流離失所的定義：

分析 1937 至 1960 年間海峽兩岸戰爭難民的一些基本問題

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二十世紀的戰爭難民是否有共同經驗，或者這些記憶在全面戰爭、政治對抗、殖民地獨立與內戰造成國界頻繁更迭之下被抹消。雖然以地緣政治的發展來作比較和連接分析是值得關注的面向，然而，兩岸關於戰爭受害者和難民的學術研究地方皆已有所發展，但研究兩者聯繫性的學者仍然不多。本演講將探討是否可能理論框架縮小這一差距，並藉由具體實例，證明地區性歷史也許能套用在更廣泛的領域。

在探討戰爭中人民的流徙與再安置上，劃分成兩個時間帶：一為對日抗戰（1937至1945年）、國共內戰時期（1947至1949年），二為後國共內戰時期（1945年至1960年左右），術語的使用或許是問題點。抗戰時期的學術著作用語「難民」，顯然從社會學與道德觀上與政府做區別。但國府官員發現，對1945年起，特別是1949年以降轉進到臺灣的軍民，難以用單一名詞概括表述。政治和文化的不確定性反映在文件和二手史料的用字遣詞中，包括政治類（義胞，譬如「大陳義胞」）、地理文化類（「外省」）以及社會類（「難民」）。更糟的是，儘管部分原因是國際難民救濟系統尚在建構中，但1945-1949年期間在中國因為內戰而流離失所的經驗仍然是在知識上的一個重大的差距。

因此，我演講的第一部分重點是「流離失所」和「流離失所者」兩詞語的適宜性。使用較廣泛的概念可以幫助我們把這些歷史實例聯繫在一起。對於「流離失所」一個特殊的概念位移是，它可能同樣適用於接待逃走人士的社區和人民。

接收移民社區的失所可能性是一個特別值得重視的一點，也在中國在台灣更應如此。

演講的其他部分探討政府對流離失所者的安置計劃，以及流離失所者之間新社群關係的建構與緊張。日軍攻入長江流域下游後不久，國民政府設想的計劃，不僅提供農村難民的居留地方和生計，也有國家利益和軍事考量。然而，這些計劃對當地社會和家族儀軌衍生的問題，並不容易克服。1950年代的台灣，在眷村發生的犯罪事件和18,000名大陳島難民的安置所引發的衝突，在在顯示來自中國的流離失所者有在社會和文化上極為格格不入，就像光復國家、安撫人民的儀式性口號也無法滿足人民一樣，這些案例挑戰著國民黨在40年代末至50年代初期的綏靖政策。亦提醒我們要將流離失所者，在離散群中的特殊性列入考量，在常用來研究的幾種參數如的政府、技術、與社會和文化生活，也可能產生集體影響。

Defining Displacement: A Few Problems in Analyzing Wartime Refugees in China and Taiwan, 1937-1960

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Is there such a thing as a core set of experiences shared by those displaced by the warfare of the twentieth century, or do local conditions override such commonalities as the rise of "total war", political warfare, and the rapid redrawing of national borders under conditions of decolonization and civil conflict? Although such geopolitical developments make comparison and connection highly tempting and desirable, it is notable that even in the cases of China and Taiwan, though scholarship

on the everyday experience of war victims and refugees in each place has developed at a strong pace, studies connecting the two still remain few.   This presentation will explore the possibility of bridging this gap by discussing possible theoretical frameworks and by offering a few examples of how local histories might fit into broader patterns.

Perhaps the core problem dividing studies of war flight and resettlement in China during the war with Japan (1937-1945) and the civil war (1947-49) from those of Taiwan in the postwar period (1945 to roughly 1960, in this study) is one of nomenclature. Both scholarship and original texts of the anti-Japanese period primarily discuss "refugees" (nanmin 難民) – a group sociologically and perhaps morally differentiated from government personnel. Addressing the transfer of military and civilians to Taiwan from 1945 and especially 1949 onward, however, Nationalist officials found themselves at a loss to designate a single reference for the experience. Their political and cultural uncertainty is reflected in the mixture of terms in documents and in secondary works, which variously cite the political ("loyal comrade," yibao 義胞, used for various Cold War refugees; "the retreated" chetuizhe 撤退者); the geographic and cultural (waisheng 外省) and sometimes the social (nanmin .)   Worse, the experience of conflict –driven flight during the period 1945-1949 in China remains a major gap in knowledge, even though in indeed in part because the international refugee aid infrastructure being built at that very time.

Thus the first part of the talk concludes with some thoughts on the appropriateness of the terms "displacement" and "displaced persons" as broader concepts that may help us link these historical instances together.   One particular virtue of the concept of displacement is that it may equally apply to the people and communities who receive persons in flight as well as to the new arrivals. The potential displacement of the receiving community is an especially important point for

analysis in examining local wartime and postwar histories in China and even more so Taiwan.

The rest of the presentation explores this issue by focusing on the tension between government plans for resettlement and pacification and outbreaks of social pressure in new communities of displaced persons. From soon after the Japanese invasion of the lower Yangzi the Nationalist government contemplated plans that would not only provide rural refugees with homes and livelihoods, but would use them for state and military purposes. Yet such schemes posed problems in local society and familial ritual practice that were not easily overcome. In Taiwan in the 1950s, crimes in juancun 眷村 military dependent communities and conflicts surrounding the resettlement of some 18,000 refugees from Dachen island 大陳島 demonstrated the considerable social and cultural differences that could exist among the displaced from China, as well as the continued importance of ritual matters that the state was not able to satisfy. These instances challenged the KMT's message of pacification in the wake of the turmoil of the late 1940s and early 1950s. They also remind us to consider displaced persons as discrete groups in their specificity, yet whose experiences may collectively be shaped by common parameters of governance, technology and social and cultural life.

主講人介紹：

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