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Stefan Fleischauer
University of Tuebingen, Germany

Shao-li Lu (2005) *Zhanshi Taiwan: quanli, kongjian yu zhimin tongzhi de xingxiang biao-shu* (展示臺灣、權力、空間與殖民統治的形象表述 [*Exhibiting Taiwan: Power, Space and Image Representation of Japanese Colonial Rule*]). Taipei: Maitian (麥田 [Rye Field Publications]). 455pp. ISBN 986-7252-86-1

Visitors to contemporary China will be familiar with the exoticised depictions of 'minority nationalities' – whether Zhuang, Tibetan, Mongol or Uighur – that are common currency in the media, in the promotional literature of a burgeoning tourism industry, and in the rapidly multiplying array of museums and theme parks. The minorities in question are generally depicted in 'traditional' costume (which nowadays seldom reflects the garb of the average 'Tibetan on the street'); images of beautiful women singing and dancing predominate (and song-and-dance shows are a standard feature of package tours in minority regions); the natural beauty of the scenery and the bountiful production of local agricultural 'specialities' are celebrated; harmony between Han and the local minorities is promoted; and a historical narrative emphasising the benefits bestowed by the more 'advanced' Han supplies the inescapable subtext.

Lu Shao-li's meticulous and fascinating study of the uses made of exhibitions as tools of colonial governance by the Japanese rulers of early twentieth-century Taiwan cannot but remind the reader of the strikingly similar strategies deployed by the twenty-first-century Chinese Communist Party to legitimise and reinforce their control of ethnic 'autonomous regions' on the vast periphery of the People's Republic (PRC). Indeed, this study might well make more than it does of such a glaringly obvious parallel – particularly given the exquisite irony in the way in which the incorporation of the Taiwanese aborigines within the official PRC (and the old Kuomintang) narrative of 'multi-ethnic' nationhood (as *Taiwan gaoshan zu*, they have been designated one of China's 55 minorities) appears to mimic Japanese representations of the relationship between the 'advanced' centre (i.e. the home islands), and the 'backward,' though exotic and picturesque, periphery. The difference, of course, is that in the early twentieth-century Japanese vision of

racial hierarchy, the Han themselves were also deemed backward and – civilisationally – peripheral.

This book opens with several highly timely observations concerning the continuing contemporary importance of large-scale international exhibitions (of various descriptions) as a means of communicating and popularising an official vision of the nation and its place in the world. In particular, allusion is made to the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, the 2008 Olympic Games, and the international exhibition scheduled by Taiwan for the same year as the Olympics (no coincidence). Lu grounds this study in a thorough (perhaps even overly-thorough) review of the increasingly abundant literature on the history of international exhibitions, and one theme that emerges from this is the corruption of the ostensible ideals of the very first modern exhibition in London in 1851 – which was opened by Queen Victoria with ringing endorsements of the principles of universal peace, international brotherhood and progress. As with twenty-first-century exhibitions (not least those staged in ‘Greater China’), so with their nineteenth-century counterparts, the context of international conflict and one-upmanship, as Lu notes, generally played a more important role in shaping the aims and content of the great international exhibitions. These became the stage on which the colonial powers of the age aspired to strut their stuff.

The Japanese, aspirational and – by century’s end – actual imperialists, were eager to join this parade. Lu devotes considerable space to analysing the process through which Japan became initiated into the rites of the large-scale international exhibitions that punctuated this period. The Japanese authorities were keen that their participation in such exhibitions should contribute to bolstering the impression of Japan’s parity with the ‘advanced’ Western nations. Thus initial steps were tentative and exploratory, and full-scale participation in overseas exhibitions was preceded by domestic experimentation with the exhibition form, such as the 1877 exhibition of ‘national products’ in Ueno Park, Tokyo. The authorities quickly became aware of the potential of exhibitions as vehicles for propaganda of all sorts, for promoting new economic policies, and for constructing political identity. In colonial settings, as Lu observes, exhibitions possessed an additional utility – as a form of visual propaganda that overcame the language barrier.

The international exhibitions of the late nineteenth century featured increasingly competitive displays of the colonial achievements of the various powers, each vying to display the exuberant exoticism of its possessions – animal, vegetable, mineral and anthropological – as well as the ambition and successes of its ‘civilising mission’. This was Taiwan’s special contribution to the construction of Japan’s self-image as an advanced, modern nation. For the earliest exhibitions staged in Japan following Taiwan’s 1895 colonisation, groups of aborigines from ‘head-hunting’ tribes were brought to the home islands to highlight the backwardness of Taiwan, and the need for Japan’s civilising influence. Over time, Lu argues, the aborigines became less prominent in Japanese representations of Taiwan outside the island itself, since the imperial authorities wished to accentuate the positive achievements of their rule, particularly in order to attract investment and settlers from Japan. Commercial considerations became increasingly important, and Taiwan exhibits in key international exhibitions in the run-up to the Great War established the teahouse as an enduring symbol of Taiwan. Tea, sugar, rice, camphor, and fisheries were promoted as the key sectors in the

colonial economy – the emphasis on primary products also serving to reinforce images of the island's backwardness *vis-à-vis* a Japan whose increasing industrial sophistication was stressed. Along with commercial came cultural sophistication – sometimes of a distinctly Edwardian variety: Lu reports the bizarre instruction in the guidebook to the Osaka Exhibition of 1903 advising Japanese visitors to the Taiwan teahouse to put milk and sugar in their Oolong tea; one year after the signature of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, this reflects a comical urge to emulate the foremost imperial power of the day.

As Japan's colonial ambitions expanded, so did the scope and range of the colonial galleries in Japanese exhibitions – culminating in the 1935 Taipei exhibition to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of Japan's colonisation of Taiwan. This accorded prominence to displays featuring the new possessions in Manchuria, and took place against the backdrop of the escalating war with China, the developing 'southern advance' policy of the imperial government, and a mounting campaign of 'Japanisation' in Taiwan as in Korea. Here in particular, Lu analyses the spatial dimension of the exhibition – the prominence of the Manchurian gallery, for example, clearly signified a desire to highlight the progressive nature of Japan's influence over its newest dependency. However, following the work of the 'new museologists' such as Tony Bennett, Lu extends the concept of exhibitionary space well beyond the confines of the formal international or national exhibition – considering the representational strategies deployed in museums, department stores and the nascent Taiwanese tourism industry. In the 'Museum of the Governor's Mansion' (*Zongdufu*) – today's National Taiwan Museum – the Japanese curators focused their attention primarily on natural history, with an increasing emphasis during the 1920s and 1930s on anthropology (especially relating to the aborigines). Historical artefacts were also collected in increasing numbers, but most of these concerned the history of the Japanese on Taiwan.

Here is yet another striking parallel with contemporary exhibitionary strategies on mainland China, where museums in regions such as Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang display a similar emphasis on local flora, fauna, geology, and 'folk customs', while in their coverage of history only periods involving intensive interaction with (or rule by) the Han regimes of 'China Proper' are accorded much coverage. On Taiwan in the colonial period, the Han Chinese inhabitants received at the hands of the Japanese precisely the kind of treatment that has long been meted out by Han on the mainland to Uighur, Mongol, Tibetan, and other 'minority' groups. This is illustrated by the reproduction in Lu's book of the waxwork figures of traditionally-dressed Han that featured in the 1903 Osaka Exhibition, and by the photographs published by the railways department of the colonial administration of Taiwanese 'beauties' (*meinu*) in *qipao* posing coyly in front of famous tourist spots. In a similar manner, tourist advertisements and displays of 'minority' culture in the PRC emphasise the innocent charms of the ethnic female, and the timeless, ahistorical, quaint, and backward nature of indigenous culture.

Lu emphasises the influence of modern Western exhibitionary practice on the evolution of Japanese efforts to use exhibitions, museums, tourism, and the apparatus of modern consumerism to re-imagine and represent Taiwan as a previously barbaric outpost of Japanese civilisation. This influence is clear and undeniable, but there is another side to the story. East Asian strategies of state-

building, visions of empire, and representations of colonised 'others' have histories that pre-date the impact of Western colonialism. As Peter Perdue argues in *China Marches West* (2005, published by Harvard), Chinese imperial expansion during the Qing, far from being simply a recapitulation of ancient dynastic state-building practices, was in both its scale and degree of penetration of indigenous societies of Central Eurasia something entirely new. For Perdue, Qing imperialism needs to be seen within the wider context of early modern empire- and state-building throughout Eurasia, and he demonstrates the striking similarities between the discourses of imperial expansion developed by the Qing intelligentsia and the champions of Russian expansion in Central Asia, and of British rule in India. The concept of the 'civilising mission' was as central to imperialism with Chinese characteristics in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as it was to later Western and Japanese imperialisms. Moreover, as Emma Jinhua Teng demonstrates in *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (2004, published by Harvard), images of the savagery and barbarism of Taiwan played as significant a role in justifying Qing imperial rule as they were later to play in legitimising Japanese colonialism. The writings and pictures that Teng discusses were circulated both privately and commercially (in print form), titillating readers with images of the exotic (such as details of the sexual habits of aboriginal women), while also serving to familiarise Chinese intellectuals with the notion that Taiwan (like other new Qing possessions in the north-west) were parts of China's 'sovereign territory'. Thus while modern exhibitions, museums, department stores, and organised tourism constituted new strategies for the promotion and legitimation of imperial rule in the Taiwan of the Japanese colonial era, the content of these exhibitions, and the ways in which they sought to justify imperial rule, often had clear precedents in Qing imperial discourse.

Edward Vickers
Institute of Education, London

Mark Harrison (2006) *Legitimacy, Meaning and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity*. New York & Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 254pp, ISBN: 1-4039-7587-6

I want to begin this review by saying that this is a very important and original book, and that it should become required reading for all those interested in the study of Taiwan because it seeks to engage critically with political science scholarship in the field of Taiwan studies via post-colonial and particularly post-structuralist theory. Indeed, Harrison's book offers significant intellectual nourishment for scholars interested in theory and method and in the study of Taiwan. However, the argument that structures this book is not really about Taiwan. Or, given that it is an epistemological argument about the status of facts – are there such things as given facts or, alternatively, are they produced discursively via theory building – it might perhaps be more accurate to say that the argument that structures this book is not so much about Taiwan as applied to Taiwan as a kind of case study or instance. The consequence of this fact is that it is an argument with comparative