

活動時程 Agenda

中國人？華人？—東南亞版的華人「認同」

What Kind of Chinese? Southeast Asian Variations

13:00~14:00	報到	Registration
14:00~14:10	致詞 龍應台教授	Welcoming Remark Professor Lung Yingtai
14:10~15:00	演講 王廣武教授	Lecture Professor Wang Gungwu
15:00-15:30	講者/主持人對談	Dialogue
15:30~17:00	發問與討論	Questions & Answers

王廣武

生於印尼泗水，在馬來西亞長大，並於中國和英國求學，專研「海外華人」議題五十年不輟。他強調不同地區華人的「差異性」，不僅打破西方對華人的刻板描述，也顛覆傳統的華人研究，是國際公認研究海外華人的權威。著作被譯成英、德、法、西與韓語等多國版本。曾任香港大學校長，現為新加坡國立大學特級教授及台灣中研院院士。

Speaker

Dr. Wang Gungwu

Professor Wang Gungwu, a pioneer and leading authority on the study of Southeast Asian Chinese societies, was born in Indonesia and raised in Malaysia. He received his Ph.D. at the University of London in 1957. Between 1986 and 1995, he was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong. Currently he holds the distinguished faculty position of National University of Singapore.

Professor Wang has been honored worldwide: member of Taiwan's Academia Sinica, Honorary Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and recipient of the prestigious International Fukuoka Asian Cultural Prize. His works have been published in English, Chinese, and Malay, and translated into Japanese, German, French, Spanish, and Korean.

龍應台

1974年畢業於成功大學外語系，於1982年獲得堪薩斯州立大學英美文學博士學位。1986年至1999年間，旅居瑞士及德國。1999年出任臺北市第一任文化局局長。2005年9月，出任國立清華大學教授，成立清華思想沙龍，並與一群主張社會參與的文化人及企業家，共同創設龍應台文化基金會。2007年秋天開始在香港大學專任。

Dr. Lung Yingtai

With a doctorate in English literature, Lung Yingtai taught at various universities. She was appointed the first Cultural Minister of Taipei in 1999. In July 2005, a dozen of influential intellectuals together with like-minded business leaders established the Lung Yingtai Cultural Foundation with the aim to cultivate civil society of Taiwan. She is now a full-time professor at the University of Hong Kong as well as Xu Xian-xiu Professor at National Tsin Hua University.

講題大綱

十九世紀，中國人飄洋過海到東南亞胼手胝足打拼生活，落地生根一代又代之後，他們「中國人」的身份發生了什麼變化？什麼時候「中國人」變成了「華人」？「華人」與中國又有什麼樣的矛盾關係？與英國殖民政府又有什麼樣的拉鋸？

「華僑」這個詞，也逐漸消失，東南亞華人的文化認同，是否有了根本的質變？然而新中國的「大國崛起」，對於新世代的華人，是不是一個「認同」的全新挑戰？

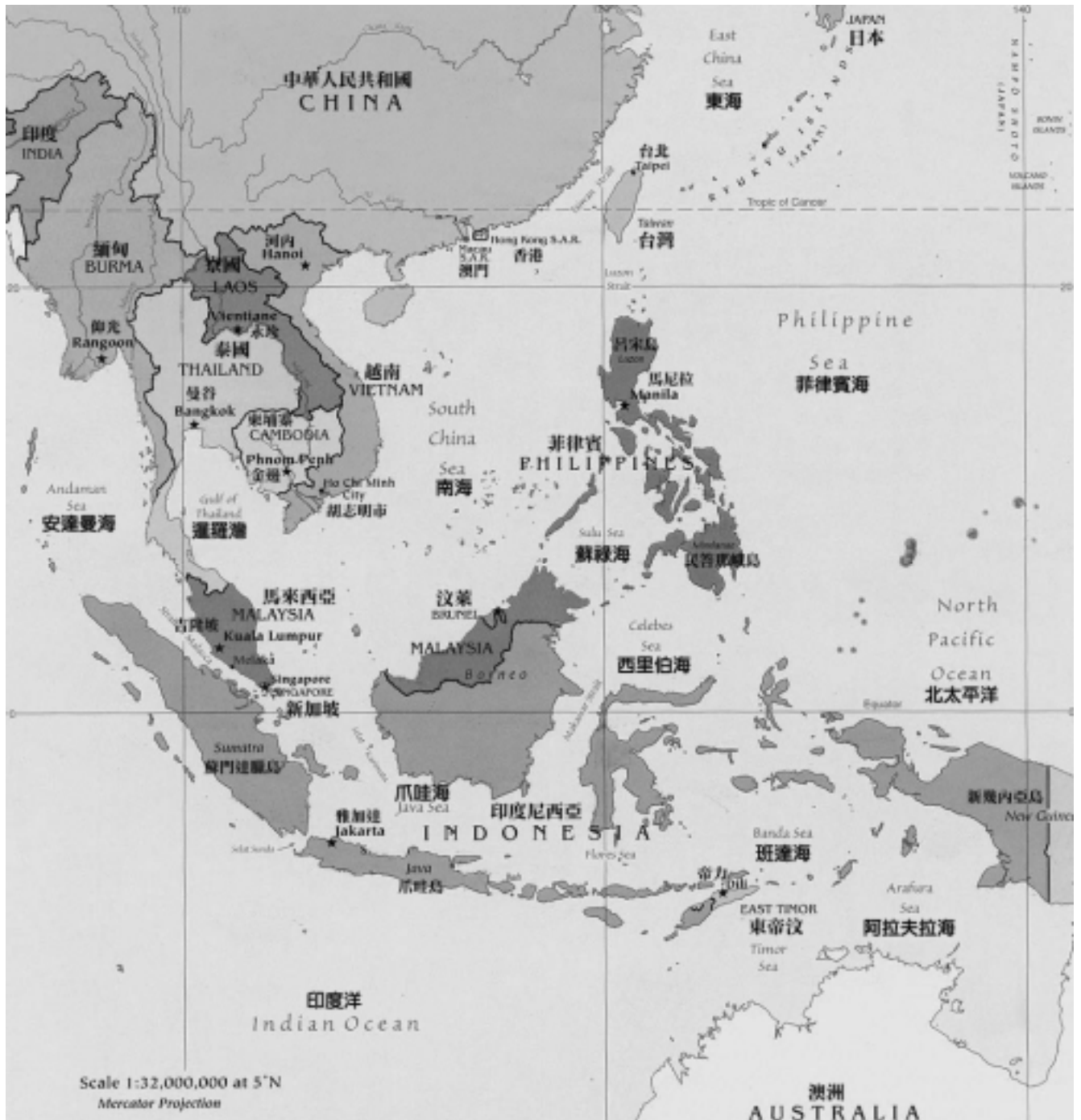
Abstract

The Chinese Overseas in Malaysia and Singapore faced a series of identity challenges. Changes within China as well as the complex interactions with the British colonial authorities all affected the identity issue. Since the 1950s, several kinds of nationalism demanded redefinitions of identity, while globalization, regionalism and the rise of China each begins to attract those of Chinese descent in different ways. Reflections will be offered on future development.

本講座由中華電信全程錄影轉播，歡迎免費收看：

1. MOD：「知識學習」項目下。<http://mod.cbt.com.tw/MOD/Web/index.php>
2. hiChannel： <http://www.hichannel.hinet.net/event/civictaipei.index.htm>

簡介 A Brief Sketch



圖片來源：德州大學圖書館

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/southeast_asia_pol_2003.jpg

海外華人前二十大排名國家人口數 (2006 年)
The Ranking of Ethnic Chinese Population (2006)

排名 Rank	國家 Country	洲別 Continent	人數 Population
1	印尼 Indonesia	亞洲 Asia	7,671,000
2	泰國 Thailand	亞洲 Asia	7,100,000
3	馬來西亞 Malaysia	亞洲 Asia	6,254,000
4	美國 U.S.	北美洲 North America	3,662,000
5	新加坡 Singapore	亞洲 Asia	2,713,000
6	祕魯 Peru	南美洲 South America	1,300,000
7	越南 Vietnam	亞洲 Asia	1,293,000
8	加拿大 Canada	北美洲 North America	1,289,000
9	菲律賓 Philippines	亞洲 Asia	1,167,000
10	緬甸 Burma	亞洲 Asia	1,112,000
11	俄羅斯聯邦 Russian Federation	亞洲 Asia	998,000
12	澳大利亞 Australia	大洋洲 Oceania	665,000
13	日本 Japan	亞洲 Asia	561,000
14	柬埔寨 Cambodia	亞洲 Asia	352,000
15	英國 U.K.	歐洲 Europe	310,000
16	法國 France	歐洲 Europe	232,000
17	印度 India	亞洲 Asia	193,000
18	寮國 Laos	亞洲 Asia	190,000
19	巴西 Brazil	南美洲 South America	154,000
20	紐西蘭 New Zealand	大洋洲 Oceania	148,000

亞洲海外華人人口數 (2006 年)
Chinese Overseas Population (2006)

地區別 Region	人數 Population	占全球海外華人人數% Percentage (global level)	占亞洲海外華人人數% Percentage (regional level in Asia)
全球 World	38,794,000		
亞洲 Asia	29,803,000	76.8%	
印尼 Indonesia	7,671,000	19.8%	25.7%
泰國 Thailand	7,100,000	18.3%	23.8%
馬來西亞 Malaysia	6,254,000	16.1%	21.0%
新加坡 Singapore	2,713,000	7.0%	9.1%
越南 Vietnam	1,293,000	3.3%	4.3%
菲律賓 Philippines	1,167,000	3.0%	3.9%
緬甸 Burma	1,112,000	2.9%	3.7%
日本 Japan	561,000	1.4%	1.9%
其他 Others	1,932,000	5.0%	6.5%

資料來源：中華民國僑務委員會 Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, R.O.C.
<http://www.ocac.gov.tw/index.asp>

各國國情

馬來西亞		地處東南亞，是由十三個州組成的聯邦，分為馬來半島的西馬與婆羅州島北部的東馬。面積 329,876 平方公里，人口超過兩千七百萬。
	社會	馬來西亞屬多元種族國家，主要由三大種族組成：馬來人（66%）、華人（26%）及印度人（7.5%），相較於其他東南亞各國，馬來西亞華人佔全國人口比例最高，故種族問題多來自於馬來人與華人。官方語言為馬來語，常用語則包括英語、華語、淡米爾語；亦有以教學語言區分的中小學校。
	政治	政治制度為君主立憲之聯邦，執政黨是由各民族組成的各政黨相結合的廣泛聯合陣線「國家陣線（National Front）」，其中亦包括「巫統」、「馬華公會」、「印度國大黨」。主要反對黨為以華人為主的「民主行動黨」。
	經濟	在新經濟政策下，自 1971 年至 2000 年期間從原料出產國轉換為新興的多元工業經濟。GDP 為 \$ 6,146 美元。
新加坡		東南亞島國，被稱為「城市國家」，位於馬來半島南端，馬六甲海峽南口。面積 704 平方公里，人口約四百六十八萬人。
	社會	新加坡為東南亞各國中，唯一以華人為主的國家，華人佔全國人口比例 75%，其次為馬來人 14%，印度裔 8%。官方語言包括英語、馬來語、華語和淡米爾語四種，英文為法定行政及文書用語；教育方面，均以英語授課。
	政治	政治制度為議會制，自 1959 年以來，人民行動黨是唯一的執政黨，議會中亦少有足夠監督力之反對黨。
	經濟	新加坡屬已開發國家，是亞洲最重要的金融和貿易中心之一，GDP 為 \$ 30,228 美元。
泰國		1949 年，國名從「暹羅」改為「泰」，為當時東南亞唯一的獨立的國家，國土面積約 513,115 平方公里，總人口超過六千兩百萬。
	社會	全國共有 30 多個民族，以泰族為主要民族，佔總人口數的 40%，佬族(寮國族)佔人口總數之 35%，華族佔 14%，馬來族佔 2.3%，其餘是高棉族、苗族等。
	政治	泰國為君主立憲國家，按泰國憲法，泰王為國家及其完整統一的代表，無實際權力。泰國議會由眾議院及參議院組成，議會成員由國民選舉。2006 年 9 月，頌提汶雅叻林軍趁泰國總理赴紐約參加聯合國大會之機，發動軍事政變，宣佈暫時廢除憲法，解散內閣及禁止一切政黨活動。
	經濟	1985 年至 1995 年間的經濟發展為世界排行第一。1997 年泰國貨幣危機引發亞洲經濟危機，美元對泰銖的兌換率從 1:26 降到 1:56。1998 年國民經濟下降了 10%，1999 年後經濟開始復甦。華商是泰國的重要經濟支柱，當地有不少大型企業都是由華商開辦。
印尼		世界最大的群島國家，由上萬個島嶼組成，疆域橫跨亞洲及大洋洲。國土面積 1,919,440 平方公里，總人口約有兩億三千四百萬人。
	社會	為世界排名第四的人口大國，有 100 多個民族。其中爪哇人佔 45%，巽他人佔 14%，馬都拉人佔 7.5%，馬來人佔 7.5%，華人佔 5%，其他民族則佔 26%。官方語言為印度尼西亞語。
	政治	為總統制國家，種族、語言及宗教信仰多元，為了維持內部安定，在政治理念上奉行「真神、人道主義、國家統一、民主政治、社會正義」的立國五原則。
	經濟	貧富不均一直是印尼經濟首要問題，亦為種族衝突之根源。據估計華人只佔印尼人口 5%，但卻擁有全國 70% 以上的財富。1998 年亞洲金融風暴使貧富差距更為顯著，同年 5 月 13 日發生震撼國際的排華暴動。

菲律賓	由太平洋的菲律賓群島(約有 7107 個島嶼)及其周邊大小島嶼組成。國土面積約 300,000 平方公里，總人口約八千八百萬人。	
	社會	主要以南島語系的民族(95.5%)所構成，華人佔 1.5%，並有少數的印度人、阿拉伯人等。由於自古即為多移民國家，受到包括中國、馬來西亞、印尼、西班牙、墨西哥和美國等東西方文化的影響，加上各地區、種族使用不同語言，因此在歷史上一直沒有獨特而明顯的菲律賓文化。
	政治	為三權分立的總統制。總統為國家元首、最高行政首長兼武裝部隊總司令。
	經濟	菲律賓是東南亞地區的新興工業國家。2004 年，菲律賓被世界銀行依購買力平價列為第 24 大經濟體。華人在菲律賓百年來的經濟發展史上，一直扮演著先鋒的角色，據統計全菲五百家最大公司中，華商約佔三分之一。
越南	與柬埔寨、寮國和中國的雲南省、廣西壯族自治區接壤，國土面積約 331,690 平方公里，總人口約八千七百萬人。	
	社會	越南是東南亞國家中，受中國文化影響最深，且是唯一接受儒教的國家，長期實施科舉制度選拔官吏，直到 1919 年才被廢除。越南有 54 個民族，越族佔總人口的 87%，控制全國政治經濟，主導文化事業。華人為該國的少數民族，1979 年中越戰爭時，華人遭受歧視並被迫移民，很多人移居澳洲、歐洲或北美，部分華人則回到中國境內定居。
	政治	由越南共產黨執政，直接掌控立法、司法、行政各部門，各級地方政府也由越共產黨員組成。
	經濟	1986 年開始施行革新開放，1996 年大力推進國家工業化與現代化，並於 2007 年正式加入 WTO。越南是繼中國之後，經濟發展最樂觀的亞洲國家。

志工陳韻欣整理

資料來源：CIA World Fact Book <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>
大英百科全書 <http://tw.britannica.com/>
維基百科 <http://zh.wikipedia.org/w/index.php>

Country Briefing: Southeast Asia

Malaysia	Malaysia is a federation that consists of 13 states and is geographically divided into the western half on the Malay Peninsula and the eastern half (the states of Sabah and Sarawak) in northern Borneo. Approximately 329,847 km ² in area, Malaysia has a population of over 27 million people (December 2007 estimate).	
	Society	A multiethnic country, Malaysia is mainly composed of three ethnicities: Malay (66%), Chinese (25%), and Indian (7.5%). Compared with their counterparts in other Southeast Asian regions, the Malaysian Chinese make up a considerable portion of the country's population and is a major cause of ethnic tension with the Malay. Bahasa Malaysia is the official language while English, Chinese, and Tamil are also common. Primary and secondary schools are of instruction in different languages due to the country's ethnic diversity.
	Politics	A constitutional monarchy, the incumbent federal government of Malaysia is formed by the National Front, a comprehensive coalition led by the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), which consists of various ethnic parties, including the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). The Democratic Action Party (DAP), composed mainly of ethnic Chinese, is the major opposition party.
	Economy	The last three decades of the twentieth century saw Malaysia adopt new economic policies, transforming itself from an economy based on the export of raw materials to a diversified emerging economy. Per capita GDP is US\$6,146 (2007 estimate).
Singapore	An island country and also a city state, Singapore is located at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula and the southern entrance of the Malacca Strait. Approximately 704km ² in area, Singapore is inhabited by roughly 4.68 million people (2007 estimate).	
	Society	Singapore is the only Southeast Asian country dominated by ethnic Chinese (75%), with Malay (14%) and Indian (8%) making up the rest of the population. The country has four official languages: Malay (the national language), English (the administrative language), Mandarin Chinese, and Tamil. English is the language of instruction for most subjects.
	Politics	Singapore is a republic with a parliamentary political system. The People's Action Party (PAP) dominates the political process and has controlled Parliament in every election since self-government in 1959.
	Economy	Already a developed country, Singapore is one of Asia's most important financial and trading hubs. The GDP per capita is US\$ 30,723 (2006 estimate).
Thailand	Approximately 513,115 km ² in area, Thailand has a population of over 62 million (2006 estimate). Formerly known as Siam, the country's official name was changed to "Thailand" in 1949, a time when all other Southeast Asian countries were colonies of world powers.	
	Society	Among the 30-plus ethnic groups in Thailand, the Thai (40%) rank first in population followed by Lao (35%), Chinese (14%), Malay (2.3%), and other minorities including the Khmer and Miao people.

	Politics	The politics of Thailand currently takes place in a framework of constitutional monarchy. The Prime Minister is the head of government and the hereditary monarch is head of state. The Parliament, with members popularly elected, consists of two chambers: the 200-seat Senate and the 500-seat House of Representatives. A coup d'état was launched by the army led by General Sonthi Boonyaratglin in September 2006 when Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra attended the United Nations annual General Assembly in New York. The coup resulted in the temporary abrogation of the constitution, dissolution of the cabinet, and a ban on all political party activities.
	Economy	During the decade 1985-1995, Thailand's economic growth ranked number one in the world. A monetary crisis in 1997 triggered the Asian Financial Crisis, in which the Thai Baht drastically depreciated in value. Thailand's GNP fell by 10% in 1998, and its economy didn't recover until 1999.
Indonesia	The largest archipelago country in the world, the Republic of Indonesia is composed of thousands of islands, spanning from Asia to Oceania, approximately 1,919,440 km ² in area with a population of over 234 million (July 2007 estimate).	
	Society	Indonesia is the world's 4th largest country by population, inhabited by more than 100 ethnic groups, including Javanese (45%), Sudanese (14%), Madurese(7.5%), Malay(7.5%), Chinese(5%), and other minorities. Bahasa Indonesia is the official language.
	Politics	A Presidential Republic, with its huge population and ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversities, Indonesia observes five political principles: Belief in One God, Humanitarianism, Nationalism, Democracy, and Social Justice.
	Economy	The income disparities, worsened by the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, have long been a primary problem for Indonesia's economy and a major cause of the country's long-time ethnic conflicts. The fact that more than 70% of the country's wealth is controlled by ethnic Chinese, who make up only a tiny portion of the country's population, resulted in anti-Chinese riots on May 13, 1998.
The Philippines	Consists of the Archipelago of the Philippines (comprising 7,107 islands) and the surrounding isles, approximately 300,000 km ² in area, inhabited by over 88 million people (2006 estimate).	
	Society	The Filipinos are mostly of Austronesian descent (95%), but there are Chinese (1.5%), Indian, and Arab minorities. Historically, the Philippines have been a major destination for migrants from China, the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia, Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Diverse cultural influences are found throughout the country.
	Politics	A presidential system with separation of powers is adopted by the Philippines. The President is the chief of state, the head of government, and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. A major player in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Philippines is also one of the 24 member states of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)
	Economy	The Philippines is not only a newly industrialized country in Southeast Asia but also an emerging market at the global level. The World Bank ranked the country the 24th largest economy in the world

		using the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). The Filipino Chinese have played a pioneering role in the country's economic development, with statistics showing that enterprises run by the ethnic Chinese make up one-third of the country's 500 largest corporations.
Vietnam	The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is neighbored by Cambodia, Laos, and China's Yunnan and Guangxi provinces. Approximately 331,690 km ² in area, Vietnam has a population of over 87 million (mid-2007 estimate).	
	Society	Among its 54 ethnic groups, the Vietnamese, also called "Viet" or "Kinh", account for 87% of Vietnam's population and dominate the country's politics, economy, and cultural life. The minority Chinese were forced to emigrate during the Sino-Vietnamese War in 1979. Most of them fled on ships to Australia, Europe, and North America, while some returned to China.
	Politics	At present, the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) rules the single-party state. The party exerts direct control over the legislature, judiciary, and administration and all of Vietnam's local government.
	Economy	Vietnam began its economic reforms in 1986 and has devoted itself to industrialization and modernization since 1996. Its first official application for World Trade Organization (WTO) membership was submitted in 1995 and was formally accepted in 2007. Following China, Vietnam has the most optimistic economic prospects among Asian countries.

Translated by Bing Yu Chiu

Source : CIA World Fact Book <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>
 Britannica Online <http://tw.britannica.com/>
 Wikipedia <http://zh.wikipedia.org/w/index.php>

海外華人簡史

時間	事件
960 年	唐朝黃巢之亂後，《諸蕃志》出現關於南洋華僑的最初紀錄。
1405 年	明朝鄭和下西洋歷時 29 年，航行範圍東起爪哇西達非洲東南岸，經馬六甲、蘇門答臘、新加坡海峽等地，當時移居者眾；關於「華僑集體居住」最早的明確記載出於《成祖實錄》。
1603 年	菲律賓華人社群興盛，多從事零售業和手工業，西班牙殖民政府為鞏固統治權及經濟勢力，對華人採屠殺驅逐政策，2.5 萬人慘死。
1644 年	清軍入關後，大量南方人民逃往東南亞，在當地建立華人社區，從事商業活動。
1860 年	鴉片戰爭後，中英締結《北京條約》，清政府首次認可人民渡航海外的自由；嗣後，英、荷、法等國開始招募華工，展開勞力出口時期。此為清廷對海外華人政策之分水嶺，由冷漠敵視轉為保護政策。
1877 年	第一個中國領事館在新加坡建立，清廷發現海外華人經濟闊綽，開始向海外華商籌措資金，積極招攬華商回國投資。
1911 年	孫文推翻滿清，建立中華民國，並言：「華僑為革命之母」，肯定華僑對革命財力捐贈之貢獻。
1928 年	中國發生「五三濟南慘案」，激起海內外中國人的憤恨；由華商陳嘉庚領導成立新加坡山東慘禍籌賑會，為中國籌募經費並招募華僑回中國抗戰。
1937 年	中國發生「蘆溝橋事變」，新馬華人積極聯合印度人及馬來人共同抵制日貨；另成立南僑總會支援中國抗戰。
1939 年	第二次世界大戰前夕，中國軍閥擅權，大批中國人民遠走東南亞。
1941 年	日軍偷襲珍珠港，東南亞華僑投入抗日戰爭，新加坡以林江石為領導人，成立了 1300 多人的星洲華僑義勇軍投入戰鬥；菲律賓華僑許敬誠率領 300 多名華僑青年與日軍打游擊戰。
1942 年	泰國政府頒布《保留職業條例》，規定 27 種多由華僑從事的職業，只許泰人從事。此後多次修訂《外國人職業限制法》，保障泰人工作機會。
1946 年	菲律賓獨立。立法推動華人「菲化」政策，限制華僑企業資本，並對中國移民嚴厲管制。
1948 年	馬來亞殖民政府成立馬來亞聯合邦，馬來人享有特權，引起華人不滿，促使部分華人加入馬來亞共產黨，以武裝反抗；部分親英華人為爭取自身利益，於隔年成立馬華公會。
1950 年	菲律賓政府為保護當地人投資、經商及就業權利，完全禁止中國人移民入境，並對申請入籍的華僑採嚴苛條件。
1955 年	馬來亞成立自治政府，擬定新憲，保障馬來人地位，華人取得公民資格較難。同年，中國政府與印尼簽訂《中印雙重國籍問題條約》，反對雙重國籍，鼓勵海外華人歸化當地國籍。
1965 年	新加坡「人民行動黨」因不滿馬來人優先政策，且與聯邦中央政府在稅務分攤問題上意見歧異，退出馬來西亞聯邦，成立新加坡共和國。
1966 年	印尼蘇哈托任內，發生嚴重的排華事件，許多印華返回中國。同年，中國文化大革命達到高潮，廢除國內外有關華僑事務的部門和機構。
1967 年	蘇哈托上台，印尼政府對華人全面實行強迫同化政策，關閉所有印尼華校，並

	頒布《解決華人問題的基本政策》。
1969 年	馬來西亞「民主行動黨」在華人選區獲得勝利，馬來人不滿失去許多選區主導權，引發種族衝突，死傷慘重，即為「五一三事件」。
1971 年	馬來西亞政府制訂《新經濟政策》，欲使馬來人取得工商企業 30% 的股份，以確保其取得經濟優勢及教育、就業機會。
1975 年	越南統一，改名為「越南社會主義共和國」。肅清殘存資本階級，一系列針對華人的抄家政策，引爆印支難民潮。
1978 年	中國文革結束後，再度恢復僑務政策：鼓勵華僑回國觀光、探親，視海外華人為經濟發展之資本來源。
1979 年	新加坡政府開始推行每年一度的「講華語運動」。同年，中越因邊界問題關係惡化，導致中越戰爭，越南政府大規模驅逐華人出境，造成一百多萬的華人難民潮。
1980 年	中共制訂新的《國籍法》以單一國籍為原則，擁有雙重國籍的中國人即喪失中國國籍。
1986 年	越南撤軍，並召開國事大會，訂立「對內推行經濟改革，對外則提出廣交友、少樹敵，創造有利的國際環境，為國內經濟服務」之政策，越南華人得到新的生活保障。
1990 年	新加坡政府頒佈《共同價值白皮書》，強調儒家思想的價值觀。
1991 年	馬來西亞首相馬哈迪發表「邁向前路」的演講，促進各族群間的融合，「建立一個團結的馬來西亞」。
1992 年	世界華人研究學會於洛杉磯成立，專事海外華人研究。
1998 年	印尼發生排華暴動，大規模地搶劫華人商店、強暴華人婦女。根據印尼官方發佈的《五月騷亂真相調查報告》，死亡華人至少 1250 人。
2000 年	菲律賓和中國爆發南沙群島主權爭執，排華言論驟起。
2003 年	菲律賓首都馬尼拉出現反華危機，大街上貼滿排華傳單「反對在自己的國土上被中國人奴役」、「反對紅色中國向菲走私人口」、「反對紅色中國侵略南沙群島」等，所幸無人員傷亡。
2006 年	印尼政府制定華文教育新政策，全力支持華文教育。全球「華語熱」現象已蔓延至東南亞地區，泰國、菲律賓等國家的大學相繼與中國合作建立孔子學院教授華文。 印尼國會通過新國籍法，廢除法律中「土著」與「非土著」的區分。被形容為「革命性」的新法規定，凡出生在印尼且從未接受過他國國籍的居民，將自動成為印尼公民，印尼華人終於取得公民權，不再被視為二等公民。

志工陳韻欣、陳韻竹、徐筱婷整理

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About Chinese Overseas

Year	Event
960	The earliest reference to overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia is written in the “Chronicle of Neighbor States” in the late Tang Dynasty.
1405	A large number of Chinese settle along the way of <i>Zheng He to the Western Ocean</i> led by Ming Dynasty diplomat Zheng He makes seven voyages from China through Java, Malacca, Sumatra, and the Singapore Strait. The settlers reach as far as the east African coast during their 29-year-adventure. <i>Huaqiao</i> (overseas Chinese) community is officially recorded for the first time.
1603	Chinese genocide occurs in the Philippines. 25,000 Chinese are killed, mostly retailers and artisans. The Spanish colonial government tries to eliminate the Chinese in order to underpin its sovereign and economic power.
1644	Thousands of Chinese from southern China flee to Southeast Asia after the Manchu Dynasty comes to power. The settlers establish a significant business community.
1860	The ban on overseas traveling is lifted due to the Convention of Peking, signed after the China-British Opium Wars. Chinese workers are then employed by westerners, mostly British, Dutch, and French. From that time forward, the Manchu government changes its policy of overseas Chinese, substituting care with indifference and hostility.
1877	The Manchu government established Chinese Consulate in Singapore. It appeals to wealthy overseas Chinese businessmen for donations and investment.
1911	Dr. Sun Yat-Sen overthrows the Manchu Dynasty and founds the Republic of China. He refers to overseas Chinese as the “Mother of the Revolution” for their financial contribution.
1928	Malay Chinese entrepreneur Tan Kah-Kee establishes the Shandong Relief Fund, following the 1928 Jisnán Incident, an armed conflict between the Japanese and the Kuomintang (KMT, the Chinese Nationalist Party). Mr. Tan also solicits the <i>Sojourners</i> to return to China to take part in the war effort.
1938	Marco Polo Bridge Incident sparks the Second Sino-Japanese War. In Singapore and Malaysia, the Chinese successfully ally with the Indians and Malays to boycott Japanese goods in local markets; they also found the Union of China Relief Funds to support the Chinese force.
1939	Chinese flee to Southeast Asia right before the Second World War. Warlords seize power and insurgencies are a rampant problem.
1941	Japan attacks Pearl Harbor. Overseas Chinese take up arms against the Japanese: Lin Jiang-Shi in Singapore forms a 1,300-member armed volunteer force; Xu Jing-Cheng in the Philippines leads some 300 young guerilla fighters, fighting from Manila into the deep jungle.
1942	Thailand carries out an assimilation policy. Chinese are kept from operating 27 kinds of businesses. The Labor Protection Act is amended to protect local labor.
1946	The Philippines declares independence. The new state associates with the assimilation policy toward the Chinese immigrants, whose capital is subject to strict control. Chinese migrants are no longer welcome.
1948	The British colonial government forms the Federation of Malay, which grants the Malays rights of economic privilege. This stirs up anger among ethnic Chinese: some join the Malayan Communist Party to rebel against the British, some pro-British found the Malaysian Chinese Association to negotiate with the British for their own benefit.
1950	To protect Filipino’s economic privilege, the government imposes laws to restrict Chinese immigration. The administration also increases fees and red-tape to keep Philippine Chinese from obtaining local nationality.

1955	Malaysia declares independence and draws up a new constitution specifying Malay Supremacy, making it difficult for Chinese to acquire citizenship. At the Asian-African Conference, the People's Republic of China signs a treaty with Indonesia, denying dual citizenship and encouraging overseas Chinese to get local nationality.
1965	Singapore splits from Malaysia after the heated ideological conflict over Malay Supremacy and the tax-sharing policy between the state's People Action Party government and the federal Kuala Lumpur government.
1966	A series of anti-Chinese riots erupt during the Suharto administration. Many Indonesian Chinese move back to mainland China. In China, Mao launches the unprecedented Cultural Revolution. The overseas Chinese bureau is terminated when the revolution comes to the climax.
1967	Under Suharto's reign, Chinese schools are forced to shut down. The arbitrary assimilation policy, the Basic Policy for the Solution of the Chinese Problem, is adopted.
1969	The May 13 Incident happens after Malaysian People's Progressive Party wins a heated election among Chinese-dominant electoral districts. Disappointed and anxious Malays clash with ethnic Chinese, causing a tremendous death toll.
1971	The Malaysian government launches the New Economic Development Policy, which proposes to increase the ownership of enterprises by ethnic Malays by up to 30% to ensure their advantage in terms of economic activities, education, and employment.
1975	The two Vietnams reunify to build the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Private businesses (mostly Chinese) are expropriated. A large number of Indochina asylum seekers flee the country.
1978	PRC begins seeing overseas Chinese's capital as source of economic development after the Cultural Revolution ends. The PRC's Overseas Chinese Bureau reopens to establish reconnection between overseas Chinese and mainland China.
1979	Singapore launches the Speak Mandarin Campaign to retain the language and memory of its Chinese heritage. The Sino-Vietnamese War breaks out. Approximately one million Chinese are expelled from Vietnam.
1980	PRC promulgates its Nationality Law, which refuses to recognize dual citizenship. Overseas Chinese who have dual citizenships are forced to give up their Chinese nationality.
1986	Vietnam withdraws troops from China. With its call for National Affairs Conference, Vietnam implements free-market reform, which amends its international relations to boost the local economy. Situation of Vietnam's ethnic Chinese improves.
1990	Singapore issues White Paper for Shared Values, emphasizing Confucian Chinese values.
1991	Malaysian PM Mahathir envisions in his inaugural speech , "a united Malaysian nation with a sense of common and shared destiny..." The speech also aims to establish a peaceful relationship among different ethnic groups.
1992	International Society for the Studies of Chinese Overseas (ISSCO) is founded in Los Angeles, USA. The organization marks the global significance of such studies.
1998	Ethnic Chinese become victims in Indonesia of the "Jakarta Riots of May". Chinese properties are looted and women are raped. According to the official report, at least 1,250 died in the riot.
2000	South China Sea Island Disputes between the Philippines and China provokes strong anti-Chinese sentiment in several cities.
2003	Anti-Chinese sentiment is brewing in Manila, capital of the Philippines. Antagonistic posters fill the streets. Tension has rises among Chinese communities.

2006	<p>Indonesian administration has passed a new law to support for Chinese language education. The impact of the rise of China spreads throughout Southeast Asia with several universities cooperating with the Confucius Institute in setting up Chinese language programs.</p> <p>An unprecedented bill on citizenship is passed in Indonesia. The new bill allows all Indonesian born children (without dual nationality) to obtain citizenship automatically.</p>
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Translated by Yi Shin Liu

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東南亞華人深度報導

文 Mangai Balasegaram

羅玉玲(Loh Yee Leng, 暫譯), 二十一歲, 學業成績優異, 不管在哪個國家都應該能被大學錄取; 但是在馬來西亞, 上大學不只得靠成績, 還要看種族。

華人占馬來西亞全國人口的百分之二十六, 但馬國的公立大學卻嚴格限制華裔學生的名額來為馬來裔學生預留位置, 即使他們的成績遠遠低於華人。今年有數百名成績優秀的華弟子弟不得其門而入, 羅玉玲就是其中之一; 然而保留給馬來人的部分卻還有一萬個缺額。

「大學升學種族配額制度」是馬來西亞新經濟政策的一部分, 該政策施行已有三十年, 旨在提升「大地之子」馬來人經濟上的地位。馬來人在經商和房地產也享有特權, 並且掌控政府各個部門。

馬來西亞反對黨領袖林冠英表示: 「華人可以接受政府給馬來人的幫助, 但是應依照馬來人的實際需求來架構政策, 而非施行種族至上的制度, 一味偏袒馬來人。」她認為, 長久以來, 這些政策已遭到濫用, 並滋生了許多裙帶關係。

印尼的情形也很類似。多年來, 當地人在土地所有權及商業利益方面也享有特權。決策者辯說這些政策是為了與華人的經濟實力抗衡並增進當地人的發展。種族政策是東南亞國家一個不成文的社會契約: 華人必須放棄某些權利來做為取得公民權的交易。

東方的猶太人

華人在東南亞落地生根已久, 但多數人的祖先還是十九世紀時來自中國南方的移民。八十多年前, 泰皇拉瑪六世稱華人為「東方的猶太人」, 因為東南亞華人多半財大招忌, 在各地遭受排擠, 馬尼拉華人更常成為綁架者的犧牲品。

華商幾乎控制了整個東南亞的上市公司, 例如在泰國和新加坡, 他們掌握了八成以上的企業, 在馬來西亞有六成二, 在菲律賓也逾半數。印尼華人也擁有七成以上的企業, 不過該數據還有些爭議。

美國法蘭克林與馬歇爾學院教授艾米·傅利德曼(Amy Freedman)是東南亞專家, 她表示華人和當年的猶太人一樣, 面臨類似的種族隔離政策以及財產所有權的限制。

一般人認為華人生來就適合經商, 傅利德曼對此則不以為然。她由歷史的角度切入, 表示: 「在舊殖民時代, 禁止華人擁有土地, 統治者利用華人作為當局與土著的商業中介。殖民結束後, 已具商業背景的華人, 便擁有商業經營的優勢。」

分而治之

華人與其他族群融合、通婚，在泰國和菲律賓最為常見，久之習以為常，從外貌已很難看出種族的區別，例如菲律賓前總統艾奎諾，有華人血統。這些國家的政府也積極鼓勵華人同化，例如在泰國，華人需取一個泰名，才能取得公民權。

華人與各地居民的關係因宗教信仰與歷史淵源而異，傅利德曼說道：「舊殖民政權對華人採取不同的政策，荷蘭和英國先分隔、後降伏，西班牙和美國採取同化政策。」

對華人歧視最嚴重的國家是印尼，華人社群成為群眾暴力襲擊的對象。一九九八年五月，暴民打劫放火，許多華人遭到攻擊，約一百七十多名華人婦女被強暴，二十人喪命，這是一則有計劃性的強暴事件。

一九六五年印尼發動剿共，五十萬人喪身其中，許多華人也死於這次行動。從此以後，政府明令廢除中文字，關閉華語學校，禁止華人慶祝節慶，連在公共場所講華語都不受歡迎。海關甚至認為華語跟武器一樣會「危及印尼人民的安全」。儘管華人紛紛改名換姓，但身分證上還是註明原生族群。

不過這些禁令已漸漸成為歷史。印尼前總統瓦希德上任後，即允許華人書寫中文並慶祝節慶。印尼華人於是步步為營，再興華人文化。正如一名華人領袖所言，華人文化恰似竹枝，強韌有勁。

（作者為英國廣播公司吉隆坡特派記者，志工劉宜鑫翻譯）

資料來源: BBC 英國廣播公司，2001/8/29
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Further Reading

Analysis: South-East Asia's Chinese

By Mangai Balasegaram in Kuala Lumpur

In most countries, Loh Yee Leng, a bright 21-year-old with a string of 'A' grades, would be a winning candidate for university. But in Malaysia, grades aren't the only criteria for entry into universities - race is as well.

Only a limited number of places at public universities are available for ethnic Chinese, who comprise 26% of Malaysia's population. Places are set aside for native Malays - even if their grades are lower.

This year, several hundred top-grade Chinese students - including Ms Loh - received rejections from public universities. Yet, some 10,000 university seats allocated for Malays remained empty.

The racial quota system at universities is part of a three-decade long policy to advance Malays, the "bumiputra" (sons of the soil). Malays also have special privileges in business and property, and dominate the civil service.

"The Chinese accept that many Malays deserve help. But these policies should now be structured according to need, not race," says Malaysian opposition politician Lim Guan Eng, adding that these policies have been misused and encourage cronyism.

A similar situation has existed for years in Indonesia, where the "pribumi" are accorded special rights in land ownership and business.

These policies were justified as affirmative action, to promote native populations against the economic muscle of the ethnic Chinese. The unwritten social contract across South-East Asia was that ethnic Chinese have to lose certain rights in return for citizenship.

Jews of the East

Ethnic Chinese have settled in South-East Asia for centuries, but most today are descendants of 19th century migrants from southern China.

Some 80 years ago, Thailand's King Rama VI called the Chinese the "Jews of the East". Across the region, they have faced much discrimination, often deeply resented for their wealth. In Manila, the communities are often targeted by kidnappers.

Today, they are effectively the region's business class, controlling the bulk of listed companies in the region's stock markets - more than 80% in Thailand and Singapore, 62% in Malaysia, about 50% in the Philippines. In Indonesia, they control more than 70% of corporate wealth - although some dispute this figure.

The Chinese have faced similar segregation policies and laws controlling property to the Jews, notes south-east Asian expert Professor Amy Freedman, from the US Franklin and Marshall College.

Ms Freedman disputes the popular belief that the Chinese are naturally good businessmen, looking instead to history for an explanation.

"The Chinese were kept from owning land and were used as middlemen by colonialists, leaving them in a position to own and operate business once colonialism ended," she says.

Divide and rule

Integration - and inter-marriage - of the community has been greatest in Thailand and Philippines, so much so that some are hardly recognizable as Chinese. Former Filipino leader Cory Aquino, for example, has Chinese blood.

Assimilation has been actively encouraged - in Thailand, for example, ethnic Chinese must adopt local names in order to get citizenship.

The varying relations of ethnic Chinese with local populations are due to differences in religion as well as history. "The colonial powers treated the Chinese immigrants in different ways - the Dutch and the British used a divide and conquer method, the Spanish and the Americans worked on assimilating the whole population," Ms Freedman says.

Discrimination has been most acute in Indonesia, with the community the target of mob violence and riots. In May 1998, Chinese properties were looted and burnt and many people attacked. Nearly 170 Chinese women were also systematically raped, of whom 20 later died.

Many Chinese were also killed during Indonesia's 1965 anti-communist purge, in which some 500,000 lives were lost.

It was around then that Chinese script was banned, Chinese-language schools closed down, celebration of festivals forbidden, and even speaking Chinese in public was discouraged. Customs officials considered the Chinese language "as dangerous to the people of Indonesia" as weapons.

Many Chinese changed their names, but their identity cards would still mark their ethnicity.

However, such regulations have since gone, after former President Abdurrahman Wahid allowed the use of Chinese script and celebration of their festivals.

The community are now enjoying a cautious cultural revival - an indication that the culture has been as resilient as "bamboo", to quote one ethnic leader.

Source: BBC News, 2001/8/29
<http://news.bbc.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/1514916.stm>

Diaspora，一個被濫用的字眼

文 Laurent Malvezin

Laurent Malvezin (LM)：曾有大量書籍探討關於散居於亞洲的華人，你覺得這個議題是否值得我們特別去關注？

王廣武 (王)：據我瞭解，Diaspora 這個字眼意味著一群散居海外具有可觀財富的生意人，因此，一些成功的中國商人會使人聯想到帶有類似社會地位的猶太商人。然而，早期的中國商人與當今的富商很不一樣，在過去二百年來有數百萬中國人離開中國，而大部份人並非貿易商人，他們都是窮人，處境類似當今的外籍勞工，離開中國是為尋求美好的未來。所以我不能將這種移徙與 Diaspora (散居者) 這個帶有財富色彩的字眼作連結，因為這其中帶有相反之意。

LM：然而，這個字眼是否也可以聯想為一個以自我為中心的大型社會群體，其力量並非來自個人，而是它的凝聚力。

王：Diaspora 是帶有這樣的涵義，但是以 Diaspora 一詞來敘述海外華人會有誤導之嫌，因為無論中國人身在何處，他們很容易被所處的環境影響，因此而形成帶有不同區域特色的華人社群，在各個社群中我看不出有何凝聚力。

LM：但對於外國人來說並不是這樣的。外國人看全世界的「唐人街」都大同小異，皆具有濃厚的中國風味。

王：華人會聚在一起慶祝節慶和農曆新年，並同時在群體中尋找新的商業夥伴。但說真的，所有海外團體都各有特色，也很少互相串聯溝通，每個都是獨一無二的。對我而言，把海外華人說成是一大群中國來的 diaspora 是帶有負面色彩的，因此，比較適當的說法應是「一群為了生存而去適應並發展出符合新環境策略的一群人」。菲律賓華人不同於定居泰國的華人，而這兩個地區的華人又與巴西、阿根廷或美國的華人十分不同。每個華人團體都不得不因當地實際狀況來調整自己。

LM：但是，他們本質上仍舊是徹底的中國人。

王：中國文化當然有被保留在華人社會，但是，守住中國文化絕非是第一必要。華人會盡一切可能來提高他們的生活水平，而且大部分的人已經成功。當今的中國新移民已今非昔比，他們不再是窮人和未受教育的人，社會地位已與那些苦過來的先輩平起平坐。這些移民大部分來自香港、台灣和中國，雖然他們擁有專業知識，事實上卻面臨更具挑戰性的問題---直接與本地人才競爭，這需要不同的生存策略。若無專業，他們可以當服務生，這容易許多，因為不需要非常辛苦地與他人競爭。但要成為一個律師、工程師、會計師或醫生，則是另一

回事。本地的專業人士會用盡方法讓華人無法進入他們的領域，所以，華人需要以其他的方式與當地融合以利生存。

LM：你會不會覺得我們因此嘗試將海外華人妖魔化，如果是，又為什麼？

王：Diaspora 這個字，本身就被過度地簡單化。我個人對此用詞非常謹慎，我們常聽到所謂散居猶太人，散居印度人或散居華人，這個用法帶有隱喻的種族「聯盟」，這絕對是不合適的。有心人可以用這種描述來建立一個新的「黃禍」說，更荒謬的是，甚至有人說，中國在背後指使海外華人串聯，像一隻巨大章魚，擴張觸角以建立網絡。這種沒有依據的說法卻被大量引述與運用，造成很多想像空間，例如，有人甚至可能說：[中國人來了，中國人來了!]所以我認為這需要被仔細看待，我希望學者能站出來說：「嘿！這個用法並不合適，這應該不是你真正的意思吧？這個字眼具有政治目的。」

LM：或許是吧！但有一個揮之不去的想法：華人在他們居住的地方並沒有真正的歸屬感。這又為什麼？

王：大多數的華人會認同他們的僑居國，譬如泰國華人就是百分之百泰國人。不過有一點比較複雜，如果你問他們與中國的關係，他們會告訴你，他們發現學中文對做生意很有幫助，藉此產生文化上的自豪，而想了解自己的祖宗。但這與「政治」上的認同又有分別，在亞洲政治認同與文化認同常被混淆，因此我們在談「認同」時，不能從單一角度切入。

LM：你能夠在充滿本土文化的當地國維持你的中國文化認同嗎？

王：對於這個問題，我的答案是肯定的。如果你以整個法國為範圍，你會說你來自巴黎，如果以亞洲為範圍，你會說你是「歐洲人」，因為在亞洲，你不希望被誤認成美國人。認同因此會依時空與地點而作區分並使用不同標籤。

LM：我們或許可以把文化認同與政治做個區隔，但是若要與所在國建立一個共通情感，例如國家意識，有可能嗎？

王：亞洲人其實並不太適應歐洲人所定義的「國家概念」，一直以來歐洲各國的邊界並無太大的變動，再者，這個概念在歐洲是有歷史淵源的。亞洲民族對於「單一性質」的國家概念、邊界、語言、文化與宗教是非常陌生的。東亞人並不像法國人或英國人有那麼明確的國家身份。他們正在漸漸地適應自己是新加坡人或者馬來西亞人的身份，在其他的場合，他們也許說，我是華人或馬來人。對他們來說，民族與國家認同並不矛盾，這與歐洲觀點不同，因為歐洲人固守一種較優勢的身份，不允許其他身分同時存在。

LM：所以，以政治角度來看，散居華人還是很「務實」的保有他們的中國本質。

王：你是指「實用主義」？關於這一點是毫無疑問，但是「有用途」和務實是有分別的。如果當他們的利益沒有得到很好的保護或防衛，他們為何要接受它呢？

LM：您的核心主旨講的就是「信任」的問題。如果主流社會對少數族裔開始產生不信任感，華人對國家的忠誠度便會受到質疑。這或許與事實並不相干，你覺得這種不信任感要如何解決？

王：假設一位華人心向中國，就意味著他知道自己的文化，並懂得如何去運作，這一切，只因為他是華裔。但是事實上卻非如此，那些沒有在中國環境成長，或接受中國式教育的華裔，可能對中國以及歷史一竅不通。華裔美國人和世界其他地區的華人並沒有太多的共同點。若想與中國打交道，說中文當然是優勢，但它會是一個突圍優勢嗎？那就太高估了。大陸人即使喜歡與說中文的人做生意，但在這個情況下，一個懂中文的人，比那些不懂的人，會得到更有利的位置。但是這個論點充滿著問題意識，因為我們不能把「任何一個操著流利的中文」的外國人都定義為散居華人。

LM：以另外一個事件來做例子好了，假設說，亞裔美國人擁有投票權，這意味著在一定程度上他們是有影響力的社群，聯合起來投票給支持自己喜愛的候選人？因此有流言說中國企圖影響美國總統選舉，即使沒有證據，但這仍會困擾著普通老百姓。

王：我個人認為，這是個地方性的政治現象。不管是亞裔美國人或華裔美國人都不想被排擠在外。他們希望對地方事務有所參與以維護其少數族裔的利益，並對抗歧視他們的人。這個現象與外交事務並沒有關係。

LM：那麼為何美國報界把焦點放在華裔美國人或旅美華僑的政治獻金上？他們把華人捐款給民主黨或共和黨之事作為頭條，但是卻又鮮少提及歐洲人、印度人或其他族裔的捐款？

王：這一切都與美國的政治文化息息相關，少數族裔的確可以影響主流政治，但是當談及外交事務攸關國家利益時，政策是不會受少數族裔影響的。國家的利益永遠是被界定在更廣泛的視野，特別是對美國這個有著巨大目標與野心的超級大國，少數族裔在這方面很難影響他們。

（本文為節錄，志工梁仁達翻譯）

資料來源：《亞洲事務週刊》

<http://www.asian-affairs.com/Diasporas/wanggungwu.html>

ASIAN AFFAIRS INTERVIEW WITH WANG GUNGWU

DIASPORA, A MUCH ABUSED WORD

Director of the East Asian Institute - NUS (Singapore)

Laurent Malvezin (LM). A mountain of books has been written about the so-called Chinese diaspora in Asia. Do you think it deserves such attention?

Wang Gungwu (Wgw).- The word diaspora, as I understand it, implies, both business acumen and wealth, and the success of the early Chinese merchants in the early days reminded many of a similar social position achieved by the Jewish merchants elsewhere. However, the Chinese merchants moved to Southeast Asia a long time ago and today, such view is of little relevance with the realities. For the last two hundred years, the Chinese who left China by the millions were not for most of them, traders or businessmen. They were poor, and very much in the situation of the journeymen living today the countryside for urban areas in hope of a better future. Those migrants were far from wealthy, rather the opposite. I cannot associate such migration with the word “diaspora”, which has the opposite meaning.

LM.- we can associate the word with a large social group which is self-centered and which derives its strength not from the individuals but from its cohesion.

Wgw.- “diaspora” has also such connotation, but then it is assumed that all the overseas Chinese are involved and that there is a cohesion. Such view is very misleading. The fact is that the Chinese, wherever they go, are easily influenced by their environment. they adapt to new circumstances and thus become very different from other groups living elsewhere. I don’t see much cohesion.

LM.- To a foreigner, it does not look like that at all. Chinatown is very much a Chinese city, and a foreigner tends to see them as being all over the world very much Chinese.

Wgw.- The Chinese get together for their festival and Chinese new year. They will also look for a new business partner among their community as a matter of convenience, but really, all the overseas communities have their own characters, they rarely can communicate with one another, and there is a myriad of them. To me, instead of saying there is one big Chinese Diaspora, which brings negative commentaries, it would be better to look at the way they were able to adapt in order to survive and what sort of strategies they developed overtime to fit into their new environment. We will see that each one is in fact unique. Look at the Chinese who have gone to the Philippines. They are very different from the Chinese who settled in Thailand. Both are very different from those who left for Brazil, Argentina, or the United-States. Each of them had to find ways and means to adjust accordingly.

LM.- Yet, they remain, for the essential, very much Chinese.

Wgw.- Of course they keep their Chinese culture and what goes with it in their social relations. But that behavior is not central to their purpose. They will do whatever is necessary to improve their standard of living. It is true that most of them are successful, but today the interesting question is to see whether the new emigrants, no longer poor and uneducated people, but rather blue-collar people, are as successful as their poor predecessors. All those people from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and China are in fact facing a much more challenging task than the poor coolies or the merchants of the past. They have a very different experience and what they need is some professional opening, it means competing directly with local professionals. It requires a different strategy. If you have no skills, and just want to be a waiter, it's somehow much easier because you don't have to fight with anybody or to compete very hard with others, but to be a lawyer, engineer, or accountant or a doctor with an established clientele is another matter. Then you have local professionals. They have very powerful ways of keeping you out of their business. They won't make things easy for you and you must find ways to coping with them.

LM.- Are we trying to demonize the overseas Chinese and if yes, why?

Wgw.- The word diaspora is in itself an oversimplification and I find personally very alarming that people talk commonly of a Jewish diaspora, an Indian diaspora or a Chinese one, as if the world consist of few " leagues ". It is simply not true, but unscrupulous people can use such description to build up the image of a new yellow peril. Some people are even going further, saying that China is behind it, sending out people and contacting people all around, acting like an enormous octopus, spreading its tentacles and building-up its network. Such nonsense is bound to be believed when one is using out-of-context words like diaspora. With a lot of imagination, one's could even end up saying: "The Chinese are coming, the Chinese are coming!" So, I would say that it has to be scrutinized, even from the scholars, I hope they will come out and say : Hey! That's not what you mean, you use that word for this political purpose, that is not legitimate. Scholars must have to say that.

LM.- Probably, but there is this lingering feeling that the Chinese have no real sense of belonging where they live. Why?

Wgw.- Most of them identify themselves with the country where they live. A Chinese in Thailand is first of all a Thai. The confusion is that if you ask them, they tell you that they find it useful to learn Chinese to do business or, it is a way to regain some pride in their culture, to try to understand who were their ancestors. But such attitude does not translate into a political identification. The confusion for some is that, in Asia, the concept of a political identity and a cultural identity, has to be understood as being two different things and they are not exclusive.

LM.- Can you really identify with your country if you try hard to keep a different cultural identity than the prevailing one of the country?

Wgw.- That is the question and I think the answer is yes. It is now better understood. When you are in France, you maybe say I'm Parisian, while saying I'm European when you are in Asia, and you feel like it, because perhaps in Asia, you want to differentiate yourself from the Americans. So each one of us can, depending where and when, use different labels.

LM.- We can probably separate the political from the cultural, but at some point you have to belong somewhere and to adhere to a common ground, otherwise how can you have a sense of nation?

Wgw.- Whether we like it or not, not everyone is comfortable with the concept of the nation state in Europe you have taken it for granted because it has been there for so long and your borders did not changed much, but in East-Asia, the idea of a nation-state, with its national boundaries, one language, one culture, one religion, and so on, is very alien. In that respect one cannot expect East-Asian people to be as clear of their identity as the French or the British are. People are learning, learning to say I'm a Singaporean, or I'm a Malaysian , but not with standing, they just keep saying, I'm a Chinese, or a Malay. For them, there is no contradiction between their ethnic identity and their national identity. In Europe the perception is different because people are used to adhere to only one dominant identity. All other identities must be removed, or were removed.

LM.- So, there is some truth in saying that the Chinese diaspora, whatever that is, remains Chinese in essence, and pragmatic, which, in political terms, means a lot.

Wgw.- Pragmatism? No doubt on that, but there is a difference between being versatile: and pragmatic. If and when their interests are not well protected or defended, why should they accept it for ever?

LM.- At the heart of your remark is the question of trust. If minorities are starting to be distrustful, or alternatively, if the dominant social group starts to have doubts about the allegiance of a minority group, if, to come back to the concept of the Chinese diaspora, governments start for one reason or another to believe that its allegiance is not towards the place where they live but their homeland, whether it is true or not being there irrelevant, what can be achieved?

Wgw.- To assume that a Chinese is tuned to the mainland, implies that he knows their culture, he has connections at all level and knows what to do, where and when. All these, just because he is ethnically Chinese. In fact, many overseas Chinese don't know anything simply because they have not been brought up in a Chinese environment or in a Chinese way in China. Some of them may not know a single thing about the Chinese history. Think of the Chinese Americans, and the other people of Chinese origin anywhere else in the world. I don't believe they have much to share in common. Of course, what remain is that they can speak Chinese and becomes an advantage if you are dealing with China. But is it really an outstanding advantage? I think people overestimate its usefulness. Even if the Mainlanders feel much more comfortable doing business in their own language. In that context, everybody, who knows their languages, would be at an advantage over those who don't. But that is not enough because any foreigner fluent in the language would then

have to be considered a member of the Chinese diaspora if that is the criteria. So, it is not a valid point.

LM.- Maybe, but we could look at the phenomena from another angle. It is said that there is an Asian American vote in the United States, which means that somehow that as a group, the Chinese Americans are trying to become a pressure group, grouping their votes to support their favorite candidate? There were talks of China trying to influence the Presidential election. Although there is not a shred of evidence, it still bothers the common folk.

Wgw.- I personally believe that all the fuss is merely a matter of local politics. The Asian American or the Chinese American do not want to be left behind. They want to increase their local participation to defend their minority interests against the people who are prejudiced against them. It is no more than that and they have no impact whatsoever on foreign affairs. To link that to China may look possible, but I really believe that it does not make sense.

LM.- Why then is the American press making headlines as soon as a Chinese American or an overseas Chinese is making a donation to the Democratic Party or the Republican one, while it does not bother to bring up the matter if it is an European or an Indian, or anybody else, for that matter ?

Wgw.- All this has to do with the American political culture and the way minority interests have been able to affect mainstream politics. However, when one is talking about foreign affairs, it is clear to me that the national interests of the country are not affected by minority views. The national interest of a country is always defined by much broader perspective, especially for the US which is a superpower and thus has a tremendous range of objectives and ambitions. And no minority can affect them.

(This is an abridged version)

Source : Asian Affairs Interview with Wang Gungwu
<http://www.asian-affairs.com/Diasporas/wanggungwu.html>

【龍應台文化基金會新聞稿】

「中國人」還是「華人」？ 認同問題如剝洋蔥 王賡武瞄準東南亞 層層剖析

正名、拆「廟」、改教科書，其實都是認同問題的焦慮和衝突，但是只有台灣人有這種歷史的焦慮嗎？別人是怎麼走過來的？研究東南亞華人的國際權威學者王賡武教授，應龍應台文化基金會的邀請，特別來台就東南亞各國的例子細細剖析華人認同的艱辛道路。

龍應台文化基金會與天下雜誌合辦、聯發科獨家贊助的「國際名家論壇」系列，企圖打破台灣對世俗既定「名家」的定義，以全球關懷與實踐精神為選擇基調，邀請對主流價值有批判力並且付諸實踐的各領域名家來分享經驗，希望拓展台灣青年的視野，培養有行動力的全球公民。

2008年2月23日下午2點，在中山堂光復廳，王賡武教授主講「中國人？華人？東南亞版的華人『認同』」，由龍應台主持，探討十九世紀以來，越過無數「黑水溝」到東南亞的中國人，代代相傳之後，他們的「中國人」身份起了什麼變化？「華人」與「中國」有什麼樣緊密又矛盾的關係？他們如何定位自己，又如何處理族群內部對定位的矛盾？「華僑」一詞逐漸消失，是否表示東南亞華人的文化認同，有了根本的質變？如今「新中國」的崛起，對於新世代的華人，是不是又是一種對「認同」的全新挑戰？

從「中國人」到「華人」，東南亞各國華人在認同問題上已經走過曲折的道路，如何面對自己的歷史，如何適應未來的環境，如何調解內部的衝突，都是嚴肅的課題。龍應台基金會希望東南亞的經驗可以給台灣人對自己的處境帶來深思和反省。

王賡武教授現為新加坡國立大學特級教授及台灣中研院院士。其專研「海外華人」五十年不綴，強調不同地區華人的「差異性」，不僅打破西方對華人的刻板描述，也顛覆傳統的華人研究，是國際公認研究海外華人的權威。著作被譯成英、德、法、西與韓語等多國版本，為學術研究者大量引用。

為了讓台灣年輕人與國際名家講者能夠面對面，進行思想交鋒，基金會將同時推出「國際名家私塾—與王賡武面對面」，甄選30位高中、大學及研究所學生，由王賡武教授親身教授，透過與「大師」最貼近的切磋，基金會期待年輕人可以得到最大的思想激盪。

The Lung Yingtai Cultural Foundation

January 26, 2008 For Immediate Release

PRESS RELEASE

The MediaTek International Lecture Series— “What Kind of Chinese? Southeast Asian Variations”

The Lung Yingtai Cultural Foundation is honored to host Professor Gungwu Wang, one of the world's leading authorities on Chinese studies, as part of our continuing MediaTek International Series, co-presented by Common Wealth Magazine and sponsored by MediaTek.

Please join us on **23 February 2008, at 2 p.m.**, at **Zhongshan Hall** as Professor Wang shares his unique perspective about the topic of identity, and issue that so often plagues overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. Professor Wang will also explore this theme in greater detail during a masterclass for 30 hand-picked students.

Those of Chinese descent living in Malaysia and Singapore have faced a series of identity challenges. Changes within China itself and complex interactions with the British colonial authorities have affected the identity of Chinese overseas living in these two countries. Since the 1950s, changing manifestations of nationalism have resulted in periodic redefinitions of identity; meanwhile, globalization, regionalism, and the rise of China each manage, in different ways, to tug at those of Chinese descent. Professor Wang's reflections will offer a look into what the future may hold.

Professor Wang has received honors worldwide for his pioneering studies on Chinese migration. Born in Indonesia and raised in Malaysia, he received his Ph.D. from the University of London in 1957. He served as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong from 1986 to 1995. Professor Wang is currently Distinguished Professor at the National University of Singapore and also Chairman of the Managing Board of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His works have been translated into numerous languages.

Admission to the event is free. All are welcome.

培養「新青年」的世界公民氣質

關心台灣前途的人，大概都認識到，如果人的思維不是寬容開闊理性的，徒有民主制度是不夠的。近年來政治的擴大紛擾促使很多文化人和學者思索台灣未來，也有種種行動的出現。龍應台文化基金會於2005年7月成立，就是在一群主張社會參與的文化人和企業家共同推動下促成。文化人慨然出任義工董事，蒲公英則包括大成集團、普訊融悟文教基金會、誠品股份有限公司、蔣震工業慈善基金，以及公民自發的小額捐款。董事們並建議龍應台「捐出」自己名字做為基金會名稱。

基金會的核心目標小而明確，透過思想論壇來培養年輕人的全球視野，提升深思論辯能力，促使他們關心全球議題，累積國際知識，亦即培養有寬闊全球視野、具世界公民氣質的二十一世紀「新青年」。基金會透過國際論壇、思想沙龍、講座討論的方式，讓「新青年」直接接觸國際的思潮和人物，直接聆聽不同語言的演講，深入探討攸關全球未來的議題；所謂台灣「新青年」，就是一代有氣魄、有眼光、有思想、有關懷的世界公民。

基金會目前有四位專職人員以及一百多位熱誠志工，所有董事及董事長均義務工作。

The Lung Yingtai Cultural Foundation believes that nurturing visionary, open-minded and responsible young citizens is essential to the development of a vibrant civil society. Established as a non-profit organization in 2005 by a group of devoted entrepreneurs and intellectuals, the Foundation is committed to fostering a culture of global vision, providing platforms for cultural exchanges and intellectual dialogues, and enlivening a positive civic spirit in our young democracy.

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關心台灣前途的人，大概都認識到，如果人的思維不是寬容開闊理性的，徒有民主制度是不夠的。龍應台文化基金會於 2005 年 7 月成立，就是在一群主張社會參與的文化人共同推動下促成。

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透過國際論壇、思想沙龍、講座討論的方式，讓「新青年」直接接觸國際的思潮和人物，直接聆聽不同語言的演講，深入探討攸關全球未來的議題；所謂台灣「新青年」，就是一代有氣魄、有眼光、有思想、有關懷的世界公民。

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執大象，天下往；往而不害，安平太。

~老子 道德經三十五章

「大象」是宇宙萬象，「天下」是全球社群。
我們相信，開闊眼觀「大象」，沉潛胸懷「天下」，
人類才有太平、幸福的可能。

The advancement and diffusion of knowledge
is the only guardian of true liberty.

- James Madison

You must become the change you
want to see in the world.

- Mahatma Gandhi

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