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**Taiwanese Identity in the Lee Teng-hui era: Analysis of the Lee  
Teng-hui's speech manuscripts 1988-2000**

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# Taiwanese Identity in the Lee Teng-hui era : Analysis of the Lee Teng-hui's speech manuscripts 1988-2000

Shiho Maehara

## 1. Introduction

The identity of modern Taiwan has been subject to a number of major shifts as a result of periodic changes such as the Japanese colonial administration and the takeover of Taiwan by the Kuomintang (KMT). In the scholarly world as well, debate ranges from historical interpretations related to the formation process of the "Taiwanese" identity from the historical conflicting relationships of the Naichi-jin (内地人) (the Japanese mainlanders) vs. Gaichi-jin (外地人) (the Taiwanese outlander) during the Japanese administration of Taiwan and the so-called "provincial registration conflicts"(省籍矛盾) between the local Taiwanese (本省人) and the mainlanders (外省人) during the KMT administration until the present, the consideration of issues in a variety of topics related to the Taiwanese identity, and even includes debate on the most basic issue of whether the Taiwanese identity itself is or is not a national identity. The appearance and process of change of the Taiwanese identity itself is, of course, not something that can be discussed only in terms of political action, but is something that is fluid and always changing as a result of the mixture of a variety of factors including literature, education, Taiwanese independence movements overseas and the current state of cross-strait relations, and the circumstances and situations surrounding identity are still changing on a day-to-day basis today and will surely continue to change in the future.

In this paper, the author hopes to attempt to look at the changes in the structure of the Taiwanese identity that was built during the democratization of Taiwan (and the transition to more freedom of speech) and which has continued to and still continues to change today from the speeches of Lee Teng-hui. After his election as the first local Taiwanese president of the Republic of China, Lee Teng-hui consistently served as a symbol of the Taiwanese. It can be thought that Lee Teng-hui's taking the initiative himself, as the leader of the country, to give speeches related to "Taiwanese people" had a profound effect on the identity of the residents of Taiwan. This is because it can be estimated that the effect on the structure of the Taiwanese identity during the Lee Teng-hui government was significant from looking at the changes in numbers of the from surveys carried out within Taiwan on self-identity from around 1992. In addition, while public fears related to the suppression of free speech during martial law remained while Lee Teng-hui was president<sup>1</sup>, the contribution of Lee Teng-hui himself taking the initiative to broaden the "scope" of speech is one of the things that came to be apparent in the course of writing this paper.

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<sup>1</sup> This is not overly apparent during ordinary life, however from viewing the reactions of students at school when risky controversial subjects are discussed and public reaction when the author collected materials on presidential elections, it can be presumed that a certain level of fear still continues to exist.

In this paper the author carried out analysis based on collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches<sup>2</sup> including published speeches, essays, interviews and other sources from official events from 1978 to 2006. These are extremely valid and valuable primary sources for knowing the administrative philosophies, Taiwan's social development, democratization and transition towards more liberalization and freedom during the Lee Teng-hui era. Analysis was carried out on the New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, the New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year and the October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address which were the most easily compared from among the major speeches in these materials from Lee Teng-hui's presidency from 1988 to 2000. For the analysis methods, focus is placed on changes in Lee Teng-hui's word choices in his speeches, which seem likely to be related to the construction of Taiwanese identity. Specific examples of these changes would be the range of variation of use of the first person pronouns "we/us" in speeches, changes of opinion on issues related to unification with the Chinese mainland, and changes in the use of region names for places (Taiwan/The Republic of China on Taiwan), etc.

## **2. Changes in first person pronouns in the three addresses**

The drawing of subjective or objective lines of who is defined as "we/us" who as "they/them (others)" are important components of national identity. At present, there is no sense of incongruity or doubt when the residents of Taiwan use the general term "Taiwanese" to refer to themselves in people's daily conversations, mass media reports, political speeches and other areas, and it seems natural and a matter of course, however it is only extremely recently that the term "Taiwanese"(as a national identity) has come to be used in official statements and it was not used often in official statements during the time of Lee Teng-hui's administration.<sup>3</sup> Lee didn't use the term "Taiwanese" in the three important annual addresses in Table 1, and the collection as a whole, Lee used the term "Taiwanese" only 50 times during his 12-years-administration, (Once in 1988, twice in 1990, 11 times in 1991, 15 times in 1995, 10 times in 1996, 5 times in 1998 and 6 times in 1999) and the term

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<sup>2</sup> There are currently 26 volumes of the collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches. These record speeches (Taipei mayor, president of the Taiwan provincial government, vice president, president) from June of year 67 of the Republic of China calendar to October of year 81 of the Republic of China calendar, with the first 11 published in November of year 81 of the Republic of China calendar (1992), the 12<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> volumes (collections of administrative philosophies, lecture documents related to government policy, reports, interviews, and other materials from his term as president from October of year 81 of the Republic of China calendar to year 87) were published in January of 2001, his speeches from after stepping down as president were published in volumes 21 through 26 (from 2000 to April 2006) in January of 2007 by the Taiwan Advocates publishing house), and the latest volume 28 collects speeches up until June of 2011.

<sup>3</sup> In the collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches, it seems that the use of the word "Taiwanese" is intentionally avoided in the greetings at each juncture and sessions at formal events. However, it also seems that Lee Teng-hui himself intentionally used the word "Taiwanese" when responding to interviews from domestic and overseas mass media such as magazines and newspapers.

“Taiwanese” was used in the different meaning at each address.<sup>4</sup> It can thus be said that the word "Taiwanese" was just that politically sensitive a keyword.

Table 1 shows the words used to indicate "we/us" in the periodic speeches and greetings made every year, including the New Year's day congratulatory address, the New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year and the National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address by year from when Lee Teng-hui assumed the office of president in 1988 until he retired in 2000. In addition, in the same manner, Table 2 shows the changes in the terms used to designate people from the mainland (Chinese from the People's Republic of China) which came to be referred to as "others" midway.

**Table 1:**  
**Changes in the use of "we/us" during Lee Teng-hui's administration 1988-2000<sup>5</sup>**  
(Number of times the word appears in the address)

Year	The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day (元旦祝詞)	The New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year (旧正月大晦日)	The October 10 <sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address (国慶節祝詞)
1988	※The Chiang Ching-kuo Era (蔣經國時代)	My fellow countrymen(全國同胞)(2)	Chinese (中國人)(3), Chinese people(中華民族)(3) All the people of our bastion of national revival in the ROC (中華民國復興基地的全體同胞)(1) All our people(全體國人)(1) My fellow countrymen (1)
1989	Chinese(中國人)(3) People, civilian and military(復興基地的全體軍民)(1) Chinese (國人)(1)	Chinese (中國人)(1) Chinese (國人)(1)	Everybody on our bastion of national revival(復興基地的全體軍民同胞)(1) Chinese (中國人)(1) 中國人民(1)

<sup>4</sup> Regarding the usage of the term “Taiwanese”, it can be divided into four categories: ① Taiwanese in the occupational period, ② when Lee was talking about ‘sadness of being Taiwanese’ (生為台灣人的悲哀) (台灣人に生まれた悲哀), ③ describing the "provincial registration conflicts"(省籍矛盾) between the local Taiwanese (本省人) and the mainlanders (外省人), ④ describing New Taiwanese (新台灣人) concept. For more detail, see the author's doctoral dissertation "Lee Teng-hui and Taiwan's identity." (2014)

<sup>5</sup> English translation of the original speech is based the book published by Government Information Office. However,

	中國人民(1)		
<b>1990</b>	Chinese (國人)(1) 中國人民(2) All countrymen, civilian and military(復興基地的全體軍民同胞)(1)	Chinese (中國人)(2)	Chinese (中國人)(1)
<b>1991</b>	復興基地兩千萬同胞 (1) The entire people (全體國民) (1) Chinese (中國人)(3) Chinese people (中華民族) (2) Chinese (國人)(1) Citizen(國民) (1)	No particular description	Chinese (中國人)(2) All the people of our bastion of national revival(復興基地的全體軍民)(1) Chinese (國人)(1) 中國人民(1) Chinese people (1)
<b>1992</b>	People, civilian and military (1) Chinese (中國人)(2) Chinese (國人)(2) My fellow countrymen(1)	My fellow countrymen ( 1 ) Chinese people ( 1 ) Chinese (中國人)(1)	No particular description
<b>1993</b>	Chinese (中國人)(3) Chinese (國人)(1) Chinese people (2) Countrymen in the Taiwan area) ( 台湾地区的全體同胞)(1) Citizens of the ROC (中華民國國民)(1)	Chinese (中國人)(1) All our people ( 2 )	The Chinese people in the Taiwan area (在台、澎、金、馬的中國人) (1) Chinese (中國人)(5) Chinese people (2)
<b>1994</b>	Chinese (中國人)(3) Chinese (國人)(1) Chinese people (2) 中國人在台、澎、金、馬地區) (1) Citizen (1)	All fellow Chinese (1) The people(全體國人) (1) Chinese people (2) 這塊土地上的人民 People on this land(這塊土地上的人民)(1)	The people(2) Chinese people (4) The Chinese on Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu (台、澎、金、馬地區兩千一百萬人民)(1)

		Chinese (國人)(2)	
<b>1995</b>	My fellow countrymen who had moved into the Taiwan area(台湾地区的同胞)(1) My fellow countrymen ( 3 ) Chinese (國人)(1) Chinese people (2) 台湾地区的民眾(1) 兩千一百萬同胞(1)	Chinese (中國人)(1) All fellow Chinese (1)	My fellow countrymen ( 1 ) Chinese (國人)(1) 中國人民(2) Chinese people (2) 中華民國國民(1)
<b>1996</b>	All our people (全體國人) (1) Chinese (國人)(4) 這塊土地上的全體人民(1)	Chinese (中國人)(2) All fellow Chinese (1) 全國人民(1)	All fellow Chinese (1) Chinese people (3) 21million compatriots of the Republic of China on Taiwan(中華民國在台湾的兩千一百萬同胞)(1) 21 million fellow citizens(兩千一百三十萬的同胞)(3)
<b>1997</b>	My fellow countrymen (3) All our people (1) 21.4 million fellow citizens(兩千一百四十萬的同胞)(1) Citizen (1) Chinese (國人)(1)	My fellow countrymen (2)	All our people (2) All fellow Chinese (1) 21.6 million fellow citizens(兩千一百六十萬的同胞)(1) Chinese people (1) Citizen (1)
<b>1998</b>	All our people (1) My fellow countrymen (4) Chinese (國人)(3)	Chinese (中國人)(1) My fellow countrymen (2)	21.8 million people and their descendants in the Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu area(台, 澎, 金, 馬地區兩千一百八十萬人民)(1) All our people (1) Chinese (國人)(1) All citizen(全體國民)(1)
<b>1999</b>	All our people (1) Citizen (1)	All our people (1) All countrymen on this beautiful treasure island (	All our people (1) Chinese (國人)(3)

	All citizen(全體國民)(3) My fellow countrymen (1) Chinese (國人)(3)	這個美麗寶島上的所有 同胞)(1) Chinese (國人)(3)	
<b>2000</b>	All our people (5) All citizen (1) My fellow countrymen (2) Citizen (1) 22 million fellow citizens (二千二百多萬同胞 ) Chinese (國人)(1) All citizen(1)	Chinese (中國人)(2) All our people (1)	※The Chen Shui-bian Era (陳水扁時代)

Source: Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.7 to 22

### Changes in the affirmation of "Chinese nationalism"

As can be seen from the table 1, the "Chinese nationalism"(中國民族主義) promoted by the KMT before Lee Teng-hui continued to a certain degree even as far as 2000. The words "Chinese (中國人) " and "Chinese people (中華民族) " appear in Lee Teng-hui's speeches repeatedly, and the text "我們中國人 (We Chinese...)" appears in text relatively frequently in situations with cultural connotations (particularly in New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year, etc.), showing that the identity of a "Chinese people" at least continued to be maintained. It is understood that this was the Republic of China's displaying to the mainland People's Republic of China that they were the "Legitimate China" and the "Republic of China was the legitimate heir to Chinese culture", however if the simultaneous establishment of a national identity for Taiwan along with the democratization of Taiwan was essential as Lee Teng-hui said, the author feels this type of governmental view seems inconsistent. In regard to this Lee Teng-hui discussed Taiwan's identity as noted below in "Kore Kara no Ajia (The Future of Asia)" (1996) co-authored with Hideaki Kase.

Because we all recognize ourselves as Chinese and as Taiwanese, we commit all our energy and strength to Taiwan's survival and development. No matter what race or tribe we are, or when we came to Taiwan, we are all Taiwanese. ...When we love Taiwan, and struggle for Taiwan, that is what being Taiwanese is, and when we do

not give up our desire for unification of the country and recovery of the nationality, then we are Chinese. There is no one who can deny that Taiwanese are Chinese.<sup>6</sup>

This is to say, that for Lee Teng-hui at this point, there is no inconsistency or contradiction in being both Taiwanese and Chinese. In these conditions, it is easy to see why in surveys on self-identity conducted within Taiwan, the ratio of responses of "I am Taiwanese" continued to increase every year while responses of "I am Taiwanese and Chinese" continued to maintain steady at around 40%.

## Changes in the scope of "we/us" and "they/them"

However the scope of "we/us" is definitely changing. In general in Lee Teng-hui's speeches, the words "my fellow countrymen(全國同胞)", "all our people (全體國人 (民))", "citizen(國民)" and "people(國人)" were used to indicate "we/us", however from around 1988 until around 1992, these terms were used within a scope that also included the mainland Chinese within the scope of territory stipulated in the Republic of China Constitution, and when, as an exception, talking specifically of the Chinese living in Taiwan, the terms "all the people of our bastion of national revival, the ROC(中華民國復興基地的全體同胞)" (1988年), "people, civilian and military (復興基地的全體軍民同胞)" (1989年), "all the people of our Bastion of National Revival (復興基地的全體軍民)" (1991年)(1992年) were used in addresses. From around 1993, even in speeches, with the positioning as people with the same identity as Chinese, there came to be clearer distinctions made between "mainland Chinese" and "Chinese in Taiwan", with the Chinese living in Taiwan being referred to as "countrymen in the Taiwan area(台灣地區的全體同胞)" (1993年), "the Chinese people in the Taiwan area (在台、澎、金、馬的中國人)" (1993年), "people on this land(這塊土地上的人民)" (1994年), "the Chinese on Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu (台、澎、金、馬地區兩千一百萬人民)" (1994年), "21million compatriots of the Republic of China on Taiwan(中華民國在台灣的兩千一百萬)" (1996年), and "21.3 million fellow citizens (兩千一百三十萬的同胞)" (1996年) clearly drawing the line between "we/us" and "they/them" by indicating the effective scope of control of the Republic of China and appending the population of Taiwan.

The setting of the effective scope of control of the Republic of China was accomplished through the application for membership in GATT on January 4, 1990 as "

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<sup>6</sup> Lee Teng-hui and Hideaki Kase, *Kore Kara no Aja(The Future of Asia)*, (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1996), p 106-107.

**Japanese original version** : われわれはみな中国人であって、台湾人であると認識しているからこそ、台湾の生存と発展のために全力を捧げているのだ。どの種族群団を問わず、また台湾に移ってきた時間の後先を問わず、われわれは全員台湾人なのである。... 台湾を愛し、台湾のために奮闘努力すれば、それが台湾人なのであり、国家の統一と民族復興の希望を放棄しなければ、それで、中国人なのだ。台湾人が中国人であることは誰も否定することはできないのだ。



Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Pengfu, Kinmen and Matsu(台澎金馬個別關稅領域)" with approval being granted on September 29, 1992 which granted Taiwan recognition of its effective scope of control by an international organization in turn allowing Taiwan to escape from being trapped as a "recovery base", and the scope of the terms my fellow countrymen(全國同胞)", " all our people (全體國人 ( 民 ) )", "citizen(國民)" and "people(國人)", etc. came to be used to designate only residents living in Taiwan, becoming completely different in meaning from those used from 1988 to 1992. This can also be seen in the changes of the terms used to mean the "mainland(大陸)" and the "Chinese living on the mainland" in the speeches of Lee Teng-hui as shown in Table 2. Lee Teng-hui generally used the term " mainland compatriots (大陸同胞) " to refer to the "Chinese living on the mainland", and this tendency can be detected up until 1994. However, as with the above, this term's meaning also came to be different before and after entry to GATT in September 1992. For example, conversely, after entry into GATT, Lee Teng-hui said: "The stepped up exchanges between the two sides across the Taiwan today cannot possibly be achieved overnight, the mainland authority and the compatriot should respect the history and reality of the Republic of China on Taiwan." <sup>7</sup>, during talks before the lunar New Year in 1993. It was said regarding "Chinese living on the mainland", changing to expressions that diverted somewhat, which rather than implying an ideology that the free and democratized Republic of China Taiwan would save its fellow Chinese in China, implied that it wanted the history and actual realities of the Republic of China on Taiwan to be respected, with the word countrymen falling out of use thereafter and the term "our 1.2 billion compatriot" being used in 1995. Thereafter, this method of differentiating between the people in Taiwan and the people in China by dividing by population continued until Lee Teng-hui stepped down as president in 2000.

**Table 2:**  
**When did people from the mainland become "they/them"?**  
**List of mentions of the mainlander in Lee's three addresses 1988-2000**  
 (Number of times the word appears in the address)

<b>Year</b>	<b>The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day (元旦祝詞)</b>	<b>The New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year (旧正月大晦日)</b>	<b>The October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address (国慶節祝詞)</b>
<b>1988</b>	※The Chiang Ching-kuo Era	Mainland compatriots(大陸同胞)(2)	The Chinese mainland(中國大陸)(2)

<sup>7</sup> Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "Message before the Chinese New Year," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.12*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p154-155

Chinese original version: "海峽兩岸發展到今日有來有往的交流，得來不易，大陸當局與同胞，應該務實的尊重中華民國在臺灣的歷史與現實。"

	(蔣經國時代)	Communist regimes on Mainland(大陸的中共)(1)	The Chinese Communist authorities(中共當局)(1) 1 billion mainland compatriots(十億的大陸同胞)(1) Mainland compatriots (1) Communist regimes(中共)(1) 中共奴役的中華兒女(1)
<b>1989</b>	Mainland compatriots (1)	No particular description	1.1 billion mainland compatriots(十一億的大陸同胞)(1) Mainland compatriots (1)
<b>1990</b>	Totalitarian Communist regimes(中共獨裁政權)(2) Communist regimes (1)	Communist regimes (2) Mainland compatriots (1)	Communist regimes (4) 1.1billion mainland compatriots(十一億的大陸同胞)(1) The two societies(兩岸中國人)(1)
<b>1991</b>	No particular description  ※臺灣海峽兩岸分裂為兩個不同的政治體制 (the Taiwan straits have separated China into two different political entities)	The Chinese in mainland (大陸的中國人)(1)	The Chinese Communist authorities(中共當局)(1) 中華兒女(1)
<b>1992</b>	No particular description	Mainland compatriots (1)	No particular description
<b>1993</b>	The Chinese Communist authorities (1)	大陸當局 (2)	Communist regimes (3) The Chinese mainland (2) The Chinese Communist authorities (1) 海峽兩岸中國人(1)
<b>1994</b>	The Chinese Communist authorities (2) 兩岸人民(1)	The Chinese mainland (5)	Communist regimes (1) The Chinese mainland (1) Mainland compatriots (1) The two societies (臺灣海峽兩岸中國人)(1) 兩岸的中國人(1)
<b>1995</b>	The Chinese Communist	No particular description	The Chinese Communist

	authorities (3) The Chinese mainland(1) 兩岸人民(1)		authorities (3) Our 1.2 billion compatriots (十二億的中國人)(1) The two societies (海峽兩岸 中國人)(1) Communist regimes(1)
<b>1996</b>	The Chinese Communist authorities (1)	No particular description	The Chinese Communist authorities (3) The two societies (兩岸中 國人)(1) 海峽兩岸人民(1) 中共最高領導當局(1)
<b>1997</b>	Communist regimes (1) The Chinese mainland (2) The Chinese Communist authorities (1)	No particular description	Communist regimes (1) The Chinese Communist authorities (1)
<b>1998</b>	The Chinese mainland (2)	No particular description	Communist regimes (1) The Chinese mainland (1)
<b>1999</b>	Communist regimes (1)	The Chinese mainland (1)	Communist regimes (1) The Chinese mainland (1) The Chinese Communist authorities (1)  ※Proposed “a special state to state relations”
<b>2000</b>	Communist regimes (1) The Chinese mainland (1)	No particular description	※the Chen Shui-bian Era (陳水扁時代)

Source: Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.7to22

### 3. Changes in place names –How do they describe their motherland?

At the Japan Association for Taiwan Studies 13<sup>th</sup> Academic Conference Memorial Talk held in May 2011, the importance of maps in Benedict Anderson's nationalism research was redefined, however for "imagined political communities" consensus on domestic and overseas places is essential. For Taiwan in particular, the Republic of China ideology has been drug out over many years, and the "name of "這一塊土地 (This land)" in which the people of Taiwan live brings up a number of debates and has thus been handled with caution. This can be said to have been the same in the speeches of Lee Teng-hui. Table 3 below shows

the terms for "place" used to indicate "這一塊土地 (This land)" during the Lee Teng-hui administration for the New Year's day congratulatory address, the New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year and the National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address by year.

**Table 3:**  
**Changes in "place" names during the Lee Teng-hui administration 1988-2000**  
 (Number of times the word appears in the address)

<b>Year</b>	<b>The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day (元旦祝詞)</b>	<b>The New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year (旧正月大晦日)</b>	<b>The October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address (国慶節祝詞)</b>
<b>1988</b>	※The Chiang Ching-kuo Era (蔣經國時代)	No particular description	The ROC(中華民國) (1) The bastion of national revival on Taiwan(臺灣復興基地)(1) Our bastion of national revival, the ROC (中華民國復興基地)(1) The bastion of national revival (復興基地)(3)
<b>1989</b>	The ROC (4) The bastion of national revival (4)	No particular description	The ROC (1) The bastion of national revival (3) Taiwan (2)
<b>1990</b>	The ROC (1) The bastion of national revival (2)	Taiwan (臺灣) (1)	The ROC (4)
<b>1991</b>	The ROC (1) The bastion of national revival (3)	No particular description	The ROC (1) The bastion of national revival (1) Taiwan (1)
<b>1992</b>	The ROC (1)	Taiwan (5) 這個小島(1)	No description
<b>1993</b>	The ROC (3)	The Republic of China on Taiwan(中華民國在台灣) (1)	中華民國(the ROC), 在台, 澎, 金, 馬地區(the Taiwan Area)

<b>1994</b>	The Republic of China on Taiwan (1) The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬)(2) The ROC (4) The Taiwan Area(台灣地區)(1)	The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬地區)(1) The ROC (3) Taiwan (2)	The ROC (1) The ROC, based on Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu(在台, 澎, 金, 馬地區的中華民國)(1) The Republic of China on Taiwan (中華民國在台, 澎, 金, 馬)(1)
<b>1995</b>	The Republic of China on Taiwan (2) The Taiwan Area(台灣地區)(1) The ROC (2) 中華民國在台灣地區 (1)	No particular description	The ROC (10) The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬)(2) The bastion of national revival (1)
<b>1996</b>	The ROC (9) The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬)(2)	No particular description	The Republic of China on Taiwan (1) The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬地區)(2) The ROC (5)
<b>1997</b>	The ROC (1)	No particular description	The ROC (7) Taiwan (1) The Republic of China-Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu(中華民國在台, 澎, 金, 馬地區)(1) The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬地區)(1)
<b>1998</b>	The Republic of China on Taiwan (2) The ROC (1)	Taiwan (6) This land(這塊土地) (1)	The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬地區)(1) The ROC (7) The Republic of China on Taiwan (1)
<b>1999</b>	Taiwan (1) The ROC (2)	Taiwan (1) 這個美麗島(1)	The Taiwan Area(台, 澎, 金, 馬)(1)

	This land(這片土地) (1) This land(這塊土地) (1)  ※台灣是我們共同的家園 (Taiwan is the home of us all.),		The ROC (9) Taiwan (5) 美麗的家園(1)
<b>2000</b>	Taiwan (1) The ROC (5)	The great Taiwan(大台灣)(1)	※The Chen Shui-bian Era (陳水扁時代)

**Source: Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.7to22**

The place name used for Taiwan at the time Lee Teng-hui became president was " the bastion of national revival (復興基地)" (or sometimes the bastion of national revival on Taiwan", the bastion of national revival, the ROC "), which was in accordance with the "Chinese nationalism" originally promoted by the KMT. This trend continued from 1991 to 1992. In October of 1992, as noted earlier, Taiwan joined the GATT international organization as "Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Pengfu, Kinmen and Matsu(台澎金馬個別關稅領域)", taking the first step in the international expression of Taiwan's presence, and after the dissolution of the " perennial parliament", and it can be said that the second Republic of China legislative election on December 19, 1992 being held within the scope of this "Taiwan, Pengfu, Kinmen and Matsu(台澎金馬)" limited the scope of the popular will of the people of Taiwan through this election.

It was stated earlier that the term "Taiwanese" was not often used in Lee Teng-hui's speeches, however the noun "Taiwan" itself came to be used in speeches comparatively quickly. Looking at the below uses of the word "Taiwan" in quotes from the New Year's day congratulatory address, lunar New Year greetings and National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address shows that the handling of the name "Taiwan" changed from year to year. The most common pattern is represented in the term "Taiwan Experience(臺灣經驗)" used as a reference related to economic development as shown below.

- Chinese have pursued the ideal of modernization for more than 100 years; the first steps towards this have now finally been realized through the “Taiwan Experience.” The desire by Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits to seek reunification has now appeared on the horizon, on the foundation of the “Taiwan Experience.” (The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, 1989)<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Lee Teng-hui, “New Year’s Message,” *Selected Addresses and Messages 1989/ Dr. Lee Teng-hui President Republic of China*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1990), p2

- The thriving economic growth of our bastion of national revival over the years has created the world-acclaimed “Taiwan Experience.” It has, however, also resulted in a number of imbalances in our development in the areas of society, culture, and the ecological environment. (The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, 1991)<sup>9</sup>
- I sincerely call upon all my countrymen in the Taiwan area that while the achievements of the “Taiwan experience” are by now the pride of all Chinese people, it is only if the “Taiwan experience” can continue to grow and develop that we Chinese will truly have hope. (The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, 1993)<sup>10</sup>
- The “economic miracle” of the “Taiwan experience” is acclaimed by people the world over. ...Actual practice has demonstrated, in comparison with the situation in Taiwan, that the Chinese communists have lost their dominant role in the future economic and political development of the Chinese nation. (The October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address, 1993)<sup>11</sup>
- The utmost significance of our celebrating this founding anniversary of the Republic of China consists in further enriching and disseminating the “Taiwan experience” we have jointly created and in enabling Chinese people, wherever they are, to stride proudly into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. (The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, 1994)<sup>12</sup>

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Chinese original version: 百餘年來中國人追求現代化的理想，終於在「臺灣經驗」中印證中，初步的實現。海峽兩岸中國人追求統一的願望，也終於在「臺灣經驗」的基礎上，展露了曙光。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., “New Year's Message,” *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.8*, (Taipei: Lee- Tseng Wen-hui and Cheng Chung book, 1992), p58-62

<sup>9</sup> Lee Teng-hui, “New Year's Message,” *Selected Addresses and Messages 1991/ Dr. Lee Teng-hui President Republic of China*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1992), p3

Chinese original version: 復興基地多年來經濟的飛躍成長，創造了舉世矚目的「臺灣經驗」，然而也造成若干社會，文化及生態環境的發展失衡現象。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., “New Year's Message,” *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.10*, (Taipei: Lee- Tseng Wen-hui and Cheng Chung book, 1992), p2-6

<sup>10</sup> Lee Teng-hui, “New Year's Day Message,” *President Lee Teng-hui's Selected Addresses and Messages 1993*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1994), p2-3

Chinese original version: 登輝願在此誠懇呼籲臺灣地區的全體同胞，「臺灣經驗」的成就，固然已是中國人的驕傲，「臺灣經驗」的繼續成長發皇，才是所有中國人真正的希望。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., “New Year's Day Message,” *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.12*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p104-107

<sup>11</sup> Lee Teng-hui, “National Day Address,” *President Lee Teng-hui's Selected Addresses and Messages 1993*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1994), p96-97

Chinese original version: 在經濟現代化方面，「臺灣經驗」中的經濟奇蹟，已廣為世人所推崇。...並臺灣經驗比較，中共無論在經濟上，政治上，對整個中華民族未來的發展，都已失去主導的地位。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., “National Day Address,” *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.12*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p573-576

<sup>12</sup> Lee Teng-hui, “New Year's Message,” *President Lee Teng-hui's Selected Addresses and Messages 1994*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1995), p2

Chinese original version: 如何使我們所共同締造的「臺灣經驗」發皇光大，如何使中國人，不論身在何處，都能昂首闊步跨入二十一世紀，便是我們今天慶祝中華民國開國紀念，最重大的意義。

- Our successful constitutional reform created the first stage of the Taiwan experience. The major thrust of the second stage will involve consolidating democratic institutions and putting democratic development on a sound footing. . (The October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address, 1996)<sup>13</sup>
- For the past 50 years, the ROC's world-acclaimed "economic miracle" and political accomplishments have constituted the first phase of "Taiwan experience." Starting today, we are heading toward the objective of the second phase. This involves building the Republic of China into a modern democracy where spiritual and material cultures develop in harmony. We should consider this to be a new index of national development and the new hope of all our citizens. . (The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, 1997)<sup>14</sup>

The phrase "Taiwan Experience(臺灣經驗)" appears as a keyword in a large number of speeches from 1988 when Lee Teng-hui first assumed the office of president. The so-called "Taiwan Experience" is, according to a speech in 1988, "the invaluable empirical results gained through the crystallization of the combined knowledge, blood and sweat expended by all of the military and citizens of the government and the recovery base for the progress of the nation and the dignity of the individual through a fusion of the traditional and the modern based on the guiding principles of the Three Principles of the People"<sup>15</sup>, and these gained experiences became a mentality for leading China in a new direction. Thereafter, the keyword "Taiwan Experience" changed around 1996 after Lee Teng-hui became president through direct election from a first step "Taiwan Experience" indicating "economic miracles" and "political successes (constitutional government reformation)", to a second step "Taiwan Experience" aimed at a modern democratic nation unifying both moral culture and material civilization. In any event, in this manner the term "Taiwan Experience" continued to provide a positive sense of values to the place called Taiwan during the administration of Lee Teng-hui.

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Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "New Year's Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.13*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p2-9

<sup>13</sup> Lee Teng-hui, "National Day Message," *President Lee Teng-hui's Selected Addresses and Messages 1996*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1997), p120

Chinese original version: 我們成功的憲政改革，締造第一階段的臺灣經驗，而民主制度的健全鞏固，與民主建設的深耕厚植，則是第二階段臺灣經驗的主要內涵。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "National Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.18*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p1075-1080

<sup>14</sup> Lee Teng-hui, "New Year's Day Message," *President Lee Teng-hui's Selected Addresses and Messages 1997*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1998), p4

Chinese original version: 半個世紀以來，我們以舉世稱羨的「經濟奇蹟」和「政治成就」，締造了第一階段的「臺灣經驗」。從今天開始，我們要向創造第二階段的「臺灣經驗」的目標邁進，也就是要建立一個精神文化與物質文明和諧發展的現代化民主國家。我們應以此作為國家建立的新指標，全國同胞的新希望。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "New Year's Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.19*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p2-10

<sup>15</sup>Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "New Year's Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.8*, (Taipei: Lee- Tseng Wen-hui and Cheng Chung book, 1992), p59-60



The 2<sup>nd</sup> example is used when making references related to the issues of unification between Taiwan and Mainland China. The following are major examples. In general, during the first half of the 1990's, as shown below, the goal as all Chinese was that Taiwan and China were handled as one indivisible territory aiming for future unification, however the assertion was that this unification should be realized in conditions of "freedom, democracy, prosperity and equality of wealth". The idea of Taiwanese independence was consistently dismissed.

- Today the experience and fruits of Taiwan's development have become a model for study and emulation by the developing nations of the world as well as an object of admiration and longing for our 1.1 billion mainland compatriots. Taiwan's future cannot be viewed as independent of a reunified China, and the nation's laws cannot indulge any proposals that would divide the country and be repugnant to all our countryman. And our sense of national righteousness and sincerity will most certainly not allow us to merely stand by and watch China continue to exist with one part living in a state of freedom and the other under enslavement. (The October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address, 1989)<sup>16</sup>
- Only by returning to traditional Chinese culture can we truly solve the China problem. Taiwan and the Chinese mainland are both parts of the indivisible territory of the Republic of China. Decisions on China's future must be based on the free will of all Chinese people. Anybody attempting to force violence or a narrow-minded ideology upon the Chinese People are criminals and the common enemy of all the people. In the future, we must, with resolute confidence and active effort, and through the achievements of the Taiwan experience, work to make others understand that China is a nation suited to the implementation of constitutional democracy. The Chinese people are not a people who will willingly allow themselves to be trampled underfoot by Marxism-Leninism. We must unite to strive for a free, democratic, and prosperous new China with the equitable distribution of wealth. (The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, 1990)<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Lee Teng-hui, "National Day Message," *Selected Addresses and Messages 1989/ Dr. Lee Teng-hui President Republic of China*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1990), p50-51

Chinese original version: 今天，臺灣發展的經驗與成果，不僅成為所有開發中國家觀效法的目標，也是十一億大陸同胞共同欽羨嚮往的對象。...臺灣的前途，絕不能獨立與統一的中國之外，國家的法律，絕不能寬縱任何分裂國土，自絕於全民的主張，民族的大義血，尤不容我們坐視中國長久處於一半自由，一半奴役的狀態

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "National Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.8*, (Taipei: Lee- Tseng Wen-hui and Cheng Chung book, 1992), p455-458

<sup>17</sup> Lee Teng-hui, "New Year's Message," *Selected Addresses and Messages 1990/ Dr. Lee Teng-hui President Republic of China*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1991), p3

Chinese original version: 唯有回歸中華文化，能真正解決中國問題。臺灣與大陸。都是中華民國不可分割的領土。中國的前途，當依據全體中國人的自由意志決定。任何妄圖以武力或偏狹的意識形態，強加於中國人民的作法，都是民族的罪人與全民的公敵。今後，我們當以更堅定的信心，積極的作為，藉由臺灣經驗的煥發，使國人了解，中國是適合實行民主憲政的國家，中國人民是不甘受馬列共產主義蹂躪的民族，從而共同奮起，為建立一個自由，民主，繁榮、均富的新中國而努力。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "New Year's Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.9*, (Taipei: Lee- Tseng Wen-hui and Cheng Chung book, 1992), p2-5

- I would like to earnestly point out that any advocacy that vainly attempts to divide our national territory or anyone that flees from the mission of our times is certain to be condemned as a pariah who has cut himself off from our history and culture. For the family links uniting Chinese people cannot be easily broken; the entire Chinese people share a common destiny. I am confident that without a truly democratic and free Taiwan, there can be no democratic, free, and united new China someday; and without a democratic, free and united new China, Taiwan can have no bright future to look forward to. . (The October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address, 1991)<sup>18</sup>

The 3<sup>rd</sup> example is references when handling domestic Taiwan issues. In talks on the lunar New Year's eve in 1992, references were made regarding the disparity between east and west within Taiwan, and on New Year's day in 1995, issues regarding the order in which people came to Taiwan, the local Taiwanese/mainlander conflicts, the so-called "provincial registration conflicts", and further internal racial/tribal issues were described with the following appeal being made, "the 21 million people are all countrymen riding on the same ship and as such we must get along with each other". In general, for Lee Teng-hui's remarks regarding national identity, after stating the view that the Nationalist Party was an imported authoritative power during talks with Shiba Ryotaro which were printed for 3 days straight in the Taiwan Independence Nightly in April of 1994, significant changes in Lee Teng-hui's remarks began to become noticeable, and it is the general view that Lee Teng-hui's statements became stronger after his direct election as president in March 1996 with the backing of the popular will of the Taiwanese people, however looking at remarks in an official capacity after the talks with Shiba Ryotaro it is surprising the degree to which there is no change after those talks. Regarding the talks with Shiba Ryotaro, during talks with the prominent architect Tadao Ando, Lee Teng-hui responded, "I wanted to use the opportunity (the talks with Shiba Ryotaro) to promote the democratization and economic development of Taiwan and rebuild the relationship with Japan. When I was thinking this, I met Mr. Shiba, which allowed me to present these ideas for turning Taiwan's government around in an international context. Basically, until I met Mr. Shiba, I had not been able to make the case for a new Taiwan externally"<sup>19</sup>, saying that at most it was an accidental opportunity, however there is little doubt that the remarks of Lee Teng-hui, at the time the president of the Republic of China, on

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<sup>18</sup> Lee Teng-hui, "National Day Message," *Selected Addresses and Messages 1989/ Dr. Lee Teng-hui President Republic of China*, (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1991), p121

Chinese original version: 登輝鄭重指出，任何妄圖以分裂國土的主張，逃避此一時代的使命感者，都必將成為自絕於歷史文化的罪人。因為，中國人的血脈斷難分離，中國人的命運終為一體，登輝相信..沒有真正民主自由的臺灣，就沒有未來民主自由統一的新中國。沒有民主自由統一的新中國，臺灣也不可能光明燦爛的前途

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "National Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.10*, (Taipei: Lee- Tseng Wen-hui and Cheng Chung book, 1992), p515-518

<sup>19</sup> "Talk between Lee Teng-hui and Tadao Ando: the future of Japan, Taiwan and our planet 1" in Sankei Shinbun(2008), <http://www.ritouki.jp/pdf/20080404lee-andou01.pdf>, accessed May 08,2013

"Talk between Lee Teng-hui and Tadao Ando: the future of Japan, Taiwan and our planet 2" in Sankei Shinbun(2008), <http://www.ritouki.jp/pdf/20080404lee-andou01.pdf>, accessed May 08,2013.

the "sadness of being Taiwanese (生為台灣人的悲哀)" stating that up until that point Taiwan's authority had always been held by imported powers and that the KMT itself was also an imported power<sup>20</sup>, had a major influence on the Taiwanese politics and the Taiwanese people's view of history. The "Taiwan localization movement" Lee Teng-hui inherited from Chiang Ching-kuo can likely be said to have led to the hammering out of a strongly Lee Teng-hui new "Taiwanese localization movement" from 1998 to 2000. The strength granted by being elected president in the 1996 direct presidential election, allowed for the increased expression of more Taiwan oriented remarks such as " We should all love Taiwan itself. (大家一起疼惜臺灣, 還她本色)<sup>21</sup>" in the 1998 pre Chinese New Year greetings and "Taiwan is the home of us all. Rid yourself of the distinctions between tribes and regions and be mutually tolerant of each other, unite and continue to exert the Taiwanese spirit. (臺灣是我們共同的家園, 相信只要我們摒棄族群, 地域的區別, 相互包容, 緊密團結, 繼續發揚台灣精神)<sup>22</sup>" in the 1999 New Year's day greetings, and a greater tolerance can be felt for distinction between this beautiful treasure island Taiwan (這個美麗寶島)<sup>23</sup> and the mainland.

- Due to differences in language and customs observed by my fellow countrymen who had moved into the Taiwan area at different times, some friction and conflict were unavoidable. Regrettably, during the last five decades, these differences left behind scars. And yet, all of us twenty-one million compatriots are in the same boat. We can forge ahead only by working together. We have, therefore, sought to mollify the people that had been hurt and to smooth over enmity and resentment in order to maintain a sense of balance and harmony between different groups. (The New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, 1990)<sup>24</sup>
- We will spare no effort in our drive to transform Taiwan into an Asia-Pacific Regional Operations Center. Capitalizing on our many existing advantages, we will make Taiwan a "technology island." (The October 10<sup>th</sup> National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address, 1997)<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Ryotaro Shiba, *Taiwan-kiko, Gaido wo yuku 40*, (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun-sha (Asahi-Bunko, 1997), p375-393

<sup>21</sup>Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board (ed.), "Message before the Chinese New Year," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.20*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p82-84

<sup>22</sup>Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board (ed.), "New Year's Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.21*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2007), p1-6

<sup>23</sup>Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "Message before the Chinese New Year," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.21*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p644-648

<sup>24</sup> Lee Teng-hui, "New Year's Day Message," *President Lee teng-hui's Selected Addresses and Messages 1995* (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1996), p2

Chinese original version: 臺灣地區的同胞, 由於來臺的先後有別, 語言和生活習慣迥異, 難免產生摩擦與衝突, 在過去五十年的歷史中, 更曾留下一些令人遺憾的傷痕。然而, 我們二千一百萬的同胞是同舟一命, 只有攜手同心, 纔能共謀發展。因此, 近幾年來, 我們採行各種方式, 力求撫慰受創族群, 弭平仇視宿怨, 維持各族群間的平衡心態和諧共處。

Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "New Year's Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.15*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p11-16

<sup>25</sup> Lee Teng-hui, "National Day Message," *President Lee teng-hui's Selected Addresses and Messages 1997* (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1998), p136

Chinese original version: 我們要全力推動亞太營運中心計劃, 充分利用既有的優勢, 建設臺灣成為科技島...

## 4. Conclusion

This paper has sought to simply discuss what influence the remarks of Lee Teng-hui, who promoted the democratization and shift to a Taiwan homeland, from the easy to compare New Year's day congratulatory address on Republic Day, the New Year's eve greetings before the lunar new year and the October 10th National Day of the Republic of China congratulatory address from among the major speeches given during his term as president from 1988 to 2000, had on the construction of the Taiwanese national identity, with a focus on Lee Teng-hui's word choice including the changing of scope of first person pronouns "we/us", changes in opinion in remarks on the unification with the Chinese mainland and changes in the discussion of regional names such as places (Taiwan/Republic of China in Taiwan).

Since the KMT came to Taiwan, there have been attempts to forcefully push aside the languages originally spoken in Taiwan and make Chinese (Mandarin) the "national language." The "Radio and Television Act" was enacted in 1976 establishing media control through the Government Information Office, prohibiting criticism of the KMT and the government on television broadcasts, and requiring the promotion of Chinese culture by setting Mandarin Chinese as the language to be used for television programs<sup>26</sup>, and a variety of other policies were put into place to create a new "nationality", collectively referred to as "Chinese nationalism." However the Lee Teng-hui era came thereafter and the freedom of speech began with the lifting of press restraints in 1988. The full liberalization of terrestrial broadcasting and cable television from 1993 leading to the successive creation of new newspapers, magazines, TV stations, radio stations and other media after the end of martial law, in turn leading to widespread discussion of the future of Taiwan and during this Lee Teng-hui won over public opinion and advanced the democratization of Taiwan. The people of Taiwan rejoiced in their freedom of speech after being released from martial law and took an interest in politics, paying careful attention to the every move of Lee Teng-hui, the first president they elected themselves, which could be imagined. to be the reason why there are 132 books related to Lee Teng-hui published within Taiwan<sup>27</sup>.

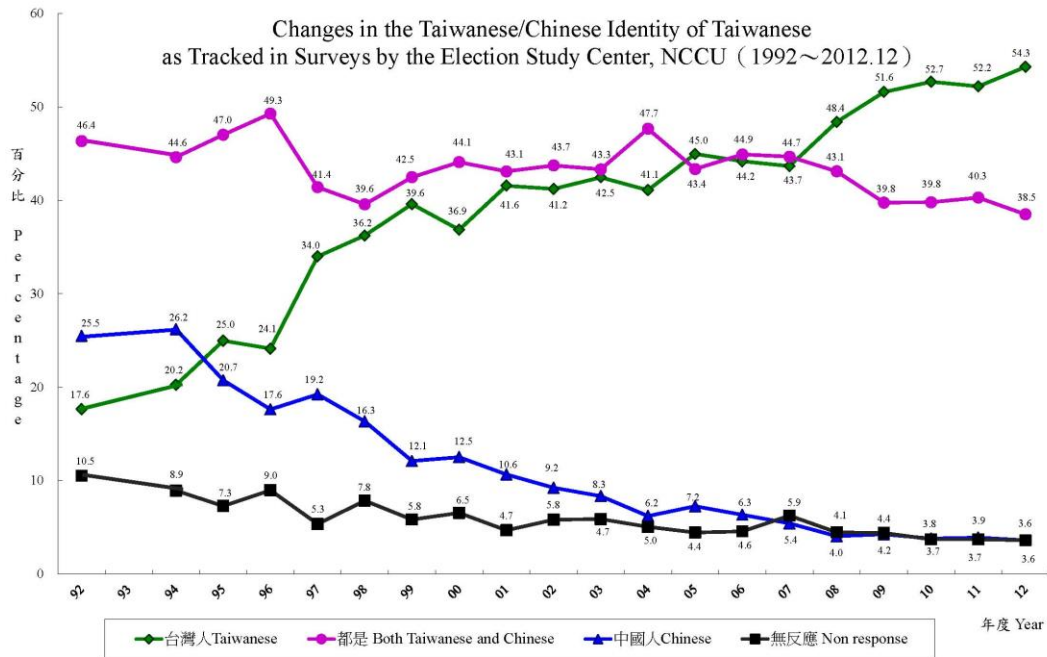
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Collection of Mr. Lee Teng-hui's speeches editorial board, eds., "National Day Message," *Collections of Lee Teng-hui's speeches Vol.19*, (Taipei: Cheng Chung book, 2000), p696-699

<sup>26</sup> Shuji Honda, *Taiwan, Media, Politics and Identity*, (Tokyo: Shunpu-sha, 2010), p29-30.

<sup>27</sup> As of December 2013, there are 132 books published related to Lee Teng-hui within Taiwan alone.

台灣民眾台灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈 (1992~2012.12)



國立政治大學選舉研究中心 製

Source: Election Study Center, National Chengchi University

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