

Lecture December 16

Taiwan's Postcolonial Scholarship on China Studies

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China scholarship in Taiwan, in social sciences as well as humanities disciplines, is constituted by the choices of scholars over encountered and constantly reinterpreted imaginations of how China's names, identities, and images are contextualised. Due to its colonial history, its civil war and Cold War legacies, and internal cleavages, China scholarship in Taiwan is characterised by strategic shifting among the Japanese, American, and Chinese approaches to China, as well as their combination and recombination. The mechanism of choice, including travels that orient, reorient, and disorient existing views on China, produces conjunctive scholarship. The rich repertoire of views on China together with the politics of identity challenge the objectivist stance of the social sciences to the extent that no view on China could be exempted from political implications and politicised social scrutiny. Concerns over exigent propriety in a social setting are internal to knowledge production. Therefore, understanding the process with which the historically derived approaches inform the China scholarship in Taiwan through the mechanism of encountering reveals both the uncertain nature of knowledge, in general, and the uncertain meaning associated with China worldwide, in particular.

Individual intellectual trajectories necessarily reflect choices, conscious as well as subconscious, over epistemological possibilities allowed by their social conditions over which individuals have no choice. Two mechanisms that facilitate intellectual growth are: first, an encounter with the existing epistemological perspectives beyond one's own volition; and second, the choice that strategically selects, recombines, and re-innovates perceived (im)possibilities. The mechanism of encountering constrains the range of intellectual puzzles;¹ whereas the mechanism of choice reflects the strength of volition.² While encountering is largely socially prepared and yet unavoidably mediated by coincidence, choice is indicated by the existence of

¹ Sandra Harding, *Is Science Multicultural?: Postcolonialisms, Feminisms, and Epistemologies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Paul Diesing and Richard Hartwig, *Science and Ideology in the Policy Sciences* (Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction, 2005); and Nico Stehr and Volker Meja, eds., *Society and Knowledge: Contemporary Perspectives in the Sociology of Knowledge and Science* (Piscataway: Transaction Publishers, 2005).

² Gary D. Phye, *Handbook of Academic Learning: Construction of Knowledge* (Maryland Heights, MO: Academic Press, 1997), pp. 52, 110; Jason Stanley, *Knowledge and Practical Interests* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Robert C. Stalnaker, *Our Knowledge of the Internal World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

alternatives which the differing decisions and narratives of others either preserve or create. Between one's choice and encountering, which is beyond one's own choice, travelling — a second-ordered mechanism conceived in terms of both physical movement and career path — is also an attributing factor. Travelling always involves choices that facilitate the ensuing encountering; hence, it is essentially the second-ordered mechanism that breeds individual intellectual growth.

Based on a number of in-depth interviews with senior Taiwan scholars as well as activists,³ the author discusses in this article how China is accessed through knowledge of China in Taiwan, in social sciences as well as humanities. Given Taiwan's ambiguous Chinese identity, one's self-understanding is essential to one's understanding of China. Decisions made upon the ever-evolving individual biographies challenge the objectivity of knowledge.⁴ The knowledge of China and practices bearing the name and associated with China complement one another in China as well as elsewhere.⁵ The evolution of knowledge on China proceeds through trajectories of intellectual growth, each of which is embedded in its own social practices. The historical bearing of Taiwan's social and cultural background comprise the epistemological foundation of Taiwanese writings on China. They incorporate various biographies that have given rise to unusually rich and often mutually incompatible intellectual resources and inspirations, including, at the very least, the collective memory of all those groups with which one has sequentially identified oneself throughout one's life.⁶ These historical bearings refer particularly to political and social movements launched and wars fought in the name of, or targeted at, China and the associated political upheavals that caused social cleavages, political disarray, ideological confusion, and at times, anti-foreign nationalism.

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³ These interviews were conducted for the Oral History of China Studies Project carried out by the Research and Educational Center for Mainland Chinese Affairs and Cross-Strait Relations of the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University. Taiwan's National Science Council, along with a number of small grants, has supported the project since 2007.

⁴ Paul Diesing, *How Does Social Science Work?: Reflections on Practice* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992); Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

⁵ He Baogang, "The Dilemmas of China's Political Science in the Context of the Rise of China", *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 16, no. 2 (2011): 257-77; and Wu Guoguang, "Politics Against Science: Reflections on the Study of Chinese Politics in Contemporary China", *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 16, no. 3 (2011): 279-97.

⁶ The origin of the oral history project, including its rationale, process, methodology, and funding, that results in the writing of this article, is explained in the introduction in "Comparative Intellectual History of China Studies: Micro-identities and Macro-civilizations", *New Asian Research Trends* (NART) 7 (2012).

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HISTORICAL BEARINGS:

ANTI-JAPAN, ANTI-COMMUNISM, AND JAPANESE COLONIALISM

The World War II concluded with Japan's defeat and termination of its 50-year colonial rule in Taiwan, which was since returned to China. Four years later, the Chinese Civil War ended with the defeat of the Kuomintang, which withdrew to Taiwan to prepare for a return and retaking of mainland, but it decided it would remain in Taiwan as time passed by. The defeat coincided with the beginning of the Cold War in East Asia and Taiwan became the US base for the containment of communism. Both the civil war and the Cold War compelled the ruling Kuomintang to portray Taiwan as a Free China, distinctively different from the Communist China on the mainland. Initially, it appealed to the anti-communism ideologues but later in response to the launch of the Cultural Revolution by Mao Zedong, the Kuomintang relied on Confucianism and its alleged legitimacy to reclaim China. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the Kuomintang adhered to the road of modernisation for its legitimacy. With the creation of the Pacific Rim concept by the Ford Foundation, Taiwan was included and known as one of the capitalist newly industrialized countries.⁸ Political and economic modelling was then substituted for the military recovery in the Kuomintang's narratives on China. More recently, after the

⁷ Shih Chih-yu, "China Studies That Defend Chineseness: The Im/possibility of China-centrism in the Divided Sino-phone World", in *Emerging China*, eds., Reena Marwah and Swaran Singh (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011).

⁸ Bruce Cummings, "Boundary Displacement: Area Studies and International Studies during and after the Cold War", *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29, 1 (Jan-Mar 1997): 6-27.

suppression of the 1989 pro-democracy movement in China, the Kuomintang and its pro-Taiwan independence competitor/successor, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), have enlisted the plea for democracy and human rights components of Taiwan's identity. The Kuomintang and the DPP have hoped to win the United States back to Taiwan's side following a 10-year interlude after Washington's diplomatic normalisation with Beijing in 1979. They also resorted to highlighting the value of peace and international security in the presence of a China threat — a notion that becomes a fad — from a China that, based on their consensus, no longer includes Taiwan.⁹

This array of adaptations offers contemporary scholars in Taiwan a rich repertoire of perspectives to choose from when writing about China. A scholar's choice of perspective at any particular time in any particular context also reflects which kind of China one believes in, and what combination of historical legacies one has acquired. Indirectly, all have been caught up in the century-long civilisational encounter imposed by the European imperialism as well as the accompanying ideological underpinnings and social changes. These social changes motivated a considerable number of Taiwanese activists and intellectuals of the early 20th century, some of whom are still living today, to travel to China during the Japanese colonial period. Depending on their actual experiences and interpretations, these trips engendered in them a sympathetic attitude, an alienated feeling of an outsider, or ambivalence towards the Chinese problems.

Shih Ming (born 1918), the author of the first book that theorises the evolution of a distinctively non-Chinese Taiwan nationality, was in China to fight against the Japanese imperialism under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in his early career. While the idealistic notion of nationality is incompatible with materialistic socialism, Shih painstakingly attempted to prove that the proletarian class in Taiwan has a much stronger pro-Taiwan consciousness than the bourgeois class, and that the Taiwanese nationalism composed of proletarian consciousness has a materialist foundation. Shih reminisced his experiences in China from a negative perspective in terms of its feudal legacy, which consequently convinced him of the notion that Taiwan must detach its Chinese components after the war. The defeat of Japan resolved his ambivalence towards Japan and reservations about the end of the

⁹ For further discussion on Taiwan's political economic history, social cleavage, and hybrid identities, see Gunter Schubert and Jens Damm, eds., *Taiwanese Identity in the 21st Century: Domestic, Regional and Global Perspective* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011); Stephane Corcuff, ed., *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002); Alan Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).

Japanese imperialism, and he was able to support his research and writing in Japan. There, modernity accorded Shih Ming with referential significance. He accused the Kuomintang for being the representative of a feudal and colonial China in Taiwan, exploiting it and unable to bring it modernity.¹⁰

Liao Wenkui (1905–1952), another writer of note who was later regarded as the “Father of Taiwan Independence”, studied in the Nanjing College before his enrolment at the University of Chicago. He began as a Chinese nationalist and a disciple of Sun Yat-sen’s nationalism, and an opponent of Japanese imperialism. Unlike Shih Ming, Liao had always been a liberal due to the American influence. He started a teaching career in China after receiving his PhD from the University of Chicago. After witnessing the 228 incident (also known as the February 28 incident) in 1947 — the bloody clash between Kuomintang and the half-decolonised society, he became a supporter of the Taiwanese nationalism based upon the emerging self-awareness embedded in the strategic adaptation to changing social conditions.¹¹ The constructed style of Liao’s Taiwanese nationalism renders China less of an enemy to him in comparison with Shih Ming’s class enemy. Compared with other Taiwanese writers of the time, Shih and Liao were neither unique nor typical because the China experiences produced a variety of feelings in people over time, reinforcing the Chinese identity for some but producing ambivalence towards China for others.

The retreat of the Kuomintang’s regime to Taiwan expedited clashes of interests between the newly arrived and the indigenous social forces. Moreover, it brought forth clashes of identities in the indigenous societies on the issue of Chinese and non-Chinese identification. In contrast with the distinct self-identification of those who relied on either the classic Chinese or the modern American intellectual resources, local intellectuals, informed by Japanese perspectives on China, could instead engage with the postcolonial pursuit of a modern Asia that transcends Taiwan’s return to China.¹² The latter strategy epistemologically relegates China’s culture to the unworthy bondage of the past. The 228 incident, which resulted in the cycle of anti-Chinese sentiments among the locals and anti-Japanese sentiments among the newly arrived mainlanders, reproduced this impression of mutual aversion. After all, the Kuomintang held on to the memory of the Nanjing Massacre and was primordially

¹⁰ Shih Ming, unpublished interview conducted by Yeh Hong-lin.

¹¹ Wu Rwei-ren, “The Dialectics of the Motherland: A Note on Wen-kui Liao’s Thought on Taiwan Nationalism”, *Thought and Word (Si yu yan)* 37, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 47-100.

¹² A noticeable example is Tsai Pei-huo. See Shih Chih-yu, “Taiwan as East Asia in Formation: Subaltern Appropriation of the Colonial Narratives”, in *Taiwanese Identity in the 21st Century: Domestic, Regional and Global Perspective*, eds., Gunter Schubert and Jens Damm (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

anti-Japan. Chen Li-shen (born 1931), a veteran China hand, expresses his view of China as being "our acquired concept — a concept of race, a concept of nation, and a concept of family... as [engrossed] in the most difficult time of War of Resistance before 1945..."¹³ In fact, Yu Tzong-shian (born 1930), a former head of the Chinese Institute of Economics and Business, still antagonistically refers to the Japanese as "ghost" (*gui zi*) throughout his interviews.¹⁴ The transition to Taiwan was further complicated as Yu revealed his double orientation of anti-communism (due to the political alignment of his home village) and anti-Japanese (due to his personal experience during the war) before both became politically obsolete, if not incorrect at all, much later in Taiwan amid the pro-independence atmosphere. The post-civil war generation could not escape the challenge of choosing between these perspectives if they ultimately grow and take part in public life. Li Kuo-chi (born 1922), a German-trained historian, devoted his dissertation to the conceding of Taiwan to Japan in 1895, after spending his entire youth on the run from Japanese invaders.¹⁵ Ironically, his historiography has become increasingly unpopular among colleagues of the younger generation.

Migrant scholars who were born before or during the Sino-Japanese war have shared a wartime memory filled with distrust towards Japan. They had generally suffered in their youth and childhood during the Japanese invasion. They carried the wartime memories with them after they arrived in Taiwan around 1949 with their families or with the Kuomintang troops. To many of them, China was a victim of imperialism. It is difficult for them to conceive of the defeated Kuomintang who led the war on Japan, as an alien regime to the local Taiwanese society, as they believe Taiwan would not be liberated from the Japanese rule without the suffering of the Chinese people. Their scholarship is deliberately aimed at serving China whenever such an opportunity arises. Noticeably, Chang Huan-ching (born 1935), a veteran China hand, relinquished his scholarship in the US in 1980 to return to Taiwan to support the anti-communism campaign, upon learning the breakthrough in the Sino-US diplomatic relationship at the expense of his beloved Republic of China.¹⁶ Yeh Chi-cheng (born 1943), a leading pro-independence scholar of indigenous sociology, empathises with the hostility of his migrant colleagues towards the Taiwan independence movement, and how they were treated as aliens by the pro-independent force in return:

¹³ Chen Li-shen, unpublished interview conducted by Wen Chia-yi.

¹⁴ Interview of Yu Tzong-Shian conducted by Wang Chi-nien on 17 Jan., 17 Mar. and 30 May 2009, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-13.doc>> [23 Aug. 2011].

¹⁵ Interview of Li Kuo-chi by Chou Chih-chieh and Chang Pi-chun on 26 Aug. 2010, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/comm2/LiGuoQi.doc>> [29 Aug. 2011].

¹⁶ Interview of Chang Huan-ching conducted by Wang Chi-nien on 14 Oct., 22 Oct., 19 Nov., and 17 Dec. 2008, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-9.doc>> [].

...so, the local Taiwanese and the migrant residents each carry with their own sorrow. When sitting next to each other, they are pathetically unable to share the other's feelings. On the contrary, they may even become confrontational and hostile to each other. It is understandable that ordinary common people may act this way, but when intellectuals likewise meet head-on, it becomes a really big problem. Especially when this [mutual animosity] alludes to relations with China, the problem is increasingly complicated. Allow me to say that, from here, the ultimate challenge is, in fact, that the Taiwanese and migrant people have different life experiences that have originated from two historical trajectories.¹⁷

The colonial trajectory indeed contrasts sharply with the migrant one. To mark the culmination of their 51 years of colonial rule in Taiwan (1895-1945), the Japanese initiated the decade-long Kominka movement, through which they generated emotional loyalty towards the Japanese emperor, primarily among the educated, landed, and those in the professional echelons. Soldiers recruited to serve the imperial army in various lower ranks in Southeast Asia later proved to be another group of loyal supporters. The Kominka movement convinced the colonial subjects that they were no longer “slaves of the Manchu” — a label that they had been tagged in the earlier period of colonial rule and denoted an inferior status lower than that of the barbarian non-Han intruders from the north. The elevation of status from a slave to an equal subject therefore shaped the attitude of the postcolonial society, and subsequently its low regard towards the Kuomintang and the China it symbolised. However, Chen Peng-jen (born 1930), a veteran native Taiwanese historian affiliated with the Kuomintang, attests to a largely Chinese society in the countryside that had remained untouched by the Kominka. The lack of exposure to Kominka has prepared him to readily empathise with both his Japanese-influenced acquaintances and migrant Chinese colleagues — the former tended to view China from a modernist perspective whereas the latter looked at it from the viewpoint of the civil war.¹⁸

POST-WORLD WAR II DEVELOPMENTS: BETWEEN THE CIVIL WAR SCHOLARSHIP, SCIENTISM, AND PRO-INDEPENDENCE

The February 28 incident, in which people on both sides were killed, started with

¹⁷ Interview of Yeh Chih-cheng conducted by Chu Yuan-kui on 11 Nov. and 18 Nov. 2009; and 23 Dec. and 30 Dec. 2010.

¹⁸ Interview of Chen Peng-jen conducted by Shao Hsuan-lei and Wang Li-ben on 21 Jan. 2011.

rioting among Taiwanese, many of whom were disillusioned after the Kuomintang takeover after the World War II. The riots were both supported by the colonially educated youth and the returning soldiers serving in the Japanese troops in Southeast Asian sphere of battle. The outbreak of rioting inflicted harm on the Chinese migrant group who arrived shortly after the surrender of Japan. The Kuomintang, in retaliation, dispatched troop reinforcements from China for the rescue mission. This was the point when the Kuomintang had etched in the minds of Taiwanese the image of an alien regime, and China, which the Kuomintang was being symbolised in Taiwan, was viewed from time to time as just another country. The subsequent land reform, which the Kuomintang enforced so successfully under the shadow of the peasant revolution that had toppled its regime in China, was depicted by the Taiwanese anti-China campaigners in the 1990s as Chinese beggars robbing their Taiwanese hosts of their land. Parris Chang Hsu-cheng (born 1936), an expert on Chinese factionalism and later, a pro-independence legislator, confirms this impression. It was only in his adulthood that he was able to understand how absurd Kuomintang's land reform policy was. Agricultural workers were given their own land but the Kuomintang dishonestly compensated landowners with stocks that proved to be of little worth.¹⁹

Both Shih Ming and Liao Wen-kui are not alone to believe that the 228 incident had served as a reminder to the Taiwanese of the alien nature of the Kuomintang regime. Chen Peng-jen recalls his experience of the incident as a failed takeover attempt, whereas Yeh Chi-cheng maintains that it was the culmination of cultural clash. Putting aside the causes, the 228 incident has shaped the way China is understood in Taiwan by subsequent generations. However, classifying the two sides as pro-Japan and pro-China would be an oversimplification. Both Chen Peng-jen and Hsu Chieh-lin (born 1935), retired dean of the College of Social Sciences of National Taiwan University, were educated in Japan but were unenthusiastic about the idea of independence. Chen, whose career benefited from his early acquaintance established with a senior migrant Kuomintang official, was vehemently against it. Both specifically mention that their political attitude towards China was not affected by their Japanese mentors.²⁰ In the same vein, Shih Chian-sheng (born 1917), a Chinese migrant who is author of the first college-level economics textbook in Chinese and a dedicated Keynesian, declares his deep love for Taiwan even though he was not involved in advocating the political cause for independence. He concludes the interview by declaring his deep love intertwining between China and Taiwan:

¹⁹ Interview of Parris Chang Hsu-cheng by Yeh Hong-lin on 12 Aug., 18 Aug. and 26 Aug. 2010.

²⁰ See interview of Chen Peng-jen, *op. cit.*; and interview of Hsu Chieh-lin by Chen Li-ch'en on 24 Apr., 10 Jun. and 13 Jul. 2009, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-7.doc>> [19 Aug. 2011].

I have been suffering in my entire life [because of the historical victimisation of China]. In 1979, Deng Xiaoping visited the United States to establish diplomatic relations with the US. I was in the US when TV reporters asked Deng during his visit why he advocated communism. He replied that the communists were simple people hoping for freedom and equality in the world so that the Chinese people could live and work peacefully. His reply was unimpressive in any way, but it touched me deeply. Now, 30 years have passed. Thirty years is a short span of time in history. Whether we like it or not, China has risen. With a huge territory and population, it has many problems, but the trend is undeniable. I think I love Taiwan because I love China, because my love for Taiwan is [a way of] loving China, and also because loving Taiwan requires loving China. Taiwan will be doing fine if China is fine. Taiwan would be the first to suffer if China were chaotic. So, I am contented. Two years ago, I visited China every year to attend conferences, but I would also visit the new construction sites, and there were so many. I never visited China as a tourist. In Taiwan, I am a pro-unification hardliner, but I think I love Taiwan dearly.²¹

The larger context is the Cold War. Amid the “who lost China” debate and subsequent McCarthyism, the Kuomintang was deemed by Washington as the only viable ally to serve on the front of the containment circle. The Kuomintang had survived all diplomatic setbacks of the later decades under the political and economic support of the US, even after it renounced its claim of legitimacy and its plan to return to rule China. Since the 1960s, many students from Taiwan, one generation after another, have gone to the US for higher education. Today, the Taiwanese government is filled with cabinet members and legislators armed with academic degrees from the US. As the social sciences discipline in Taiwan has been dominated by American disciplinary methodologies, better educational institutions unanimously discriminate against academic degrees of non-English speaking countries. In a peculiar way, the anti-Chinese and anti-communist forces have converged in an epistemological choice that promotes theoretical approaches to place China in a lower stage of development. This epistemological proclivity constructs a successful image of Taiwan that appears closer to its Western supporters than its rival, Communist China.

Scientism presents the later generations the choice to either generate a distinctive professionalism to make up for their lack of personal experiences of China that

²¹ Interview of Shih Chian-sheng conducted by Chu Yuan-kui on various days in March 2011. at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-16.doc>> [21 Aug. 2011].

privileged the civil war generation, or to move away from the historical and philosophical China in preparation for Taiwan's independent identity. Both of these choices find comfort in scientism which renders the Kuomintang's older Chinese identities and unresolved issues of Chinese Civil War seemingly irrelevant, although the identities that substitute them are very different from each other. Even Taiwanese scholars in Hong Kong were able to benefit from scientism. Peter Li Nan-shong (born 1940) adopts a comparative approach at a macro level, enabling him to be conversant with the public policy and management literature in the English language. This has presumably provided Li an objectivist position that transcends Hong Kong's return to China.²² Scientism is so powerful that only a few people in Taiwan could escape its effect, but how it should be used is uncertain. For example, the realism of international politics could support the anti-China policy by treating China's rise as a threat that should be balanced. However, it could likewise support the pro-China policy by seeing China as a plausible ally to balance the overwhelming US influence. Nevertheless, China studies have moved from problem-oriented (related to civil war, political security, and legitimacy) to theory- and method-oriented agenda exemplified in civil society, agency, political efficacy, and the like.²³ China is reduced to a case in a comparative frame embedded in methodological individualism. Facing younger generation of researchers who embrace their American research agenda, the retiring generation of academia from various disciplines have watched the future anxiously, some reflecting methodologically, while others on the practical aspect.

Methodologically, the interest in indigenous methodology since the early 1980s seems to be outdated. Scholars are unsure if there is ultimately only one system of knowledge that can transcend cultural and national differences. Nevertheless, the call for Chinese methods to be used to effectively discover the Chinese reality seems to be a shared sentiment. In short, while it is not a consensus view regarding an ontologically distinct China, an epistemology specifically for studying China is however agreed upon. A group of social scientists, the majority of whom being migrant scholars, began to promote the Sinicisation of the social sciences. While Hu Fu (born 1929) and Li Yi-yuan (born 1931) have worked on indigenous research agenda in political science and anthropology, respectively, it was Yang Kuo-shu (born

²² Interview of Peter Li Nan-shong conducted by Pao Chun-liang on 5 Sept. 2008, at <http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-3.doc> [19 Aug. 2011].

²³ For example, see Leng Tse-Kang and Chu Yun-Han, eds., *Dynamics of Local Governance in China during the Reform Era* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010); Chen Chih-Jou Jay, *Transforming Rural China: How Local Institutions Shape Property Rights in China*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2004); Philip S.C. Hsu, "In Search of Public Accountability: The 'Wenling Model' in China", *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 68, no. 1 (Mar. 2009): 40-50; Tsai Bi-huei, "Rights Issues in China as Evidence for the Existence of Two Types of Agency Problems", *Issues & Studies* 44, no. 3 (2008): 43-70.

1932), a leading social psychologist now in retirement, who officially launched an indigenous psychology movement in 1991 that led to the successful establishment of a new subdiscipline in Taiwan.²⁴ In sociology, the local pro-independence scholar Yeh Chi-cheng has been the most vocal advocate of an indigenous methodology as he reflects upon sociology in the Chinese context, which is basically the result of the expansion of the Western influence. Yeh attempts at what he calls the anthropology of philosophy to de-Westernise his academic training acquired in the West.²⁵ Yeh's late colleague Lucie Cheng (1939-2010), coming from a socialist, feminist, and Chinese consciousness, was more straightforward in her criticism of Western social science as an implicit political messiah of democracy, although she acknowledged that at present, criticisms of this kind were only appropriate in private:

I don't agree that democracy is essentially a universal value. The form of democracy as we have known now, voting for example, should not be a universal value. We could say democracy emerges under certain conditions. So, the Chinese condition may witness a kind of democracy that does not adopt the Western form. It would be a mistake to take the Western form of democracy and compare it with China to determine if there is democracy [in China]. However, when I say this, Western scholars would think that I am only trying to justify China's lack of democracy.²⁶

Practical concerns and policy issues may likewise sensitise a veteran scholar to the limitations of imported social science theory. Hsieh Jiann (born 1934) relies on his ethnology to stay alert to the perceived misconceptions of Marxism, Western anthropology, and psychology about China. Hsieh highlights how China's multiple ethnic components have interacted to form a common Chinese identity. Hsieh blames the Kuomintang for working in collusion with the imperialism in the exploitation of the Chinese ethnic minorities. He is particularly concerned with the Western academics' prejudice against Tibet and China's Tibet policy.²⁷ Yu Tzong-shian, in the same pragmatic tone, questions the widely known econometrics which has led to useless engagement with the Western research agenda. Consequently, knowledge conducive to the Taiwanese manufacturing and other industries appears inferior, if not

²⁴ Yang Kuo-shu, "Indigenising Westernised Chinese Psychology", in *Working at the Interface of Cultures: Eighteen Lives in Social Science*, ed., M.H. Bond (London: Routledge), pp. 62-76; M. Shams and Hwang Kwang-kuo, "Special Issue on Responses to the Epistemological Challenges to Indigenous Psychologies", *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 8, no. 1 (2005): 3-4.

²⁵ Interview of Yeh Chi-cheng, op. cit.

²⁶ Interview of Lucie Cheng conducted by Wen Chia-yi on 28 Mar. 2008, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-2.doc>> [28 Aug. 2011].

²⁷ Interview of Hsieh Jiann conducted by Tang Hsin-wei on 11 Aug., 13 Aug. and 26 Aug. 2001 and 6 Jan. 2010, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-121.doc>> [21 Aug. 2011].

dispensable. This specifically refers to Taiwan's economic opportunities in China. Contrary to the mainstream view, Yu maintains that economics should be local, not general:

...so many economists fail to attend to economic reality or past economic practice. They are obsessed with refining mathematical model, almost unrelated to the economics of the real world. This is because of the fact that Taiwan is such a small sample to allow its research to attract attention from the international academics... Studies of technology are not geographically bonded. Research of this sort, for example, mathematics, physics, biology, and chemistry, is international, but humanities and social sciences are not international. They are local in nature.²⁸

AT ACADEMIC CONJUNCTURES: INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONAL CAREER TRACKS IN TRANSITION

Most contemporary scholars benefited from émigré scholars of the earlier generation in one way or another. Thus, there exists a sense of indebtedness that urges tolerance and respect towards the older generation, though they have been ghettoised to some extent because of their Chinese identities, amid the drive for a separate statehood for Taiwan. Migrant scholars typically left their families or hometowns during the war and followed the Kuomintang in exile to Taiwan. Some became a China scholar by accident, whereas some were being assigned for the job. Early on, the migrant Kuomintang recruited China scholars from this group because they were typically young, single, and independent of any postcolonial social and political networks.

Rui He-zhen (born 1921) is one example. He constantly received instructions from the Kuomintang supervisor when he moved from one post to another, even after he eventually took charge of Taiwan's first and renowned China studies institution — the Institute of East Asian Studies. The institute was affiliated to the National Cheng-chi University (NCCU), but was under the tight control of the Kuomintang regime, especially by the intelligence sector. Rui was instructed by his superior to teach at the NCCU as an adjunct professor, and was assigned to head the Department of Political Science. He was reassigned to manage student affairs in the university at the time of political change, and then moved again to the Institute of East Asian Studies. Rui was taken by surprise each time he received instruction to move on to another post. His non-political career, willingness to cooperate, and disciplined personality were the

²⁸ Interview of Yu Tzong-Hsian, op. cit.

selection criteria for each of his promotion.²⁹ Similarly, Wang Chang-ling (born 1927), a Bureau of Investigation researcher who taught at the National Taiwan University as an adjunct academic for 17 years, dutifully studied and taught courses he was advised to teach.³⁰ In comparison, Chang Huan-ching, a younger scholar, embarked on a US learning trip that prepared him for China studies thanks to an unexpected encounter with a US-based Chinese scholar who took Chang under his guidance. Eventually, Chang was appointed as the head of the institute.³¹ Most interestingly, Li Kuo-chi came to Taiwan after turning down to manage the family business and he came to a coastal city to help in the Kuomintang's cargo shipment.³²

The Institute of East Asian Studies is supported by the national security sector which also finances a variety of research institutions that focus on the study of Communist China in the first few decades after 1949. According to Chang Huang-ching, those recruited by research institutions predominantly came from three sources — political cadres in the military, students in exile, and members of the intelligence sector. The last group was also in charge of internal security.³³ Competition between the groups was purely factional because they share an anti-communist ideology, aversion to Japan, and anxiety towards Taiwan independence. Given that China studies was highly politicized and closely monitored during the heyday of anti-Communism, its agenda, organization and recruitment were conceived as part of civil war endeavor, as Chen Li-shen (born 1931) recalls, real power belonged to the intelligence sector, the most significant of which were the Bureau of Military Intelligence under the Ministry of Defense and the Kuomintang's Mainland Affairs Department (MAD).³⁴ The latter's huge budget simultaneously supported intelligence work in both mainland and overseas. Hsiao Hsing-yi (born 1939), a latecomer to the organisation confirms that the climax of its work was during the Cultural Revolution when internal documents were leaked en masse and gathered by Kuomintang agents. Besides the two institutes, the Bureau of Investigation also has a specific research branch which collects information regarding China.³⁵ Chiang Hsin-li (born 1941), a prolific writer on political ideology, began his career in the bureau and recalls how he was able to develop expertise on Marxism, which no longer interests the younger generation.³⁶ It

²⁹ Interview of Rui He-zhen conducted by Wang Hsin-hsien on various days in October 2008, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-15.doc>> [29 Aug. 2011].

³⁰ Interview of Wang Chang-ling conducted by Wen Chia-yi.

³¹ Interview of Chang Huan-ching, *op. cit.*

³² Interview of Li Kuo-chi, *op. cit.*

³³ Interview of Chang Huan-ching, *op. cit.*

³⁴ Chen Li-shen, unpublished interview conducted by Wen Chia-yi.

³⁵ Interview of Hsiao Hsing-yi conducted by Bai Chung-ben and Shao Hsuan-lei on 29 Mar., 5 Apr., 12 Apr., and 19 Apr. 2008, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/comm2/HsiaoHsinI.doc>> [20 Aug. 2011].

³⁶ Interview of Chiang Hsin-li conducted by Tang Hsin-wei on 16 Sept., 18 Nov., and 23 Dec. 2008, at

was when the Institute of the East Asian Studies was established in 1970 that China studies had the chance to attain an academic identity. As the civil war lost its momentum and with the prospect of democratisation, the MAD gradually lost its function.

New think tanks staffed by university faculty were established under the government's national security budget.³⁷ One prominent participant is Chen (Philip) Ming (born 1935). Once considered for the position of deputy secretary of the National Security Bureau, he took over as deputy director of the MAD instead. He was deeply involved in the operation of the powerful Asia and World Institute in the early 1990s and, after its demise, in the launch of the Prospect Foundation in 1997.³⁸ Chang King-yuh (born 1937), a contemporary of Chen as well as the former commissioner of the Chinese Affairs Council and the former president of the NCCU, seemed to have followed the same career track as that of Chen Ming. Having been active in organising academic gatherings, Chang was recruited by the Kuomintang for consultancy positions at first and subsequently, for policymaking positions. Both Chen and Chang were in the younger age bracket and mentally prepared for public office. Chang's childhood ambition was to strengthen his nation and he looked up to Bismarck as his role model.³⁹ For Chen, he regrets that he did not serve the public sector more after his retirement. Their participation in the think tank of the new age is the emanation of the time as well as their personalities.

Since the 1990s, establishing think tanks has become a popular choice for politicians-in-waiting biding for their opportunities. China studies has always been one of the most popular subjects. Think tanks are important features in contemporary China studies in Taiwan. Think tanks rise and fall as their sponsors come and go, following certain politicians making their foray in the political scene. Think tanks are an investment in power by the business circle. Politicians with promise or those who have just left important public posts are the major initiators of think tanks. The

<<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-6.doc>> [28 Aug. 2011].

³⁷ Just to name a few, these are the better-funded foundations that either do their own research conducted by their own research staff or sponsor projects according to their agenda — Prospect Foundation, Foundation on Asia-Pacific Peace Studies, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, and Taiwan Thinktank, etc. Other research institutes on China that have had at least 50 years of history include Department No. 4 of the Bureau of Investigation under the Ministry of Legal Affairs and Bureau of Military Intelligence under the Ministry of Defense. New centres and institutes that either bear the name of China or Cross-Taiwan Straits are abundant in the recent decade indeed. Most of these institutes have emerged to host prospective visiting scholars and students from China or to facilitate exchanges with academic institutions from the mainland.

³⁸ Interview of Philip Chen Ming conducted by Yeh Lu-fan on various days in October and November 2008, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/comm2/ChenMing.doc>> [22 Aug. 2011].

³⁹ Interview of Chang King-yuh conducted by Yao Yuan-ming on various days in July 2008, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-1.doc>> [29 Aug. 2011].

National Security Bureau also establishes the most stable and resourceful think tanks. Researchers connected with these think tanks have the additional responsibility of carrying out second-track diplomacy. Affiliation with think tanks can be full time as well as part time, and the research foci of think tanks are policy orientation and current affairs. Most think tanks have either an established policy tendency or a preferred political candidate. Thus, think tank research has to the political line.

DISCURSIVE POLITICS OF CHINA STUDIES

A common feature of China scholars in Taiwan is the ability to constantly adapt and change under pressure. Most scholars have the intellectual capability to look at China from both an external and an indigenous standpoint. Many are bilingual in terms of the literature with which they engage in China scholarship. Many of them have politically switched from a Chinese to a consciously Taiwanese perspective. Writing for a Chinese audience, an international audience, and a Taiwanese audience poses different challenges. Many scholars are able to respond to all conditions but whether to shift to a different perspective under any particular conditions is a decision they have to make. Some scholars who have taught about China in the US typically felt awkward as they attempted to make sense of the Chinese situation. In the eyes of the audience, they could appear to be trying to justify the situation in China and they might at the spur of moment volunteer themselves into this mission. Lee (Leo) Ou-fan⁴⁰ (born 1942), an expert on Chinese literature, once experienced the embarrassment of seemingly speaking on behalf of China. He recalls his teaching career in the US as one of being consciously interdisciplinary, peripheral, and occasionally, revolutionary. While he chose to challenge the mainstream, he also has to adapt because the mainstream is different under different times or at different sites. Weng (Byron) Sung-jan (born 1934), an international law expert, is more straightforward with regard to his political colour considering the fact that he has also travelled widely in the US, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. He acknowledges that he “may have some colours”. In his interview, his “colour was once pink”, owing to his ability to expound on China’s position during the Vietnam War. He knows that others see him in a green colour today because he appeared sympathetic to the pro-independence DPP in Taiwan. However, he said he was once “blue” — the representative colour of the Kuomintang. His answer to his own question “What could I be?” is therefore “an *Elaphurus davidianus*”.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Interview of Lee (Leo) Ou-fan conducted by Shan Te-hsing, Peng Hsiao-yan, Wen Chia-yi and Albert Tseng on 18 May and 19 May 2008, at <http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/interviewU_李歐梵.doc> [22 Aug. 2011].

⁴¹ Interview of Weng (Byron) Sung-jan conducted by Pao Chun-liang Pao on 3 Oct. 2008 and 23 Feb.

Epistemologically, one could imagine the position one takes watching from a number of temporal and spatial combinations. One could, for example, watch from somewhere outside of China, in a position that is defined territorially, culturally, or socially, in contrast to a position somewhere inside. The civil war generation typically positions its scholars to watch from the inside. To that extent, studying China is analogous to self-examination, relying on one's own experiences, and involves ideological polemics, fault-finding, political forecasting, and even international propaganda. Specifically, this particular aspect of China scholarship gives rise to the political expression "base of renaissance" that advocates Taiwan as the true base of cultural and national revival of China. In comparison, "containment", being an external standpoint, is never about the objective of seeing the toppling of the Communist regime. On the contrary, stability becomes a major issue, whereby China's domestic stability and the East Asian regional stability are ranked high on the agenda. In security narratives, China's otherness is accepted as a given, and it is seen as an undesired opponent. The contemporary literature on China threat belongs to this school of thought. Finally, the scope of China is territorially defined from both the internal and the external point of view.

One could also choose to watch from a Western, qua universal, as opposed to a non-Western position. Accordingly, one's scholarship would be limited primarily to an imagined Euro-American audience although due to the language of the scholarship, one's major audience would remain in Taiwan. The Western identity scholarship could be clearer if it is juxtaposed against the civil war scholarship, for example. The representation of this identity is manifested in the method, theoretical perspective, and the literature from which one draws his or her academic puzzles heuristically. Among the most popular approaches are the state-society approach and the institutionalist approach. Another example, the game theory model dominates the studies of international relations. In contrast, it is cultural sensibility that gives rise to the non-Western position. It could lead to a binary or relativist world view insinuating some uniqueness in the Chinese phenomenon. It may not be a bad view, in the postcolonial sense, if one celebrates cultural hybridity in which one appreciates discursive appropriation of Chinese legacies and Western influences in an undecidable and mixed way that is appropriate for the needs of time and occasion. Studies of Chinese ethnic issues or Chinese overseas belong to this strand of thought.

Taking on a Western perspective seems to be a popular approach. If being Western

means adopting methodological individualism in social science, being Western also means liberalism, philosophically speaking. Interestingly, two senior scholars from Taiwan with completely different approaches, i.e., liberal and cultural, with regard to China, begin with a similar observation: that the CPC has not really transcended the traditional Chinese culture. Huang (Mab) Mou (born 1935), a determined human rights advocate, wants to separate political identity from human rights discussion, so that the promotion of human rights in the Chinese context will not be hindered by the political confrontation between pro-independence and anti-independence in Taiwan or that between Communism and anti-Communism over the Taiwan Strait. Huang is also suspicious towards Confucianism, which he believes has unnecessarily complicated and obscured the human rights issue.⁴² Hsiung (James) Chieh (born 1935), a professor from New York University and by no means a liberal or a Western theorist, has been particularly keen in maintaining a balance between China studies and international relations, between the left and the right, and between China and Taiwan. In his research on China, he takes a pragmatic view that incorporates the Chinese and Confucian practices and world views. To be pragmatic, one has to rely on international law and knowledge of the world. Hsiung has thus been deeply involved in policy consultation and negotiation between Taipei and Beijing.⁴³

Another mode of positioning, which is temporal and usually implicit, is to decide on the choice of perspective, namely linear, pluralist, and cyclical perspectives. In linear temporality, Taiwan and China are of the same kind except that they belong to different historical stages. Part of China is possibly more advanced than another part, but it is the observer in Taiwan that is in the more advanced position. Taiwan represents China's future. Its economic development provides a lesson for Beijing to learn. Its political democratisation is a harbinger for Chinese politics in the generations to come. Even Taiwan's problems serve as an heuristic purpose in helping Beijing predict China's future problems.⁴⁴ In pluralist temporality, Taiwan and China have their own historical trajectories. Similarly, various parts of China may have their own distinctive trajectories. The indigenous practices of Chinese localities are the focus of pluralist historiography. Each study is a representation of an exotic site or practice. As for cyclical perspective, Taiwan and China are both considered to be different and the same depending on the stage of history. To achieve oneness, a

⁴² Interview of Huang (Mab) Mou conducted by Chou Chih-chieh and Chang Pi-chun on 26 Feb. and 7 May 2010.

⁴³ Interview of James Hsiung Chieh conducted by Bai Chung-ben and Shao Hsuan-lei on 16 Mar. 2009, at <<http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/interviewU熊玠.doc>> [29 Aug. 2011].

⁴⁴ See, for example, Li You-tan and Chao Chien-ming, "Transition in a Party-State System-Taiwan's Democratization as a Model for China", presented at the International Conference on "The Chinese Communist Party in a New Era: Renewal and Reform", Singapore.

competition to prove who will be the primary actor in the merger of two split entities is ensued. The criterion could be modernist or Confucianist, thus, the function of scholarship is to justify the choice of criterion to be used in evaluating the performance of Taiwan in comparison with China.

Anti-communism had declined after the 1980s but anti-communist orientation lingered on in the humanitarian agenda that reconnects China with the Confucianism in the East Asian neighbours, and the impact is that communism is only a brief interruption in Chinese historical trajectory that is deeply rooted in Confucianism. The 21st century has witnessed the revival of Confucianism in various aspects. Both the aforementioned indigenous psychology and the nascent transnational project of the East Asian Confucianism have begun to explore a social science and humanities agenda that incorporates Confucian epistemology.⁴⁵ This approach divides Confucianism and Christianity into a binary world. However, Liu Shu-hsien (born 1937), a neo-Confucianist scholar of Chinese political thought who had taught in the US, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, is anti-communist in the belief that Confucianism and Western liberalism share common epistemology intrinsically. To Liu, China studies is accordingly premised upon learning how to cope with Chinese tradition as a continuing legacy, a transcended irrelevance, or a modernised culture.⁴⁶

Few Taiwanese study in Korea, India, Singapore,⁴⁷ Eastern Europe or Russia, some study in China, Australia, and Canada, and more would study in Japan and Western Europe. For those who study abroad, most do so in the US. These countries however provide different contexts in the study of China. Once trained, a Taiwanese scholar may return home, stay on for a while, or return home after retiring.

POLITICS AND RECENT SCHOLARSHIP ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

If postcolonialism had provoked the academic as well as political thinking in Taiwan, then the current system certainly follows the American style because the US has been a dominant influence over Taiwan in various aspects since the end of World War II. This is a veritable situation in international relations (IR) studies than in any other

⁴⁵ Huang Chun-chieh, *East Asian Confucianisms: Dialectics between the Classics and Interpretations* (National Taiwan University Press, 2007).

⁴⁶ Interview of Liu Shu-hsien conducted by Chu Yuan-kui on 2 Sep. 2009, at <http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act/tw-14.doc> [28 Aug. 2011].

⁴⁷ The nascent academic exchanges between Taiwan and Singapore in both social sciences and humanities could be a harbinger of changes for a better future. However, these efforts are predominantly individualised and project-based. Besides, postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars who returned to Taiwan from Singapore have difficulty securing a position in Taiwan's job market for professionals.

fields, as evident in the great importance that Taiwan has attached to the US. The background is complicated, though. Beijing initiated peaceful overtures towards Taipei in 1979, as well as pledged to focus on the principle of “peace and development” (which evolved into “peaceful development” in the new century) in 1986. Since the dawn of the 21st century, Taiwan has received an array of official narratives on “non-traditional security”, “soft power”, and “harmonious world” from China. As a result, the academic enthusiasm of the Chinese school of international relations has been primarily represented by the “Big Three” since 2005: Yan Xuetong and his hierarchical stability;⁴⁸ Qin Yaqin and his relational governance;⁴⁹ and Zhao Tingyang and his *tianxia* philosophy.⁵⁰ Taiwan celebrated the centennial anniversary of the Republic of China in October 2011. On 11 October 2011, the day after the anniversary as part of Taiwan’s National Day celebrations, Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeou conferred the Order of Brilliant Star with Grand Cordon on former US Defence Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld for his leadership in global anti-terrorism and the US support for arms sales to Taiwan during his term.

Ma’s otherwise peace-loving statement was in serious contradiction with the reputation of his awardee. Rumsfeld was known for his military instead of peacemaking actions, such as his deliberate misinformation for the purpose of launching war in the Middle East, his blatant ignorance of the sacrifice of civilian lives, and his callous order to use torture on prisoners of war. However, Ma’s recognition of Rumsfeld’s achievements incurred neither criticism nor anxiety from the highly critical opposition camp. The irony is that the value of peace that Taiwan upholds, as manifested in the inappropriate conferring of award to Rumsfeld, is the harbinger of insensitivity in Taiwanese scholarship accorded towards new IR perspectives in China.

Similar to other subjects in China studies, the US-led Cold War, Chinese Civil War, and the Japanese colonialism have substantial influence and impact on Taiwan’s IR scholarship as evident in Taiwan’s dependence on American theories and values, the anti-imperialist China/communist tendency, and the lack of consistency in identifying interest, identity, and relations. A rich repertoire of discourses and cultural perspectives thus supports a variety of discordant reviews on China’s IR perspectives

⁴⁸ Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Thought and Modern Chinese Power*, eds., Daniel Bell and Zhe Sun, trans., Edmund Ryden (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁴⁹ Qin Yaqin, “Rule, Rules, and Relations: Towards a Synthetic Approach to Governance”, *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 4, no. 2 (2011): 117-45.

⁵⁰ Zhao Tingyang, “A Political World Philosophy in Terms of All-Under-Heaven (Tian-xia)”, *Diogenes* 56, no.1 (Feb. 2009): 5-18; “Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept ‘All-under-Heaven’ (Tian-xia)”, *Social Identities* 12, no. 1 (Jan. 2006): 29-41.

in Taiwan. This will worry authors or scholars who regard themselves as Taiwanese, because their choice of perspectives is confronted with different perspectives selected by others. Would this not expose an individual's innate identity to political targeting by a necessarily dissenting audience, or compel one into committing such similar act aimed at disgracing others? These diverse perspectives originate from outside Taiwan, and thus enlisting authoritative information from foreign sources is a strategic move for Taiwanese authors or scholars to avoid engaging in confrontational identity politics.

Therefore, publications on IR in Taiwan have sparked the imagination of a "double" audience, namely those from Taiwan and those from other countries that lend origins of their IR perspectives. The audiences, however, contributed to an increasingly complicated scenario as exchanges between China and Taiwan intensified in the 1990s. While the real audiences are made up of both Taiwan and China, the US and Japan constitute an imagined audience that exerts some degree of influence. The real audience and imagined audience hold different criteria in the evaluation of IR scholarship. The real audience infers authors' stance on China and Taiwan relations from their writings, either separatist or non-separatist, and considers it as pivotal to the relevance of an IR article. The imagined audience, on the other hand, may serve two functions. One is to camouflage, obscure, and change the identity of those who are not ready to claim a stance; the other function is to assert, reproduce, and refocus stance of individuals who are strong separatist or non-separatist proponents.

The American IR literature apparently dominates the intellectual resources. Almost all IR scholars in Taiwan reiterate the troika tradition of realism, liberalism, and constructivism.⁵¹ The American IR literature serves as a perfect platform for Taiwanese and Chinese IR scholars to establish dialogue. However, new Chinese IR perspectives evolved and are critical of the American IR. Having first emerged in the 1970s, Taiwanese IR scholars are, by contrast, exposed to and trained in American IR for a longer period twice as long as their Chinese counterparts, but they have been consistently alienated from critical reflection. In addition, rare dissenting views originating from cultural studies during the post-structuralist period of the American IR research in Taiwan had lost the rhetorical edge because the "Big Three" of the Chinese IR have attracted wide attention from the rest of the world despite the fact that Taiwanese IR exists two decades earlier than that of China.

⁵¹ Chiu Kunshuan and Chang Tengchi, "A Review of the Studies on China's Foreign Policy in Taiwan: Opportunities and Challenges", paper presented in the "Conference on Taiwanese Political Science: Review and Prospect", Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 7 Aug. 2012.

Since the Chinese Civil War ended, Taiwan is dependent on the US in its dealing with the Communist China. Such political and strategic dependence transcends governmental level and percolates into Taiwan's society, resulting in a defensive consciousness against China that suppressed the appeal of returning to the motherland, but fuelled the support for Taiwan's independence. The intellectual justification, as offered in the American IR theory, to such dependence legitimises Kuomintang's reign in Taiwan in its mission to recover mainland China from communism. Intellect and politics are mutually founded on the idea that governance requires reasons and that knowledge presupposes a political position by observation. The American IR provided an epistemological claim of universalism that intellectually overcomes the small Taiwan.

The concept of universalism seems ironically intensified after Kuomintang's battle over China stopped and the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party came to power in 2000. Without the civil-war consciousness, pro-independence urgently sought for a substitute concept of a universal Taiwan that neither belongs to nor is belittled by the colossal China. Liberalism appears to bridge the (hypothetical) ideological difference between China and Taiwan, whereas realism provides guidance on how this difference ought to be defended and maintained. Taiwan's universalist identity has two components, namely, Taiwan's imagined Americanness and China's un-Americanness. The latter is reinforced by China's efforts to establish indigenous IR school of thought. The narrative will help people get prepared for the disruption to Asia-Pacific security and stability as China rises to power.

Hence, for over a decade, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taipei has, without fail, invested a significant portion of the budget on two intellectual endeavours without fail. The first one is the launch of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, which aims to develop Taiwan as a nominal base for democratisation in the world, and also to set itself apart from China, which is not a democracy. The second endeavour involved organising various conferences and workshops on triangular relations between nations, as the intellectual engagement offers a game theory model that can transform Taiwan into an equal national player, an opportunity that is not available in realpolitik. Both efforts mimic the practice in American scholarship.

If Americanness confirms the externality of Taiwan to China from the strategic and ideological viewpoint, then Taiwan's obsession with civilisational sensibility dates back to pre-War colonialism under Japan. Japan's quest for a modern identity had highlighted the vicissitudes of the Japanese modern history, this had nevertheless left

a permanent mark in Taiwan. Postcolonial intellectuals in Taiwan remain alert to the island's modernity achieved ahead of China. The Europeanness, a component of IR, that once fascinated pre-War Japan was however not immediately significant. Japan's ambition to become the Britain of East Asia vis-a-vis the Chinese continent was intrinsically international. However, it is a historical irony that Japan eventually opted for a reincarnation of East Asia by expelling the white out of the continent.⁵²

Japan's history in the past hundred years seemed to have served as a prophecy for Taiwan's future, as Taiwan indulges in a game matrix to claim externality to the mainland. After the World War II, Japan was once again caught in the dilemma of making the choice between being an Asian and a Western country. The choice to be an Asian country necessitated Japan to be grouped together with China as Asia, and this requires support from the US. However, Japan's objective of being an Asian country is essentially to differentiate itself from the US and to recover from the defeat in the World War II. Japan's reliance on US support, which gains momentum on its own, is certainly detrimental to the role that Japan can play in China.⁵³ Taiwan, which appears to be heavily dependent on the US on every front, is faced with the similar dilemma. From Kuomintang's complete reliance on the US to launch civil war to the DPP quest for Taiwan's independence, a parallel can be drawn between Taiwan's historical events and Japan's postcolonial path. The dependence on the US is thus a move to detach from China or East Asia. In short, both Taiwan and Japan recognise that their fates are intertwined with the US.

As the colonial model for Taiwan, Japan likewise relies on the US in dealing with China. Taiwan's IR scholars and authors turn to the American literature as primary source for research and citation, and their "double" or "triple" audiences, however, do not always include the Japanese. The shared dilemma and common solutions are the commonalities that keep intellectual exchanges between Taiwan and Japan open and also position them in strategic alliance with the US that takes a clear albeit tacitly agreed hierarchical order, whereby the US takes command at the top and Taiwan is seconded comfortably at the lower rung. The Japanese IR literature is known for its intellectual insight that manifests impermeability to the notion of Asianism in recent decades and as a result, Taiwanese IR scholars assume that Japan has various strategies or plans that are targeted at China.

⁵² Christopher Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan: Nishida, the Kyoto School, and Co-Prosperity* (Leiden: Routledge Leiden Series in Modern East Asia, 2005).

⁵³ Shih Chih-yu, "A Rising Unknown: Rediscovering China in Japan's East Asia", *The China Review* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 1-26.

MULTIPLY AND INTEGRATE CHINA/TAIWAN?

The reliance on US theories is a constant in Taiwan's scholarship; however, the rationale behind the reliance has evolved depending on scholars' experiences and choices. Similarly, as senior experts reflect at different stages of their career, different perspectives will result. Under the changing political climate, Taiwanese veteran scholars feel the epistemological pressure to reflect and most have, in their retirement, developed certain insights about Chinese studies in Taiwan. Due to space constraint, the discussion features a retired expert on China, Wang Chang-ling. The reflections of Wang Chang-ling resonate with the postcolonial theme of experience and choice.⁵⁴ He demonstrates how cultural resources could be recombined to approach the studies on China, China scholarship, and China scholars.

A philosopher of history with more than four decades of China scholarship under his belt, Wang is drawn to the Chinese classic *Bible of Change* to understand Chinese scholarship that has evolved from one to many branches, each continuing in its own evolution. As history continues, Wang contends that such evolutionary changes are inevitable. Wang then enlists the work of Hegel to argue that synthesis could resolve the differences. In fact, the Chinese cyclical historiography of unification and division provides evidences that synthesis does occur. Synthesis, both epistemological and practical, occurs through either peaceful resolution or war. As such, Wang believes that Hegel had misunderstood about synthesis. Hegel allegedly only believes in war, which is embodied in his synthesis as a negation of antithesis, according to Wang's understanding. In the same vein, Wang similarly faults the contemporary Western epistemological bias towards the method of deduction and lauds the Chinese epistemology for establishing oneness by method of induction.

Wang concludes that history, knowledge, and politics all proceed in the manner of change anticipated by the Chinese classic, *Bible of Change*. He perceives there is hope for mankind as Taiwan demonstrates that a peaceful resolution could be an effective alternative to war in reconciling the mounting differences dictated by constant and instantaneous changes. Human agency exists in the selection of peaceful routes, such as Deng Xiaoping's reform as a substitute for revolution, Ma Ying-jeou's decision to open direct navigation and flights between Taiwan and mainland China instead of imposing a ban, as well as the Taiwanese consensus in maintaining the

⁵⁴ The author had collected Wang Chang-ling's thoughts primarily from the following works. Wang Chang-ling, *Analytical Thoughts of the Chou Philosophy of Change* (Jinan: Qilu Bookstore, 2007); *Analytical Theology of Holy Bible* (Taipei: Ting-yuan Cultural Enterprise, Inc, 2008); and *On Ma Ying-jeou's Policy Lines: Rethinking the Fate of Globalization* (New Taipei City: Chen Li Yun, 2008).

status quo to justify the coexistence of its divergent views on China.

Wang's reflections are the culmination of deep and hard thinking in his 20 years of retirement. Wang attempts to tap and synthesise various philosophy and history resources to seek a practical solution to Taiwan's political condition as well as the academic circle, and it is also probably out of anxiety over Taiwan's future and changes that he reengages in philosophy of history. Interestingly, his writings are not well-received. Unlike his colleagues, such as Chen Li-sheng, Wang does not complain about the young generation's ignorance of the veteran scholars and the lack of respect for these pioneers. Why would Wang complain if his philosophy of history finds followers in practice? After all, in Taiwan, choices to pursue peace can be made based on experiences and even constantly emerging threats.