THE RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE TAIWANESE IDENTITY IN THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION: THE TAIWANESE POLITICAL SONGS ANALYSES

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The purpose of this study is to discuss the identity-building, -changing, and -reconstructing process during the postcolonial period in Taiwan. By applying the theoretical framework of postcolonialism and the perspective of critical rhetoric, the discussions and analyses in this study examine the opposing positions between the superstructure and subaltern, the relationship between hegemonic authorities and people’s resistance in the transition process among different identities, and all types of factors that influence the changes of national identity in Taiwanese society after WWII. The rhetorical artifact in this study is Taiwanese political songs. As very powerful rhetorical tools, songs sung on political occasions are full of political meanings to present voices from both colonizer and colonized. Following historical trends, different types of political songs are selected to reveal different perspectives of political standpoints. By analyzing examples of Chinese patriotic songs under martial law, Taiwanese protest songs during the post-martial law period and early 1990s, and theme songs of large contemporary social movements, this study attempts to investigate the (re)construction of the Taiwanese identity in the process of decolonization.
Dedicated to My Family
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Introduction

As the first country that was colonized by a non-Western country, Taiwan was a Japanese colony for 50 years (1895-1945). Taiwan was returned to China after World War II, and Taiwanese people immediately received governance from their previous enemy—China. Taiwanese people, therefore, faced a series of huge differences in terms of political system, language, identity, and even the level of civilization. After World War II, Taiwanese people have changed their identities, culturally and nationally, from Japanese to Chinese and then to the recent Taiwanese. Because of the popularity of postcolonialism and the trend of globalization, more and more Taiwanese are aware of their sense of identity. Especially after Taiwan was released from martial law in 1987, people have held much more freedom than before in terms of the rights of press, speech, and assembly. Taiwanese people finally have the chance to re-examine the history that was covered and distorted by previous colonizers and authorities as well as to recall the memories and pains while Taiwan was colonized.

The struggle of identity is an inevitable issue that many previous colonies have faced in the process of decolonization. When people that had colonial memories have chances to make their own choices, they would suddenly face a series of enormous challenges: how do they re-read the history that they were forced to forget? How do they break away from the influences, politically, socially and culturally, of previous colonizers? What is the meaning of an independent state? How do they face the complex domestic and international relations after they achieve independence? In fact, all of the above questions refer to an essential issue—how do they identify themselves when they are facing a new epoch?
Homi Bhabha, an important postcolonial theorist, once discussed the question of identification. According to him, identification “is always the production of an ‘image’ of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image” (Bhabha, 1994a, p. 117). Bhabha’s statement points out the rhetorical meaning of identification because, as discussed below, the “image” of identity is actually constructed throughout people’s daily rhetorical activities. Thus, the further question is: How is an identity itself constructed? When we want to study a case of a state that was facing a painful identity transition after it had been released from previous colonizers and, consequently, is facing an identity crisis in recent time, a more appropriate question is: How do people in that state rhetorically reconstruct their cultural and national identities in the process of decolonization?

Purpose and Critical Questions

This study focuses on Taiwan—the current official name is the Republic of China (ROC). Especially I will critically analyze political songs during different periods in Taiwan after WWII. The critical lens of this study will examine the opposing positions between the superstructure and the subaltern, the relationship between hegemonic authorities and people’s resistance in the transition process among different identities, and all types of factors that influence identity replacements in Taiwan. The specific critical questions are listed below:

1. By analyzing Chinese patriotic songs, how did the KMT government shape people’s national identity under martial law?

2. By analyzing Taiwanese protest songs, how is local consciousness revealed in these

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1 The identity crisis and ethnic conflicts in contemporary Taiwan will be discussed in Chapter Five.

2 KMT is the abbreviation of Kuomintang or the so-called The Nationalist Party. KMT was established by the founding father of the Republic of China (ROC), Dr. Sun Yet-sen in 1894. KMT was the ruling party of the ROC from 1912 to 2000. See the below section and Chapter Two for details.
songs and how does local consciousness reinforce the development of an alternative Taiwanese identity?

3. By analyzing theme songs sung in two large social movements in 2004 (the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally) and 2006 (the Red Clothes movement), what kind of identity consciousness is shared in today’s Taiwan?

I have chosen political songs as rhetorical artifacts to answer the above questions for two reasons. First, music is a powerful rhetorical tool that can be utilized by the authority to control a state, to reinforce a certain identity, and to implement its political policies (Stewart, Smith & Denton, Jr., 2001). According to Gramsci’s claims of hegemony, people’s attitudes, values, and beliefs are controlled, or at least influenced, by the state mechanisms (Pratkanis & Aronson, 2000). A government can lead the construction of cultural identity purposely in order to develop a specific national identity or to achieve some particular political goals. Political songs are suitable rhetorical artifacts that can be used to examine the types of cultural and national identities that are presented in different political songs under different political conditions in Taiwan.

In addition, holding the viewpoint of postcolonialism, this paper tends to cover both the colonial and colonized discourses. Therefore, protest songs will also be analyzed in order to discuss the identity change process during the postcolonial period in Taiwan, as well as the reconstruction of an emerging, hybrid identity in contemporary Taiwan. Songs that were spread by an authoritarian government and songs that were sung on political occasions against that government are conspicuous artifacts to represent the changes of identity in Taiwan in the past 60 years. The analysis of Chinese patriotic songs and Taiwanese protest songs not only present
the special moments in Taiwan’s modern history, but also reveal the process of conflicts, interaction, and emergence among different ethnic groups in Taiwan.

The chart below (see Figure 1) covers all elements that will be discussed in this study. The main purpose of the above critical questions is to present, analyze, and criticize the identity-building, -changing, and -reconstructing process during the postcolonial period (after Japanese Colonization) in Taiwan.

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Figure 1. The identity-building, -changing, and -reconstructing process during the postcolonial period in Taiwan.

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3 Because of the limitation of space, this chart puts the Holo group on top in order to present the ambivalent relationships with other minority groups. However, it does not mean that the Holo group in today’s Taiwan is the same as previous colonizers.
“Who am I?” is a question that has been asked by Taiwanese people for hundreds of years. In today’s Taiwan, the identity crisis and the ethnic conflicts interact with each other insofar as it is not easy to identify which one is the cause or effect. History is a mirror for the development and civilization of human beings. We learn history, in part, to avoid the mistakes of the past. While, this study has historical value, the aim, primarily, is to respond to the above critical questions. I want to not only examine the process of reconstruction of the newly-formed Taiwanese identity but also discuss who or what factors actually influence the identity reconstruction in the process of decolonization in Taiwan. I anticipate this study will contribute to answers about the identity crisis and ethnic conflicts in today’s Taiwan.

Literature Review

The theoretical framework in this study is postcolonialism. As an important theoretical concept that has influenced many different disciplines in the late 20th century, postcolonialism attracted the Western academy’s attention from the late 1970s to early 80s (Moore-Gilbert, 1997). However, the development of this scholarship can be traced back to the 1940s and 50s. According to a Taiwanese postcolonial scholar, Song (2003), the development of postcolonialism can be roughly divided into three periods. Fanon’s book, *Black Skin, White Masks*, published in 1952 can be treated as the starting of this scholarship. As Song said, Fanonism “is the foundation of postcolonial studies” (p. 11; trans. Lee, 2008). Said’s *Orientalism* published in 1978 brought the Western academy to review its arrogance of power as well as its biased, sketchy image of the East. Said’s work also offers a theoretical framework that explains the expansion of Western imperialism and colonialism. The latest development of postcolonialism is from the 1980s to

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4 Many Chinese works cited in this study are mainly translated by me. While citing the English translations in the text, I will put the name of the translator and the date of the translation after the name of the author and the original publication date.
present. As a burgeoning theory, postcolonialism has been applied to wider social contexts, such as social class, art, literature, social power, gender, race, etc.

Starting with the discussion of Gramsci’s standpoint of hegemony and its relationship with postcolonialism and daily rhetorical activities, this section will provide a general overview of postcolonial scholarship, including its interdisciplinary characteristic. In addition, the discussion will focus on the connection between postcolonialism and nationalism and the relationship among language, culture, and identities. The main purpose of this literature review is to present a theoretical framework to examine Taiwanese political songs selected in this study and to answer critical questions in the following chapters.

*Postcolonialism, Hegemony, and Rhetorical Activities*

The concepts of hegemony, orientalism, and postcolonialism have somehow direct or indirect connections. Postcolonial scholarship is deeply influenced by Edward Said’s (1978) work *Orientalism*, and Said’s criticism of Orientalism is enlightened by Gramsci’s (1971) idea of hegemony. In this section, the major ideas of hegemony will be discussed in order to present how national identity is established and how the superstructure in a society directly influences people’s national identity from people’s daily rhetorical activities.

Gramsci, an Italian Marxist theorist, developed the concept of hegemony to describe and analyze “how modern capitalist societies were organized, or armed to be organized, in the past and present” (Bocock, 1986, p. 27). Many Marxists before Gramsci emphasized, or maybe overemphasized, the function of economy and treated Marxism as a mechanical formulation to analyze class struggle between the working class and ruling class in a capitalist society. Gramsci, however, overthrew some traditional Marxist thoughts; his work on hegemony was equally
concerned with cultural, religious, philosophical, and moral factors as well as economic and political issues.

In Gramsci’s analysis of hegemony, he clarified two important concepts: civil society and political society:

What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two major superstructural “levels”: the one that can be called “civil society”, that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called “private”, and that of “political society” or “the State”. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of “hegemony” which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of “direct domination” or command exercised through the State and “juridical” government. (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12)

Gramsci’s definition of political society means a mechanism of a state which is directly controlled by dominant social groups and a political government. These dominant groups appoint intellectuals to exercise the concept of hegemony. Civil society, according to Femia (1987), is “the ideological superstructure, the institutions and technical instruments that create and diffuse modes of thought” (p. 26). These social or “private” organizations in civil society, such as church, school, labor union, family, community, etc., construct and shape people’s attitudes, beliefs, values, and identities through daily activities. In addition, they may serve to support the dominant groups in political society to maintain an existed social order or to satisfy some particular dominant interests. Hegemony, therefore, can be described as “an ‘organizing principle’ or world view (or combination of such world-views), that is diffused by agencies of ideological control and socialization into every area of daily life” (Boggs, 1976, p. 39).

In terms of the function of rhetoric, according to Makay (1980), rhetoric is “a way of thinking and expressing feelings and ideas for purposes of generating knowledge, influencing
values, beliefs, attitudes, and actions (persuasion) and achieving mutual understanding” (p. 185). Boggs and Makay’s statements above reveal the connection between hegemony and rhetoric. Indeed, the ideology that the superstructure purposely diffused is constructed and then reinforced by people’s daily rhetorical activities. From analyzing rhetorical artifacts, therefore, we can understand how hegemony rhetorically functions in a society and how ideology is spread and accepted via rhetorical activities.

*The Development of Postcolonialism*

Said adopted Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, especially on the cultural perspective. According to Said’s (1978) understanding of Gramsci’s work, he indicated, “In a society not totalitarian, then, certain cultural forms predominate over others, just as certain ideas are more influential than others; the form of this cultural leadership is…an indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in the industrial West” (p. 7). Said’s criticism of Orientalism exposed the biased image of the Orient in Western literature. The main ideas of Orientalism attack the Eurocentric domination and imperialism of the Eastern world by the Western world. In Said’s work, he indicated that Orientalism reflects the concepts of geopolitics and the superiority complex of Western nations. When Westerners distort or smear a non-European/Oriental image, they are also constructing their own images, putting them in a prominent position, and representing biases of racism and nationalism. As Chun (2000) argued, Said’s *Orientalism* “broadened the scope of existing analysis by making all forms of discourse, thought and representation, conscious or unconscious, potentially complicit in colonialism’s project of (political) domination-cum-(cultural) hegemony” (p. 380). According to Quayson (2000), the main concepts of Orientalism were further developed by Said in the areas of politics, sociology, as well as literary and cultural studies. Said’s thesis of Orientalism points out the clear
relationship between knowledge and power and represents the importance of cultural power in postcolonial scholarship.

The issue of power and the relationship between cultural, historical, and political contexts and colonial hegemony are the main focuses of postcolonialism. According to Shome and Hegde (2002a), “Postcolonial scholarship studies these relations not only from the framework of dominance but also from that of resistance” (p. 258). In other words, postcolonialism attempts to represent the view of people/nations that were colonized in the past and to reflect the unequal treatment between political, knowledgeable, and cultural power of (Western) dominance and subaltern groups. Therefore, the process of rebuilding national identities after a nation was decolonized, studies of subalternity, the discussion of nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and globalization, the process of relocating cultural identity, the controversy of hybridity, and the critiques to nationalism and imperialism are some mainstream topics of postcolonial studies (Shome & Hegde, 2002a; Weng & Wu, 2002).

Postcolonial scholarship mainly discusses the influence of Western and European hegemony and represents the view of nations that were colonized by Western and European countries. However, because many postcolonial researchers are Indians, such as Bhabha and Spivak, and have applied postcolonialism to study Indian society in the contemporary world, the ideas of postcolonialism have become broader and more transnational. For instance, when Hegde and Shome interviewed Spivak in 2002, Spivak indicated that postcolonialism “provides a theoretical and historical focus to multiculturalism” (Hegde & Shome, 2002a, p. 271). Another issue of cultural power in postcolonial scholarship is the studies of hybridity. According to Weng and Wu (2002), in the process of decolonialization, a nation tends to relocate its cultural and national identities and becomes heavily invested in nativism. Bhabha (1992) also indicated that
postcolonial perspectives “formulate their critical revisions around issues of cultural difference, social authority, and political discrimination in order to reveal the antagonistic and ambivalent moments within the ‘rationalizations’ of modernity” (p. 437). However, because of the cultural influence of its former colonizer, a nation cannot exactly return and rebuild the social and cultural contexts that existed before colonization.

*The Interdisciplinary Characteristic of Postcolonialism*

As Quayson (2000) stated, interdisciplinarity is one essential aspect of postcolonialism; also, the synoptic dimensions of the interdisciplinarity include being devoted to cooperative problem-solving, linking discrete disciplines, improving comprehensive theories that can be applied across different fields, establishing new areas from overlapping different disciplines, and adopting examples and research processes across different fields. Therefore, according to Shome and Hegde (2002a), the scope of postcolonialism extends beyond a single theory or discipline. Standpoints in Marxism, poststructuralism, feminism, and psychoanalysis can be used to study historical, cultural, and contemporary colonial dimensions.

In the communication discipline, the connection between postcolonial scholarship and communication studies improves the sense of social transformation and multi-cultural interactions within the global and local contexts. Shome and Hegde (2002b) reminded readers to notice the impact of globalization and then asked communication scholars to hold a critical attitude to deal with the issues of identity, space, culture, representation, and image in postcolonial locations. Other communication scholars also apply postcolonialism to diverse communication topics. For instance, Tsai (2003) employed postcolonial concepts of ambivalence and decolonization to analyze Japanese TV drama. Rao and Wasserman (2007) adopted
postcolonial theory to enhance arguments in global media and journalism ethics. As they indicated,

A postcolonial perspective to universal media ethics will imply approaching the search for global ethics not from the position of dominance but from the margins of globalization. As such, a postcolonial approach to media ethics will introduce a radical critique of unequal power relationships between discourses. (p. 37)

In addition, Broadfoot and Munshi (2007) theoretically examined postcolonial forms of contemporary organizations as well as the impact of postcolonialism on organizational communication discipline.

Postcolonialism and nationalism. As Shome and Hegde (2002a) indicated, postcolonialism and postcolonial theorists “provide us with the intellectual fervor and language with which to deconstruct privilege and account for the complex interconnections between power, experience, and culture” (p. 263). Quayson (2000) defined postcolonialism as an integrated study that analyzes the past and present effects of colonialism and imperialism; the coverage is from the local level of previous colonial societies to the global level of developments that are affected by the new types of empire. Therefore, economic and military forces are not the main focus of postcolonialism; on the contrary, this scholarship concentrates on discussing the importance of the historical context of colonization, cultural influence during or after the colonial period, and the relationship between decolonization and the reconceptualization of nationalism.

In the relationship between postcolonialism and nationalism, as Lazarus (1994) stated, the role of postcolonial scholarship is “to construct a standpoint—nationalist, liberationist, internationalist—from which it is possible to assume the burden of speaking for all humanity” (p. 220). As an important theorist and activist in the area of postcolonialism, Fanon (1994) once
discussed the relationship between culture and nation. As he stated, “culture is first the expression of a nation” (p. 50) and “culture is the expression of national consciousness” (p. 51). From the process of creating a national culture, people under colonization would also establish the consciousness of self. Fanon therefore claimed that liberating a colonized country is a necessary step to fight against colonialism and recreate its national culture and consciousness.

Nation, national identity, and language. Anderson (1991) defined nation as “an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (p. 6). According to Anderson, people may not know most members of the same nation, but they can still establish a common image shared by each member of the same community. Thus, he argued that nation is an imagined construction rather than an existing entity. Gellner (1983) also indicated two important elements of a nation. According to his definition, the sense of nation means:

Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communication…Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations maketh man; nations are the artifacts of men’s convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. (p. 7)

Smith’s (1991) standpoint contains a more material sense but is partly similar to Gellner’s position. According to him, a nation can be defined as “a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (p. 14). In my view, part of Smith
and Gellner’s definitions of nation actually refers to the function of state because state is the political entity that has a legal right to access state mechanisms, such as military, administration, court, etc.

In terms of the relationship between nation and national identities, Smith (1991) agreed that these two concepts are constructed by many interrelated components, such as ethnicity, culture, territory, economy, and legal-political status. One powerful way for the dominant group to shape, switch, or reinforce people’s identities is to control the language. When Chatterjee (1993) discussed the bilingualism of intellectuals in Asian and Africa colonial societies, he indicated:

The bilingual intelligentsia came to think of its own language as belonging to that inner domain of cultural identity, from which the colonial intruder had to be kept out; language therefore became a zone over which the nation first had to declare its sovereignty and then had to transform in order to make it adequate for the modern world. (p. 7)

According to Anderson (1991), language has rhetorical power that can be treated as a force to merge collective identities to an “imagined community.” In other words, the political function of language is to establish national consciousness and create the sense of belonging. As Anderson expressed, “…from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood, and that one could be ‘invited into’ the imagined community” (p. 145). A Taiwanese scholar, Shih Cheng-Feng, (2001) also indicated that language is a fundamental element of constructing ethnic or national identity. Irvine (1989) went one step further to explain the relationship between language and ideologies. According to him, language ideologies are “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships together with their loading of political and moral interests” (p. 225). Therefore, the language policy is a powerful tool for a colonizer or an authoritarian government to maintain its hegemonic position and to control political authority.
Rhetorical Perspective

Critical Rhetoric

By adopting a postcolonial point of view and a rhetorical foundation, this study plans to evaluate messages presented in political songs under different political conditions in Taiwan, to examine the underlying meanings of such messages, to analyze various factors that shape people’s construction and reconstruction of identities at different periods as well as to criticize the ambivalent relationship between the authorities and the subalterns. It is important for a researcher to hold a standpoint of skepticism, especially when he or she plans to deal with political rhetoric that relates to the relationship between power and resistance. Accordingly, the rhetorical perspective I adopt is critical rhetoric because it is the most appropriate approach to answer the critical questions and arguments in this study.

Critical rhetoric is a critical approach of contemporary rhetorical studies addressed by McKerrow in 1989. It is different from traditional approaches because it does not limit itself to analyzing and criticizing the ways in which rhetoric is constructed to adopt to either specific or universal audiences. Also, it is different from other contemporary rhetorical approaches because critical rhetoric turns beyond a limited focus on the analyses of message, content, or audience. The aim of critical rhetoric, as McKerrow (1989) stated, is to “understand the integration of power/knowledge in society” (p. 91). In fact, this approach recognizes the partisan characteristics of rhetoric and emphasizes on deconstructing an existing power structure and favoring the formation of new structures of power or knowledge.

McKerrow (1989) pointed out two theoretical rationales of critical rhetoric: a critique of domination and a critique of freedom. The idea of a critique of domination is deeply influenced by Marxist thoughts, such as ideology, hegemony, and the interaction between class and people.
The concept of domination, according to Giddens’ (1979) explanation, refers to “those cases of the exercise of power where an actor obeys a specific command issued by another” (p. 156). Therefore, domination reveals the relationship between a dominated self and a dominant other as well as the struggle between class and people. As McKerrow stated, the way the ruling class can maintain power is to “address themes in terms of a ‘people’” (p. 94). Here, he adopts Therborn’s (1980) classification of two different types of ideologies; ego ideology refers to “who we are” and alter ideology means “who we are not.” McKerrow (1989) claimed that the ego-alter contradistinction and its inter-affected relation are the keys to unraveling the discourse of power. Accordingly, the theoretical rationale of a critique of domination can be treated as a critique of power; the major function is to question the discourse of power as well as challenge the existing social structure in a society.

The idea of a critique of freedom is mainly influenced by Michel Foucault. According to Rajchman (1985), the emphasis of Foucault’s philosophy “…does not aim for sure truths, but for the freedom of withholding judgment on philosophical dogma” (p. 2). This kind of skeptical view influences McKerrow’s claims on a critique of freedom. Unlike a critique of domination, a critique of freedom does not attempt to pose itself on any “right” position or against anything; rather, it acts as “one of never-ending skepticism, hence permanent criticism” (McKerrow, 1989, p. 96). McKerrow believes that the function of discourse is to act as an agent to construct the truth. A critique of freedom can give a critic a space to challenge the status quo and to question oppression by the ruling party.

After McKerrow proposed the guidelines and theoretical foundations of critical rhetoric, many scholars (e.g. Charland, 1991; Hariman, 1991; Ono & Sloop, 1992), have been involved in critiquing the idea of critical rhetoric, linking critical rhetoric with other philosophical thoughts,
and applying critical rhetoric to study other subjects. For instance, Charland (1991) questioned critical rhetoric because it has “no place to take a stand” (p. 71). He started with critiquing Foucault’s thoughts; according to Charland, Foucault did not seek to judge discourse and, accordingly, provided no rationale for developing better forms of discourse or structures of power. McKerrow’s critical rhetoric mainly adopts Foucault’s idea, especially in terms of a critique of freedom. Charland, therefore, stated that a critical rhetoric should look forward to an ethical horizon and then investigate “what the good is or might be” (p. 73).

Hariman (1991), on the other hand, questioned McKerrow’s critical rhetoric in terms of its impersonality and the lack of specific partisanship. Hariman’s basic objection to McKerrow is that “he [McKerrow] overlooks his own modernist assumptions as a writer, which contradict[s] the strong orientation in his key texts and categories towards postmodernism” (p. 67). In Ono and Sloop’s (1992) study, the authors also queried whether a critic can be completely separated from the cultural context. As they stated, “we [Ono and Sloop] believe the critic cannot work solely within the self” (p. 51). McKerrow recognized that there is no clear line between modernity and postmodern appeal. However, he still argued that a critical rhetoric can write impersonally but still maintain postmodern characteristics. According to MeKerrow (1991), the function of critical rhetoric is to exist “as a frame of reference, as an antidote to traditional rhetoric’s preoccupation with a search for certitude” (p. 76). Therefore, critics who hold a critical rhetoric perspective attempt to challenge the status quo in order to get rid of the power structure constructed by the domination.

From the above criticisms, critical rhetoric has been questioned because McKerrow does not clearly state how this perspective locates self in criticizing or analyzing power structure in a society. Conquergood’s (1991) study may offer the direction in fixing and reconsidering the lack
of critical rhetoric. He reminded readers to notice the performance-centered and rhetorical foundation of ethnography, especially in criticizing the relationships between identity and culture as well as self and others. Therefore, from analyzing the tension and contradiction between performed experiences and the written texts, the mission of critics, according to Conquergood, is to search for the interactions between a field of knowledge and relations of power.

Some other scholars have extended the insights of critical rhetoric to connect to other theoretical concepts or to study other subjects. For instance, Flore and Moon (2002) applied the perspective of critical rhetoric to rethink contemporary racial discourses. As they stated, “…critical rhetoric serves an important function in that it recognizes the ease with which strategies of resistance are coopted by hegemonic orders, what can be lost are standards by which to judge material and symbolic inequities” (p. 185). In addition, Zompetti (1997) discussed how Gramsci’s commitment to telos contributes critical rhetoric to permit critical self-reflexivity and praxis. Zompetti adopted Gramsci’s concept of organic intellectuals and stated that “a critical telos should encourage new alternatives of thought, perspectives, and avenues for transformative action” (p. 77). Combining Gramscian principles with the function of critical practices, according to Zompetti, a Gramscian critical rhetoric can take a critical, teleological position to deconstruct power relations in a real world.

Because McKerrow treats rhetoric as critical practice where the critic treats rhetoric in the context of a critique, his approach seems especially appropriate for this study which is grounded in postcolonial scholarship. Postcolonialism, as Slemon (1995) explained, focuses on criticizing the totalizing forms constructed in history, retooling the notion of class, discussing the development of nativism in a post-colonial time, and revealing the underside of colonialist power.
Critical rhetoric, therefore, provides a fundamental rhetorical perspective for analyzing artifacts in this study.

The Rhetorical and Political Functions of Music

The power and influence of music has been discussed over centuries. In his book *The Republic*, Plato (n.d.) indicated that “any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited” (p. 135). In Chinese history, philosophers, scholars, and politicians also discuss the relationship between music and politics. The ancient Chinese believed that music was one instrument for an imperial government to educate people, to influence social customs, and to reform abuses. For instance, one Confucian book stated that “The music in the piping times of peace is harmonious and joyful, and demonstrates the harmony of politics; the music in troubled times is sad and angry, and demonstrates the turmoil of politics; the music in a subjugated nation is grieved, and demonstrates the people's predicament. Music and politics have a direct relationship” (*Li Ji Zhu Shu*, 1993, p. 663; trans. Lee, 2008). Therefore, the power of music easily serves as a rhetorical tool to achieve political purposes. Thus, it can be seen that both Western and Chinese philosophers noticed the power of music in a society and treated music as a rhetorical tool served for political purposes. This kind of idea can be linked to Gramsci’s concept of hegemony. According to Gitlin (1980),

Hegemony is a ruling class’s (or alliance’s) domination of subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practice; it is the systematic (but not necessarily or even usually deliberate) engineering of mass consent to the established order. (p. 253)

When Stewart, Smith and Denton, Jr. (2001) discussed the function of music in social movements, they expressed that singing songs together or along with a leader can make
protestors become active participants rather than passive listeners in such social movements. As they state, “Active participation may aid self-persuasion” (p. 201). In fact, not only limited on social movements, the statement made by Stewart, Smith and Denton, Jr. can also apply to political activities. One political task of music is to gather collective consensus. Accordingly, music presents an intimate relationship of shaping and developing people’s identity and self-image. According to Frith (1997), “…. identity is…an experiential process which is most vividly grasped as music. Music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others; of the subjective in the collective” (p. 110). Politically, on one hand, music is easy to be utilized by politicians or propagandists to achieve political goals. On the other hand, the words, lyrics, and repetitions of songs can reflect people’s feelings, emotions, or even resistance to the authorities.

Textual Analysis.

Textual analysis is one method of rhetorical criticism. According to Brock, Scott, and Chesebro (1990), “Rhetorical criticism can be viewed as a series of components, with each component influencing the final product we call rhetorical criticism” (p. 15). Also, Foss (1996) indicated that “Rhetorical criticism is the process of systematically investigating and explaining symbolic acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes” (p. 6-7). In this process, rhetorical critics examine, interpret, describe, or judge a series of rhetorical acts of communication. Therefore, critics try to look for rhetorical elements beyond one or a series of discourses, and then make an evaluation or judgment. Briefly, the object of rhetorical critics, as Boulton (1968) expressed, is to analyze “why does who say what to whom with what effect?” (p. 30).
As one method of rhetorical criticism, textual analysis focuses on analyzing “the historical and biographical circumstances that generate and frame its composition, the recognition of basic conceptions that establish the co-ordinates of the text, and an appreciation of the way these conceptions interact within the text and help determine its temporal movement” (Leff, 1986, p. 380). Leff also mentioned the importance of the external situation when critics analyze rhetorical texts because one discourse is presented under specific circumstances. As Leff (1992) later noted, rhetoric has both an intentional and an extensional element. Textual criticism, therefore, concentrates on interpreting “the intentional dynamics of a text” (Leff, 1992, p. 223). Textual critics are primarily interested in the finished text itself rather than the person who presents it. However, the extensional dimension is not wholly ignored in textual criticism. As Leff indicated, each discourse must be treated as “a functional intervention in a local context” (p. 229). Therefore, textual critics focus on intertextual issues rather than the single performance. Accordingly, textual analysis is an adequate critical method in this study. By analyzing lyrics of different types of political songs during different periods, this study, based on the perspective of critical rhetoric, not only analyzes what types of self-image and identity are revealed in lyrics of select Chinese patriotic songs, Taiwanese protest songs, and theme songs of particular social movements, but also focuses on examining the power structure in Taiwan after WWII. In addition, because of the feature of textual analysis, this study pays attention to discuss how historical, social, cultural, and political factors influence and shape people’s identities under different political conditions in Taiwan in the past 60 years.

Rhetorical Artifacts and Research Procedures

The rhetorical artifacts in this study are political songs that were commonly sung in Taiwan during different periods, on different political occasions, and with different political purposes.
This study draws upon postcolonial scholarship to discuss how Taiwanese people (re)construct the Taiwanese identity in the process of decolonization. The periods this study considers extend from World War II to the present. According to different political conditions during different periods in Taiwan, two major types of political songs, Chinese patriotic songs and Taiwanese protest songs, are chosen in order to reveal the change in people’s national identities, the development of local consciousness, and the process of reconstructing the Taiwanese identity in Taiwan.

When Taiwan was ruled under martial law, the ruling party (KMT) of the ROC set a strict standard to rule and prohibit publications and music. In one of Chiang Kai-shek’s articles (Chiang was the ROC president from 1947 to 1975), he revealed the necessity for the government to “train national righteousness, encourage fighting spirit… concentrate on the music and song in order to correct the decadent music and excessive song that waste” (Chiang, 1953, p. 73; trans. Lee, 2008). The government, therefore, distributed a series of patriotic songs. These patriotic songs included Chinese folk songs, military songs, anti-Japanese songs, and anti-communism songs.

All of the patriotic songs under martial law represent a sense of “Great Chinesest,” the memory of Chinese mainland, or the enmity to communism. Also, all of them were written and sung in Mandarin. On the one hand, by distributing these patriotic songs, the KMT government efficiently controlled the national ideology and (re)constructed Taiwanese people’s “Chinese” identities. By admiring Chinese culture, history, and places, the government wanted people to identify themselves as “Chinese” culturally and nationally. On the other hand, this kind of patriotic song suppressed people’s consciousness of being Taiwanese. The word “Taiwan” was taboo and had never been presented in any patriotic songs during the period of martial law.
In the late 1970s, when the government’s control was loosened, Taiwanese people finally had the chance to present their anger that they had been repressed over hundreds of years. The resistance of Taiwanese people can be separated into two parts: politically, many people in Taiwan organized a series of demonstrations against the authoritarian regime and for seeking Taiwan’s independence; culturally, Taiwanese people’s resistance against the government’s ideology of Chinese identity reinforced the awareness of Taiwanese local consciousness. In other words, more and more Taiwanese have re-learned the history of Taiwan that has been ignored purposely by different colonizers, have emphasized the education of dialects, and have changed their cultural identity from Chinese to Taiwanese. In those political movements for resisting the authoritarian KMT government as well as seeking a Taiwanese independence, many Taiwanese songs were sung to present protesters’ political desires and to gather consciousness.

Unlike the Chinese patriotic songs that are full of political purpose, some of the Taiwanese protest songs selected for this study have fewer political characteristics and do not directly address any political issue. One reason is that, under martial law, the government had the extreme power to control freedom of speech, so people were not allowed to be against the government’s policy. Some of these songs were produced under Japan’s colonial rule. The Japanese colonizer did not allow Taiwanese people to present their political standpoints either. Therefore, most Taiwanese folk songs under Japanese colonization and the KMT’s governance described the emotion of loneliness, the desire for love, and the hardship of life. However, all of those Taiwanese folk songs selected in this study were popular on some political occasions for seeking Taiwanese independence or for resisting the authoritarian KMT government. The lyrics of these songs, therefore, were given new political meanings in order to present the historical
experience and current situation of oppression, to get rid of the domination, and to indicate the
desire for choosing Taiwan’s future.

There are six patriotic songs that have been selected for this study: *I Love China, Brave
Soldiers, China Must Be Strong, Love of China, The Song of the Republic of China,* and *Sons of
Tanshan.* I chose them because they were considerably popular among students and all levels of
citizens in Taiwan. When Taiwan was ruled under martial law, all types of media, especially
television channels, were tightly controlled by the government. On special memorial days,
especially the National Day, TV channels always co-produced a celebration program. Singing
patriotic songs was part of the program that would definitely be presented. All songs that will be
analyzed in this study were regularly selected in that kind of celebration TV program during that
period.

Besides, five of them, except *I Love China,* are listed in a brochure, *The Selection of
Patriotic Songs* (n.d.), published by the Ministry of Education, ROC, and the China Youth Corps;
this means that they are commonly known by high school students in Taiwan. The China Youth
Corps was founded in 1952 and its original name was the China Anti-Communism Youth Corps.
From its original name, we can understand it was a political organization that served particular
political purposes; in addition, its target for service focused on young generations. I received this
brochure when I was a high school student (1992-1995). Even though Taiwan was released from
martial law at that period, most of the high schools would still hold the so-called “patriotic songs
match” every year. All of the assigned and self-selected patriotic songs in that match were from
this brochure. In the case of *I Love China,* I have been familiar with this song since I was a little
girl. When I was an elementary student (1984-1990), we needed to hold a flag-raising ceremony
every morning. In that ceremony, we were required to sing the national anthem, the flag-raising
song, and one patriotic song. *I Love China* is the one that was sung most frequently in my school. In short, the standard of selecting those Chinese patriotic songs is because they are popular and present clear political characteristics.

The standard of selecting Taiwanese protest songs is more complicated than choosing Chinese patriotic songs. As I mentioned above, some Taiwanese protest songs I selected are actually folk songs. In other words, they are often sung in Taiwanese society without any political purposes. However, there are some other Taiwanese protest songs that are written for especially political purposes or occasions. There are three standards that helped in the selection of Taiwanese protest songs and to identify the meaning of “protest songs” in this study. First, after reading materials that mainly discussed the relationship between music and political protestations (e.g. Chen, 1996; Yang, 1998; Zhuang, 1999; Huang, 2001; and Go, 2005), some Taiwanese folk songs that fit the theme of this study were targeted.

Second, some Taiwanese political groups produced CDs that feature songs that are usually sung on special political occasions. Some of the songs on these CDs were produced for clear political purposes, such as memorializing the 228 Incident, looking for Taiwanese Independence, or seeking political liberation. Some of songs, however, are original Taiwanese folk songs, but are sung frequently on special political occasions and are given new political meanings. For those Chinese patriotic songs, one criterion of selection is “popularity”; accordingly I also want to select “popular” Taiwanese songs (no matter if they are folk songs or songs made for special purposes) that were sung very often in political protestations against the authoritarian

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5 The term “popular” here is based on literature review. In other words, after reviewing other Taiwanese researchers’ works (e.g. Chen, 1996; Yang, 1998; Zhuang, 1999) and related news reports, I established the range of selecting Taiwanese protest songs. Later, after unofficially interviewing employees of “The Taiwan’s store” and listening to several music albums they recommended, I select six Taiwanese protest songs as the rhetorical artifacts in Chapter Four because they were sung most often in Taiwanese social movements and protestations during the post-martial law period.
government and be commonly known by Taiwanese people. By combining the first and second selection standards, I decided to mainly focus on Taiwanese folk songs that are usually sung in political protestations. The reason is that the political tendencies for the future of Taiwan are quite different in Taiwanese society. Although people hold the same political view, not all of them are enthusiastic about attending political movements. Therefore, songs that are especially made for particular political goals may only be heard by a small amount of people. However, few of this kind of song are very popular and were sung in almost every political protestation. Under this condition, the non-folk Taiwanese songs can still be selected in this study.

After I decided the range of selection, I visited one popular bookstore called “The Taiwan’s Store” twice in 2006. According to the introduction of the official website, “The Taiwan’s Store” was established in 1993 by Wu Cheng-san for providing materials that relate to the Taiwanese local consciousness. In the field of local studies and the theory of Taiwanese independence, “The Taiwan’s Store” is a useful source that offers a great amount of books, music CDs, and films. When I visited “The Taiwan’s Store,” I had an unofficial interview with employees in order to understand more about the backgrounds of political movements from late 1970s to 1990s and popular Taiwanese folk songs that were frequently sung on these political occasions. From the procedure mentioned above, I selected six Taiwanese protest songs to analyze in this study, they are: Looking Forward the Spring Breeze, A Flower on a Rainy Night, To Mend a Broken Net, Formosa, Mother’s Name is Taiwan, and Do Not Annoy Taiwan. In the above list, the first three songs are popular Taiwanese songs that were written in the 1930s and 40s; Formosa is a folk song that was made in the 1970s; the last three songs were written in the 1990s and are full of political characteristics. Accordingly, the meaning of “Taiwanese protest songs” in this study is
the songs that were usually sung on occasions of seeking a Taiwanese independence or protesting against the authoritarian KMT government from the 1970s to the current time.

In addition to discussing songs that were sung under martial law and on political occasions during different periods and under different political conditions, I will also analyze theme songs that were sung in two recent political movements—the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 and the Red Clothes movement in 2006. The major goal of the discussion in Chapter Five is to discuss what kind of identity consciousness is shared in contemporary Taiwanese society and to understand the dynamic identity-building development in the process of decolonization.

Organization of the Study

Chapter One of this study is the section of introduction. This chapter introduces the overview of the topic, explains the purpose and critical questions, reviews the theoretical framework, interprets the rhetorical perspectives, and details the selection standard and procedure of rhetorical artifacts. Chapter Two will provide the historical review of Taiwanese colonial experiences in order to present the trend of identity changes in Taiwan. This chapter will especially focus on the periods under Japanese colonization and the rule by the KMT government after 1949. In order to provide a historical framework to the discussion of identity re/construction in Taiwanese society in Chapters Three through Five, Chapter Two will also analyze how both the Japanese and KMT authorities controlled the national mechanism to spread certain types of ideology and identity over Taiwanese people. Chapter Three will concentrate on the analysis of select Chinese patriotic songs in order to answer the first critical question. Chapter Four will analyze six Taiwanese protest songs that were commonly sung in many political movements to answer the second critical question. Chapter Five will discuss theme songs sung in two contemporary political movements in Taiwan in order to answer the last
critical question. Chapter Six is the section of conclusion, and the discussion will focus on the future of Taiwan in the dynamic process of decolonization and the possibility of this little island to finding its own way under the armed threat from China and the isolated position of diplomatic relations.
CHAPTER II. THE HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

History, according to the definition in the Webster Dictionary, is “A systematic written account comprising a chronological record of events (as affecting a city, state, nation, institution, science, or art) and usu[ally] including a philosophical explanation of the cause and origin of such event” (Gove et al, 2002, p. 1073-1074). As the record of past events, history sounds like an objective term but never can be. In Chinese history, for instance, when a dynasty was overturned by another, the later one would start to write the “official history” of the previous. This tradition of writing history in China adequately represents the characteristics of the term. However, historical records cannot be treated as neutral documents because, according the historical cases in China, history was written by the winner and explained by the dominant. As Munslow (1997) indicated, “Written history is always more than merely innocent story-telling, precisely because it is the primary vehicle for the distribution and use of power” (p. 13). In addition, according to Michel Foucault, history cannot be objective because historians are unable to escape the influences of the cultural context at the particular time (Munslow, 1997). In an interview, Foucault once expressed:

One reads historical works, which were often of very high quality, in search of raw material that was considered “accurate.” Then all that was required was to reflect upon it, to provide it with a meaning and truth that it did not have on its own. Free use of others’ work was permitted—to the extent that no one even thought of hiding the fact that one was elaborating on work already done; that work was cited shamelessly. (as cited in Eriborn, 1991, p. 274)
Thus, Foucault questioned the foundations of historical knowledge and addressed the relationship between the power of discourse and the underlying structure innate in historical narratives.

The post-studies in the West are influenced profoundly by Foucault’s works. According to Besley and Edwards (2005), Foucault has had significant impact on the development of poststructuralism. Then, as Quayson (2000) stated:

the genealogy of postmodernism has to be traced to the poststructuralism(s) that proliferated in the 1960s…At one level, then, postmodernism can be typified as a vigorously anti-systemic mode of understanding, with pluralism, borders and multiple perspectives being highlighted as a means of disrupting the centralizing impulse of any system. (p. 136)

The impact of postmodern studies in the twentieth century has changed the ways people understand the past, especially through reconstructing and deconstructing historical narratives. For the purpose of understanding any current events or incidents, therefore, it is necessary to hold a critical perspective to review history and investigate the linkage between the past and present.

From the standpoint of postcolonialism, the studies of history focus more on unequal representation of subalterns in historical discourses. For example, according to Bhabha’s (1992) explanation, “Postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order” (p. 437). The relationship between identity and its representation in history is one of the essential topics in postcolonial studies. Fanon (1963) once said that

Colonisation is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of
oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it. (p. 170)

Such a process leads to complications in the issues of identity within many previous colonies.

Certainly, this has been the case in Taiwan.

The identity issue in Taiwan is more complex than many previous colonies because of its historical experiences. As a little island in the Pacific Ocean, Taiwan, sometimes called Formosa, has been ruled by several different political regimes and military forces over the past several hundred years (see Table 1).

Table 1

*Regimes in Taiwan and China*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regimes in Taiwan</th>
<th>Regimes in China</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Ming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zheng</td>
<td>Qing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qing</td>
<td>1683 –1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Republican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist,</td>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial Law</td>
<td>1949 –present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nationalist,</td>
<td>1945 –1987</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post-Martial Law (transitional period)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full electoral democracy</td>
<td>1996 –present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* The original source is from Brown, M. J. (2004). *Is Taiwanese Chinese?* (Figure 3). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

These regimes and forces came and left, but the things they left behind were their cultures.

As Bhabha indicates, cultural difference is a “a process of signification through which statements of culture or on culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability, and capacity” (Bhabha, 1994b, p. 34). According to this concept, it is

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6 Some people use “Nationalist” or “the Nationalist Party” to present the Kuomintang (KMT). Kuomintang is directly transferred from the Mandarin pronunciation. “Kuomin” means Nationalist, and “tang” means party. It is more common to use Kuomintang (KMT), so I use KMT rather than Nationalist in this study.
oversimplified if we only hold a linear view to discuss how an authoritarian/colonial culture dominates a colonized culture and believe that the colonized culture can be totally controlled by the colonizer.

When a political entity owns political power, the dominant force usually tries to eliminate the influence of local culture, or work on cultural assimilation. In this process, a colonizer tends to utilize its authority to construct a “who we are” image. However, the translation of such an image may be hybridized because of the influences of local cultures or resistance. The two-way interaction causes the problem of ambivalence in cultural authority. This sense of hybridity happens in both the colonizer and the colonized. Therefore, after World War II, many new-formed countries gained independence and worked at rebuilding their national identities, relocating cultural identities, and relearning their original histories. However, they found it impossible to free themselves from the influences, politically or culturally, of previous colonial powers.

Indeed, people’s historical memories comprehensively influence how people construct their identities. Therefore, before analyzing political songs during the periods of Japanese colonization and KMT rule as well as the identity and ethnic crises in contemporary Taiwan, a historical overview of Taiwanese colonial experiences needs to be addressed in order to present the trend of identity changes in Taiwan. It is important to note that the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the colonial experiences in Taiwanese history and provide a historical framework to the discussion in Chapters Three and Four about how colonial memories influence the ways Taiwanese people constructed their cultural and national identities after they were released from

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7 I prefer to use the term “historical memory” instead of “history.” I believe that the explanation of history is controlled by the authorities. However, people, based on their different backgrounds and experiences, may have different historical memories for the same historical event. Therefore, “historical memories” is a more accurate term in this study.
colonial authorities. Thus, the discussions of Japanese colonization and KMT governance mainly cover the education, language, and other related cultural policies. Economic development or other industrial policies will not be covered in this chapter.

This chapter will be separated into four sections: the first section is a brief review of Taiwanese history before and during the Qing dynasty. The second section mainly focuses on the Japanese colonization in Taiwan between 1895 and 1945. In this section, the discussion also covers the relationship between the education and language policies of the Japanese colonial government and how it influenced the identity changes of the Taiwanese people. The third section analyzes the period of KMT governance, especially focusing on the influences of the 228 incident and the period under martial law. The last section focuses on the post-period under martial law and provides a historical overview for the political song analysis in the later chapters.

Before and During Qing Dynasty Rule

According to Copper (2003), the island of Taiwan first appeared in Chinese history when Sun Quan sent 10,000 solders to Yizhou⁸ (Yinchow, currently Taiwan) in A.D. 239. However, there is no historical evidence to show that the Chinese emperor at that time claimed Taiwan as a territory of China. According to Chen (2004), this island also was recorded in Chinese historical records though under different names, during the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581-618), Southern Song dynasty (A.D. 1127-1279), Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1271-1368), and Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644). During the Yuan dynasty, a Mongolian emperor was interested in expanding military power over eastern and southeastern Asia and attempted to conquer Japan. The Yuan imperial court,

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⁸ This study adopts the Scheme for the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet, which is commonly used in mainland China. This system is different from the Taiwan Tongyong Romanization, which is used in Taiwan. When a document is written in Chinese and translated by me, I adopt the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet to spell these Chinese terms and people’s names. However, depending on which spelling system researchers adopt, they may have different spellings of the same Chinese term. When these kind differences present themselves, I will mainly adopt the original term used by the researcher, then indicate the spelling of the term by using the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet in parentheses afterward.
therefore, established an official administration on a small island (Penghu) near Taiwan. According to Chen, it was the first time that an imperial court in China established official administration in the Taiwanese area\(^9\). However, the establishment of an administration in Penghu, in some researchers’ views, cannot verify whether the island of Taiwan belonged to China. Therefore, as Copper stated, for the island, “there was still confusion about whether Taiwan was part of the Ryukyu Is[lands] or a part of China” (p. 32). During the Ming dynasty, the imperial court did not pay attention to exploiting the island of Taiwan and nearby little islands. For the island itself, the first true governmental administration was established by the Qing dynasty in 1684, and it was the first time that Taiwan was recorded as a territory of China in Chinese historical courts.

The Ming dynasty, however, showed little interest in Taiwan or the surrounding islands. According to Wills Jr. (1999), “The early Ming rulers…withdrew their officials from P’eng-hu [Penghu], attempted to evacuate all the people and forbade all Chinese maritime activity” (p. 86). Because of the ignorance of the Ming dynasty, Taiwan, Penghu and other surrounding islands were occupied by different European countries for the purposes of trade and expanding military control. In 1622, Dutch forces reached the Pescadores, and then, in 1624, the Dutch seized the Island of Taiwan. Two years later, Spanish military forces, which were lead by Antonio Carreno de Valdeas, also landed Taiwan and occupied the northern part of the island (Chen, 2004). From 1640 to 1641, Dutch and Spanish military forces had two battles in Taiwan and fought for full control over this island. In August 1641, the Spaniard surrendered and withdrew from northern Taiwan. After their departure, the island of Taiwan was colonized by Dutch forces until 1662.

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\(^9\) When people mention the term “Taiwan,” they actually refer to the Island of Taiwan and several little islands around Taiwan.
As Heylen (2005) indicated, under the Dutch rule of Taiwan, migration from the southern Fujian and Guangdong provinces of the Chinese mainland significantly increased. In 1662, an adherent of the Ming dynasty, Zheng Cheng-kung, defeated the Dutch and regained the Island of Taiwan. It was the first time that Taiwan was ruled by the Han people. Zheng and his son ruled Taiwan as a base against the Qing dynasty. During Zheng’s rule, more Han people immigrated to Taiwan and reclaimed it. According to the immigration records cited in Wakabayashi’s (2007) book, *The Research on Taiwan’s Anti-Japan Movements*, during Dutch rule, the population of Han emigrants in Taiwan was about 70,000, and most of them lived in a southern city called Tainan. During Zheng’s rule, the population of Han emigrants increased to 120,000, and the living areas covered wide areas along the western coast of Taiwan.

In 1683, the Qing dynasty defeated Zheng Cheng-kung’s grandson and ruled Taiwan for 212 years. In 1684, the island of Taiwan was separated from the Fujian province and received its own administration. The pressure of overpopulation had forced people in south Fujian and Gongtong provinces to immigrate to Taiwan. According to Wakabayashi (2007), the population in Taiwan, during Qing’s rule (1683-1894 A.D.), sharply increased to 2,570,000. When the Qing dynasty ruled Taiwan, however, it held a rigid immigration policy—the government did not allow men to take family members with them to Taiwan. A Taiwanese proverb presents this situation: Taiwan only has Tang Shan Gong (male ancestry from China), but no Tang Shan Mom (female ancestry from China). These Han male emigrants, therefore, chose to intermarry with Taiwanese aboriginal females. In short, under the Qing dynasty rule, Taiwan became a part of Chinese territory, and more and more Chinese people moved to the island. However, this little island had never been attracted enough attention from the imperial authority.
Under Japanese Colonization, 1895-1945

The Early Period

In 1894, the Sino-Japanese war began and the Qing dynasty was defeated. In 1895, the Qing imperial court ceded Taiwan to Japan as its colony. According to Tsurumi (1977), “In 1895…Japan took a significant step toward the establishment of that European-style empire on the edge of Asia when she acquired her first colony [the island of Taiwan]” (p. 1). In the modern sense of the term, Japan was the first non-Western state to own a colony. Therefore, Taiwan was a model for presenting Japan’s success in Asia. According to Japanese Diet member and journalist Takekoshi Yosaburo in 1904, “Japan can point to her success thus far in Formosa as a proof of her worthiness to be admitted into the community of the world’s great colonial powers” (as cited in Ching, 2001, p. 17). However, from 1895 to 1902, the Japanese colonial administration had faced a series of armed resistances led by Taiwanese aboriginals and the Han people; none of these rebellions achieved success. For instance, in May 1895, Taiwan’s Qing governor announced independence and established the Republic of Taiwan. This independent movement was defeated by Japanese troops in October 1895. As Long (1991) indicated, “Perhaps because it was Japan’s first real colony, Taiwan was ruled with a rod of iron” (p. 26).

The description by Tsurumi (1977) could present the scenes during the interim when Taiwan was transitioning from the Qing authority to Japanese colonial government:

Japanese soldiers were not able to distinguish easily between rebels and neutrals, peaceful villagers, and, with the intention of setting an example to anyone dreaming of joining the guerillas, they killed, burned, and looted indiscriminately, terrorizing the general population. Not surprisingly, this high-handed policy increased the hostility and confusion and the opposition became even more widespread. For three years the Japanese were surrounded by
defiance as swelling bands of Chinese rebels took up banditry, aborigine raids continued, and a sullen populace shunned contact with the invaders whenever possible. (p. 9)

This sort of scene is typical of what Chen (2004) categorized as the first of four periods of Japanese colonization in Taiwan. In this period, from 1895 to 1898, the major mission for Japanese colonial administration was to stop disturbances and armed rebellions by Taiwanese people.

*Colonial Reform.*

From suppressing riots, the Japanese administration developed systematic governing rules over Taiwan, and started the second period of colonization—the establishment of colonial governance. During this period, the fourth governor-general of Taiwan, Gentaro Kodama, and his chief civilian administer, Shinpei Goto, advanced Taiwan’s modernization, especially in terms of agriculture, sugar industry, monetary system, urban development, and public administration. For instance, as Copper (2003) described, “Before 1895, Taiwan had 30 miles of railroad; by 1905 it had 300, and 7,000 more were either planned or under construction” (p. 39). In addition, Kodama and the governor-generals after him announced a series of policies to develop an education system; establish census records; reform the legal system; found the monopoly system of certain products; set up police jurisdictions; develop electrification; and build the Keelung harbor.

Despite these developments, however, as Chen (1996) explained, Japan thoroughly plundered Taiwan’s economical resources. Compared to other authorities in Taiwanese history, the Japanese colonial government paid a great deal of attention in investigating the productivity in Taiwan, but only for their own benefit. The purpose of advancing modernization in Taiwan was not to promote the Taiwanese people’s benefits and the local economic development. On the contrary, it was to provide enough agricultural products and raw materials to improve Japan’s
industrialization. In terms of political and social status, Taiwanese people were not treated as being equal to Japanese citizens. Chen’s statement implies that Taiwanese residents could not be treated as official citizens of Japan during Japanese colonization, except in the later period of Japanization.

**Pacification**

The third period, according to Chen’s (2004) category, is the period of pacification. During this period, Japanese colonial governance claimed Taiwan as an extension of the Japanese homeland and under the protection of Japanese domestic codes. The colonizers still continued to work on increasing the agricultural productivity in order to support the needs in Japan. Cooper’s (2003) description about Taiwan’s food production indicates the situation at that time:

By the 1930s, Taiwan produced twice as much rice as the population consumed. Nearly a million tons were exported to Japan annually as well as about the same amount of sugar, or two-thirds of Taiwan’s crop. Food production increased to such a degree that by the 1920s the consumption of meat, vegetables, and fruits in Taiwan was higher than that of any province in China and even higher than in some parts of Japan. (p. 39)

In short, the modernization of Taiwan increased the amount of agricultural goods in Taiwan, essentially transforming the island into Japan’s main source of food and raw materials.

In addition to economic and agricultural activities, as Chen (1996) indicated, the Japanese colonizers emphasized cultural assimilation to remove Taiwanese people’s local consciousness during this period. Also, the colonial government attempted to mitigate Taiwanese people’s dissatisfaction with the unequal political and social status. Therefore, the governmental councils were created at the lower levels of local government in the 1920 reforms and some government-sponsored associations were allowed to be established. However, the real purpose of
this kind of political participation was not to promote the political rights of Taiwanese people but to achieve assimilation. As Lamley (1999) indicates, “[A] much larger portion of the Taiwanese population was obliged to participate in government-sponsored associations designed to bring about extensive cultural and social change deemed essential to the assimilation process” (p. 227). The success of cultural assimilation, therefore, provided the foundation of the later Japanization movement during World War II.

The Japanization Movement

In 1937, the second Sino-Japan war began, and the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan started the process of Japanization (some people use the term “imperialization”). As Ching (2001) explained, “the imperialization…is not only their ‘conviction’ in becoming ‘Japanese’ through ‘faith’ in the Emperor, but also the externalization of colonial ideology itself” (p. 89). During this period, all local customs in Taiwan were forced to cease and were replaced by Japanese customs. Chinese publications were abolished and Chinese language was removed from school curriculum. According to Chen (2004), the meaning of Japanization was to ask Taiwanese people “to be the people of the Japanese Empire, to speak Japanese, to learn Japanese customs, to change to Japanese family names, and to be loyal to the Japanese Empire” (p. 198; trans. Lee, 2008). Thus, Japanese was the national language taught in schools and the only one allowed to be spoken in public.

In addition to language policies, as Lamley (1999) expressed, “The creation of a wartime industrial base represented Taiwan’s final stage of economic development as a Japanese colony” (p. 237). All economic activities during this period served Japan’s war preparedness and necessities. Thus, heavy industry replaced the original agricultural pursuits; weapons were manufactured by Taiwanese factories to support Japan’s armed expansion to southern China and
Southeastern Asia. Many Taiwanese males were enlisted by the Japanese government to join the battles in China and the Pacific areas. According to Chen (2004), the total amount of Taiwanese soldiers who served in the Japanese military during WWII was over two hundred thousand people. However, at the end of the war, there were less than one-tenth of Taiwanese soldiers returning home.

In general, Japanese colonial governance adopted high-handed, discriminatory policies while ruling Taiwan. The education system, for instance, was a good example to explain the discrimination that Taiwanese people faced under colonization. During the period of the establishment of colonial governance, the chief civilian administer, Shinpei Goto, had already developed a common education system in Taiwan. As Lamley (1999) indicated, however, “Discrimination with respect to educational opportunities seemed a suitable colonial policy to Goto” (p. 211). The colonizers established public schools especially for Taiwanese students. Thus, Taiwanese children could commonly receive elementary education, but they could not go to the same schools with Japanese children.

During the period of pacification, the reform of the education system in 1922 allowed Taiwanese students to study with Japanese in elementary schools, but the amount of Taiwanese students was limited and the standards were strict. In addition, Taiwanese students were not encouraged to pursue middle and higher education. One colonial officer, Kakichi Uchida, made the below statement in 1915:

Education, that is, education in a colony, is not purely for the purpose of advancing education. A colonial education system must correspond to social conditions and the people’s cultural level. It is absolutely inadvisable to offer advanced courses. Teaching such courses has often done irreparable damage. Thus it is imperative that careful attention be
devoted to deliberation concerning the establishment of such facilities. Virtually all colonial powers pursue a policy of promoting vocational education to provide students with practical skills. The people of Taiwan should be taught practical skills too so they may earn a living and enjoy happiness. (as cited in Tsurumi, 1977, p. 49)

Uchida’s statement could reflect the educational principle held by the colonial governance. Therefore, it was rare for Taiwanese people to receive higher education. Even had they received such a chance, the majors were limited in the fields of agriculture and medical science.

The examples of the high-handed colonial policy manifested in the extreme ruling power held by the governor-general of Taiwan as well as rigorous police jurisdictions. According to Cooper (2003), the Japanese colonial government applied severe criminal law to maintain social order and to strike at resistances of Taiwanese people. Still, the rebellions from both Taiwanese Han people and aboriginals were persistent during colonization. For Han people, the most bloody armed resistance, led by Yu Ching-Fang, happened between 1915 and 1916. According to Chen (2004), more than ten thousand people died in battles and over one thousand people were killed by Japanese after the incident. For aboriginals, the Wushe Uprising lead by the Atayal tribal head Mona Rudao occurred in 1930. The fights continued nearly two months, and the Japanese troops finally used poison gas and other modern weapons to suppress the rebellion. In the end, hundreds of Atayal people were killed or chose to commit suicide.

Under colonization, Taiwanese people could not have equal opportunities and were under strict political, cultural, and economic control by the Japanese colonial governance. However, the experience of being colonized was not fully negative. As the first colony of a non-Western modern power, the economic, agricultural, and industrial activities in Taiwan were for to supply Japan’s industrialization and war preparedness. The original purpose of Japan was to seize all
types of economic resources from Taiwan. In this process, however, Taiwan laid the foundation of modernization in terms of urban development, electrification, railroading, education, census records, administrative and legal system, governmental structure, and other types of infrastructure. After the Republic of China (ROC) government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the ruling party, KMT, continued the infrastructure plans scheduled by Japanese colonial government. The successful improvement of infrastructure in Taiwan was one of many reasons for the highly economic development in 1960s and 70s.

Under the KMT Rule, 1945-1987

By 1945, Japan had lost the war, the Emperor of Japan announced an unconditional surrender, and Taiwan was returned to China (China here means the ROC) the same year. As the first democratic regime in China, the ROC was founded in 1912 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The establishment of the ROC marked the end of more than two thousand years of monarchical rule in China. However, after the state was established, the Chinese mainland was mired in domestic chaos because it was separated and occupied by different warlords. The central government in Nanjing and the ruling party, KMT, had no power to control the situation. Therefore, China moved into a period of warlordism and suffered a series of civil wars by different armed forces including the national army, warlords, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). After the ROC military leader, Chiang Kai-shek, suppressed the warlords in 1928, the national army shifted its target and concentrated on warfare against the armed force of the CCP. However, the Xi'an Incident in 1936 led to the end of fighting between the CCP and the KMT. After Japan invaded China in 1937, the CCP army joined the Chinese national army to fight against Japan.

After World War II, the Chinese mainland did not gain enough time to recover. The CCP and the KMT quickly started the second period of civil war in China. The result of the second
civil war caused the controversy of the sovereignty issue that has continued more than 50 years. In 1949, Mao Zedong and the CCP won the war against the KMT army and established the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in Peking. Thus, the PRC government has ruled most of the territory in China and claimed its sovereignty over the nation. The KMT government, meanwhile, held the Island of Taiwan and other small islands around it; however, it did not recognize the fall of the ROC and maintained the official national name of the Republic of China on Taiwan. Therefore, there have been two different political regimes across the Taiwan Strait since 1949.

The 228 Incident

When Taiwan was returned to the ROC regime, the relationship between Taiwanese people and the temporary government that was assigned by the KMT was positive at first. However, after two years, an increasing number of Taiwanese people were unsatisfied with the governor, Chen Yi, and his governance. According to Chen’s (2006) book, History of the Taiwan Independence Movement, some Taiwanese opinion leaders had started to question whether being part of China was the only option for Taiwan. There were at least two different opinions as to the political status of Taiwan: to be an autonomous state under the Chinese federation or to be an independent state apart from China. For those opinion leaders, Taiwan should be ruled by Taiwanese rather than people from Mainland China. In Taiwan, this kind of unsatisfactory emotion toward Chen Yi’s governance had risen, but the central government in China did not control the situation and understand the reasons. Taiwanese people’s dissatisfaction was self-repressed at the beginning, but later wavered in their faith of the regime in China. As Chen expressed, “Taiwanese people had changed the appellation for these people who were from the Chinese mainland, from ‘people from the motherland’ to ‘Chinese’” (p. 74; trans. Lee, 2008).
The subtle change of appellation indicated the Taiwanese people had started to depart themselves from the Chinese identity.

Under these tense circumstances, the 228 Incident, a watershed in Taiwanese modern history, occurred on February 28, 1947. The reason for this incident was because, on February 27, six monopoly commissioners and four police officers in Taipei city found a Taiwanese woman who was illegally selling cigarettes. In the process of confiscating illegal cigarettes, the commissioners hurt the woman, and they were surrounded by witnesses immediately. In the muddle, the police fired to give a warning, but accidentally killed a bystander. That night, angry masses encompassed the police station and asked for punishment of the killer, but they did not receive a positive reply from the police. The next day, many Taipei citizens joined the strikes and protests. Several conflicts happened between the police and protesters in different areas of Taipei city, and people of both sides died and were injured in these conflicts. The protesters also used radio to report the incident, which happened in the north, to the whole island. On March 1, the strikes and protests occurred everywhere in Taiwan, and later these demonstrations escalated into bloody conflicts between two resident groups—people whose families had moved to Taiwan more than 200 years ago and people who just immigrated from the Chinese mainland after WWII.

The situation gradually spiraled out of the Taiwanese government’s control. Chen Yi, therefore, asked the central government in China to send reinforcements to Taiwan. The KMT authority finally adopted armed force to suppress the riot. Philips’ (1999) description expresses part of the bloody suppression:

On March 8, Nationalist [the KMT] reinforcements from mainland arrived in the northern port city of Keelung (Chi-lung), then in the southern port of Kao-hsiung. The troops
reasserted the government’s control by indiscriminately shooting anyone on the streets...By March 13, even as the island returned to Nationalist control, the government embarked upon a movement to “exterminate traitors” (su chien)—rounding up Taiwanese who may have offended anyone in the government. This was accompanied by the “clearing of the villages” (ch’ing hsiang) campaign, where troops and police hunted down those involved in the incident who had fled the cities. (p. 295)

After the armed repression, the state of affairs in Taiwan was totally controlled by the government. Under the KMT rule, the 228 Incident was a taboo topic in public, casually mentioned in historical textbooks, and had been slowly forgotten by the younger generations.

Because of the chaotic situation and the authoritarian governance right after the 228 Incident, the related documents were either lost or made confidential by the KMT. Recently, an increasing number of researchers and organizations have worked on discovering the truth of this incident, and growing amounts of documents have been released by governmental institutions. However, controversy remains over why Chiang Kai-shak (the actual political ruler of the KMT) decided to adopt armed suppression, who should take the prime responsibility of this incident, and what was the relationship between the incident and the Taiwan independence movement. According to Chen (2006), the political claims during the incident were diverse, from calling for governmental reform, seeking Taiwanese autonomy, placing Taiwan under trusteeship by the United Nations, to pursuing Taiwan’s independence. The messages that the central government in China received, however, indicated a direct relationship between the 228 Incident and the Taiwan independence movement, and this understanding caused the following armed repression.

The total amount of victims in this incident and the subsequent arrests is uncertain. According to Philips (1999), the range is from 500 to 100,000 people. In 1997, the government
made February 28 as a national holiday in remembrance of the 228 Incident. In fact, this incident is a remote cause that leads to conflicts of cultural and national identities among different ethnic groups in today’s Taiwan. Liao (1995) holds the same standpoint; according to him, “even though this incident did not completely destroy Han people’s Chinese identity in Taiwan, but it enlightened the activity of seeking Taiwan’s independence” (p. 198; trans. Lee, 2008). Until now, the truth and influence of the 228 incident are still controversial and have attracted plenty of academic discussions in Taiwan.

**Under Martial Law**

While Taiwan experienced the 228 Incident, the KMT government was also concentrating on the civil war between the KMT and the CCP in the Chinese mainland. The KMT government announced that the state entered the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion in 1948, and issued martial law in 1949. In the same year (1949), the KMT government retreated to Taiwan, and Taiwan was ruled by President Chiang Kai-shek’s authoritarianism. Based on the provisional law articles of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion, Chiang Kai-shek continued his presidency from 1949 to 1975. He died in 1975 during his 5th presidency, and the vice president Yan Jia-gan continued Chiang’s term. In 1978, Chiang Kai-shek’s son, Chiang Ching-kuo, won the presidential election and became the 6th President of the ROC, and started his second term of presidency in 1984. In 1987, a year before his death, Chiang Ching-Kuo announced that Taiwan was released from martial law.

During Chiang Kai-shek’s presidency, the relationship between China and Taiwan was highly tense. Battles and sea warfare took place between the two regimes across the Taiwan Strait. For instance, the PRC military attacked Kinmen in 1949, occupied Dachen island in 1954,
and bombarded Kinmen again in 1958. In terms of the ROC, Chiang Kai-Shek originally planned a counterattack over the Chinese mainland in 1962 but he was stopped by the United States.

For the purpose of advancing China’s unification, Chiang Kai-shek’s and his son worked on recreating the Taiwanese people’s Chinese identity and erased the Japanese influence in Taiwanese society. People’s national identity, in fact everything in Taiwan at that time, was used for specific political goals under martial law. The Chiangs’ authoritarianism advocated traditional values of Confucianism, which specially emphasize the principles of loyalty and forgiveness (*Zong Shu Zhi Dao*). Also, it provided the foundation of the sense of unity in Chinese culture and the Chinese empire.

Under martial law, the government had extreme power to control the national mechanism and set strict standards to forbid the freedom of speech, publication, and association. In terms of the prohibition of publications, for example, Yang (1998) expressed that the ROC Ministry of the Interior made “The Standard of Prohibiting Phonograph Record” in 1961 and banned 3,053 records at the same year; the banned publications and records by the Government Information Office totaled 530,000 in 1979. Singers needed licenses to sing in public in that period, which would be invalidated if they sang banned songs. Also, the government set a severe system by establishing many different committees and organizations to fully control all public activities in order to achieve the government’s goal of “anti-communism education.

In addition, the authorities also adopted a strict language policy under martial law. Starting from 1956, the KMT government advanced a “Speaking Mandarin” movement. As the national language, Mandarin was the only one that was allowed by the government for use in public as well as at all levels of governmental institutions and schools under the KMT rule. Furthermore, all media programs whose major tone was Taiwanese dialects were gradually reduced (Cai,
2003). As Heylen (2005) states, “The model of Chinese language standardisation became a source of inspiration to include Chinese language reform in the Taiwanese nationalist agenda” (p. 502). Under this political condition, the national language policy served the KMT authoritarian government to shift Taiwanese people’s identity from Japanese to Chinese, to reinforce the Chinese cultural identity, and to avert resistance from nativism.

The Post-Martial Law Period

Under martial law, all political claims and movements that referred to Taiwan’s independence were severely prohibited, especially during Chiang Kai-shek’s presidency. After the 228 Incident, many Taiwanese opinion leaders who held political claims against the KMT authority fled to foreign countries, such as Japan and the United States. Because Taiwan was colonized by Japan, many Taiwanese who supported Taiwan’s independence movement chose to move to Japan and continue the campaign. These Taiwanese exiles established different associations and issued publications that targeted Taiwanese students studying aboard. According to Chen (2006), when some current Taiwanese politicians studied in Japan, their sense of seeking Taiwan’s independence was inspired by these associations and their publications. One example is the candidate of the Democratic Progressive Party in the 2008 presidential election, Hsieh Chang-ting.

The associations and organizations that supported the Taiwan independence movement had increased in the United States, along with the rise of the amount of students studying. These overseas organizations in the United States were growing in the 1950s and through the 60s. They issued publications, associated with other organizations that sought for the same goal in other countries, and held conferences regularly. In 1970, the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) was established. The establishment of this organization indicated a
worldwide unification of the overseas campaign for Taiwan’s independence movement. According to the KMT’s policy, people who supported or joined the overseas Taiwan independence movement were on a blacklist and were forbidden to come back to Taiwan.

In Taiwan, the political standpoint of those seeking Taiwan independence was usually associated with or even covered by the claims of seeking democracy, human rights, and freedom of speech, publication, and association. The KMT strictly controlled all levels of political elections. Using Chen’s (2006) words, elections under the Chiangs’ authoritarian governance were “election[s] without choice” (p. 302; trans. Lee, 2008). However, election still provided a chance for people who were against the KMT authority to develop and spread out their political claims. Because of the limitation of organizing associations, these people who were against the KMT were called Tang Wai, which means they were “outside of the KMT.”

In the late 1970s, the strict political control by the KMT was gradually loosened, and some people on the blacklist tried to barge in or stow away to Taiwan. They, along with several Taiwanese local associations such as The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, claimed that the KMT authoritarian governance should be abandoned and Taiwan should seek real democracy. In the election of 1978, more Tang Wai candidates got elected than before, which indicated a challenge to the KMT authoritarian governance had gradually been accepted by more Taiwanese people.

In 1979, the magazine, Formosa, was issued. The editorial team of this magazine covered those Tang Wai people who had different political claims. According to Ciu (1993), “the Formosa Press had become a mostly disguised political party by following the establishment of more branches, as well as the increasing amount of subscribers and the volume of circulation” (p. 65; trans. Lee, 2008). On December 10, 1979, the editorial team of the magazine organized a protest in Kaohsiung to request ending the KMT authoritarianism and to seek a democratic Taiwan.
protest then became a violent conflict between the police and protesters. In the end, the government arrested eight members of the editorial team and the magazine was forced to stop publication. However, this incident had forced the KMT government to respond to some political claims. As Cooper (2003) stated, “The reforms included revising Taiwan’s election law and reaching some gentlemen’s agreements between the government and the opposition so that an orderly but competitive national election could be held” (p. 52). After the Formosa, or so-called Kaohsuing, Incident, the KMT could not fully stop the *Tang Wai* movement and the voices requesting democracy. In each following election after the incident, the *Tang Wai* candidates gained increasing support from Taiwanese people.

In 1986, the *Tang Wai* people challenged the KMT government’s prohibition of organizing political parities, and announced the founding of the Democratic Progressive Party. The president of the ROC and the chairperson of the KMT at that time, Chiang Ching-kuo, chose not to adopt any interruption measures and agreed to research the possibility of organizing political parties under the condition of not disobeying the national policy and the constitution (Chen, 2006). In 1987, Chiang Ching-kuo announced Taiwan’s release from martial law, which finally provided an environment for Taiwan to develop to a real democratic state. Chiang passed away in his second presidency in 1988, and was substituted by the vice president, Lee Tang-hui.

In 1990 and 1996, Lee won the presidential elections and became the 8th and 9th President of the ROC. As the first Taiwanese president, Lee had led important political reforms during his presidency, such as adding additional articles to the Constitution of the ROC and implementing direct votes for future presidential elections. Also, in 1991, Lee announced the end of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion, and the provisional law

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10 The definition of “Taiwanese” here refers to an ethnic meaning; it means that Lee was the first ROC president who does not belong to the Wai Sheng ethnic group. See Chapter Five for further explanation.
articles of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion were accordingly abandoned. In the year of 1996, Lee won the presidential election again and became the first president voted directly by citizens into office. During Lee’s second presidency, he presented a tendency against the original “One China” policy held by the KMT. The break of Taiwan’s “One China” policy indicates Taiwan’s departure from the reunification of China. In 2000, Chen Shui-bian won the presidential election. This was the first time the KMT lost the position as a ruling party since Dr. Sun Yat-sen built the ROC in 1912. President Chen won the 2004 president election again and is the 11th and current President of the ROC.

Summary

The purpose of historical review in this chapter is to provide an in-depth understanding about the relationship between the historical context and the Taiwanese political songs analyses that will be discussed in the later chapters. In Taiwanese history, the island of Taiwan had shown in Chinese historical records with several different names, but had not been included in Chinese territory until the Qing dynasty. Before this island was ruled by the Qing dynasty in 1683, Taiwan had experienced several armed and political regimes, such as Dutch, Spaniard, and Zheng Cheng-kung, started from the 17th century. Under Qing rule, more and more Han people who originally lived in the southern Fujian and Guangdong provinces of the Chinese mainland immigrated to Taiwan and cleared the ground.

The first Sino-Japanese war made Taiwan become a colony of Japan because the Qing dynasty lost the war. Between 1895 and 1945, the colonial government spent a lot of energy to make Taiwan become a model of Japanese colonization. Therefore, the Taiwanese people in Taiwan had experienced armed oppression, colonial reform, cultural assimilation, and the Japanization movement. During the later period of Japanese colonization, especially after Japan
entered WWII, Taiwanese dialects, social customs, and culture were abandoned by the colonial rulers. Under Japanese colonization, however, the colonial government also established the foundation of infrastructure and, accordingly, promoted the future modernization in Taiwan. After WWII, Taiwan was returned to China, which was the ROC government at that time, and the island had experienced another round of authoritarian rule.

The second civil war between the CCP and the KMT caused the ROC government retreated to Taiwan in 1949. The KMT ruler, Chiang Kai-shek, exercised the political power and issued martial law at the same year. Under Chiang Kai-shek’s rule, the government had used all types of state mechanism to shape the Taiwanese people’s national identity and to forbid the freedom of speech, publication, and association. After Chiang died in 1975, Taiwan had entered the post-martial law period, and more and more Taiwanese people had presented their voices against the KMT government. The strict political control under martial law, as well as the memory of the 228 Incident happened in 1949, had caused Taiwanese people to question their Chinese identity that had formed by the KMT rulers and, consequently, to reconstruct an alternative Taiwanese identity. After Lee Tang-hui was elected as the ROC president, he promoted the democratic development in Taiwan during his two presidencies. The political achievement has also stimulated the process of re-constructing the newly-formed Taiwanese identity. However, this process has not been so smooth and, in fact, caused a series of ethnic and identity crises in modern Taiwanese society.

In short, in the view of postcolonialism, the unequal and uneven status that subalterns had experienced in history will directly affect how people identify themselves in the process of decolonization. Therefore, the review in this chapter offers a historical framework of Taiwanese colonial experiences in order to show how history influences the process of identity
reconstruction. In the next several few chapters, from analyzing political songs sung during different periods in Taiwan, the study will answer three critical questions and present the trend of identities changes in Taiwanese society after WWII.
CHAPTER III. THE ANALYSIS OF CHINESE PATRIOTIC SONGS

In the previous chapter, I briefly reviewed important historical moments and events in Taiwan’s history. By using textual analysis, it is important for a critic to explore the linkage between the text and the historical circumstances. In this chapter, I will answer the first critical questions: by analyzing Chinese patriotic songs, how did the KMT government shape people’s national identity under martial law?

In order to answer this critical question, the analyses in this chapter are separated into two major sections. The first section emphasizes the analysis of Chinese patriotic songs under the KMT rule. The lyrics of six select patriotic songs are examined to disclose the sense of the “Great-Chineseist” revealed in the songs. The second section is a discussion section to analyze how these Chinese characteristics utilized in Chinese patriotic songs have helped the authoritarians to shape Taiwanese people’s national identity.

After the Republic of China (ROC) government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the ruling party, KMT, treated Taiwan and its surrounding islands as the base of “opposing against the communists and recovering the state.” Martial law and the provisional law articles of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion reinforced the authoritarian power of the KMT in Taiwan. As discussed in the previous chapter, the 228 Incident is a watershed in Taiwanese modern history. The KMT rulers believed that one reason of the occurrence of the 228 Incident was because Taiwanese people were Japanized and accordingly lacked the sense of Chinese identity (Chen, 2006). Under martial law, therefore, the KMT government paid the most attention to reconstruct the Chinese identity, culturally and politically. For instance, Cai (2003) expressed that textbooks used at different levels of education
in Taiwan mainly discussed Chinese history, geography, culture, and stories, but ignored the introduction and information of Taiwan.

Another strategy the KMT government used to strengthen the Chinese identity was to distribute a series of patriotic songs. As noted earlier, the sources of these patriotic songs are diverse, and the similarity is that they are written and sung by Mandarin. Six popular Chinese patriotic songs have been selected to analyze in this section. They are: *I Love China*, *Brave Soldiers*, *China Must Be Strong*, *Love of China*, *The Song of the Republic of China*, and *Sons of Tanshan*. Depending on different Chinese characteristics revealed in the lyrics, these select patriotic songs are analyzed under three categories: the historical memories of China, the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland, and the political goals of the KMT including the legal-political status of the ROC regime as well as the importance of anti-communism. (see Table 2).

Table 2

*Chinese Characteristics Revealed in Chinese Patriotic Songs*

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<td>The geographic connection</td>
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<td><em>Love of China</em></td>
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<td><em>The Song of the Republic of China</em></td>
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<td>The Legal-political status/Anti-communism</td>
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<td><em>Brave Soldiers</em></td>
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In these Chinese characteristics, the historical memories of China and the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland are useful for the KMT to stress Taiwanese people’s sense of belonging to Chinese culture, and the political claims are useful for the KMT to legalize its governance. Under the KMT rule, these Chinese patriotic songs could present the voice of the authority. Thus, analyzing these songs will respond to the first critical question: how did the KMT government shape Taiwanese people’s national identity?

*I Love China*

A rank ordering the most popular Chinese patriotic songs in Taiwan must include *I Love China*. This song was composed by Chan Jie-zhong, and the lyrics were written by Lin Jun-chang. As a typical military song, *I Love China* was sung at the moment of night roll call time in the military. Also, it was the required patriotic song at different levels of school in Taiwan. Chinese characteristics identified in this section are the historical memories of China, the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland, the importance of anti-communism, and the legitimacy of the KMT governance and the ROC regime. The lyrics in this song are:

I love China     I love China  
The culture is long-standing  
The land is broad and the produce is rich  
The history is as long as 5,000 years.  
Five races get long like a family  
People of China are the greatest

For our nation     For our state  
We are not afraid of battle and death  
We need to improve and strength ourselves  
We need to revive the former glory of China.

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11 According to the materials I collected, it is hard to identify the exact creation years of select Chinese patriotic songs, as well as some of political protest songs, in this study. However, the general periods and background of these select songs will be mentioned in the analyses.
The Historical Memories of China

The purpose of *I Love China* is primarily to appeal to the emotions people stirred by their values of being proud of Chinese. Therefore, the first lyric of the song is to directly call for people to love China, and the rest of lyrics provide the reasons for doing so. In the first part of the lyrics, the historical memories of China are especially emphasized, under-scoring culture, history, and race integration. Chinese people like to consider themselves as “the descendants of Yellow Emperor” and claim the Chinese history has continued as long as five thousand years. The Yellow Emperor is usually treated as the common ancestor of Chinese people. According to Yin-shun (2005), starting from the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.-8B.C.), scholars already claimed that the Chinese civilization and history had started from the Yellow Emperor. The arguments about whether the Yellow Emperor was a particular person or a collective image of a clan, or whether the Yellow Emperor really existed are not the emphasis in this study. The key point is that when the lyrics of *I Love China* indicate the long-standing Chinese history and culture, the rhetorical meaning behind the messages claim the orthodox status of the ROC regime, which will be discussed in the later analysis. In addition, the “I” in this part of lyrics refer to “people who live in Taiwan.” In order to construct Taiwanese people’s national identity of being “Chinese,” this song creates a “self” image by connecting the glorious historical memories of China with people who do not really live in China. The hidden meaning, however, is to exclude the independent character of Taiwan and to make Taiwanese culture and history as subordinate to the Chinese ones.

The Geographic Connection with the Chinese Mainland

In the first part of *I Love China*, the third lyric, “the land is broad and the produce is rich,” mentions the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland. In the ROC Constitution,
territory it claims includes the Chinese mainland and Taiwan. After the ROC government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the ruling party, KMT, still claimed its sovereignty over the Chinese mainland. Compared with other Chinese patriotic songs selected in this study, *I Love China* does not describe the details of the scenery in China. However, the purpose of mentioning the broad land in China and its rich produce in this song is to provoke people’s aspiration of “going back” to China.

*The Legal-Political Status/Anti-Communism*

Under martial law, the KMT treated the ROC regime as the only legal representative of China. Therefore, the anti-communism was the loftiest political goal for the KMT. The first part of lyrics provides people the reasons about why they should fight for the nation (nation here means Chinese); and the second part explains why people should fight for the state (state here means the ROC regime). Also, in the second part of *I Love China*, the song encourages people not to be afraid of battle and death because it is “for our nation, for our state.” After WWII, the enemy of the ROC regime was shifted from Japan to communism. From the standpoint of the KMT, the regime of People’s Republic of China (PRC) and its ruling party, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), were treated as illegal and unorthodox political power. Even the lyrics of *I Love China* do not express directly, the subject that this song asks people to fight for is obviously the regime supported by Chinese communism. The rhetoric in the second part of this song implies that people in China suffered under the governance of the CCP, and the KMT was the one to save people in China and to “revive the former glory of China.” By combining Chinese historical, Chinese geographic, as well as political factors, the KMT emphasized an orthodox status in order to maintain its political legitimacy.
Brave Soldier

This song was composed by Liu Yin-jie, and the lyrics were written by Cia Wu-bo. The lyrics of this song are:

Take robust paces, swing the stalwart arm,
We are brave revolutionary soldiers,
We are busy for the career of anti-communism

The lights of sun and moon irradiate loyalty
Moral integrity can pass the test of frosty winter
Strength can shake the lofty mountains
And then stabilize our home and state

Advance    Advance with vigorous strides
Advance    Advance with vigorous strides
Move towards the masses
Move towards the battle field

Advance    Advance with vigorous strides
Advance    Advance with vigorous strides
Move towards the place where the revolution needs most

The Legal-Political Status/Anti-Communism

Brave Soldier is another military patriotic song, which was popular, or even required to sing in the military and all levels of school under martial law. Unlike I Love China, the lyrics of Brave Soldier do not cover any historical memories of China or the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland. The only purpose of this patriotic song is to serve the political claims held by the KMT government. Therefore, this song encourages people to be “brave revolutionary soldiers” and to be “busy for the career of anti-communism.”

As discussed above, anti-communism is the political goal for the KMT to maintain its legal-political status. During the period under martial law, the KMT government advanced the so-called “defeating communism and recovering the state” propaganda education over Taiwanese people. As stated in Chapter Two, by completely controlling people’s knowledge,
ethnical standards, philosophic approach, and their sense of national identity, the KMT dominated all types of state mechanisms as well as major organizational and educational systems in the civil society in order to lead the Taiwanese people to support its political claims. Thus, the “Speaking Mandarin” policy, the movement of “reviving Chinese traditional culture,” and the prohibitions of publications under martial law were strategies for the KMT to practice its hegemonic power. In this process, the function of patriotic songs was to strengthen people’s support of the government and help the authorities to legalize its political power. Therefore, Brave Soldiers, a typical example of such patriotic songs, linked the “career of anti-communism” and “masses” together. The rhetorical meanings behind the lyrics imply the correctness of defeating communism and the legitimacy of the KMT government. In addition, they provide ethical reasons, such as indicating “moral integrity,” for the rulers to call for people to “advance towards the battlefield.”

Superficially, the songwriter stood on the people’s position and encouraged people to serve a great political action. However, when analyzing this song critically, the message shows an attempt to construct an image of an ethical, orthodox political leadership. In other words, these actions, such as advance towards the masses and battlefield or be busy for the career of anti-communism, should be led by this political ruler. Also, only the ruler can lead people to “stabilize our home and state.” The hidden political leader throughout the lyrics, of course, is the KMT government. Thus, the lyric says that “the lights of sun and moon irradiate loyalty,” in which it asks people to present their loyalty to the KMT because this is a praiseworthy action. The purpose of this kind of description, again, is to maintain the legal political status of the KMT.
China Must Be Strong

This song was composed after the “813 Battle” in Shanghai, 1937. After the Chinese (ROC) government entered the war against Japan in 1937, the “813 Battle” was the one that cost the most casualties on the Chinese side. However, as a very important battle during Japan’s force aggression over the Chinese mainland, this battle inspired the Chinese people’s determination against Japan and, in consequence, won the war in 1945. The purpose of this song was to honor the courageous defense at the end of the “813 Battle” led by Xie Jin-yuan, the 524th regimental commander of the 88th division, and soldiers of the 2nd battalion. This song was composed by Xia Zhi-qiu, and the lyrics were written by Gui Tao-sheng. The lyrics of this song are:

China must be strong   China must be strong
You look the national hero Commander Xie
China must be strong   China must be strong
You look those 800 brave soldiers who fight along in the eastern battlefield

Shellfire is everywhere   Jackals and wolves are everywhere
We would rather die   Do not make a concession
We would rather die   Do not surrender
Our national flag flutters in the tight encirclement
Flutter   flutter flutter flutter

800 brave soldiers unite as one
100,000 formidable enemies do not dare to act
Our action is great and strong   Our moral courage is grand and heroic

The compatriots stand up   The compatriots stand up
Go to the battlefield quickly   800 brave soldiers are our models
China must be strong   China must be strong
China must be strong   China must be strong
Must be strong   Must be strong   Must be strong

The Historical Memories of China

China Must Be Strong is another famous military patriotic song under martial law in Taiwan. This song was collected in The Selection of Patriotic Songs (n.d.), and was often sung on special memorial occasions such as the celebration TV program on the National Day. Like I Love China
and *Brave Soldier*, this song is a march with an impassioned tune. As a patriotic song made at the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese War, however, the historical memories included in this song are different from the above ones. The lyrics of *China Must Be Strong* describe the scenes of the “813 Battle” and then raise Chinese people to fight against Japan’s aggression. The purpose of this song, during the war between 1937 and 1945, was to strengthen people’s resolution to win the war.

On the Chinese side, the second Sino-Japanese War was led by the ROC government. After it retreated to Taiwan in 1949, KMT, the ruling party, still claimed ROC’s legitimate status of representing the “legal China” of the world. One strategy for the KMT government to use under martial law was to emphasize its exploits while ruling China and during the second Sino-Japanese War. Therefore, *China Must Be Strong* does not mention any geographic connection with the Chinese mainland nor indicate the political claims of anti-communism held by the KMT. However, it was still popular during the period under martial law in Taiwan because the historical memories of the second Sino-Japanese War in this song represent the continuity of the ROC rule and accordingly support the legal-political power of the KMT for ruling the ROC. Therefore, as a tool of supporting the KMT’s hegemonic power, this song is to persuade Taiwanese people to believe that “China must be strong, must be strong, must be strong.” The rhetorical meaning of the lyrics state that China must be strong as long as China is led by the KMT.

*The Legal-Political Status/Anti-Communism*

When this song was repeatedly sung under martial law, the enemy had changed from Japan to the CCP. Thus, the lyrics “shellfire is everywhere” and “jackals and wolves are everywhere” can transfer to express the competition of the legitimacy of representing the “one China”
between the PRC ruled by the CCP and the ROC ruled by the KMT. The lyric “shellfire” can indicate the force battles between the CCP and the KMT. Also, the “jackals and wolves” are not Japanese forces anymore; on the contrary, the new “jackals and wolves” are the CCP. Therefore, this song encourages Taiwanese people to “stand up” and follow the leadership of the KMT to “go to the battlefield quickly,” as Chinese people did during the second Sino-Japanese war, in order to make the (ROC) flag flutter and to make China (the ROC regime) strong.

*Love of China*

Starting from the mid-1970s, folk music had become the mainstream in Taiwan’s popular music. According to Chen’s (1996) book, *Music Taiwan*, the rise of Taiwan’s folk music in the 1970s reflected that, because of the failures in international relations, the young people had started to “question America’s ‘Coke culture’ and then turned back to find the music that belongs to us” (p. 122; trans. Lee, 2008). However, Taiwan at that time was not released from strict political control. Accordingly, many folk songs, at least the songs that could be sung in public, were still full of Chinese characteristics and had been utilized by the government for political purposes. Except the three patriotic songs discussed above, all other songs selected in this section are examples of the folk music movement that were popular between the mid-1970s and 1980s in Taiwan.

*Love of China* was composed by Su Lai and the lyrics were written by Xu Nai-sheng. The lyrics are:

The vast of yellow sand, my mind surge like the Qian Tang River,
The vast of yellow sand, my tears are gathered and flow to Changjiang River
Go home, Go home
Dream about the bright and beautiful sceneries in China’s south.
Go home, Go home,
Come back to Hua Xia’s Han and Tang dynasties.
The Historical Memories of China

The lyrics of Love of China present enthusiastic admirations for China, historically and geographically. The historical memories of China included in this song refer to the lyric: “Come back to Hua Xia’s Han and Tang dynasties.” In this line, Hua means China, and Xia was the first dynasty (2033 B.C. – 1562 B.C.) in Chinese history. When these two Chinese characters are put together, it usually refers to the brilliance of Chinese civilization started from the Xia dynasty. Han and Tang dynasties were two glorious periods in Chinese history. Several great emperors of the Han and Tang dynasties extended territories, built diplomatic relations with foreign countries, maintained political openness and stability, promoted cross-cultural interactions, and advanced economic development. Therefore, this song encourages people to prosper the state and re-enter the golden age.

12 The existence of the Xia dynasty has caused academic arguments in the Chinese history discipline. Meskill (1973), for example, claims that the archaeological evidences can only verify the existence of Bronze Age of the Shang dynasty (1523 B.C. – 1122 B.C.) This dissertation does not plan to clarify such historical arguments. Thus, the claim “Xia was the first dynasty in Chinese history” comes from Shi Ji, ro so-called The Historical Records, that was written by Si Ma Qian (135 B.C. – 90 B.C.) of the Western Han dynasty.
The Geographic Connection with the Chinese Mainland

The lyricist of *Love of China* used the most space in presenting the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland. In fact, this song shows a map of China. The lyrics of this song mention China’s natural landscapes, such as the Qian Tang River, Changjiang River, Yinshan Mountains, Nujiang River, prairies, and deserts. In addition, the lyrics specify famous scenic spots in China, such as the beautiful sceneries in the south area, Dunhuang and the Great Wall. For people who grew up in Taiwan, they might only learn about the landscapes listed in *Love of China* from textbooks. By indicating the abounding natural wealth of China, this song, however, asks people to “go home, go home” because “[we] cannot restrain [our] memory and love.” In other words, the rhetoric in this song leads Taiwanese people to believe that China, not Taiwan, is the homeland and the place they should return.

The Legal-Political Status

The political claims included in the lyrics of *Love of China* do not directly mention the sense of anti-communism. By emphasizing the legal-political status of the ROC regime, however, the lyrics of this song still fit the political claims held by the KMT. Thus, this is the reason that *Love of China* has been considered as a Chinese patriotic song. In this song, political messages are stated in the last part of the song: “Rise with force and spirit; regain possession of the lost territory. Let the blue sky and the sun illuminate the ground.”

In order to have a better understanding of the political claims included in *Love of China*, the first thing needed to be discussed is the symbols of the ROC national flag. The ROC flag consists of three colors: red, blue, and white. The symbolic meaning of red means blood; the blue square on the top-left side means sky; and the twelve white rays surrounding a white circle inside the blue square means the sun. Accordingly, the lyric “the blue sky and the sun” present the image of
the ROC national flag and, on this account, refers to the ROC regime. In other words, the last part of this song indicates that people should go back to the Chinese mainland, regain the territory lost after 1949, and make the ROC regime regain the rule. In addition, if connecting the last part of the lyrics with the earlier lyric “Come back to Hua Xia’s Han and Tang dynasties,” the rhetorical meanings of the connection implies that the ROC regime is the one that will rebuild the glorious period in Chinese history. Therefore, this kind of connection presents the orthodox political status of the ROC regime.

*The Song of the Republic of China*

The title of *The Song of the Republic of China* clearly describes the purpose of this song, which is to extol the existence of the ROC. This song is another popular folk song in Taiwan’s folk music movement. Compared with other folk songs during the same period, however, this song consists of much stronger patriotic elements because of the political ordeal that Taiwan had faced in international relations. Between the early 1970s and 1980s, the ROC regime was challenged on its legal-political status of presenting the “only China” of the world. For instance, the ROC lost its position in the United Nations in 1971 and broke off diplomatic relations with the United States in the end of 1978. Under this political circumstance, maintaining the existence of the ROC had become the major goal for the KMT to preserve its ruling power. As a song that had touched many people’s heart under martial law, the lyrics of *The Song of the Republic of China* reflects the diplomatic challenges that the ROC had faced during that period and the political claims held by the ruling party.

The tune and lyrics of this song were both composed by Liu Jia-chang. The lyrics of *The Song of the Republic of China* are:

The prairie of Qinghai,
It stretches as far as the eye can see
The Himalayas
Mountain peaks are linked to each other to the remotest places

Ancient and holy sages of the past
They built the home here
The wind blows, the rain hits
It has stood firm for 5,000 years

The Republic of China, the Republic of China,
It can stand the test
So long as water in the Changjiang River and Yellow River runs constantly,
The Republic of China, the Republic of China,
It stands throughout the ages, until forever.

The Historical Memories of China

The Chinese historical and cultural elements included in this song are not very different from the lyrics of I Love China and Love of China. Again, the purpose of mentioning “ancient and holy sages of the past” and “5,000 years” in the lyrics is to appeal people’s admiration for Chinese civilization started from the Yellow Emperor. However, because of the severe diplomatic difficulties that the ROC had faced during the late 1970s and early 80s, the lyrics of this song did not describe the past glory in Chinese history. On the contrary, the lyrics emphasize the tribulations and distresses (the “wind” and “rain” in the lyrics) that ancient Chinese people suffered. By stating the long Chinese history, the rhetoric of this song indirectly encourages people to imitate their ancestors and accordingly to overcome the current difficulties.

The Geographic Connection with the Chinese Mainland

Like Love of China, several famous landscapes of the Chinese mainland, such as “the prairie of Qinghai” and “the Himalayas,” are also indicated in this song. The difference between Love of China and The Song of the Republic of China is that the previous one presents a complete picture of China, and the landscapes indicated in the later one are selected purposely. In the lyrics of The Song of the Republic of China, the purposes of selecting Qinghai and the
Himalayas are to present the extensive lands and majestic mountains in mainland China. The descriptions of the magnificence of the Chinese mainland, along with the long Chinese history, provide the reasons for honoring the great Chinese civilization. Thus, people’s superior sense of being Chinese could be appealed while singing this song.

The Changjiang River and Yellow River are two other important landscapes indicated in the lyrics. For Chinese people, these two rivers have special meanings in Chinese history. If the whole mainland China can be considered as a human body, the Changjiang River and Yellow River can be imagined as the most important aortas. In fact, the Yellow River and the surrounding areas are the origins of Chinese civilization. The Changjiang River and the surrounding areas, on the other hand, had been full of abundant agricultural products and had become the economic center over thousands of years. The mention of these two important rivers in this song mutually reinforces the long-standing Chinese history and, accordingly, provides a hint for the most important message—“It [the ROC] stands throughout the ages, until forever”—of the song.

The Legal-Political Status

According to the historical review in Chapter Two and the discussion above, people can realize that, starting from the 1970s, the KMT’s political claims had subtly shifted from anti-communism to maintaining the subsistence of the ROC. This kind of change can be obviously observed from the lyrics of folk patriotic songs selected in this study, especially The Song of the Republic of China. In order to increase people’s faith in the ROC, the historical memories mentioned in the second part of the lyrics remind people what ancestors had conquered in the past and, consequently, they should not to be afraid of the current predicaments.

The lyricist of this song wanted people to believe that the ROC can “stand the test.” The word
“test” here in the lyrics expresses two different meanings: the threat from the CCP and the diplomatic difficulties that the ROC had faced at that time. Also, by addressing the Chinese historical and geographic factors, the lyrics of this song imply the ROC’s legal-political status of being the only China of the world. This competition of the “one China” between the CCP and the KMT had continued until the 9th ROC president, Lee Tang-hui, announced the “special state-to-state” theory in 1999.

Sons of Tanshan

As another popular patriotic folk song in Taiwan’s folk song movement, Sons of Tanshan presents a different perspective to enhance patriotism. The five Chinese patriotic songs analyzed above show a common ground, in which all of them do not contain any Taiwanese elements. All patriotic factors included in these five songs, such as historical memories, geographic connections, or political claims, refer to China. Compared with them, however, Sons of Tanshan is the one that directly addresses the immigrant history of Taiwanese ancestors and claims Taiwan as the homeland. Although the political control was slightly loose in the late 1970s and early 80s, the Taiwanese society was still under martial law. Therefore, this song did not challenge the bottom line of the ruling party. On the contrary, the mention of Taiwan in the lyrics serves to emphasize the advanced status of Chinese culture. The tune and lyrics of this song was composed by Chen Yun-shan. The lyrics of this song are:

I come from the place afar
I will go to a place remote from home
Day and night
I have concern about my lovely parents and their hopes

I come from the place afar
I will go to a place remote from home
I am broad-minded
I treat this distant land as my homeland
To settle myself down and to place my hope here
To grow up and to be strong
My shoulder can carry heavy loads
For my family and state

Every drop of my blood is to continue Yan-Huang
Blood is thicker than water

Pass the flame
Although we are in the remotest corner of the world

Sons of Tanshan  The glory of Tanshan
Under the sunshineThe blood
The blood will continue forever

The Historical Memories of China

This song presents how difficult it was for people to move to a new place and how much they missed their hometowns and parents. The word “Taiwan” is not directly mentioned in the lyrics, which was the politically correct strategy under martial law. The song lyrics, however, certainly describe the immigrant history of Taiwanese ancestors. In the lyrics, “the place afar” means the Chinese mainland, and “a place remote from home” signifies Taiwan. Accordingly, the first two parts of the lyrics express that Taiwanese ancestors were originally from China. Because of their parents’ expectations, they came to Taiwan to seek better livelihoods, but they always cherished the memory of the “broad ground” (here means the Chinese mainland) and their parents.

The first two parts of the lyrics not only portray forlorn, homesick emotions of those ancient immigrants, but also express their pragmatic attitudes. Therefore, the lyricist wrote: “I am broad-minded; I treat this distant land as my homeland.” In this new homeland, the third stanza of the lyrics describes how these ancient immigrants settled themselves and how they strive to survive in their new homeland. In the rest of the lyrics, the writer reminded the Taiwanese people that they should not forget where their ancestors were originally from and why they came here.
On the one hand, the lyrics of *Sons of Tanshan* state the history of Taiwanese ancestors. On the other hand, however, the major purpose of this song is to ask people not to forget the origins of their blood and culture.

“Yan-Huang,” the Mandarin pronunciation of the Yellow Emperor, is directly addressed in the lyrics. Also, the lyric “Tanshan” is the alternative of China. Accordingly, the rhetoric of this song signifies two different meanings. First, people who live in Taiwan are Chinese because their ancestors were originally from the Chinese mainland. The lyrics “Blood is thicker than water” and “Pass the flame” present an inseparable relationship between China and Taiwan. In addition, the lyric “Sons of Tanshen,” which means Taiwanese, places Taiwanese culture as subordinate to Chinese culture. In other words, Taiwanese culture is only a local category of Chinese culture. This concept was what the ruling party, KMT, wanted people to believe and also was commonly shared in the society under martial law.

*The Legal-Political Status*

Unlike other select Chinese patriotic songs, *Sons of Tanshan* does not ask people to “go back” to China. The most important political message in the song lyrics is to directly point out a fact that these ancient immigrants treated Taiwan as their homeland. Although, this song still asks Taiwanese people to recognize that they are Chinese. However, the presence of the message: “I treat this distant land [Taiwan] as homeland” reflects the tricky political changes in Taiwanese society in the late 1970s and early 80s. The authoritarian KMT and ROC ruler, Chiang Kai-shek passed away in 1975. His son, Chiang Ching-kuo, actually had controlled the government from the late period of his father’s presidency to the time he was elected as the 6th ROC president. Under Chiang Ching-kuo’s rule, he spent more energy than his father to improve Taiwan’s infrastructure and economic development and, accordingly, led Taiwan to create the “Taiwan
economic miracle.” The economic development, the gradual loss of Chinese representation in international politics, and the geographically long separation from the Chinese mainland had pushed Taiwanese people to reconsider the “Who am I” question. In addition, Chiang Ching-kuo stated that “I am Taiwanese” in 1986. Under this circumstance, the political claims of “defeating communism and recovering the state” had shifted from the urgent mission to a future goal. The lyrics of *Sons of Tanshan* present a fact that treating Taiwan as the homeland was no longer a taboo in Taiwanese society.

Of course, Chiang Ching-kuo and the KMT still insisted the ROC’s orthodox status. Thus, as a patriotic song permitted to be sung in public, the lyrics of *Sons of Tanshan* enhance patriotism. For instance, the third stanza of the lyrics encourages people not to be afraid to “carry heavy loads,” because all of the efforts are to honor my “family and state.” The word “family” signifies people’s Chinese origins, and “state” refers to the ROC regime. In addition, the last part of the lyrics values the efforts of Taiwanese people and extols them as “the glory of Tansahn.” Then the lyricist wished that “The [Chinese] blood will continue forever; under the sunshine.” The word “sunshine,” in my view, indirectly refers to the ROC regime. As we analyzed in the pervious discussion, the ROC national flag consists of blood (red), sky (blue), and sun (white). Many Chinese patriotic songs made under martial law have similar lyrics to indicate these three symbols of the ROC national flag. Thus, here the lyric “under the sunshine” can transfer to “under the ROC rule.” In short, the historical memories and political messages of this song emphasize more on Taiwan rather than China. This song values the efforts that Taiwanese people have made from the past to present and draws a beautiful future for Taiwan. Nevertheless, the lyrics ask Taiwanese people to remember their Chinese origins, but do not request them to go back to China anymore.
Discussion

As a very powerful tool that the KMT government used to control people’s political senses and to maintain its ruling power in Taiwan after 1949, the elements revealed in select Chinese patriotic songs represent how the KMT shaped and constructed Taiwanese people’s national identity. As described in Chapter One, during the martial law period, students were required to sing patriotic songs every day in school; in addition, the KMT government established a strict prohibition of publication in order to ensure all songs sung in public would not threaten the ruling power of the KMT. Anderson’s (1991) theory of imagined community can be utilized to explain the KMT’s efforts during the martial law period. This “imagined China” under the KMT rule was constructed via the representation of historical glories, the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland, and the inviolable political goals. Under the construction, the authorities exercised cultural hegemony and promoted a highly-homologue society in Taiwan. Thus, the government attempted to educate Taiwanese people that “we” were Chinese and accordingly to lead them to construct the collective Chinese identity.

In terms of historical memories, as Hsiau (2000) indicated, “The competition for the control of historical narrative is typically a major facet of identity politics” (p. 150). Therefore, in select patriotic songs, the historical experiences that happened in mainland China were repeatedly mentioned in the lyrics. For instance, the long-standing Chinese culture and history as well as the glories of the Han and Tang dynasties were expressed in I Love China, Love of China, and The Song of the Republic of China. Also, in China Must Be Strong, the whole lyric described a battlefield that happened in the Chinese mainland during the second Sino-Japanese War. By connecting traditional Chinese history and culture, the origin of this “Chinese” identity is constructed. By emphasizing the battle that happened in the Chinese mainland, the ruler tended
to use the song to tell people what “we” had experienced. For all of the above songs, the Taiwan Island and Taiwanese history were totally excluded. Even as the only one that points out the history that Taiwanese ancestors immigrated to Taiwan, *Sons of Tanshan* especially addresses that Taiwanese people are to continue the blood of Chinese.

Another important factor presented in the select Chinese patriotic songs is the geographic connection with the Chinese mainland. In fact, this element relates more directly to the KMT political claims than the collective Chinese historical memories under martial law. Among the select patriotic songs in this study, military songs, including *I Love China*, *Brave Soldier*, *China Must be Strong*, pay less attention to describing the beautiful sceneries of mainland China and its plentiful products. The possible reason is because these military songs either have unique historical background or serve directly for the authority. Therefore, the claims of anti-communism are presented more directly and obviously in these military songs. On the contrary, these popular songs in the folk music movement, such as *Love of China* and *The Song of the Republic of China*, describe more details of geographic characteristics of the Chinese mainland. In the lyrics, China is portrayed as “home.” When the political meanings are given, this “home” image could correspond to the KMT’s political claims in order to lead Taiwanese people to believe that they should “go home.” In the select Chinese patriotic songs, the only exception is *Sons of Tanshan* because the lyrics say that “I treat this distant land [Taiwan] as my homeland.” However, this song still conveys the message that Taiwan should be treated as the extension of China. Therefore, the geographic characteristics of the Chinese mainland included in these patriotic songs helped the KMT strengthen Taiwanese people’s Chinese identity because it presents the linkage between “who we are” and “where the home is.” In addition, the positive
description of the Chinese mainland and the “home” image of China affirm the peripheral position of Taiwan under marital law.

In fact, the dichotomy is hidden in these Chinese patriotic songs, in which the distinction between “dominant” versus “subaltern” and “we” versus “others” can be signified in the lyrics. Accordingly, especially in *Sons of Tanshan*, Taiwanese history and culture are described as below and play as the subordinate level of Chinese history and culture. In terms of self-identification, “we” refers to people who value Chinese culture, share collective historical memories that happened on the Chinese mainland, and treat China as the homeland. Therefore, people who do not agree with such values or share the same historical memories are categorized as “others” insofar as they were ignored, excluded or even hated in all types of narrations and in the society. This kind of distinction, indeed, was the remote cause for the ethnic and identity conflicts happening in Taiwanese society in the contemporary time, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

In conclusion, the analysis of the select songs reveals that patriotic songs under material law especially highlight the glory of Chinese history and civilization as well as the connection of the Chinese mainland. By emphasizing the above two elements, internally and culturally, the KMT attempted to remove the Taiwanese people’s Japanese identity that was constructed during the Japanese colonization. In addition, the sense of the “Great Chineseist” shared among Taiwanese people was gradually established through the stress of these Chinese elements. Externally and politically, the construction of people’s Chinese identity helped the KMT to claim its orthodox and legal representation of the “only China” in the international community. The legal-political status of the ROC regime, on the other hand, could assist the KMT to strengthen its political goals of anti-communism and accordingly to legalize its authoritarian rule. However, this
“Chinese” identity constructed by the KMT under martial law was gradually challenged during
the post-martial law period and has generally been replaced by an alternative Taiwanese identity
in contemporary Taiwan.
CHAPTER IV. THE ANALYSIS OF TAIWANESE PROTEST SONGS

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the Chinese characteristics presented in select Chinese patriotic songs and discussed how the KMT government shaped Taiwanese people’s national identity under martial law. In this chapter, by using textual analysis, I will answer the second critical question: by analyzing political protest songs, how is local consciousness revealed in these songs and how does local consciousness reinforce the development of an alternative Taiwanese identity?

In order to answer the second critical question, the discussions in this chapter are separated into two sections. The first section focuses on the analysis of Taiwanese protest songs that were commonly sung in many political protests, during the post-martial law period and the early 1990s in Taiwan. In order to investigate the local consciousness revealed in select political protest songs, the lyrics of six protest songs are discussed and the three categories of Taiwanese local consciousness are identified in select songs. The second part of this chapter is a discussion section to analyze how these Taiwanese political songs have helped protestors reinforce people’s local consciousness and later re-construct Taiwanese people’s alternative identity.

As I discussed in Chapter Two, the post-martial law period was the time for many Taiwanese people to resist the KMT authoritarian government. Because of the economic development and the gradually-loose political control, more and more Taiwanese people were awakened to review the propaganda education they had received and to deliberate the meaning of being Taiwanese. In addition, many overseas Taiwanese who were on the blacklist broke the limit set by the KMT and went back to Taiwan. These overseas political leaders, cooperating with other local public opinion leaders, organized a series of protests to oppose the KMT rule, to request a democratic political system, and even to seek Taiwanese independence.
In these political movements, the sense of local consciousness was provoked, constructed, and then gradually accepted by more Taiwanese. There were many different purposes of these political demonstrations; however, the common goal was to depart from an authoritarian power. Thus, the songs that protesters sang in these political demonstrations could present their political claims and, in the process, provoke the local consciousness. As described in Chapter One, I selected six Taiwanese songs to analyze in this section; they are: *Looking Forward the Spring Breeze*, *A Flower on a Rainy Night*, *To Mend a Broken Net*, *Formosa*, *Mother’s Name is Taiwan*, and *Do Not Annoy Taiwan*. All of them were popular in many political movements during the post-martial law period. Depending on different characteristics of local consciousness revealed in the lyrics, the select political songs are analyzed under three categories: the historical memories of Taiwan, the geographic connection with the Taiwan Island, and the political claims held by political protesters including the presentation of the oppressed political status as well as the ambition of anti-authoritarianism (see Table 3).

In these characteristics of local consciousness, the meaning of the historical memories of Taiwan signifies whether the select songs describe historical moments, especially colonized experiences, in Taiwan. The geographic connection with the Taiwan Island is a category to discuss whether select songs include any elements that emphasizes the linkages with Taiwan rather than the Chinese mainland. The discussion of the oppressed political status refers to, first, the political position of Taiwanese people displayed in the lyrics and, second, the specific political claims that protesters had held to reflect or change such political status. By analyzing the characteristics of local consciousness revealed in the select songs, the second critical question will be answered.
Table 3

*The Characteristics of Local Consciousness Revealed in Taiwanese Protest Songs*

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*Looking Forward the Spring Breeze*

This song was written in 1933 by using Taiwanese dialect and was composed by Deng Yu-xian and the lyrics were written by Li Lin-qiu. The background of this song was during the late period of Japanese colonization, and the main story of this song is to describe a village girl’s desire of love, her depressed mood, and the hope of a beautiful future. Because of the era of the 1930s, the lyrics were composed more traditionally than many contemporary popular songs. Thus, the English translations of this song in this dissertation, as well as other Taiwanese folk songs with similar backgrounds, focus more on free translations rather than literal translations. For instance, in *Looking Forward the Spring Breeze*, a subject (I, which means the girl) is generally omitted in the lyrics. However, in order to maintain the fluency of translation, I add the subject [I] as well as several conjunctions in the English-translated lyrics.

The lyrics of this song are:
The lonely night  
[I] stay alone under the light
The cold wind blows out of the door
[I am] still young but have not married yet
See that handsome young man
Can anyone tell me who he is?
[I] am shy to ask
But feel agitated in my mind

[I] want that man to be my companion
But my love is hidden in my mind.
When could the man come to pluck this beautiful, full-bloomed flower?
[I] hear someone is coming
[So I] open the door and look over
[Only] the moon ridicule me
[I] was deceived by the sound of wind

The Oppressed Status/Anti-Authoritarianism

Under Japanese colonization, the golden age of creating Taiwanese folk songs was between 1932 and 1939 (Chen, 1996). Until now, many Taiwanese folk songs made during that period have still been popular and often sung in contemporary Taiwanese society, and Looking Forward the Spring Breeze is definitely one of them. In Yang’s article (1998), the author extolled this song as the most representative work of Taiwanese folk songs because of its graceful lyrics and melody. In many books and research articles that focus on the development of Taiwanese folk songs (e.g. Yang, 1998; Yang, 2003; Chen, 2003; and Go, 2005 ), the authors would not ignore discussing the significance of Looking Forward the Spring Breeze.

In addition to its popularity in the area of Taiwanese folk music, Looking Forward the Spring Breeze also plays an important role in Taiwan’s political movements protesting against the KMT government. Unlike many other protest songs, the lyrics of Looking Forward the Spring Breeze are not full of political elements or claims; on the contrary, this song meticulously

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13 Taiwanese folk songs here are different from folk songs in Taiwan’s folk movement that, few of them, were analyzed in the previous chapter. Taiwanese folk songs are written in Taiwanese dialects, such as Holo hua or Hakka hua. Most songs in Taiwan’s folk movement in the 1970s and 80s, however, are composed by Mandarin.
describes a young girl’s mood to seek true love. On many political occasions, however, the lyrics of this song were transformed and were given some political meanings. According to Chen (2003), the young girl’s mood can reflect Taiwanese people’s oppressed emotions under Japanese colonization. During the post-martial law period, this song was applied and transformed to present people’s sorrow under the KMT authoritarian rule. Thus, the words “spring breeze” in the title implied people’s desires to seek a different but better future. Depending on different claims of political protests, the meaning of “spring breeze” could cover a wide range, from seeking a democratic governmental system and political freedom to wanting the release from martial law as well as Taiwanese independence.

Also, in this song, the girl is portrayed as a “beautiful, full-bloomed flower” and is waiting for a “handsome man” to enter her life. Because of the limitation of traditional social customs, she feels agitated and has to hide her love. When the political meanings are given, this young but lonely girl described in the lyrics can represent the oppressed, but expectant, emotions of many Taiwanese people under the control of the dominant forces. As the description of the lyrics, this young girl cannot say her true feelings and expectations; under Japanese colonization and martial law, Taiwanese people were also restricted from pronouncing their political claims. During the post-martial law period, therefore, singing this representative Taiwanese folk song in political protests can present people’s unsatisfactory emotions toward the oppressed political status and the restriction of excising political rights. In addition, this song also describes protesters’ anticipation of changing the status quo and a better future.

*A Flower on a Rainy Night*

The melody of this song was composed by Deng Yu-xian. According to Chen (1996), this song was originally made for children, and the lyrics were written by Liao Han-chen. In 1934,
Zhou Tain-wang re-wrote the lyrics, and the new version of *A Flower on a Rainy Night* became one of the most popular Taiwanese folk songs in Taiwan. Later, when Japan entered World War II, the lyrics written by Zhou was replaced by a new version written in Japanese. The Japanese version made the song become a military song, and the main purpose was to encourage Taiwanese people to join the Japanese military and fight for Japan. In this study, I adopted the version made by Zhou, and the English translation was made by Choan Seng-song. The lyrics are:

A flower on a rainy night
A flower on a rainy night
Fell on the ground in wind and rain
Out of everyone’s sight
It sighs day and night
It has fallen not to return again.

A flower on the ground
A flower on the ground
Who pays attention to it?
Merciless rain, merciless rain
It has no concern for our future
It is not mindful for our frailty
Covering our destiny with darkness
Causing us to fall from the branch
Out of everyone's sight

Raindrops, raindrops
Lead us into the pool of suffering
Not mindful of our frailty
Covering our destiny with darkness
Causing us to fall from the branch
Out of everyone's sight

*The Historical Memories of Taiwan*

The historical background of *A Flower on a Rainy Night* was similar to *Looking forward the Spring Breeze*. During Japanese colonization, especially during the later periods such as the Pacification and the Japanization movement, Taiwanese traditional customs and dialects were
abandoned by the colonial government, and the political control was strict. Under this condition, most Taiwanese folk songs did not challenge the authority and accordingly paid attention to love stories or ordinary lives.

The similarity between *Looking Forward the Spring Breeze* and *A Flower on a Rainy Night* is that both songs portray a lonely girl’s mood. Compared with *Looking Forward the Spring Breeze*, however, *A Flower on a Rainy Night* presents deeply sorrowful and depressed emotions. Indeed, the female image in *Looking Forward the Spring Breeze* presents a young, angelical girl who is currently lonely but still holds expectations for her future. On the contrary, the female image in *A Flower on a Rainy Night* describe a woman who has experienced many vicissitudes of her life and feels hopeless for her future. According to Yang (1998), Zhou’s lyric of *A flower on a rainy night* is based on a true story that a girl’s lover left her and she was forced to be a prostitute in order to survive. In Zhou’s version, a flower reoresents that girl, and the wind and rain symbolize the rigors of the environment. The female image in this song actually characterizes the unequal social status of women in Taiwanese society in the 1930s.

*The Oppressed Status/Anti-Authoritarianism*

During the post-martial law period, along with *Looking Forward the Spring Breeze*, *A Flower on a Rainy Night* also became a popular protest song in many political protests against the KMT authoritarian rule. When the political meanings were given, the sorrowful woman’s mood in *A Flower on a Rainy Night* was transformed to describe Taiwanese people’s helplessness and the feeling of being oppressed by the political reality under martial law. Therefore, protesters lamented “A flower… fell on the ground in wind and rain” and was “out of everyone's sight.” Here, a flower represents Taiwanese people; wind and rain signify the authoritarian power and the restriction of martial law. The phrases “fell on the ground” and “out
of everyone’s sight” describe the situation that people’s political rights were limited and ignored by the authority. In the second and third stanzas of this song, the same complaint continues, so the lyrics say: “A flower on the ground, who pays attention to it?” and “Merciless rain…not mindful of our frailty.” The political meanings behind the above lyrics indicate the unequal political and social statuses between the political rulers and Taiwanese people. In addition, the lyric “Lead us into the pool of suffering” could be transformed to indicate that people in Taiwan were suffering under the KMT control.

The lyrics of this song also present the Taiwanese people’s helplessness for their future. For instance, the lyrics say: “It has fallen not to return again,” “Merciless rain…it has no concern for our future” and “Covering our destiny with darkness.” When A Flower on a Rainy Night was sung on political occasions, the lyrics present the forlorn emotions and doleful experiences of the Taiwanese people that had accumulated from painful historical memories of being colonized and severe political rule. During the post-martial law period, this kind of discontented feeling was increasingly shared by more and more Taiwanese people and, accordingly, enlightened them to review their Chinese national identities that were identified and shaped by the KMT government. However, the over-emphasis of such sorrowful emotions has, more or less, caused the sharp identity and ethnic crises in contemporary Taiwan society, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

*To Mend a Broken Net*

*To Mend a Broken Net* is another popular folk song in Taiwanese society. This song was made in 1948, one year after the 228 Incident. The melody was composed by Wang Yun-feng, and the lyrics were written by Li Lin-qiu. In Zhuang’s (1999) book, *The Melody of Taiwanese Folk Music*, the author indicated that this song was prohibited by the KMT government in the
1950s and was approved to sing in public in 1977 after it was re-identified as a love song.

According to Chen (2003), the lyricist, Li, only wrote two sections of the lyrics, and the original purpose of this song was to be a theme song of a movie. However, Li was forced to add the third section because the authority argued the original lyrics were too gloomy and could not pass the examination. At Li’s old age, he asked people not to sing the third section because it disobeys the original creative intention of the song. In order to respect the lyricist, therefore, the discussion in this study will only include the first two sections of the lyrics. The lyrics of this song say:

[I] weep while seeing the fish net  
There are such big broken holes  
[I] want to mend but have no tool  
No one knows my pain  
[If I] don’t mend a fishing net today,  
[I] will have no hope forever  
For future  [I] must look for the tool to mend the net  

[I] see the net and feel heavy  
I am so lonely  
Lover, where are you?  
Please come to help  
[I] have no alternative but try to do it  
Lift the network needle  darn back and forth  
Using thread to make a bridge  
Spending all of [my] energy  
To mend a fishing net

*The Historical Memories of Taiwan*

From the literal meaning, this song describes a poor fisherman’s mood. At the beginning of the lyrics, this lonely fisherman cries for his broken fishing net; later he realizes that he has “no alternative but try to do it.” As mentioned above, this song was composed in 1948, which was a very turbulent period of Taiwanese history. The year of 1948 was three years after the Taiwan Island returned back to China, one year after the 228 Incident, and one year before KMT and the ROC government retreated to Taiwan. During the period right after WWII, Taiwanese people had to recover their properties destroyed by the war, to accept a new government that came from
the Chinese mainland, and to face a series of cultural shocks and chaos in the society. The 228 Incident in 1947, as mentioned in Chapter Two, had raised the tension between the Taiwanese people and the KMT government. Thus, the lyrics of this song, especially in the first section, reflect the helpless, heavy, and sorrowful emotions of Taiwanese people. In addition, this song basically presents people’s lives in a fishing village at a particular historical moment. As an island, from the ancient times to the present, there have been many fishing villages located at the coastal areas around Taiwan. Therefore, the image of this fisherman and the action of mending fishing nets in this song were close to Taiwanese people’s daily life.

The Oppressed Status/Anti-Authoritarianism

This song is another popular Taiwanese folk song that was generally sung at many political movements during the post-martial law period. For instance, the Tang Wai people used To Mend a Broken Net as the theme song in the electioneering in 1978 (Yang, 1998). As well as Looking Forward the Spring Breeze and A Flower on a Rainy Night, this song was originally a love song. However, as Zhuang (1999) stated, the lyricist insisted to name the song “To Mend a Broken Net” rather than “To Mend a Fishing Net” because he attempted to reflect the social status and people’s expectations at that time in Taiwanese society. In Holo hua, the major Taiwanese dialect, the sound Net is pronounced the same as Hope. Therefore, the broken net in this song implies the broken Taiwanese society after WWII, and the action of mending holes indicates people’s desire for the future.

During the post-martial law period, the meanings of broken net and big holes were used to describe the defects of the KMT authority by political protesters. In the second section of the song, the fisherman decided to find a tool to spend “all of [his] energy” to mend the broken net. Here, the fisherman means the Taiwanese people, and the action of mending holes represents
people’s wishes to fix the current situation and to pursue a happier future. The positive and active attitudes portrayed in the lyrics have made this song popular in Taiwanese society and at many previous and contemporary political movements.

_Formosa_

Most Taiwanese songs sang in political movements are written in Holo hua (the major Taiwanese dialect). Unlike the three Taiwanese songs above, the most popular version of _The Beautiful Island_, or so-called _Formosa_, is sung in Mandarin. In fact, the original lyric was a poem wrote by Chen Xiu-xi. In 1977, Liang Jing-feng re-wrote Chen’s poem and composed the lyric of _Formosa_, and a Philippine Chinese composer, Li Shuang-ze, made the melody. After this song was composed in 1977, the title of this song was also used by Shih Ming-teh and the editorial board of the magazine _Formosa_. In 1979, the Formosa Incident happened and the _Formosa_ magazine was forced to stop publication. In addition, the song _Formosa_ was abandoned by the KMT government; the reason was the suspicion of seeking Taiwanese independence. Here, the English lyric is translated from the version composed by Liang, and the lyrics are:

The beautiful island in our cradle  
It is mother's warm arms  
The proud ancestors face  
Face our steps  
They are repeated constantly to give exhortations  
Don’t forget it  
Don’t forget it  
They are repeated constantly to give exhortations  
Beating through a path in rags  
Opening forests and ground  

The whirling and boundless Pacific Ocean  
Holding the land of freedom  
The sun shines for warmth  
Shining the high mountains and rural areas  
There are brave people here  
Beating through a path in rags  
Opening forest and ground
There are infinite lives here
Buffalo Rice Banana Yulan flower

Our name is beauty
The most beautiful pearl in the ocean
Formosa Beauty Formosa

The Historical Memories of Taiwan

The first part of this song presents Taiwan’s history of clearing the land when their forefathers immigrated to Taiwan. Thus, the lyrics say: “They [the ancestors] are repeated constantly to give [us] exhortations: Beating through a path in rags, opening forests and ground.”

As discussed in Chapter Two, Han people living in the southern Fujian and Guangdong provinces of the Chinese mainland started to immigrate to Taiwan in the 17th century and later increased under Zheng Cheng-kung’s rule and during the Qing dynasty. When these Han people came to Taiwan, they had to battle with the natural environment, such as virgin forests and swamps; in addition, they needed to face Taiwanese aboriginals who, at that time, still kept the tradition of hunting people’s heads. Thus the lyrics say: “The proud ancestors face…our steps. They are repeated constantly to give [us] exhortations: Don’t forget it! Don’t forget it!” In other words, this song asks Taiwanese people to be proud of the ancestors and not to forget their efforts.

Another historical memory of Taiwan presented in this song is in the end of the second stanza14—“Buffalo Rice Banana Yulan flower.” As mentioned above, the lyric was re-written by Liang in 1977. At that time, Taiwanese society was transformed from agricultural to industrial-oriented. However, the agricultural products were important for Taiwan to export to the international markets. Among them, banana was once the most famous and popular

14 Sometimes the third stanza of this song is omitted by singers. On many occasions, this song only includes two parts, and, in such case, “Buffalo, Rice, Banana, Yulan Flower” is the last lyric of the song.
Taiwanese agricultural product during the economic advancement period. Besides, at that time, Taiwanese farmers often used buffalo to cultivate their rice farms. Therefore, many Taiwanese like to use the image of buffalo to represent the spirits of industriousness and stamina. The last item, the Yulan flower, is called the Magnolia in English, which is a plant with a sweet smell and is generally grown in Taiwan. So these four items are actually the representatives that can recall people’s memories of the growth of the Taiwanese economy in the 1960s and 70s. In addition, the hidden meaning of these four items listed in the lyric, in fact, responds to the lyrics in the first stanza: “They [the ancestors] are repeated constantly to give [us] exhortations: Don’t forget it! Don’t forget it!” In other words, the use of these four images, once again, asks Taiwanese people to esteem what they have and to remember the efforts of the ancestors.

The Geographical Connection with the Taiwan Island

The second stanza of this song describes the geographic environment of Taiwan, in which it says: “The whirling and boundless Pacific Ocean [is] holding the land of freedom.” Also, the next lyric “high mountains and rural areas” presents the varied landforms in Taiwan. In fact, this little island is surrounded by sea and consists of mountains, hills, basins, plains, and plateaus. Because of its abundance of landforms, the major types of climate, from the frigid zone to the torrid zone, can be found in Taiwan. The title of this song Formosa is famous as another name of Taiwan, which means a “beautiful island.” In the lyrics, the portraits of Taiwan’s landforms and geographical characteristics explain why Taiwan can be called “Formosa.”

The Oppressed Status/Anti-Authoritarianism

This song chooses a very positive way to describe Taiwanese people’s lives rather than emphasizing the depressive emotion. This is the major difference between Formosa and the three Taiwanese songs above. The loosening of political control might be the major reason for this
kind of difference. The main purpose of this song is to honor the beauty of Taiwan. When it was sung in many political movements, the meaning was extended to ask Taiwanese people to be attached to this island because their ancestors spent the most efforts on this little island and, accordingly, they should treat Taiwan as their motherland.

Also, *Formosa* reveals the major difference between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland in the 1970s. The evidence is presented in this lyric “The whirling and boundless Pacific Ocean [is] holding the land of freedom.” At that time, Taiwan was still under martial law, and the ROC Constitution was frozen and replaced by the provisional law articles of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion. Therefore, Taiwan, during that period, could not claim to be a true democracy. However, because of the influences of the political system exercised in the United States and its political power over Taiwan, Taiwanese people also value the truths of democracy, human rights, equality, and freedom. The propaganda education under martial law also made Taiwanese people believe that by living in Taiwan they could have more freedom than people living in mainland China. In fact, the third constitutional revisions led by the former ROC president, Lee Teng-hui, in 1994 added an important amendment to the ROC Constitution, in which it indicates that the future ROC presidents should be voted directly by people who lived in “the area of freedom” of the ROC. Accordingly, Taiwan, in opposition to the Chinese mainland, is generally recognized as the land of freedom by Taiwanese people and the government. Of course, when this song was sung in political protests against the KMT government during the post-martial law period, “the land of freedom” had become the central faith held by the protesters because they hoped Taiwan could be released from authoritarians and become a true democracy.
*Mother’s Name is Taiwan*

The four Taiwanese songs analyzed above can be categorized as folk music, but later they were utilized often in Taiwanese political movements. In other words, these songs originally were not political songs, and the political meanings of the lyrics were given by the protesters. *Mother’s Name is Taiwan*, compared with the above songs, was full of political elements and was commonly used in political protests, especially the movements for seeking Taiwanese independence. This song was written and composed by Wang Wen-de. According to Chen (1996), Wang was an audience of a radio program by the Green Peace Broadcasting Station. One day when he was listening to the program, he called the program host and sang a song he composed, which is *Mother’s Name is Taiwan*\(^{15}\). One of the program hosts, Cai Zhen-nan, is also a singer; therefore, he revised this song, and the arrangement was popularly played by many underground broadcasting stations. The lyrics of this song say:

```
Mother is the mountain
Mother is the sea
Mother is the river
Mother’s name is Taiwan
Mother is the conscience
Mother is the justice
Mother is our spring

The sweet potato sons of 20 million
Do not dare to say Mother’s name
The name of Taiwan is so unpleasant?
Makes you feel bitterly disappointed and distressed?

The sweet potato sons of 20 million
Do not dare to say Mother’s name
```

\(^{15}\) There are several different statements about the exact year of composing this song. In Yang’s (1998) article, the author indicated that this song was composed in 1989. According to one article posted in the *Liberty Times* Supplement on 31 May, 2005, the author, Lin, also expresses that this song was composed in the 1980s. Some on-line articles, however, adopted the program host’s words and said that this song was made in 1994 (e.g. Guo, 2003). Because I cannot find definite evidence about the year of composing this song, I decide not to write the year in the text. In short, this song was composed between the late post-martial law period and the early period under Lee Teng-hui’s rule.
Just like the dumb person accidentally injure his son to death
Has no voice to express his pain and regret

The sweet potato sons of 20 million
Do not too silent to speak
Call Mother’s name bravely
Taiwan, Taiwan You are Mother’s name

The Historical Memories of Taiwan

Unlike the Taiwanese songs discussed above, the composer of *Mother’s Name is Taiwan* used a very direct way to describe a painful memory of being colonized. As mentioned in Chapter Two, historically, under the Qing dynasty rule, Taiwan was on the edge of China and had never gotten any notice from the imperial government; under the Japanese rule, Taiwan was a colony of Japan and lacked its independence; and under the KMT government rule, Taiwan was a base for the ruling party to defeat the Chinese Communist Party and to regain the Chinese mainland. Thus, the word “Taiwan” and the meaning of it had been prohibited, ignored, or even distorted over hundreds of years. In this song, the lyrics “dumb person” and “no voice” are to describe the Taiwanese people’s silence when they were colonized.

Also, the lyric of *Mother’s Name is Taiwan* uses “the sweet potato son” to represent Taiwanese people. “Sweet potato” has a special rhetorical meaning for Taiwanese people. First, the shape of the Taiwanese island looks like a sweet potato. Also, sweet potato is a kind of native plant in Taiwan and is easy to grow. During the 1940s to 50s, many Taiwanese were poor and did not have money to buy rice and food. They, therefore, dug sweet potatoes from their farms and ate them as the staple food everyday. In the late 1970s, when Taiwanese people organized a series of political activities to resist the authorities, more and more people started to call themselves the “sweet potato sons.” In this song, the word “sweet potato sons” can help it to achieve at least two goals: first, it reinforces Taiwanese people’s local consciousness because,
when the sweet potato can represent to the image of the Taiwan island, “the sweet potato son” can transformed to mean “the son of Taiwan.” In addition, it recalls people’s memory back to that poor period and consequently asks people not to repeat the same mistakes.

*The Geographical Connection with the Taiwan Island*

The lyrics of this song start with describing Taiwan’s geographical features. Unlike *Formosa*, this song does not glorify the beauty of Taiwan. In contrast, the first three sentences of the song simply say: “Mother is the mountain; Mother is the sea; Mother is the river.” The purpose of these lyrics is to point out the gist of the song, which is also the fourth line—“Mother’s name is Taiwan.” In the end of the song, the lyrics directly say: “Taiwan, Taiwan, you are Mother’s name.” Here, all “mother” in the lyrics can be replaced by Taiwan. In fact, the rhetoric of the first-half stanza of the song is to encourage Taiwanese people to recognize that their motherland is Taiwan rather than other places. This kind of direct claim is full of political factors that fit the major purpose of most Taiwanese political protests in the late 1980s and the early 90s. Also, the political claim makes the song become a counterexample of those Chinese patriotic songs analyzed in the previous chapter.

*The Oppressed Status/Anti-Authoritarianism*

In the lyrics of this song, the second and third parts directly describe the oppressed status of Taiwanese people while being colonized and under authoritarian political control. For instance, at the beginning of the second stanza, the lyrics say: “The sweet potato sons [Taiwanese people] of 20 million, do not dare to say Mother’s name.” Next, the lyrics raise two questions to ask Taiwanese people why they would have negative feelings toward recognizing that they are Taiwanese and their motherland is Taiwan. The third part of the lyrics describes the Taiwanese as mute people because they could not present their “pain and regret.” The rhetoric of these
lyrics is to accuse the colonial and authoritarian powers. In addition, it provides reasons about why Taiwanese people should call their motherland’s name loud and bravely.

This song also presents positive features of Taiwanese culture and the fortitudinous Taiwanese spirits. In the first part of the lyrics, it describes Taiwanese culture with direct words, such as the conscience, justice, and spring. When the lyric is analyzed with a critical sense, this kind of positive description of Taiwanese culture and spirits actually provides reasons to support the political claims implicated in the lyric. In other words, it is a moral, just action to recognize that Taiwanese people’s motherland is Taiwan, and this kind of political claim will give Taiwanese people a better future.

In short, as a political song, *Mother’s Name is Taiwan* directly addresses its two political claims: first, it asks Taiwanese people to recognize that their motherland is Taiwan rather than the Chinese mainland; and second, it asks people to call their motherland “Taiwan.” The hidden meaning of the second political claim is to question the current official name—Republic of China—on Taiwan. Therefore, this song has been commonly used by politicians and many political demonstrators who seek the legal principle of Taiwanese independence because they advocate that the name of the ROC should be abandoned and be replaced by Taiwan.

*Do Not Annoy Taiwan*

During the post-martial law period, the loosening of political control had encouraged Taiwanese people to reconsider and, accordingly, to question their Chinese identity that was constructed by the KMT power. More and more Taiwanese artists broke through the prohibition and started including Taiwanese elements in their works. *Do Not Annoy Taiwan* is one such example. The lyrics of this song are originally a poem written by Lin Yang-min in Holo hua. Lin’s poem won the gold medal of a composition award in 1987. Later Hsiao Tai-ran composed
the melody. As well as political songs analyzed above, *Do Not Annoy Taiwan* had been popular in many political protests against the KMT rule during the post-martial law period and has been valued in contemporary time because of the local consciousness revealed in the lyrics. The lyrics of this song are:

If we love our ancestor,
Please do not annoy Taiwan,
Even the land is a bit small and narrow.
The sweat of father
The blood of mother,
Spread all over the land everywhere.

If we love our generations,
Please do not annoy Taiwan,
She got paddy field, gardens, mountains,
Sweeten fruit, scent of crops,
Give our generations forever for consumption.

If we love our homeland,
Please do not annoy Taiwan,
Even though livelihood is difficult.
If you are diligent and hardworking,
Our future is not worse than other people.

**The Historical Memories of Taiwan**

As well as *Mother’s Name is Taiwan*, the lyrics of this song also specify Taiwan’s painful historical memories. The gist of the lyrics is to ask the Taiwanese people not to annoy Taiwan. This claim, in fact, obscurely indicates a situation that being Taiwanese was a shame when Taiwan was colonized. However, *Do Not Annoy Taiwan* chooses a more positive description rather than somber complaint. The lyrics “the sweat of father, the blood of mother” and “livelihood is difficult” present the historical moments when Taiwanese ancestors moved to Taiwan and spent all of their energy to permanently settle in Taiwan. Also, the purpose of mentioning “ancestor” and “generation” is to tell Taiwanese people that their families had moved to Taiwan hundreds of years ago, and their children and descendants will continually live on this
land. This kind of depiction asks people to review their family histories and not to forget their efforts made by the ancestors. In addition, people who live on this island should provide a better environment for the younger generations.

The Geographical Connection with the Taiwan Island

The lyrics of this song also mention Taiwan’s geographical characteristics. However, unlike Formosa, it did not admire the beauty of the island. On the contrary, it recognizes that the land of Taiwan is “small and narrow.” In fact, the lyric of this song pays more attention to Taiwan’s plentiful produce. As mentioned above, Taiwan is famous for its abundance of landforms, and all major types of climate can be found in Taiwan. Hence, the produce in Taiwan is ample. The lyrics do not say directly but imply that Taiwanese people should be proud of their island. Also, the contrast (small and narrow land vs. ample produce) can link to the last part of the lyrics, in which it encourages Taiwanese people to be “diligent and hardworking” in order to conquer nature.

The Oppressed Status/Anti-Authoritarianism

Maybe because this song was composed during the post-martial law period, the political claims contained in the lyrics are not as direct as the lyrics of Mother’s Name is Taiwan. However, it is still full of political elements, and has been sung on many political occasions from the late 1980s to present. The title “Do Not Annoy Taiwan” directly presents the major claim of this song. This claim can also be said in another way, which is to ask people to “love Taiwan.” In fact, this argument obscurely accuses that the colonial and authoritarian powers in Taiwan did not love Taiwan, and they even educated Taiwanese people to annoy Taiwan.

The historical reviews in Chapter two express the education and language policies applied by the Japanese colonizers and the KMT government. Under Japanese and the KMT rules, the
word “Taiwan,” the sense of being Taiwanese, and Taiwanese dialects were controlled or even prohibited by the rulers. Thus, under Japanese colonization, Japanese culture was more modern and progressive than Taiwanese local culture. Under the KMT rule, similarly, Taiwanese local culture was purposely ignored, and the government attempted to construct Taiwanese people’s Chinese identity and to create the sense of “Great Chineseist.” Over a long period of time, Taiwanese local culture had been treated as a lower level than Japanese and Chinese cultures. The lyricist of this song, therefore, wanted to ask people to face this situation and to correct this mistake. Therefore, the last part of this song encourages people to have the bravery to face difficult life, and Taiwanese people are not worse than others.

Discussion

In these Taiwanese protest songs, the ones that can be categorized to Taiwanese folk songs and were composed during the earlier period include less political elements. For instance, *Looking Forward the Spring Breeze* describes a shy, young girl who is expecting someone to change her life; *A Flower on a Rainy Night* presents the deeply helplessness and sorrow of a woman who sighs mournfully for her destiny; and *To Mend a Broken Net* not only presents the main role’s helpless emotions, but also reflects a more active attitude about changing the current difficulties. The lyricist adapt different aspects to describe the main roles’ emotions, but all of them attempted to portray a life style, based on true stories or historical conditions, in Taiwanese society. Later when these songs were used in political protest movements between the late 1970s and early 90s, the meanings of lyrics were transformed and the political imports were given. Thus, the main roles portrayed in these songs were claimed to represent a subordinate image of Taiwanese people under martial law.
Compared with these Taiwanese folk songs, the ones that were made during the post-martial law and later periods include more direct political claims. *Formosa* is the one that the lyricist used a very positive perspective to describe the beauty of Taiwan; the political messages contained in the lyrics claim people should treat this beautiful island as the motherland. The lyricist of *Mother's Name is Taiwan* and *Do Not Annoy Taiwan* used different angles to convey the political claims, from painful historical memories of being colonized to geographic connections with the island of Taiwan. The lyrics of these two songs, as well as other select protest songs discussed in this chapter, provoked people’s local consciousness while they were sung in political demonstration. This kind of awakening has inspired the Taiwanese people to recall their memories of being political controlled, to review the propaganda education they had received from the authority, to question the Chinese identity constructed by KMT, and finally to think the question of “who am I?”

When a song is selected as a theme song or popularly sung in a political demonstration, it means that this song appropriately fits the political claims in the demonstration. The analysis of the lyrics of these Taiwanese protest songs, therefore, can reflect Taiwanese people’s sense of emerging local consciousness and the desire for constructing their own identity in the process of decolonization in Taiwan. In this process, Taiwanese people also present their anger and resistance to the KMT government and other colonizers throughout the Taiwanese history. The way people develop a Taiwanese identity, in the first place, is to share the same historical memories. In the comparison between Chinese patriotic songs analyzed in Chapter Three and Taiwanese protest songs selected in this chapter, the different emphases of history can be obviously pointed out. In most of these Chinese patriotic songs, for instance, Taiwan and its history are absent in the portrayal, and Chinese history and civilization are highly valued and
admired. The only exception of these select patriotic songs is *Sons of Tanshan* because the lyric describe Taiwan’s immigration history; however, the main message in this song is to indicate the orthodox status of Chinese blood and, in consequence, to strengthen people’s Chinese identity.

Most of these Taiwanese protest songs, oppositely, ignore the characterization of Chinese history and culture, but pay more attention to highlight Taiwan’s immigration history or the historical experiences of being colonized. The vast majority of Taiwanese people, except the ones who moved to Taiwan after 1949, share the same historical reminiscences. In fact, in most of the Taiwanese protest songs selected in this chapter, the images of Taiwanese people were portrayed as oppressed, inferior, and exclusive. Also, a dominant image of political power was literally characterized in the lyrics. Therefore, when people’s painful historical memories of being restricted were recalled, it would promptly excite the local consciousness, and such sense would easily transform to be a cornerstone of the newly-formed Taiwanese identity.

Another element of reconstructing people’s Taiwanese identity is to depict their love for the land of Taiwan. On the one hand, this kind of linkage can reinforce Taiwanese people’s local consciousness based on their sense of belonging. On the other hand, the link between land and identity explains the failure of the old ideology that was emphasized and diffused by the KMT government over 40 years. Because of Taiwan’s geography and special historical experience, the relationship between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland is actually not as strong as the KMT government thought. When the authorities paid a lot of attention to change people’s Japanese identity, the Taiwanese people actually have been confused in the process of reconstructing a new identity (here it means the Chinese identity constructed by KMT) because of the lack of sympathy and common memory of the Chinese mainland. Besides, the more the authoritarian government oppressed them, the stronger the desire that Taiwanese people would have to cohere
local consciousness and, on this account, to reinforce the development of an alternative Taiwanese identity.

In conclusion, from analyzing these Taiwanese songs, readers can realize how Taiwanese people present their resistances to previous colonizers and what kind of local consciousness is revealed in these protest songs. Culturally, the development of Taiwanese people’s local consciousness and the reconstruction of the Taiwanese identity mutually influence each other in the process of decolonization, and the old Chinese identity constructed by KMT was accordingly abandoned in Taiwanese society. Politically, the release from martial law in 1987 and the later democratic development in Taiwanese society had corresponded to the political claims voiced in these Taiwanese protest songs. Also, the 2000 presidential election can be treated as a victory against the old authoritarian regime and its hegemony.

However, this kind of development is not totally positive and healthy. On one hand, finally, Taiwanese people have chances to free themselves from strict political control, to squarely face Taiwanese history, and to show their love to the land where they are living. On the other hand, however, when an alternative Taiwanese identity replaces the old Chinese identity and is accepted by more and more people in today’s Taiwan, it has represented a newly-formed ideology and started a new round of diffusing hegemony. In the process of colonization and decolonization, the constructions of Taiwanese people’s identities were led by political forces and served for political purposes. When an old identity was overthrown by the Taiwanese people’s resistance, it should give the society a good opportunity to review the history that they were forced to forget and encourage the integration of different ethnic groups in Taiwan. However, the image of the majority group continues the route of the old ideology because it can not avoid manipulation by politicians. This kind of political exploitation has given the
newly-formed Taiwanese identity a hegemonic meaning and aroused the ethnic and identity crises in today’s Taiwan.

In the next chapter, the analysis will go one step further to analyze the fundamental meaning of the Taiwanese identity and what kind of consequence this identity-building process has caused in today’s Taiwan. By analyzing theme songs in two large political movements in 2004 and 2006, the discussion in Chapter Five will also investigate what kind of identity consciousness is shared in contemporary Taiwan.
CHAPTER V. THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In Chapter Three, the analysis of Chinese patriotic songs represented the colonial discourses voiced by the authorities during the martial law period in Taiwan. On the other hand, the analysis of Taiwanese protest songs in Chapter Four signified the colonized perspective from Taiwanese people who resisted the authoritarian governance of the KMT. Also, the discussions in Chapters Three and Four present the process of how an imagined, united Chinese identity was broken and replaced by an alternative Taiwanese identity. However, the processes of breaking the old identity and then reconstructing an alternative identity were not always peaceful. In fact, this process has agitated the identity and political conflicts in contemporary Taiwanese society. In addition, the wave of Taiwanese local consciousness, starting from the post-martial law period, has caused a new round of hegemonic ideology. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to discuss what kinds of crises the identity-building process has caused in contemporary Taiwan, as well as how Taiwanese people emerge with a hybrid identity in such dynamic progress. By analyzing theme songs sung in two large political movements in 2004 and 2006, this chapter will answer the third critical question: What kind of identity consciousness is shared in today’s Taiwan.

In order to answer the critical question, this chapter is separated into three sections. The first section addresses the current ethnic and identity conflicts in Taiwan and the oversimplified political labels caused by the above conflicts. The analysis in this section is to reveal the contemporary crises that have been aroused because of the identity-breaking and –reconstructing processes of the past 20 years in Taiwan. The second section chooses two large political movements, the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 and the Red Clothes movement in 2006, with different political standpoints and then analyze the theme songs sung in the movements. By
analyzing two theme songs, the third section discusses and answers, in the process of
decolonization, how the Taiwanese people relocate their national identity as well as what kind of
identity consciousness is generally shared in contemporary Taiwan.

The Status Quo in Taiwan

The Mixed-Ethnic Society

According to Smith (1991), there are six elements of an ethnic community: “a collective
proper name; a myth of common ancestry; shared historical memories; one or more
differentiating elements of common culture; an association with a specific ‘homeland’; and a
sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population” (p. 21). The ethnic issue in Taiwan is
more complicated than Smith’s explanation. It is generally accepted that Taiwan has four major
ethnic groups: indigenous Taiwanese, Holo, Hakka, and Wai Sheng. According to Shih (2002),
Holo is the majority of the total population in Taiwan; the proportion is 70%. Of other ethnic
groups: indigenous Taiwanese is around 2%, Hakka is 15%; and Mainlanders (here means Wai
Sheng) is 13%.

There are at least five ways to express the complexity of the Taiwanese ethnic problem.
First, if differentiated from the biological, anthropological sense, Taiwan has two major races:
Han people vs. indigenous Taiwanese. Second, if divided by historical memories, Holo, Hakka,
and indigenous Taiwanese are in the same category because they had experienced Japanese

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16 Because of the complicated Taiwanese ethnic situation, it is hard to judge whether Holo, Haka, and Wai-Sheng
 can be called “ethnic” groups. In this paper, I will still use the term “ethnic” groups to distinguish them. However,
 because of Taiwan’s unique situation and the special dialect distinctions of the Han culture, the meaning of “ethnic”
 group in this dissertation might be partly different from a common-shared definition made by the West (see Shih,
 2002).

17 According to Chuang (2003), the proportion of population of each ethnic group in Taiwan is: Indigenous
 Taiwanese and other races (4%), Wai Sheng (13%), Hakka (13%), and Holo (70%).

18 Recently Taiwan has more citizens who immigrated from other Southeastern Asian countries. However, these
 new immigrants do not have enough political power. Therefore, this paper only focuses on the discussion of ethnic
groups that were involved in Taiwanese colonial history and any types of political movement in the past 60 years.
colonization. Wai Sheng, on the contrary, indicates a large amount of people who followed the ROC government to retreat to Taiwan in 1949. In other words, the first generation of Wai Sheng people maintained a strong Chinese identity because their homeland was the Chinese mainland. Third, if separated by language, Holo, Hakka, Wai Sheng, and indigenous Taiwanese speak different dialects. Fourth, if different groups are distinguished by the time their ancestors immigrated to Taiwan, indigenous people are aboriginals. Holo and Hakka are in the same category, which is often called “Ben Sheng.” Ben Sheng is a contrast of Wei Sheng; Ben Sheng refers to that people whose ancestors moved to Taiwan over hundreds of years. In Chinese, the meaning of Ben indicates local or internal; Wei, on the contrary, means outside or external. Last, if separated by a myth of common ancestry and a sense of common culture, there are only two major cultural groups in Taiwan: Han culture vs. indigenous Taiwanese culture. In this sense, Holo, Hakka, and Wai Sheng should be treated as secondary ethnic groups of the Han culture because all of them are highly influenced by traditional Han customs.

The above explanation shows the complicated ethnic issues in Taiwan. Especially when politicians have utilized the sense of ethnicity as the label to judge people’s identity, it has caused serious confrontational standpoints among people who belong to different ethnic groups. In addition, it has caused severe divisions of national identity among Taiwanese people. The discussion below will address the current identity crisis in Taiwan, and, associating with the historical moments reviewed in Chapter Two, the oversimplified Blue vs. Green political labels in Taiwanese society.

**The Identity Crisis**

In today’s Taiwan, the identification of “Taiwanese” and “Chinese” is a highly sensitive
topic and one of the reasons that has caused tension among different ethnic groups in the society. The postcolonial situation is very complicated in Taiwan, and the major cause is that Taiwan had experienced two colonial authorities consecutively. The release from martial law in 1987 offered Taiwanese people an opportunity to exercise political rights. However, the freedom of presenting different voices reinforces the conflicts and different identities among people who have different colonial memories and backgrounds.

Historically, according to Ching (2001), people in Taiwan did not have a clear national identity of “Chinese” before Japan colonized Taiwan. Depending on which provinces of China people immigrated from, Taiwanese people had more provincial or dialect identities, such as Holo vs. Hakka, Zhang Zhou vs. Quan Zhou, than a clear national identity. In addition, people who immigrated from China (the Han people) could be treated as the whole in order to differentiate from the indigenous Taiwanese. In his book, *Becoming Japanese*, Ching argued that Taiwanese people had created a clearer sense about the “Taiwanese” identity during Japanese colonialism in order to resist the rule of a foreign race. Thus, he made such a statement: “The specifically historical and political character of Taiwanese neonationalist thought is truncated and complicated not only by its colonial relationship to the Japanese colonial power, but also by its historical and cultural relationship to semicolonized mainland China” (Ching, 2001, p. 52). However, the emerging Taiwanese identity was not welcomed by Japanese colonial government because it raised people’s sense of resistance.

After WWII, the Chiang Kai-shek authority especially focused on removing Taiwanese people’s Japanese identity and constructing the Chinese identity, which was discussed in Chapter Three. The change of political climate that caused important influences in Taiwanese society started in the late 1970s. Culturally, according to Liao (1995), the release from an authoritarian
regime has given Taiwan a great possibility to develop into a multicultural society. However, it has also caused an identity crisis. On the one hand, the break of traditional Chinese identity highlights the presence of cultural differences that were purposely ignored by the authoritarian government. On the other hand, the developing local consciousness has presented a trend of exclusiveness and ghettoization.

According to the literature review in Chapter One, different scholars have different definition of “nation.” The case of Taiwan provides a good example to express what kind of identity crisis people may face after being released from previous colonizers, as well as the process for people to construct a sense of national identity in a postcolonial period. In Taiwan, the majority of the population (Han people) lives in the same territory, shares the same culture, has diverse dialects, and holds different historical memories. Therefore, they have struggled to construct an imagined community. The resistance to the KMT authoritarian government has reinforced local consciousness. However, when the development of local consciousness has been utilized by politicians for reconstructing a sense of national identity, the meaning of nativism is simplified (maybe oversimplified). After Taiwan was released from martial law, a newly-formed national identity has been revealed in terms of, for instance, the weights of Taiwanese history vs. Chinese history in textbooks, the words used to describe the Taiwanese history under Japanese colonization, or the standard to judge whether people love Taiwan or not.

Blue vs. Green

Currently, Taiwanese people show a tendency to use colors to label people who have different political views. Blue is the representative color of the KMT; green, on the contrary, is the representative color of the DPP. The original meaning of Blue vs. Green conflicts refers to the competition between the KMT and the DPP. However, these political color labels, later, have
extended to cover more factor insofar stimulate the hostilities among Taiwanese people who have different backgrounds. In general, the blue label can be explained to include the following elements: placing more value on Chinese culture, supporting the political claims held by the KMT, holding a political view of not supporting Taiwanese independence (maybe seeking a future reunification). On the other hand, the green label usually means that people have been deeper influenced by Japanese culture, support the DPP, maintain strong local consciousness, and, maybe, seek future independence. This kind of distinction presents a dichotomy of political ideologies. In fact, it is an unhealthy development for reconstructing a sense of national identity in Taiwan because it deepens or even emphasizes the hatred among different ethnic groups.

Generally, people who have Wai Sheng background are usually categorized as Blue. On the other hand, people who have Holo or Hakka backgrounds have more diverse political standpoints. The Blue vs. Green labels also present a geographic difference. Usually, people who live in Southern Taiwan with a Holo or Hakka background show a stronger tendency to support Green than Blue.

In today’s Taiwan, the diverse senses of belonging make it very difficult to create a sense of nation and, accordingly, influence the stability of the society. In one report posted on Global Views Monthly (Xu, 2008), a survey shows that 34.7% of Taiwanese people believe that the Blue vs. Green conflicts are the most serious social issue, surpassing the issues of economic development, education, unemployment, and the Taiwan-China relationship, that needs to be solved in Taiwanese society. However, from recent social and political movements, a tendency has revealed that Taiwanese people, no matter what kind of political standpoints they hold, have shared an emerging identity consciousness. This tendency may have a positive influence because it shows the possibility for Taiwanese people to transcend the oversimplified Blue vs. Green
conflicts. In addition, it may help the Taiwanese society to overcome the identity crisis and maintain stable development in the near future.

In order to cover two major political voices in Taiwanese society, this chapter selects two large political movements that showed different political standpoints. The 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 was usually considered as a “Green” movement because it was held by a related DPP organization and associated with the 2004 presidential election. The Red Clothes Movement in 2006, on the other hand, did not present a very obvious color label at the beginning, but later it had attracted more “Blue” protesters to join the movement. Even though these two movements presented different political claims, the two theme songs sung in each movements reveal similar political meanings. From analyzing the theme songs in these two movements, the discussion will answer the third critical question.

The Analyses of Two Theme Songs

The 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally

Event background. The year of 2004 was the presidential election year in Taiwan. Two presidential candidates—the current ROC president, Chen Shui-bian, and the KMT chairperson, Lien Chan—were competing to win the election. On Lien’s side, the 2004 election was the chance for the KMT to take the ruling power back since 2000. On Chen’s side, on the other hand, he needed to maintain the ruling power of the DPP and to start his second presidency. Under this condition, the Peace Memorial Day on February 28 in 2004 was full of political sensitivity, especially since it was a Saturday. Superficially, both parties organized a series of activities in memorizing the 228 Incident. The purpose of these political activities, nevertheless, was to associate with the presidential election. In the activities held by the two major political parties, the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally is the one that needs to be discussed because it was the largest
social rally in Taiwanese history. There were different records about the exact number of attendees\textsuperscript{20}. However, the success of this political activity had raised the voice of supporting the DPP candidate, President Chen, shortened Lien’s leading position, and became one of the very important reasons for Chen to win the election in March 2004.

On October 31, 2003, the former ROC president, Lee Teng-hui, cooperated with the DPP and other related organizations to promote a rally held on February 28 in order to support the DPP presidential candidate, President Chen. The vice chief secretary of the DPP, Lee Ying-yuan, provided the idea of forming a human chain starting from the northernmost Taiwanese city to the southernmost tip of the Taiwan island. The length of this human chain would be around 500 kilometers, and this rally was expected to attract at least one million people to join. According to a news report on the United Daily News (Lin, 2004), Lee’s idea was questioned at the beginning but, later, called into action. In November, 2003, the rally office, the Hand-in-Hand to Safeguard Taiwan Alliance, was established; on the occasion, the office formally called for Taiwanese people to attend the rally on February 28, 2004. On December 24, the rally office announced the logo and the theme song of the activity; also, the chief organizer announced that the goals of the rally were to “love peace and oppose the missile threat from China” (“Million People,” 2003).

On February 2, 2004, the rally office organized a rehearsal in Tainan, which is Chen’s hometown. This rehearsal attracted over eighty thousand people and formed a 62.3-kilometer long human chain (Yang, Wang, Wang, & Chen, 2004). In the following two weeks, the rally office organized other rehearsals at different cities around Taiwan. From the beginning, this rally did not attempt to hide its strong support of the DPP candidate—President Chen. However, in a

\textsuperscript{20} According to a record posted on the website of the National Police Agency, Ministry of the Interior, ROC (“Jiu Shi San,” 2006), the attendees of the rally were 1.5 million people. According to a news article posted on Taipei Times (Chang, 2004) on February 29, there were over 2 million people to join the rally. According to my informal interview with a rally organizer (he refused to reveal his name in this study), who was responsible to a certain route of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in northern Taiwan, the conservative estimated attendees were over 1 million people.
news conference for international media on February 21, the chief organizer identified this rally as a protection to Taiwan, a unification of different ethnic groups in Taiwan, and an opposition to China; also, it had no relation with the presidential election (Li, 2004). On February 28, over one million of Taiwanese people stood side by side across 14 counties on the Western side of Taiwan. Attendees, from the northernmost to the southernmost tips on Taiwan, held their hands at 2:28 pm, and this long human chain announced the success of the rally. This dissertation does not attempt to discuss the political issues, such as the influences of this rally or the relationship between the rally and the 2004 presidential election. Nevertheless, it pays more attention on analyzing the rhetorical meaning of the theme song of this rally. Especially when it is compared with the theme song of the Red Clothes movement in 2006, the lyric analyses will present what kind of identity consciousness is shared in contemporary Taiwanese society. Thus, the following section will examine the theme song, *She is Our Baby*, of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 in order to reveal the hidden political messages of the lyrics.

*The theme song analysis.* The theme song of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally is *She is Our Baby*. The lyrics and music are made by Chen Ming-zhang. The lyrics were written in Holo hua (the major Taiwanese dialect). The original purpose for Chen to compose this song was to support the charitable works of saving young prostitutes. Later, the 228 Rally office selected this song to be the theme song. The lyrics of this song are:

A flower grows from the ground  
She is cherished most by her father and mother  
If the wind blows  
Be sure to cover her with a blanket  
Never let her fall to the dark  
Before the flower blossoms  
She needs the care from you and me  
Give her good land to grow  
Hand in hand  
Heart linked to heart
We stand together
She is our baby

When this song was used to save young prostitutes, the lyrics “flower” and “she” mean young girls that needed to be cared of by parents and loved ones. The gist of this song is “Never let her fall to the dark.” In other words, the lyrics convey a message, which is very simple and direct, that young girls deserve dear love from parents in order to depart from dangerous situations. Many girls are lucky, but there are always some girls who cannot receive care from their families. For these young girls with a miserable destiny, people in the society need to work together and protect them because they are our babies.

When this song was used on a political occasion like the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004, the subject of the song would be changed to a political claim. Thus, when such political meaning was given, the lyrics “flower” and “she” can be transformed to refer to the island of Taiwan. In addition, the nouns such as “father,” “mother,” “you and me” and “we” signify Taiwanese people. Because the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally was considered as an opposition to China’s missile threat. The phrase “if the wind blows” can be explained to refer to the threat from China. Thus, the lyrics rationalize the proper reason of holding this rally because “she [Taiwan] needs the care from you and me [Taiwanese people].”

Therefore, when this song is used as a political song, the messages the lyrics deliver is to ask Taiwanese people to hold their hands and stand together because “she [Taiwan] is our baby.” In addition, the hidden meaning of the lyrics presents people’s worry about Taiwan’s weak position in international relationships. When the lyrics say “never let her [Taiwan] fall to dark” and “give her [Taiwan] good land to grow,” they especially appeal to Taiwanese people’s emotions while facing the political reality. Thus, this theme song successfully called for Taiwanese people to stand hand-in-hand, which corresponds to the title of the rally, and make a
human chain to present their determination of opposing China’s missile threat and protecting the land they are living on. The success of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally had raised the confidence of the DPP and its supporters. After two days of the rally, a survey made by the United Daily News (The Survey Center, 2004), shows that people who expected Lien to be elected were reduced from 19% to 11%; also, more people refused to declare their voting intentions (from 23% to 27%). The result of the 2004 president election was that the DPP candidate, Chen, won the election and has continued his second presidency. After the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004, She is Our Baby has become popular and been applied to different occasions. Politically, this song is generally used by the DPP candidates at different levels of elections in Taiwan.

The Red Clothes Movement

Event background. In 2000, the candidate of DPP, Chen Shui-bian, won the presidential election and was announced to be the tenth-term ROC president. The result of the 2000 presidential election is the mark of ending the KMT rule because it was the first time for the ROC to change its ruling party since 1912. In 2004, President Chen won the election again and started his second presidency. However, starting from 2005, Chen and his family members have been involved in a series of scandals of corruption. For instance, in 2006, Chen’s son-in-law was detained for almost two months because he was accused of playing a part in a case of insider trading in 2005. Chen’s wife had been questioned about her abuse of power and was redressed by the Control Yuan because of suppressing stock incomes. In addition, she had been involved in some cases of unapproved business operations and insider trading.

In August 2006, a former DPP chairperson, Shih Ming-teh, announced that he wanted to organize a series of demonstrations to force President Chen to step down. The demonstrations, later be called the Red Clothes movement, play an important role in Taiwan’s democratic
development. The way Shih organized the demonstrations is unique; he did not call for action at the very beginning. On August 11, 2006, he called on people who agreed with his aims to donate 100 NT dollars to the headquarters of the protestation. According to Shih’s theory, the 100 NT dollars could be treated as the deposit that indicated people’s determination to support the movement and to present their anger in an active way. If the headquarters could receive one hundred million NT dollars within one month, Shih would bring people’s anger into action. After Shih’s announcement of encouraging donation, his headquarters achieved the required amount within seven working days. In other words, over one million Taiwanese donated 100 NT dollars to support Shih to organize demonstrations. The number of supporters and the way of organizing a demonstration are unique in the development of Taiwan’s democracy.

On September 9th, Shih started the first wave of demonstrations, which attracted over five hundred thousand people to join. Following Shih’s request, demonstrators wore red clothes and followed the design of Taiwan’s “Nazca Lines” to start the demonstration routes. On September 15th, the second wave of demonstrations still attracted even more people to “surround” the Taipei city and the presidential office. Starting from September 26th, Shih began the journey around the Taiwan island to diffuse his claims and to walk out the Taipei city (“Qi Tian”, 2006). On October 10th, the national day, the third wave of demonstrations disturbed the official ceremony held in front of the presidential office. During the period of the Red Clothes movement, protesters adopted the method of 24-hour sit-in to present their voices. On October 14th, Shih announced that the Red Clothes movement would minimize the size of demonstration. Since then, Shih has not organized any large size of protestation to ask President Chen to resign.

The Red Clothes movement did not have achieved its original political goal to ask President to step down. However, this demonstration was still an important record in the history of
Taiwanese social movements, especially it had attracted many people who come across different social classes, political parties, and ethnic groups to donate their money and present their support at the very beginning. This dissertation pays more attention on analyzing the meaning and influence of political songs and does not plan to judge the movement itself. Thus, the section below will examine the theme song, *The Red Flower Rain*, of the Red Clothes movement in 2006.

*The theme song analysis.* The lyrics of *The Red Flower Rain* were written by Xiao Chong and Hong Yu, and the music was composed by Xiao Chong and Johnny Chen. The lyrics of this song were written in Mandarin. When the lyrics and music composer, Xiao Chong, was interviewed (Jian & Lu, 2006), he stated that, originally, this song was made for children. Later, the headquarters of the Red Clothes movement contacted him, and he composed the lyrics for the movement. The lyrics of *The Red Flower Rain*, are:

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Blossom red   Blossom heart
Beauty lies within
I'll be here   Wait for you
No matter rain or tears
People changed   Flowers withered
Where truth lies beneath
Abandoned soul   Never leaves
Red flower rain's falling

Blossom red   Blossom heart
Beauty lies within
Wishing you turn back time   I will still be here
Can recall the day you left   Tears on rosy cheeks

Your smile   your shadow
Blowing in the wind

Hand in hand   side by side
Wish upon the stars
How lucky we can meet   nothing can defeat
Blowing wind   stormy rain   we know there comes peace
You and I keep in mind   Home is always here
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“Red” is the representative color of the Red Clothes movement in 2006. Therefore, the first phrase of the song “blossom red blossom heart” refers to the demonstrators who wore red clothes and joined the movements. When Taiwanese society is used labeling a certain political ideology with a particular color, some people may question whether “red” is a newly-formed political ideology. Nevertheless, as a short term movement, the color of “red” may not be as distinct as the meaning of “blue” and “green.” As an editorial (2006) by the United Daily News states, at the level of organization, this movement maintains a structure of “Green head, blue body; at the level of ideology, this movement presents a structure of primarily blue and secondary green.” (p. A2; trans. Lee, 2008). This statement indicates that the Red Clothes movement did not exactly break the hedge between the dichotomous political ideologies (Blue vs. Green) in Taiwan.

However, as a social movement that had attracted over one million Taiwanese people to donate 100 NT dollars within seven working days, it illustrated that “anti-corruption” has become a common sense across different social classes and ethnic/secondary ethnic groups. In fact, the lyricist of The Red Flower Rain appeals to people’s emotions to support the movement from different perspectives. First, the lyrics encourage demonstrators to insist their claims until they are achieved; so the lyrics say: “I will still be here” and “how lucky we can meet. Nothing can defeat.” Second, the lyricist asks people to stand together “no matter rain or tears.” Here, “rain” and “tears” refer to the difficulties that people faced or are facing. In addition, the second stanza portrays the situation after people chose to left. From describing the reverse side, the lyricist pointed out the desires and claims of the demonstrators in which they hope other people would not leave them alone.

As stated above, the original purpose of forming the Red Clothes movement was to protest President Chen and his family members’ corruption cases. Thus, the lyrics of the theme song also
use a lot of space to describe people’s sorrowful, perplexed, and disappointed emotions toward the political status quo in Taiwan, such as “people changed, flower withered, where truth lies beneath.” The last stanza, however, conveys the demonstrators’ hope for defeating the severe challenges and wanting a better future; so the lyrics say: “Blowing wind, stormy rain. We know there comes peace.” The above lyric also provides a reason (“there comes peace”) for rationalizing the political claims held by the demonstration leaders and supporters. In general, the lyrics of this song value the sense of unity. So the lyricist asks Taiwanese people to stand “hand in hand, [and] side by side” and to remember that “home is always here.”

Discussion

The two contemporary social movements discussed above did not really break the Blue vs. Green political labels. From the description of the event backgrounds, it is obvious that the majority of attendees of each movement presented clear political “color” labels. In some degrees, these kinds of social movements, no matter how lofty the original purposes were, irritated the existent dichotomous political ideologies in contemporary Taiwanese society. Similar to other countries departed from previous colonizers, Taiwanese people have struggled with the difficulties in relocating and reconstructing the national identity. After the ROC retreated to Taiwan after 1949, the KMT rule protected Taiwanese people against the Chinese Communism and possible civil wars. Also, starting from Chiang Ching-kuo’s rule, the officers of the KMT government established a series of pragmatic policies and led Taiwan’s economic development in the 1960s and 70s. However, the authoritarian government under martial law also deprived Taiwanese people of political rights and freedom. In terms of identity construction, Taiwanese people were forced to accept the government’s standpoint and recognize the existence of an “imagined China.” The “Speaking Mandarin” movement led by the KMT government after the
mid-1950s prohibited the use of Taiwanese dialects and reduced the space for developing local consciousness in Taiwanese society. In fact, the development of Taiwanese local consciousness had been rigorously controlled by the authorities since the Japanese colonization in order to prevent resistance from Taiwanese people.

The political frictions, starting from 1970s, had given Taiwanese people chances to question the Chinese identity constructed by the KMT government, to review Taiwanese history from another perspective, to develop local consciousness, and, later, to reconstruct an alternative Taiwanese identity. Speaking mother tongues, therefore, has become a gradually popular movement in Taiwan. The lyric analyses in Chapters Three and Four can be treated as examples to reveal how the use of language reinforces the process of identity construction. Thus, all Chinese patriotic songs are written and sung in Mandarin. On the other hand, most Taiwanese protest songs, except Formosa, discussed in Chapter Four are written and sung in Holo hua.

In the case of Taiwan, the “Speaking mother tongues” movement can be treated as a challenge of the KMT’s single language, which means Mandarin, policy. However, the popular use of Holo hua cannot display that the Taiwanese society encourages the use of diverse languages. As the dialect of the major ethnic group, Holo, in Taiwan, the use of Holo hua actually obstructs the development of other dialects in Taiwan.

In today’s Taiwan, Holo hua is generally called “Taiwanese.” The use of such a term reflects the predominant position of Holo hua and the Holo ethnic group over other dialects used by other ethnic groups. The release from martial law should make Taiwan become a multicultural society and allow the diverse use of different languages and dialects. However, starting from the post-martial law period, the development of local consciousness did not promote diversity in Taiwan. Thus, when the Taiwanese local consciousness enhanced the
reconstruction of an alternative Taiwanese identity, this newly-formed identity is sometimes questioned with its exclusive elements. Because of different historical experiences, the Wei Sheng group in Taiwan has usually been treated as the representative of the authoritarian KMT government and been excluded from the development of localization. Besides, the predominant population of Holo, the sense of “Taiwanese” in today’s Taiwan is full of Holo characteristics, and Holo customs are treated as the major part of Taiwanese culture. Under such conditions, the developments of local consciousness and an alternative Taiwanese identity actually draw a line between the majority, which means Holo, and other minority groups, such as Hakka, Wei Sheng and indigenous Taiwanese. In Taiwan, therefore, the result of overthrowing one dominant force, which means the KMT authoritarian government, is possibly to create another dominant force.

Except the language issue, the different historical memories among different ethnic groups in Taiwan, associated with severe diplomatic predicaments and the unstable relationship with the Chinese government, have complicated reconstructing the Taiwanese identity. The Mainland Affairs Council of the Executive Yuan, ROC, collects surveys regarding the issue of self-identification in Taiwan made by different institutions over the years. According to the records (2000), a survey made by the United Daily News in 1989 revealed that 52% of Taiwanese people identified themselves as Chinese; 16% labeled themselves as Taiwanese, and 26% recognized themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese. After 14 years, a survey made by the same institution presented the results, in which 62% of interviewees identified themselves as Taiwanese, and 19% Chinese (The Survey Center, 2003). In today’s Taiwan, however, there is still a great amount of Taiwanese people who identify themselves as “both Taiwanese and

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21 Of course, different survey questions will guide people to provide different answers. For instance, a self-identification survey collection record (2007) posted on the Mainland affairs Council of the Executive Yuan, ROC, shows that when a survey provided two options (Taiwanese vs. Chinese) of self-identification, less people identified themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese. However, when a survey provided three options (Taiwanese, Chinese, or both), more people identified themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese.
Chinese.” For instance, the Election Study Center (ESC) at National Chengchi University in Taiwan tracked the changes in Taiwanese/Chinese identity between 1992 and 2007. A poll made by the ESC in 2007 indicated that 43.7% of Taiwanese people identified themselves as Taiwanese; 5.5% identified as Chinese; and 45.8% identified as both Taiwanese and Chinese.

From the above survey results, the trends of self-identification in Taiwan have shown two outcomes: first, less Taiwanese people recognized themselves as Chinese, and more people identified themselves as Taiwanese only. This result proves that the Chinese identity constructed by the KMT under martial law has been replaced by an alternative Taiwanese identity. Second, there are still many Taiwanese people holding a hybrid identity (both Taiwanese and Chinese). However, it is very hard to judge when those Taiwanese people identify themselves as “both Taiwanese and Chinese” which one is the cultural identity and which one is the political identity. The chaotic self-identification in Taiwan has provided a possibility of developing oversimplified political ideologies (Blue vs. Green), in which irresponsible politicians use dialects, ethnic backgrounds or even geographic locations to judge who can be identified as Taiwanese. Such dichotomous political labels agitate abnormal political competitions between two major political parties, damage the democratic development in Taiwanese society, and negatively influence the process of reconstructing the Taiwanese identity.

Recently, more Taiwanese have presented their detestations to the Blue vs. Green competition. From analyzing lyrics of the two theme songs in the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the Red Clothes movement, however, the results revealed a possibility that an emerging identity consciousness is shared in Taiwanese society. As discussed above, the two social movements presented obviously different political standpoints. However, the lyrics of these two theme songs convey very similar messages, which are the geographic connection with Taiwan and the sense
of unity. In terms of the geographic connection, from analyzing the two theme songs, Taiwanese people, with no hesitation, show their deep love to the land. Thus, in a rally supporting the DPP candidate, President Chen Shui-bian, the lyrics of the theme song say: “She [Taiwan] is cherished most by her father and mother [Taiwanese];” “Never let her [Taiwan] fall to the dark;” and “Give her [Taiwan] good land to grow.” In a social movement being against President Chen, the lyrics of the theme song directly portray that “Home is always here” (“here” means Taiwan).

Another important rhetorical meaning presented in these two theme songs is the sense of unity. So the lyrics ask people to hold “hand-in-hand” (both theme songs), to let “heart linked to heart” (She is Our Baby), and to stand “side by side” (The Red Flower Rain). All of the above lyrics represent Taiwanese people’s desire of finishing the current political competitions and coming together across different ethnic groups to face a better future. Therefore, when Taiwanese politicians use a “blue” or “green” label or ethnic backgrounds to define people’s identity, Taiwanese people sing songs to resist such narrow-minded, exclusive political judgments.

One thing that needs to be especially addressed is other songs sung in the Red Clothes movement. Except The Red Flower Rain, other songs selected in Chapter Four also were sung frequently by the attendees, such as To Mend a Broken Net, A flower on a Rainy Night, and Formosa, that are usually categorized as “green” songs. As such a “green head, blue body” movement, people, no matter what ethnic backgrounds they belong to, could use Holo to sing To Mend a Broken Net and A flower on a Rainy Night and use Mandarin to sing Formosa and The Red Flower Rain. Therefore, the content of lyrics is more important than what kind of dialect people use. Speaking Holo hua and singing Holo songs do not mean that people love Taiwan more; similarly, speaking Mandarin does not mean that they refuse their Taiwanese identity.
Indeed, language might be one of the elements necessary to construct a national identity, but should not be the only standard for judging how much people love their nation. As the majority ethnic group, Holo should offer more space for other ethnic groups to develop their dialects and cultures in order to avoid a possible hegemonic Taiwanese ideology.

In short, the diverse senses of national identity have torn the harmony across different ethnic groups during the postcolonial period in Taiwan. Also the sharp identity crisis has obstructed the stability and even the economic development of the society. In addition, the dichotomous political ideologies have become the criterion for judging social values, and it presents an unhealthy development for Taiwanese people to understand the spirit of democracy. It may not be easy to solve the identity crisis in a short time. However, by analyzing the theme songs in the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the Red Clothes movement, the results showed that Taiwanese people have gradually shared identity consciousness in contemporary Taiwan, in which they present the sense of unity across different ethnic groups and the strong geographic connection with Taiwan. Also, other popular songs sung in the Red Clothes movement might lead people to break the paradoxical relationship between the use of dialects and self-identification. Since the post-martial law period, Taiwanese people have successfully resisted the KMT government, abandoned a Chinese identity that was constructed by the authority rather than the people, and reconstructed an alternative Taiwanese identity to replace the old one. In today’s Taiwan, people enjoy rights and freedom from a democratic political system. However, it is the time for Taiwanese people to rethink what the meaning of being Taiwanese is, to reconsider the benefits and defects of the Taiwanese democratic development, and to review the ways they reconstruct their cultural and national identities.
CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

Conclusion

Following historical trends, this study, based on the theoretical framework of postcolonialism and the perspective of critical rhetoric, examines different types of political songs during different periods in Taiwan after WWII. As very powerful rhetorical tools, songs sung on political occasions are full of political meanings, sometimes even ideologies, to present voices, appeal to emotions, and shape identities. All political songs selected in this study are representatives to reveal different perspectives of political standpoints, from both the political authorities and colonized people, during the postcolonial period in Taiwan. From analyzing lyrics of these select political songs, people should realize the processes of identity changes in Taiwanese society in the past 60 years.

The historical overview in Chapter Two is necessary to the more intellectually-stimulating analytical chapters that follow. By briefly reviewing Taiwanese history in the past four hundred years, readers should understand that, firstly, all Taiwanese history is full of colonial memories. Compared with many other previous colonies, Taiwan has entered the process of decolonization very late—since Taiwan was released from martial law in 1987. In the past, Taiwanese people did not have any political decision-making power to decide their own future. These kinds of historical experiences can explain why many Taiwanese songs teem with sorrowful and helpless emotions. It can also explain why contemporary Taiwanese people are eager, maybe too eager, to reach democratic development. Secondly, the historical review is important because the application of textual analysis would be meaningless if it does not associate with any historical, social, and cultural elements. Thus, the overview of Taiwanese history in Chapter Two functions
as providing fundamental information to enrich the findings of the lyric analyses discussed in this study.

After Taiwan was released from the Japanese colonization, the KMT government under martial law led Taiwanese people to undergo another round of colonial experience. In order to maintain the ruling power and the orthodox political status of the Republic of China (ROC), the KMT authorities applied strict political control to suppress different political standpoints, to remove all possible Japanese influences, and to shape Taiwanese people’s “Chinese” identity. Still continuing today, the time under Chiang Kai-shek’s rule, especially the 1950s, is called the “White Terror” period. Wang (1999) expressed the fear of Taiwanese people during the “White Terror” as “people dared not criticize the government, make comments on current politics, or voice grievances to strangers” (p. 330). Under that severe political atmosphere, Taiwanese people were forced to be quiet, and the government used all types of state mechanisms to practice its hegemony and to convey its particular political ideology.

As a tool to serve the above political purpose, patriotic songs selected in Chapter Three not only present the voice of the authoritarian government, but also point out how the “Chinese” identity was constructed under the KMT rule. As a regime established in the Chinese mainland, the ROC government ruled by the KMT brought all historical memories that happened in China to Taiwan, and it never gave up to return back to the mainland. For Taiwanese people who experienced Japanese colonization, the historical memories with China, revealed in the lyrics of Chinese patriotic songs, were estranged and unfamiliar. Their memories of WWII might be different from people who lived in mainland China. Also, after cultural assimilation under Japanese colonization, their understandings and explanations of Chinese culture might be dissimilar to people from China. In terms of the geographic connections with the Chinese
mainland, the Chinese landscapes described in the lyrics of patriotic songs tended to construct the image of “home” and then appealed to people’s emotions to “go home.” After Taiwanese ancestors moved to Taiwan over hundreds of years, it is doubtful that their descendants still wanted to “go home” to China. Because of the authoritarian political control, however, the “Chinese” identity and the sense of “Great Chineseist” were still successfully constructed by the government. Culturally, Taiwanese history was placed as a local level under the great Chinese culture. Geographically, Taiwan was treated as an extended territory of the Chinese mainland. Racially, Taiwanese people were identified as Chinese because of their Han blood. Politically, the “Chinese” identity constructed by the KMT pledged loyalty to the ROC regime.

If the Chinese patriotic songs analyzed in Chapter Three are treated as a tool for an authoritarian power to convey its hegemony and to maintain its power, the Taiwanese protest songs selected in Chapter Four are influential tools for political protesters to cohere local consciousness and to achieve their political claims. During the post-martial law period, many social movements and demonstrations were organized by Taiwanese people in order to resist the KMT authoritarian rule and to contend for political rights and freedom taken by the KMT and the previous colonizers. The discussion in Chapter Four already explained what characteristics of local consciousness revealed in those protest songs and how Taiwanese local consciousness reinforces the development of an alternative Taiwanese identity. From analyzing the lyrics of these protest songs, the findings showed that protestors presented another perspective of historical memories and geographic connection than the authority. For Taiwanese people, the image of “China” constructed by the KMT was far away from their living experiences. Thus, they wanted to release themselves from strict political control in the cause of re-understanding their land and history as well as reconstructing their own national identity.
Even though the political songs selected in Chapters Three and Four present different voices from the KMT authority and its resistance, the relationships between the KMT authority and the Taiwanese people during the postcolonial period were ambivalent and interacted. Homi Bhabha’s notion of hybridity can explain the mix of colonial discourses between colonizers and colonized. His statement—“Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other ‘denied’ knowledge enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority” (Bhabha, 1994b, p. 114)—can be applied to explain the case in Taiwan. Therefore, the rise of Taiwanese local consciousness pushed the KMT authorities to abandon its rigid political claims and then to focus more on local developments in order to gain support from Taiwanese people.

In addition, Bhabha’s concept of ambivalence denies a dichotomous line between colonial and colonized cultures. As Bhabha (1994b) indicated, “Both colonizer and colonized are in a process of miscognition where each point of identification is always a partial and double repetition of the otherness of the self” (p. 97). Thus, the longer the KMT ruled Taiwan, the more it engaged in ambiguous discourses, especially when its “Chinese” identity, culturally and politically, was challenged by the rise of the PRC. Hence, the historical memories described in *Son of Tanshan* (one patriotic song selected in Chapter Three) are overlapped with the historical memories portrayed in select Taiwanese protest songs in Chapter Four. In the lyrics of *Son of Tanshan*, treating Taiwan as a homeland is no longer a taboo in Taiwanese society. For the authorities, the bottom line had continuously given up many other claims and, in the end, only emphasized the Chinese blood and the sense of being “culturally Chinese.”

Throughout this study, Anderson’s concept of the “imagined community” is repeatedly applied. The lyric analyses and discussions in Chapters Three and Four also reveal a
phenomenon that both the KMT government under martial law and the Taiwanese protesters during the post-martial law periods were constructing their own “imagined community.” The discussion in Chapter Five shows that, however, the Chinese identity was broken and replaced by a newly-formed Taiwanese identity in today’s Taiwan. There are many reasons to cause this consequence: for instance, Taiwanese people’s painful memories of the 228 Incident and White Terror, as well as their oppressed emotions because the authority prohibited dialects, free speech, and publications. However, the fundamental of understanding the identity change process is to track “who” imagined this community. In other words, if a national identity was constructed by the authority but not shared by the people, even though the authority dominated state mechanisms and applied severe political control, this national identity, maybe including the authority itself, would be discarded by the people.

The case in Taiwan can explain why the “imagined China” constructed by the KMT for 38 years would be challenged and then quickly replaced by an alternative Taiwanese identity. However, it will be too dogmatic to state that the Chinese identity constructed by the KMT was completely removed in contemporary Taiwan. On the colonized side, the resistance against the colonial authority might gain political success. However, in the process of decolonization, it is impossible for people to remove the influences of previous colonial cultures. Thus, at the beginning of Japanese colonization, being ruled by another race stimulated Taiwanese people to form the “Taiwanese” identity, which was linked to an imagined motherland—China. Later, when the KMT government spread out its “Chinese” identity, the resistance toward such authoritarian rule pushed Taiwanese people to become aware of local consciousness and then to reinforce the “Taiwanese” identity; this time, the re-defined “Taiwanese” identity was linked to the historical memories of being colonized and the influences of Japanese cultures. From the
above cases, we can see that the content of a national identity and the process of constructing such identity are ambivalent and dynamic. The example in Taiwan shows that, when facing the stress from a colonial authority, people tend to connect themselves with another comparatively stronger “imagined community”—it could be the roots of the colonized or an outside force—in order to strengthen their resistance to the colonizer and, simultaneously, to reinforce their national identity.

The discussion in Chapter Five shows the chaotic identity-building process in contemporary Taiwan. Combined with previous colonial experiences and resistant memories, the newly-formed Taiwanese identity has been formed via the position of “other.” However, when it has become the mainstream in Taiwanese society, based on the perspective of critical rhetoric, it is questionable whether this newly-formed Taiwanese identity is being portrayed as a “self” image and then is “purifying” its hybrid elements. According to Shih (1997), the broad definition of being Taiwanese is that people who identify themselves as Taiwanese can be called Taiwanese. However, the situation in Taiwan is very complicated because of the uncertain political status of the ROC and the interacting cultural and historical memories. Shih (2003), in his book, *Taiwanese Nationalism*, claims that the state is the concrete representation to protect the most benefits and interests of a nation. Thus, nationalism is a principle to promote the “overlap between state borders and national territory” (p. 86; trans. Lee, 2008). In today’s Taiwan, people’s self-identification can be categorized into three options: Taiwanese, Chinese, and both Taiwanese and Chinese. As analyzed in Chapter Five, the number of people who identify themselves as Chinese have gradually decreased, and the Taiwanese identity has sharply increased. However, it is difficult to define when Taiwanese people identify themselves as Taiwanese or other categories, whether they refer to a cultural, political, or combined identity.
Therefore, culturally, when Taiwanese people identify themselves as Chinese, it might be explained that this group of people still hold the sense of “Great Chineseist.” Politically, nevertheless, it is hard to determine whether this group of people tends to recognize the PRC regime or the ROC regime. Similarly, when people identify themselves as Taiwanese, it could be explained that they recognize themselves as culturally Taiwanese; however, it is difficult to decide whether they support the sense of “the ROC on Taiwan\(^\text{22}\)” or they actually seek future Taiwanese independence. The “both Taiwanese and Chinese” identity is more complex. First, it can refer to a group of people who identify themselves as culturally Taiwanese and support a political China; but the “China” here, again, can be indicative of the PRC regime, the ROC regime\(^\text{23}\), or the ROC on Taiwan. Second, it can refer to a group of people who identify themselves as culturally Taiwanese but deeply influenced by traditional Chinese culture. Under this explanation, it is hard to judge people’s political claims. Third, it can also be explained as “culturally Chinese and politically Taiwanese.” Under such a condition, it can refer to a group of people who are influenced by Chinese culture, but, politically, they support the regime on Taiwan. However, it is not easy to judge that they support the current ROC regime on Taiwan or seek future independence.

Taiwan, as well as many previous colonies around world, is undergoing the processes of decolonization and identity reconstruction after being released from previous colonizers. This procedure is slow, painful, and sometimes even violent. Thus, the issue of a regression of ethnic

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\(^{22}\) The concept “the ROC on Taiwan” mainly comes from Lee Teng-hui’s, the former ROC president, “special state-to-state relationship” theory (Lee, 2005). On July 9, 1999, Lee announced the “special state-to-state relationship” theory in an interview. He claimed that, as an independent state, the status of the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan is as equal as the People’s Republic of China (PRC), but currently both states are under a special relationship.

\(^{23}\) Here, the ROC regime is somewhat different from the ROC regime on Taiwan; it is closer to the KMT definition under martial law, in which the ROC still claimed its sovereignty over the Chinese mainland. The ROC regime on Taiwan, on the other hand means that the current territory of the ROC only refer to the lands it presently rules, which includes the island of Taiwan and other surrounding islands.
hatred mentioned by Fanon has actually happened in several other nations, such as Bosnia and Kosovo. The democratic development in Taiwan has made this transition process more peaceful. However, when the newly-formed Taiwanese identity is building and gradually accepted by Taiwanese people, the political involvements have directed this identity-reconstructing process into a hegemonic, biased, and exclusive track. The Blue vs. Green competition has raised conflicts, sometimes even hatred, among different ethnic groups in Taiwan. Also, the reconstruction of the Taiwanese identity has been defiled by the oversimplified political color labels. By analyzing two theme songs of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 and Red Clothes movement in 2006, the result shows that, fortunately, more and more Taiwanese people are aware of this unhealthy development and present their desires to overcome the current political competitions. Indeed, the identity reconstruction is an ongoing, dynamic process, the meanings of such identity are given and removed followed by many decisive elements or different political situations. This is the reason that the identity reconstruction is highly turbulent and uncertain in the process of decolonization. In contemporary Taiwan, however, when collective identity consciousness is shared across different ethnic groups, it may lead people to adjust the current problems of identity reconstruction, to reduce identity crisis, and to promote future democratic development in Taiwan.

Finding Its Own Way

In March 2007, I had a chance to meet Benedict Anderson, the author of *Imagined Community*, in an international workshop in Japan. That workshop invited Anderson to be one of the keynote speakers, and attendees of the workshop were doctoral students who applied nationalism to study different Asian affairs. On an occasion after the regular conference schedule, Anderson’s talk impressed me greatly and has pushed me to consider the issue of identity
reconstruction in Taiwan from a more macroscopic, broader horizon. According to his statement, as I remembered, many Asian countries stuck on colonial historical memories but forgot to consider their futures. Indeed, this is the problem that Taiwan is facing now. In contemporary Taiwan, too many politicians and people are crying out the issues, such as the sorrow of the 228 Incident, the guilt of the KMT authoritarian government, the meaning of being Taiwanese, or who loves Taiwan more. However, they do not notice enough about the rise of other Asian countries, nor do they pay sufficient attention to consider the future of this little island.

I do not mean that people should only focus on modern issues and forget history. Of course, history is important because it is a mirror for people to prevent possible errors. By analyzing the hegemonic “Chinese” identity constructed by the KMT under martial law, for example, this dissertation points out the possibility that the newly-formed Taiwanese identity may be on the same predominant track. In my view, the reason that people are suffering at present is because they do not hold a brave, square attitude to review, or even criticize, history. Nevertheless, the most important thing is to deliberate on what has been learned from history and how history can help promote a better future. From examining political songs during different postcolonial periods in Taiwan, this study reviews and analyzes the processes of identity-building, -changing, and –reconstructing since WWII. In today’s Taiwan, people are experiencing chaotic self-identification, culturally and politically. Focusing on this issue, this section, therefore, will provide several suggestions to enrich the newly-formed Taiwanese identity and to adjust its predominant, exclusive developments. The following discussions and suggestions can be generally categorized into three perspectives: respecting ethnic diversity, locating self in the global community, and manipulating flexible strategies.
Respecting Ethnic Diversity

This perspective especially focuses on internal and domestic factors in Taiwanese society. Compared with many other countries, Taiwan actually does not have serious hatred among different ethnic groups. The KMT’s “speaking Mandarin” movement has been criticized, but this single language policy has also provided a communication channel for Taiwanese people to overcome language barriers across different ethnic backgrounds. In today’s Taiwan, because of the rise of local consciousness and the emerging Taiwanese identity, speaking the mother tongue is popular and encouraged. Thus, Taiwanese children in elementary schools need to take required “native language” courses. Shih (2001), in his book, *Ethnic Groups and Nationalism*, examined other scholar’s cross-national works and stated the use of diverse languages does not exactly cause political conflicts. For him, language is one of the bases of social cleavage, but it should not be a cause. Thus, Shih encouraged the government to notice the issue of language diversity in Taiwanese society.

In my view, Shih’s argument is on a correct track and is being exercised now in Taiwan. Particularly, however, the popularity of Holo hua is constricting the development of other minority dialects, such as Hakka hua (Xu, 2003). While Holo hua is generally called “Taiwanese,” Holo hua is actually taking the previous dominance of Mandarin. When “being Taiwanese” is considered as an acceptable national identity, it should include all ethnic elements. However, the current identity reconstruction process in Taiwan focuses too much on the majority factors and ignores the minorities. Therefore, the majority ethnic group needs to respect other minority groups, including their dialects and different historical memories.

The concept of “building a multicultural society” should not only be evaluated by quantity, such as how “many” dialects are taught in school. The most important factor is the extensive,
tolerant attitude toward different cultures or sub-cultures. Currently more Taiwanese residents
have immigrated from other Asian countries, but many of them, especially females, are facing
unequal treatment. Many racial discriminatory terms are generally used in Taiwanese society.
Therefore, respecting and accepting multiplicity and diversity should be one of the important
bases of this newly-formed Taiwanese identity.

**Locating Self in the Global Community**

The debates of globalization are not new topics; there are different voices about whether
globalization promotes or reduces the development of local cultures. For instance, Tenbruck
(1990) argued that Western cultures have led to a “ubiquitous presence and ongoing
interpenetration of all cultures” (p. 204). On the other hand, Featherstone (1991) contended that
globalization does not lead to a homogeneous culture but promotes interactions among different
cultures. In terms of globalization and national identity, Sun (2000) indicated that “…the
declining of functions of nation-states does not mean the end of nationalism. Nationality is still
an important factor by the identity formation” (¶2). In Hall’s (1991) standpoint, he believed that
the new forms of globalization have developed simultaneously at the local and global levels.
According to him, a new type of national identity is constructed based on the integrations and
interactions between global and local cultures.

In Taiwan, the newly-formed Taiwanese identity can be treated, on the one hand, as the
awakening of localization. On the other hand, it is deeply influenced by Western political values,
especially the democratic thoughts from the United States. As discussed in Chapter Four, many
social movements during the post-martial law period were seeking democracy and the release
from strict political controls. The 1996 presidential election was the first time for Taiwanese
people to vote for the president directly. The peaceful transition of ruling power after the 2000
presidential election was also considered as a victory of the democratic development in Taiwan. Democracy is an important factor in the process of building the Taiwanese identity. However, the current political chaos presents the immature understanding toward Western democratic thoughts among Taiwanese people. In fact, when a Western political system is transplanted into an Eastern society, it is questionable if the Western thoughts can be fully applied and practiced in the East. Without integrating with local factors, the direct implantation of a generally-accepted concept, such as Western democratic thoughts, may still cause conflicts and misunderstanding in multiple disciplines in one society.

Of course, the above argument does not mean that the democratic development in Taiwan is on the wrong track. However, from practicing democracy, the case in Taiwan reflects an issue that people in this society sometimes are not critical enough while facing another powerful national culture. This attitude is not only reflected in politics but also in many other aspects, such as popular music, fast food, or Hollywood films. Not only is Taiwan influenced by the West, this island is also deeply influenced by Japanese cultures, especially in terms of comics, video games, and fashion styles. This kind of attitude may lead Taiwanese people to become “followers” of other dominant cultures and lack independent consciousness. On the other hand, the stimulus of modern Western thoughts had pushed Taiwanese people to resist an authority insofar to enhance localization. However, as discussed above, the current development of localizing is often oversimplified by political “color” labels and, accordingly, increased ethnic and identity crises in the society.

Therefore, Taiwanese people need to seriously consider how to locate Taiwan in the global community. The current “extreme”—too global and too local—developments in Taiwan are abnormal and unhealthy, and it is not helpful to the reconstruction of the Taiwanese identity.
Externally, because of its weak situation in diplomatic relations, Taiwan is excluded by most of the international organizations. However, because of its strategic position in Southeastern Asia, Taiwan can still maintain delicate, triangular balances among China, Japan, and the United States. By doing so, Taiwan may need to increase interactions with other Asian countries and enhance its political, economic, and cultural influences in the area. Internally, absorbing benefits from other cultures, not only the West and Japan, can help Taiwan to broaden its horizon insofar to reduce the possible extreme development of localization. As a little island, Taiwan does not need to, actually cannot, be the center of the world. The main object for Taiwan, under such interactions between globalization and localization, is not to marginalize itself in the global community. Therefore, Taiwan does not need to be afraid of interacting with China. In fact, the increase of interactions, no matter with China or other countries, will positively push Taiwanese people to face their local culture from a new perspective, adjust current problems of localization, and develop a more open, hybrid national identity.

*Manipulating Flexible Strategies*

As Anderson indicated (1991), “It [the nation] is imagined as sovereign…the gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state” (p. 7). In Shih’s (2003) book, *Taiwanese Nationalism*, he argued that the cause of the current identity crisis in Taiwan is because of the uncertain political status of the ROC regime (on Taiwan). Therefore, he challenged the “both Taiwanese and Chinese” identity and claimed that Taiwanese people should firstly construct a clear self-identification as a united “Taiwanese nation,” which is as equal as the concept of the

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24 Here I translate Shih’s words to clarify his claims of this “imagined Taiwanese nation.” According to him, “the Taiwanese nation means a emerging political nation, which including the ones who love Taiwan, recognize Taiwan, as well as be willing to work hard for Taiwan; and it should not have any racial, ethnic, or provincial differences” (Shih, 2003, p. 84; trans. Lee, 2008).
Chinese nation. Then, Taiwanese people need to break away from the current ROC regime and establish a new, independent state.

According to a survey record (2006) posted on the website of the Mainland Affairs Council of the Executive Yuan, ROC, the Election Study Center (ESC) at National Chengchi University conducted a survey at the end of 2006 to ask Taiwanese people’s attitudes toward the independence vs. reunification issue. The results showed that, while being asked if the Chinese government allows Taiwanese people to choose their own future, 62% of Taiwanese people indicated that Taiwan should seek a state-independence. In the same survey, while being asked if the Chinese government does not allow Taiwanese people to choose their own future, the result still showed that 54.1% of Taiwanese people were willing to seek a state-independence. Of course, it is too assertive to claim that the majority of Taiwanese people are seeking (future) state-independence. Nevertheless, associating with the emerging Taiwanese national identity, the claims of building an independent state might gain more support from Taiwanese people in the future.

The political claim of seeking Taiwanese independence is highly controversial in today’s Taiwan, and the major reason is the unstable China-Taiwan relationship. Even though the PRC regime has never ruled the island of Taiwan and its surrounding islands (they are presently ruled by the ROC on Taiwan) after its foundation, it has insisted that Taiwan is a part of China and cannot be departed from the Chinese territory. The enactment of the Anti-Secession Law in 2005 also presents that the PRC may use armed forces to avoid any “Taiwan independence secessionist forces” (“China” n.d.). Because of China’s armed threat and Taiwan’s isolated

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25 Because at the same poll record (2006) posted on the website of the Mainland affairs Council of the Executive Yuan, ROC, other polls made by other institutions showed diverse answers about the independence vs. reunification issue. However, most of them did not remind the interviewees to consider the attitude of the Chinese government.

26 The Article 8 of the Anti-Secession Law is the reason why this law has attracted so much attention (Lee, 2007).
position in diplomatic relations, building a new, sovereign state is a hurdle for Taiwanese people to overcome. In fact, under the status quo, the announcement of abandoning the current ROC regime on Taiwan may immediately cause a war across the Taiwan Strait.

Presently, Taiwanese people are facing several dilemmas, including dealing with China’s armed threat or claiming the state sovereignty, seeking reunification with China or achieving future Taiwanese independence, and maintaining the current diverse, chaotic claims of national identity or strengthening the newly-formed, united Taiwanese national identity. Compared with China, Taiwan is on the weak side; thus, Taiwanese people need to manipulate flexible strategies to avoid possible armed conflicts, continue the progressive democratic development, and protect the most benefits for the later generations. In my view, building a new, sovereign state may not be a good choice for Taiwan because it may cause an instant danger. However, maintaining the present polity, which means the ROC on Taiwan, may not have positive effect on solving the chaotic identity crises in contemporary Taiwanese society. One possibility, under the current conditions, is to claim the Second Republic of the ROC and, accordingly, to establish a new constitution for the ROC Second Republic. This idea is not new (see Lin, 2001; Wu, et al. 2003), and has gradually attracted more attention by scholars and politicians who are interested in the China-Taiwan relationship. There are several benefits of the above idea: first, the Second Republic is still under the current ROC polity and should not be treated as a type of the “Taiwan

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The complete English translation of the Article 8 is: “In the even that ‘Taiwan independence’ secessionist forces should act under any name or by any means to cause the fact of Taiwan’s secession from China, or that major incidents entailing Taiwan’s secession from China should occur, or that possibilities for a peaceful reunification should be completely exhausted, the state shall employ non-peaceful means and other necessary measures to protect China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. The State Council and the Central Military Commission shall decide on and execute the non-peaceful means and other necessary measures as provided for in the preceding paragraph and shall promptly report to the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress” (“China,” n.d.).

27 The Taiwan Thinktank held a conference on March 18, 2007 to discuss the constitution of ROC Second Republic. After the conference, the attendees announced the draft of the constitution of ROC Second Republic. The draft (Chinese version) can be viewed via http://www.taiwanthinktank.org/qtt/attachment/article_732_attach2.pdf
independence secessionist forces” (“China,” n.d.). Second, the Second Republic of the ROC can clarify the political status of the ROC on Taiwan in order to construct a clear sense of the Taiwanese national identity. Third, a new constitution of the ROC Second Republic can solve the problems of the current ROC Constitution and conform to the status quo in Taiwan.

In short, the analyses of political songs in this dissertation presented the historical and contemporary trends toward the identity-building, changing, and -reconstructing processes in Taiwan after WWII. All of the above suggestions in this section tend to provide some directions for Taiwan to enrich the newly-formed Taiwanese identity and to find its own way in the future. In the past four hundred years, Taiwanese people struggled for how to identity themselves. In today’s Taiwan, people finally have the political rights, but they need to face armed threats from China and are isolated by the international community. All political claims may alter based on the changes of the status quo. However, the only thing that should not be changed is people’s freedom to decide their own future. If people in other places/states around the world can have the rights to decide who they are and what their states are, Taiwanese people should have, and deserve, the same rights.

Limitations

Any (re)constructing identity process, if it is not manipulated by any authoritarian force, should be dynamic and collective, in which many elements are always involved in the procedure. So it is important to note that music is only one of the elements that affects the identity-building, -changing, and -reconstructing processes in Taiwan. Applying textual analysis to examine song lyrics can help readers to understand a broad range of the Taiwanese identity issues from a microcosmic view. However, analyzing political songs sung during different periods can only present one perspective of understanding the identity reconstruction in Taiwan after WWII. In
order to establish a more comprehensive understanding of this topic, future studies may focus on
discussing broader issues, such as education, democratic development, transnational cultural
interaction, local literature, or native language policy.

Another limitation of this study is the translation between different languages. Most song
lyrics analyzed in this study are written in Chinese or Holo hua, only two of them have English
versions. In other words, almost all song lyrics were translated by me. In the process, all lyric
translations were examined and re-examined by myself and people who have bilingual/trilingual
knowledge (Mandarin and English; Mandarin and Holo hua; Mandarin, Holo hua, and English).
However, it is still hard to avoid the difficulty that the original meanings of some lyrics may not
be precisely presented after being translated. One reason is because different usages and
grammars of different languages may cause inaccuracy in some degree. The second reason is
because of the limited literature knowledge and professional translation skills of myself.

In short, this dissertation is only one of many works in studying the reconstruction of the
Taiwanese identity. It is not the beginning and, of course, not the end. Because of severe political
competitions, many Taiwanese people tend to avoid analyzing the issue of national identity. In
my view, in fact, because of severe political competitions, Taiwanese people need to especially
focus on the reconstruction of national identity in order to avoid identity crisis. In academia,
researchers should not only examine internal/domestic issues but also analyze external/global
influences regarding this topic. In the past several hundred years, the “Who am I?” question has
been repeatedly asked, and the answers were always given by the authorities. Today, finally,
Taiwanese people own the rights to investigate their own answers. The answers may vary from
perspective to perspective. However, the investigation should never be stopped.
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