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Master's Thesis of International Studies

A Comparative Study on Discourse of  
'Japanese Imperialism'  
in Junior High School History Textbooks between  
China, Taiwan and Korea

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## **Abstract**

China, Taiwan and Korea share the same history of being invaded by Japan. However, surveys show Chinese and Korean still have anti-Japanese sentiments, while Taiwanese show much affection towards Japan nowadays. History, being a compulsory subject in these all three countries, is believed to have critical influence on teenagers' value shaping. Therefore, it is hypothesized that history education of these three countries is somehow narrated differently and thus leading to such phenomenon.

This paper intends to conduct a comparative study on narration of 'Japanese imperialism' in junior high school history textbooks from these three countries. Through methodologies of documentary research, case comparison and case analysis, it is found that Chinese textbooks shows the most important values of its people or CCP; Korean textbooks emphasize on process of its brave and mighty nation in resisting against Japanese and establishing an independent country; while Taiwanese history textbooks use a beneficiary-perspective in its narration on Japan instead of victim-perspective. It is proven that history textbooks are in service of ruling class. In addition, global aspects are seldom seen in all three countries' history textbooks.

Self-centralism and ideology differences are believed to be two major factors in shaping such differences. This paper argues that school history textbooks could tend to be narrated with sentiments from both domestic and global perspectives, and both positive and negative views, as long as objectivity is guaranteed. Only

under this circumstance can students stick to their standpoints while lending an ear to different opinions from other countries, and thus promoting regional cooperation, seeking common ground while leaving aside differences.

**Key words:** China, Taiwan, Korea, History Textbooks, Japanese Imperialism

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## **Chapter I Introduction**

History education is significant in shaping a teenager's value and understanding of history towards its own country and world. For each individual, history education helps to cultivate patriotism and national identity through looking back at arduous times and those incredible fellow countrymen and how they have contributed to where we are today. Their stories and legends also keep inspiring and spurring future generations to continue doing something great for their country, to make their nation everlasting stands. For the ruling class of one country, history education is not only fundamental approach to keep its regime stable and its citizens united, but a country's retrospection on the past, learning faults and never let it happen again.

Recent years, controversies over history textbooks were witnessed between parties with different ideologies. For instance, under former Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeou administration in 2015, modification on curriculum outline including, but not limited to, emphasizing more on Japanese crucial domination in Taiwan, has received strong opponents by opposition party, high school and university students. The 2015 curriculum outline was then abolished on the second day of new administration led by President Tsai since May 2016. In 2015 as well, Korea former President Park Geun-hye forcibly passed national-compile single version history textbooks, but was abolished on the third day of Moon Jae-in administration in 2017.

Two above-mentioned examples explain that compilation of history textbook is of high sensitivity in Taiwan and Korea and it is evident to see that parties in both countries realized how history education shapes values and ideologies of next



generation who will become a constant source of votes to certain party in the future, thus making it an urgency to abolish previous governments' resolutions. Simply speaking, history education has become a political bargain between parties in Taiwan and Korea, and overall speaking, history education is in the service of ruling class, including China.

During 2015 modification on curriculum outline in Taiwan, it was astounding to see that one major controversy is a debate over whether comfort women are all forced or not. In 2018, de facto<sup>1</sup> Taiwanese ambassador to Japan Frank Hsieh, condemned KMT<sup>2</sup> on his Facebook that the establishment of first comfort woman statue in Taiwan is obviously aimed to 'destroy Taiwan-Japan relation'. Indeed, Taiwan might be the most Japan-friendly country in the world, but still some opinions and sayings are truly out of expectations. Curiosity is immediately raised to see how history was taught in Taiwan to make a group of people in support of such statement by Frank Hsieh. On the contrary, China and Korea have both experienced several anti-Japanese demonstrations in recent years.

Consequently, this paper intends to do a comparative research on narration towards Japan in junior high school history textbooks between these three countries. Through documentary research on history textbooks and utilize case comparison to compare, and case analysis methodology, it is found that Taiwanese textbooks narrate Japan from a beneficiary-perspective, which is totally different from Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> De facto: The term 'de facto' in addressing Taiwan-related proper noun, is in accordance with the United Nations general assembly resolution 2758, which recognized the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representative of China to the UN. This paper sticks to the resolution, but for the convenience and readability of this paper, the word 'country' will be used to cite all political regimes mentioned in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> KMT: Kuomintang, also known as the Chinese Nationalist Party, established the Republic of China in 1912. It is now the biggest opposition and the second biggest party in Congress in the Republic of China (Taiwan) as of 2020.

and Korean. While Chinese and Korean have different narration styles, but both emphasize on history of Japanese invasion. Based on what are found, suggestion on textbooks compilation will also be provided in the regional cooperation point of view, intending to promote mutual understanding among countries within the region.

This paper has five main chapters. In the next chapter, research framework including historical background, literature review, research questions and methodology will be explained specifically. Chapter three will be case study and comparison on topics selected from history textbooks. Chapter four will conclude features and problems of each country's textbook, and analyze what factors contribute to such differences. Suggestions will be provided in chapter five, including conclusion.

## **Chapter II Research Plan**

### **1. Historical Background**

Meiji Restoration in 1868 marks the turning point of Japanese history. Two decades of development and modernization by learning Western ideas and high-efficient approaches of production, Japan abolished unequal treaties and regained its sovereignty, rapidly industrializing and making it become a regional super power. However, Japan's ambition did not end with a regional power, but intended to seek world hegemony by using force. The 1868 Continental Policy<sup>3</sup> is the first sign of Japanese militarism, aiming to spread their national prestige around the region. The policy was prepared and become mature in the 1890s, and was finally put into practice in Sino-Japanese war in 1895.

It is for the first time a power transition took place in thousands of years within the region. As a consequence of defeat of Qing, Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. It not only stipulated China ceding to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty of Taiwan and Liaodong Bay, etc., but Article 1 requires China to recognize the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea. Regional order was then shifted in a superior position of Japan. Since 1895, Taiwan has been colonized by Japan, and so did Korea since 1910, until Japan surrendered in 1945.

The following half century, Japan dominated, assimilated, influenced and

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<sup>3</sup> Continental Policy: A Pan-Asian strategy pursued by Japan to conquer neighboring countries, especially the Imperial Japanese Army. The policy's major aim was to conquer Taiwan, Korea and China to dominate East Asia.

Japanized people living in Taiwan and Korea, while China witnessed the falling of Qing Dynasty, and welcomed a new owner on Chinese land – the Republic of China in 1912. Since then, China developed itself but more attention was paid into annihilating warlord governments and later, civil wars between KMT and CCP<sup>4</sup>. After cooperation between two parties in fighting against Japanese since 1937, the second civil war broke out in 1945 right after Japan surrendered, and led to the separation of Taiwan and China today. PRC<sup>5</sup>, established in 1949, controls Mainland China, while the Republic of China is still the official name of Taiwan until now. It is significant to understand the fact that Taiwan and China consequently become two separated political regimes, thus Japanese colonization from Taiwanese perspective and KMT's fight against Japan in China are both taught in different grades in Taiwanese history textbooks.

Overall speaking, Taiwan and Korea are both colonized by Japan while China has never totally been colonized, but what people in these three countries share in common, is the same memories of being invaded, destroyed, slaughtered by Japan, and then fought back, enjoyed the victory, and gained nation independence.

## **2. Literature Review**

History is one of the most important subjects in shaping students' values. It often greatly improves students' patriotism and their national identity, serving as one important method for government to keep a society stable and its people united. Being such a significant subject, studies on history textbooks are many, especially

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<sup>4</sup> CCP: Chinese Communism Party, is the founding and sole governing political party of the People's Republic of China.

<sup>5</sup> PRC: The People's Republic of China, founded in 1949, to distinguish from the Republic of China (ROC), founded in 1912 by KMT.

comparative studies are popular including on textbooks compiling layout, curriculum outline, supplementary and ancillary information, or on certain units or topics, etc. Through comparison, these studies often allow suggestions on textbook to be presented, which will help editors to compile textbooks in a more objective way.

Generally speaking, existing literatures on comparative studies between history textbooks can be divided into two big categories: the first is cross-sectional studies, meaning comparison of history textbooks between different presses or countries, but textbooks are in parallel period. The second is longitudinal studies, which are to compare current textbooks with former ones. Following parts will depict literature review in three respective countries.

## **2-1. Comparative Studies of History Textbooks in China**

Existing Literature in China focuses more on researching textbook compiled by different presses. The massive population of China will make each version have a large students group, thus make cross-sectional studies vital to find out pros and cons of each version through comparison. For example, Chen (2018)<sup>6</sup> compared Chinese ancient history from political, economic and cultural views, and concluded each compiling features of three different presses in the same time period. Comparative studies between Chinese history textbooks and foreign history textbooks are also popular amongst scholars, many of which are compared with HK, Taiwan, US or

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<sup>6</sup> Chen Y. Comparative Study on the Compulsory Textbooks of High School History Edition, People Edition and Yuelu Edition - A case study of Ancient Chinese History. [M]. Northwest University, 2018.

Europe; Fan (2020)<sup>7</sup> compared China's contemporary history between two most recent history textbooks in China and Taiwan. Fan analyzed reasons behind such great discrepancy in narration of the same history, pointing out that ideologies, cultural orientation and political situation are three major factors that create such phenomenon; There also exists one literature that compares narration of Japan in China and Korea's high school history textbooks. Zhao (2018)<sup>8</sup> compared them not from certain historical event, but studied how Japanese invasion and colonization, Japanese crimes, spirits of people in resisting against Japanese, three angles were respectively narrated.

Longitudinal studies on history textbooks in China has a smaller popularity. Wang (2020)<sup>9</sup> compared the most recent history textbooks with former versions. It is estimated that such longitudinal studies will welcome an explosive growth since history textbook in China went back to single version published by the Ministry of Education. Single version of history textbook is always a sensitive issue in Taiwan and Korea, because it is alleged to be a symbol of authoritarianism and does not represent a pluralistic society, which does not meet the value of democracy and freedom. While under the trend of democracy, it is supposed more Chinese scholars will tend to find the difference between current history textbooks and former ones.

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<sup>7</sup> Fan H. B. The Comparison of Chinese modern and contemporary history between the mainland edition and the Hanlin edition as an example. [D]. Hunan Normal University, 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Zhao Y. M. A Comparative Study on Relation with Japan between China and Korea History Education. [D]. Jilin University, 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Wang H. A Comparative Study of Two Senior High School History Textbooks Published by the People's education Edition – A Case Study of Chinese History. [M]. Huaibei Normal University, 2020.

## 2-2. Comparative Studies of History Textbooks in Taiwan

Longitudinal studies on history textbooks in Taiwan is more often researched. Party ideology differences and party shifts have made history subject a political bargain to satisfy their own party benefits. The fact that Taiwanese are trapped in the trouble of national identity, makes researches on evolution of national identity welcomed. Scholars are trying to find out how school history turned from ‘China-centered-perspective’ to ‘Taiwan-centered-perspective’. Chi (2014)<sup>10</sup> in his paper, argues that many conflicts in Taiwan nowadays, result from the diversity of national identity, which is strongly influenced by the content of history education. He chose to compare different high school history textbooks and their guidelines in different times, to see whether and how they have changed and, if so, how the generation thus being educated form different national identity. Indeed, many studies like this encourage me to see how history was taught to make Taiwanese have much less hatred than China and Korea towards Japan.

Cross-sectional studies attract less attention in Taiwan, but there are some like Zheng (2016)<sup>11</sup> compared ‘resist foreign aggression history’ from different presses in Taiwan. Cross-country studies mainly focus on history textbook comparison with Japan in terms of colonization from the perspective of ‘colonizing country’ and ‘being colonized country’. Yen and Li (2018)<sup>12</sup> found that in terms of colonial memory, Taiwan textbooks cover political, economic, social and cultural aspects,

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<sup>10</sup> Chi C. A Study of the Changing Historiographical Perspectives in the Guidelines for Senior High School History Textbooks, from the 1990s to the Present. [M]. National Taiwan University, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Zheng L.C. Research on “Resist Foreign Aggression History” - Discourse of Junior High School History Textbooks. [M]. Chinese Culture University, 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Yen C.Y. and Li H.Y. 2018. “The Gap in Historical Memory: The Memory of Colonized Taiwan in Junior High Textbooks of Taiwan and Japan.” *Curriculum & Instruction Quarterly*, 21(3):119-143.

while Japan only briefly writes on political aspect. Even as important as Treaty of Shimonoseki which resulted in power transition in the region, Japanese textbooks say few things about it. They criticized history textbooks in Taiwan narrates Japanese colonization in a neutral and rational way, and Japan's intention to avoid historical responsibility, forming a huge gap in historical memory.

### **2-3. Comparative Studies of History Textbooks in Korea**

Cross-sectional studies on history textbooks is more studied amongst Korean scholars. However, comparative studies between different presses is seldom seen. The majority of cross-sectional studies on history textbooks concentrate on cross-country studies. Comparative studies between South Korea and North Korea have been attracting much attention, focusing on modern history, especially different narration towards Korean War, which is similar to many Chinese scholars studying on Taiwanese textbooks regarding civil war. Comparative studies between China and Korea, focus on description of mutual images and Korean War as well. For example, Park (2009)<sup>13</sup> analyzed mutual images that are shown in Chinese and Korean history textbooks, combined with methodology of comparative analysis and questionnaire survey as well as interviews with teachers, textbook compilers and normal people, he found out that Korean students' images towards China is more influenced by social media rather than history textbooks. Besides, topics regarding Japan involve many current issues including description of colonization history, comfort women, sovereignty of Dokdo, etc.

Surprisingly, one study is of special attention, which is similar to mine. Ahn

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<sup>13</sup> Park J.Y. 2009. "History Textbooks, Image, Stereotype - A comparative study on mutual Image of history textbooks in Korea and China." *Gyeongju History Studies* (30):135-175.



(2011)<sup>14</sup> in her paper, argues that the different interpretation of Japanese invasion in textbooks of Korea, China, and Taiwan, is closely related to each country's political position and national identity of citizens. Through the comparison of high school history textbooks, she found out that Korean history textbook emphasized Korean efforts in overcoming colonization, while history textbooks in China focus on exhibiting the contribution of CCP in fighting against Japanese as well as its legitimacy in PRC. History textbooks in Taiwan describes colonization period more in a positive way.

The outcomes she has concluded is very fascinating, which is my anticipated outcome. However, I cannot agree with some researching approaches. Firstly, my choice of junior high school history textbooks is a better one, which will be specifically explained in the following part. Secondly, her methodology is insufficient to make a convinced conclusion. She analyzed Korean, Chinese and Taiwanese textbooks in separate chapters. Chapter two is all about Korean textbook, analyzing from two parts: the first is listing all titles and subtitles in textbook, and in second part, she tries to find out how history is written in Korean textbook towards Japan. And so do Chinese and Taiwanese textbooks in Chapter three and four, and then use only two pages in comparing them. While this paper will use methodologies of case comparison and case analysis. Differences are discovered through comparison on specific cases. Additionally, documentary research is also used to make my analysis more convinced and objective.

Lastly, longitudinal studies for instance, Chung (2004)<sup>15</sup> in his paper, argues

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<sup>14</sup> Ahn J.Y. 2011. "Perception of modern Japanese invasion in Korea, Chinese and Taiwanese high school textbooks." *History Education Research* (13):45-80.

<sup>15</sup> Chung J.J. 2004. "The Origin of Anti-Japan Nationalism – Historical Narration from History Textbooks." *Hanlim Japan Studies* (9):143-170.

that the description of Japan in Korean history textbooks should proceed towards a more objective direction. He pointed out that Korean history textbooks, which had a relatively strong anti-Japanese sentiment in the 1940s and 50s, was reduced in the 1980s and 90s. He also emphasized the necessity of describing Japanese history in a more global perspective. His opinion is unique, and this paper will take it into thinking and consideration.

### 3. Research Questions

Conducted by Pew Research Center in 2016, a survey<sup>16</sup> shows up to 81% of Chinese people express an unfavorable opinion of Japan, as well as 63% of Korean have negative attitudes towards Japan as investigated in another research<sup>17</sup> in 2018. However, according to a poll<sup>18</sup> commissioned by the de facto Japanese embassy in Taiwan in 2019, 59% of Taiwanese respondents said that Japan is their favorite country. A research in 2018 by TPOF<sup>19</sup> even shows up to 84.6% of Taiwanese people have favorable opinion towards Japan. Although Taiwan has postwar issues, including comfort women, territorial conflicts, as China and Korea have with Japan, anti-Japanese sentiment is rare to be seen as a major social phenomenon in Taiwan. What factors contribute to such discrepancy between these three countries are deserved to be found.

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<sup>16</sup> *WEBSITES*: Pew Research Center. 2016. "Hostile Neighbors: China vs. Japan". Accessed on Jan 3 2021. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/09/13/hostile-neighbors-china-vs-japan/>

<sup>17</sup> *WEBSITES*: Pew Research Center. 2018. Chart "Positive Reviews for Japan in Many Countries except South Korea." Accessed on Jan 3 2021. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2018/11/12/countries-views-of-japan-abe-japanese-views-of-china/>

<sup>18</sup> *WEBSITES*: Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association. 2019. "Research of Taiwanese Attitudes towards Japan." Accessed Oct 12 2020. <https://www.koryu.or.jp/tw/business/poll/>

<sup>19</sup> *WEBSITES*: Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation. 2018. "Taiwanese Favorite Country." Accessed Oct 12 2020. <https://www.tpof.org/圖表分析/2018台灣人最喜愛的國家（2018年6月17日）/>

Inspired by literature mentioned above, it is found that history subjects play an important role in students' value shaping, but views of history often serve the ideology of ruling class. The fact that younger Taiwanese show much affection, while Chinese and Korea still have negative feeling towards Japan, encourages me to made a hypothesis that history textbooks in these three countries are somehow narrated differently. And why they are narrated differently, and are they reflection of values of the party in power? With these question being asked, I conclude three research questions:

1. How does history textbooks in China, Taiwan and Korea narrate about an expanding Japan from Meiji Restoration to its surrender in 1945?
2. How are these narration towards Japan differ from each other and what was emphasized by respective textbooks?
3. Are compilation of history textbooks in these three countries reflect popular wills and values of governments?

#### **4. History Textbooks Selection**

Junior high school history textbooks from People's Education Press in China, Hanlin Press in Taiwan, and Chunjae Education Press in Korea, are selected.

##### **4-1. Selection of Junior High School History Textbooks**

The choose of junior high school history textbook is a deliberate one. Many existing literatures use high school history textbooks, but they did not specify the reason why to choose high school instead of junior high school. But my reasons are clear. History is one of the most important subjects that shape teenagers' values, so

I believe junior high school, rather than high school, will play a more direct and profound influence on students, because students first study history systematically in all three countries in junior high phase. Subjects of geography and social lessons are also for the first time appearing in junior high school, supporting a student's shaping of view of the world. On the contrary, although high school history lessons are more deeply narrated, it is aiming at deepening students' understanding of the world, rather than value shaping.

Additionally, high school students in Taiwan and Korea are to some extent influenced by the government policy or social atmosphere, which are two extra variables to students' value shaping. For example, one of main participating groups of anti-curriculum modification movements in 2015 in Taiwan, are high school students, whose intention is to maintain 'Taiwan-centered' historical point of view in history, geography and Chinese lessons.

Most importantly, not all students in these three countries go to high schools, but some of them go to vocational schools where history is not compulsory or high standard required. High school students in some parts of China and Taiwan are also facing the problem of choosing physics or arts in the second year. History might not be required as a testing subject in college entrance examination for those who chooses physics in China and Taiwan.

In conclusion, this paper's choice of junior high school history textbooks is taking students' learning stage, external variables, and 100% coverage of target students into consideration. Therefore, when doing such research from a regional and sociological point of view, instead of education and pedagogy, it is better to choose junior high school textbooks. This is one important and academically meaningful concern of this paper.

#### **4-2. People's Education Press, Hanlin Press, Chunjae Education Press**

Fundamental principles in choosing different versions of textbooks, is having a big market share and good reputation, which will represent mainstream opinion in the society.

Since 2001, China has been implemented textbook policy of 'one curriculum outline, different presses'. Various of presses published their own textbooks, and after government examination, they can be used as official textbooks in schools. Each press will have a large audience even market share is small, given China's population concerned. In 2017, the State Council established National Textbook Committee, initiating the process of compiling single version of textbooks on Chinese, History, and Ethics and Law in elementary and junior high school stage. Since September 2019, six provinces have begun trials on new textbooks, and in 2022, new textbooks are scheduled to cover all provinces in China. All students in junior high school use the same history textbook reduce one independent variable in this paper in the case of China. There is no doubt the latest history textbook, compiled by the Ministry of Education, published by People's Education Press, is selected. So far, not many studies have been researched on the latest Chinese history textbook.

Since martial law was lifted along with the death of president Chiang Ching-kuo, Taiwan has welcomed a wave of freedom of thoughts, including lifting ban on establishing new party, newspaper, and of course school textbooks. Since 1996, elementary schools are allowed to choose their own textbooks, and in 1999, 'one curriculum outline, different presses' was officially and legislatively carried out until now. At the meanwhile, curriculum outline has experienced several times of

modification and attempts, but published by different presses has never changed. The voice of 'one curriculum outline published by national press' will not receive too much attention and is politically incorrect within Taiwan. The latest curriculum outline '108 Kegang'<sup>20</sup>, has already been put into teaching since September 2019. The selection of Hanlin Press, is one of the two biggest press in compiling junior high school history textbooks, taking up more than 30% of market share. Textbooks published by Hanlin Press are often seen in such comparison studies on history textbooks by other scholars in other languages. Accordingly, Hanlin Press under '108 Kegang' is selected as junior high school history textbook source in Taiwan.

History textbook controversy in Korea is also a sensitive social issue. In 2002, Korea government began to shift compilation of history textbooks from 'national compilation' to 'examination system', meaning from single version to multiple versions. New history textbooks were then coming into existence, but soon received accusation by conservative party of being 'left-leaning', and suspicion of favoring North Korea and tolerating communism. Nevertheless, since 2011, all junior high schools and high schools in Korea are able to choose their own history textbooks from seven presses, amongst which Chunjae, Mirae-n, Visang, Bookdonga, and Kumsung were seen as 'left-leaning', and Jihak Press is holding a neutral position, while Kyohak Press is more conservative. However, it turns out the majority of schools choose 'left-leaning' textbooks. Two years later, when conservative party gained power, President Park announced recovering 'national compilation' history textbooks, and arbitrarily passed, scheduled to be carried out in 2018. However, President Park got arrested in 2017, and her successive Moon's administration abolished the act on the third day of his presidency, and criticized right-wing group

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<sup>20</sup> 108 Kegang: Curriculum outline published by the Ministry of Education in 2019.

for praising dictatorship and Japanese invasion. Overall speaking, although Korea had controversies over single version published by the government or multiple versions published by different presses, the conservative party did not manage to reach their purpose. Based on these facts, a ‘left-leaning’ history textbook will be selected. Additionally, out of five ‘left-leaning’ history textbooks, Chunjae Education takes a 23% of market share<sup>21</sup> in the first place in terms of junior high school textbooks. In conclusion, ‘left-leaning’ history textbook published by Chunjae Education is chosen, as it received much popularity, and is the mainstream of popular will.

## **5. Methodology**

This paper chooses three junior high school history textbooks from China, Taiwan and Korea, aiming to analysis respective narration towards Japan through four case analysis. The first case starts with Meiji Restoration since 1860s. The second case Sino-Japanese War in 1895 is of special attention, as the war totally shuffled regional order, having perpetual impact on all four countries in East Asia. The third is colonization period, and finally WWII victory as the last case study.

In each case, this paper will explore features of textbooks from three aspects, starting with background, and then process, and then results and influence, and compare each narration with each other.

The underlying methodology of this paper is documentary research, which uses outside sources and documents to support the viewpoint of one’s paper. In this research, documents including contents of history textbook, course outline, and all

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<sup>21</sup> *WEBSITES*: Chunjae Education Press. 2020. “Scope of business – Textbooks.” Accessed Jan 3 2021. <https://www.chunjae.co.kr/#/textbook01>

other relevant valid information will be collected, used and assessed.

Case comparison method will be used throughout whole process of case study. Based on what valid documents have found through documentary research, case comparison will be able to research on two or more relevant things and discover similarities and differences between them. Additionally, through case analysis, it is hoped to find out merits and demerits of each history textbook and provide suggestions to them, and in bigger picture, promotes regional cooperation and understanding.

## **6. Innovation and Limitation**

There are three innovations this paper has, and they are as follows:

First, the selection of Chinese history textbooks compiled by the Ministry of Education is one important innovation. The textbook is now being trailed in six provinces and scheduled to be applied throughout China in 2022, which removes one significant independent variable from my research. Given China's population concerned, the control of this independent variable is of tremendous meaning. Other previous cross-country history textbook comparative researches involving China which choose only one single version of textbook in China cannot represent around fifty million junior high school students. Additionally, this textbook will to great extent reflect CCP's value and view of history.

Second, many of such kind of studies are within pedagogy, researching on teaching syllabus, compilation style or content comparison, and intend to provide advice to teaching, therefore, rare studies will take social atmosphere or regional dynamics into consideration, and thus will not be able to provide constructive advice to regional cooperation and development.



Third, few studies will conduct studies on three countries and their shared historical memories. Even if there is, it might be comparison of image towards each other, world history, or certain shared specific event happened in history. Studies choosing China, Taiwan and Korea, and topic of ‘Japanese Imperialism’ is really rare to be seen. Although there is one similar study by Ahn mentioned in literature review, not only her methodology is different from mine, but it is written in Korean language. Therefore, written in English, this paper will be more accessible to global scholars.

However, there are some limitation as well, include:

First, I am not an expert in Korean language. Korean textbooks and literatures are translated through native Korean who majors in Chinese in Seoul National University, and therefore, I might not be able to grasp a comprehensive knowledge of Korean documents.

Second, the only independent variable that this paper cannot totally control, is history textbooks in Taiwan and Korea because junior high schools are allowed to choose textbooks among multiple versions, and thus textbook selection in these two countries is unable to reach 100% of coverage of junior high school students. To reduce influence of this problem at best, the most popular textbooks in these two countries are selected.

## **Chapter III Case Study**

As mentioned in Methodology before, four case studies in this chapter will be researched, through comparing narration of background, process, results and influence in each case study.

In China's teaching system, history textbooks have three grades. Grade one learns ancient Chinese history from hominids period to 1840. Opium war in 1840 marks the beginning of China's modern history until now, which is taught in grade two. In grade three, world history is taught.

In Taiwan's teaching system, grade one students learn Taiwan history from prehistoric times until now, including Japan's governance in Taiwan. In grade two, China history is taught, from prehistoric times until the development of PRC. Grade three learns world history as well.

Korea has two history textbooks in junior high school. One is ancient history until open door policy in the 1860s, including ancient world history to the same time period. And the second is the rest until now; modern world history is also taught in the second textbook.

### **1. Meiji Restoration**

Meiji Restoration is a historical turning point in Japanese history. It changed Japan, and Japan changed the regional order, and finally went into extreme. The implementation of Meiji Restoration has direct facilitation effect on the emergence of subsequent Japanese expansionism, bringing profound influence to regional order

and disasters to neighboring countries. On the other hand, it also brought awareness to neighboring countries to open doors to develop modern industry. As important as it is, three history textbooks arrange one complete unit in world history part discussing on Meiji Restoration.

### 1-1. Background

Chinese textbook firstly introduces Tokugawa shogunate<sup>22</sup> and its isolationism, which hindered Japan from further development. Tokugawa shogunate's dominance became unstable when American ships forcibly open Japan's ports, and force Japan to sign unequal treaty. After opening ports, Japanese economy was severely impacted. Soaring inflation and declined living standard finally led to the overthrow of tokugawa shogunate, and step in of Meiji Emperor. There is also introduction on Samurai<sup>23</sup> and Japanese social class with a diagram, explaining life of Samurai in different social classes. They are not only major combination of ruling class, but the main group who promoted anti-shogunate movement.

Taiwanese textbook has two more additions while did not mention impact on economy. It is explained why Japan carried out isolationism policy, which is social instability including conflicts in religion and culture brought by western missionary. The other addition is western technologies brought by Netherlands to Japan, including science, arts, history, etc., which is called '蘭學',<sup>24</sup> by Japanese.

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<sup>22</sup> Tokugawa shogunate: Also known as 'Edo shogunate', which is a feudal military government of Japan during the Edo period from 1600 to 1868, when military generals are real controllers of Japan.

<sup>23</sup> Samurai: Also known as '*bushi*' in Japanese, '*musa*' in Korean, and '*wushi*' in Chinese. Samurai were the hereditary military nobility and officer caste of Japan since 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>24</sup> 蘭學: Known as '*Rangaku*', means Dutch learnings.

Taiwanese textbook also introduces Samurai. It is said in textbook that local princes possess large groups of Samurai, and they attach importance to reputation, loyalty and bravery, forming the spirit of ‘武士道’<sup>25</sup>.

Korean textbook always starts introduction with a comic. The comic and further explanation provide a very unique perspective, which indicates that Japan’s opening and reform is also owing to the impact that Qing, who used to be super power, can be easily defeated by western countries. Additional reading introduces Takasugi Shinsaku<sup>26</sup> who went to Shanghai and recorded a weak China invaded by foreign power. Later he became a major contributor in overthrowing shogunate and promoting to accept western ideas and technology. Other events including anti-shogunate movement and American ships invasion are mentioned, but Samurai is not mentioned which Taiwanese and Chinese textbooks give an introduction to.

Through reorganizing and summarizing of each textbook, Table1 below shows comparison on narration of background of Meiji Restoration:

<i>Meiji Restoration – Background</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Tokugawa shogunate and isolationism	●	●	●
Reasons of isolationism	○	●	○
Dutch learnings and technologies to Japan	○	●	○
American ships invasion	●	●	●
Impact on economy	●	○	○
Introduction of Samurai	●	●	○
Impact by weak Qing makes Japan reform	○	○	●

Notes: ● Mentioned in details    ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams    ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 1

<sup>25</sup> 武士道: Known as ‘*Bushido*’, the way of warriors. It is regulation for samurai attitudes, behavior and lifestyle.

<sup>26</sup> Takasugi Shinsaku: One major Samurai who contributed significantly to Meiji Restoration.

It is found that introduction of shogunate and its isolationism, and American ships forcibly opening Japan's port are all written with full explanation. Chinese textbook also depicts the impact on Japanese economy, while Taiwanese textbook explained why isolationism was implemented. These two historical description are relevant facts, but can be ignored if space is limited. Korean textbook's mention of Qing's weakness and vulnerability has enlightened Japan's Meiji Restoration is of a unique viewpoint to Chinese and Taiwanese students. Indeed, before 1860s, Qing has already been defeated in three major wars with Britain and France, leading to several unequal treaties. Silver was paid, ports were forced to open, and territory was ceded. It is naturally for neighboring countries to learn lessons from China's tragic experience. Additionally, Samurai, being the main group who contribute to overthrow shogunate, it is worthy of several sentences to describe. In summary, it could be suggested for China and Taiwan's history textbooks to add a new perspective stated by Korean textbook, and content of Samurai added to Korean textbook.

On the contrary, there seems to be no huge point in limited space of two pages in Taiwanese textbook, in saying Japan's technologies are brought by Netherlands and is called '蘭學' in Japanese. Taiwanese textbook's mention of Samurai and their noble spirits '武士道', but does not point that they are major contributors of anti-shogunate movement. Praising their noble spirits with several fine adjectives but did not tell students what their functions are, making it an irrelevant information. Additionally, '大政奉還'<sup>27</sup> in following paragraphs, along with two above proper nouns in Japanese language, there seems to be no point in specifying these in main body of textbook and no need for students to know how to express it in Japanese.

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<sup>27</sup> 大政奉還: Known as '*Taisei houkan*', means giving regimes back to the Emperor.

## 1-2. Process

Chinese textbook explains a coup happened in January 1868, which support Emperor to return to power. In the same year, anti-shogunate group withstood military resistance of shogunate, and ended domination of it. Several measures of Meiji Restoration are also listed from four perspectives including political, military, economics and social lives. In additional reading, Chinese textbook also introduces that Meiji Constitution<sup>28</sup> has established emperor-centralization system of Japan, which gives emperor a sacred position. It further proposes that the system has finally developed into a militarism-emperor system until 1946 Constitution of Japan<sup>29</sup> is issued.

Taiwanese textbook explained the same as Chinese textbook, mentioning constitution is issued, and emperor has collected political and military rights, but no sign of telling or implying students the system has brought disasters to people in Asia.

Korean textbook also explains Japanese development from these aspects, but might not be that organized as Chinese and Taiwanese textbooks. Nevertheless, as the same as Chinese textbook, Korean textbook says in its main body:

*‘The sovereignty of Meiji Constitution lies in the Emperor, but not its citizen. Therefore, the constitution restraints rights of citizens, but maximized rights of the Emperor.’*

- Junior high school history two, Chunjae Education Press, Chapter 5 Unit 2

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<sup>28</sup> Meiji Constitution: Proclaimed on February 11, 1889.

<sup>29</sup> 1946 Constitution of Japan: Proclaimed on May 3, 1946. Also known as ‘Peace Constitution’, was drafted under the supervision of Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers.

There is also a student activity, half-page long, aiming to let students find out the difference between Meiji Constitution and Constitution of Japan issued in 1946. The 1946 Constitution has abolished emperor's total control of rights, but served as symbol of Japan until now. The textbook does not direct point out that Meiji Constitution leads to militarism, but furthermore elaboration of Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War are both included in this unit following the activity. Accordingly, Table 2 shows differences between textbooks as below:

<i>Meiji Restoration – Process</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Shogunate overthrown, recovery of emperor	●	●	●
Contents of Meiji Restoration	●	●	●
Negative influence of Meiji Constitution	●	○	●

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 2

Obviously, the major difference in process of Meiji Restoration is whether to mention negative impact of Meiji Constitution or not. Indeed, it is historically recorded that Emperor Hirohito<sup>30</sup>, is the one who reigned the longest time of all previous emperors, during which Japan's expansion and militarism reached peak, bringing perpetual pain to people in neighboring countries. The Meiji Constitution has established supreme rights of the Emperor legislatively. It is of significance to connect these facts together so that students are able to know limitations of Meiji Restoration. Chinese and Korean textbooks' mentioning of Meiji Constitution are both their respective negative comments on Meiji Restoration, while Taiwanese textbook does not mention it.

<sup>30</sup> Emperor Hirohito: the 124th emperor of Japan, reigned from December 25 1926 to July 1 1989.

### 1-3. Result and Influence

One paragraph is narrated on the influence of Meiji Restoration in Chinese textbook, which says:

*‘Meiji Restoration is a historical major turning point of Japan. Though Meiji Restoration, Japan rapidly stepped into development of capitalism, and realized the goal of a prosperous and militarily powerful country, making it become one of strong capitalism powers. However, remnant of old regime was retained and has a strong sense of militarism. After Japan became a strong power, Japan quickly stepped into invasion and expansion to foreign countries.’*

-World history, grade nine second semester, People’s Press, Unit 4

Taiwanese textbook says *‘Japan become the first industrialized country in Asia after Meiji Restoration, and successively defeated China and Russia, and making it one of the world strong powers.’* is all narration on influence in one sentence. Meanwhile, there is a diagram of regional map, showing Japanese engagement in wars with neighboring countries, timeline of expansion, and colonies which colored Korea, Taiwan and Ryukyu in different color. But there is no negative influence of Meiji Restoration mentioned in words.

Korean textbook opens up a new section, titled ‘expansion of imperialism’ followed the activity of exploring Meiji Constitution, exemplifying the annex of Ryukyu and Treaty of Ganghwa Island generally, and furthermore, Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War are introduced here. After Eulsa Treaty was signed, Japan began its invasion on mainland.



Table 3 illustrates each narration of influence by different textbooks:

<i>Meiji Restoration – Results &amp; Influence</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Industrialization or economy modernization	●	●	●
A strong power	○	○	○
Militarism, expansionism or invasion	●	○	●

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ○ Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 3

It is all mentioned that Meiji Restoration has made Japan industrialized, and modernization of economy in Korean textbook only.

As for recognition of Japan has then become a strong power, Chinese describes it a ‘capitalism’ strong power. The word ‘capitalism’ is used twice, along with ‘development of capitalism’ above. It seems to imply contrast between socialism and capitalism, and followed by illustration of militarism somehow connects capitalism and wars together. But indeed, there is no mistake to describe Japan as a capitalism power, but it is not used in Taiwanese textbooks.

While Taiwanese textbook has only one sentence on its influence, but has an illogical or imprecise expression, which makes defeats of China and Russia a necessary condition for Japan to become a world strong power. The punctuation ‘period’ in Chinese language, normally expresses a full meaning, a complete and relevant event, and commas are used to separate parts of a sentence. It is argued that industrialization will certainly bring prosperous to countries to become strong powers, but victories in wars will never be a requirement. Such expression has suspicion in promoting wars in order to become a super power. No evidence can be shown to prove such expression is intentional or unconscious, but it is illogical and

imprecise, and needs modification on it. Korean textbook has never mentioned Japan as a strong power, whether it is regional or global. It is in accordance with real situation in Korea that even though someone really thinks that Japan is a strong power, he/she would rather not speak it out. In conclusion, in narration of international status of Japan, Chinese description of ‘capitalism power’, Taiwan’s imprecise illation to ‘world strong power’ and no mention in Korean textbook, may all contain their respective intention in it.

Additionally, China and Korea’s textbook clearly and definitely point out militarism and expansionism as negative influence of Meiji Restoration, however, Taiwanese textbook uses a diagram to show progress of Japanese expansion, and thus leaves no textual description of it, making it obviously less important.

#### **1-4. Summary on Meiji Restoration**

In conclusion, as far as length of this unit is concerned, Korean textbook is the longest, spending six pages on it, but including Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War. Chinese textbook has three pages of narration on it, while Taiwan has the shortest two pages.

For China, it is basically objective except twice uses of word ‘capitalism’ may contain its own ideology. Korean textbook may have slight tendency to emphasize Japanese expansionism, and uses an activity on Meiji Constitution as transition to illustrate two wars, thus may leave an impression of emphasizing on expansionism. For Taiwan, it is highly worthy of attention that no negative textual description is written on Meiji Restoration at all throughout the whole unit, while two unnecessary narrations are recorded in limited space, including ‘Dutch learnings’ and Samurai without its function.

## **2. Late Joseon and Great Power War: Sino-Japanese War**

Sino-Japanese War is Japan's another attempt in complementing continental policy after annexing Ryukyu Kingdom. At that time, Joseon was a tributary state of Qing Dynasty, but along with Japan's rapid development after Meiji Restoration, strength advantage began to shift from Qing to Japan. In 1870s, Japan already possessed a more comprehensive national power than Qing, but the challenge of Japan continuing to carry out its continental policy, is how to reduce longstanding influence of Qing in the region. In history, Japan has been watching Korean peninsula for a long time and made several attempts to invade, and no exception this time, cutting the tributary relation between Qing and its neighboring kingdoms, is Japan's best way to strengthen its influence. Sino-Japanese war was never an abrupt decision, as it was unwise for Japan to directly launch war against Qing, while making Joseon a springboard to further satisfy Japan's ambition will undoubtedly be the solution. In fact, Japan has been preparing for decades, and conflicts between Qing and Japan, always happened on Joseon before Sino-Japanese War. Therefore, this historical event is worthy of being studied in three involved countries' history textbooks. However, Korean textbook pays more attention to its domestic incidents, coups, movements, etc., and thus barely spends words narrating Sino-Japanese War. Nevertheless, it is still introduced with one small section in main body as an evidence in showing Japanese expansionism after Meiji Restoration in the same unit of first case study.

### **2-1. Background**

In the background of Sino-Japanese War unit, Chinese textbook says:

*'Japan had long coveted Joseon. Conquering Joseon is an important step of Japan for further invading China and seeking world hegemony. In 1894, Donghak Peasant Revolution broke out in Joseon, and under the request of Joseon Emperor, Qing sent troops to help repression... and after subsiding of Donghak Peasant Revolution, Japan continued to send troops to Joseon. In July, Japan intentionally triggered a war and attacked Qing troops, and Qing is forced to declare war...'*

-World history, grade eight first semester, People's Press, Unit 15

Taiwanese history textbook uses half page in length, less than 300 Chinese characters, in narrating the whole Sino-Japanese war. It generally says *'there happened a disorder in Joseon, and Qing and Japan send troops by themselves to repress. And after calming down the revolution, but Japan did not withdraw its troops but surprisingly attacked Qing army. China and Japan declared war, and ended with the loss of China.'*

Korean textbook says after Donghak Peasant Revolution, Qing send army to repress. And then it is said according to Tientsin Convention<sup>31</sup>, Japan sent troops to Joseon. However, at that time, Donghak peasants have reached compromise with Joseon government, and thus the government asked both countries to withdraw their troops, but Japan refused it and attacked Qing army all of a sudden, leading to Sino-Japanese War.

Accordingly, Table 4 is made below:

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<sup>31</sup> Tientsin Convention: It was signed between Qing and Japan as a consequence of Gapsin Coup.

<i>Sino-Japanese War – Background</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Donghak Peasant Revolution	●	●	●
Tientsin Convention	○	○	◐

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ◐ Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 4

It is all mentioned that Donghak Peasant Revolution as the background of Sino-Japanese, but differences are found between textbooks in description. The first is whether Qing repression on Donghak Peasant Revolution is a spontaneous action meant by Taiwanese and Korean textbooks, or a request under Joseon Emperor alleged by Chinese textbook. To make conclusion of it, additional sources of Wikipedia and Naver-pedia are used, and it is confirmed that on June 3<sup>rd</sup> 1894, Emperor Gojong officially sought assistance from Qing government. It is a correct statement used by Chinese textbook, while it might be a selective narration by Korean textbook. The second difference is expression of ‘forced to declare war’ in Chinese textbook and ‘China and Japan declared war’ in Taiwanese textbook. The use of passive voice is clearly with more sentiments than a straightforward statement although there is nothing wrong in expressing that way in Taiwanese textbook. However, this neutral and calm narration gives Taiwanese students a perspective of third-party view, which seems to make this historical incident nothing to do with Taiwanese.

Another difference between three textbooks is mention of Tientsin Convention only in Korean textbook. It is a revision of the content of Tientsin Convention for Korean students, as they have learnt the treaty in Gapsin Coup<sup>32</sup>. But if goes back to

<sup>32</sup> Gapsin Coup: Occurred in Korea in 1884. The coup d'état attempt was under Japanese support, but was eventually suppressed by Qing.

Gapsin Coup unit in Korean textbook, it is found the most important article under Tientsin Convention, is binding Qing and Japan to make prior notification to the other if one nation sends troops to Joseon. Then how this treaty is in accordance with Japanese sending troops to Joseon. Therefore, there is a mismatch of knowledge in Korean textbook, because in fact, after Gojong requested assistance from Qing on Jun 3<sup>rd</sup>, Qing has notified Japan on Jun 6<sup>th</sup> of sending troops according to Tientsin Convention, but Japan sent their troops in the name of protecting Japanese legation and communities in Joseon according to 1882 Japan-Korea Treaty<sup>33</sup>, which is also taught to Korean students in Imo Incident<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, there is need of modification here in avoidance of knowledge confusion among students.

In conclusion, some discrepancies on description are found in this section, and discovered that Taiwanese textbooks usually use a calm and quiet narration style, as well as declarative sentences. And Korean textbook's mention of Tientsin Convention is a good choice, making it a more logical narration, but its mismatch may cause confusion to students' knowledge system, lacking content consistency in the same textbook.

## **2-2. Process**

Chinese textbooks spend three paragraphs in showing the process of fighting against Japanese. Paragraph one depicts Beiyang Fleet had a severe sea-battle with Combined Fleet of Japan, projecting their spirits of bravery and audaciousness. Paragraph two describes Japanese brutal and inhuman slaughter of more than 20,000

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<sup>33</sup> 1882 Japan-Korea Treaty: Also known as 'Treaty of Chemulpo', was signed between Japan and Korea as a consequence of Imo Incident.

<sup>34</sup> Imo Incident: A coup d'état led by Heungseon Daewongun, the father of Emperor Gojong. During the incident, several Japanese legations were killed and resulted in the Treaty of Chemulpo.

people in Lvshun. Paragraph three is the complete loss of Beiyang Fleet, and lead to the Treaty of Shinomoseki. Additionally, two heroic characters in Sino-Japanese War are introduced, and one picture of Japanese slaughtering Chinese in Lvshun is presented.

Taiwan and Korea's history textbooks has no description of the war, but there is one illustration presented in Taiwanese textbook. It is a Japanese comic with explanation below, says: Sarcasm comic in Sino-Japanese War / Japan laughs at reformation of Qing being overambitious, did not care its own situation and thus being defeated.

It would be heart-breaking for Chinese students to see such comic in history textbooks. There are two possible explanations on this in Taiwanese textbook: the first is textbook wants future generation to remember such humiliation, and thus work harder and never allow it to happen again; and the second is to make students lack the sense of belonging to a backward dynasty, whose successor is China.

In Chinese textbook, an additional reading material shows Taiwanese people armed themselves in fighting against Japanese, when Qing ceded Taiwan to Japan. From June to October in 1895, lasting for around five months, Taiwanese people fought bravely in more than one hundred battles and killed or injured more than 32,000 Japanese soldiers. Chinese textbook speaks highly of the spirit of tenacity of Taiwanese people and says it deserves to be memorized forever by descendants. While Taiwanese textbook use only one sentence to tell students in Taiwan history that in order to resist colonization, Republic of Formosa<sup>35</sup>, led by Tang, was established, but not able to turn over the situation. There is no mention of the time

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<sup>35</sup> Republic of Formosa: A short-lived republic established in Taiwan, from May 25 1895 to October 21 1895, as a response of Qing's cession of Taiwan to Japan.

period and no mention of Taiwanese people's desperate efforts in resisting at all.

This historical event is known as Yiwei War<sup>36</sup>. It was the largest scale of resistance by Taiwanese to fight against Japanese prior to colonization. Tang established the Republic of Formosa, and led Taiwanese people to resist Japanese colonization for five months. Chinese textbook use a general term to address these fighters – Taiwanese people, but does not use a specific name. Also, Chinese textbook does not mention the establishment of the Republic of Formosa, which is believed that might have implication on Taiwan independence nowadays. On the contrary, Taiwan textbook only mentions the attempt to become an independent country, but does not mention such a brave and encouraging fight by Taiwanese people at all. It is highly suggested that Taiwan add more specific information of this history to textbooks.

Table 5 shows Chinese textbooks have the most detailed narration in process of Sino-Japanese War.

<i>Sino-Japanese War – Process</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Sea battles	●	○	○
Slaughter in Lvshun	●	○	○
Local Taiwanese resistance before cession	●	●	○

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 5

Korean textbook's of not narrating process of Sino-Japanese War is totally understandable. While Chinese textbook not only shows self-perspective of war, but also introduces the most important resistance in Taiwan island before Japanese army

<sup>36</sup> Yiwei War: A series of fights of local Taiwanese resistance against Japanese occupation during period of the Republic of Formosa.



coming, which is a clear indication that Taiwan is part of China. Its not mentioning of 'Republic of Formosa' is another elaboration of this claim by the Chinese government. On the contrary, using only 34 Chinese characters to summarize all resistance of local Taiwanese against Japan is a disrespect towards ancestors in Taiwanese history textbook.

### **2-3. Result and Influence**

The Treaty of Shimonoseki is the direct outcome of Sino-Japanese War.

Chinese textbook listed several articles, including cession of the Pescadores group, Taiwan along with all affiliated islands, and the eastern portion of the bay of Liaodong Peninsula to Japan; compensation of silver dollar; open trading ports; and allow Japan to run factories. It is said that the Treaty of Shimonoseki let foreign powers further deepen into China, and significantly intensifies China's semi-colony situation. MFN treatment and triple intervention are also introduced.

Taiwanese textbook mentions one more article in the treaty, which is Qing recognizes the independence of Joseon, and says that MFN treatment had negative influence on development of China's industry and commerce.

Korean textbook says that silver compensation of Qing equals to Japan's three-year-of national budgets. Japan used this capital in monetary reform, and then invested heavy industry, making it soon become an industrialized country. However, there is no mention of Qing's recognition of Joseon independence is really a surprise.

Table 6 makes it easier to make comparison between three countries:

<i>Sino-Japanese War – Result &amp; Influence</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Cession of Taiwan, Liaodong Peninsula, etc.	●	◐	●
Silver compensation	●	●	●
Open trade ports in China	●	●	○
Factory running by Japan in China	●	●	○
China's industry and commerce impacted	○	●	○
MFN treatment	●	●	○
Triple Intervention	●	○	○
Recognition of Joseon independence	○	●	○
Japan's heavy industry development	○	○	●

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ◐ Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 6

Cession of territories, Chinese textbook has the most accurate description, which is ‘the Pescadores, Taiwan along with all affiliated islands, and the eastern portion of the bay of Liaodong Peninsula’. The focus point over here is that Taiwan does not emphasize ‘along with all affiliated islands’. Ongoing territorial conflict over Diaoyu Islands<sup>37</sup>, argued between China and Japan, or Taiwan and Japan, is creating regional instability everyday. In the issue of sovereignty, especially those territories are in controversies, additional emphasize should certainly be attached into textbook. From Chinese and Taiwanese perspectives, evidence and logic in supporting their claims over Diaoyu Island just starts from the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Qing ceded Taiwan and its affiliated islands to Japan in 1895, while according to Potsdam Declaration in 1945 and Cairo Declaration and 1943, Japan should return all its occupied territories back to Qing's successive country, which is ROC. Accordingly, the Republic of China (Taiwan) must firmly claim its

<sup>37</sup> Diaoyu Islands: Located in East China Sea, also known as ‘Senkaku Islands’ in Japanese. China, Taiwan and Japan all claim sovereignty over it.

sovereignty over Diaoyu Islands, and thus it cannot be neglected in history textbooks. Telling students about the history evolution of Diaoyu Islands is the most fundamental approach to claim sovereignty and unite citizens. It is also an attitude and standpoint that Taiwanese government must show to Japanese.

On the contrary, it is wise of Korean textbook not to mention specifically, as this conflict in a bigger picture, is growing to a conflict between China and the US as well. The US new president-elected Biden claimed that Diaoyu Islands also apply to US-Japan security treaty<sup>38</sup>. Nevertheless, Korean textbooks uses facts, activities, pictures, etc., in manifesting its firm standpoint on sovereignty of Dokdo in other units, while in comparison, Diaoyu Islands is nowhere to be found in all Taiwanese history textbooks.

Another surprising discovery is that Korean textbook unexpectedly miss the first Article of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which is recognition of Joseon independence by Qing government. Not only it cannot be found in Sino-Japanese War section, but also in domestic history under Donghak Peasant Revolution. However, in previous domestic units, it intends to show the process of Japan's increasing and a declining Qing influence in Joseon. It starts from unit one with Japan's recognition of Joseon as a sovereignty country in Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876<sup>39</sup>, to contents of 1882 Japan-Korea Treaty and Tientsin Convention. There is also mention of 14 Articles of Hongbeon<sup>40</sup> in which its first article decides to cut tributary relationship with Qing and lay foundation for independence. However, with

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<sup>38</sup> US-Japan security treaty: Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan.

<sup>39</sup> Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876: Also known as 'Treaty of Ganghwa Island', signed by Joseon and Japan, is the first unequal treaty in Joseon modern history, in which states 'Joseon is an independent state enjoying the same sovereign rights as does Japan.' in Article 1.

<sup>40</sup> 14 Articles of Hongbeon: It is a significant document in leading Gabo Reform to promote modernization.

all well prepared, Qing's recognition of Joseon independence in Treaty of Shimonoseki is unexpectedly missed. It is a historical mark of Joseon extricating itself from a long-lasting tributary system with Qing, and thus logically speaking, it is impossible to miss such moment in textbook.

#### **2-4. Summary on Sino-Japanese War**

Chinese textbook uses a whole unit, four pages, in narrating Sino-Japanese War, while Taiwan and Korean textbook use one small section. In comparison, it is more inappropriate for Taiwan to narrate the whole event that turned Taiwan into a colony in such limited length. While from a regional point of view, Sino-Japanese War reshaped the regional order, and its influence is continuing to create instability within the region. Therefore, it is argued that the war is worthy of more specific narration, especially its influence in main body, or its impact on nowadays world as extra reading. In spite of limited length, problems are also found through comparison and documentary research.

It is found that Chinese textbook propagandas opinions and national wills through selection of which to tell specifically or generally, and which not to tell, rather than telling false information. It is believed that Chinese textbooks compiled by the most reputable experts in China, its accuracy is trustful even though its narration seems to have prejudice to alien. For instance, 'Qing repression under Joseon Emperor's request' and 'Qing is forced to declare war to Japan', seem to have views, but through research, they are accurate statements. While its detailed description of lands ceded to Japan, and local Taiwanese resistance against Japan is a clear statement to China's territorial sovereignty; and the neglect of establishment of the Republic of Formosa have all proven this finding.

While two vital problems are found in Korean textbook. If space is limited, then what to be said must be accurately selected and stated. Its mention of Japanese sending army according to Tientsin Convention has a knowledge mismatch with previous units. Additionally, it is highly inappropriate not to mention Qing's recognition of Joseon independence, which might lead to knowledge incompleteness of students.

Sino-Japanese War is taught in 'China history' in grade two in Taiwan. There is no wonder that, under the social atmosphere of Taiwan independence, Taiwanese textbooks use a third-party perspective in narrating China's history. Using the victim perspective, would have created sense of belonging to Qing's successive generations among Taiwanese students. There will be no judgment on right or wrong of Taiwan independence, however, not telling this history from a victim-perspective would create a severe phenomenon in Taiwan society that Sino-Japanese War, a war that made Taiwan become a colony of Japan, seems irrelevant to Taiwan and thus certainly will have no criticism on Japan and its expansionism. Additionally, it ignores local people's efforts of resisting Japanese and does not pay extra attention to lands that is historically ceded and a major territorial conflict nowadays. These problems are of urgency to be modified by Taiwanese history textbooks compilers.

### **3. Colonization under Japanese Dominance**

After Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan has then become colony of Japan, while Korea continued to go through a difficult time until finally become colonized in 1910. Sharing the same historical memories, and therefore, it is of significance to observe how these two countries narrate colonization period to their students. However, Chinese textbook will not be compared in this case, as China has never been totally

colonized by Japan and thus lacking this phase of history.

Korean textbook uses a whole chapter including four units, in teaching thirty-five-year of colonization history, through chronological order – 1910s, 1920s, 1930s and Japanization period starting from 1937. Taiwanese textbook narrates colonization from different aspects including politics, economy, society and culture under Japanese rule, in three units in Taiwan history. Given the difference of narration perspectives, this paper decides to compare on the basis of Taiwanese textbook, as Korea was not a colony until 1910 while Taiwan has already been colonized since 1895. Accordingly, process comparison will be studied from politics and economy perspectives, while society and culture perspective is removed, as these two countries did not share too much in common.

### **3-1. Background**

Taiwanese textbook has few description of background. All it says is treaty of Shimonoseki ceded Taiwan and Pescadores to Japan. Although Taiwan Governor Tang tried to resist against Japanese through establishing ‘Republic of Formosa’, but did not manage to it. Taiwan has then entered colonization period of Japanese empire. With less than one hundred Chinese characters in background narration, Taiwan has then become colonized.

On the contrary, Korean seems to ‘struggle’ more. Korean textbook not only shows how Japanese imperialism invaded Korea, but also emphasizes those events, movements, protests, etc., that its mighty nation has done to resist Japanese. It starts

with Eulsa Treaty<sup>41</sup> in 1905, which deprived Korean diplomatic sovereignty and made Joseon a protectorate state, and Japanese Resident-General of Korea was also established. Later, 1907 Japan-Korea Treaty allows more governmental rights of Resident-General of Joseon, and Treaty of Japan-Korea Annexation<sup>42</sup> in 1910 officially makes Korea colony of Japan. Except from these three important unequal treaties, those who were in support of these treaties are also introduced, both domestically and globally. Numerous of words are written to exhibit Korean firm confidence in resisting Japan, including enlightenment movement on patriotism and nationwide Righteous Army<sup>43</sup> protests. Ito Hirobumi<sup>44</sup> killed by An Jung-geun<sup>45</sup> in Harbin, and examples of Jiandao<sup>46</sup> as an illegal transfer between Qing and Japan are also shown. Additionally, it is also explained why foreign powers were in support of Japan, as well as Hague Peace Conferences.

There is no need of comparison between Taiwan and Korea in this section. First, historical events are different; and second, Taiwanese textbook barely uses words to narrate pre-colony period. On the contrary, varied aspects and events are shown in Korean textbook to show Japan's increasing ambition in Korean Empire and national awareness of independence, both domestic and foreign. This teaching arrangement

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<sup>41</sup> Eulsa Treaty: Also known as Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905. Signed by Empire of Japan and Korean Empire in 1905. Korean consider it as restriction treaty, as it is signed by traitors Ye Wanyong et al. It is also mentioned in Korean textbooks, thus Korean are all aware of these five Eulsa traitors nowadays.

<sup>42</sup> Treaty of Japan-Korea Annexation: Signed by Empire of Japan and Korean Empire in 1910. The treaty formally annexed Korea following Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 and 1907.

<sup>43</sup> Righteous Army: Informal civilian militias appeared several times in Korean history to provide assistance to national armies.

<sup>44</sup> Ito Hirobumi: Japanese politician, first Prime Minister of Japan since 1885 to 1888, and first Resident General to Korea since 1906 to 1909.

<sup>45</sup> An Jung-geun: Korean hero, a Korean-independence activist, lieutenant general of the Righteous Army.

<sup>46</sup> Jiandao: Also known as 'Gando' in Korean, is a border region along the north bank of Tumen River in Jilin Province.

are also seen in all four units in period of colonization in Korean textbooks, while less than half of content narrating Japanese rule and policies, and the other half of content describing how Korean mighty nation sought independence until 1945.

It was a shock for local Taiwanese to hear Qing's decision of ceding Taiwan to Japan. It is understandable that the decision was abrupt since main battlefield of Sino-Japanese War was in Liaodong Peninsula, and thus no movements or events of resisting Japanese could be seen in Taiwan before colonization. However, after hearing that Taiwan was ceded to Japan, local Taiwanese people, officials, soldiers, etc., were furious and motivated, swearing to protect Taiwan even if abandoned by Qing. Taiwan Governor Tang Jingsong, established 'Republic of Formosa', reign titled 'Yongqing'<sup>47</sup>, leading local Taiwanese to defend Taiwan since May 1895 and creating huge death and injuries to Japanese. It was until November that Japan totally controlled Taiwan, and then started colonization.

It was a magnificent feat for Taiwanese in history of resisting Japan although it failed at the end, but it deserves detailed record no matter from 'Taiwan-centered' or 'China-centered' perspective. Chinese textbook mentions about it as discussed in process part in the last case study. In conclusion, Korean textbook manifests its people's bravery and anti-Japanese sentiments, which greatly stimulated national self-esteem among Korean students, while Taiwanese textbook needs more specific details rather than staying on the surface.

### **3-2. Process, Result and influence**

Japanese rules and policies on Korea and Taiwan are similar actually, which provides common facts for this paper to compare. In this section, comparison of

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<sup>47</sup> Yongqing: Literally means forever belongs to Qing Dynasty.



process, and results and influence are combined, as this paper will analysis policies carried out from politics and economy perspectives. Therefore, it is better to strike while the iron is hot, rather than separate result and influence to next parts.

### **3-2-1. Politics**

#### *(a) Autocracy of Governor-General*

Taiwanese textbook says Japanese set Government-General of Taiwan in 1895, which is the highest govern authority of Japan in Taiwan. Governor-General has supreme authorities in execution, legislation, judiciary and military, forming the autocracy of Governor-General. The first Governor-General has a military background.

Korean textbook has the same narration as Taiwanese textbook.

While both textbooks have a photo of Government-General. Taiwan preserves the building and the explanation says: '*finish construction in 1919, and today is the presidential office of the Republic of China*'. While Government-General of Korea has been demolished in 1995. It is said in textbook that Japanese imperialists have pull down many parts of Gyeongbokgung<sup>48</sup> and constructed Government-General over there. There is also a discussion to ask students whether you think it right or wrong for us to demolish the building and recover our Gwanghwamun<sup>49</sup>. There is no common ground to compare narration on Government-General, but in the real world, behaviors of these two countries towards the leave-or-stay problem of Government-General is totally different. It is meaningful of Korean students to discuss the justifiability of removing Government-General to Korea, while it could also be a

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<sup>48</sup> Gyeongbokgung: Built in 1395 and was main royal palace of the Joseon dynasty.

<sup>49</sup> Gwanghwamun: The main and largest gate of Gyeongbokgung palace.

thought-provoking activity for Taiwanese textbook to discuss whether it is appropriate to use used-to-be Government-General building as office of current President of Taiwan.

*(b) Police System*

Previous to 1920, a strict system of police and military police to repress local people from resistance. The term used Taiwanese textbook is different from Korean, which titled '*Police Politics*', while Korean textbook titled '*Military Police and Police Dominance*'.

Based on such system, Taiwanese textbook says: '*on one hand, police repress armed anti-Japanese movement in local; and on the other hand, respect Taiwanese customs and tradition in order to buy people's support and eliminate resistance.*' The high-pressure police system has finally led to Tapani incident in 1915, resulting in thousands of death, which was the largest-scale armed anti-Japanese uprising during whole colonization period in Taiwan, but no detailed information is provided.

Korean textbook gives elaboration to strict military police system, including they fine Korean people without standard procedure or trail; re-introduce caning punishment; Korean people being beaten out of no reason. Besides, political rights including freedom of speech, press, assembly and association are not allowed. School teachers even bring sword into classes. The tremendous influence that this strict and high-pressure policy have, is March 1st Movement<sup>50</sup> broke out and lead to the establishment of Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. Demonstrations across the country involved everyone in Korea, though suffered

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<sup>50</sup> March 1st Movement: Took place in 1919, was a movement called for independence nationwide. It is now Korean public holiday.

from crucial repression and ultimately failed, but it influenced neighboring countries and led to the change of Japanese policy from military dominance to cultural dominance. Table 7 below shows differences in police policy.

<i>Colonization – Police System</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Police and Military Police	●	●
Examples showing strict police system	1	5
Positive comments on police system	●	○
Domestic influence	●	●
Influence on foreign countries and policy shift	○	●

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 7

It can be seen that the limited space of Taiwanese textbook does not allowed many things to be said, but a positive comment is presented instead of showing more examples of strict police system. Although there is a narration of domestic influence, which is Tapani incident, it is mentioned without any information. Though its influence of resistance against Japanese cannot be compared to March 1<sup>st</sup> Movement in Korea, but it deserves to be specifically demonstrated in Taiwanese textbook. Indeed, there were frequent resistance movements, and some of them resulted in many deaths. Using only one sentence to summarize Taiwanese whole efforts in fighting against Japanese is unacceptable. On the contrary, Korean textbook uses majority place of the unit to exhibit people's dissatisfaction of Japanese rule, and efforts to overthrow it. Even though it failed, its influence is still tremendous, and it is an encouragement for later generations to continue fighting for independence.

*(c) Comfort women*

Comfort women has always been a sensitive issue in East Asian countries. It is universally known that Japanese military sexual slavery is an inhuman and vile crime committed by Japanese soldiers. Recent years, comfort-women-voluntary theory is spreading within Japan and Taiwan societies. Therefore, looking into how comfort women is described in Taiwanese and Korean textbooks is of significance.

Unfortunately, throughout all Taiwanese junior high school history textbooks, all that is said is one sentence '*some of Taiwanese women are forced to be comfort women, become victims of wars*'.

The background photo of chapter two in Korean textbook, time period from 1910 to 1945, is a two-page-wide picture of comfort women sculpture in Seoul. In unit three of this chapter, detailed information is also provided including United Nations urging Japan to apologize, and protests every Wednesday in front of Japanese embassy in Korea since January 1992. Website is also written for students to seek more detailed information.

Through comparison, it is found that there is even no explanation on what comfort women is in Taiwanese textbook, as it cannot be known through literal meaning of Chinese characters. For a new proper noun taught to junior high school students, it deserves textual explanation on comfort women rather than oral explanation by teachers at class. It is no wonder that some people are discussing comfort-women-voluntary opinion in Taiwan, saying that some of them are willing sacrifice their bodies for benefits. As expected, no nationwide indignation and condemnation was seen in 2018 when Fujii Mitsuhiro<sup>51</sup> kicked the sculpture of

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<sup>51</sup> Fujii Mitsuhiro: Japanese entrepreneur of Next Door Comic Publisher, intending to bring 'correct Japanese history to the world' through comics. Political spectrum: far right. Also served as secretary of non-governmental association 'National movement of truth of comfort women'.

comfort women in Taiwan. He explained that it was because of long journey that made his legs numb and thus tried to stretch. It was the first sculpture of comfort women established by KMT in Taiwan, and it is the one that made de facto Taiwanese ambassador to Japan Frank Hsieh condemn KMT of destroying Taiwan-Japan relation. If this incident happens in China or Korea, relations with Japan would have hit a new low. However, the incident did not have too much impact in Taiwan.

### **3-2-2. Economy**

#### *(a) Land survey*

Land survey was a policy conducted in the early stage of colonization by Japan to have a thorough grasp of land condition in both Taiwan and Korea. After land survey, those lands which are not reported to the government would become state properties, and many lands were then used to plant or sold to Japanese immigrants at lower price, in order to intensify domination. Taiwanese textbook narrates land survey under the title of '*infrastructure construction*', while Korean textbook put land survey under Japanese arbitrary domination part.

Taiwanese textbook says: '*in order to intensify colonization dominance and seize natural recourses in Taiwan, several infrastructure constructions initiated under Goto Shinpei of civil administration, including...*' Two facts are shown in later narration: the first is land survey defined land ownership, which greatly improved land tax; the second is towards those lands or forests not declared, then becoming state property which aims to exploit forestry resources, but also leads to loss of aboriginal traditions.

Korean textbook adds one more limitation of land survey, which is ownership is only admitted if reported punctually and correctly, including address, name,

surface, intention, etc. It is also mentioned that land survey is conducted in the name of reducing tax, however, tax increased as shown in a chart, and in fact, it intends to lay foundation to dominance and assess of Japanese. Additionally, these unreported lands, including emperor-owned, public-owned, unidentified-lands have all become property of Government-General, and are sold at cheap price to Oriental Development Company, which later become the biggest landlord in Korea.

Table 8 below reorganizes contents of each textbook:

<i>Colonization – Land Survey</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Intensify domination and seize natural resources	●	●
Land tax to the Government-General greatly increased	●	●
Land sold to Japan	○	●
Positive comment on land (forestry) survey	●	○
Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all		

Table 8

The difference from the above chart leads to the question that whether Taiwan's land was also sold at cheap price or not. Through documentary research, it is found out that lands in Taiwan was sold or leased to Japanese individuals or Japan-owned capital with the intentional help of the Government-General. Transactions are forced to happen with help of military police, and lead to Japanese companies and individuals seize majority of lands. Nevertheless, forestry survey is said to better help of exploiting forestry resources, which is seen as a positive comment, while in fact, according to 'Rule on Forestry Ownership' released in 1895, in which says non-declared forestry is Government-General-owned, and thus forcibly occupied 94.15% of forestry. Accordingly, similar historical facts happened, but there is no mention of it in Taiwanese textbook.

*(b) Rice cultivation*

After land survey and selling those lands which become Government-General-owned to Japanese, Japan transferred its low-profit industry to Korea and Taiwan, like rice cultivation. Especially after food crisis and related nationwide protests in Japan in 1918, Japan began to pay attention to food security, and transferred its domestic crisis to Korea and Taiwan, leading to starvation of people in these two countries. In 1921, the improvement on rice production by Eikichi Iso<sup>52</sup> and was firstly put into practice in Taiwan, was later popularized in Japan and Korea as well.

Taiwanese textbook says in section titled ‘industry Japan, agriculture Taiwan’:

*‘The Government-General introduced new technology on cultivation, and improved productivity of rice, among which Eikichi Iso’s ‘Penglai Rice’ is the most famous. Under the popularization by Government-General, rice cultivation greatly improved and exported to Japan.’*

Korean textbook gives a background of 1918 food crisis in Japan, and thus transferring risk to colonies. There is mention of rice improvement and expansion of reservoirs, which could be seen as a positive influence on infrastructure. However, more rice is exported than domestic consumption, leading to deterioration of food condition in Korea.

Speaking of water conservancy facilities, it is also mentioned in Taiwanese textbook. It gives an example of ‘Chianan Canel’ built by Hatta Yoichi<sup>53</sup> in 1930, is the biggest conservancy facility built during colonization period. There is also a picture of Hatta Yoichi sculpture in the textbook. Charts are also shown to manifest huge growth in rice and sugar, and explanation of chart says ‘owing to the

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<sup>52</sup> Eikichi Iso: Japanese rice breeder. His invention of ‘Penglai Rice’ was firstly introduced in 1926.

<sup>53</sup> Hatta Yoichi: Japanese hydraulic engineer, served as technician of Governor-General of Taiwan since 1910.

construction, production of rice and sugar greatly improve, and satisfies Japan's domestic need.'

Refer to the Table 9 below, differences can be found.

<i>Colonization – Rice Cultivation</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
1918 food crisis in Japan and thus transfer risk to colonies	○	●
New rice variety and production improvement	●	●
Rice exportation to Japan	●	●
Food condition deterioration	○	●
Construction of water conservancy facilities	●	●
Positive influence of water conservancy facilities	●	○
Names or photos of person who made contribution to local	●	○

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 9

Generally speaking, three problems are found in Taiwanese textbooks. First, it is discovered that Taiwanese textbook attaches more importance to Japanese contribution. Those who made contribution to the future development of Taiwan is worthy of memorizing, and thus their names and photos are presented in textbook, which cannot be seen in Korean textbook at all. Secondly, it only mentions positive influence, like there is rice production growth, or the water conservancy facilities bring fertility to Taiwan, but there is no discussion of negative effect that Japan has brought. Third, it is not a victim-perspective at all. It is mentioned before that Taiwanese textbook prefers a third-party perspective in narrating China's history. However, in Taiwan's history, there is still no victim-perspective to retrospect pains that ancestors have endured. The chart explanation saying that the huge growth in rice and sugar satisfying Japanese domestic needs has suspicion of 'Japan's first-



person perspective' narration. It is unexplainable that why Taiwanese textbook does not consider its citizens' needs first, while considering Japanese demands as first priority. On the contrary, the logic of Korean textbook narration is because of Japan transferred its own risk to Korea, and thus expressing no appreciation at all.

Is there any possible explanation that Taiwanese textbook depicts only favor without hatred towards Japan? Maybe Taiwan did not suffer from food shortage at all. Through documentary research, Table 10 shows production to exportation ratio in both Korea and Taiwan. Horizontal columns are: region, period (year-averaged), production (unit: thousand dan), exportation (unit: thousand dan), and production to exportation ratio. Vertical columns are Korea and then Taiwan. Notes: 1 dan equals to 180 liters.

From the table, it is found that both countries have exceeded 50% of production to exportation ratio in the mid 1930s, which is in accordance with the chart provided in Korean textbook as well. However, the table only explains that Taiwan exported more than 50% of rice production to Japan, but it does not mean average consumption is insufficient. This paper referred to Taiwan and Korea population census investigated by Government-General in 1935. In 1935, Korea has 22.89 million populations, which is about 4.4 times of Taiwan's 5.21 million. Through roughly calculation of rice consumption in Taiwan and Korea by using all available data in Table 10, it is found that average rice consumption in Korea is around 0.36 dans per year. Additionally, according to Taiwan Rice Guidebook published by Government-General in 1934, average consumption of rice in Taiwan has decreased from 1.152 dans in 1928 to 0.984 dans in 1933. Through calculation and comparison, it is found rice consumption in Korea is far more less than in Taiwan.

Moreover, according to Japanese measurement since Meiji Restoration, one dan

of rice equals to 150 kilograms<sup>54</sup>. Through rough calculation, Taiwanese rice consumption per day in 1933 was around 400 grams per day, while Korean was around 150 grams per day. According to Chinese Dietary Guideline published in 2016, it is suggested that a healthy adult should intake 250-400 grams of grains per day. Living in an abundant era when non-staple food is numerous including sugar, meats, protein, fats, vegetables, etc., it can be predicted that those people living during colonization period should have more rice consumption per day in order to survive.

朝鮮和台灣的「外地米」飢餓輸出

地區	年度(平均)	產量(千石) A	輸出量(千石) B	產量與輸出量之比 B/A (%)
朝鮮	1912~16	12,303	1,389	10.2%
	1917~21	14,101	2,443	17.2%
	1922~26	14,501	4,376	30.3%
	1927~31	15,799	6,617	41.7%
	1932~36	17,003	8,735	51.3%
	1937~41	21,246	5,991	28.1%
台灣	1910~14	4,416	756	17.1%
	1915~19	4,785	950	19.9%
	1920~24	5,145	1,117	21.7%
	1925~29	6,460	2,390	37.0%
	1930~34	8,060	3,478	43.1%
	1935~38	9,344	4,750	50.8%

說明：1石為10斗，約180公升【資料來源《日本戰史的真相Ⅰ：戰爭與對荷》一評介編著】

Table 10

In conclusion, a food condition deterioration was witnessed in Korea, while Taiwan's situation is better than Korea but still not very well. There is also textual record of such phenomena, and a proper noun to describe it as 'starving exportation', but Taiwanese textbook only speak positively of Japanese bringing advanced technology to Taiwan. It is suspicious that Taiwanese textbook does not take an

<sup>54</sup> WEBSITES: Collaborative Reference Database. 2011. Answers provided according to Yamanashi Prefecture Library. Accessed Jan 3 2021.  
[https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/modules/d3ndlcrdentry/index.php?page=ref\\_view&id=1000076982](https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/modules/d3ndlcrdentry/index.php?page=ref_view&id=1000076982)

objective point of view and victim-perspective in narration. On the contrary, Korean textbook has a more precise logic in narration, from food crisis in Japan and transferred risk to Korea, though rice production was improved but domestic food situation became more deteriorated. While it is also worthy of notice that declarative statement of water conservancy facilities constructed by Japan in Korea, is few positive comments that can be seen in Korean textbook.

### **3-3. Summary on Colonization under Japanese Dominance**

In conclusion, feature of Taiwanese textbook is found, which is beneficiary-perspective to narrate Japanese colonization in a limited space. In terms of main body length, it usually uses one sentence or hundreds of Chinese characters to summarize the whole incident. While within such short length, negative influence is often ignored, while positive influence is sometimes added. Korean textbook manifests its people's hard work, in confronting authoritarian Japanese domination. It usually starts with Japanese policy in this time period within one page, and then spends four to five pages narrating how Korean nation did to fight for independence. Additionally, it can be seen that Korean textbook wants to be seen as a major player in East Asian battlefields, even if it was not in military level, but ideologically was a pioneer in resisting against Japanese. March 1<sup>st</sup> Movement, along with several heroic events, like Hirobumi killed by An Jung-geun in Harbin, Yun Bong-gil<sup>55</sup> killed several Japanese high-ranking soldiers and officials in Shanghai, these events are all great elaboration of Korea's important role it has played in anti-Japanese movements.

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<sup>55</sup> Yun Bong-gi: A Korean independence activist who set off a bomb that killed several Japanese dignitaries in Shanghai in 1932, at the age of 24.

This section selected events or policies in common to compare. However, there are many other contents in these two textbooks, but they are so distinct that are not able to be compared. Subtitles of each textbook during colonization period are listed below and the above-mentioned concluded features will be more convinced.

<b>Taiwanese Textbook</b>	<b>Korean Textbook</b>
<b>Wushe incident</b>	Preparation of independence
Monetary unification	March 1 <sup>st</sup> Movement
Population census	Meaning of March 1 <sup>st</sup> Movement
Construction of transportation	Promotion of diplomacy activities
<b>Sugar industry</b>	Cultural dominance
Development of industry	Cultivation on actual strength
<b>Elementary education</b>	Spread of socialism
Secondary education	Jun 10 <sup>th</sup> Independence Movement
Higher education	Establishment of Singanhoe
<b>Culture enlightenment</b>	Struggle of Heroic Corps
Modern sanitary, western hospitals	Armed combat in Manchuria
Obedience to law, and punctuality	Illteracy wipe-off Movement
Communalization of public facilities	League of establishing Korea
Clothing change	Korea-China joint combat
	Establishment of Liberation Army

Compared with Korean textbook, Taiwanese textbook apparently emphasizes more on Japanese contribution to Taiwan's society. Researched on the contents under above subtitles in Taiwanese textbook, it is found that majority of them are

statements and some of them contain positive comments, while only four of them, bold subtitles, have obvious negative comments. Additionally, some of them, like obedience to law and punctuality, communalization of public facilities which introduce parks, malls and restaurants are of no apparent meaning in a history textbook. On the contrary, Korean textbook enjoys telling stories about national awareness of resistance, including all kinds of movements, combats, association establishment to achieve certain goals, etc. Under the curriculum outline like this, there is no wonder that Korean are mostly anti-Japanese, while Taiwanese become the most favor-Japan groups among countries who used to be Japanese colonies.

#### **4. Victory in WWII and National Liberation**

Victory of WWII against Axis Powers was a historical moment for all people with justice around the world. The defeat of Japanese imperialism liberated people in East Asia countries, getting rid of colonization or invasion and recover national respect and freedom. Taiwan, along with affiliated islands ended half-century colonization, were recovered by the Republic of China, and Korea peninsula also regained liberation. No history textbooks would have missed this important event. This section will compare narration in world history point of view in background parts, while process will be passed as it is not very related with Japan, which is not in accordance with the topic of this paper, and then compare result and influence at the end.

##### **4-1. Background**

Textbooks in these three countries narrate this history period starting from the Great Depression in 1929, to the totalitarianism or fascism in the 1930s, and finally

to the WWII. After detailed observation on its narration, an obvious logic is found in both Chinese and Korean textbook that Great Depression promotes the emergence of totalitarianism, while such logic is not found in Taiwanese textbook. Two paragraphs are used in Korean textbook to narrate totalitarianism, and mentions all three countries in Axis Powers and their respective war behaviors towards other countries, including Japanese invasion on China since Manchurian Incident<sup>56</sup>.

Chinese textbook uses a whole unit in discussing how fascism developed in each member of Axis Powers, namely Germany, Italy and Japan. In its narration of Japan, it is said great depression caused severe impact on Japanese economy, and millions of people lost their jobs. Under this circumstance, fascist organization began to appear in Japan. Manchurian Incident and Marco Polo Bridge Incident<sup>57</sup> are also mentioned again specifically even they have been already taught in domestic modern history. Appeasement of Britain and France are also mentioned in Chinese and Taiwanese textbooks.

Taiwanese textbook basically have the same narration except when talking about totalitarianism regime, Japan is not included. While Soviet Union was considered as a totalitarianism power, which is not said in Chinese and Korean textbook. Taiwanese textbook says, '*except Soviet Union, totalitarianism power in Europe include Italy, Germany, etc.*' Therefore, in knowledge system in Taiwanese students, Japan is not a totalitarianism power. Table 11 shows differences between each textbook in background of WWII.

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<sup>56</sup> Manchurian Incident: Took place in 1931, also known as '918 Incident' in Chinese. The incident is widely considered as the second phase of Japanese invasion in China.

<sup>57</sup> Marco Polo Bridge Incident: Took place in July 7 1937. It marks Japanese all-round invasion in China initiated.

<i>WWII- Background</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Great depression	●	●	●
Totalitarianism and fascism emergence	●	●	●
Casual link between depression and fascism	●	○	●
Totalitarianism power – Italy and Germany	●	●	●
Totalitarianism power - Japan	●	○	●
Totalitarianism power - Soviet Union	○	●	○
Manchurian Incident	●	○	●
Marco Polo Bridge Incident	●	●	○
Appeasement policy	●	●	○

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 11

It is clear to see the major difference is Taiwanese textbook considers Soviet Union as a totalitarianism power instead of Japan. Its narration of Soviet Union, Germany and Italy, has all involved Communist Party of that country, especially after Lenin took power and established Communist International to lead and organize communist movements around the world. It is all said communist parties lead to social instability and thus National Fascist Party in Italy and Nazi Party led by Hitler gained people's support, and later become totalitarianism power. It seems to imply communist parties are sources of social instability, including the current CCP. However, not mentioning of Japan as an expansionism and totalitarianism power before WWII is another forgiveness of Japanese invasion by Taiwanese textbooks.

#### 4-2. Result and Influence

The WWII ended with the loss of Axis Powers. On Aug 15<sup>th</sup> 1945, Japan declared unconditional surrender, and it marks the complete fail of Japanese

imperialism and total victory for the Allies. The date is consequently become the national holiday of liberation in Korea. On Sep 2<sup>nd</sup> 1945, Japan's signing on the surrender documents at Tokyo Bay on the deck of the American battleship USS Missouri marks the official end of WWII. In 2014, in 12<sup>th</sup> NPCSC<sup>58</sup> the 7<sup>th</sup> meeting of CCP decided Sep 3<sup>rd</sup> as Memorial Day of Chinese people's resistance in anti-Japanese war. A year later, a tremendous military parade was held in Tiananmen Square, inviting vital foreign leaders, including veterans from KMT and South Korea President Park Geun-hye, to enjoy the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of WWII. On Oct 25<sup>th</sup> 1945, surrender ceremony was held in Taipei to officially end half-century Japanese colonization, and Japan gave full sovereignty of territories that were ceded in Treaty of Shimonoseki, back to Qing's successive regime – the Republic of China. Oct 25<sup>th</sup> was then considered as Taiwan Retrocession Day. However, unfortunately, the day is becoming an empty title, and barely celebrated in Taiwan nowadays. Curiosity is immediately raised to see how Taiwanese textbook writes on its own liberation day.

In terms of WWII, influence is both written in China modern history in grade two and world history in grade three. Globally speaking, Chinese textbook says:

*'WWII is an unprecedented war in human history, which involved most of people and countries in the world. The victory of WWII, thoroughly eliminated fascism and militarism's ambition of seeking hegemony through wars. It is also a promotion to the breakdown of colonization system. It has a profound meaning in maintaining world peace and promoting shared cooperation.'*

-World history, grade nine second semester, People's Press, Unit 15

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<sup>58</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> NPCSC: Standing Committee of the National People's Congress from Mar 2013 to Mar 2018.



Domestically speaking, the most important emphasis is that '*Taiwan then come back to its motherland.*' Besides, it says:

*'...CCP has a mainstay function in Chinese united front against Japanese aggression. Chinese victory of WWII, is with support of everyone in the world who love peace and justice. Anti-Japanese war is for the first time China achieves full victory since modern history... it lays foundation for CCP to lead Chinese to realize nation independence and liberation... China made huge contribution to the WWII. China's international status is improved.'*

-China history, grade eight first semester, People's Press, Unit 22

Korean textbook emphasizes Cairo Declaration prior to the victory of WWII, in which guaranteed Korean independence after the war.

On the consequence of WWII, it is said: '*Nuremberg Trials and International Military Tribunal for the Far East defined their invasion as criminal, and punished aggressors.*'

-Junior high school history two, Chunjae Education Press, Chapter 6 Unit 2

In domestic narration, Korean textbook uses subtitle 'happiness of liberation', saying that '*our constant independence movements against Japanese colonization finally paid out. We finally welcomed liberation of our nation.*' Upon the voice has just dropped down, it immediately jumps to preparation of establishing an independent country, and those foreign independence activists have all come back. But it writes '*however, things happened in the way opposite to our dream*', meaning the cold war influence on Korean Peninsula.

Taiwanese textbook does not mention liberation at all. Oct 25<sup>th</sup>, Taiwan

Retrocession Day is nowhere to be found. The following sentences on influence and results of WWII are all that can be found in all Taiwanese history textbooks:

*‘Aug 1945, Japan declared unconditional surrender. WWII ended. Taiwan and Pescadores group is then received and governed by the Republic of China.’*

-Taiwan history, grade seven second semester, Hanlin Press, Chapter 4 Unit 1

*‘the US dropped atomic bombs to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan declared unconditional surrender. China’s hard eight-year anti-Japanese war finally won.’*

-China history, grade eight second semester, Hanlin Press, Chapter 5 Unit 5

*‘the US dropped atomic bombs to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, forced Emperor of Japan to declare unconditional surrender on Aug 14<sup>th</sup>. WWII ended.’*

-World history, grade nine second semester, Hanlin Press, Chapter 3 Unit 5

Based on contents above, Table 12 below makes a reorganization for better comparison:

<i>WWII Victory – Result and Influence</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Korea</i>
Loss of Axis Powers or Japan	●	●	●
Praise on its people	●	○	●
Praise on the government leadership	●	○	○
Praise on people around the world	●	○	○
Condemn on fascism and militarism	●	○	●
Recovery, liberation or retrocession	●	○	●

Notes: ● Mentioned in details   ● Mentioned in inappropriate way or diagrams   ○ Not Mentioned at all

Table 12

As can be told from the table, Taiwanese textbook basically says nothing other than statement of loss of Japan. It is singing the same old tune in all six textbooks. Its selection of words is also very inappropriate. Compared to China's 'Taiwan coming back to its motherland' is with strong sentiment, words selection of Taiwan was 'received' and 'governed' by the Republic of China, seems unwilling to receive lost territories. Moreover, domestically speaking, there is no description and mention of celebration or happiness of people, nor Taiwan Retrocession Day. It cannot be figured out why such an important day is neglected, even the date of retrocession is not shown. In other words, students are unable to know Oct 25<sup>th</sup> is liberation day of Taiwan, at least from textbooks. Additionally, there is no condemn or negative comments on Japanese colonization or Axis Powers.

Expression in Korean textbook is with strong national identities and emotions. The first-person-pronoun 'our' and 'we', are creating the same feeling among students, so that students are able to feel the happiness of victory. Its mention of aggressors being trailed in international courts is Korean's deep-in-mind hope to put criminals in justice. Additionally, its immediate mention of preparation of independence, shows Korean people's urgent and desirable dream of establishing an independent country without relying on Qing or Japan.

Chinese textbook well manifests its governmental ideology in the real world. As slogan hung on the Tiananmen Square also tells, 'Long live the PRC; Long live unity of people around the world'. CCP's governance in China is built upon the legitimacy that CCP has created in history. In fact, major strength that were in direct confrontation with Japanese in China was KMT, while Chinese textbook is not willing to admit that. It will not be ignored as well, but narrates KMT's efforts in an indirect and ambiguous way. Such phenomenon is because of CCP armies were not

frontline soldiers in fighting against Japanese, as KMT is the ruling party at that time. The historical fact makes CCP have less visible contribution in the war than KMT, and thus CCP is worried about losing its legitimacy in China. However, it is suggested that KMT's efforts could be respected and added into textbook if someday great progress can be reached between Taiwan and China. Additionally, it is noticed that Chinese textbook speaks highly of the world people in a global perspective, which is in perfect accordance with 'a Community of Shared Future for Mankind' promoted by President Xi.

#### **4-3. Summary on Victory of WWII and National Liberation**

Through the comparison and analysis from the last case, it is found Taiwanese textbook has more defects than Chinese and Korean. Victory of WWII is a national reputation throughout history, but Taiwanese textbooks says nothing constructive about it, and even does not mention its own Retrocession Day. A nation without retrospection on the past, is bound to suffer it again in the long future. If Japan rises and become ambitious again, the first place it will conquer easily is Taiwan, not because Taiwan's military strength is inferior to China and Korea's, but Taiwanese are now able to accept Japanese dominance without struggling. China and Korea learn from history, and will never let it happen again, which is the main reason why history is compulsorily taught to students. It is a pity for Taiwan's ruling party to let politics and ideologies overrides historical facts.

It is also obvious to see CCP emphasizes on its legitimacy and contribution made by people around the world. This is a unique feature of Chinese textbook, as it is compiled by the Ministry of Education. It cannot be seen in Taiwan or Korean textbooks in praising one specific party's contribution and efforts. Positively

speaking, China will not make history textbook as a political bargain between parties, and students are able to receive a constantly united knowledge system; negatively speaking, it is written with selection of which to tell specifically or generally, and which not to tell. It is not beneficial in cultivating students all-round and comprehensive views, but it greatly reflects Chinese government's ideologies.

At last, Korean textbook's narration in this case is elaboration of Korean hope of putting criminal into justice, enjoying the victory, and establishing an independent country. It is no doubt that future Korean will do the same thing if is invaded again. As long as the spirits stand, the nation will last.

## **Chapter IV Analysis**

Through case comparison and analysis above, features of textbooks are exposed. This chapter will firstly conclude each features of textbooks, and further analyze what factors contribute to such differences.

### **1. Features of Three Countries' History Textbooks**

Chinese textbooks has an average portion of ancient Chinese history, China's modern history, and world history, and each uses one year to learn. Among case comparison and case analysis above, selection of what to be said, or what to be said generally or specifically, or how to say is one major feature of Chinese textbook. It is found that, additional emphasis is attached to its sovereignty claim over Taiwan, including Diaoyu islands. While for the establishment of the 'Republic of Formosa' as local Taiwanese effort in resisting Japanese, Chinese textbook never mentions the name as it might have implication to Taiwan independence nowadays. The second feature of Chinese textbook, is frankly and squarely praising CCP without implication. This phenomenon is even more obvious in civil war against KMT after WWII. The third feature of Chinese textbook is it indeed well demonstrated governing philosophies and ideologies of Chinese government. Its praise on bravery Chinese people under the leadership of CCP and just people around the world, cannot be seen in Taiwanese or Korean textbook at all. And the last feature is accuracy of what is written, for example, territories ceded to Japan. Besides, some narration in Chinese textbooks seems to have prejudice, but through documentary research, they

are accurate expression.

Korean textbook has the most contents than Chinese and Taiwanese textbooks. It is indeed very hard of Korean junior high school students to learn such complex history with details within two years. Considering Chinese and Korean are both concise languages, it is apparently to see Korean textbooks with the most contents, pictures, activities, etc. Therefore, it must be admitted that Korean textbook is the most difficult one. While most of these contents emphasize on Korean people's resistance and their solution to an independent country. Solution is the most important part in Korean textbook, while situations of politics, economy and culture at that time only serves as background of the beginning of one unit. Usually, a unit has 7 pages, and one or two is spent on background information, while the rest five pages are all actions taken by Korean people spontaneously in fighting against Japanese. Another feature of Korean textbook is nationalism is indeed shown to students through all these detailed narrations on solution to independence. The history of Korean textbook, is a history of how its nation manages to become an independence country. But it is understandable for Korean to think in this way, as independence has been an unreachable desire for Korean for a long time. Its citizens need unity and encouragement to fight more.

However, with many events and detailed to mention, there is no wonder that a knowledge mismatch, and miss of a vital knowledge are found through comparison, namely Tientsin Convention and the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Additionally, Korean textbooks are so much concerned on its arduous route to independence that is afraid to create extreme nationalism. In order to avoid that, more global perspectives can be added. It is found that most of situations that Korean textbook talks from regional or global view, are all incidents related with its national activists promoting

independence abroad, or heroic events in foreign countries. But it is also owing to the fact that many Korean activists carried out preparations of independence abroad as it cannot be done in colonized Korea. In addition, much more narration in domestic resistance makes global point of views seem fewer.

Features of Taiwanese textbook seems more like problems, as it indeed creates confusion to students' national identity, as well as common values towards certain events. Its division of Taiwan history, China history, and world history in three grades is originally confusing and an elaboration of national identity problem. The contents of Taiwanese textbook are the fewest among these three countries, while Taiwanese students are asked to learn history from three different perspectives from prehistoric times until now. Usually, pictures or charts will take up half of the page, and thus leave a very limited space for textual contents. As a consequence, how to express the most important knowledge or values-to-shape with accuracy within limited space is of critical significance to history textbook compilers. Unfortunately, they fail to manage to do so.

The most obvious feature of Taiwanese textbook is confusion of viewing Japan from a victim-perspective or a beneficiary-perspective. If view Japan from a victim-perspective as Chinese textbook does, it will create consensus of being bullied and invaded amongst students in Taiwan with Chinese students, which is the current government does not want in the need of Taiwan independence. However, if view Japan from a beneficiary-perspective, it will lead to no retrospection on colonization and no criticism on militarism. Through comparison, it is obvious to see that Taiwanese textbook emphasizes more on benefit brought by Japan. It is a tolerance of Japanese imperialism, showing no respect to those who sacrificed to eliminate common enemy of human beings. Not only beneficiary-perspective is more used,



but also sometimes its consideration of Japan as first priority, leave students impression of Japanese history textbooks.

Given the perspective Taiwanese textbooks use, the following problems are all caused by such perspective. First, one sentence summary of local Taiwanese efforts in resisting Japanese, including pre-colonization Yiwei War and Tapani incident during colonization. These two events are respectively the largest resistance against Japanese before and during colonization. Therefore, two sentences in total without any specific information provided is completely a disgrace to former ancestors. Even as important as Taiwan Retrocession Day, no word is spent on that. Secondly, in limited space of textbook, irrelevant information is sometimes provided with no function in narrating the history, including those Japanese pronouns, names, or praising things that are relevant but just ignore its function in this history event. In Taiwanese history textbooks, names of Japanese are far more than Taiwanese. It is also surprising to see additional introduction and pictures on characters, focus more on Japanese individuals who constructed Taiwan's infrastructure, while those who led and fought bravely in Yiwei War or Tapani Incident, are without any detailed information, not even a photo of them. Third, positive comments towards Japan are sometimes seen, and negative comments towards Japan are often ignored.

The second feature of Taiwanese textbook is using declarative statements in China history. A third-party-perspective makes Sino-Japanese War and War of Resistance Against Japan seem irrelevant to Taiwanese students, which might be what the current ruling party wants. Looking history from this perspective will undoubtedly create knowledge and emotional gap between students from China and Taiwan. These two wars are of tremendous significance to Taiwan. One ceded Taiwan to Japan and the other recover Taiwan from Japan. Especially, Taiwanese

students are unable to feel the same as Chinese students that countless lives were sacrificed in WWII against Japanese, even though KMT was the one who made the most contribution to WWII in China. In addition, illogical and inappropriate narration are sometimes seen, and global perspective is rare to be seen.

In summary, in terms of narration on Japan, China focuses on its sovereignty completion as well as legitimacy of CCP, and it pays the most attention on influence. Influence of historical events in Chinese textbooks always has the most narration. While Korean textbooks work on the solution to Japanese dominance and policies, and approach of survival to nation cultures. Taiwanese textbooks' use of beneficiary-perspective under Japanese colonization and third-party-perspective in China history, is with intention of decinization, as currently are carried out by DPP<sup>59</sup>.

## **2. Analysis of Differences between Textbooks**

Factors that contribute to different narration of the same history between China, Korea and Taiwan, is critical to be found to provide suggestions. As mentioned before, most of Chinese and Korean still have negative attitudes towards Japan while Taiwan on the contrary. One basic factors this paper believes is self-centralism, and the other is ideology differences including values, governing philosophies, national identity, etc., are all that resulted in different narration of history in textbooks. In addition, politics situations brought by ideology differences is also pushers of such phenomenon in textbooks.

Self-centralism here refers to that history textbooks are written from its own

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<sup>59</sup> DPP: Democratic Progressive Party, led by President Tsai Ing-wen. It is current ruling party in Taiwan since 2016, scheduled to be in power until 2024. It is also the biggest party in Congress in the Republic of China (Taiwan) as of 2020.

country's perspective, only recording those historical events that are related with itself while global views are often neglected. There is no inappropriateness of this perspective in junior high school history textbooks, as students have limited vigor in grasping extra knowledge from different countries' views. However, global point of views is also vital in shaping students' all-round opinion in history knowledge system. For example, China's praise of world people in WWII; Taiwan's mention of why Japan carried out isolationism before Meiji Restoration; Korea's mention of a weak Qing awakened Japan to reform are all global point of views. However, it is suggested to add more in history textbooks, even if place it as additional reading. In fact, several former Presidents of Korea already called for 'general history textbooks for China, Korea and Japan'. Although tremendous potential that Northeast Asia has, political situations in this region is stumbling block to regional integration. The proposal is fascinating and a reflection of what this paragraph promotes – regional and global perspectives. However, it is very hard to achieve, not only because of Japan's attitudes, but consensus is not yet reached between China and Taiwan, and two Koreas. Therefore, in the following time period, it requires each country to add more regional and global views to its own history textbooks, so that regional cooperation, mutual understanding and joint development can be promoted, otherwise self-centralism would easily lead to narrow-mindedness or even extreme nationalism.

Ideology differences is another vital factor in causing differences between textbooks. In the narration towards Japan, China and Korea are on the same side, using victim-perspective in describing Japanese crucial dominance. Therefore, ideology difference here is not 'democracy or freedom' that Taiwan and Korea share. The fundamental reason for Taiwanese to in favor of Japan is decinization and

especially anti-communism, in the need of Taiwan independence and rejection of reunification. Anti-communism ideology is the supreme political rightness in Taiwanese society. As long as it is anti-communism, everything else can be justified. In 1949, when Chiang Kai-shek led KMT escaped to Taiwan, martial law was implemented in Taiwan since 1949 to 1987. During the time period, priority of Chiang was to counterattack mainland China controlled by CCP, and thus did not settle down those pro-Japan groups but on the contrary befriended with them in the anti-communism camp. Chiang even cooperated with Japanese government, establishing 'Paidan' in Tokyo which provides military consultants and assistances to ROC to counter PRC. Convener of 'Paidan' is Yasuji Okamura who used to be the commander-in-chief of the China Expeditionary Army during WWII. It is indeed a sarcasm to see old enemies became friends. Moreover, the 38-year-long martial law carried out by Chiang, did not make Taiwanese feel better but thinking of old days colonized by Japan. Since the martial law was lifted, ban on establishing party was also released. DPP, who promote Taiwan independence to distinguish from China, was founded. In order to reach its purpose, eliminating a party with Chinese background – KMT who wants a unified China<sup>60</sup>, is basic approach to reach its purpose. Deleting and ignoring KMT's efforts in resisting Japanese in Mainland China are thus carried out by DPP.

As a consequence, Taiwan Retrocession Day is now just a title without any national celebration, as it is something related with the history of China and KMT. New-born teenagers are unable to know Taiwan Retrocession Day as it is not

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<sup>60</sup> United China: According to 1992 Consensus reached by CCP and KMT, both parties admitted there is only one China in the world. While KMT refers to the Republic of China, and CCP refers to the People's Republic of China, but DPP never admits it at all and devotes to establish an independent Taiwan.

mentioned at all in history textbooks. It is hilarious to see whether to celebrate Taiwan Retrocession Day or not depends on party, while KMT celebrates it and DPP does not. And whether to celebrate or not in schools, depends on each school's principal, which is to say, the principal's ideology or political tendency. On the contrary, in 2020 Taiwan's Retrocession Day, China intentionally held more seminars and commemoration with larger scale than previous years. It might be owing to political situations that cross-strait relation has been intensified these years.

While some Taiwanese even argue that Retrocession Day is China-centered history point of view, as Taiwan was already part of Japanese territories and thus does not belong to China any more. And therefore, it should not be called as 'Retrocession Day' but 'memorial day of war ending' alleged by them. On Retrocession Day in 2020, this opinion is discussed again. In this regard, Prof. Zhang at National Taiwan University, who is also a nominator in 2020 presidential election of KMT, confuted DPP in an interview, said if some people in DPP consider Taiwan as part of Japan, claiming Retrocession Day is China's view of history and thus do not memorize it, then each Taiwanese is one of members in Axis Powers, and needs to bear condemn from all over the world for invasion and responsibility of compensation. Those who committed felony should be sent to international courts for trails. His refutation is convinced, but it would not be too much help to change their values of history.

Another example discovered in Taiwanese textbook that negative comments are given to all communist parties in the world prior to WWII, especially towards Soviet Union, which is an apparent ideology-based narration, aiming at shaping communist party as a group that always brought disasters to the world. Accordingly, anti-communism and desinicization are two vital ideologies that the current ruling party

greatly promotes. Especially anti-communism is also mainstream of popular will in Taiwanese society, so such history textbooks can be accepted by the public gradually.

Speaking of communist party of Soviet Union, Korean textbook mentions the spread of socialism encouraged many farmers and labors to take part in movements against Japanese. With only one sentence, Korean students are able to know the positive influence that October Revolution has brought. This narration shows governing ideologies of Korean government, which is to be a neutral state rather than completely relying on one side, which is the way of survival of Korea as a middle power. But what values Korean pay the most attention to, is self-industriousness and encouragement to fight for complete nation independence. Therefore, numerous of description of protests, movements, independence attempts, etc. can be seen in Korean history textbook, which are also reflection of popular will, because Korean still has a long way to go, including reunification and extricate from US control to become independence. In addition, anti-Japanese sentiment is also popular in Korea. A favor-Japan history textbook is impossible to be accepted by the public.

Lastly, ideologies in Chinese textbook is also obvious in promoting legitimacy of CCP and socialism. Its elaboration guarantees CCP's sole and longstanding legitimacy of China. Looking at main conflicts that China has with other countries, most of them are related with territories and CCP's autocracy criticized by Western countries. Therefore, the most important values of CCP may be territorial integration and non-intervention. Indeed, as can be seen from textbooks, China mentioned Taiwan several times, and has the most accurate description of land ceded to Japan. Narration on Hong Kong and Macau in other units have similar firm attitude, and shows sole leadership of HK and Macau that no one else can intervene China's

internal affairs. In addition, the other governing philosophy that CCP pursues is world people united, especially when confronting world crisis like world wars or pandemic, as can be told from in textbooks that high praise is given to all just people around the world in WWII, and all those foreign troops appeared in 2015 military parade in Beijing in memorizing 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of WWII ends, is also another elaboration of China's 'a Community of Shared Future for Mankind'. Besides, the majority of Chinese will in support of CCP's ideologies, values and governing strategies under China's political atmosphere.

Additionally, politics situations brought by ideological difference are also pushers of such discrepancies in history textbooks. For example, party-shift in Taiwan and Korea always leads to modification of history textbooks. Parties in Taiwan argue between 'Taiwan-centered' or 'China-centered' perspective of history, while parties in Korea argue between 'national compilation' or 'multiple versions' of history textbooks. History textbooks change every year or every administration in favor of current ruling party's ideology. Additionally, relationships between countries and dynamics of region and world order, are also one important politics situation that must be taken into concern when compiling history textbook.

In conclusion, self-centralism and ideologies differences are two major factors to different narration towards Japan in these three countries' history textbooks. These two factors are both contained in each textbook. Self-centralism would easily lead to narrow-mindedness or extreme nationalism, which is not a good phenomenon in a regional cooperation point of view, and thus suggestion will be provided in the next chapter. While ideologies of one specific party is really hard to change, so limited advice will be provided to three different countries.

## **Chapter V Conclusion**

Through comparison analysis, pros and cons are found between single version of history textbooks in China, and multiple versions by Taiwan and Korea. China's united version of history textbook used across the country is of assistance in maintaining unified values towards history among students in the long term, while only one voice is presented. What to be said generally or specifically, and what not to be said are all decided by CCP. On the contrary, in Korea and Taiwan, multiple opinions could be presented in textbooks, but what and how to present is becoming a political bargain between parties to strengthen ideologies of one's party to future generations. Knowledge gap may be created between different generations as a result. Sometimes in the name of pursuing a pluralistic society, some twisted values and opinions are also justified in history textbooks, for example, the comfort-women-voluntary theory in Taiwan.

However, it is not firmly determined that all history textbooks follow above-mentioned model. Single version does not necessarily mean single voice, while it can be pluralistic aspects; and multiple versions does not necessarily mean multiple voices, while it still can be one-sided. It is not within the capability of this paper to provides suggestions on choosing single version or multiple version, but it terms of narration towards Japanese imperialism, no matter it is single or multiple version, all history textbooks should reach a common views of anti-militarism, anti-imperialism, anti-colonization and retrospection on the past.

Nevertheless, what really determined whether a textbook provides multiple



voices is more regional or global views of history in textbook. Self-centralism would easily lead to one-sided horizons, and result in narrow-mindedness or even extreme nationalism. Textbooks from three countries that were compared in this paper, none of them provide enough regional or global views of history. Although China, Korea and Japan all want regional integration, people in these three countries often look down upon with each other. With more interactions and integration, more conflicts are coming into existence. There happened several times of cyber violence between people in China and Korea in recent years is a prove of this argument, when one side felt being insulted, intervened or not respected, especially on historical facts, often leads to quarrels between countries. For example, BTS, a Korean group band, received 2020 James A. Van Fleet Award<sup>61</sup>, and said in an interview that “we (BTS) will always remember pains that our two nations (Korea and US) shared together and sacrifices of countless of men and women”, has received large boycott and criticism from Chinese Internet users. In fact, they are all both correct assertion by each side, however, BTS members failed to avoid sensitive issues and most of Chinese Internet users are unable to understand them.

Narrow nationalism brought by self-centralism is horrible, and has critical influence on regional cooperation. However, there will become even more conflicts in the future if self-centralism continues to have upper hand. Therefore, it is suggested that more regional or global views of history should be provided in history textbooks. It is understandable that students have limited vigor in grasping more extra knowledge in junior high school phase, but still textbooks compilers can place it in additional reading, or government politicians could require certain contents to

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<sup>61</sup> James A. Van Fleet Award: Given annually since 1995. It is awarded to those who made outstanding contribution to Korea-US relations.

be added to textbooks out of political needs in reducing unnecessary conflicts between countries. Understanding each other's bottom line and their views of history will to great extent strengthen mutual understanding between countries.

Except from self-centralism, ideology differences between parties in Taiwan and Korea, has made history textbook compilation a political bargain to promotes its own party's values. It is hoped that two parties could reach a compromise in history narration. In the case of Japanese Imperialism, only one positive comment was found in Korean textbook. On the contrary, Taiwanese textbook obviously let positive comments overrides negative ones. It is also suggested history textbooks could combine positive and negative influence of one specific historical event together in history textbook, so that students can have a rational and objective view of it. However, additional importance should be attached that through history learning, students must hold the standpoint that invasion of Japanese Imperialism brought more disasters and pains than development. A beneficiary perspective of Japanese colonization in Taiwanese history textbooks needs to be changed to victim perspective.

Certainly, a country can show full hatred against colonizing country if no mutual benefits exist between two countries nowadays. However, China and Japan, or Korea and Japan have so many cooperation to be done in a globalized world. Therefore, a history textbook that does not allow any chance of cooperation with Japan is also not acceptable due to political and economic demands.

Nevertheless, it is still a spectacle that more positive comments on Japanese colonization are written in Taiwanese history textbooks. Through analysis above, it is found the main reason why Taiwan is in favor of Japan is because of historical reasons and current needs of anti-communism and Taiwan independence. Therefore,

additional suggestion for Taiwanese history textbook is provided but it is hard to achieve in the real world, however, it is a fundamental solution, which is to choose only one textbook between Taiwan history and China history, and specifically narrate on that. The current division not only create confusion to students' national identity, but no detailed information about colonization period is provided in limited space. Most importantly, Taiwan independence has no direct causal link with good relation with Japan. Korea also seek complete independence, but Korean is one of the most anti-Japanese groups in the world. It is understandable that Taiwan's situation is unique, and thus its independence need foreign support. However, in front of a much bigger cake shared with China, Japan would not support Taiwan at its best. Therefore, using a victim perspective in narration toward Japanese imperialism is strongly advised.

In conclusion, it is argued that in the premise of guaranteeing objectivity, school history could tend to be narrated with more sentiments, in order to promote nationalism and patriotism among students, however, in order to avoid extreme nationalism or blind patriotism, more regional or global perspectives should also be added to textbooks. Also, different opinions could all be presented on textbooks, however, in terms of Japanese Imperialism, a victim perspective must have first priority in narration. Regional cooperation could only be promoted if one knows itself well and stick to their standpoints, and willing to lead an ear to others, and thus creating mutual understanding within the region.

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## 국문초록

중국, 대만 그리고 한국은 일본침략이라는 동일한 역사를 지니고 있다. 그러나 연구에 의하면 중국인과 한국인들이 여전히 일본에 대해 반감을 가지고 있는 반면 대만인들은 애정을 더 많이 갖고 있는 것으로 드러난다. 세 국가에서 모두 의무교과목으로 분류되는 역사는 청소년들의 가치형성에 중요한 역할을 차지하는 것으로 여겨진다. 그렇기에 세 국가에서의 역사교육이 각각 조금은 다른 방향으로 서술되고 있으며, 나아가 위의 현상으로 이어진다는 가설이 제기된다.

본 논문은 세 국가의 중학교 역사교과서 내의 ‘일본 제국주의’ 서술에 대한 비교연구를 진행코자 한다. 문헌연구, 사례비교 그리고 사례분석의 방법론에 의하면 중국 교과서는 중국 인민과 공산당이 가장 중요하시게 가치를 중심으로 서술하는 반면, 한국 교과서는 한국이 일본에 대항하고 독립적인 국가를 건설하는 과정에서 얼마나 용감하고 굳세었는지를 강조하며, 대만 교과서는 일본과의 관계를 피해자적인 관점이 아닌 수혜자적인 관점에서 서술하고 있다. 역사 교과서는 일반적으로 통치계급의 기호에 맞게 서술된다는 점은 이미 증명된 바 있다. 더불어, 세 국가의 역사 교과서에서 모두 글로벌한 관점은 매우 드물게 등장한다.

자기중심적 관점과 이데올로기 차이는 이와 같은 서술차이를 야기하는 주요한 2가지 요인으로 생각된다. 본 논문에서는 학교 역사교과서가 국내 또는 글로벌 관점, 긍정적 또는 부정적 관점 등의 감정을 드러낼 수 있지만, 그 이전에 객관성이 반드시 보장되어야 한다고 주장한다. 오직 이러한 조건 하에서만 학생들이 스스로의 관점을 보유하면서 동시

에 타국가의 다양한 의견에 귀기울일 수 있고, 더 나아가 차이를 인정하면서도 공통되는 기반을 모색하여 국가 간의 협력을 강화할 수 있을 것이다.

주제어 : 중국, 대만, 한국, 역사교과서, 일본 제국주의

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