

Appendix for the thesis: Masculinity in a Colonial Culture – The Oedipus Complex in Taiwan

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Appendix 1: Taiwan's History

Taiwan is located in the Western Pacific Ocean, a hub between China, Japan, and the Philippines. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that, before major Han Chinese immigration began in the seventeenth century, Taiwan's aboriginal ancestors may have been living on the island for approximately eight thousand years. Taiwan's aborigines are categorized as Austronesian people with linguistic and genetic ties to other Austronesian ethnic groups, such as the people of the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar, Polynesia and Oceania. Moreover, it has been asserted with some confidence that Taiwan is the original homeland of all Austronesian people. (南島民族).

In 1544, when Portuguese sailors first discovered the green, vibrant and beautiful island situated in the Western Pacific Ocean, they could not refrain from calling out "*Ilha Formosa*" (which means beautiful island); since that time the island has appeared in Portuguese world maps as Formosa. When this island was discovered, there were only aboriginal tribes settled in Taiwan.

In 1624 The Dutch established a colony with its colonial capital in South Taiwan, named Fort Zeelandia. In 1626, the Spanish occupied northern Taiwan and built Fort Santo Domingo [Fuerte de Santo Domingo] (currently names Tanshui) as a base to extend its commercial trading, but they were eventually expelled by the Dutch in 1642. The Dutch established a commercial base and began to encourage Chinese farmers from the mainland to develop agriculture, leading to the beginning of Chinese immigration. The first wave of Chinese agricultural workers to this European settlement was strictly limited to men; after they were shipped to Taiwan they rarely returned to the mainland, thus many of them married indigenous women (aboriginals) and had island-born children. Hence, we distinguish between aboriginals and the offspring of the first wave of Chinese immigration, calling the former, indigenous Taiwanese and the latter, native Taiwanese.

The first wave of Chinese immigration during the seventeenth century came mostly from the south-eastern coast of China – mainly Fuchien province and Kuangtung province. Apart from agricultural workers, shipped across by the Dutch, a maritime overlord Cheng Zhih-Lung (鄭芝龍 1604-1641) gathered sailors, pirates, seamen, businessmen and brave youths willing to engage in dangerous marine operations to develop an invincible navy during the Ming dynasty. Although this informal navy had no official connection to the Ming dynasty, Cheng Chih-Lung commanded 200,000

sailors and 4000 vessels between China and Taiwan, and became the biggest, non-official naval force in South-eastern Asia. Cheng Chih-Lung's navy not only monopolized inter-sea business but also extorted protection fees from foreign ships. While crossing the Taiwan Strait foreign ships, such as Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish merchant vessels, had to display Cheng Chih-Lung's flag or be robbed.

Although Ming dynasty officials condemned Cheng Chih-Lung's complex role as merchant, pirate and admiral, they were unable to disregard his power, as his navy and financial capacity greatly surpassed official capacity. The Ming Empire granted him an official title, allowing him to expand his power, as the dynasty considered they might need Cheng Chih-Lung's assistance to defeat foreign invasion. Cheng Chih-Lung's son Cheng Cheng-Kung (鄭成功) maintained his father's marine hegemony, and eventually defeated the army of the Dutch colonizers and took over Taiwan.

In 1661, Cheng Cheng-Gong led his troops in a landing at Lu'ermen to attack the Dutch colonists in Taiwan. On 1 February 1662, the Dutch Governor of Taiwan, Frederik Coyett, surrendered Fort Zeelandia to Cheng Cheng-Kung. In the peace treaty, Cheng was styled "Lord Teibingh Tsiante Teysiancon Koxin", This effectively ended 38 years of Dutch rule on Taiwan, as Cheng's huge army of followers settled in Taiwan and began effecting cultural and educational change.



Cheng Cheng-Kung statue in Shamen, Fuchien , China.



Statue of Cheng Cheng-Kung in Old Fort of Anping, Tainan, Taiwan

While Cheng Cheng-Kung took possession of Taiwan, the Ming dynasty fell to the Ching dynasty. Cheng Chih-Lung had submitted to the Ching Empire, but his wife refused to surrender and finally committed suicide in Fujian. Cheng Cheng-Kung was indignant at his father's submission to the new Empire, and severed relations, devoting himself to transforming Taiwan into a military base for loyalists who wanted to restore the Ming dynasty. However, his power was unable to reach the Manchurian new Empire - the Ching dynasty.

In 1684, the Ching dynasty formally sent officials to Taiwan, establishing a garrison there. The Ching dynasty's attitude toward Taiwan aborigines was tolerant and non-interventionist. They granted the official title of "*Tusi*"(chieftain) or "*Tumu*"(leader of local tribe) to chiefs of various tribes in Taiwan. In particular,, recognizing aboriginal custom, officials drew a red line between the fields of Chinese immigrants and aboriginal land. The Chinese were strictly prohibited from entering aboriginal land. However, many ambitious people still used organized power and cultural predominance to expand their land. During the two hundred years of Ching dynasty rule, the Plain aborigines gradually assimilated Chinese culture, many of them changing their surnames to Chinese names - the Plain aborigines became Sinicized aborigines in Taiwan, making the High Mountain aborigines, with their limited resources, the most vulnerable ethnic groups. It is noticeable that eighty percent of Taiwan aborigines identify themselves as Christian or Catholic, evidence of the influence of the Dutch and Spanish colonial era, as well as Christian missionaries

involved in translating the Bible into their language, and successfully replacing their earlier beliefs. This heritage of Western, specifically Christian mythology, is quite distinct from Chinese, Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist mythologies, but not dominant in literary culture.

Although the Ching dynasty was not disposed to cultural hegemony, from free choice, many Plain aboriginal adapted to Chinese culture. Characteristically, Confucian attitudes were conservative and unprogressive, but Chinese cultural norms, including mythology, came to prevail.

Under the Ching dynasty's policy, people who migrated to Taiwan had to apply for a license of land reclamation from the Ching dynasty. Family members might apply together; or rich people who gathered thousands of members might apply. Poor farmers or seamen along the coast sometimes ignored the rules of the Ching dynasty, slipping through the Taiwan Strait to the land they dreamed of. From 1683-1811, the population of Taiwan increased by 500 percent, evidence of the immigration movement.

The first wave of immigrant offspring represented a different outlook to the second wave of immigrants who came to Taiwan after the Chinese Civil War in 1949. The first wave of immigration and their offspring were characterized as "oceanic" - risk-taking, transparent, creative and relatively unstable compared to the second wave of immigrants with their more conservative attitudes. Nonetheless, both shared Confucian values and culture.

In 1894-1895 the Ching Dynasty was defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War (甲午戰爭) and Taiwan ceded full sovereignty to the Empire of Japan. Inhabitants wishing to remain Ching subjects were given a two-year grace period to sell their property and move to mainland China. Very few Taiwanese saw this as feasible.

Before Taiwan was ceded to the Empire of Japan, there were about 200 years during which Taiwan had an official connection with China, but it was regarded as an "uncivilized area" (化外之地) by the Ching Empire. When the Emperor of Japan requested the Ching Empire to cede Manchuria and Taiwan as compensations of war, the notorious minister, Li Hung-Chang, wrote to Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi and persuaded her to cede Taiwan instead of Manchuria. Manchuria was the homeland of the Ching Empire, and the royal family could never agree to such a request; however, they had to negotiate with Japan. For the Ching Empire to cede Taiwan would have been less painful. At that critical moment, Li Hung-Chang reminded the Empress that "In this island [Taiwan] – birds do not sing, flowers have no fragrance, men are

ruthless, women have no righteousness, a land of miasma, to be abandoned without regret”¹ The Empress finally signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki forced Taiwan to embark upon a different path of modernization. In order to sever ties from China, Japanese colonial rulers cut off Chinese immigration from the mainland, which effectively prevented Taiwan from having any connection with the mainland’s intellectual and political movements. However, long-standing Chinese traditions and customs still remained and have remained the main feature of native Taiwanese culture since Cheng Cheng-Kung’s era.

Large-scale violence continued in the first decade of rule. Japan launched over 160 battles to destroy Taiwan's aboriginal tribes during its 51-year rule of the island. Around 1935, the Japanese began an island-wide assimilation project to bind the island more firmly to the Japanese Empire and people were taught to see themselves as Japanese. During the Second World War, important Japanese military bases and industrial centers were established in Taiwan. The bulk of the Japanese navy departed from Taiwan to attack south Asia and American territory in the Pacific Ocean, thus Taiwan was a target of heavy American bombing. The Taiwanese were taught to identify themselves as Japanese to defeat the American bombing.

At times of war loyalties and identification can become confused in response to propaganda and the effects of war, which can cause polarities to shift. During the Second World War, tens of thousands of Taiwanese served in the Japanese military. Noticeably, 200,000 Taiwanese youths were sent to battles in South Asia (南洋) to fight against the Allied Forces. Taiwanese youths were rarely sent to battles in China. Thus, were not faced with the problem of fighting people of the same ethnic origin. For example, former Taiwan President Li Teng-Hui’s elder brother served in the Japanese navy and died while on duty in the Philippines in February 1945.

¹ Many scholars (Kang Che-Hsing 康哲行 Wang Ting-Chun 王鼎鈞) comment that, in view of Li Hung-Chang’s knowledge, the words should not be considered as spoken from the bottom of his heart, and these words cannot represent his attitude and his commitment to Taiwan. Li Hung-Chang was pushed to make a decision and he knew that the Empress was deeply reluctant to sign any treaty. That he wrote such a letter was perhaps to mitigate her self-accusation. However, this phrase has been widely applied by Taiwanese politicians and quoted on many occasions when making political claims. On the other hand, scholars like Yang Shih-I 楊士毅 Hsu Tsung-Mao 徐宗懋 Yeh Shih-Tao 葉石濤 Lin Yu-Ti 林玉体, consider that these phrases reflected the attitude of the Ching dynasty, and reveal that the Ching Empress and her officials possessed very limited knowledge about Taiwan.

Japanese rule of the island ended after Japan lost the Second World War and signed the Instrument of Surrender of Japan on 14 August 1945. Fifty one years of Japanese rule resulted in, the Japanese language and culture having long lasting effects on Taiwan. Significant parts of the Taiwanese infrastructure were established under Japanese rule. The current Presidential building was also built during that time. In 1938 there were 309,000 Japanese settlers in Taiwan. After the Second World War, most of the Japanese were repatriated to Japan

When Japan withdrew, most native Taiwanese warmly and sincerely welcomed the Chinese arriving from the Chinese mainland. They expected that the arrival of newcomers would relieve the rage they felt at their unfair treatment by Japanese colonizers, and reinstate the imagined culture of their former experience. Between the three-month period after the Japanese left and when Chinese soldiers arrived, the islanders were highly self-disciplined, maintaining their social order without any official governors, police or soldiers. They were quietly waiting for the people from their fatherland in a mood of celebration.

They saw the Chinese as ‘the same’ from an ethnic aspect, as this was secure for them. Even after 51 years of Japanese colonial rule, during which Japanese culture had deeply penetrated their daily life - they spoke Japanese, listened to Japanese music, sang Japanese songs, wore Japanese wooden slippers, sat on tatami² and ate in Japanese restaurants - they still consciously identified themselves as ethnic Chinese.

However, after 51 years of separation from China, the first encounter of the Taiwanese with people who came from their fatherland was a traumatic experience. The islanders misunderstood the intentions of the arriving Chinese mainlanders and had high expectations of them. However, seeing the disorderly National soldiers arrive and the KMT’s advanced preparations for governing the island, the Taiwanese people became aware of the Chiang Kai-Shek’ government’s brutality, greed and corruption. The hope for the restoration of peace and self-determination completely faded within a few weeks. Thousands upon thousands of native Taiwanese were forced out of their jobs to make way for the incoming mainland Chinese. Inevitably, conflict emerged as the island’s war-damaged economic infrastructure was destroyed by rapacious and unscrupulous carpetbaggers dismantling entire factories and shipping them to China.

A failed rebellion on February 28, 1947 (228 incidents) resulted in a retaliatory

² Tatami is a traditional Japanese floor covering made from dried rush.

massacre by the KMT that left 20,000 Taiwanese dead - Chiang Kai-Shek's regime had been very cautious when setting their target of who should be killed, such as lawyers, journalists, professors, medical doctors, senators, famous musician and painters - including an entire generation's intellectual elite, whom the KMT regime viewed as potential leaders of Taiwanese nationalism. The 228 massacre was a critical turning point in Taiwanese history, a bloody beginning of fatherland rule which shook the islanders' dream of their own fatherland, and dissociated their conscious recognition, emotion and experience of identification with 'who they were'.

On the Chinese mainlanders' arrival, native Taiwanese enthusiastically learnt their new official language - Mandarin. However, Chinese mainlanders' impressions of Taiwan were that it was completely Japanese which made them feel very uncomfortable as they had recently survived the Sino-Japan war. They adopted the stance of conquerors and regarded native Taiwanese as Japanophile Chinese, making it hard for the Taiwanese to share the view of Chiang Kai-Shek's government, the perspective of supremacy over inferiors. On the other hand, Taiwanese first impressions of Chinese mainlanders was that they were unacceptable; they imagined that the soldiers from the triumphant country would maintain strict discipline, but what they saw was a wave of refugees who wore straw sandals, carried pans or umbrellas on their backs....etc.. However, considering that, with such poor facilities, the KMT's army was still able to resist Japanese invasion for eight years without surrendering, they deserved respect. Actually, Chiang Kai-Shek's soldiers fought not only with the Japanese for eight years, they had just fled from numerous battles with the Chinese Red Army. Thus, their status was both that of rulers and refugees.

The Chinese history textbooks describe how brutal Japanese soldiers killed Chinese civilians, raped women, and how even infants could not escape being killed. Those descriptions made the Taiwanese suffer and feel ashamed to talk about their Japanese experience, although those descriptions did not relate to their actual experience while under Japanese rule. In such circumstances their Japanese knowledge had suddenly become invalid, and their experiences had to be muted.

Moreover, the Chinese textbooks stated that Japan occupied Taiwan as their territory and enslaved the people during the colonial period. Chiang Kai-Shek's million soldiers had bitterly fought with the Japanese for eight years so that the Taiwanese could finally return to their fatherland's embrace. From primary schools to Universities, Chiang Kai-Shek's slogans were displayed: "Reinstate Chinese culture, be dignified Chinese".

To become recognized as ethnic Chinese, the Taiwanese consciously resisted identifying with Japanese culture during the colonial period; they attempted to establish their own cultural associations distinct from Japanese ones. However, not until they encountered the Chinese mainlanders' imposition and reinstatement of Chinese culture did they realize their assimilation of Japanese culture had been deeper than they had thought.

Native Taiwanese would not be able to speak of their complex feelings: after 228 massacres and unbridgeable conflicts with Chinese mainlanders, native Taiwanese understood that their identity had been split. Ethnic Chinese belonged to their conscious recognition, and Japanese culture belonged to their silent experience. Ever since that time, this island has represented the most complex arena of Chinese and Japanese culture. This conflict raised the islanders' awareness of their split in identity construction, and they managed their split in silence.

With the support of American military power, Chiang Kai-Shek's government possessed unprecedented power over the islands; however, Chiang Kai-Shek realized that it was hard for him to administer the Japanese legacy in Taiwan and control the eighty percent of the population who did not share the same historical experience as the Chinese mainlanders. He established martial law, under which any Japanese music or language considered excessively related to ethnic identity was severely repressed by censorship of the media

After the Second World War, under the protection of US military power, the second wave of Chinese immigration followed the Chiang Kai-Shek³ regime's arrival in

³ Chiang Kai-Shek (October 31, 1887- April, 1975) was a political and military leader of 20th century China. He was an influential member of Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT), and was a close ally of Sun I-Hsien. He became the commandant of Kuomintang's Whampoa Military Academy, and took Sun I-Hsien's place as leader of the KMT when Sun died in 1925. In 1926, Chiang led the Northern Expedition to unify the country, becoming China's nominal leader. He served as Chairman of the National Military Council of the Nationalist government of the Republic of China (ROC) from 1928-1948. Chiang led China in the Second Sino-Japanese War, during which the nationalist government's power severely weakened, but his prominence grew. Chiang Kai-shek was socially conservative, promoting traditional Chinese culture in the New Life Movement, and economically, he used heavy government control and intervention, at the time against private enterprises. Chiang's Nationalists engaged in a long-standing civil war with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). After Japanese surrendered in 1945, Chiang became embroiled in a civil war with the Communist Party of

Taiwan, claiming that Taiwan had finally returned to the father's embrace; however, Chiang's KMT regime established martial law and treated Taiwan as their base from which to counterattack Communist China in order to return to their home, disregarding the islanders' historical and cultural-linguistic reality and enforcing Chinese ideology and identification on the islanders. This made islanders politically aware that they had been colonized again, this time by the Chinese.

Ever since that time, American political-economic inclination and military power has dominated this island, followed by the mass importation of American popular culture. Taiwan was safeguarded by the presence of the US 7th Fleet and was consequently excluded from Communist zones. Thus, Taiwan represented "Free China" in contrast to "Communist China" or "Red China". During the Cold War, as a loyal ally of America, Taiwan was labelled the "unsinkable aircraft carrier of America". While mainland China was completely controlled by the Communist Party, Chiang Kai-Shek's government in Taiwan still represented "China" in the United Nations and was one of the initial members of the United Nations Security Council from 1945 until 1971.

Due to the polarization of the world during the Cold War period, the idea that Chiang Kai-Shek's anti-communist regime in Taiwan represented "China" was accepted by most countries. After 1959, American involvement in Vietnam meant President Nixon faced a huge wave of antiwar sentiment at home. His solution was to draw Communist China to his side and oppose Soviet Russia. Communist China began to court the UN and suborned many new independent African countries to propose a vote for UN representation of Communist China; for America, to admit Communist China was unavoidable, as it was necessary to gain the cooperation of Communist China. For Taiwan, in the name of the Republic of China (ROC), to confront Communist China – The Peoples Republic of China (PROC) - in the UN was extremely hazardous. What went on behind the scene at the crucial moment was revealed recently in a documentary interview with the previous ambassador, Chien Fu (錢復). He stated:

Before the life-and-death vote in the UN, the American President sent a

China. Ultimately, with support from the Soviet Union, the CCP defeated the KMT, forcing the nationalist government to retreat to Taiwan, where martial law was imposed, and from where the government continued to declare its intention of taking back mainland China. Chiang ruled the island securely as the President of the Republic of China and Director-General of the Kuomintang until his death in 1975.

messenger to persuade Chiang Kai-Shek to represent only Taiwan, in order to retain one seat in the UN, and allow Communist China to replace him in the UN Security Council and to represent China.

However, Communist China not only replaced Chiang's position in the UN, but also requested all UN members to recognize PROC as the sole, legitimate regime to represent China. For Chiang Kai-Shek, as leader of ROC during the Second World War and a founding member of the UNSC in 1945, if such a claim could be tolerated, what else could not?

Chiang Kai-Shek may have realized that he would never be able to return to his homeland and reinstate his regime in China; however, to let Communist China replace his position in the UN was unbearable for him, as he considered that he and his two million Chinese-mainlander followers in Taiwan were the true successors to Chinese culture. Chiang Kai-Shek wrote a letter to his ambassador and adopted the stance that "justice and evil cannot co-exist" (漢賊不兩立), thus he would never accept two Chinas in the UN and that, even to ask him to represent only Taiwan would be too hard for him to accept. Actually, Chiang understood that it might be necessary to accept America's proposal in order to keep Taiwan's seat in the UN, and he started to show flexibility. However, his pride did not allow him to actively endorse the proposal but, passively, he did not oppose it. At the critical moment, Chiang's representatives strove to fight Communist China in the final vote, facing attacks and betrayal on all sides. They decided that it was better to die with dignity than to survive in disgrace (寧為玉碎 不為瓦全) – finally they announced that the ROC would withdraw from the UN without going through the final procedure of voting.

When this decision was made by a single person, Chiang Kai-Shek, 23 million people in Taiwan lost not only the seat in the UN, but also lost founding member status of the United Nations Security Council. It was still a puzzle, when Chiang had softened his determination to oppose Communist China's entry to the UN, as to why his representatives decided to withdraw from the UN at that crucial moment. Chiang Kai-Shek was not psychologically blind to reality but he was unconsciously unable to identify with the land in which he had resided for decades.

Who should represent China? Was this issue important for native Taiwanese or for Chinese mainlanders? The Chinese culture and language in Taiwan was definitely the most authentic form of Chinese culture, while Communist China completely destroyed Confucian values during the Cultural Revolution. Moreover, the Chinese

written language was reformed and reduced to simplified characters there. Taiwan was the only place which advocated traditional Chinese culture and language; even though Chiang Kai-Shek did not gain the representation of China, his followers and people born after 1949 in Taiwan certainly were the heirs to Chinese culture. However, what Chiang was concerned about was only the name of China and he allowed his fantasy to overwhelm reality. Chiang needed to acknowledge that eighty percent of native Taiwanese (who certainly possessed no intention of representing China, as they had been settled in Taiwan for many generations) outnumbered the twenty percent of Chinese mainlanders who needed to face up to the emotion of their exiled state and look to a future in this island. That was a crucial moment for both groups of people to actualize their identification with the land called Taiwan; there was no name more realistic than this one.

Once America ceased diplomatic relations with Taiwan, like a domino effect the majority of countries followed; only 23 countries⁴ maintained diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Consequently, Taiwan's international situation emerged as extremely isolated, an "orphan of Asia". On many international occasions, such as the Olympic Games, APEC, Red Cross, the national flag and the national anthem were not allowed to be presented due to limited diplomatic recognition. Moreover, the PROC have used every conceivable means to repress Taiwan's international space. The KMT regime was conscious of a crisis; they no longer represented China or Taiwan, as native Taiwanese considered that Chinese mainlanders had never rooted their identity in the land which they had settled for decades, but they lived a political myth completely created by their leader, Chiang Kai-Shek.

The nativism movement (本土化運動) arose from frustration, conflict and uncertainty regarding Taiwan's future, especially the delusion of Chiang's political myth of returning to China. Native Taiwanese had been awoken to the truth that they had been oblivious to the distortion of internal and external reality. The KMT's unrealistic ideology not only distorted historical truth, but also obscured the way they saw the world. For example, the battle between the PROC and the ROC was not related to Taiwan's history, and it was ridiculous that Taiwan geography textbooks displayed the

⁴ America announced that it planned to establish diplomatic relations with China in 1979, and proposed that US congress passed the Taiwan Relation Act to support Taiwan unofficially instead of maintaining diplomatic relations. Only 23 countries maintain diplomatic relations with Taiwan since America ceased official relation with Taiwan, they are mostly Western Pacific countries, Latin American and South African countries, and The Vatican in Europe.

shape of ROC's territory like a begonia, including China's 38 provinces, and even including Outer Mongolia (Outer Mongolia had become independent in 1945). The map of territory used belonged to the period 1911-1949, and in that period Taiwan was not a territory of the ROC. The claim was that Taiwan was now included in the ROC's territory as one province of the ROC, but Chiang Kai-Shek did not possess any power in China; he merely represented the lost territory and insisted that this giant domain was the 'centre' for both Chinese and native Taiwanese. The history books directed students to be familiar with Chinese history, but the Taiwanese did not know what had happened in their own land – they did not know who their pioneering ancestors were? Who was the first governor from Japan? Or what Dutch missionaries had contributed to aboriginal religion and language – they knew nothing about Taiwan's history. However, the educational scheme of the KMT regime was to brainwash the Taiwanese that they were “Chinese” and impose China-centrism. Children were not allowed to speak their mother tongue at school; in the view of the KMT, native Taiwanese should delete their memories and know nothing of their history, so that they could identify with Chinese mainlanders and believe that their future was to return to China (反攻大陸) or believe in “the three principles to unify China”(三民主義統一中國)⁵ The KMT's regime established a kingdom which was isolated from the outside world, representing an unrealistic ideology, detached from the reality of the environment of Taiwan. Not until Chiang Kai-Shek's regime lost their direction in the arena of international affairs, would Chinese mainlanders awake from Chiang's political myth.

Under the control of martial law, Taiwanese experienced no less suppression and humiliation than under the Japanese colonization. A recent film *Formosa Betrayed* is inspired by a true story, describing an American professor of Taiwanese origin who decried the KMT's unrealistic ideology, and who was murdered by mafia employed by higher levels of government in order to stifle the professor's penetrating insights which would probably spread in Taiwan. Overseas, Taiwanese scholars were monitored by students who were hired by the government: when a person was reported as pro-independent they were put on a black list and were unable to get through passport control in Taiwan. While the KMT foundered in the international arena, the repressed energies of native Taiwanese people were released to counterattack Chinese unrealistic ideology; their repressed libido was not only profoundly searching for true identification, but also helping Chinese mainlanders to find a way to restore their own reality. Chinese mainlanders, on the other hand, were

⁵ The Three Principles were established by national founder Sun I-Hsien (孫逸仙) of ROC - the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy and the Principle of People's Livelihood.

aware that they had to root their identification in Taiwan to sustain their legal status. Many Chinese mainlanders, especially politicians who sought to gain a majority of votes from native Taiwanese, started to learn Taiwanese dialects which had been severely suppressed previously. Under external and internal pressure, Chiang Kai-Shek's son Chiang Ching-Kuo finally announced the lifting of martial law.

After 38 years, martial law was finally lifted; in a climate of political tension. However, the islanders' cultural identity and self-recognition had become seriously flawed, especially in their construction of subjectivity and autonomy. Although the people's vital energy and ability had long been suppressed, their desire to construct their identity was never completely destroyed. After censorship was removed, repressed voices speaking of formerly muted experiences and vacant memories were finally able to speak out. Film makers and writers of literature began to attempt to piece together the lost history of Taiwan and to engage in nostalgia in an attempt to connect with the past.

Appendix 2: *General Father General Son* (薛仁貴父子傳奇)

[My translation]

A chief general of great martial skills guarded the Empire Tang Tai Tsuug (唐太宗) during the Tang dynasty, Hsueh Jen-Gui was assigned to military duty on a distant frontier and achieved great victories. In one version of this legend, on his way home for his first time after 18 years of imperial service, Hsueh saw a youth shooting wild geese. Impressed with the youth's skill, he challenged him to a contest of marksmanship, claiming that he could shoot two geese with a single arrow. The youth accepted the challenge, whereupon Hsueh shot him instead of geese. Hsueh exclaimed "I could have spared the boy, but a soldier like me could never let another live if he was superior in marksmanship with the weapons in which I excel." The denouement was the tragic realisation that the youth Hsueh had killed was none other than his own son, Hsueh Ting-Shan (薛丁山), born shortly after he left home 18 years ago.

This realisation came about when Hsueh Jen-Gui got home. When he arrived he noticed that there were a man's shoes (Hsueh Ting-Shan's shoes) in the house. Inevitably, he suspected that his wife might be having an affair while he was away from home. After a confrontation, he realised that his wife was already pregnant at the time he left; a twin boy and a twin girl were born shortly afterward. Hsueh was eager to meet the son he had never seen, but he was told that his son had gone out shooting wild geese for their family's living. Lui Jin-Hua was delighted to tell Hsueh how clever and handsome their son was, and how proud she was of their son's marksmanship - he had never wasted a single arrow when he shot geese or fish, and the whole family was reliant on his consummate skill in order to sustain their living in this poor region. Hsueh immediately asked his wife whether there were other young boys in this area who could shoot geese; his wife responded that their son was the only person of exceptional ability. Hsueh then asked his wife what colour hat and what type of dress his son wore and wept when he came to realize what he had done. He told his wife that he had killed their son by accident on the way home. Lui Jin-Hua fainted when she heard such terrible news, and when she came to she was overwhelmed with sorrow and grief to the extent of wishing to die. Hsueh comforted his wife with a deep sigh: "It is pitiful, but that is his fate"[可憐, 命該如此] he continued to say to his wife, "Don't cry, this child was not destined to enjoy his life" [不必哭啼, 是孩兒沒福].

Hsueh Ting-Shan's dead body was carried by a black tiger to a male priest named Wang Ao Lao Tzu [王敖老祖] who healed Hsueh Ting-Shan. Wang Ao Lao Tzu inspired him to learn wisdom and skill in fighting, and allowed Hsueh Ting-Shan to stay with him in the mountains. After seven years, he was told that his father and the Emperor were trapped in a city by the enemy. When the priest asked Hsueh Ting-Shan to rescue them, he hesitated, and said to Wang Aw Lau Tzu, "I would rather stay in these mountains to cultivate my spiritual life, and to learn the ways of longevity." However, after consideration, he decided to go to the battle to rescue his father and the Emperor.

While Hsueh Ding-Shan led his troops on the way to the battle, he met a beautiful, young woman, Tou Hsien-Tung (竇仙童), who was a bandit. This young woman was impressed by Hsueh Ting-Shan's handsome and heroic spirit, and was willing to follow him to the battle to rescue his father and the Emperor. Tou Hsien-Tung requested a formal marriage from him, but Hsueh Ting-Shan refused her. However, Tou Hsien-Tung did not accept this, so she imprisoned him in her village and forced him to marry her.

Hsueh Ting-Shan led his troops to the battle and finally rescued his father and the Emperor. He also took the medicine which the priest had prepared for him to heal his father's wounded body. However, his father did not show gratitude for his son's protection, because he was furious at learning that his son had married without his permission. When he knew his son had married due to a woman's force and seduction, this incurred his greater wrath. After he recovered from his wounded condition, he asked his soldier to put his son to death, giving the reason that he could not forgive a son who had married secretly. Lui Jin-Hau came to beg her husband not to kill their son, but Hsueh thought his son deserved this punishment. It was not until the Emperor ordered him not to put his son to death that he granted his son remission from the death penalty, but still demanded he be punished by severe beating.

After that, Hsueh Jen-Gui intended to repair his relations with his son, but his son was like a man who has never grown up: whenever he went to battles, he took his mother with him. Lui Jin-Hua also expressed clearly that she was reluctant to let her son travel alone and she would rather go into battle with him. In one battle, Hsueh Ting-Shan was found by the enemy and he attempted to flee to the mountains in great disorder. He saw a strong woman who was killing a tiger, and he called, "Help me, sister." The woman threw the dead tiger at the chief general and caused him to fall from his horse; Hsueh Ting-Shan was then saved. The woman who saved his life was

a supreme commander's child called Chen Chin-Ting (陳金定) who was well-known for fighting tigers. She had a strong, vigorous physical appearance, her face was tanned and unpleasant looking. When Hsueh Jen-Gui knew his son was saved by a supreme commander's offspring, he ordered his son to marry her. Hsueh Ting-Shan strongly opposed his father and said to him, "Father, this is definitely not a right thing to do." Even when his father asked soldiers to beat him, he was unwilling to marry Chen Chin-Ting. However, after serious punishment he finally married this woman due to the force of his father's will.

The Empire was facing the threat of an invasion by Hsi Liang Kuo (西涼國) which led them to gradually strengthen their military power. Hsueh Jen-Gui was the Emperor's most trusted commander to defeat Kao Li and establish his kingdom – The Great Tang Dynasty. The Emperor had no doubt that he should assign Hsueh Jen-Gui and his son to lead together a million soldiers to approach the boarder between Great Tang and Hsi Liang Kou. Therefore, Hsueh Jen-Gui and his son were given the titles of Commander and Chief General of the Emperor's army. At the same time, the Emperor decided to go to this battle to show his determination. While a million soldiers were camping in woodland near the boarder, there was a challenge from the daughter of the enemy's commander. She challenged Hsueh Ting-Shan to a martial art contest, and she insisted that the person she would meet must be the Commander's son. At first Hsueh Jen-Gui sent other generals to fight with this lady; however, none of them was able to defeat her. Hsueh Ting-Shan then decided to go alone to meet her. When he first saw this lady, he was very impressed by her exceedingly beautiful and consummate skill in martial arts and, after serious hand to hand combat, he was led to a forest where they could talk alone together. The lady told him that her name was Fen Li-Hua (樊梨花) and she was a commander's daughter. She then gave him two letters – one from Hsueh Ting Shan's master (the priest who saved his life previously) and another letter from her master (a well-known honorable martial arts expert). Both letters indicated that Hsueh Ting-Shan and Fen Li-Hua were destined to be a couple in this life and such affinity derived from their previous life that their marriage would prevent war and save many soldiers' lives. As Hsueh Ting-Shan read these two letters he was torn between belief and suspicion; however, when he saw the handwriting of the two masters and their profound sincerity, he knew these two letters were genuine. Fen Li-Hua proposed that if he would agree to their marriage, she would request her father to devote their land to the Empire, so the war between the two kingdoms would be brought to an end. When Hsueh was irresolute, the Emperor's relative, Lu Kou-Koung, who had followed them and had heard their conversation, walked out and said to Hsueh Ting-Shan, "No other proposal could be

better than this, Ting-Shan. You should agree without any hesitation. I am going to be a witness of your marriage and a guarantor that Miss Fen Li-Hua's proposal will be successful." Those three then made an agreement: Fen Li-Hua requested five days to negotiate with her father and, when this was done, a white flag would be flown from the tower as a signal that the negotiation was successful. After that the Emperor, the Great Tang would send representatives to her father's camp to formally propose the marriage. Fen Li-Hua was very confident, and told them to wait for her signal.

The Emperor, Hsueh Jen-Gui, the Emperor's relatives and other generals were very happy at this news. They considered that this was good for everyone. Soldiers started to celebrate with wine and music. Hsueh Ting-Shan was also very pleased with this marriage; while his previous two marriages were not of his own choosing, now he was very fond of Fen Li-Hua and impressed by her. However, after five days, they did not see any white flag raised, and they thought they might have to wait a while. Many people were worried, but were not certain whether they should go to enemy's camp to find out what had happened. It was not until the eleventh day that the white flag was finally raised, and everybody was happy to celebrate this good news. In order to express his sincerity, the Emperor prepared many valuable gifts and sent his relatives as representatives to propose this marriage. When those people arrived at the camp, they were surprised to see that soldiers were very quiet and did not greet them with joy. When they finally met Fen Li-Hua and her mother, they asked where were the commander, his two sons and the other men of the house. Fen Li-Hua's mother explained that they initially agreed to their daughter marrying Hsueh Ting-Shan, but her husband, her sons and the other men of this family were wary of meeting the Emperor's representatives because they had been fighting and had lost many wounded in those battles. However, her husband would be happy to meet the Emperor after her daughter was formally married. The representatives showed their understanding and started to discuss the issue of marriage.

The wedding ceremony was exceptionally luxurious; every house had to raise red lanterns, soldiers celebrated with music, dancing and wine. When the ceremony and celebrations were over, Fen Li-Hua was sitting in a bridal chamber hung with beautiful red lanterns, but Hsueh Ting-Shan was walking in the garden to get some fresh air. He found a small gate, and he followed a path that took him outside the camp when suddenly he heard two women crying. He went into the house to find out what happened and was shocked to see three coffins displayed in the sitting room. The two women told him the truth - that the dead body displayed in the centre was Fen Li-Hua's father, the Commander and the other two displayed at either side were

her two brothers - also the grieving women's husbands. Hsueh Ting-Shan was eager to know the details: the woman told him that when Fen Li-Hua told his father about her proposal, her father did not agree with her, thus father and daughter seriously quarrelled for almost three days and three nights. The two brothers heard a sharp screaming, and broke into the room where their father had already lay covered in blood, amid great chaos. The two brothers were also killed, helping their father. Hsueh Ting-Shan was extremely shocked, his face went purple with rage, and he staggered home. When he saw Fen Li-Hua he lost his reason and, without any word, he beat her almost to death. That was the first day of their marriage. Fen Li-Hua was downcast, and she made a request to the Emperor that she was allowed to go home. The Emperor was disappointed because he had great hopes that Fen Li-Hua might become a member of his army. He also worried that once Fen Li-Hua returned home, the peace proposal would be altered.

When Fen Li-Hua was born, her father, Fen Hung, was told by a fortune teller that his daughter would kill him and his sons, and even destroy their kingdom. Fen Hung loved his daughter very much but, for the sake of his kingdom, he took the baby girl to the river, put her in a small boat, and let this small boat float to wherever it would. He thought, if she can survive it means the gods are sympathetic to this little life; if she died then it means that was her fate. When the small boat floated to the centre of the river, a Taoist priestess appeared and saved the baby girl. She said to Fen Hung, "Your fate is not completely determined: if you can let Fen Li-Hua marry before she is 18 years old, and try not let her go out alone before this age, then the problem will be solved." Her father was very pleased to bring his baby home, and the Taoist priestess, Li Shan Sheng Mu (梨山聖母), later became her mistress and taught her martial arts. When Fen Li-Hua grew up as a young woman, her martial skill was overwhelming: no man was able to challenge her.

Tacit consent had been given to Fen Li-Hua's marriage to the son of her father's best friend once she approached the age of 18. Although she had never been formally introduced to her future husband, Yang Feng, she knew that he was not the person with whom she would like to share her life. After Fen Li-Hua killed her father, her two brothers and betrayed her kingdom, Yang Feng planned to kill Hsueh Jen-Gui and his son, and they were both injured when shot with poisoned arrows. When the Emperor was told that Fen Li-Hua led her troops to retaliate against Yang-Feng's revenge, he asked his relative, the only person who knew how to cure the wound caused by poison arrows, to meet secretly with Fen Li-Hua and ask her to help Hsueh Jen-Gui and his son. At the same time, the Emperor was hoping she still loved Hsueh

Ding-Shan. Although Fen Li-Hua had been so disappointed in her marriage, Fen Li-Hua immediately brought the special medicine to Hsueh Jen-Gui's camp and he and his son were saved. The Emperor and Hsueh Jen-Gui were grateful to Feng Li-Hua and would have liked to reunite this couple. However, when Hsueh Ting-Shan woke up and realized that he was saved by Fen Li-Hua he was still very angry with her. He shouted, "I would rather die than be saved by you," talked about her killing of her father and her two brothers, then beat her again. The Emperor was preparing a banquet and attempting to discuss the issue of their marriage; when he heard Hsueh Ting-Shan had beaten Feng Li-Hua again he became extremely angry and concerned that Fen Li-Hua might decide to attack his Empire. Hsueh Jen-Gui was also furious and wanted to kill his son again: he said to his son, "Is our relationship really like father and son? We were obviously enemies in our previous life and, in this lifetime, we are destined to be opponents. You come to this world to take my life, do you?" (我们哪是父子, 明明是前世的冤家, 今世的对头, 你就是我薛某的要命鬼呀!) Then, Hsueh Ting-Shan was put in prison by his father.

There was another battle in which Fen Li-Hua helped the Great Tang Empire defeat their enemy and to gain a great victory. She was welcomed by a large mass of people when she arrived at the Great Tang Empire's camp. After a period of being in prison, Hsueh Ting-Shan realized that he was actually in love with Fen Li-Hua, but was unable to control his mood when he thought about her behaviour in betraying her family and her kingdom; he had great fear that Fen Li-Hua might do the same thing to him. However, after her several encounters in battle, she had proved that she was loyal to the Great Tang Empire and her "husband", despite her bitter experiences of marriage to him, saving him, being beaten by him and being separated from him. At last, Hsueh Ting-Shan himself decided on a re-union with Fen Li-Hua. All the people around him, including the Emperor, his father, his mother - and even his other two wives - were all happy for him. They all were very careful in selecting the date of the new wedding, because they considered the unpleasant things that had happened before were because they did not choose a propitious date (黄道吉日) for their wedding. They hoped, this time, for a successful marriage. The wedding was fixed on the seventh of the month. On the day of wedding, Hsueh Ting-Shan took a bath and changed into new clothes for his wedding, Fen Li-Hua also took off the suit of armour which she usually wore and changed into clothes and wore a corolla which was especially for a bride. The banquet, the music, the wine, the red lanterns were all over the camps of the Great Tang Empire, and the celebration continued until midnight.

As Hsueh Ting-Shan walked in the garden, recalling those things that had happened in the past, he regretted what he had done to Fen Li-Hua; he felt like walking alone and enjoying a beautiful and calm moment. While he was walking in the garden, a young boy came to him and said: "You must be my father." He looked closely at this youngster; the boy was well-educated and his appearance was even more handsome than him, and he thought "how can I have a son at this age; did someone adopt a son of mine?" The boy said to him: "There is no mistake, you are my father, my mother is Fen Li-Hua." Anyone who heard this conversation would have considered it a joke, but for Hsueh Ting-Shan, it was different; there were many cracks in his relationship with Fen Li-Hua. The thought suddenly came to mind: this woman left me twice; during those periods she had an affair but attempted to hide the fact, giving this boy the status of "adopted son". He became furious without thinking, and severely beat that youngster.

In fact, the youngster was Fen Li-Hua's adopted son – Hsueh In-Long who was brought up by a noble medical master. Fen Li-Hua had brought her adopted son to the Great Tang's camp and had introduced him to the Emperor, Hsueh Jen-Gui, and other members of the family. The emperor was very fond of the good manners of this boy who has been brought up by an exceptionally noble family. When the boy was observed to have been beaten severely by Hsueh Ding-Shan, everyone was shocked; particularly, the Emperor. When he heard the description of how the boy was beaten, threw down a cup furiously, and left the banquet. Hsueh Jen-Gui's face turned pale and he bent over his body without saying a word. When Fen Li-Hua saw how her adopted son had been beaten, she took off her wedding dress. She was no longer willing to passively give way for any explanation from Hsueh Ting-Shan; she took her sword and attempted to kill her husband who was standing there waiting for her punishment. The marriage expected by all people ended in helpless crying. Next day, Fen Li-Hua left for home.

Hsueh Jen-Gui was unable to talk to his son anymore, so he decided to go to battle without any help from his son. He was fighting his enemy alone in the mountains, when his family was informed that he was trapped by enemy and his physical condition was weak. They asked Hsueh Ding-Shan to rescue his father. When he arrived at a foggy mountain, he saw a white tiger was going to attack his father, so he immediately pulled out his bow to shoot the white tiger, but unfortunately, it was the transformed shape of his father's soul when he slept. (Hsueh Jen-Gui was recognized to be the star of the white tiger, when he slept his soul transformed into a shape of a white tiger.) Hsueh Ting-Shan shot his father by attempting help him. Although,

Hsueh Ting-Shan did not deliberately kill his father, the emperor was extremely angry and wanted to put him to death; however, the emperor considered remitting his crime in exchange for the condition that he had to beg Fen Li-Hua to marry him again, and this would be an order from the Emperor. When Fen Li-Hua knew Hsueh Ting-Shan was ordered to marry her, she pretended she was dead in order to test Hsueh Ting-Shan's sincerity. When she saw her husband was crying sadly and begging her forgiveness in front of her catafalque, she revealed that she was alive.

Fen Li-Hua agreed to marry him and after few years she gave birth to a baby boy during one of the battles. Their son was called Hsueh-Kang (薛剛). When he grew up, he always made trouble for his parents. However, Hsueh Ting-Shan was tolerant of his son's behaviour, because he thought it was a retribution (deserved fate) for killing his father and being unable to be a filial son. Fen Li-Hua thought this was because she had killed her fiancé –Yang-Feng, and that had got his soul into the cycle of reincarnation which resulted in her giving to this baby boy, and that he was Yang-Feng's soul come to take revenge on Hsueh's family.

On one occasion, Hsueh-Kang was drunk, killed an official of the Empire and kicked the grandson of the Emperor. This event brought irrevocable misfortune to his family. The Emperor ordered the arrest of Hsueh Kang. However, he escaped from being arrested, the causing the Emperor to arrest the whole family and condemn them all to death. This was the most serious execution for the crime of rebellion. All the members of the family including sons, grandsons, daughters, granddaughters, wives, relatives, and servants were escorted to the execution site to be decapitated, then to be buried together. When Hsueh Ting-Shan was informed the whole family would be executed after three days, his second wife, Chen Chin-Ting, said to him: "Let us revolt against the Empire" (我们反了吧). But Hsueh Ting-Shan decided to surrender and he told all the members of his family that no one should escape from the Emperor's order. He said: "I die for my loyalty to the Empire, my sons die for their filial piety, women die for their integrity, servants die for their righteousness".(父死為忠 兒死為孝 婦死為節 僕死為義)

One the day of the execution, the three hundred and eighty-five members of the family were tied and slowly moved to the execution site. The street was quiet, no passer-by appeared, and the windows of every house were tightly shut, because no one was able to bear the sight of a loyal Commander's family who had helped the Emperor to establish his kingdom, receiving the death penalty along with his whole family.

The story ends up with escaped son - Huesh Kang, kneeling down in front of his family's tomb and begging for forgiveness from the whole family, in an attempt to end the cycle of father-son conflicts.

Hsueh Kang and his mother Fen Li-Hua (rescued by her martial arts master on the way to the execution site) later helped the Emperor's grandson to regain Tang's kingdom, and re-build their family's reputation. **[My translation]**

Appendix 3: *Rose Rose I Love You* (玫瑰玫瑰我愛你) by Wang Chen-Ho

[My translation]

On the eastern coast of Taiwan there is a city named Hsu Lien, considered the “most beautiful and unpolluted land” of this island. The landscape remains unspoiled and government intervention protects it as a hallowed tourist destination. People here lead simple lives, with little contact with urban life or the media; they produce agricultural products which are guaranteed as insecticide-free, pure and organic, because the soil, the air, and the people of this land are all unpolluted. Once the Vietnam War started, the American army frequently sent their soldiers to this city for leave and the city launched a new initiative – English-speaking prostitutes - which they represented as equally well-packaged and unpolluted.

Bars were then developed by four local brothel managers who had newly obtained licenses from the government. The original idea of these four investors was that they would have to “borrow” many bar-girls who could speak English from the capital city, for their services were mainly to be sold to American soldiers from Vietnam battles. The managers were willing to pay more to attract women who could speak English to work with them; however, the bar-girls refused at the last minute, for various reasons.

The newspaper ran a headline proclaiming “An American Warship has departed from Vietnam today and will approach Hsu Lien after one week. The major of the city will lead all parliamentary members and students in the harbor to welcome the American Warship’s disembarking.” The people of the city were keen to welcome the American soldiers, believing “American soldiers were American dollars”,⁶ thus, the managers of hotels, restaurants, taxi drivers, and shop owners were well prepared to scoop American dollars. When the bar-girls from the capital failed to arrive, the four managers of brothels desperately needed to re-organize the local harlots and train them as Bar-girls-to-be: they had invested hugely in bar-service facilities and this investment would be lost without the chance to earn American dollars.

The four managers’ new investment was supported by a local politician who had good relations with people from various circles, such as government officials, medical

⁶ In Chinese, the pronunciation of “soldier” and “money” are very similar therefore people tend to make a sound association to say “American soldiers are American dollars” (美軍就是美金) to satirise people who worship money and believe that American soldiers can bring them great fortune.

doctors, school teachers, and a protestant clergyman. These four managers deeply believed that only with the help of this politician would their business be able to run smoothly. They themselves were mostly uneducated, with very limited knowledge of American culture.

The main figure of this novel is a high school English teacher, invited by the politician to organize an intensive English training program for the bar-girls-to-be: his task was to help the local harlots to speak bar-girl-English within five days. The English teacher was uneasy about the job at first, in case it undermined his social status as a high school teacher, though the four managers had promised to give him a budget beyond his dreams. The teacher, undoubtedly, had a good mind and a broad knowledge of English and American culture, as he had studied English literature and graduated from one of the best Universities in Taiwan. Regarding his sexual knowledge, he seemed sensible and knowledgeable enough to demonstrate sufficient expertise to conduct a training course; however, he himself had no experience with women. The author created a figure of fun, fat with the habit of biting his nails when he is anxious and farting in public. He was able to mix with various kinds of people, persuading people of his intelligent, creative mind. Privately, he possessed an intellectual conscience - he cherished his knowledge and took careful care of his body.

Most novels, whenever sexuality is described in the context of a brothel, invite readers to touch the untraceable darkness of the human condition; it is always heavy-hearted for readers to bear. Wang Chen-Ho's novel is exceptional; he is able to convey the deepest sorrow of the underclass without bitterness or suggestion that they are being victimized. He does not defend or mold any figure's character from a specific angle - he lets them act out what they actually are and lets them speak their own language. For instance, there is a large quantity of sexual language in this book, the intellectuals – the English teacher, politician, doctor, lawyer, and clergyman have their sophisticated way of expressing sexual concern while other people - the four managers, their mistresses and the bar-girls have no ideal or abstract language to express their feelings.

When the English teacher decided to accept the job of conducting a training course for 50 local harlots to speak English he thought perhaps thirty ordinary English sentences would be sufficient for the bar-girl-to-be. He was then put up in a luxury hotel to develop his course. One night, when he rested, a very clear memory came to him of a lecture on 'An Introduction to Western Literature' from when he studied at university. The professor had introduced a Bible story: when Jesus was on his way to

Jerusalem, he entered a village, where many leprosy patients came to him and cried out, “Jesus, please, have pity on us.” Jesus saw them and said to them “Go and see a priest, and let him check your body”. When the leprosy patients went there, their bodies had miraculously been cleaned. The memory was so clear that the English teacher felt that that night he was in the lecture. After this memory occurred, an extraordinary scene appeared his mind. He saw 50 local harlots approach him, crying out, “Teacher, please, have pity on us.” He saw himself respond, “Yes, yes. I am really taking compassion on you. I will purify you, I will resurrect (救贖) you, I will do my best to upgrade your level....You must make an effort to learn....I am sure your life will be improved.”

His resistance and feeling of unease vanished after he saw this scene, and he then encouraged himself with a famous Buddhist phrase: “If I am not willing to go to Hell to save those people, who else will?” (我不入地獄 誰入地獄)⁷ He started to feel that he was actually going to carry out a great task - for those bar-girls, for American soldiers, for the government and even for the nation.

His ideas for conducting the training course had expanded; inspired thoughts came to his mind. He invited a doctor to give a lesson on hygiene and how to prevent venereal disease; a lawyer to explain the law of this country; a clergyman to teach them how to pray; someone to teach dancing and encourage the women to sing. In addition to teaching them English, he added a course on American culture and Chinese civilization. For the five days of training, 50 local harlots had to stay at the hotel and go through a medical check, strictly following the schedule of the course.

His ideas of organizing this training course were unacceptable for the four managers: they were not willing to invest more money in this training course, and thought his ideas ridiculous and unnecessary. Although the four managers were reluctant to accept his creative ideas, however, they were unable to say a word of criticism; partly out of respect for his intellect, partly because he had gradually given the four managers a lesson on the humanistic way to treat people who have no other social resource to change their way of living. He used the ancient Chinese phrase “every human creature in this world is a parents’ cherished child” (此亦人子)⁸ from *the*

⁷This is a famous phrase from the Buddhist god of Earth (地藏王). He makes a vow: “if there is still a person still in Hell, I wouldn’t like to be a Buddha.”(地獄不空 誓不成佛) avowing his belief that every human being has a potential to be woken from ignorance and also showing his determination to save those people who adhere obstinately to error.

⁸ This phrase come from a famous Chinese poet Tau Yuen Ming (陶淵明) who sent a housemaid to his

Anthology of Tau Yuan Ming to persuade the four managers to treat those women as their own children, so they were no longer reluctant to invest money in his project and to improve the prostitutes' working environment. When the four managers finally agreed to support the project, he said, "I represent those Bar-girls-to-be when I say thank you to all of you".

Ironically, the opening ceremony of this training course was held in a church where many pleasure-seekers tended to visit after they had secretly committed a sin that they believed unacceptable by their society or even by themselves. This church was usually still open at midnight, for the sake of those people who needed to confess to God and release their guilt of not being able to cease engaging such a habit. This church was located close to the brothel, thus, when the lights were on in the area of the brothels, the church had no lack of visitors who called again and again.

At the beginning of the opening ceremony, the wife of the Protestant clergyman led people in singing "Come to Believe Jesus" and then she gave a sermon on Jesus' life, telling people that the Gospels are the messages which Jesus brought to people, and she asked people to pray with her.

After the clergyman gave a opening speech, the English teacher introduced himself and claimed that he was going to help young women to speak English for when American soldiers came; the medical doctor was going to provide them with hygienic concepts and the lesson of how to protect themselves from venereal disease; the lawyer was going to tell them the law of this country, stating that no one was allowed to go on strike, no one was allowed to keep American dollars secretly - otherwise those actions would be considered criminal. The members of local legislative bodies had sent flowers with greeting cards. Their greeting words containing a hint that all their activities were protected by political power; and the church, of course, would always be a place for them to pray when their consciences were not clear.

To teach young women to speak bar-girl English was the main task of this training course, thus, there are lengthy passages of this novel describing how the English teacher taught them to speak English based on the knowledge they had. The English teacher had to create a special teaching method for those who had no basic knowledge

son. He wrote this letter to convince his son that he must treat his housemaid nicely, because every human being in this world are their parents' cherished child, exactly like you and me, no matter what kind of social class they come from. He use the phrase "此亦人子也,可善遇之." to teach his son to "imagine other people's heart is your heart, so that you should treat all people equably."

for learning spoken English; for the learners they had also created certain strategies to remember the pronunciation of English sentences. The way they remember English sentences was to connect the English pronunciation with Chinese words, for instance, the English sentences "Nation to nation, people to people" they sound similar when they spoken Chinese" Heart to heart, bottom to bottom". (內心對內心, 屁股對屁股) It is amusing for readers to see the creative way they learned English, however, the author also created an unimaginable "sound world" which communicate the large quantity of sexual language they needed.

The English teacher was also inspired by the bar-girls-to-be; he felt that he grew in understanding and modified his views on sexuality. One night, while he was taking a bath, he was struggling about what kind of topic he was to give to the high school students for the weekly seminar. Suddenly, a breakthrough thought appeared in his mind; he decided to give a speech entitled "masturbation is not awful"⁹. Next day, when he mentioned the title of his speech, the audience –including the head teacher, director, drillmaster, other teachers and students were dumbstruck.

On the last day of the training course, the English teacher wondered which song should be selected on the day of the American soldiers' arrival. He suddenly had a flash of inspiration when he listened to the medical doctor give a lesson on venereal disease, explaining to the members that the most serious venereal disease is called "Saigon Rose" He mystically connected this with a song - "Rose, Rose, I love You" which was a popular song in 1937 in Shang-Hai, then asked all the members of the training course to sing this song to welcome the American soldiers, so the name "Rose" would always be a hint to them to warn themselves never to let themselves catch such a disease.

At the end of the training course, the medical doctor (also the clergyman of the church) gave a very short closing speech, "I am now speaking to you as a sincere Christian - I am hoping you (everybody) will change with each passing day, taking one step forward after another. At the same time, I must remind all of you that – for you and for other people, you must be very careful – never to be contaminated by Saigon Rose.

⁹ Here, the author use the word "awful" to describe masturbation, he probably means that masturbation is not wrong (physiologically or morally wrong). The reason he uses the word "awful" to describe masturbation is that many Chinese parents believe in the concept of Chinese medicine; tend to be convinced that excessive masturbation by teenage years will cause sexual impotence in the future when they have a married life. Therefore the parents use the word "awful" to warn their teenage children.

Thank you.”

He then asked everybody to say The Lord’s Prayer to conclude this training course:

Our Father in heaven,
Hallowed be your name,
Your kingdom come,
Your will be done,
On earth as in heaven.
Give us today our daily bread.
Forgive us our sins
As we forgive those who sin against us.
Save us from the time of trial
And deliver us from evil.
For the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours
Now and forever.
Amen.

Appendix 4: *Crocodile Notes* (鱷魚手記) by Chiu Miao-Chin

[My translation]

In Lazi's confession letter to her female lover, Shuiling, she describes the 'archetype' in her mind as an 'inner picture' which relates to her inner problem. Since her teenage years she could not understand why she has such an inclination, the desire to love someone being like a key to open the secret dissimulated in the deep structure of her existence, like a pattern which has already been carved there and gradually emerges from obscurity. However, the pattern is too clear to be endured; the struggle belongs to her frustration regarding her survival. To love a woman, for her, is an inner pattern within he

This novel conveys the thought that the biological entity and instinct energy has its own regulation; although Lazi has escaped from her desire of women and seeks the opposite direction in her conception realm, no matter what effort had been made, often voiced by her, there was something in her that was stronger than her way of thinking. In the process of the first-person narrative, Lazi constantly sinks into a confusedness and doubt - she uses a kind of self-doubting dialectic to describe the flow of energy and the anti-cathexis of conscious effort to fix her energy to an idea or a group of ideas. For example, after Lazi meets her female lover she has enormous fear of the 'sexual fantasy' that appears in her mind, she questioned herself over and over:

Up to now, I cannot understand, "where does the fear come from?" But I have to endure the oppression and threat of my peculiar sexual desire, and have lived in such fear throughout my puberty and half of my university life. I comfort myself - I am innocent. The feeling of fear derives from my body; I did not stretch out my hands and draw in fear from outside, nor participate in the work of constructing myself. However, my life has been like this - the growth of my flesh mixes with the fear of the concrete, the fear of my true self and my sexual desire, fear winds around fear, I become the monster of fear toward life continuation. I feel that I have to live in caves - lest I reveal my original form. To say to Shuiling [her lover] that we can start from the beginning, for me, like a castaway at sea eventually drinks seawater, I choose decisive action at the core of my desire; I abandon my defence and speed my destruction, disregarding the consequences and indulging what I imprison, before I approach destruction.

(Chou, 1994) [my translation]

Another time, Lazi decides to leave her lover; while she goes out for a drink during the night, she asks herself:

The taste of beer is particularly acerbic. During the two year of living alone in my University life, I do not know how much beer I have drunk just like the tear welled up while I was alone, but it seems to me that my relation with beer has been awoken at the moment. A question arises in my mind: If I died, would any meaning for me relate to the world? However, even if I change my status; the meaning may not exceed the original meaning I had perceived. What is the meaning the world relates to me? I start to be agitated, the sentiment which spurts from my body makes me tremble, I think - yes, there is meaning- My whole body and mind thirst for the world and yearn for the world to touch my head like a child needing to be convinced. Moreover, I profoundly love someone, such a love has been concretely hitched to my pain.....the most important thing in my heart has been symbolized, the map of my relation with the world like a blurred line in the soil has been plowed deeper and will be then dug out completely. (Chui, 1994, pp140-1)

Appendix 5: *The Hole* (洞) directed by Tsai Ming Liang

[My translation]

Tsai Ming-Liang's film *The Hole* was produced in 1999, followed by *The River* which was produced in 1997. The two films represent certain life parables: *The River* connotes the flows of desire and blood ties; *The Hole* connotes the outset of desire. There is an implicit connection between the two films: just as Oedipus's inadvertent incest is followed by an outbreak of disease so, when the father and son in *The River* commit incest by accident, the following story, *The Hole*, starts with a plague in Taiwan which occurred before 2000 AD.

Making a hole:

Just seven days before 2000 AD, the government announces that a plague has rapidly spread in an area of Taiwan and requests that all the residents of this area leave their flats. In order to control the virus efficiently, the government decides to completely cut off electricity and water in this quarantine zone. However, some people are still unwilling to leave their flats despite the strong action taken by the government.

This plague occurs in a rainy season and incessant heavy rain has fallen for many days. In an old flat, there is a man who has fallen asleep on a sofa during the afternoon. He is woken by an imperious ring of the doorbell, and a worker explains to him that he was sent to the man's flat to check a pipe because there is a serious leak downstairs. The worker explains that it is necessary to dig a hole but he does not come back to fix it. Through this hole, the man spies on a woman downstairs and he gradually becomes fascinated by her.

Mei-Mei is a young, lonely single woman who lives in the flat below. She carries a big pack of toilet paper as she walks to her flat from the heavy rain outside. She is a nervous woman and buys toilet paper obsessively – especially on rainy days. Despite her solitary life style, like most young women she likes to dress well and always cares about her appearance. That day, she walks in to her flat, as usual, cooks alone, eats alone, watches TV alone.....while she is eating instant noodles in her living room, the television news reports – “....the unidentified virus is named ‘Taiwan fever’ and cannot be destroyed even by boiling water for several hours, therefore the government direct all residents in this area to move out immediately.” Mei-Mei is unmoved by

the report: she turns off the television and walks to the kitchen, breaks a small hole in an egg and drains the egg white to smear over her face. While she is waiting for the mask to dry, some dust falls on her face. She is shocked by an indistinct glimpse of the man upstairs. The scene cuts to her fantasy world in which she is wearing a splendid dress in an elevator and singing a 1930s Grace Chan's song *Oh Calypso*:

Oh Calypso Oh Calypso
I am dancing to the rhythm of Oh Calypso
Oh Calypso Oh Calypso
Don't tell me it's too hard work
Shake yourself and dance Oh Calypso
Like a rooster on the road
It sings with its wing on the neck
I am following with a step forward and another backward
I know my steps in all that shaking and twisting
I need talk to none about my worries
All that shaking and the drum beating sooth me
It makes me forget the heavy duty from work
It doesn't hurt to think nothing at night
Oh Calypso Oh Calypso
I am dancing the rhythm of Oh Calypso

Her face shines radiantly and the expression in her eyes is enchanting, her moody state and nervous nature has completely disappeared and she is able to dance confidently and spontaneously. The shabby, old apartment has also become resplendent and shining in her fantasy world. After the music ceases, the scene cuts to her real world. The man upstairs is heavily drunk in the elevator and he is unable to recognize which floor he is going to. The elevator goes up and down until, finally, he arrives home. He starts to vomit and the fluid is spewed into the hole.

Angry:

Mei-Mei is in her bed room when she hears a noise upstairs. She is peering curiously at the hole and wondering what happened upstairs. When her hand touches the cupboard in front of her, she is shocked to feel something disgusting, then rushes to the kitchen and gets a mop to clean it. Next morning, Mei-Mei is woken up by an alarm upstairs. She is furious to be disturbed in the morning as well as the previous

night. She quickly fetches the mop from the kitchen to plug the hole between her ceiling and upstairs.

The man upstairs is unaware of Mei-Mei's reaction; he goes to work as usual. (He owns a grocery store in a market near his flat.) Because of the plague, most people have been evacuated. The market is desolate and cheerless only a cat can be seen. The man opens his shop and feeds the cat - the only companion he has that day. When the man goes home after work, he notices that there is a note of complaint from the woman downstairs.

Mei-Mei returns to her nervous condition after the harassment from the man upstairs she experienced the previous night. She starts to move the toilet paper that has been stored by her over time. She anxiously moves all the toilet paper from one room to another and then back again until she is worn out. The man upstairs is watching Mei-Mei's strange behavior and Mei-Mei notices that someone is watching her. She fetches insecticide and spurts it through the hole. The man upstairs is not prepared for such abrupt action; he steps back and fetches a pan lid to cover the hole. At that moment, the scene cuts to Mei-Mei's fantasy, and she sings another Grace Chan's song, *Tiger Lady*:

Go away, don't come back
If you want to go, please do.
I would not hold you up.

Please, do not underestimate me
Please, do not call me Tiger Lady

You are not a good husband
You are penniless,
You can not afford me, but still want to be jealous
You may be too ridiculous

If you want to go, please do. I would not hold you up.
Please do not underestimate me
From now on, please do not call me Tiger Lady.

This time, she has three other women dancers to accompany her. She is dressed in a

short white skirt with a pattern of red roses, and opens the hallway door. Colourful spotlights fade, and the three other dancers follow her upstairs, and they repeat for emphasis the words she sings.

Speculation:

Mei-Mei hears a neighboring couple's serious argument, and she walks to her balcony in an attempt to find out what is happening. She cranes her neck but cannot see anything and the woman's harsh shouting scares her. She goes to the grocery store which is run by the man upstairs and walks in there like an ordinary customer. She speaks to him calmly and explains to him that the worker is going to fix the hole between her ceiling and his floors; she asks him whether he will be home this afternoon. The man from upstairs responds to Mei-Mei politely that he should be home. Their communication is as unremarkable as any other strangers, showing no trace of all that has been going on in Mei-Mei's mind and her fantasy world at nights.

Mei-Mei goes home, but the worker does not come. She is sitting in the toilet, holding a washbowl above her head to prevent the leaking water making her wet; at the same time, she is using her mobile phone to quarrel loudly with the worker, scolding him for breaking his promise. However, after she finishes in the toilet, her cloth is wet, and she has to fetch a mop to bang the pan lid that the man upstairs used to cover the hole. She asks the man upstairs whether he can stop using water because her flat is leaking so seriously. Her voice is rational and even; her emotion is concealed while she is speaking to the man upstairs, in contrast to her mood just a minute ago when she quarreled with the worker.

One day, as the man upstairs walks to the market where his store is located, he sees a man who is crawling on the ground. When the crawling man notices someone approaching closely he quickly crawls in to a dark room. The man's behavior shocks the grocer, who then sees fire fighters arrive at the market and force the man into their car, followed by more fire fighters who carry noisy sterilization equipment to spread antiseptic all over the market. The fire fighters all wear protective uniforms and their protective face masks. The grocer realizes that he has to leave quickly, because he has heard reports that the first symptom of the virus is similar to the common cold but the later symptom to appear is that the person will shriek and behave like a cockroach –afraid of light and crawling on floors, with a tendency to hide in dark rooms. He wants to leave immediately, but thinks his shop cat might be shut in. After he sees his cat has escaped, he is reassured that he can leave.

Mei-Mei is looking for an advertisement in the public space on the ground floor of the market. An oppressive noise is shown to be fire fighters who tie a man on a stretcher and carry him out of a flat. The sight of the man's struggling and screaming makes Mei-Mei dodge sideways and rush home. The radio news reports "There are patients who have been quarantined this afternoon. There is no medicine that can cure this disease so far, and a French specialist has confirmed that the virus is caused by cockroaches. He terms this virus 'Taiwan fever.' The person who catches the virus usually demonstrates quasi-insect behavior, such as fear of light and crawling - exactly like a cockroach." She nervously sprays pesticide all over her flat until she cannot bear the chemical odour any more and has to stand outside in the corridor.

The man upstairs walks into his flat, and the strong smell compels him to open the window and door. He finds out the smell comes from the hole, but he is not sure what Mei-Mei's intention is in spreading the strong chemical odour that even fills the air in his flat. He walks to the corridor outside, waiting for the smell to be dispelled. He sees Mei-Mei also standing in the corridor outside her flat. It is a heavy rainy day; the shabby building looks moody but quiet; the two lonely people stand in the corridor, avoiding each other's gaze but they catch each other's eye as they speculate on the other's intention.

At that moment, Mei-Mei's fantasy world cuts in. She wears shining golden heels and a short, neat evening dress with spaghetti straps. Her dress is covered with shimmering golden-brown dots, and serves as a foil to set off her fair and clear skin and she believes that the most beautiful part of her body is her naked legs. She hides herself in the corner of the corridor, only stretching out one of her legs and her sexy shoes. However, when the man upstairs standing on the other side of corridor does not notice her, she steps out and with extravagant gestures sings Grace Chan's old song, *I Want You to be My Baby*:

I
I want
I want you
I want your
I want your love
Why don't you walk toward me?

I

I want
I want you
I want your
I want your love
Why don't you tell me that you love me?
I want you to say
Only say you love me
Why don't you say that to me?

In the dancing drama of her fantasy world, Mei-Mei has expressed her emotion directly and desperately. The man upstairs appears in her fantasy and also dances with her at the beginning, but becomes afraid of Mei-Mei's wild and aggressive gestures. He fetches a fire extinguisher and throws it to her. Mei-Mei catches this fire extinguisher but does not realize that it is a message to ask her to extinguish the fire of her desire. He attempts to run from Mei-Mei, but Mei-Mei does not give up, following him until he disappears into the dark and foggy night. The scene cuts back to the realistic state.

Block the hole:

Mai-Mei wears a mask to sleep. In the morning, she is woken by an alarm clock. The man upstairs goes to the toilet; he passes urine through the sink instead of through the toilet, making louder noise to irritate the girl downstairs. Mei-Mei notices that the noise is unusual; her instinct seems to be able to detect this signal. She decides to seal the hole with tape and believes that this action can bring an end to her irritation with the man upstairs as well as her fantasy. After Mei-Mei feels safe from being watched, she turns her attention to another man. She uses her mobile phone to call the worker who made the hole and to have a blue joke with him. She tells him that someone is peering at her through the hole he made. While she conversing with the worker, using language with sexual overtones, she touches her body and imagines that she is having intimate relations with him.

The man upstairs goes to market to feed his cat; not until he comes back from outside does he know that the hole has been sealed. Although the hole has been sealed, Mei-Mei still cannot refrain from looking at the hole constantly, whenever there is a sound she wants to detect. The man upstairs sees the hole has been sealed; he tries to pour the spring water which he has left in a bottle into the hole in an attempt to discover Mei-Mei's reaction. However, Mei-Mei does not notice the provocative act.

She is calmly lying in a bathtub, enjoying immersing her body in hot water. She seems to have caught a cold and has a blocked nose; she sneezes, and this draws her into another fantasy world. The scene cuts to the market; she emits a loud sneeze and sings Grace Chan's song, *Sneeze*:

A-a-a-achoo

A-a-a-achoo. Gesundheit

I don't have a cold at all

And I am not that Snow White's red-nosed dwarf

So why then am I sneezing all day long?

Something here must be wrong!

A-a-a-achoo

A-a-a-achoo. Gesundheit

Maybe some cute admirer

Is calling my name over and over

In secret, and I am sneezing so strong.

Yes, I am all day long.

A-a-a-achoo

A-a-a-achoo. Gesundheit

Last week it was Lee

And he was down on his knee

Saying we had to marry

He'd spend his life pleasuring me

And happy we would be!

A-a-a-achoo

A-a-a-achoo. Gesundheit

Now there is Gee

This one keeps bullying me

He really wants to have me

This guy will not let me free

But marriage ain't for me!

A-a-a-achoo

A-a-a-achoo. Gesundheit

It has to be them somehow

Calling my name over and over now

And that why I am sneezing all day long

Yes, I am, all day long!

A-a-a-achoo. Gesundheit

A-a-a-achoo. Gesundheit

In this fantasy world, Mei-Mei is delightful and charming, singing in a coquettish mood. She dresses in white, short clothes and wears silver shoes, with sparkly shimmer. Pink feathers decorate the front of her breast and her glove. The background is the stairs of the murky market, and hanging white curtains. Perhaps because of her bright and celebratory mood, those curtains seem to dance in the wind. Four handsome gentlemen accompany her, followed by three ladies who wear light green and light blue dresses to dance with her. The people around her are like a myriad of stars surrounding the moon, Mei-Mei is as proud as a princess.

Rescue:

The man upstairs starts to clean the cement which the worker who made the hole left in his flat. He sits beside the hole, drinks beer and smokes in a relaxed mood. He speculates about downstairs and wonders why Mei-Mei did not react to his provocation last night. Firstly, he puts cigarette ash in the hole but, seeing no response, he widens the hole and puts one of his legs through, which conveys a sexual insinuation. However, he still observes no response.

Mei-Mei's blocked nose seems to be more serious than the night before, and she worries she might have the early symptoms of Taiwan fever. She starts to take medicine but she is so sick that even when the man upstairs puts his leg in the hole she does not notice. Her breath becomes more and more difficult, accompanied by severe coughing. Outside, it is sombre; her room is quiet, and she hears only the sound of heavy raindrops that night, she falls to sleep in a helpless and solitary mood. In the middle of the night she wakes up because of her blocked nose; she can hardly breathe. She turns on the table lamp and finds her bedroom is submerged in water, she feels that she is absolutely isolated just like a person abandoned on a desert island. At that moment, she feels more secure in the room where she stores toilet paper, she crawls to the other room and notices that she seems to have the later symptoms of Taiwan fever – fear of light and crawling on the floor like an insect. She hides herself in the packs of toilet paper piled up in the living room, and lies in a comatose state.

When the man upstairs does not hear Mei-Mei's voice for a long time, he wonders and worries what has happened to her. He speaks loudly to her through the hole but there is no response. He does not give up, using a hammer to bang on his floor, but

still hears nothing. He knows that even a water sound can irritate Mei-Mei, so how could she not respond to such a din. He starts to panic - it is very unlikely someone would not respond to such noise and he thinks that he and Mei-Mei are now the only people in this building. If she dies then he will probably be the next person to die, the fear of hopeless isolation make him sob.

Mei-Mei does not know how long she has been in comatose state; she wakes up and crawls out from a pile of toilet papers. She can see light from the hole, and when she lifts up her head, the man upstairs gives her a cup of water through the hole and she drinks it. Then she sees that the man upstairs offers her his hand to rescue her from the flood in her flat. She stretches out her hand and is rescued. The scene cuts to the man upstairs' flat, where heavy rain falls outside. Mei-Mei and the man upstairs calmly dance together, and Grace Chan's song *I Don't Care Who You Are* fades in:

I don't care who you are
Just want to immerse myself in your bosom.
I and you tightly hold together for warmth
Enjoy the taste of romance

Would you not see swallows fly in pairs and couples?
Would you not see mandarin ducks swim in pairs and couples?

I would always like to follow you
We cannot be separated

I don't care who you are
Just want to immerse myself in your bosom.
You and I hold tight together for warmth
Enjoy the taste of romance

At the end of this film, Tsai Ming-Laing expresses his personal words to the audience:

We are grateful that we still have Grace Chan's songs to accompany us in 2000 AD.

(The above writing translation of the film *The Hole* is my transcription)

Appendix 6: *The Wedding Banquet* (喜宴) directed by Li An

[I adapted Martin's transcription]

The Wedding Banquet is about a father-son relationship. Wai-Tung is a gay Taiwanese immigrant who has become an American citizen, working in New York and living with his white American partner, Simon. He hides his sexuality from his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Gao, who constantly urge him to marry and produce a grandson for them. To avoid disappointing his parents' expectation, Wei-Tung and Simon decide to arrange a fake marriage for Wai-Tung with their friend Wei-Wei, an illegal immigrant from mainland China. Wei-Wei is a poor young artist, who owes Wei-Tung rent. In exchange for her willingness to marry him and move temporarily into the basement of their house, the two men will help Wei-Wei to obtain her green card. Mr. and Mrs. Gao are happy to hear the announcement of their son's marriage and insist that they must fly to America to attend their son's wedding. Like many Chinese parents, they follow the Chinese convention of being well-prepared and brought many traditional gifts - fine cloths, and a red package for the daughter-in-law they have never seen, carrying huge luggage to America. However, the wedding is simply arranged with a notary in a local court, crowded with strangers standing by and waiting for the judge's notarization. Every new couple spent not more than five minutes effecting and announcing their marriage, and followed by taking a photo. Not knowing the wedding is a fake, the parents are deeply hurt by the new couple's careless manner toward their marriage, and their disregard of the parents' long journey from Taiwan and while taking a photo Mrs. Gao sheds bitter tears in the court.

The couple re-arranges a traditional Chinese wedding for the parents; they follow the convention of a traditional Chinese wedding – the mother requests the bride to wear a red cheongsam¹⁰ and the parents give the bride the red package as a symbol of the blessing of parents. Before the wedding ceremony, a bowl of sweet rice balls is prepared to be shared by new couple, and they have to kneel down in front of parents and listen to father's personal address to the new couple. Mr. Gao said to them:

Mr. Gao: Wai-Tung, you are getting married. I have to tell you something. Do you know why I joined the military?

¹⁰ The cheongsam is a close-fitting traditional Chinese dress with side vents, worn only on very formal occasions.

Wai-Tung: You responded to General Chiang’s call to join the army during the Sino-Japanese War.

Mr. Gao: No, I wanted to run away from home. So I joined the army. Your grandpa had arranged a marriage for me. I got mad and just took off. After the war, we fought the Communists. A relative escaped to Taiwan and brought me a letter from your grandpa. He told me that there was no longer a Gao family and that I should start my own family outside the mainland, to continue the family name. Son, imagine how I feel to be able to attend your wedding.

Mr. Gao goes on instructing to his son to treat Wei-Wei well, and says that Wei-Wei is a painter - she should not obliterate her achievement after marrying him. Mr. Gao encourages his son to support Wei-Wei in fulfillment of her career in the future. Wei-Wei is moved by Mr. Gao’s speech, especially considering their wedding is a charade, and she cannot hold back from bursting into tears.

The wedding banquet is arranged at a Chinese restaurant with all the decorations that Chinese wedding should display, including inviting their guests to participate in traditional customs together with the new couple. Wei-Tung’s real lover, Simon, plays the role of best man at the wedding, standing by during the ceremony. After lingering on the spectacle of the drinking games that Wai-Tung and Wei-Wei are forced to play by the wedding guests, the camera cuts to a white, heterosexual couple sitting at one of the banquet tables, quietly appalled by the tacky exercises of the banquet rituals they are witnessing. Particularly, at the end of banquet, some guests are unwilling to leave, putting tables in front of the new couple’s room and playing mahjong¹¹. Not until the couple throws their clothes outside do guests they start to leave. This game is called “to faze newlyweds”.

Unexpectedly, after the wedding banquet Wai-Tung notices he is bi-sexual, and also has heterosexual reactions while he is with a woman. Wei-Wei becomes pregnant by “accident” and thus a fake wedding fulfills parents’ expectation.

Wei-Tung’s gay partner Simon is furious at discovering Wei-Wei is pregnant, and the two men then quarrel front of Wei-Tung’s parents at dinner. Although Mr. Gao does not fully understand English, he discerns the truth. He eventually accepts Simon as his other “son” – or maybe as his “daughter-in-law” – without revealing he knows the secret. One day, while he takes a walk along the river with Simon, he gives Simon a

¹¹ Mahjong is a Chinese board game played with small pieces of wood with symbols on them.

red package as his birthday present, and he drops a hint to Simon that he knows the truth between his son and Simon. Their conversation goes as follows¹²:

Mr. Gao (handing the red package of money, initially given to Wei-Wei as Wei-Tung's bride, to Simon): Happy birthday, Simon.

Simon: Mr. Kao, you speak English?

Mr. Gao (gesture 'a little bit'): Please, happy birthday.

Simon: Happy Birthday! Even I forgot. (Opens red package and sees cash) Then – you know! You've – known.....?

Mr. Gao: I watch, I hear, I learn. Wei-Tung is my son, so you are my son also.

Simon: Why, you – (raising the red packer as though to slap Mr. Gao's arm with it) Well, thank you, Thank you. When Wei-Tung....

Mr. Gao: (raises hand in refusal) No. Not Wei-Tung, not mother, not Wei-Wei should know our secret.

Simon: But why?

Mr. Gao: For the family. If I did not let them lie to me, how would I get to hold my grandson? [In this section, Mr. Gao speaks Chinese: 如果我不讓他們騙我的話 我怎麼能抱得了孫子呢?]

Simon: I don't understand.

Mr. Gao: I don't understand.

(The scene cut to Wei-Wei and Wei-Tung in the car outside the medical clinic where Wei-Wei spontaneously reveals to a delighted Wei-Tung her resolution to have their baby after all) (Martin, 2003, pp150-151)

Wei-Wei is not prepared to be a mother – not just because of the fake wedding - and she has made an appointment to have an abortion in a medical clinic. While the

¹² Please go to the You-Tube website and enter the key word:

'new couple' is discussing abortion in their bedroom, Wai-Tung has no personal objection to Wei-Wei's decision but begs her in a sobbing voice:" Do not let my parents know this, please." Actually, Wei-Wei is moved by Mr. and Mrs. Gao's sincere affection toward her while they prepared the Chinese wedding together, and she feels guilty about hurting Wei-Tung's parents if they discover that she plans to have an abortion. While on the way to the medical clinic, she changes her mind and decides to keep her baby for the Gao's family.

Neil Peng explains that Mr. Gao's refusal to reveal his knowledge of Wei-Tung's bisexuality is that, "On the surface he (the father) doesn't appear to know, but it's very clear to Simon and to the viewer that he's known all along. He is such a sharp person, he couldn't possibly not know, it's just that he keeps it to himself. You know Chinese people, they are so often so concerned about *mianzi* (face), and reluctant to disturb its false image" (Peng, p42)

Fran Martin proposes that "Neil Peng's reading suggests that in concealing this knowledge Mr. Kao effectively reproduces himself as proper Father – since the public 'face' of a proper Father cannot withstand knowledge of a homosexual son. Mr Gao is himself quite clear about the ways in which his *mianzi*-saving (face-saving) refusal publicly to claim knowledge of Wei-Tung's homosexuality functions to reproduce his fatherly position. His question, 'if I didn't let them lie to me, how I would get to hold my grandson?' signals the very real effect that his decision not to tell of his knowingness has – particularly since the question is followed almost immediately by a cut to Wei-Wei revealing to Wei-Tung her decision to go ahead and have the baby. Because Wei-Tung and Wei-Wei believe Mr Gao ignorant, they have put on such a very realistic show of reproductive heterosexuality that Mr Gao will soon indeed have the grandchild that his familial position as aging patriarch requires."(Martin, 2003, p152)

In this film, the son lies to his parents and the father pretends ignorance of his son's sexual tendency in order to fulfill the function of the Father, so that the patriarchal value can be maintained. Wei-Tung's fake wedding, the father's concealing his knowledge, Simon's complicity, and Wei-Wei's change her mind, to keep her baby – labouring under the illusion of Mr. Gao's ignorance – suggests that the father's authority extends not only to family members but also to Simon reared in a completely western culture.

The whole family is under the false image of the Father except Simon, who is

considered as the outsider of the family. When Mr. Gao suffers from a mild stroke and is sent to hospital, Wai-Tung verbally confesses his homosexuality to his mother outside the hospital ward where his father is recovering. That evening, Mr. and Mrs. Gao witness an impassioned argument between Wai-Tung and Simon, following the Wai-Tung's revelation to Simon of Wei-Wei's pregnancy. Since the argument is in English, though, it is not certain that Mr. Gao will have understood its cause. The conversation between Wei-Tung and his mother is as following:

Wai-Tung: Ma, don't worry about my fight with Simon, it's nothing.

Mrs. Gao: Wai-Tung, such a big thing. Why did you hide it?

Wai-Tung: I was afraid you couldn't take it. It's been twenty years. I've been living a big lie. There has been so much pain and joy I've wanted to share with you, but I couldn't. Sometimes I wanted to tell you everything, but I couldn't burden you with what has been with me so long.

Mrs. Gao: I don't get it. I am asking you why you didn't tell us Wei-Wei was pregnant. What is all this?

Wai-Tung: Ma, I want to tell you.

Mrs. Gao: I've known it for few days. After you guys fought this morning, I told her that judging by her bad mood she is carrying a boy. Congratulations, son! (takes Wai-Tung's hand and bites affectionately at his wrist)

Wai-Tung: (pulls away, stand up, punches wall in frustration) My marriage is a fraud. Simon is my real friend.

Mrs. Gao: Friend?

Wai-Tung: Friend, lover. Ma, I am gay and Simon is my lover. We have been living together for five years.

Mrs. Gao: It's not true. Simon led you astray?

Wai-Tung: Nobody led me astray. I was born this way.

Mr.s Gao: Your father must not know. It would kill him.

(Translated by Fran Martin, 2003, p149)

Although Wai-Tung has lived with Simon for long he had never informed his parents about his sexual orientation. When Wai-Tung discloses his homosexuality to his mother, his mother's uppermost concern is that his "father must not know, it will kill him." Conspicuously, the false father image exists in every of the family, including the father himself, mother, son, daughter-in-law - they all have this notion of "The Father" which dominates their decision. Lacan adopts Freud's theory of personality structure, and proposes that "The Father" is not simply a biological father, present in the house every day, but head of a symbolic order in the name of "The Father". In this film, there is an image of "The Father" held by every member of Gao's family, and this Father is not the real father who actually knows the truth and pretends to know nothing. This "Father" exists in the same form in every family member; no one should commit an act of impropriety against it, including the real father, Mr. Gao, who is obliged to pretend he does not know the truth. This "Father" should not know anything about homosexuality at all; the deceit represents a kind of moral code which requires distance from biological and emotional truths.

Appendix 7: *Straw Man* (稻草人) directed by Wang Tung

[My translation]

The film *Straw Man* describes the life conditions and Taiwanese identification during the Second World War. The film starts with Japanese military music; an official leads many soldiers marching together to a village. Those soldiers hold urns which contain the ashes of Taiwanese youths who served in the Japanese military and fell in battle. The urns were wrapped in white cloth and draped with Japanese flags, soldiers' names and dates of birth were written in the white cloth together with a certificate. The family members of sacrificed soldiers were waiting under a canopy to receive the urns. The official firstly announced the soldiers' names and their date of birth, followed by a speech of commendation, expressing the value of their lives to the spirit of the Japanese Empire. The official handed the soldiers' ashes to family members and rendered a final salute to the soldiers as well as their family members, the Japanese military music rose again, and the ceremony was completed. At the same time, Chinese traditional music arose, and Japanese officials turned a separate way; the family members held the soldiers' ashes and marched home together. Soldiers' family members had prepared Chinese musical accompaniment, while the soldiers' ashes were carried home.

One scene describes how students were told to bring all iron material at home to school. The teacher thanked students for contributions, and said that the iron would be used to make aeroplanes for the Japanese Empire. When the aeroplanes were made, students' names would be recorded in the contributors' list. Students were told that Tenno (the Japanese emperor) was like the sunlight, bathing everyone in the island; although he was in Tokyo his spirit was always with them.

Another scene describes how Japanese officials trained country women in anti-air-raid manoeuvres, followed by a speech. The official said the country women (Japanese and Taiwanese) with features such as black hair and brown eyes should fight together against American attack. The officials described the features of Americans, such as brown hair, blue eyes, hairy bodies ... and described how, when American soldiers invaded another country they captured women and raped them. The official attempted to emphasize how brutal American soldiers were – barbarians, who killed people and raped women, and how the women must not let American soldiers invade Taiwan.

Undoubtedly, the overwhelming threat of American military power urged the Japanese to strengthen colonial ties and liaisons with the Taiwanese, redefining Taiwanese people's identity, and deepening their sense of national identity toward Japan (Wu, 2002, p138-144). Especially, in the later stages of war, Japan was embarrassed by a shortage of resources to the frontline. The food which was provided to the Japanese military frontlines largely relied on the island's agricultural products and livestock industry; however, no matter how diligently the islanders worked in the field, they were always short of food. Life was harsh for the islanders, as food was rationed, never providing sufficient food for families and school children. The film *Straw Man* displays the conditions for farmers' in the villages. In the later stages of war, many Japanese soldiers starved in the battles of South Asia. Japanese officials in Taiwan started to levy working cows which helped farmers plough fields. It had been the custom of Taiwanese farmers never to kill their working cows for eating, but they then sadly watched their working cows be made into corned beef to be sent to the frontline for the Japanese army.

Life was harsh during war time; however, people were told that their lives were bound up with the Japanese Empire. Children were told to bring a square-shaped lunch packs to school, filled only with white rice and with a red plum in the middle – representing the Japanese flag - and reminded children that they were nationals of the Japanese Empire.

Straw Man is a film which represents the later stage of Taiwan's colonial history; I-Fen Wu interprets it thus:

...In school, children are convinced of their Japanese identity by their education in Japanese language and history, which reinforce a pan-ethnic ideology which emphasizes that there is no difference between Taiwanese and Japanese. The scene in which school teacher tells the students that they are the people of the Great Japan Empire bathing in Tenno's (the Japanese emperor's) glory, illuminates the myth that Japanese for the establishment of Taiwanese national identity. This myth tends to invoke Taiwanese people's imagined nationalism, so as to legitimate Japan's colonial policies, deliberately steering the Taiwanese away from the conflict of ambiguous identity which could potentially destabilize Japan's colonial regime (Wu, 2002, p143).

Appendix 8: *Red Persimmon* (紅柿子) directed by Wang Tung

[My translation]

The Red Persimmon (紅柿子) is an autobiographical film by Wang Tung. This film represents well upper class Chinese mainlanders while they settle their life in Taiwan after 1949. The film start with a black-and-white screen in 1949 China: a General's family members have arranged to be evacuated from China. For a general assigned to important duty in China's civil war, family members – including his mother, his wife, ten children and family maids were allowed full protection of nationalist government soldiers. The general's mother was unwilling to leave her home and hid away from the soldiers who were assigned the duty to travel with the general's family to Taiwan. The soldiers said to general's mother: "You must leave as soon as possible, do you know that there are millions of people on the wharf who are waiting to obtain a ticket to leave China. You will be definitely safe in Taiwan, and you are just temporarily leaving your home. You might come back next year, or even quicker – maybe three or four months, why hesitate?" The family members only took what they needed; children carried their own cloth, like going for a short trip somewhere.

Before the whole family was ready to get on the car, the general's mother gave a final glance of their house – a traditional grey Chinese quadrangle house with a red persimmon in the garden, in which one can feel little vitality. Their route to the wharf was full of people who carried suitcases, striving to be first and afraid to lag behind, their eyes full of fear and agitation. The general's family was privileged, they were not pressed among the crowd, but the children had to hold together a rope in case they were dispersed by the crowd. After the ship crossed the channel between China and Taiwan, they were safe. Through the dark channel, they entered a completely different world – a green, vivid, sunny and pleasant field. The screen starts to change to a colour screen – this is Taiwan. The general's family were appointed a stylish Japanese house with a wooden floor and verdant garden. During the night, fireflies flew over the garden and the general's children were woken by this beautiful scene – like a dream world.

The Red Persimmon is Tung Wang's own story. He was born on the mainland, son of KMT's general, and had a comfortable upbringing. The story describes a general's family members who enjoyed a privilege status that local people could never achieve. Nonetheless, they were embarrassed to receive alms from a local church because there were ten children to be fed. Unlike native Taiwanese, they usually possessed property

inherited from their ancestors. Chinese mainlanders were insecure financially, relying merely on wages to live, especially if there were many children in education. The general's wife started to create an income-earning sideline, feeding chickens and selling eggs to local shops - their main source of income to cover living expenses. The huge Japanese garden became a chicken farm.

When more children need to enter higher education, the general decided to rent their stylish Japanese house to an American officer in order to bring in sufficient tuition fees for their children. The general's family moved to a house in the countryside; their life became more close to local people: they learned how to dig a fishpond to feed fish, frogs, and field snails whatever could increase their income.

At the end of this film the general's mother passed away, and the family members were preparing a funeral for their grandmother. The eldest grandson holds the grandmother's photo, other family walked together to the graveyard, followed by a very Taiwanese style of mechanical cart bearing the grandmother's coffin: the music, the decoration, the cloth are no different from native Taiwanese.

Appendix 9: *Climate, Belief and Disease* (氣候, 信仰與宿疾) by Chou Chin-Po's

Taiwanese writer, Chou Chin-Po's (周金波) novel *Climate, Belief and Disease* (氣候, 信仰與宿疾) was written and published in Japanese. The novel conveys another discourse of men's hysteria and identification, particularly in colonial Taiwan. The writer Chou has been labelled as the "Empire's writer" (皇民作家) because his earlier articles, such as *Water Carcinoma* (水癌) and *Volunteer Soldiers* (志願兵), were considered to criticise the superstition of Taiwanese popular beliefs and to support Japanese Shinto religion. His novel is interpreted as a painful compromise in order to help Taiwanese to pursue modernization and identification. On the other hand, his later articles, such as *Climate, Belief and Disease* reveal his deep longing and nostalgia for indigenous Taiwanese culture.

The novel of *Climate, Belief and Disease* describes an upper class Taiwanese, the head of banking institution. He abandoned traditional Taiwanese beliefs, became devoutly attached to the Japanese religion, Shinto, and was an enthusiastic supporter of the movement of national assimilation to the Empire (皇民化運動). Long-term he had suffered from a kind of nerve pain during the cold and damp season, and could only improve when the summer season approached. His wife was a devoted believer in traditional Taiwanese religion, and always criticised her husband's adaption of Japanese Shinto; she assumes that her husband's disease was relevant to the change in his belief. The couple argued constantly about their different beliefs.

However, one year his nerve pain did not improve when summer arrived. His wife went to Ma-Zu¹³ Temple to cast lots¹⁴ and the message displayed in the paper was "there is a respectable person in the eastern direction". Thus, his wife went back her parents' house which was in the east, and found a doctor of Chinese medicine for him. It was like a miracle: his long-term nerve pain recovered after a course of Chinese medicine. Facing such an efficacious experience, his faith in Japanese Shinto fluctuated, and at the same time his enthusiasm of Imperial assimilation faded away. When his son had lung disease, his wife invited a Taoist priest at home for the ritual of relief disease, the husband was not only unable to oppose his wife, but also he

¹³ Ma-Zu is goddess in folklore legend and is popular in Taiwan. Native Taiwanese believe that their pioneer ancestors were able to cross the most dangerous channel between China and Taiwan with simple facilities during 16 and 17 Century, were protected by a goddess of sea - Ma-Zu.

¹⁴ In Taiwan, casting lots is a very popular custom in most temples.

expected to worship Guanyin¹⁵ (觀音), displayed in his ancestors' table. In the end of this story, he recalled the memory of his childhood – he had kneeled down to worship Guanyin and many youths who believed in Shinto censured his worship. He was unable to understand what had happened to him. In the end of the novel, the author describes how a stubborn self had finally found his orientation while he worshiped Guanyin:

滿天星斗，燭台的燭火紅紅的搖晃著，祭拜的牲禮堆得高高的排列著。
神明、祖先、妻、孩子，心心相連的全家團圓對蔡大體來說是多少年未有的事了。
仰望觀音像，他感激的湧出眼淚……。
兩手合掌的蔡大體忽然手扶著桌子的角端，身體向前請傾，要彎下腰。
是在跪拜啊！
燭台的火照在蔡大體的臉上，然後他奉上虔敬的禱告。

Stars all over the sky, red frames shaking slightly above candleholders, items offered to deities were piled up.

Deities, ancestors, wives and children, the mutual affinity of family members - like heart link heart. For him, it has been many years with nothing like this.

He looks up at the status of **Guanyin**, with gratitude. His eyes brimming with tears……

He put his two hands together, suddenly, one of his hands grasped one corner of the desk, he bent his body.

He was kneeling down to worship

The light of red frames illuminated his face; he then prayed.

¹⁵ Guanyin is a Buddhist goddess in Taiwan.