Political Parties, Authoritarianism, and Democracy: The 228 Incident of Taiwan

A Teacher's Resource Guide







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Subject: World HistoryGrade Level: High School, 9th and 10th GradesTopic: Rise of Taiwan after the 228 Incident. What does it inform us about politics?Content Standards: See Appendix D below

<Key List of Events>

- The island was annexed in 1683 by the Qing dynasty of China, and ceded to the Empire of Japan in 1895, via the Treaty of Shimonoseki that ended the First Sino-Japanese War.
- In **1945**, following the surrender of Japan at the end of World War II, the Allies handed administrative control of Taiwan to the Republic of China (ROC), thus ending 50 years of Japanese colonial rule.
- Japan developed Taiwan's economy and raised the standard of living for most Taiwanese people, building up Taiwan as a supply base for the Japanese main islands.
- The Kuomintang's (KMT, or the "Nationalist Party") harsh treatment of the people who lived in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial occupation and general KMT maladministration led to Taiwanese discontent during the immediate postwar period. This "new governor's office" monopolized all resources -- from political to economic to social.
- The flashpoint came on February 27, 1947, in Taipei, when agents of the State Monopoly Bureau struck a Taiwanese widow suspected of selling contraband cigarettes. An officer then fired into a crowd of angry bystanders, striking one man who would die the next day. Soldiers fired upon demonstrators the next day, after which a radio station was seized, and news of the revolt was broadcast to the entire island. As the uprising spread, the KMT-installed governor Chen Yi called for military reinforcements, and the uprising was violently put down by the National Revolutionary Army. For the following 38 years, the island was placed under martial law in a period that would be known as the **White Terror**.
- On Feb. 27, 1947, government agents ignited the public's anger when they accidentally shot and killed an innocent passerby while beating a female vendor who was peddling unlicensed cigarettes.
- The government's follow-up purge operation in the rural areas, and its employment of a "white terror" policy to strengthen the late President Chiang Kai-shek's authoritarian regime undermined social harmony and impeded the country's movement toward democracy.
- Until the lifting of martial law in 1987, government records of the Incident were kept top-secret; it was considered taboo to speak of the event.
- In 1995, then-President Lee Teng-hui, himself a victim of 228, issued a formal apology on behalf of the government and declared Feb. 28 as a holiday dedicated to the victims. Since then, the president traditionally bows every year in an apology and presents certificates to the families of the victims certifying their innocence.
- In the 1989 movie, "A City of Sadness," famed director Hou Hsiao-hsien brought 228 and its aftermath to international light.
- Most recently, several books by Taiwanese-American authors such as Jennifer Chow, Julie Wu, and Shawna Yang Ryan focus on their family's experience of 228. Will Tiao's 2009 movie, "Formosa Betrayed," focused on the White Terror.

Crowd gathers in front of the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau on Feb. 28, 1947

The White Terror is perhaps the darkest period of history in Taiwan. Starting with the 228 Massacre in 1947 until the end of the martial law on July 15, 1987, the White Terror had wiped out an entire generation, culturally and historically. The Republic of

China (ROC), under the aim of taking back all of China, targeted individuals in Taiwan that spoke up against the government or had a strong sense of Taiwanese identity.

228, also known as the **February 28 Massacre**, occurred in **1947** where the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) led the government of the Republic of China to

violently suppress an anti-government uprising in Taiwan.

Background: What was causing the tension leading up to 228?

1. From 1895 to 1945 Taiwan was ruled by Japan as a colony. Japan developed a lot of the foundations of modern infrastructure in Taiwan as well as built up its economy - raising the standard of living for most Taiwanese people - which is why the Taiwanese had more favorable perceptions of the Japanese compared to elsewhere in Asia at the time (and even today). This should not discount the vicissitudes and inequities of colonial rule that were felt across Taiwan in varying degrees, as the Japanese colonial administration employed a variety of social, political, educational, and military techniques that enforced strict colonial rule.

2. At the end of World War II in 1945, following the victory of the Allied forces, Japan surrendered Taiwan to General Chiang Kai-Shek (leader of ROC) through General Order No.1 and placed it under ROC governance.

3. The KMT Governor-General Chen Yi took over Japan's system of state monopolies for a lot of different crops and commodities. He then used his influence in these monopolies to sell and ship cheaper goods back to Mainland China to meet the Civil War shortages.

4. The Taiwanese were granted opportunities (by the Japanese) to govern themselves under the Japanese rule however after WWII people from the ROC government in Mainland China were put in place for offices in government.

5. ROC troops were undisciplined and were looting, stealing and breaking down the infrastructure that the Japanese had built.

On the night of February 27th....

• On the night of Feb 27th, 1947 a Tobacco Monopoly Bureau enforcement team in Taipei confiscated contraband cigarettes from a 40-year-old woman at a tea house.

The 228 Incident

- She asked for them to be returned, however, one of the team members hit her in 0 the head with a pistol, causing the surrounding Taiwanese crowd to confront the Tobacco Monopoly team
- As the team fled, one agent shot his gun into the crowd killing a bystander.
- Feeling the frustration from the unemployment rate, 0 inflation and corruption of the Nationalist government, the crowd protested to the police but was ignored.



2-28 Incident in woodcut; the artist was executed

- On the morning of **February 28th, 1947**, violence broke out when the security at Governor-General Chen Yi's office tried to disperse the crowd.
 - The security fired at the protesters who were calling for 0 the arrest and trial of the agents involved in the previous day's shootings resulting in an open rebellion that lasted for several weeks and resulted in tens of thousands of deaths.
 - Martial law was also declared and curfews were 0 enforced on this day, marking the beginning of the White Terror.
- Local leaders formed a Settlement Committee which presented the ROC government with a list of 32 Demands for reform of the provincial administrations.
- They demanded greater autonomy, free elections and an end to government corruption.
- On March 8th, 1947 the ROC troops led by Chen Yi launched a crackdown on the rebels throughout Taiwan.
- By the end of March, Chen Yi had ordered the imprisonment or execution of the Taiwanese organizers he could identify and executed somewhere between 3,000 to 4,000 people throughout the island.

Reference

OFTaiwan. (n.d.). 228 Massacre. Retrieved from https://oftaiwan.org/history/white-terror/228-massacr



Foreigners Say the Chinese Slaughtered Demonstrators Without Provocation

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES. NANKING, March 28—Foreign-ers who have just returned to China from Formosa corroborate reports of wholesale slaughter by Chinese troops and police during anti-Government demonstrations a month ago. These witnesses estimate that

10,000 Formosans were killed by the Chinese armed forces. The killings were described as "completely unjustified" in view of the nature of the demonstrations.

The anti-Government demonstra-tions were said to have been by

tions were said to have been by unarmed persons whose intentions were peaceful. Every foreign re-port to Nanking denies charges that Communists or Japanese in-spired or organized the parades. Foreigners who left Formosa a few days ago say that an uneasy peace had been established almost everywhere, but executions and ar-rests continued. Many Formosans were said to have filed to the hills, fearing they would be killed if they returned to their homes. Three Days of Slaughter

Three Days of Slaughter

Three Days of Slaughter An American who has just ar-rived in China from Taihoku said that troops from the mainland ar-rived there March 7 and indulged in three days of indiscriminate killing and looting. For a time everyone seen on the streets was shot at, homes were broken into and occupants killed. In the poor-er sections the streets were said to have been littered with dead. There were instances of behead-ings and mutilation of bodies, and women were raped, the American said.

said. Two foreign women, who were at Pingtung near Takao, called the

Article from New York Time from 1947

Governor-General Chen Yi'



Teacher Guidance

Activating students prior knowledge

The teacher can begin by asking questions about Taiwan to activate students' background knowledge.

Show students an introductory video on Taiwan to engage them. Video: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5hWgPHFfSPs</u>

Learning Objectives:

- Students will learn in-depth about the ruling parties of Taiwan during the 228 incident and compare it to the parties present today.
- Students will learn about authoritarianism and what factors may lead to authoritarian practices being exercised in democracies.
- Students will learn the difference between the United States and Taiwan's political system.
- Students will be able to identify and reflect on how a political party can influence an economy's development.

Торіс	Student Activity	Teacher Guidance
About Taiwan	Students will actively engage as required.	Teacher will review the learning goals for the day. Provide background information on Taiwan. This can include geographical location, Taiwan's History, Taiwan-U.S. relationship, etc.
		Resources for Teacher-
		 <u>Field Trip to Taipei Economic and Cultural</u> Representative Office (TECRO)- A Teacher's
		Resource Guide (Pg. 6 - 22)
		b. The Duty of 228 (Video)-
		https://www.verse.com/stories/1457-the-duty-of-2 28/opening
		c. Understanding 228: More Than Just A Day in
		Taiwan-
		https://oftaiwan.org/2015/02/27/understanding-22
		8-more-than-just-a-day-in-taiwan/
		 See Appendix A- Resources for Teachers.It includes a list of books, primary sources, articles,

		online museum, and documentaries for teachers to gain in-depth knowledge about Taiwan's 228 incident.
Taiwan's History	Students will learn about a brief history of Taiwan (events, timeline, etc)	 Teacher will briefly teach (lecture) Taiwan's history: the Dutch period (1624-1662) the Kingdom of Cheng period (1662-1683) the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) the Returned to China (1945-present). Teacher will also teach about Taiwan's 228 incident - why and how it happened (teach the key facts above or watch one of the movies A City of Sadness (1989)/Formosa Betrayed (2009)) Resource: A City of Sadness (1989) Director: Hsiao-Hsien Hou, Writers: T'ien-wen Chu, Nien-Jen Wu. The story of a family embroiled in the "White Terror" that was wrought on the Taiwanese people by the Kuomintang government (KMT) after their arrival from mainland China in the late 1940s, during which thousands of Taiwanese were rounded up, shot, and/or sent to prison. Article: Taiwan's 228 Incident and the Politics of Placing Blame (https://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca>index.php> article>viewFile>4228) Memorial Foundation of 228 (https://www.228.org.tw/en/228incident.html) Taiwan's White Terror: Remembering the 228 Incident (https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/02/taiwans-white -terror-remembering-228-incident/) Taiwanese Identity And The Memories of 2-28: A Case For Political Reconciliation (https://www.jstor.org/stable/42704735?seq=3#m etadata_info_tab_contents)
Taiwan's	Students will learn about both	Teacher will teach about Taiwan's political party

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Political Parties- KMT and DPP	the political parties in Taiwan through readings, videos, and lectures. Students will actively engage and ask questions when appropriate.	system—past, present and future. Teachers will focus on connecting prior knowledge and sharing new information. Few resources to help teachers understand Taiwan's political system: a. Taiwan.gov - Taiwan's Political System: <u>https://www.taiwan.gov.tw/content_4.php</u> b. Taiwan Insight - Taiwan's political party system—past, present and future: <u>https://taiwaninsight.org/2018/01/04/taiwans-politi</u> <u>cal-party-system-past-present-and-future/</u>
How does a political party influence a nation's development	 Students will be divided into 2 groups, and assigned a political party. Students will read about the assigned political 	Since it is a student-led discussion, the teacher will play the role of a facilitator. Teacher can speak in-between where appropriate depending on how the direction of the discussion.
? <30 minutes>	party and discuss the main points to be discussed. 3. Both the parties/groups will come together in a <i>seminar style</i>	This activity is to promote a students critical thinking process and ability to put forth their thoughts during a discussion. The activity is also designed to help students understand how a political party's decisions and actions can impact the society as a whole.
	conversation and put forth their arguments/discussions on which party's actions promoted/demoted Taiwan's development.	 Helpful resources: A Book named 'Economic Development Of Taiwan: Early Experiences And The Pacific Trade Triangle, edited by Hsiao Frank S T, Hsiao Mei-chu Wang', would be a great resource for teachers to read on the topic.
What is Authoritariani sm and how	Watch this video in class: <u>Understanding what</u> authoritarianism is.	Teacher can begin with defining Democracy and authoritarianism.
can democratic countries be authoritarian?	Next, Watch video on - <u>"Is</u> <u>There Something Wrong</u> <u>With Democracy?"</u> . Then, in pairs or small groups students will discuss:	These videos will help students understand what is authoritarianism and analyzes why democracy sometimes fails, and questions whether established democracies (e.g., the United States) are vulnerable or not. Encourage students to take notes while they watch the videos, on the reasons democracies either fail, weaken or never take hold in the first place.
	 What in the videos stood out to you? What did you learn? Were there any surprises? 	 Helpful resources: Identifying essential elements in a democracy Democracy in Taiwan- Recorded Webinar Democracy in the U.S.

	Anything that challenged what you knew? • What questions do you still have?	 Breaking Norms Will Renew Democracy. Not Ruin It People Are Saying U.S. Democracy Is Falling Apart — But It's Actually Working Like the Constitution Intended It To Trump's Threat to Democracy Why It Can Happen Here Democracy during the Cold War Democracy is More than a Political System: Lessons from South Korea's Democratic Transformation (especially the last five paragraphs in the section on "Authoritarian state-building and its effects" starting with "Each of these academics" The trajectory of anti-communism in South Korea Memories of Authoritarianism in Democratic South Korea Facing History and Ourselves The Reconstruction Era and the Fragility of Democracy. The Weimar Republic: The Fragility of Democracy What Makes Democracy Work? iCivics Democracy Class
		 <u>Democracy Class</u> <u>Repairing the Fabric of Democracy</u>
Taiwan'sup information (onPoliticallaptops, iPads, orsystemdesktops) comparing thedifferent fromU.S. and Taiwan'sthe Unitedpolitical system andStates?economic development<30 minutes>2. Make key points on a		Teacher will briefly explain the U.S. political system before the students can begin their activity. Once the activity begins, the teacher will walk around the class and talk to each pair providing support as required. During the gallery walk session, the teacher will coordinate with students to set up their chart and make sure all students have enough time to look at each other's work.

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Taiwan Today	 Students will reflect on how past vs future political parties made a difference to Taiwan's economic development today. Written reflection of how a Nation can rise irrespective of the political hardships they go through. Exit ticket: What is one valuable thing you learned in today's topic? What changes would you bring about in Taiwan's political system? Why or why not? 	 Putting it all together: Teacher will wrap up the topic with key points on the rise of Taiwan after the 228 incident and how a political system affects a nation's economic development. Helpful resources: Taiwanese Identity And The Memories Of 2-28: A Case For Political Reconciliation: https://www.jstor.org/stable/42704735?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents The 228 Incident Still Haunts Taiwan From memorials to vandalism, Taiwan continues to remember its history — and debate its future: https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/the-228-incident-still-haunts-taiwan/
Debrief/ Reflections	Students can use this time to clarify any confusions or misconceptions.	Teachers will clarify students' confusions or misconceptions.

Appendix: A

Resources for Teachers

Books

- 1. Edmondson, Robert. "The February 28 incident and national identity." *Memories of the future: National identity issues and the search for a new Taiwan* (2002): 25-46.
- 2. Lin, Sylvia Li-chun, and Sylvia Lin. *Representing atrocity in Taiwan: The 2/28 incident and white terror in fiction and film*. Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Lai, Tse-han; Myers, Ramon Hawley; Wei, Wou (1991). A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. ISBN 9780804718295.
- 4. Kerr, George H. (1965). Formosa Betrayed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. OL 5948105M.
- Wakabayashi, Masahiro (2003). "4: Overcoming the Difficult Past; Rectification of the 2–28 Incident and the Politics of Reconciliation in Taiwan". In Funabashi, Yōichi (ed.). *Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press. pp. 91–109.

Primary sources:

 Kerr, George H.; Stuart, John Leighton (April 21, 1947). Memorandum on the Situation in Taiwan (Report). American Embassy, Nanking, China. Telegram No. 689. reprinted in United States relations with China, with special reference to the period 1944–1949, based on the files of the Department of State. Far Eastern Series. Compiled by Dean Acheson. Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off. August 1949. pp. 923–938. OCLC 664471448. Retrieved November 14, 2014.

Articles:

- 1. Taiwan's White Terror: Remembering the 228 Incident https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/02/taiwans-white-terror-remembering-228-incident/
- 2. Fleischauer, Stefan. "The 228 Incident and the Taiwan independence movement's construction of a Taiwanese identity." *China Information* 21, no. 3 (2007): 373-401.

Museums and documentaries:

- "Taipei 228 Memorial Museum (臺北228紀念館)". <u>culture.tw</u>. Taiwan Ministry of Culture. Document unearthed shows double-dealing of Chiang behind 228 Incident – Taiwan News
- 2. Taiwan's Love (documentary)
- 3. The History of Taiwan: Postwar Era and the 228 Incident

Appendix: B

Relevant Curriculum Standards

• FCPS

✓ Grade 9, 10: World Geography

WG.12 The student will analyze the characteristics of the East Asian region by

- a) identifying and analyzing the location of major geographic regions and major cities on maps and globes;
- b) describing major physical and environmental features;
- c) explaining important economic characteristics; and
- d) recognizing cultural influences and landscapes.

✓ Grade 10: World History and Geography: 1500 a.d. (c.e.) to the Present

WHII.12 The student will apply social science skills to understand the conflicts during the second half of the twentieth century by

a) explaining the causes of the Cold War, including the competition between the American and Soviet economic and political systems and the causes of the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe;

b) describing the major leaders and events of the Cold War, including the location of major conflicts;

c) describing conflicts and revolutionary movements in Asia and their major leaders, including Mao Tse-tung (Zedong), Chiang Kai-shek, Deng Xiaoping, and Ho Chi Minh; and

d) examining the political and economic shifts that led to the end of the Cold War, with emphasis on Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Ronald Reagan.

• MCPS Modern World History

✓ Grade 11: Unit 8 Paradoxes of Global Acceleration:

How have the benefits and disadvantages of globalization challenged existing patterns since 1945?

• In which lesson sequence of Unit 8 can I incorporate the '228 Incident of Taiwan'?

In Lesson Sequence 1 in the 2 sessions dedicated to 'why does globalization benefit some while disadvantaging the others?' the article and the podcast can be incorporated as an example of how globalization is a disadvantage to a country like Taiwan. Taiwan is a great example of an economic system that rose with the transformation from a totalitarian political system to democracy. The article and podcast can be used to build on this knowledge either in the form of an in-class group activity where students team up and share their perspectives on the incident or take it as a home-assignment with a written reflection. This can help students improve their critical and analytical skills, while also make earning to make inferences from a global perspective!

• DCPS Social Studies

✓ Grade 10

- ERAV III: The Cold War to The Present: 10.12. Students analyze major developments in Asia since World War II
- Teachers can incorporate the content of "Taiwan 228 incident" when describing China's history and their relationship with Taiwan in the following units:
- 2. Analyze the Chinese Civil War, the rise of Mao Zedong, and the triumph of the Communist Revolution in China. (P, M)
- Describe the consequences of the political and economic upheavals in China, including the Great Leap Forward (famine), the Cultural Revolution (terror of Red Guards), the Tiananmen Square uprising, and relations with Tibet and Taiwan). (P, M, E)
- 7. Describe the political, social, and economic problems of new nationhood in Southeast Asia; and the legacy of the Cold War on Korea, Vietnam, and Taiwan; and the unresolved political problems with the Korean Peninsula and between Taiwan and China.
- Outline the postwar economic rise of many Asian countries, including Japan's adaptation of western technology and industrial growth, China's post-Mao economic modernization under Deng Xiaoping, and India's economic growth through market-oriented reforms as well as the economic growth of Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan. (E, I)
- (G) = geography (E) = economics (P) = politics and government (R) = religious thought and ideas (S) = social impact of events (M) = military action (I) = intellectual thought
- Professor Su's podcast and the additional article can be utilized to deepen their understanding of Taiwan's 228 incident from Taiwan's perspective in addition to learn how the U.S. was involved in the incident. The topic can also provide an idea of how the incident contributes to Taiwan's development.

• Loudon County

- World History II: History & Social Science- Grade 10
 - 1. East Asia, European Presence in
 - 2. SOLs and Skills Forming the Content of this Unit: WHII.13 The student will demonstrate knowledge of major events in the second half of the twentieth century by

c) describing conflicts and revolutionary movements in eastern Asia, including those in China and Vietnam, and their major leaders, i.e., Mao Tse-tung (Zedong), Chiang Kai-shek, and Ho Chi Minh.

Terms to know

• containment: A policy for preventing the expansion of communism Conflicts and revolutionary movements in China

- Division of China into two nations at the end of the Chinese civil war
- Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi): Nationalist China (island of Taiwan)
- Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong): Communist China (mainland China)
- Continuing conflict between the two Chinas
- Communist China's participation in Korean War

(https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=WHIC&u=va_s_053_1000&id=GALE|CX1837900808&v=2.1&it=r &sid=WHIC&asid=58e0128b)

3. WHII.11 The student will demonstrate knowledge of political, economic, social, and cultural developments during the Interwar Period by

c) examining events related to the rise, aggression, and human costs of dictatorial regimes in the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, and Japan, and identifying their major leaders, i.e., Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Hirohito, and Hideki Tojo.

Japan during the Interwar Period — Hirohito and Hideki Tojo

- Militarism
- Industrialization of Japan, leading to drive for raw materials
- Invasion of Korea, Manchuria, and the rest of China

• AP World History: Modern

✓ Unit 7: Global Conflict

You'll begin your study of the period c. 1900–present by learning about the global conflicts that dominated this era.

Topics may include:

- Changes in the global political order after 1900
- World War I: its causes and how it was fought
- The interwar period
- World War II: its causes and how it was fought
- Mass atrocities after 1900

✓ Unit 8: Cold War and Decolonization

As you continue exploring the period c. 1900–present, you'll learn about colonies' pursuits of independence and the global power struggle between capitalism and communism.

Topics may include:

- The causes and effects of the Cold War
- The spread of communism
- How colonies in Asia and Africa achieved independence
- The creation of new states after decolonization
- The end of the Cold War

✓ Unit 9: Globalization

You'll continue your study of the period c. 1900–present by investigating the causes and effects of the unprecedented connectivity of the modern world.

Topics may include:

- Advances in technology and their effects
- Disease
- Environment
- Economic change
- Movements for reform
- How globalization changed culture
- New international institutions

• IB Program (IBDP) - Example

✓ Grade 11,12: IB SUBJECT GROUP THREE: INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETIES SYLLABUS OUTLINE HL AND SL

Part One Prescribed subjects

The Arab-Israeli Conflict 1945-1979

Part Two Twentieth century world history topics

- · Causes, practices, and effects of war
- Democratic states—challenges and responses
- Origins and development of authoritarian and single-party states
- Nationalist and independence movements in Africa and Asia and post-1945 Central
- and Eastern European states
- The Cold War

Part Three Regional options (Higher Level only)

- Americas
- Asia and Oceania
- Europe and the Middle East
- Africa

WIS follows the Americas option, covering the United States and Latin America including the Caribbean.

The option extends from the mid-18th century to 2000. Several themes, a wide range of events and more

than one country should be studied. Examples of appropriate topics include the following:

- Independence movements
- Nation-building and challenges
- United States Civil War: causes, course and effects 1840-77
- The development of modern nations 1865-1929
- Emergence of the Americas in global affairs 1880-1929
- The Mexican Revolution, 1910 to 1940
- The Great Depression and the Americas 1929-39
- The Second World War and the Americas
- Political developments in the Americas after the Second World War 1945-79
- The Cold War and the Americas 1945-1981
- Civil rights and social movements in the Americas
- Into the 21st century—from 1980s to 2000