dominic Meng-Hsuan Yang and Chang Mau-kuei, “Understanding the Nuances of Waishengren,” 118.

⁷²⁹ Chang Mau-kuei, “Waishengren: Exploring Diaspora Chinese Nationalism in Taiwan.”

⁷³⁰ Dominic Meng-Hsuan Yang and Chang Mau-kuei, “Understanding the Nuances of Waishengren.”

Taiwan in order to distinguish themselves from the legacy of Chiang Kai-shek's oppressive regime.⁷³¹

What this dissertation illustrates, despite not looking into the stories of the second and third generation *waishengren*, is the crucial role played by the great exodus—lived experiences and sentiments engendered by war and forced relocation—in the historical formation of *waishengren* identity. The research findings in the four main body chapters have great implications for the various issues raised above. First of all, Chapter 2, Chapter 3, and Chapter 4 shed light on the diversity of the civil war migrants, in terms of social class, political orientation, and provincial identity. Not all the migrants were KMT soldiers and officials. Not all were diehard KMT supporters in mainland China. Many were in fact refugees of the Chinese civil war who came to the island by sheer historical chance and with only the clothes on their backs. They were an atomized exiled population who possessed a sojourner mentality and strong provincial identities during the 1950s and the 1960s. The idea of a collective *waishengren* identity, including the discussion of *waishengren* as an ethnic group or a diaspora, is a fairly recent phenomenon.

Second, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 show that ties between *waishengren* and the KMT and the continued alienation between *waishengren* and the local population after the tragic 228 Incident can be attributed to specific historical situations created by the Anti-Japanese war, the great exodus, and the Cold War. Forced to leave home and family on account of prolonged military conflicts, the mainlanders showed a strong desire to return home. Not only did the island's local residents see the civil war migrants as outsiders, most of the civil war migrants also perceived themselves as such before their journey home in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. The migrants' sojourner mentality and cultural nostalgia, a product of their historical circumstances and lived experiences, resulted in the lack of connections with the indigenous society. Their resentment against Japan, forged by years of exile and collective suffering during the Anti-Japanese War, further contributed to the communal division on the island. War and forced relocation destroyed social and familial ties and produced "atomized" individuals. As a socially fractured migrant group who had little in common with the semi-Japanized local population, *waishengren* could only turn to the regime-in-exile. Many hoped that the

⁷³¹ Scott Simon, "Taiwan's Mainlanders: A Diasporic Identity in Construction," 8.

Nationalists could eventually take them back to the mainland with the support of the United States. In the process, the civil war exiles gradually became a privileged minority who served the interests of the KMT. They dominated the civil service, the education sector, the media, and the military. The veterans affiliated with the EYVAC and the military family's villages became the instruments of the KMT during the elections. Nonetheless, Chapter 3 has shown that there were disagreements between the ruling Nationalist elites and the liberal political dissidents. There was also underlying tension between the regime-in-exile and the lower class soldiers and civil servants in the 1950s under the harsh political climate and economic conditions. A considerable number of White Terror victims during the same period were in fact *waishengren*. These historical insights help contemporary scholars gain a better understanding of the formation of the “unholy alliance” and the love-hate relationship between *waishengren* and the KMT.

Third, a major shift in *waishengren*'s *mentalités* and cultural production—from “cultural nostalgia” (Chapter 4) to “narrating the exodus” (Chapter 5)—illustrated the transformative power of reverse culture shock and democratization in the mainlander identity formation. Before the late 1980s *waishengren* reminisced and romanticized about their hometowns and native provinces in China. After the late 1980s, they began to reflect on the collective trauma of the great exodus. It was only after the mainlanders came face to face with the realities of their “imaginary homeland” that new imagined communities became possible—whether as Chinese, *waishengren*, or “New Taiwanese” living in Taiwan or in the ROC. It was only after the end of the Nationalist dictatorship that narrating the exodus started to gain momentum.

Fourth, when the mainlanders reacted to Taiwanization and Taiwanese nationalism, the way in which they reacted did not appear out of thin air. *Waishengren* identity is not simply an antithesis to Taiwanese nationalism. It is also not a contemporary social construct without historical basis. This dissertation demonstrates that exile, displacement, social alienation, and a constant search for belonging have been an integral part of *waishengren* communities since the late 1940s. Hence, Fan is right on the mark when he portrays the impoverished Nationalist veterans as China's “Homeless Generation.” Simon is also insightful in pointing out that the first generation mainlanders,

“already resembled diasporas as defined by Safran.”⁷³² Li on the other hand suggests that what *waishengren* identify with or aspire to is embedded in historical development and the life circumstances of different generations. I agree with this position. A number of studies have already demonstrated important differences between generations.⁷³³ Chapter 4 of this dissertation also suggests that civil war migrants’ cultural nostalgia had limited influence on their children. Nonetheless, we also have to realize that the second and the third generation mainlanders have been the main driving force behind most of the cultural and historical projects since democratization. The children and grandchildren of the civil war exiles are actively producing personal narratives of the first generation *waishengren*, and studying the history of their own communities on the island. The main theme of these projects—whether they are the stories of the impoverished veterans, military family’s villages, or White Terror victims—centres on the great exodus. The legacy of the exiled generation holds special meaning for their descendants. Many *waishengren* born on the island grew up listening to the “refugee stories” of their parents and grandparents at home. It was only after democratization and the painful return that narrating the exodus took precedence over the official KMT history. These narratives offer a discursive domain whereby scholars can observe the process of *waishengren* identity formation in contemporary Taiwan.

Chapter 5 argues that the great exodus can be considered the “founding trauma” or the “founding myth” of *waishengren*. For the descendants of the civil war migrants, the history of their families in Taiwan began with the great migration during the Chinese civil war. As mentioned, Simon sees narrating the exodus as a way for *waishengren* to separate themselves from Chiang Kai-shek’s authoritarian rule on the island. While agreeing with Simon, this dissertation examines the phenomenon beyond its present-day utilitarian purposes. It might be easier for the descendants of the civil war migrants to distance themselves from the unpleasant memories of the regime-in-exile, but it would be harder for *waishengren* to disavow the Nationalist Party completely. The main reason for this is not only the contemporary party politics in Taiwan, but also historical developments. The KMT has been an integral part of the mainlander communities on the

⁷³² Scott Simon, “Taiwan’s Mainlanders: A Diasporic Identity in Construction,” 5.

⁷³³ See Sun Hung-yeh, “Wuming、ziwo、yu lishi: Taiwan waishengren dierdai de shenfen yu rentong”; Tung Yi-ning, “Waisheng disandai de guojia rentong.”

island since the late 1940s. This dissertation illustrates the relationship between lived historical experiences and identity formation. It underscores the interplay between collective memory and changing sociopolitical contexts. It also shows how a historical or “diachronic” approach can help us better understand the intricate issues and debates surrounding *waishengren*’s identity formation at the present time.

Finally, this dissertation offers ways to rethink the most complicated and confusing issue pertaining to *waishengren*—their national identity. What is the relationship between *waishengren* identity and the contested national identities in Taiwan, namely, Chinese nationalism versus Taiwanese nationalism? On the one hand, Corcuff and Joshua Fan argue that *waishengren* have become “Taiwanized.” Corcuff’s latest study indicates that less and less mainlanders saw reunification with China as the only option for Taiwan. As mentioned, the same study even suggests that many young *waishengren* could accept Taiwan independence if the policy was proposed by the KMT.⁷³⁴ Nonetheless, both Corcuff and Fan were careful not to make any simple and across-the-board judgment on the mainlanders’ political views, seeing them as a diverse community in this regard. On the other hand, Li, Chao, Chang, and Simon focused on the identity dilemma faced by *waishengren* amidst the island’s rapid political and social transformations. Li demonstrated that many second generation mainlanders adopted a “masking” strategy in daily interactions with people they did not know so well. Chao, Chang, and Simon showed that *waishengren* felt excluded and alienated under the Taiwanization policy of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian. They employed the term “diaspora” to describe this sense of displacement.

This dissertation illustrates two different situations, one faced by the civil war exiles; the other faced by their descendants born in Taiwan. First, for the dwindling exiled generation, their enthusiasm for mainland China quickly dissipated at the moment they came face to face with the changes under the PRC. Most returned to Taiwan with a profound sense of loss, disappointment, and disorientation. Many never set foot in China again. Others chose to visit their relatives across the Strait periodically. After forty long years, the great exodus finally “settled down” in Taiwan, for better or for worse. Undoubtedly, some of the aging migrants will continue to hope for a reunification with

⁷³⁴ Stéphane Corcuff, *Zhonghua linguo*, 160-168.

China in their lifetime. The reverse culture shock made the returnees realize that the homeland they had reminisced about for decades existed only in their dreams. Yet reunification still represents a psychological and symbolic return, a final end to their long journey home. Second, the situation is radically different for most of the *waishengren* born and raised on the island. They now form the majority of the mainlander population since the older exiled generation are dying out. Many Taiwan-born mainlanders show definite signs of becoming localized, or, in Corcuff's terminology, exhibiting Taiwanese "tropism." Indeed, it has become difficult to tell the descendants of the great exodus from the offspring of the semi-Japanized native Taiwanese. The most important marker of cultural difference on the island is language. Nowadays, many young *waishengren* speak fluent Taiwanese. A considerable number of young native Taiwanese speak Mandarin better than their mother tongue, myself included. The descendants of the civil war migrants know full well that their future lies with the fate of the island. It is in this context that narrating the exodus takes on important political, social, and symbolic meanings. Therefore, if we consider the mainlanders as a diaspora in contemporary Taiwan, like Chao, Chang, and Simon have suggested, the "home country/imagined centre" this diverse community aspires to is the historical legacy of the ROC, not the PRC or the abstract notions of "Chinese nationalism" and "Chinese culture." Therein lies the paradox of employing the concept of "diaspora" in the study of mainlanders.⁷³⁵ Neither the civil war migrants nor their descendants travelled beyond their national borders. Collectively speaking, they were the people who held political power and forced their culture upon the local population until democratization. Yet the subjective feelings of displacement, deprivation, and alienation from the local society are real for both the civil war migrants and the Taiwan-born *waishengren*, and for different historical reasons.

Despite attempts to disengage themselves from the wrongdoings of the Nationalist regime in the past, most *waishengren* continue to support the KMT after democratization. Many are deeply suspicious of the DPP. They are disappointed and incensed by indigenization and Taiwanization, which many think could lead to the triumph of Hoklo culture and nationalism at the expense of other communities on the island. Consequently, Taiwan-born *waishengren* are sensitive to any nativist claims portraying them as

⁷³⁵ Corcuff also alludes to this point. See Stéphane Corcuff, *Zhonghua linguo*, 130-131.

perpetual outsiders. They have also grown up on the island and have their own family history there. Viewed from this perspective, narrating the exodus becomes a way for the descendants of the civil war migrants to assert themselves in the island's new imagined community based on the idea of "four major ethnic groups." The emerging mainlander identity in contemporary Taiwan is not simply an antithesis to Taiwanese-centred ideology. It is in fact an integral part of the emerging discourse.

A diachronic view of mainlanders' *mentalités* from past to the present day helps explain why *waishengren* feel extremely anxious and uncomfortable about the DPP's highly-publicized campaign to seek international support for the island state's *de jure* independence. As a community immersed in the traumatic memories of war, exile, and separation, *waishengren* react instinctively and strongly to any political manoeuvre they consider a provocation to Beijing. Regardless of the PRC's policy towards the ROC and regardless of the changing currents of international politics, Taiwan cannot give the CCP an excuse to start a war. Many mainlanders think maintaining peace and status quo in the Taiwan Strait while strengthening commercial ties with China is the most suitable course of action at the present time. It is the best way to ensure that they and their children will not have to go into exile again in the foreseeable future. *Waishengren* continue to view the DDP and the Pan-Green Coalition⁷³⁶ with a jaundiced eye not only because they feel excluded by Taiwanization, but also because they feel uneasy about the looming prospects of war due to the native Taiwanese politicians' hasty and reckless moves to assert the island's *de jure* independence internationally. Nonetheless, these reactions are often taken one-sidedly as mainlanders' tendency to support reunification with China. Corcuff's recently published survey on Taiwan-born *waishengren* mentioned earlier presents a clear challenge to this assumption. A considerable number of the surveyed

⁷³⁶ There are two major political coalitions in Taiwan's contemporary politics. The Pan-Blue Coalition (泛藍聯盟) is headed by the KMT. The Coalition is joined by two smaller parties established by politicians who left the KMT—the New Party and the People's First Party. On the other side of the political spectrum is the Pan-Green Coalition (泛綠聯盟) led by the DPP. It is joined by another smaller pro-independence party called Taiwan Solidarity Union (台灣團結聯盟). Taiwan Solidarity Union takes a more radical and militant stance than the DPP in terms of demanding for the declaration of independence. The Union was established in 2001 by the supporters of President Lee Teng-hui. Lee left the KMT after the 2000 presidential election. Many of his followers also withdrew from the KMT. They formed the basis for Taiwan Solidarity Union.

population in 2007 said they could accept independence, if the policy was proposed by the KMT.

In *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities* (2004), anthropologist Melissa J Brown argues that identity is based on “social experience,” not cultural and nationalist claims to a common ancestry or bloodline.⁷³⁷ Brown talks about the importance of cultural meaning, social power, migration, intermarriage, and regime change in identity formation. Her research focuses on the changing identities of plains aborigines in south Taiwan and *Tujia* (土家) in China in relation to Han Chinese identity. *Tujia* is an ethnic minority officially recognized by the PRC. They reside in China’s central and south-western provinces. Brown’s work examines plains aborigines in Tainan and *Tujia* living in Hubei Province’s Enshi (恩施) Autonomous Prefecture. Brown uses her research findings to suggest that Taiwan’s effort to construct a new nationalist discourse different from China based on their non-Han aboriginal heritage is a moot point since similar processes of Sinicization and de-Sinicization of minority groups have taken place in both Taiwan and China. The PRC and its citizens will never accept Taiwan’s argument that the Taiwanese are not “Chinese,” if Taiwanese identity continues to be articulated according to the same political rhetoric and cultural logic that constituted Han identity in the first place.

Nonetheless, Brown considers Taiwanese identity authentic and real. The PRC’s territorial claim on Taiwan based on a common Han Chinese ancestry becomes problematic when the island’s democratization in recent decades has forged a new imagined community. This new imagined community, different from the much flaunted political rhetoric centring on ancestry and bloodline, is shaped by genuine “social experience.”⁷³⁸ Brown’s notion of “social experience” is grounded in both ethnographic fieldwork and historical research. Her interpretation illustrates the interplay between changing material circumstances (migration, intermarriage, socioeconomic conditions, and political change) and shifting social power/cultural meaning, while paying attention to human agency. The theoretical framework constitutes an ambitious attempt to

⁷³⁷ Melissa J Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), xi.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-13.

construct a synthesis that can go beyond the postmodernism-science divide in social theory.⁷³⁹

This dissertation is far less ambitious and sophisticated than Brown's monograph in terms of theoretical formulation. Nevertheless, the research findings and interpretation presented in this dissertation resonate with Brown's argument on many different levels. The author illustrates the importance of taking a historical or "diachronic" approach to the research on identity formation. The mainlander identity, which is still evolving and being contested at the present time, is a product of political and social changes in Taiwan in recent decades. However, it has origins in *waishengren*'s lived experiences and the transformation of their *mentalités* through time. The great exodus played a quintessential role in shaping the civil war migrants and their descendants. As Brown has suggested, a genuine Taiwanese identity different from the identity of PRC residents does exist. This Taiwanese identity emerged out of collective "social experience." *Waishengren* represent an instructive and fascinating example because they are considered the population group on the island who are said to hold strong irredentist views and Chinese nationalism, and are most likely to support reunification. Yet, as the previous chapter has illustrated, the end of Nationalist authoritarianism led to the crumbling of the myth built around the edifice of "mainland recovery." The real fact is, after living in Taiwan for forty years, most of the civil war exiles no longer feel at home when returning to China. Most choose to spend the rest of their lives in Taiwan, especially those with children and grandchildren on the island. Meanwhile, their descendants are currently constructing historical narratives about their communities on the island that contribute to the emerging discourse on Taiwan's new imagined community.

The study of *waishengren* also reveals the diversity and the contentiousness of Taiwanese identity, a situation that will likely continue as long as the political status of the island remains uncertain. This dissertation demonstrates that communal tensions on the island are rooted in history. They can only be resolved through honest and self-reflexive study and debate of the island's past. Different communities on the island must

⁷³⁹ For a good discussion of Brown's monograph that incorporates opinions from different scholars, see Murray A Rubinstein et al., "Book Review Roundtable: Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities by Melissa J Brown," *Issues & Studies* 40 3/4 (2004): 453-509.

make attempts to understand the lived experiences and the perspectives of other communities.

Many *waishengren* will continue to feel offended by the nativist claims of the native Taiwanese without trying to understand the reasons and the emotions behind these claims. They will be persistent in voicing their strong opposition to declaring *de jure* independence. Under the current presidency of Ma Ying-jeou these tendencies might become more pronounced and more assertive. However, this does not mean the mainlanders will automatically support reunification with China when push comes to shove. Many of the Taiwan-born *waishengren* will even oppose it strongly. The reasons for this have already been discussed at length. The PRC will certainly insist on its territorial claim on Taiwan regardless of what the islanders want or how they think. Beijing will continue to regard the ROC as a breakaway province during the Chinese civil war—an inseparable, inalienable, and indispensable part of the country populated by fellow Chinese compatriots. A real solution to the Taiwan-China problem will, in the end, be determined by international negotiations and great power politics, or, in a more ominous scenario, war. Like the people in Hong Kong, the islanders might have very little say in their future. But one thing is for certain. The CCP's political rhetoric of “returning to the ancestral land” (回歸祖國) has long since lost its appeal to the residents on the island, including the descendants of the civil war migrants. If home is where the heart is, the heart of mainlanders is now in Taiwan. As of now, they are converging on a new identity loosely defined by the great exodus. This identity is rooted in the mainlanders' “social experience” on the island. Nonetheless, the consolidation, transformation, or even evaporation of a collective *waishengren* identity will ultimately rest upon future developments influenced by international politics, socioeconomic developments, and the changing cross-Straits relations.

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