

Performing an *Absent* China: Cultural Propaganda in
Anti-Communist Taiwan in the 1950's and 1960's

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Abstract

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Taiwan was liberated from its fifty year Japanese colonization in 1945. In 1949, an estimated 1.5 million Chinese migrants retreated to Taiwan along with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government, due to the defeat to the Chinese Communists. During the subsequent two decades, the Nationalist government utilized cultural propaganda to assist the political anti-Communist campaigns to retake Mainland China. Thus scholars in Taiwan and abroad have long regarded these anti-Communist pieces as nothing more than political manipulation.

This dissertation offers a social and cultural study of anti-Communist propaganda during the 1950's and 1960's. In this dissertation, I examine visual and verbal representations of propaganda—plays, films, comic strips, documentaries, and textbook illustrations. These representations were intended to generate hatred toward Communist enemies, and alleviate the nostalgia of Chinese migrants. I propose that anti-Communist propaganda helped the Nationalist government to craft a China in concepts of 'nation, leader, gender, class, and ethnicity.' It was an *absent* China that had never existed in Taiwan.

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A Note on Translation, Romanization, Chinese Characters, the Order of Names, Footnotes, and Bibliography

All translations not otherwise credited are my own. Short Chinese terms are transliterated and shown in the main text in order of Romanization and English translation, such as ‘fangong (anti-Communist).’ For most Chinese citations, I put English translations in the main text and provide the original Chinese in the footnotes for the reader’s reference.

Throughout this dissertation, all Chinese terms are transliterated into English according to *Pinyin* Romanization. This spelling system is used in the People’s Republic of China and has become the international standard since the 1980’s. However, I retain the spelling system of Wades-Giles, which is still widely used in Taiwan, for 1) names of well-known people in Taiwan, such as Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), and Chiang Ching-kuo (Jiang Jingguo), 2) Taiwanese locations, such as Taipei (Taibei) and Kaohsiung (Gaoxiong), and 3) Taiwanese authors whose names have appeared in English-language publications. Also, traditional Chinese characters for authors and titles mentioned in the text are listed in the glossary if they are not shown in the bibliography and appendices.

In the bibliography, Chinese sources appear in the order of Romanization, the Chinese original text shown in Chinese traditional characters (widely used in Taiwan, in contrast to the simplified Chinese characters used in Mainland China), and the English translation. This order also appears in footnotes when a Chinese source is quoted for the first time.

Chinese and other Asian surnames are listed before given names, according to the their hometown convention. However, a first name comes before a surname in the bibliographical source provided in the footnotes. In the bibliography, a comma is added between a surname and a

first name (e.g. Chiang, Kai-shek) to follow the international standard used in English-speaking academic circles. The author's Chinese name is also provided in the bibliography after its Romanization.

Introduction

“Art, politics, and propaganda are three different things.
Art is perverted when it is used as a tool for politics and propaganda.
Only wise politicians know how to make the most of art and use it to
complete political missions.”

Xie sheme? Zenme xie? (1955)¹
(*What to Write? How to Write?*)
WANG LAN (WRITER)

This dissertation offers a social and cultural study of anti-Communist propaganda, particularly theatre and films, from the 1950's and 1960's in Taiwan. I define Taiwan during this period as 'anti-Communist Taiwan.' This historical period began after the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, or KMT) government retreated from China to Taiwan, due to its defeat by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. At this time the CCP established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Mainland China. During this period an estimate of 1.5 to 2 millions of Chinese people moved to Taiwan as supporters of the KMT. In hopes of regaining political control of China, the KMT government demanded that the people in Taiwan commit themselves to a political struggle against the CCP; thus, the government launched an anti-Communist propaganda effort to establish and consolidate their identification with China: the KMT's Republic of China (ROC).

A Brief Note about Taiwan's Historical Background

Taiwan has a long colonial history since the sixteenth century, and this history introduced a complex relationship among different ethnic groups. As I will demonstrate in my analysis of the

¹Lan Wang, *Xie sheme? zenme xie?* 寫甚麼? 怎麼寫? (*What to write? how to write?*) (Taipei: Honglan chubanshe, 1955), 37.

anti-Communist propaganda that contributed to the plays and films, the political mission and methods of the KMT were aimed primarily at the Chinese migrants. The other ethnic groups in Taiwan were often treated as second-class citizens, especially during the 1950's and 1960's. A description of Taiwan's colonial history helps to highlight the status and conditions for the ethnic people who lived on the island.

Since the sixteenth century the island of Taiwan, a former offshore territory of China, has been occupied by the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the Dutch. They were attracted because of Taiwan's rich natural resources and its strategic location. The former name '*Ilha Formosa*,' which means 'Beautiful Island,' came from Portuguese colonists in the sixteenth century. Westerners commonly used this name for over four hundred years. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch colonists named a commercial port on a coastal islet 'Tayouan.' This name later became 'Taiwan' and was extended to the whole island. In 1895, Taiwan was permanently ceded to a newly modernized Japan by the Chinese Qing dynasty in the first Sino-Japanese war.² After the defeat of Japan in 1945, Taiwan was returned to China's reign.

When the KMT government came to Taiwan in 1949, Taiwan was given the official name of the 'Republic of China.' During the 1950's and 1960's, the government identified the state as 'Nationalist China' (or 'Free China') to distinguish it from 'Communist China' (or 'Red China'). The KMT government in Taiwan retained the right to represent China before it withdrew from the United Nations in 1971. Since then, the name 'China' has referred to only the People's Republic of China on the Mainland. The island of Taiwan has been internationally recognized as 'Taiwan,' as the separate country of Taiwan. However, a majority of governments worldwide today still do

²By 1944, seventy-one percent of Taiwanese spoke Japanese. See Olwen Bedford and Hwang Kwang-Kuo, *Taiwanese Identity and Democracy: the Social Psychology of Taiwan's 2004 Elections* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 4.

not officially or explicitly recognize Taiwan's sovereignty because they fear to presumably provoke the PRC government.

By the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalist Party shifted the capital of the Republic of China (ROC) from China to Taiwan. This relocation involved the emigration of an estimated 1.5 to 2 million Chinese immigrants. In the same year, Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took control of Mainland China and founded the first Communist state in Asia, the People's Republic of China (PRC). The KMT government in Taiwan claimed that they were the legitimate ruler of all of China, and indeed all Chinese people around the world. However, the actual political conditions in 1949 did not accord with the politically sanitized version of those conditions that the KMT attempted to manufacture through propaganda campaigns in Taiwan. The KMT's attempts to constitute the people of Taiwan as a united political movement became quite difficult, because the people who lived in Taiwan at the midcentury were politically complex, culturally exotic, and ethnically diverse.

Between Taiwan's retrocession from Japan to China in 1945 and the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, a wave of so-called 'mainlanders' or 'people from outside the province' (*waisheng ren*) relocated to Taiwan. The mainlanders' numbers drastically increased from 0.5 percent of the entire population in 1946 to about 15 percent in 1952.³ These newcomers from China were often in conflict with the three other ethnic groups in Taiwan: the aboriginal population, the Hakka, and the Hoklo. The aboriginal people came from Southwest Asia.⁴ They made up less than two percent of Taiwan's population in the 1950's. The 'Hakka' and 'Hoklo' dominated Taiwan since

³Dongming Li, "Guangfuhou Taiwan rekou shehui zengjia zhi tantao 光復後台灣人口社會增加之探討 (Study of the population growth after the restoration of Taiwan)," *Taipei Historical Documents Quarterly* 9.10 (1967): 222.

⁴Currently, Taiwanese indigenous people consist of fourteen major tribes. However, the government officially had recognized only nine tribes in Taiwan at this time. It was not until 2008 that the Taiwanese government gave recognition to five additional aboriginal groups.

the seventeenth century. They primarily came from South China, and mainly from the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. They constituted 12 and 71 percent of the population, respectively, and were known as 'native Taiwanese' or 'islanders,' meaning 'people from this land' (*bensheng ren*). All these ethnic groups had distinct customs and dialects. Consequently, many social and political disagreements occurred among these groups.

After taking over Taiwan, the KMT government strictly labeled any hint of the Japanese colonial legacy as 'un-nationalistic' or 'un-patriotic.' Their distrust of native Taiwanese people finally exploded in 1947 among the different ethnic groups, after mainland military police accidentally killed two native Taiwanese people while confiscating illegal cigarettes from a female Taiwanese peddler. Chaotic riots and protests ensued.⁵ An island-wide massacre erupted the next day, on February 28, 1947 (known as the 2:28 Incident or the White Terror), during which many local Taiwanese elites were arrested and executed. Ultimately, martial law was declared in 1949.⁶

In order to prevent further ethnic unrest, the KMT government emphasized Chinese nationalism by requiring stricter linguistic and cultural assimilation, and did its utmost to control literature and art in post-war Taiwan. People in Taiwan were only allowed to speak the official language, Mandarin, and were taught Chinese instead of Taiwanese history. Also, in its unending quest to return to the Mainland, the KMT government adopted the slogan of 'fangong kang'e (Opposing the Chinese Communists and fighting against the Soviet Union),'⁷ and promoted a

⁵See O. Bedford and H. Kwang-Kuo, 6. A Taiwanese saying goes: "The dogs (who could at least protect your property) had been chased away, but the pigs (who only make a mess) had come." The dogs referred to Japanese colonizers and the pigs meant the mainlanders.

⁶Sylvia Li-chun Lin, *Representing Atrocity in Taiwan: The 2/28 Incidents and White Terror in Fiction and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 2-6.

⁷The KMT government's primary enemy was the Chinese Communists. The Soviet Union was added to the slogan because it was the leading Communist country in the 1950's. In the 1970's, after the relationship between China and the Soviet Union became more troubled, the slogan was changed into '*fangong fuguo* (Opposing the Communists and recovering China).'



Figure 1: The *Erzhiping* Monument, Taiwan, 1952. The visible text on the monument states (from right to left): “*Yishan tianhai fangong kang’e* (Removing mountains, filling up seas, opposing Communists and fighting against the Soviet Union).” B. Wang.

large-scale anti-Communist movement in Taiwan beginning in the 1950’s. The KMT erected many monuments in Taiwan to declare their determination to reclaim China (Figure 1).⁸ In 1954, the KMT government launched a ‘*Wenhua qingjie yundong* (Cultural Sanitation Campaign)’ to assist in eliminating the ‘Red’ poison of the Communists, the ‘Yellow’ spectra of pornography, and the ‘Black’ threat of ambiguous information.

The government provided funds to establish government-affiliated artistic groups, and

⁸Sun Ling, a mainlander writer and poet, first proposed the slogan of *fangong kang’e* in 1950 on the *Minzu Wanbao* (*The Nation’s Evening News*), a privately funded newspaper. Founded in 1950, this newspaper was considered a pro-government publication.

awarded monetary awards to politically correct anti-Communist works in order to launch a campaign of art and literature—the so-called ‘*Chantou wneyi* (Combat literature and art).’ Thus, many mainlander writers and artists from the literary establishment produced works under the auspices of KMT-sponsored associations.⁹ In 1950, the government founded the ‘*Zhonghua wenyi jiangjin weiyuanhui* (Chinese Literature and Art Awards Committee),’ which gave awards to cultural productions—such as literature, theatre, cinema, paintings, and songs—that articulated the government’s anti-Communist policies. It was estimated that in 1950 over 1,400 pieces of artwork were produced in order to obtain monetary prizes,¹⁰ and between 1950 to 1953 approximately 1,500 to 2,000 people participated in creating anti-Communist cultural products.¹¹

In 1966, Chiang Kai-shek launched the ‘*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong* (Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement).’ This movement opposed the rising of the ‘Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution’ (1966-1976) in the PRC, and attempted to establish Taiwan as the ‘model province’ of China. Anti-Communist policies in Taiwan aimed to preserve Chinese values and ethical systems. These policies were supposed to serve the ultimate goal of regaining the Chinese mainland.

The anti-Communist political movement spanned nearly three decades, until the early 1980’s when then-President Chiang Ching-kuo—son of Chiang Kai-shek—announced that he was

⁹Ming-lee Cheng, “Daidai Taiwan wenyi zhengce de fazhan yingxiang yu jiantao 當代臺灣文藝政策的發展、影響與檢討 (The development, impact, and review of Taiwan’s official policies on contemporary Taiwanese literature and art),” *Dangdai Taiwan zhengzhi wenxue lun* 當代臺灣政治文學論 (*Politics and contemporary Taiwanese literature*), ed. Ming-lee Cheng (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 1994), 13-68; Feng-Huang Ying, “Reassessing Taiwan’s Literary Field of the 1950’s,” Diss., University of Texas at Austin, USA, 2000, 1-3.

¹⁰Youpei Zhao, *Wentan xianjin Zhang Daofan* 文壇先進張道藩 (*Literary Pioneer Zhang Daofan*) (Taipei: Chongguan wenyi, 1975), 295-296.

¹¹See Zhenfu Ye, “Taiwan guangfu chuqi de xiju 台灣光復初期的戲劇 (Taiwanese theatre in the early post-war period),” MA. thesis, Chinese Culture University, Taiwan, 1989. Also see Xiaqiu Zhao and Lu Zhenghui, eds., *Taiwan xinwenxue sichao shigan* 台灣新文學思潮史綱 (*An outline history of thoughts on new Taiwanese literature*) (Taipei: Renjian chubanshe, 2002), 219. It mentions that from 1950 to 1953, the publication included “10 novels, 20 novellas, 30 short stories, 20 poems, 20 plays, 10 songs, and comic books. In total, there were around 120 to 130 pieces.”.

replacing anti-Communism with the policy of ‘Unification under the Three Principles of the People.’¹² However, the cultural movement of anti-Communism had already been challenged by the introduction of Western modernism in the 1960’s and the Taiwanese Nativist movement in the 1970’s. In 1987, martial law was lifted, and visits to China were permitted. Communications across the Taiwan Strait gradually became possible for people in Taiwan. The labels ‘anti-Communist’ and the slogan of ‘recovering China’ were finally relegated to the pages of Taiwanese history.

An Overview of the KMT’s Propaganda in Anti-Communist Taiwan

The KMT government had produced and manipulated propaganda to Taiwan since 1945. One official report that year from the ‘*Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu* (Taiwan Provincial Administration Executive Office)’¹³ stated that

Through theatre and cinema, whose stories and images were easily accepted by the masses, the Nationalist government’s first tasks are to save people in Taiwan from the fifty-year Japanese occupation, educate them about the Chinese national language of Mandarin, and encourage their identification with the Chinese people.¹⁴

This document reveals how the KMT government planned to utilize the visual and verbal presentations of Taiwanese theatre and cinema to help a new émigré regime to form a national identity after the end of Japanese occupation. It may also explain why the KMT government initiated a campaign to promote anti-Communism—particularly through theatre and cinema—

¹²The policy of ‘Three Principles of the People’ (San-min Doctrine) was specified by Sun Yat-sen, the national father of the ROC. It is the guiding principle of the Republic of China, and refers respectively to Minzu (nationalism), Minquan (democracy), and Minsheng (people’s livelihood). This idea was borrowed from the American political concept of: of the people, by the people, and for the people.

¹³The ‘*Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu* (Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office)’ was founded in 1945. It was in charge of the transfer of Taiwan from Japan. The Governor-general of Taiwan was the supreme officer. This office became the Taiwan Provincial Government in 1947.

¹⁴“Shoufu Taiwan xiju dianying xuanchuan gongzou yinian jihua 收復臺灣戲劇電影宣傳工作一年計畫 (One-year plan for promoting theatre and cinema in Taiwan after its retrocession),” ms. 00302900015003, Taiwan Historica, Taipei.

immediately after the KMT government relocated from China to Taiwan, due to the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's government in the Chinese Civil War in 1949.¹⁵

In 1970, Li Manqui,¹⁶ the 'Mentor of Chinese theatre'¹⁷ in Taiwan, wrote a preface for the publication of *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*).¹⁸ She wrote that, for the last twenty years, approximately 1,000 plays were performed on stage, and an estimated 3,000 plays were created in Free China. From this large number, she selected sixty-seven plays for this collection, the majority of which won governmental awards, and preserved them as exemplars of Chinese spoken drama produced in Taiwan during the 1950's and 1960's.¹⁹ These plays also served to memorialize the disappearing historical period of 'Free China'—that is, the period of anti-Communist Taiwan during the decades after 1949. Li states that these plays "realistically reflect the life and spirit of an era."²⁰

¹⁵The Chinese Civil War refers to two civil wars in China fought between two political forces, both contending to lead China. The leading force was the government of the Republic of China led by the Chinese Nationalist Party, and the other was the Chinese Communist Party. The first Civil War occurred between 1927 and 1937. Later, the two parties collaborated to fight against the invading Japanese Army. Their cooperation did not last long. Another conflict soon erupted in 1945, resulting in two separate and *de facto* states: the Republic of China in Taiwan led by the Nationalist Party and the People's Republic of China in Mainland China governed by the Communist Party.

¹⁶Li Manqui (1907-1975) was a feminist, a writer, a playwright, a theatre educator, and an advocate for the Little theatre Movement during the 1960's in Taiwan. Before Li migrated to Taiwan with the Nationalist government in 1949, she was already a well-known playwright in Mainland China, and was selected as a member of the first Legislative Yuan of the KMT government. From 1950 to 1972, she wrote 14 plays. Many of the plays were popular and highly acclaimed by the government. Li had a close relationship with the government and served in many prestigious governmental positions for the promotion of theatre. In 1950, President Chiang Kai-shek invited Li to serve on the 'Zhonghua Wenyi Jiangjin Weiyuanhui (Chinese Literature and Art Awards Committee)' that gave awards to anti-Communist literary works.

¹⁷Huangliang Li, *Li Manqui* 李曼瑰 (*Li Manqui*) (Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs and National University of the Arts, 2003), 20.

¹⁸The ten-volume *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*) was edited by the 'Zhongguo xiju yishu zongxin (Chinese Theatre Art Centre).' In 1967, Li Manqui and many Taiwanese artists founded the Chinese Theatre Art Centre. The center was used to promote Chinese spoken drama in Taiwan, in response to the government's 'Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement' in 1966.

¹⁹Manqui Li, "Xu 序 (Preface)," *Zhonghua xijuji* 中華戲劇集 (*The anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shuofu 劉碩夫, vol. 1, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1970), 1-3

²⁰Manqui Li, "Xu 序 (Preface)," *Zhonghua xijuji* 中華戲劇集 (*The anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shuofu 劉碩夫, vol. 1, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1970), 1.

From a native Taiwanese's point of view today, the governmental documents and the statement by Li Manqui reveal the Chinese chauvinism of the KMT government. These attitudes, along with the political actions of the government, contributed to ethnic conflicts between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese people. Not surprisingly, many people today have little or no respect for the anti-Communist artworks from mid-century. These literary and visual arts are usually dismissed as worthless propaganda. As Peng Ruijing, a Taiwanese scholar of literature, proclaimed, the anti-Communist literature and art "amounted to nothing."²¹

In the late 1970's Ye Shitao, a supporter of native Taiwanese literature, delivered one of the most famous critiques of 'worthless' anti-Communist artifacts. He proclaimed that the campaigns by the KMT migrant government and the first-generation mainlanders to control the literature and art were nothing but misguided attempts to "water the flowers of literature with hatred and revenge."²² Anti-Communist arts spoke only in nationalistic unison, omitting the voices of native Taiwanese people who lived in misery. These efforts were merely the collective "babbling dream-talk and vomit."²³

Ye's statement became the central ideology of the Taiwanese Nativist Movement, which culminated in the late 1970's. The critiques of the KMT propaganda are of course understandable, and quite appropriate in terms of the judgments against an authoritarian regime. However, it is important that we recognize that these anti-Communist artworks expressed a number of possible meanings for people at the time. Some people not only accepted but also embraced the ideas in the plays, films, poems, and novels; other people resisted these governmental ideas.

²¹Ruijing Peng, *Taiwan xinwenxue yundong sishinian* 台灣新文學運動 40 年 (*Forty years of the new Taiwanese literature movement*) (Taipei: Independent Evening News Publishing, 1991), 75. The translation is from F.-H. Ying, 9.

²²Shitao Ye, *Taiwan wenxue shigang* 台灣文學史綱 (*An outline history of Taiwanese literature* (Kaohsiung: Wenxue zazhishe, 1987), 8.

²³The translation is from F.-H. Ying, 9.

For the émigré regime, these works expressed the political agenda of the KMT after arriving in Taiwan. Yet we need to understand that these works, despite their messages that may seem simple-minded to us today, were capable of expressing the political, social, and psychological anxieties of a displaced government and its leaders. And the members of the Chinese community—those who saw and judged the propaganda plays and films—also felt many of these anxieties. It should also be recognized that these works are not just unsophisticated propaganda created by the KMT government. In terms of cultural significance, all art works and texts—both crude and sophisticated—express a range of possible meanings that help to articulate the cultural ideologies found in a particular time and place. This is the point that Marvin Carlson makes in his essay “The Theory of History”: “Ideology is seen as affecting all texts, in their creation, in their preservation, in the interpretative tradition that has preserved them for us, and in our own selection and reading of them.”²⁴

Of course, we can dismiss everything as merely ideology, but we can also see ideology as the cultural capital created by a historical time and condition. It is also in this spirit that I respond to the statement by Li Manqui. I wonder what kinds of ‘life and spirit’ were reflected ‘realistically’ in propaganda plays and productions. To what extent do the plays express the codes and values of the era? To what extent do the verbal and visual texts articulate essential components of the KMT government and its nation-building ideologies? How do the plays and films of the period preserve the cultural memories of a unique political era? Is it possible that these works, which the next generation dismissed as simple-minded propaganda, preserve ideas of a displaced people—the dreams, the longings, and the nostalgia for a non-existent China that the government and people

²⁴Marvin Carlson, “The Theory of History,” *The Performance of Power: Theatrical Discourse and Politics*, ed. Sue-Ellen Case and Janelle Reinelt (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 276.

had attempted to recreate in Taiwan? What is the relationship between the political events of those early decades and the imaginative ideals of a return to home? What was this ‘home’ that no longer existed? Or perhaps never existed?

An Approach to the KMT’s Anti-Communist Propaganda

Rather than dismissing the anti-Communist cultural works as valueless political propaganda, I propose that these artworks, even those dominated by the governmental messages, are artifacts that invite serious consideration by contemporary scholars. These works of propaganda help to illuminate the cultural ideologies of a specific era in Taiwan. I approach these works in the spirit as what historian David Holm claims: The a study of propaganda is “interesting—and revealing—precisely because it is an attempt to manipulate and persuade.”²⁵

This dissertation offers a cultural history, not merely a political study of government; thus it analyzes how the KMT government’s anti-Communist propaganda was expressed in artworks, such as plays and films. It considers the role that these works of propaganda played, not just in rallying the people in Taiwan to combat Communists and Communism, but also in helping to define Taiwan as the legitimate ruler of Mainland China, and by extension of every Chinese person around the world. I look at the calculated methodology in politics and in culture adopted by the KMT government and the mainlanders to produce these artworks under the guidance of its leader Chiang Kai-shek. I also analyze the fundamental tenets of the anti-Communism that taught the people of Taiwan to identify with a China that had never actually existed in Taiwan.

²⁵Suk-Young Kim, *Illusive Utopia: theatre, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010), 12.

A Note on Research Sources Most Taiwanese literary scholars and cultural historians have identified the 1950's as the anti-Communist era of Taiwan, in order to separate it from the introduction of Modernism in the 1960's and the rise of the Nativist Movement in the 1970's. However, I agree with Taiwanese scholar Yang Zhao's viewpoint that, although the major anti-Communist campaign began in the 1950's, the impact of anti-Communist propaganda was still quite active in the 1960's. The eras of the anti-Communism, Modernism, and Nativist Movement cannot be sharply delineated. They overlapped and interacted with each other during this era.²⁶ Therefore, in this dissertation, I primarily locate these cultural works of propaganda, in correspondence with the KMT government's anti-Communist policies, during the 1950's and 1960's. Although I focus primarily on anti-Communist cultural propaganda, I also consider some of the native Hoklo-speaking Taiwanese films and plays which provide a comparative perspective on political narratives.

Some Taiwanese scholars, such as Cong Jingwen and Wang Chunmei, argue that only plays with characters who are Communists can be strictly regarded as anti-Communist plays.²⁷ I, however, agree with Taiwanese theatre scholar Chi Wei-jan's point that, although plays such as Chinese history plays and modern plays set in post-war Taiwan have no direct relationship with Communist characters or historical events, they still convey a strong anti-Communist message.²⁸ For instance, historical plays inculcate the importance of restoring lost land, and modern plays

²⁶Zhao Yang, *Wenxue shehui yu lishi xiangxiang: zhanhou wenxueshi sanlun* 文學, 社會與歷史想像: 戰後文學史散論 (*Literature, society, and the historical imagination: scattered thoughts on the post-war literary history*) (Taipei: Unitas Publishing Co., 1995), 99-102.

²⁷Jingwen Cong, *Dangdai zhongguo juzuoqia lun* 當代中國劇作家論 (*Studies on contemporary Chinese playwrights [in post-war Taiwan]*), ed. Wang Yunwu (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1973); Chunmei Wang, "Taiwan jieyan qianqi de 'zhonghua xiju ji' yanjiu 台灣戒嚴前期的《中華戲劇集》研究 (A study of 'The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama' in Taiwan's early martial law period)," Diss., National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan, 2005, 287-338.

²⁸Wei-jan Chi, "Shan'e duili yu human didai: Taiwan fangong xiju wenben yanjiu 善惡對立與晦暗地帶: 台灣反共戲劇文本研究 (Manichaeism and its deviations: a study of anti-Communist drama in Taiwan)," *Journal of theatre Studies* 7 (2011): 154-159.

establish Taiwan as a *baodao* (abundant island) in contrast to China, which was portrayed as severely impoverished. These plays can also be understood in a broader sense as anti-Communist propaganda.

The breadth and scope of the KMT's anti-Communist propaganda were quite exhaustive. My dissertation focuses on the visual and verbal uses of plays and films to serve nationalistic ends.

These propaganda plays and films share a common feature. They present similar stereotypes of Communist characters and portray shared nostalgia of the mainlanders for China. Nevertheless, these propaganda plays and films also reveal the KMT government's anxieties about native Taiwanese people and potential threats that might exist in these exotic people. Thus, I examine the existing stereotypes of evil Communist characters, and the recurrent nostalgic sentiments of the Chinese community in Taiwan. The propaganda plays and films sought to target people who were considered either an enemy or unworthy of being a citizen—red Communists, disloyal Nationalist Party members, and other political dissidents. These plays and films also revealed those seen as inferior or dangerous by the KMT government (such as lecherous women, working class people, and even the native Taiwanese). The KMT aimed to exclude these people in the plays and films as a way to create a strong Chinese state in Taiwan and retake China. Propaganda plays and films produced and supported by the government (both directly and indirectly) reveal the intertwined relationships of culture, society, and politics in anti-Communist Taiwanese history during the 1950's and 1960's.

I primarily draw on the dramatic texts of the sixty-seven plays collected in Li Manqui's *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*) as the starting point for my research. This anthology was published in 1971 by the KMT's official institution, the Chinese theatre Art Center. The majority of the plays won government awards. All of the plays were

written by migrant mainlanders, and shared a similar nostalgia for returning home to China. I consider them best suited to showcase various perspectives on an idealized citizenry, society and nation, which the KMT government intended to establish in anti-Communist Taiwan. In addition, I also consider selected propaganda plays that were not collected into the anthology. For example, novelist Tie Wu's *Nüfeigan (Female Bandit)* (1950) was so celebrated in the 1950's that it was later adapted into comic strips, a play and a film. The verbal and visual texts found in the different versions of *Nüfeigan (Female Bandit)* offered a prototype of the KMT's ideal women in anti-Communist Taiwan.

I discuss these plays both as an ensemble and as individual pieces. In other words, I stress the plays' common features as a genre to illustrate a certain ideology, yet I also provide descriptions and interpretations of individual plays that take up some of the specific topics and issues, such as matters of class and gender, that I examine in the following chapters. For example, although many anti-Communists plays portray women's subordination, I take Liu Yi's *Tianlunlei (Debt of Love)* (1953) as a significant example to use in analyzing the gender issue. In this play, women were all destroyed in one way or another due to the CCP's brutality. This play demonstrates the distinct sexual boundaries drawn between virtuous women under the KMT's leadership and lecherous women under the CCP's rule.

As is normally case in this kind of historical research, there is less available documentation on theatre productions than on the plays themselves. First, only a few plays were staged, due to the government's limited budget and the high entertainment tax imposed on theatre performances. Second, little evidence related to any productions—video clips, brochures, posters, ticket stubs, etc.—was preserved in public archives.²⁹ In this regard, newspaper clippings and theatrical

²⁹In 2011, I phoned the association of the Ministry of National Defense, ROC, which was in charge of the military

reviews about productions supplement actual performing sources. Although some reviews were published in the official newspapers, the commentary primarily offers a plot summary. But even these reviews are helpful because they reveal the political and social criteria for 'good' plays.

Despite the limited sources on theatre productions, films from the era offer an alternative or supplementary record of the visual codes of costumes, acting methods, and design factors for a range of anti-Communist works. And because a number of anti-Communist films were adapted from the plays, these films provide important sources on the visual semiotics of performance. For example, in anti-Communist films, which few scholars have explored, the hairstyles and dress of female characters help to convey the imagery of the government's idealized virtuous women. Other cultural artifacts (television dramas, documentaries, posters, and textbook illustrations) also help to demonstrate how the visual representations of the society and its people were constructed and remembered during a certain historical period. In addition, verbal texts, such as stories, novels, poems, criticism, and public speeches, can supplement these visual images, and provide a better understanding of the people, society and nation in anti-Communist Taiwan.

As my bibliography shows, I have carried out research in a wide range of articles and books published in English on the political and cultural history of Taiwan. In addition, during a year of research in Taipei, I examined many Chinese sources, both primary and secondary. I obtained most of my primary research materials on anti-Communist visual and verbal texts in Taiwan. These materials are available for public inspection. Taiwan's National Central Library in Taipei stores a near-complete collection of newspapers dating from 1945 to the present (such as the official *Zhongyang ribao* (*Central Daily News*) and *Taiwan xinshengbao* (*Taiwan New Life*)

performances in anti-Communist Taiwan, and inquired if any videotaped anti-Communist productions were available. The self-proclaimed officer in charge politely replied that he has never seen any of the mentioned records since his appointment to this post twenty years ago.

Daily)), magazines (such as the government-sponsored *Fuyou (Women's Companion Monthly)*), journals, governmental booklets for anti-Communist purposes in various fields (such as politics, arts, and education), and books published in Taiwan during the 1950's and 1960's. This library also provides a certain amount of archival newspapers and journals published during the Japanese occupation for reference.

The National Taiwan University Library holds Li Manqui's *Zhonghua xijuji (The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama)* and other anti-Communist plays. The Chinese Taipei Film Archive stores an impressive collection of feature films, documentaries, and books on films produced in Taiwan from 1945 to the present. In regard to governmental documents and publications, the Academia Historica in Taichung preserves many first-hand sources prior to and after the KMT's relocation to Taiwan, especially archives of Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office at the beginning of post-war Taiwan. Many archives can currently be accessed online.³⁰ Although these archives during the Japanese rule are not directly related to the time period covered in this dissertation, the political and social conditions described within them help to construct an understanding of the historical period in anti-Communist Taiwan after Taiwan's retrocession from Japan.

A Note on Methodology In their studies of propagandist theatres, Chen Xiomei's *Acting the Right Part: Political Theatre and Popular Drama in Contemporary China* (2002)³¹ and Kim Suk-young's *Illusive Utopia: Theatre, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (2010)³² have provided thoughtful research on how propaganda theatres in Mainland China and North

³⁰The website is <http://ds2.th.gov.tw/ds3/index.php>.

³¹Xiaomei Chen, *Acting the Right Part: Political Theatre and Popular Drama in Contemporary China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

³²Suk-Young Kim, *Illusive Utopia: Theatre, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea*. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010).

Korea can be understood as more than just political manipulation. Cultural criticism helps Chen to map out a complex trajectory of China's Model Theatre during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Her research offers an insightful understanding of Chinese national identity, ethnic studies, and the political nature of mass culture. By drawing from social studies and critical theories, such as nationalism and postcolonialism, Kim explores governmental propaganda in films, paintings, parades, and even tourist brochures to explain how these cultural artifacts signify the ideological topology of North Korean regime and society.

Like Chen and Kim, I situate Taiwan's anti-Communist propaganda plays and films within the scope of cultural and social studies, not simply in a political discourse. In this regard, this dissertation is an interdisciplinary study. I locate the cultural artifacts of political propaganda in their historical contexts, illustrate how and why political, social and cultural forces shaped various topics in these works, and describe how these works also shaped society in return. In this dissertation I examine both verbal and visual texts, especially plays and films, that portray the anti-Communist propaganda. In my examination of the verbal and visual texts, I consider how state policies, political agendas, social attitudes, and psychological desires can be understood in terms of nationalism, feminism, class distinctions, and recent theories of postcolonialism.

Performing an Absent China in Anti-Communist Taiwan: Issues and Problems

Taiwan's anti-Communist propaganda plays and films have received little scholarly attention, both in Taiwan and abroad. Previous scholarly analyses of these plays and films offered two diametrically opposed approaches. On the one hand, various government-sponsored publications elevated and celebrated anti-Communist propaganda to absurd extremes by proclaiming the unprecedented significance of the KMT in the history of Taiwan. On the other hand, historical

critiques of the KMT government's rigid policies on art and literature have attacked the stereotypes that dominated the propaganda, such as the demonization of the CCP. But these critiques seldom considered the social and cultural connotations of the propaganda plays and films, or of other cultural artifacts.

Since the 1990's, a small group of Taiwanese scholars have started to re-examine the historical value and cultural significance of anti-Communist propaganda. In "Wushi niandian fangong xiaoshuo xinlun: yizhong shiqu de wenxue?" (New Perspectives on Anti-Communist Novels in the 1950's: A Lost Genre?), published in 1995, Taiwanese literary scholar Wang David Der-wei provides an insightful approach to the relationship between Taiwanese anti-Communist literature and politics. He argues that anti-Communist literature preserved unique memories of mainlanders and native Taiwanese people living under different political regimes.³³ In her doctorate dissertation "Reassessing Taiwan's Literary Field of the 1950's" (2000), Ying Feng-Huang also explores the literary environment of the 1950's in Taiwan.³⁴ However, both scholars focus on written texts; neither pays attention to the visual texts found in anti-Communist propaganda.

Compared to the small number of textual analyses of anti-Communist novels, even fewer scholarly works focus on Taiwan's visual texts found in propaganda plays and films. Despite his attempt to emphasize the historical connotations found in anti-Communist propaganda theatre, Chi Wei-jan's two articles, "Zhongtan yijiuwuling niandai fangongxiju: houshi pingjiayu shirenzhi lunshu (Revisiting Anti-Communist Drama of the 1950s: Later Historians vs.

³³David D. W. Wang, "Wushi niandian fangong xiaoshuo xinlun: yizhong shiqu de wenxue? 五十年代反共小說新論：一種逝去的文學？(New perspectives on anti-Communist novels in the 1950's: a lost genre?)" *Sishi nian lai zhongguo wenxue* 四十年來中國文學 (*Chinese literature of the last forty years since 1949*), ed. David D. W. Wang (Taipei: Unitas Publishing Co, 1995), 67-84.

³⁴F.-H. Ying.

Contemporary Exponents)” (2009)³⁵ and “Shan’ e diiliyu human didai: Taiwan fangong xiju wenben yanjiu (Manichaeism and its Deviations: A Study of Anti-Communist Drama in Taiwan)”(2011)³⁶ confine themselves to analyzing anti-Communist dramatic texts.³⁷ In “Zhongguo xiandai xiju de liangdu xichao (The Two Currents of Modern Chinese Drama)” (1991), Ma Shen conducts a pioneering historical survey, with archival materials that explain the rise and decline of the anti-Communist plays in post-war Taiwan.³⁸ However, the scope of this survey is limited to an analysis of how the government manipulated literature and art through its political and cultural policies. Wang Chunmei’s doctorate dissertation “Taiwan jieyan qianqi de ‘zhonghua xiju ji’ yanjiu (A Study of ‘The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama’ in Taiwan’s Early Martial Law Period)” (2005) explores the dramatic texts and characters of anti-Communist plays. However, her primary aims is to examine the historical backgrounds of the KMT government’s political manipulations during the 1950’s.³⁹

I have benefitted from the previous scholarship, but none of these works takes up the full range of issues that I have investigated. By examining a large number of verbal and visual texts, I examine the methods of nation building that operated in the propaganda. I also identify attempts at such propaganda wherever they may appear, as well as the meaning of this propaganda to different communities in Taiwan.

To the best of my knowledge, this dissertation offers an investigation unlike any previous

³⁵Wei-jan Chi, “Zhongtan yijiu wuling niandai fangong xiju: houshi pingjia yu shiren zhi lunshu 重探一九五〇年代反共戲劇：後世評價與時人之論述 (Revisiting anti-Communist drama of the 1950’s : later historians vs. contemporary exponents),” *Journal of theatre Studies* 3 (2009): 193-216.

³⁶W.-j. Chi, “Shan’ e duili yu human didai: Taiwan fangong xiju wenben yanjiu 善惡對立與晦暗地帶：台灣反共戲劇文本研究 (Manichaeism and its deviations: a study of anti-Communist drama in Taiwan),” 151-172.

³⁷The English titles of these two articles are provided by their author, Chi Wei-jan.

³⁸Shen Ma, *Zhongguo xiandai xiju de liangdu xichao* 中國現代戲劇的兩度西潮 (*The two currents of modern Chinese drama*) (Taipei: Unitas Publishing Co., 2006).

³⁹C. Wang.

study. The purpose of this dissertation is to describe how and why the KMT government used propaganda to project idealized images of the nation and the leader, and to analyze the government's relationship with those they considered allies (mostly mainlanders) and those they viewed as alien others—the CCP (its rival regime), women (another gender), and the native Taiwanese people (a different ethnic group). In order to effectively establish a strong Chinese state in Taiwan that could fight against the CCP and regain the Mainland, the KMT government offered a vision of a unified China that invoked the mainlander artists' and citizens' nostalgia for China, and elicited their participation in anti-Communist political campaigns. The KMT also used this projection to educate other citizens about their identification with China.

Nevertheless, *the* China that the KMT invented had never existed in Taiwan before the KMT arrived. I define this China invented by the KMT as an 'absent' China. In this regard, I intend to examine how propaganda plays and films helped shape social realities that represented the KMT's 'absent' China. By using the term 'absent,' I hope to show that the projection of a certain China in Taiwan was a function of the KMT's and the mainlanders' imaginary and ideological construction. This projection also created politically correct Chinese ideologies that were reinforced for the people in Taiwan (including both mainlanders and native Taiwanese) through repeated rehearsals of daily routines and national ceremonies. I also wish to demonstrate that this notion of 'China' was grounded in the absence of any actual Taiwanese realities. The KMT forced native Taiwanese people to learn how to be idealized Chinese citizens, and reoriented Taiwanese locations to represent imagined entities on a map of China.

In order to examine these social 'realities' that highlighted the absence of both China and Taiwan, this dissertation emphasizes five topics: nation, leader, gender, class and ethnicity. These five topics not only provide a perspective on the current research regarding nationalism,

feminism, and postcolonialism, but also illuminate major issues of the state's nation building that reflected the KMT government's national anxieties expressed in post-war Taiwan, anxieties that came from the Communist enemies and other aliens. Although these five chapters discuss distinct topics, they also find areas of overlap. For example, the role of a Taiwanese working class woman must be understood through more than one perspective. Therefore, some incidents, such as the confrontation between mainlanders and native Taiwanese people, become the recurring motifs throughout these chapters. To further clarify my point, I describe the five chapters as follows.

Chapter One, "Performing Chinese Nationalism in Anti-Communist Taiwan: National Language and Chinese Spoken Drama," begins my discussion of the KMT government's nation building. I write about the genre of *huaju* (Chinese spoken drama) and look at the ways in which the KMT government utilized this theatrical form from China as a crucial means for the dissemination of *guoyu* (the national language, namely Mandarin) and Chinese culture in post-war Taiwan. By exploring the dialectic between the form and content of Chinese spoken drama, I investigate the issues of individualism and national collectivism, as they have developed since Chinese spoken drama was introduced into China from the West at the turn of the twentieth century. I also explain how the functional transformation of spoken drama, moving from a promotion of individualism to one of nationalism, revealed the KMT government's control of this cultural genre. Because of the linguistic and cultural barriers for native Taiwanese people, almost all anti-Communist plays were created by mainlanders. The introduction of Chinese spoken drama into Taiwan was intended to replace Taiwanese spoken drama and Taiwanese opera. This cultural reorientation also symbolically marginalized the significance of Taiwan as a political entity.

Chapter Two, "Performing an Omnipresent and Omnipotent Chinese Leader: The Image

Making for Chiang Kai-shek,” focuses on the ways in which the invention of Chinese nationalism and the image of the national leader, Chiang Kai-shek, were closely linked. Through performative representations of national events, including visual images (photographs in newspapers and illustrations in textbooks) and verbal texts (historical stories, eulogistic poems, and political statements), Chiang Kai-shek was often portrayed as the ‘Savior of China.’ By merging the image of Chiang with great Chinese historical heroes, and by inscribing Chiang’s name and political missions etched on the base of the mountains, Chiang was idolized.

Chapter Three, “Performing a Virtuous Chinese Woman in the National Building of Anti-Communist Taiwan,” addresses how women in anti-Communist Taiwan were shown as virtuous, both in images and in texts. I investigate how the KMT government utilized the image and stories of the virtuous women who are raped by the CCP to symbolize the humiliation of the nation. Under the nationalistic policies guided by the patriarchal establishment of Chinese Confucianism, women’s relationship with the family was particularly highlighted. The feminine role, as confined within the image of a virtuous woman and good mother, was used by the state as a nationalistic strategy. This representation of a virtuous woman was contrasted with the image of an evil, androgynous Communist woman. This strategy reflected the confrontations between the ‘good’ KMT and the ‘bad’ CCP. Typical gender roles were shown in representations of women in anti-Communist plays, films, and comic strips through choices about costumes, hairstyles, and body language. These propaganda artifacts gave women in anti-Communist Taiwan a model of how to behave in daily life. They also intended to set up a social standard of how women should obey their husbands and fathers, and more importantly, the leader of the nation.

Chapter Four, “Performing an Upper/ Middle Society in Anti-Communist Taiwan,” investigates how class divisions were shaped and represented, primarily in anti-Communist plays

and films: the mainlanders were upper/middle class, while native Taiwanese people were confined to the lower class. I examine how and why this differentiation shaped the class structure of Taiwanese society, and how this structure was incorporated into the social narrative. This raises the question of how the KMT government understood rural and urban landscapes. The representations of upper/middle-class protagonists in state-sponsored anti-Communist plays, as well as the representations of the working class in other cultural productions (such as the *'jiankang xieshizhuyi* (healthy realism)' films of the 1960's), show how the KMT government chose to express issues of class divisions. These representations of class divisions culminated in the debate about the 'Nativist literary movement' in the 1970's, when a group of Taiwanese writers highlighted experiences of native Taiwanese living in the countryside.

Chapter Five, "Performing an Imaginary China in Time and Space: Presentations of Ethnicity in Anti-Communist Propaganda," explores how mainlander immigrants wrote their 'presence' into anti-Communist plays and other cultural products by using memories of China, ultimately reconfiguring the physical landscape of Taiwan. I examine how the KMT government inscribed its political ideology on the urban landscape of Taiwan by imposing a layer of Chinese cultural discourse over Taiwanese society. The idea of a specifically Chinese time and space was imported into Taiwanese time and space. This reconfigured landscape of China temporarily relieved the mainlanders' nostalgia, and concealed the actual landscape of Taiwan. By means of various visual illustrations in textbooks and images in anti-Communist films, I consider how the notion of Taiwan was almost erased by the conception of China.

Chapter 1

Performing Chinese Nationalism in Anti-Communist Taiwan: National Language and Chinese Spoken Drama

“We should realize that a ‘route’ is a guide for thought, but not a rigid doctrine for an artistic form. Similarly, the route of ‘fangong (anti-Communism)’ is a content of thought, but not a specific form of art.”

“Qianlun dangqian wenxue yishu de fangong luxian.” (1959)¹
 (“On contemporary literature and art, and their anti-Communist line”)

CEN KUNNAN (WRITER)

In 1951, two years after the KMT government had relocated to Taiwan, the famous Chinese writer Wang Lan² saw an inspiring performance of *Gaoshan qu* (*The Song of Mountains*):

Now these Taiwanese indigenous actors had to not only speak Chinese, but also memorize every line and speak it loud with emotion! [...] It is applaudable that we now can utilize art to promote anti-Communist policies. We all know how much more powerful art is in comparison to a public notice, a leaflet, a lecture, or an official order. It is wise to use spoken drama to promote our national language, *guoyu*, in aboriginal areas. It is an illusion that various ethnic groups can communicate with one another while speaking their own dialects. This production of *Gaoshan qu* (*The Song of Mountains*)³ was planned, designed, and guided by the ‘Sheng baoan siling bu (Provincial Security Command).’⁴ We appreciate that this government authority smartly used more art than gun to ensure security and prosperity of people in Taiwan. This act is not only visionary but also fundamental.⁵

¹Kunnan Cen[Kunnan 崑南], “Qianlun dangqian wenxue yishu de fangong luxian 淺論當前文學藝術的反共路線 (On contemporary literature and art, and their anti-Communist line),” *Modern Critique* 8.12 (1959): 23.

²Wang Lan was a writer, an artist, and a deputy of the National Assembly (before 1949). His famous novel, *Lan yu Hei* (*Blue and Black*), was acclaimed as being one of the four major anti-Japanese novels in Chinese history, and was later adapted into a play that was used to promote anti-Communist ideology.

³Before 1994, indigenous peoples in Taiwan were described in degrading terms as ‘Gaoshan zu,’ which means ‘the people living in the mountains.’

⁴The ‘Sheng baoan siling bu (Provincial Security Command)’ was one of the predecessors of the ‘Taiwan jinbe zhongsiling bu (Taiwan Garrison Command),’ which was a secret police/state security agency. It was established in 1945 at the end of the Second World War and disbanded in 1992.

⁵See Lan Wang, “Guan shanbao yong guoyu yan huanju 觀山胞演國語話劇 (Watching a Chinese spoken drama performed by indigenous actors).” *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 19 Nov. 1951, national edition: 6. The Chinese text: 「沒有以直接說教更愚笨的宣傳方法了；現在我們居然能用藝術來向山胞宣傳反共抗俄的防奸肅奸，真是值得喝彩。這比文告，傳單，訓語，命令，發生的力量如何，大家心裡都會有數。在推行國語運動上，若干年來，話劇早已從旁盡了意外的巨大的協助。現在我們能再用話劇在山地推行國語的工作，也是頂聰明的一種辦法，語言不通，硬要文化交流感情團結，那可是太奢望，太妄想了。這次山地演出『高山曲』，聽說戲由省保安司令部首先籌劃，設計，輔導，才告實現。這使我們不得不欽佩保安司令部此一明智之舉。確保治安，

Wang Lan clearly expressed his high expectations that this production could convey anti-Communist messages to indigenous people in Taiwan, and manage security issues in the mountainous areas where they lived. On March 7, 1951, eight months prior to this production, the ‘Sheng baoan siling bu (Provincial Security Command)’ published “Zhi shandi tongbao shu (A Letter to Indigenous Compatriots).” This letter contributed to a witch hunt against indigenous people suspected of being Communists.⁶ In 1952, many indigenous elites were arrested and later were executed for being Communists.⁷ This production of spoken dramas was a part of an official strategy to both educate and monitor indigenous people. The émigré KMT regime believed that Chinese spoken drama could be an effective cultural method to carry out the process of nation building. But why did Wang Lan and the government believe that this production of Chinese spoken drama could ensure the security and prosperity of people in Taiwan?

In this chapter I examine how this theatrical genre was used by the KMT government to impose its version of Chinese nationalism on the culturally and ethnically alien island of Taiwan. I consider how Chinese spoken drama served the KMT government’s cultural policies, and was used to exclude some of the native forms of Taiwanese culture. Also, I investigate the ways that these propaganda plays expressed an anti-Communist ideology that favored national collectivism and opposed individualism.

帶給人民康樂，安寧，是他們肩負的任務，而這種任務的完成，如果少動用槍桿，多動用藝術，實在是眼光深遠，並且是治本的良策。」

⁶Ruiren Wu, “Taiwan gaoshanzu sharen shijian: Gao Yisheng, Tang Shouren, Lin Ruichang shijian de chubu zhengzhishi zhongjian 臺灣高山族殺人事件：高一生、湯守仁、林瑞昌事件的初步政治史重建 (The preliminary political reconstruction of the murder of high mountain tribes in Taiwan: Gao Yisheng, Tang Shouren, and Lin Ruichang),” *Jinian ererba shijian 60 zhounian xueshu yantaohui lunwenji 紀念二二八事件 60 周年學術研討會論文集* (Collected papers of the symposium in commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the 2/28 Event in Taiwan), ed. and trans. Xu xueji 許雪姬 et. al. (Kaohsiung: Gaoxiong shi wenxian weiyuan hui, 2008), 22.

⁷R. Wu, 2-5.

Guoyu (National Language) in the Form of Spoken Drama

A document from 1945 in the ‘Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu (Taiwan Provincial Administration Executive Office)’ describes how the Nationalist Party (Koumintang, KMT) planned to manage Taiwanese theatre and cinema after Taiwan was taken over from Japan later that year. This document delineates how the KMT government intended to eradicate the fifty-year Japanese colonial influence on Taiwan (Figure 1.1).⁸ Because theatre and cinema could be easily understood by people of all ages, the KMT government utilized them as one of the most significant cultural means to teach native Taiwanese people the Chinese national language in order to encourage identification with Chinese culture.

It is evident that Wang Lan’s aforementioned description in 1951 corresponds to the ideas expressed in the 1945 official document of the ‘Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu (Taiwan Provincial Administration Executive Office).’ Both statements considered Chinese spoken drama to be an effective tool to educate ethnically Taiwanese people in the Chinese language and to inform them about national security requirements. From this political perspective, Chinese spoken drama, instead of being seen as merely a form of entertainment, could serve as a promotional tool of the government. Chinese spoken drama became a cultural language shared between mainlander writers and the mainlander KMT government. It was a linguistic tool used to assimilate Taiwanese people. It was also a common language that expressed the deep anxieties of a group of migrant refugees who had just lost their country.

⁸“Shoufu Taiwan xiju dianying xuanchuan gongzou yi nian jihua 收復臺灣戲劇電影宣傳工作一年計畫 (One-year plan for promoting theatre and cinema in Taiwan after its retrocession).” Ms.00302900015003. Taiwan Historica, Taipei.

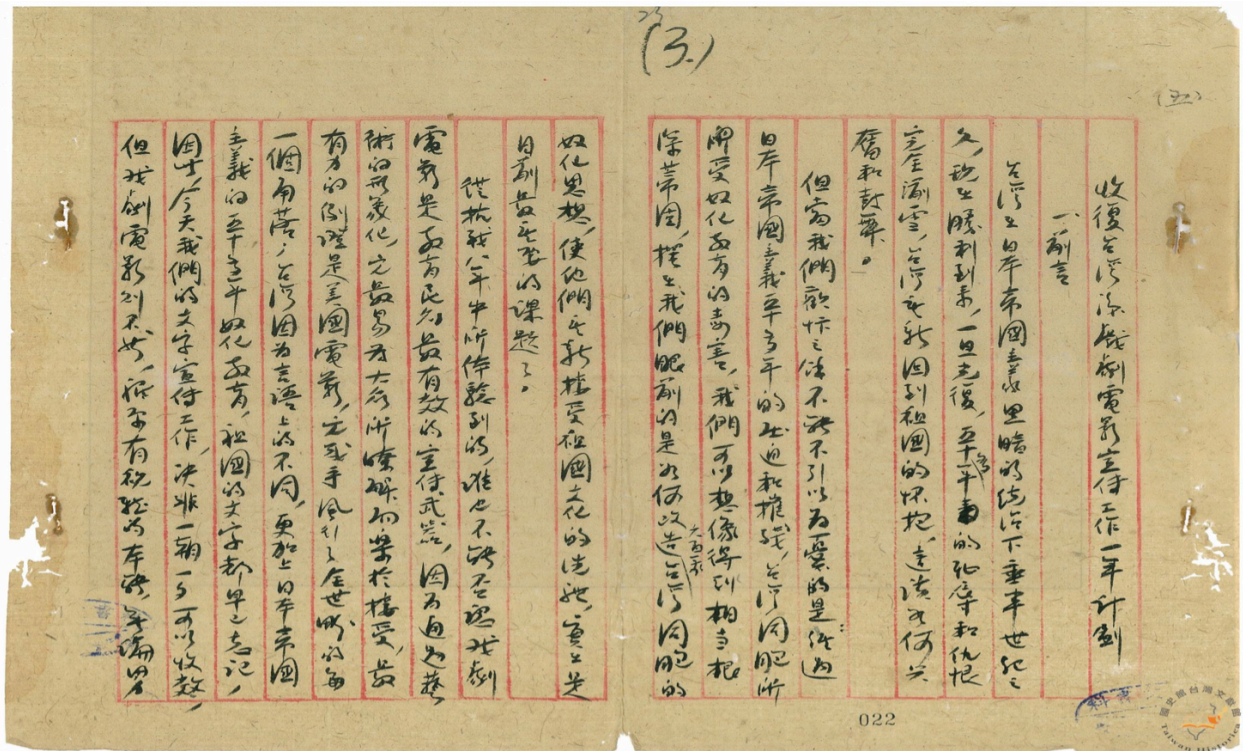


Figure 1.1: The first page of the document of the *Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu* (Taiwan Provincial Administration Executive Office) in 1945. “Shoufu Taiwan xiju dianying xuanchuan gongzou yinian jihua 收復臺灣戲劇電影宣傳工作一年計畫 (One-year plan for promoting theatre and cinema in Taiwan after its retrocession).”

The Language of ‘Chinese’ in Taiwan The language of Chinese (Mandarin in English) has been used primarily by the ruling Nationalist party and the mainlanders who came to Taiwan during the KMT’s retreat from the mainland. It has been the official language in Taiwan since the retrocession in 1945, and was given privileged status by the KMT regime which established Mandarin as the *guoyu* (national language).⁹ A 1945 document shows that KMT utilized the national language of Mandarin as a tool to ‘de-Japanize’ and to ‘Sinicize’ the native Taiwanese people, cultures, and languages. All non-Mandarin native languages in Taiwan, including

⁹On the mainland, the same language is called *putonghua*, literally meaning ‘common speech.’ Both the PRC’s term of ‘common speech’ and the ROC’s term of ‘national language’ signified the importance of language as a founding concept for nation building. Communist China emphasized that the PRC was a ‘common people’s nation.’ On the other hand, Nationalist Taiwan adopted the language of the small group of mainlanders and privileged it as the ‘national language.’ See Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar, *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 48.

Hoklo,¹⁰ Hakka, and other aboriginal languages, were dismissed as ‘fangyan (dialects)’ by the government.¹¹ Because the mainlanders could not understand the languages of native Taiwanese people, they viewed the public use of these ‘dialects’ as a conspiracy of native Taiwanese people, and thus a threat to national unity.

In 1946, the KMT government launched the National Language Movement in order to eliminate ethnic diversity in language. In the schools, the number of subjects taught in Chinese language increased. More and more Chinese language departments were established in higher education. Students who spoke dialects at school were punished. The “Ertong shenghuo gongyue shijian guitiao (Regulations for Children to Practice in Life),” written in the 1950’s and published in almost every elementary school in Taiwan, showed that the first rule for elementary students in anti-Communist Taiwan was to speak Chinese.¹² Students who could speak standard Chinese testified their loyalty and love to the nation. Taiwanese critic Quan Renjian recalls that since 1956, students who spoke any Taiwanese dialect at school were forced to wear a placard, reading ‘I will never speak in any Taiwanese dialects,’ and to stand outside the classroom performing as a warning to other students (Figure 1.2).¹³ The KMT intended to uproot non-Mandarin dialects and replace them with the only legitimate national language.

The idea that Chinese was the only legitimate language was a typical mentality of the mainlander elites. Such a perspective is evident in the statement of Zhou Yixiao, the

¹⁰Hoklo is also known as Hokkienese and Minnanhua. It is the most common local language in Taiwan, used by the majority of native Taiwanese people.

¹¹John B. Weinstein, “Multilingual Theatre in Contemporary Taiwan,” *Asian Theatre Journal* 17.2 (2000): 210 and 271.

¹²Renjian Quan, “Taiwan de baquan guoyu yu beiqing fangyan 台灣的霸權國語與悲情方言 (The hegemonic national language and disparaged dialects in Taiwan),” *Ni bu zhidao de Taiwan 你不知道的台灣 (Things you don’t know about Taiwan)* (Dec. 31, 2005), 28 Feb. 2013 <<http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/kuan0416/post/1281895814>>.

¹³This punishment gradually vanished in the late 1970’s. See Renjian Quan, “Zouguo na ‘wo bushou fangyan’ de huangmiu shidai 走過那「我不說方言」的荒謬時代 ([I] went through that absurd ‘I will not speak in dialect’ period),” *A hong blog* (July 13, 2012), 28 Feb. 2013 <<http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/kuan0416/post/1322128051>>.



Figure 1.2: The reconstruction of an elementary student in anti-Communist Taiwan wearing a placard, reading ‘I will never speak in any Taiwanese dialects.’ R. Quan, “Zouguo na ‘wo bushou fangyan’ de huangmiu shidai 走過那「我不說方言」的荒謬時代 ([I] went through that absurd ‘I will not speak in dialect’ period)”.

Director-General of the Department of Civil Affairs in 1946: “One who cannot write and speak Chinese does not have national spirit.”¹⁴ It is worth noting that Zhou was one of the official committee members tasked with ameliorating the consequences of the massacre of many Taiwanese people in 1947, a tragedy largely resulting from linguistic and ethnic divisions.¹⁵ The elites treated the Taiwanese people who could not understand Chinese as lower-class citizens. As Taiwanese sociology scholar Hsiao A-chin specifies, the KMT government regarded non-Mandarin languages as ‘dialects’—“a marker of backwardness, crudeness, illiteracy, rurality, and low socioeconomic status.”¹⁶ In contrast, the national language of Mandarin became a

¹⁴Xiaofeng Li, “Cong minbao kan zhanhou chuqi Taiwan de zhengjing yu shehui 從 < 民報 > 看戰後初期台灣的政經與社會 (Perspectives on politics and society from the newspaper *Mingbao* in early post-war Taiwan),” *Taiwan Historical Materials Studies* 8 (1996): 104.

¹⁵Please see Introduction about details of the 2/28 Incident.

¹⁶A-chin Hsiao, *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 132. Al-

symbol of “modernity, refinement, literacy, urbanity, and high socioeconomic status.” The privilege of these linguistic divisions designated the mainlanders as dominant, and the Taiwanese—who made up the majority—as the dominated.

The KMT government established Taiwan as the last anti-Communist bastion where Chinese cultural heritage was preserved as opposed to Communist China where Chinese tradition was destroyed. Immediately after the KMT took control of the small island of Taiwan, the government established not only a linguistic hierarchy but also cultural and political hierarchies. During this period in the 1950’s and 1960’s, the KMT ushered in an era of ‘Sinicization’ in Taiwan. Under these guidelines, everything in Taiwan—the KMT state, the Chinese culture, and the Chinese official language (Mandarin)—were closely identified with one another.¹⁷ This symbol of anti-Communist China in Taiwan not only promoted the social and cultural position of the mainlanders but also secured Taiwan’s international standing and economic prospect which were mainly supported by anti-Communist American government during the cold war decade of the 1950’s.

Traditional Beijing opera—a combination of Chinese culture and language—was sanctified as a national form of drama, and Chinese spoken drama continued to be a state-encouraged dramatic form in Taiwan. The KMT government regarded Beijing opera as quintessentially Chinese, and dignified it as the *guoju* (national drama) in Taiwan.¹⁸ The military established and

though the Hoklo and Hakka are usually called by the government as in Taiwan ‘*fangyan* (dialects)’ which refer to ‘varieties’ of Mandarin, many Taiwanese nationalists claim that these ‘dialects’ are actually different ‘languages’ from Mandarin. Their difference is like that between English and French, and French and German. See A.-c. Hsiau, 134-140.

¹⁷A.-c. Hsiau, 129.

¹⁸In fact, as early as the 1920’s, the KMT government had actively promoted Beijing opera as the official drama of China. However, it was not until the early 1950’s that the KMT government in Taiwan designated Beijing opera as the ‘national drama.’ See Nancy Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 47.

sponsored many opera companies to regularly perform Beijing opera around Taiwan for soldiers and government officers. The performances conveyed nationalistic ideas—such as sacrifice for the nation, obedience to leaders, and fighting against enemies—as a way to educate soldiers and ensure political loyalty to the nation and its leaders.

The national promotion of Sinicization through Chinese theatre can be seen in an official newspaper article from 1953. This article compares China to a giant stage and the citizens in Taiwan to various types of performers in a traditional Beijing opera. It indicates that the function of Mandarin performances is to promote traditional Chinese ethics, “to combat the Communist and to restore China.” It concludes that in anti-Communist Taiwan, it was extremely important to enrich the content of Beijing operas, Chinese spoken drama, and Chinese films in order to work toward the goal of exterminating the Communists.¹⁹ Throughout the entire article, Taiwan and native Taiwanese theatre are completely ignored. Even though Taiwanese theatre had been one of the major cultural forms in Taiwan, the KMT government neglected to even mention it.

The cultural environment in which Mandarin was the official language was unfriendly to non-Mandarin cultural activities. To promote Mandarin theatre (Beijing opera and Chinese spoken drama), the government attempted to suppress the popularity of native Taiwanese theatre. In 1946, the Taiwanese Governing Office created the ‘Tawian sheng jutuan guanli guize (Managing Regulations of Drama Troupes in Taiwan Province)’ that forced all local Taiwanese drama groups to register with the government. Although this decree was abolished in 1948, the number of Taiwanese drama groups had greatly decreased. Many small groups could not manage to meet the regulated standards of the government. Subsequently, the Taiwanese Governing Office

¹⁹“Women xuyao de xiju 我們需要的戲劇 (The kind of theatre we need).” *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 15 Dec. 1953, national edition: 1.

issued the ‘Taiwan sheng dianying xiju shiye guanli banfa (Management of the Theatre and Cinema Industry in Taiwan Province).’ One of the regulations specified that all written scripts of theatrical and cinematic works had to be officially censored before they were put on the stage.²⁰ The government controlled the final decision about what was to be censored. This censorship greatly limited the ability of non-Mandarin theatre and cinema troupes to even exist in anti-Communist Taiwan.

Taiwanese cultural forms that used local dialects were thought to be vulgar and were belittled by government entities. For instance, before 1945, the local language film industry was flourishing in Taiwan. After the retrocession, the government favored Mandarin cinema. The local language cinema was excluded from participating in the state-sponsored annual film festival, the ‘Jinma yingzhan (Golden Horse Film Awards).’²¹ Due to being ignored and suppressed, the local film industry gradually declined in the 1960’s and eventually vanished in the 1970’s.²² Non-Mandarin television programming broadcast in 1962 was limited to less than 16 percent of total broadcast time. The suppression of local dialects continued into the 1970’s. In 1972, the Bureau of Culture of the Ministry of Education stipulated that non-Mandarin programs could not take up more than one hour per day on each channel. The purpose of this directive was to contain

²⁰Xiaoyang Li, “Xiang fangong kang’e de fangxiang qianjin guangfu—wuling niandai 向反共抗俄的方向前進: 光復—五〇年代 (Moving toward the anti-Communist campaigns: from retrocession to the 1950’s),” *Performing Arts Review* 33 (1995): 38.

²¹The Golden Horse Film Awards (now the Taipei Horse Film Festival and Awards) is a film festival and award ceremony held annually in Taiwan. The award was officially founded in 1962 by the Government Information Office of the Republic of China to encourage the production of Chinese films that helped promote Chinese nationalism and anti-Communism. The literal meaning of ‘Golden’ and ‘Horse’ was composed by the initial words of two terms—‘Jinmen’ and ‘Matsu,’ two battlefield islands of ROC closest to Mainland China. This award is the first film award ceremony that focuses on Chinese language films. See of the Office of President of ROC Gazette, “Gongbu 51 nian jiangli guoyu yingpian banfan 公布「51年獎勵國語影片辦法」(Regulations of the rewards for Chinese films in Taiwan in 1962),” *National Central Library Gazette Online* 1334 (1962), 25 Nov. 2012 <<http://gaz.ncl.edu.tw/detail.jsp?sysid=D6200047>>: 4-5.

²²Chris Berry, “A Nation T(w/o)o: Chinese Cinemas(s) and Nationhood(s),” *Colonialism and Nationalism in Asian Cinema*, ed. Wimal Dissanayake (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 49.

the dissemination of non-Mandarin programs, such as *budaixi* (puppet shows), *gezaixi* (traditional Taiwanese operas), and commercials.²³ The government further demanded that traditional Taiwanese operas and puppet shows on television should have Mandarin dialogue, instead of using native Taiwanese dialects.

Similarly, the KMT government dismissed native theatrical forms, such as Taiwanese operas and puppet shows, as unorthodox expressions of lower-class folk culture. These forms of theatre were usually performed at festivals in the countryside, rather than at official, urbanized sites near where mainlander residents lived.²⁴ Both the characters and the viewers of these non-Mandarin programs were denigrated. Taiwanese scholar Hsiao A-chin observed that these people were constantly defined by government associations as “illiterates, peasants, workers, fishermen, elders, and especially old women.”²⁵ The KMT government saw Taiwanese culture as entertaining for native Taiwanese people, but valueless for a Chinese regime in exile that was striving to achieve their goal of retaking China.

In contrast to the promotion of Mandarin theatre in the society of Taiwan, the KMT government in 1952 prohibited the ‘bad custom’ of festival rituals as a way to limit performance avenues available to native Taiwanese theatre groups.²⁶ In addition, the KMT levied a heavy tax on any native performances; consequently, many native performing troupes were forced to close due to financial limitations. In response to the unfair tax rate, the ‘Taiwan sheng defang xiju xie

²³ A.-c. Hsiao, 130.

²⁴ See Joseph Bosco, “The Emergence of a Taiwanese Popular Culture,” *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (Amonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1991), 399; N. Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan*, 87; Nancy Guy, “Governing the Arts, Governing the State: Peking Opera and the Political Authority in Taiwan,” *Ethnomusicology* 43.3 (1999): 517.

²⁵ A.-c. Hsiao, 130.

²⁶ Zhaoying Su, *Wenhua lunshu yu wenhua zhengce: zhanhou Taiwan wenhua zhengce zhuanxing de luoji* 文化論述與文化政策：戰後台灣文化政策轉型的邏輯 (*Cultural narratives and policies: a study on the changes of cultural policies in postwar Taiwan*) (Taipei: National Institute of the Arts, 2001), 35.

jinhui (Taiwan Province Reform Committee)' spoke out in 1961 on behalf of native theatrical groups, calling for a ban on entertainment taxes for native Taiwanese theatre, as the KMT had done for Mandarin theatre. The committee members claimed that much like Mandarin theatre, native theatre also served to promote anti-Communist national policies, educate society, and provide politically correct performances.²⁷ They argued there should be no tax differences between Mandarin theatre and non-Mandarin theatre.

The KMT authorities insistence upon Chinese drama excluded any 'informal' non-Mandarin dramas—Taiwanese spoken drama, Taiwanese operas and puppet shows. They claimed that Taiwanese native dialects could not symbolize Chinese nationalism and could not help form the national foundation of the KMT regime. Instead, the KMT used Chinese spoken drama as the major form of anti-Communist plays to produce and promote Chinese national identity in Taiwan.

The Form of Spoken Drama in Taiwan The *Cambridge Guide to Asian Theatre* provides this description for 'spoken drama' in Taiwan: "Spoken drama was given a major impetus by the influx of 1.5 million mainland when Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in 1949. Among the new arrivals were playwrights, directors and actors of modern spoken drama, most of whom attached to the entertainment units of the armed forces."²⁸ This statement indicates a close relationship between the KMT government and the use of the 'Chinese' spoken drama. However, it ignores the fact that the spoken drama in local dialects existed in Taiwan before the KMT came to power. This statement also helps to reveal the standard Chinese perspective that have been long prevalent in Taiwan and the government's disdain for Taiwanese art, culture,

²⁷See "Taisheng defang xiju xiehui yuqing difangju mianzheng yuleshui 臺省地方戲劇協會籲請地方戲免徵娛樂稅 (Taiwan Province Theatre Reform Committee called for tax-free entertainment for local theatres)." *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 14 Sept. 1961, national edition: 8. The Chinese text: 「臺灣地方戲劇, 同樣負有宣揚國策, 轉移社會風氣及提供正當娛樂的使命 [...] 比平劇及國語話劇有過之而無不及。」

²⁸James R. Brandon, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to Asian Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 231.

society, and any Taiwanese languages or dialects.

Like Chinese ‘*huaju* (spoken drama),’ spoken drama in Taiwan was also influenced by the Japanese new drama, which took its form from Henrik Ibsen’s dramatic plays of the nineteenth century. Before any Chinese spoken drama troupe performed in Taiwan after 1945, spoken drama had already been introduced to Taiwan in the 1910’s, around the time when spoken drama was introduced into China by overseas students from Japan.

This modern theatrical form of spoken drama in Taiwan goes by a variety of names, such as *xinju* (new drama), *wenmingxi* (civilized drama), *gailiangxi* (reformed drama), *huangminju* (Japanized drama), and *qingnianju* (youth drama). Certainly, different names for this modern form of drama represent not only the development of spoken drama in different eras, but also different cultural ideologies produced by social conditions at the time. Yet regardless of the various names, these identifications all refer to a theatrical genre that uses daily conversational language and reflects everyday experiences. These names indicate a modern form of drama that intends to convey contemporary Westernized thoughts. These features distinguish this modern theatrical form from traditional operatic theatrical forms, such as Beijing opera and Taiwanese opera which are characterized by formulaic acting style and ancient plots.

The Chinese spoken drama in Taiwan also used some features of the Western drama, especially traits of the realistic play, but the ideas, thoughts, topics, themes, and motifs in these plays were tailored to convey the political ideas of the KMT government. Because of these features of the spoken drama, Taiwanese theatre scholar Qiou Kunliang intentionally adopts the term *xinju* (new drama) to incorporate *huaju* (spoken drama)—a term that was translated in 1928 and widely used in Mandarin-speaking areas. Qiou believes that the term *xinju* is preferable to *huaju* because *xinju* incorporates the types of spoken drama there were produced across several

decades in Taiwan.²⁹ The term *xiju* thus incorporates the historical continuity of this new genre from the era of the Japanese colonization to the era of the KMT regime. In Qiou's view, Chinese spoken drama, as introduced by the mainlanders, did not try to integrate itself into the history of spoken drama in Taiwan that had already existed.³⁰

The KMT government regarded spoken drama performed in a native Taiwanese dialect or in Japanese as another cultural product because spoken drama in Taiwan helped the Japanese colonizers to establish subservience in Taiwanese people, as indicated by the document from 1945. According to Qiou Kunliang, there were still twenty to thirty theatrical troupes performing Taiwanese spoken drama in the 1950's.³¹ Spoken drama using Taiwanese dialects still coexisted with Chinese spoken drama during the 1950's, the first decade of the anti-Communist era in Taiwan. However, the KMT government attempted to replace the local spoken drama with the imported form of Chinese spoken drama.

Most mainlanders, especially those who were associated with the government, dismissed the previous existence of spoken drama and other cultural forms in Taiwan. Their derogatory attitude about Taiwanese spoken drama came from the necessary linguistic barrier, but also from a sense of cultural superiority. After Taiwan was recovered, the KMT government immediately sent Chinese spoken drama troupes to Taiwan.³² For instance, in 1946, the 'Xuanchuang weiyuan hui (Committee for Promotion)' invited a Chinese drama troupe, the 'Xin zhongguo jushe (New

²⁹ Kunliang Qiou, "Taiwan xinju shi de nüxing yanyuan: yi Jingjiangyue weili 台灣新劇史的女性演員: 以靜江月為例 (Actresses in Taiwan's 'xiju' (new drama): take Jingjiangyue for example)," *Unitas* 16.11 (2000): 90.

³⁰ K. Qiou, "Taiwan xinju shi de nüxing yanyuan: yi Jingjiangyue weili 台灣新劇史的女性演員: 以靜江月為例 (Actresses in Taiwan's 'xiju' (new drama): take Jingjiangyue for example)," 101.

³¹ See K. Qiou, "Taiwan xinju shi de nüxing yanyuan: yi Jingjiangyue weili 台灣新劇史的女性演員: 以靜江月為例 (Actresses in Taiwan's 'xiju' (new drama): take Jingjiangyue for example)," 90. For commercial reasons, the performances of these troupes were usually a mixture of spoken drama, music, and sometimes acrobatics. Because of the popularity of television and cinema in the 1960's, and also due to the government's negligence of Taiwanese spoken drama, these troupes eventually vanished in Taiwan.

³² "Shoufu Taiwan xiju dianying xuanchuan gongzou yinian jihua 收復臺灣戲劇電影宣傳工作一年計畫 (One-year plan for promoting theatre and cinema in Taiwan after its retrocession)."

China Theatrical Troupe),’ to come to Taiwan.

This troupe, which brought four productions of Chinese spoken drama, performed plays about loyalty to loved-ones and the nation. *Zheng Chenggong* (*Zheng Chenggong*) is about a Ming loyalist who settled in Taiwan in order to fight back against the Qing dynasty in the mainland; *Niulang zhini* (*The Cowherder and the Girl Weaver*) shows the unbreakable love between Niulang and Zhinu who are separated and can only meet once a year; *Richu* (*Sunrise*) criticizes the corruption found in feudal China, and *Taohua shan* (*The Peach Blossom Fan*) is a historical play about a love story at the end of the Ming dynasty. These Chinese spoken dramas were accompanied by a luxurious and costly stage, boasting about the cultural superiority of the mother country, China.³³

In his speech welcoming this troupe, Fan Shoukang, the director of the Education Ministry of the ROC, compared native Taiwanese people who identified the Japanese as their master to a character in a Chinese play who identified a thief as his father.³⁴ Then, Fan complimented Chinese spoken drama for making so many contributions to Taiwan through its emphasis on Chinese nationalism and moral ethics.³⁵ Likewise, in a newspaper article entitled “Zhankai Taiwan de huaju yundong (The movement of the Chinese Spoken Drama in post-war Taiwan)” from 1946, Zhang Wang complained about native Taiwanese people’s ignorance about Chinese spoken drama.

Native Taiwanese audience wanted more. They even requested the performance of performing spoken drama in Taiwanese dialects. Perhaps this is how they express their love for spoken drama. However, if spoken drama is performed in any dialects, it will distort the

³³Z. Ye, 19.

³⁴The historical drama is called *Wangzuo duan bei* (*Wangzou Cut off His Arm*). In this play, Wangzuo, a loyalist to the weak Southern Song dynasty, cuts off one arm in order to have an opportunity to see the General of the Jin dynasty, Lu Wenlong, and to tell him that he is indeed a Han person. Ultimately, Wangzuo’s loyalty saves the Song dynasty from the attacks of Lu.

³⁵Z. Ye, 19.

meaning of [Chinese] spoken drama when it was created as a new style of total art in China. The truth is that, if the spoken drama is performed in any other dialects than Mandarin, it will lose its artistic value. Anyone who appreciates Chinese spoken drama would know the truth of my words.³⁶

Literally, Zhang asserted that only the official language, Mandarin, could bring out the artistic value of the spoken drama. However, his assertion also revealed the power relationship between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese people.

Mainlander writers insisted that the authority and authenticity of spoken drama belonged to Chinese spoken drama. In 1970, anti-Communist playwright Zhao Qibin stressed that Taiwan had no ‘real’ drama before mainland artists brought Beijing opera and spoken drama to Taiwan.³⁷ Similarly, scholar Du Yunsheng claimed that Taiwan “inherited the legitimate theatre of the larger Chinese culture from writers who came from China.”³⁸ Zhao and Du shared the same opinion that Chinese dramas enriched the theatre in Taiwan, before which there had never been any ‘formal’ drama. They believe that Taiwan only had an ‘informal’ theatre, such as Taiwanese opera, a native form highlighting rural scenes and rife with eroticism. Only spoken drama that uses Mandarin can be labeled as ‘formal’ spoken drama. And only such ‘formal’ drama can correctly promote nationalistic ideology and help bring prosperity and security to Taiwan.

³⁶See Wang Zhang, “Zhankai Taiwan de huaju yundong 展開台灣的話劇運動 (The movement of the Chinese spoken drama in post-war Taiwan).” *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 21 Sept. 1946, national edition: n.p. The Chinese text: 「但觀眾們似乎仍認為美中不足,且有提出以台灣話演出的要求。這雖然是他們對話劇熱愛的表示,但如果真的以方言來演話劇,那就完全誤解了話劇的意義,同時也失掉了話劇是中國整個新型綜合藝術的意味。因為話劇如以任何的方言演出,就會失去所以成為話劇藝術的價值的,這個道理只要看得懂話劇的人都能瞭解它的真諦。」

³⁷See Qibin Zhao, “Dangian xiju fazhan zhi jingwei 當前戲劇發展之經緯 (Modern theatre and the history of its development),” *Literature and Art Monthly* 9 (1970): 20. Zhao Qibin claimed that “theatre in Taiwan has started to develop [not to flourish] since 1949. In the fifty years of Japanese occupation of Taiwan, Japanese suppressed artistic and literary expressions of the colonized in order to keep native Taiwanese ignorant. Therefore, except for some melodramatic stories of Taiwanese opera, there was no real theatre in Taiwan. (台灣戲劇的發展,是從民國三十八年開始的。在日本佔領台灣的五十年中,日本人施用愚民政策,不鼓勵文學藝術上的自由創作,所以除了容許傳統的歌仔戲演唱一些風花雪月的故事外,根本就沒有真正的戲劇) [emphasis are mine].

³⁸Yunsheng Du, “Zhongguo xiandai xiju qishinian 中國現代戲劇七十年 (Seventy years of modern Chinese theatre),” *Youth Literary* 52.5 (1980): 215.

Native Taiwanese elites also downplayed the history of spoken drama in Taiwan before the Nationalist Party. Lu Sushang—a renowned expert in Taiwanese theatre and cinema from the 1950’s and 60’s—also attributed the development of spoken drama to mainlanders from Mainland China. He described spoken drama in post-war Taiwan: “After the retrocession of Taiwan from the hands of Japan, everything old was abolished and everything new was created. The National Language Movement also began to take root in Taiwan. It was the drama troupe of the seventieth armed forces that first introduced our mother nation’s form of spoken drama to native Taiwanese people.”³⁹ In Lu’s opinion, the old refers to Taiwan under Japanese colonization; the new is China under the KMT regime. Lu’s statement corresponds to official policies that emphasized anything Chinese. It also revealed how the native Taiwanese elites were integrated into the government’s Chinese-centered ideology and exerted their influence on reforming the native Taiwanese politics, society, and culture.

The belief that the Chinese-centered ideology could only be found in Chinese spoken drama is not simply a cultural perspective, but also a political manipulation by those with power in Taiwan. Recent research by a Chinese scholar reflects similar viewpoints as the KMT government’s attitude toward Taiwanese spoken drama. In 2007, Zhou Ning, a professor at Xiamen University in China, published an article entitled “Huaju bainian: cong zhongguo huaju dao shijie huayu huaju (A Centenary History of Chinese Spoken Drama in China and the World),” which mapped out the hundred-year development of spoken drama from China to Chinese diasporas around the world.

In his article, Zhou overturns the now commonly accepted concept in Taiwan that the history

³⁹Shushang Lu, *Taiwan dianying xijushi* 台灣電影戲劇史 (*History of Taiwanese cinema and theatre*) (Taipei: Yinhua chubanshe, 1961), 336.

of spoken drama in Taiwan started around 1910, when the Western form was first brought to Japan and Japan's colony of Taiwan. Instead, he insists that spoken drama originated in 1921 when Taiwanese students studying in Mainland China returned to Taiwan, forming the first Chinese spoken drama troupe called 'Minxing she (Minxing Drama Troupe).'⁴⁰ Zhou's statement is upon first glance a culture-oriented point of view. However, from a political perspective, Zhou rejects the original theory about the development of spoken drama in Taiwan because it came from the colonizing state of Japan. He persistently maintains his narrative in keeping with the notion of a grand China; if Taiwan is part of China, so is Taiwanese culture. As he describes, "Although Taiwan was under Japanese colonization, Taiwanese spoken drama—as part of the history of Chinese spoken drama—was still the product of the development of Chinese spoken drama."⁴¹

National Ideology in Anti-Communist Spoken Drama

Spoken drama that depicted life-like experience became a propagandist tool for anti-Communist spoken drama, which was used to educate Taiwanese people about how to suppress personal desires and promote nationalistic concerns. Ironically, when spoken drama was first introduced into China from the Western Ibsenesque tradition at the turn of the twentieth century, Chinese modernizers used this dramatic form as part of a civil education effort aimed at saving China from its backward feudal traditions. Supposedly, these realistic plays were able to awaken individual agency, particularly in the case of women. Yet, when promoting Chinese spoken drama for anti-Communist purposes, the KMT government downplayed individual agency, and emphasized Chinese nationalism and traditional Confucianism. This application of

⁴⁰Ning Zhou, "Huaju bainian:cong zhongguo huaju dao shijie huayu huaju 話劇百年:從中國話劇到世界華語話劇 (A centenary history of Chinese spoken drama in China and the world)," *Journal of Xiamen University* 180 (2007): 37.

⁴¹See N. Zhou, 37. The original text: 「台灣雖屬日據,但作為中國話劇史的一部份的臺灣話劇,卻是大陸話劇發展的產物。」

spoken drama raises the question of how this dramatic genre had negotiated key issues, including nationalism and individualism, over the first half of the twentieth century.

From Individualism to Nationalism in Chinese Spoken Drama The rise of spoken drama in China was closely connected to an ideological revolution—the May Fourth Movement, which takes its name from an anti-imperialist incident. In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles announced that the Chinese territory of the Shandong peninsula was to be transferred directly from Germany to Japan without China’s consent.⁴² This act incited the fury of Chinese citizens, particular college students. They protested against Western imperialism on the fourth of May, and blamed the cowardice of the corrupt Chinese government as a contributing factor to this territorial encroachment.

However, the ‘May Fourth Movement’ refers also refers to a larger intellectual movement occurring between 1917 and 1921. This group rejected anything traditional, such as Confucianism. They also believed that this backwardness of China resulted in the invasion by Western imperialists. Many Chinese elites called for a new Chinese culture based on Western standards, such as democracy, science, women’s liberation, and egalitarian values. In 1915, Chen Duxiu founded the journal *Xin Qingnian (New Youth)* to inspire a young generation to pursue Western thoughts that would transform China into a modernized country. This magazine attracted young Chinese elites who eagerly devoted themselves to revolutionizing China. It became one of the most important publications in modern Chinese history. It was also in the “Yibushen zhuanhao (“Ibsen Special Issue”) (1918)”⁴³ of this magazine that Hu Shih (1891-1962) translated the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House*.

⁴²This political controversy is also known as ‘Shandong Problem.’ It refers to the dispute over Article 156 of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

⁴³The “Ibsen Special Issue” appeared in the *New Youth*, vol. 4 no. 6, published on 15 June 1918.

Hu's introduction of Ibsen marked one of the high points of spoken drama in China. It had been over ten years since the Spring Willow Society had performed *The Black Slave's Cry to Heaven* in Tokyo and Shanghai in 1907, which was an adaptation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Thus, 1907 is generally regarded as the beginning of Chinese spoken drama.⁴⁴ However, at this time, early spoken drama—*weminxi* (then called civilized drama)—was primarily influenced by Chinese students studying in Japan. This new genre of drama found its way into China. *Weminxi* was a mixture of the stage conventions of Chinese Peking (Beijing) opera and the theatrical ideas of spoken drama. It was meant to arouse people's political awareness about the weakening Qing dynasty. However, it soon became commercialized and began to cater to bourgeois amusement.⁴⁵ It was not until the May Fourth Movement in 1919 that the genre of Chinese spoken drama was finally rid of the influence of Japanese 'new school' plays. Instead, the spoken drama adopted the realistic orientation of Ibsen's modern plays.⁴⁶ In 1928, Chinese playwright Hong Shen formally adopted the term of *huaju* (spoken drama).

In 1907, one year before the birth of Chinese spoken drama, the famous Chinese scholar Lu Xun had given an evaluation of Ibsen: "He was angered by a sleeping society and saddened by the darkening truth."⁴⁷ In 1914, Lu Jingruo, the core member of the Spring Willow Society, also introduced Ibsen's eleven plays to a Chinese audience. In 1918, *A Doll's House* was translated and published in China. Nevertheless, it was the May Fourth Movement and the "Ibsen Special Issue" in the *New Youth* that elevated Ibsen and his plays to a position of being irreplaceable. The

⁴⁴Colin Mackerras, "Tradition, Change and Continuity in Chinese theatre in the Last Hundred Years: In Commemoration of the Spoken Drama Centenary," *Asian Theatre Journal* 25.1 (2008): 2.

⁴⁵Xiaofei Chen, "Nora's Performance in China (1914-2010): Inspiration, Communities, and Political theatre," MA thesis, Oslo University, Norway, 2010.

⁴⁶N. Zhou, 37.

⁴⁷See Xun Lu, "Wenhua pianzhi lun 文化偏至論 (Talking about cultural reflection)," *Luxun quanji 鲁迅全集 (Completion writings of Lu Xun)*, vol. 1, 20 vols. (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1973), 50. The original text: 「憤世俗之昏迷, 悲真理之匿耀。」

“Ibsen Special Issue” also introduced him as a great philosopher and ideological reformer to Chinese people. *A Doll’s House* became the most well-known foreign stage play in China during the twentieth century. This play has been performed in many different historical eras in China. Hu states that “our purpose was to transport Ibsen’s thoughts, which were embedded in those plays. If you read our ‘Ibsen Special Issue,’ you would understand that we valued Ibsen not as an artist, but as a reformer.”⁴⁸

Hu’s “Ibsenism” became a fad during the May Fourth Movement. Hu states that Ibsen’s plays revealed the rivalry between individuals and society because “society forcefully ruins individuality and suppresses personal freedom and independence.”⁴⁹ Hu Shih regarded spoken drama as a new Westernized theatrical genre that could impart progressive thoughts to Chinese people. Thus, he imitated Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House* and wrote a play called *Zhongshen dashi* (*The Main Event of One’s Life*) in 1919. This play is about a woman who escapes her arranged marriage in pursuit of the freedom of romance.⁵⁰ It clearly demonstrates the beliefs, both of Hu and of the May Fourth elites, that personal agency could combat feudal bondage.

Using the elements found in Ibsen’s drama, Hu Shih and other elites in the iconoclast-oriented May Fourth Movement intended to abolish traditional theatre and establish a new theatre imbued with Westernized thoughts in its place. In his “Wenxue jinhua guannian yu xiju gailiang (Revolution of Literature and Theatre Reform) (1918),” Hu Shih described traditional stage conventions as “residues” from the old China.⁵¹ He regarded Beijing opera as an

⁴⁸The quotation and English translation is from X. Chen, 13.

⁴⁹Shih Hu, “Yibusheng zhuyi 易卜生主義 (Ibsenism),” *Hu Shih wencun* 胡適文存 (*Writings of Hu Shih*), vol. 1, 4 vols. (Taipei: The Far East Book Company, 1953), 637.

⁵⁰After his embrace of “Ibsenism,” Hu Shih soon published his play, *Zhongshen dashi* (*The Main Event of One’s Life*), also on the *New Youth* in vol. 6 no. 3 in 1919.

⁵¹See Shih Hu, “Wenxue jinhua guannian yu xiju gailiang 文學進化觀念與戲劇改良 (Evolutionary concepts in literature and the reform of theatre),” *Hu Shih wencun* 胡適文存 (*Writings of Hu Shih*), vol. 1, 4 vols. (Taipei: The Far East Book Company, 1953), 150. The original text: 「西洋的戲劇便是自由發展的進化; 中國的戲劇便是只有局部自由

unfinished product of the incomplete development of theatre throughout time, in contrast to Western theatre which is completely evolved.⁵² Therefore, from Hu Shih's perspective, many elements in Beijing opera—such as facial makeup, martial arts, singing forms, and *Pao longtao* (walk-ons or supernumerary actors)—are purposeless in modern theatre. Only advanced theatrical forms and content, as are present in Western spoken drama, can reveal the realities of modern life and develop one's individuality as a way to reform the nation.

Hu was not alone in demanding the reform of outmoded theatre genres. Fu Sinian (1896-1950), another young leader of the May Fourth Movement, also shared a similar viewpoint toward spoken drama.⁵³ In "Xiju gailiang gemian guan (Perspectives of theatre reform) (1918)," Fu stated that the reform of theatre is a reform of society. The 'old' Beijing opera is the reflection of a incoherent group of people which cannot be counted as a society. Fu concluded that it requires the power of theatre to completely awaken Chinese people. The old form of theatre has to be overthrown, and new theatre has to be created. In other words, the traditional educational institution must be overthrown in favor of the pioneering innovation of the new society.⁵⁴

Both Hu and Fu believed that theatre not only reflects but also influences society. They believed that theatre reform could bring the value of individuality to Chinese people by abolishing the outmoded operatic form. This is also the viewpoint of modern critic Yuan Guoxing:

Ibsen brought to the Chinese people the discovery of the 'individual,' [a person...] with independence, character, and the capability of rebelling against the feudal society. If an

的結果。」 Also, I translate the Chinese term 「遺形物」 into 'residues.'

⁵²S. Hu, "Wenxue jinhua guannian yu xiju gailiang 文學進化觀念與戲劇改良 (Evolutionary concepts in literature and the reform of theatre)," 145.

⁵³Fu Sinian was a famous Chinese educator, linguist, and most importantly, one of the leaders of the May Fourth Movement. He was also appointed as the President of National Taiwan University, the top acclaimed university in post-war Taiwan.

⁵⁴See Sinian Fu, "Xiju gailiang gemian guan 戲劇改良各面觀 (Perspectives on theatre reform)," *Fu Sinian quanji* 傅斯年全集 (*Complete writings of Fu Sinian*), vol. 4, 5 vols. (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 1980), 1085. The original text goes: 「使得中國人有貫徹的覺悟, 總要借重戲劇的力量, 所以舊劇不能不推翻, 新劇不能不創造。換一句話說, 舊社會的教育機關不能不推翻, 新社會的急先鋒不能不創造。」

‘individual’ does not detach from traditional ethical values, he will lack personal characteristic or thoughts that can help him escape the enclosed world of the mind and to develop a desire to fight against society.⁵⁵

These May Fourth Chinese elites intended to liberate the people from the shackles of an old society by using the theatre of Ibsen and other Western playwright to transplant a more modern spirit into China. The spirit of ‘individualism’ was crucial because it turned the masses into individuals with free thoughts. The rise of Chinese spoken drama during the twentieth century helped to develop the Western concept of individual agency. These Chinese elites believed that the idea of individual agency could awaken the Chinese national consciousness. The idea of individualism still prevailed over collectivism, at least among the elites who intended to promote this concept in civil education.

But Westernized culture had to confront a conservative backlash when China was at war in the 1930’s. During the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the voice of individualism was completely overwhelmed by a rabid patriotism. There was an ardent call for using literature to serve nationalistic concerns. Cultural productions of all kinds were produced for this national crisis as a type of political propaganda. These works included “serialized novels, familiar essays, plays (particular in the form of spoken dramas which incorporated many traditional theatrical conventions), and even comic books.”⁵⁶ The government believed that the individual agency of the May Fourth Movement polluted the minds of young people, who should be fully devoted to the nation.

For the Nationalist Party, a contradiction emerged between nationalism that served to stabilize the regime, and democracy that promoted individualism. In contrast to the CCP’s theory

⁵⁵Guoxing Yuan, *Zhongguo huaju de yunyu yu shengcheng* 中國話劇的孕育與生成 (*The birth and growth of Chinese spoken drama*) (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993), 209.

⁵⁶Shumei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semi-colonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 381.

of ‘class conflict,’ the KMT claimed to respect people from all walks of life. To fight against their enemies—either Japanese or the Communists—the Nationalist Party had to strengthen the nation by eliminating personal freedom. Since the 1930’s, the KMT had tried to strike a balance between both sides. The KMT government chose to reinterpret the meaning of the May Fourth Movement by endorsing the patriotic aspects of the Movement while attacking their Western liberalism that was cast as undermining Chinese civilization.⁵⁷

Because many May Fourth elites swore their political allegiance to the CCP and decided to stay in Mainland China, the KMT’s cultural elites were critical of the May Fourth Movement. For instance, in 1953, scholar Mu Zhongnan wrote that the Westernized May Fourth Movement destroyed the old society, but failed in creating a new one.⁵⁸ Scholar and poet Ge Xianning concluded that all Western schools of thought, such as romanticism, symbolism, and aestheticism, are an embodiment of anti-nationalist individualism. He thus advocated a national form of literature that eliminates the cultural trend of individualism and promotes Chinese nationalism in anti-Communist Taiwan.⁵⁹

Feng Xi, a Taiwanese theatrical critic, identified 1949 as a critical point in Chinese literary development.⁶⁰ The devastating power of the May Fourth Movement resulted in the Communists’ iconoclasm. The introduction of Westernization (from either America or Russia) greatly damaged the foundation of Republican China.⁶¹ Feng Xi further stressed that everything in ‘Free China

⁵⁷ Warren Tozer, “Taiwan’s ‘Cultural Renaissance’: A Preliminary View,” *China Quarterly* 43 (1940): 91.

⁵⁸ Mu Li, “Xinwenxue yundong licheng zhong de guanjian shidai: shilun wuling niandai ziyou zhongguo wenxue chuanguo de silu jiqisuo chansheng de yingxiang 新文學運動歷程中的關鍵時代: 試論五〇年代自由中國文學創作的思路及其所產生的影響 (A critical time for new literary movement: thoughts about and the impacts of literary creation in Free China during the 1950’s),” *Wen Xun Monthly* 9 (1984): 5.

⁵⁹ Xianning Ge, “Lun minzu zhuyi wenxue de shizhi yu xingshi 論民族主義文學的實質與形式 (Literature’s form and content under Nationalism),” *Youth Literary Monthly* 1 (1953): 19.

⁶⁰ Feng Xi is the pen name of writer Feng Fangmin. He is also one of the advocates for the KMT’s anti-Communist ‘combat’ literature.

⁶¹ Feng Xi, “Zhandou guolai de rizi 戰鬥過來的日子 (Days in Combat),” *Wen Xun Monthly* 9 (1984): 38.

[referring to Taiwan]' is created for the sake of the anti-Communist campaign. Thus, anti-Communist plays should underscore how the 'small' self makes partial or complete sacrifice for the 'large' nation. Any play that is detached from the anti-Communist national campaign has no worth.⁶²

In the journal *Ziyou Zhongguo (Free China Weekly)*, a debate raged about whether the democracy for personal freedom or security for national unification was more important. In the early 1950's, Taiwanese writers argued fiercely about the essence of literature and art. Hu Shih, once the pioneering figure of the May Fourth Movement, spoke on behalf of Chinese liberalists' viewpoint of 'art for art's sake' and advocated for personal freedom in the creation of art. However, under the authoritarian KMT regime in 1952, he had to moderate his opinions: "During any phase [of society], the works of pure art and literature should not be less important than those of propaganda."⁶³ Despite the efforts of the advocates for liberalism, most of the writers (who came from the mainland) obeyed the guidance of Chiang Kai-shek and his KMT government, and produced art and literature that served nationalistic needs. Under anti-Communist national politics, the supporters of pure art were accused of being trapped in the 'ivory tower.' Pure art was completely irrelevant to people's actual lives.

The government insisted that all cultural production, including the theatre, should serve the mission of anti-Communism. For example, one anti-Communist comic film, *Meiyou nüren de difang (Where There is No Women)* (1956), criticizes the decadence of these pure art works. The film represents seven self-contented artists, including a musician, an artist, and a film director, who pursue their own creative projects. They live on a remote island (with suggestions of

⁶²F. Xi, 3.

⁶³Qiang Zhi, "Wei Hushizhi xiansheng youguan wenyi de tanhua jin yijie 為胡適之先生有關文藝的談話進一解 (Further interpretations of Mr. Hu Shih's talk of literature and art)," *Free China Weekly* 8.1 (1952): 40.

Taiwan).’ When one of the artists discovers a mysterious woman at the beach, all of the artists treat her as their artistic muse. They pursue her and ask her repeatedly to stay with them on the island. However, the woman insists on leaving the island so that she can do something beneficial for the country. She harshly criticizes these artists:

Gentlemen, I think what you ask me to do is not what is needed in our time. At this critical moment of our nation, we all have to face *reality*. I think I would rather do something *useful* for our nation and society [...] [To the musician] Is singing an art? It is not an art if we sing erotic songs and destroy good traditions of our society [...] [To the painter] Drawing women, angles, cupid and the like is not doing us any good during wartime [...] [To all] Culture, art, sports and medical science are all important to human society [...] but all of you try to escape from the *reality of our time*.”⁶⁴

In the end, the woman decides to join her cousin at the front lines of the Kinmen struggle to help protect the security of Taiwan, and all the artists follow her. In the final scene the eight characters walk hand in hand toward the future (like the group scene at the close of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*). On the soundtrack a song declares:

“We are a group of artists, walking out of our ivory tower. We create our art for fighting. We fight for our revolution. Move forward! Move, move, move to the people [...] Ignite the fire of victory. Head for the light. Restore our great China!” (Figure 1.3)⁶⁵

The film clearly advocates that Taiwanese people, even in their periods of leisure, should always be thinking about the people of the mainland. Artists on Taiwan should leave the island (the ivory tower) and fight for China by using their artistic skills as ideological weapons. While promoting the concept of “combat literature and art,” this film also reveals the state’s fear of intellectual elites. Given the Taiwanese national crisis of losing mainland China, all of the arts

⁶⁴Emphases are mine. The Chinese lines: 「各位先生, 我覺得你們要求我做的, 都不是當前時代所需要的。在這非常的時代, 我們一切都應該配合現實, 我想我是願意做一些對國家社會有利的事情 [...] [對音樂家] 唱歌是藝術? 黃色歌曲靡靡之音, 這種藝術傷風敗俗... [對畫家] 整天的畫女人, 什麼天使, 愛神, 這種話對戰時生活, 又有什麼貢獻? [...] 文化、藝術、體育、醫學, 這都是人類社會不能缺少的東西 [...] 可是你們都逃避現實, 脫離時代。」 See *Meiyou nüren de defang* 沒有女人的地方 (*Where there is no woman*), 1956, film, Taiwan Film Studio.

⁶⁵See *Meiyou nüren de defang* 沒有女人的地方 (*Where there is no woman*), 1956, film, Taiwan Film Studio. The lyrics of the song: 「我們是一群藝術家, 邁步走出象牙塔, 我們要為戰鬥而藝術, 我們要為革命而奮鬥。走走走! 我們走向群眾 [...] 燃起勝利之火, 走向光明, 復興偉大的中華!」



Figure 1.3: A film still of artists in *Meiyou nüren de difang* (*Where There is No Women*). “Li Hsing de xingli: Jietou Xiangwei 李行的行李: 沒有女人的地方 (Li Hsing’s baggage: *Where There is No Women*).”

should serve the needs of the military, the government, and especially the leader—President Chiang Kai-shek.

Nationalism in Modern Anti-Communist Spoken Drama In anti-Communist cultural campaigns, the KMT government paid most attention to the theatre and cinema, and encouraged the creation of anti-Communist plays.⁶⁶ Thus, Mandarin theatre and cinema began to thrive in Taiwan. Although the government subsidies for theatre gradually decreased due to budget issues from the 1960’s, there were never shortages of official rewards for politically correct

⁶⁶Wang Dingjun, one significant mainland writer in Taiwan, notes that the KMT emphasized theatre over all anti-Communist literature because it is the most effective at delivering a message to large groups of people. The second most promoted was the short story, because people enjoy listening to them, followed by the longer-format story. See Dingjun Wang, “Fangong wenzue guanchao jiz 反共文學觀潮記 (A review of anti-Communist literature),” *Wen Xun Monthly* 259 (2007): 14.

anti-Communist works from government-related associations, such as the Ministry of Education, the ‘Zhonghua wenyi jiangjin weiyuanhui (Chinese Literature and Art Awards Committee),’ and the ‘Guofangbu zong zhengzhi zuozhang ju (General Political Warfare Bureau)’ of the Ministry of National Defense.⁶⁷

Many troupes of Chinese spoken drama were funded by military troops. ‘Guofangbu zong zhengzhi zuozhang (General Political Warfare Bureau)’ established the ‘Kangle zongdui (Military Artistic Service Group)’ to run Chinese spoken drama companies in the military.⁶⁸ These drama troupes regularly toured around Taiwan, especially near the military’s front lines (such as the Matsu and Kinmen islands), to provide soldiers with ‘clean’ entertainment.⁶⁹

In addition to these military drama troupes, there were still many official Chinese spoken drama groups, such as the ‘Zhonghua shiyan jutuan (Chinese Experimental Drama Troupe)’ and the ‘Zhongyang qingnian jushe (Central Youth Drama Troupe),’ in the 1950’s. They were supervised by the Ministry of Education of the ROC; as such, Chinese spoken drama was established as an instructional tool used in both the military and educational system.⁷⁰ These drama troupes operated under the government’s guidance, and were very influential in establishing the trend of Chinese spoken drama in anti-Communist Taiwan. They also travelled to

⁶⁷Mianzhi Wang, “Zhongyao juben jieshao 重要劇本介紹 (Introduction to major [anti-Communist] plays),” *Education and Culture* 12.3 (1956): 2.

⁶⁸The ‘Kangle zongdui (Military Artistic Service Group),’ established in 1950, changed its name to the ‘Yigong zongdui hauju dui (Spoken Drama Troupe of the Military Artistic Group)’ in 1965. After 1965, this organization supported not only opera but also variety shows and choruses.

⁶⁹Kinmen or Quemoy, or “Golden Gate,” is an outlying archipelago consisting of small islands located near the People’s Republic of China, but is under the control of the Republic of China on Taiwan. After the KMT retreated to Taiwan, Kinmen and the island of Matsu were regarded as the stronghold of Taiwan, and were protected by a strong military force. In 1958, a conflict between the ROC and PRC erupted. Bombs fell on this small island and created the second Taiwan Strait Crisis. The ROC eventually won the victory and secured Taiwan. Administratively, Kinmen County belongs to Fujian Province, ROC, even though geographically Fujian Province is located in the territory of PRC in China. The performing tour is called *laojun* (meaning ‘to comfort or entertain the soldiers.’)

⁷⁰Zhong Lei, “Wushi niandai juyun de tuozhan 五十年代劇運的拓展 (The development of theatre movement in the 1950’s [in Taiwan]),” *Wen Xun Monthly* 9 (1984): 116.

the countryside in order to propagate anti-Communist ideology and Chinese nationalism.

The majority of anti-Communist plays were written in the national language of Mandarin and in the form and content of *huaju* (spoken drama). In 1950, the Ministry of Education of the ROC in Taiwan solicited anti-Communist plays. It received 117 plays in total. Among them, 95 were spoken drama, 33 were film scripts and only 9 were traditional Beijing operas. In the end, four plays were recognized: 2 spoken dramas, 1 film, and one Beijing opera.⁷¹ According to scholar Jiao Tong's statistics, the number of Chinese spoken drama produced during 1951 to 1959 was 201, compared to 11 Beijing operas, one Taiwanese opera, and 36 other dramatic forms (Appendix 1).⁷² The ratio of spoken drama to that of Beijing opera reveals adaptability of the spoken drama to different anti-Communist contents.

In 1950, writer Ai Wen (pen name of Xiong Kunzhen) clarified that the promotion of nationalism should use Chinese spoken drama rather than traditional Beijing opera. First, the language of spoken drama is closer to daily conversation. Secondly, spoken drama has a vibrant acting style that easily attracts common people. Thirdly, the subjects of spoken drama come from real life and more closely approximate the life of common people. Fourthly, spoken drama requires less human resources and is easily taken on the road.⁷³ For these reasons, Ai Wen believed spoken drama was one of the most suitable propagandist vehicles; it was more realistic and accessible to everyday people, and therefore suitable for anti-Communist campaigns. Even

⁷¹*Zhonghua minguo nianjian: minguo sishi nian* 中華民國年鑑：民國四十年 (*Yearbook of the Republic of China: 1951*) (Taipei: Zhonghua minguo nianjian she, 1951).

⁷²X. Li, "Cong minbao kan zhanhou chuqi Taiwan de zhengjing yu shehui 從〈民報〉看戰後初期台灣的政經與社會 (Perspectives on politics and society from the newspaper *Mingbao* in early post-war Taiwan)," 220-223 and Jingrong Wang, "Taiwan wuling niandai fangongju de chengxing (1950-1959) 台灣五〇年代台灣反共劇的盛行 (The popularity of anti-Communist drama in Taiwan during the 1950's)," MA. thesis, National Taipei Teachers College, 2004.

⁷³Wen Ai, "Lun xuanchuan ying caiqu huaju 論宣傳應採取話劇 (The best propaganda is spoken drama)," *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 10 Jan. 1950, national edition: 6.

Qi Rusha—the theorist, playwright, and master of Beijing opera—who staunchly defended the modernity and adaptability of Beijing opera, also implicitly admitted that traditional Beijing opera is formulaic as compared to the flexibility and modernity of spoken drama.⁷⁴

The government secured the position of Chinese spoken drama in Taiwan to ensure use of the form that could best express anti-Communist themes. In 1953, Zhang Daofan (then President of the Legislative Yuan of ROC)⁷⁵ encouraged Taiwanese artists to work hard in developing Chinese spoken drama because this form was tremendously effective in promoting Chinese nationalism during the second Sino-Japanese War in Mainland China.⁷⁶ In 1946, Bai Ke, a mainlander film director, had clearly stated his view of theatre and cinema: “During the eight years of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the drama and film troupes traveled every city and countryside around Mainland China. They went deep into the lives of the troops and everyday people. They proved that drama and film are one of the most powerful educational vehicles.”⁷⁷ Both of the above comments highlight the usefulness of Chinese spoken drama in communicating messages to common people.

In addition to the mainlander elites, native Taiwanese Lu Sushang also believed that it does not make sense to establish Beijing opera as the national drama, because its use of operatic

⁷⁴Rushan Qi, *Oi Rushan huiyilu* 齊如山回憶錄 (*Memoirs of Qi Rushan*) (Taipei: Zhongyan wenwu gonying she, 1956), 354-366. Qi Rusha is also well-known for his close relationship with Mei Lanfang, one of the most famous Beijing opera artists (the feminine *dan* role) in modern Chinese history. He tailor made more than twenty-five plays for Mei Lanfang. He also arranged for Mei’s first American tour and travelled with her in 1929. After this trip, he published a book *Mei Lanfang youmei ji* (*The American Tour of Mei Lanfang*) (1929).

⁷⁵Zhang Daofan (1897-1967) was a long-term core member of the Nationalist Party. He served in important KMT official positions: the Secretary-General of Nanjing Government (1928-1930) in China, the President of *China Daily News* (1950-1968), and the fourth President of the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan (1952-1961), to name only a few of his responsibilities. Besides these positions, he also founded and had a great impact on many literary organizations, such as the ‘Zhongguo wenyi xiehui (Chinese Writer’s and Artist’s Association)’ and the ‘Zhonghua wenyi jiangjin weiyuanhui (Chinese Arts and Literature Awards Committee),’ both existing in the 1950’s in Taiwan. He was also a playwright. One of his most well known plays is *Zijiu* (Self-salvation) in 1934. For more about this play, please see Gong Qin, “On the Evaluation of Zhang Daofan’s Play ‘Self-salvation’,” *Nandu Xuetan* 31.4 (2011): 66-70.

⁷⁶“Zhongshantang zuo chenghui quizhu xijujie 中山堂昨盛會慶祝戲劇節 (Celebration of the drama festival at Zhongshan hall yesterday),” *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 16 Feb. 1953, national edition: 2.

⁷⁷S. Lu, *Taiwan dianying xijushi* 台灣電影戲劇史 (*History of Taiwanese cinema and theatre*), 28.

language does not easily relate to the everyday language of both mainlander and Taiwanese people. Thus, Lu indicates that this form of Mandarin drama can only be seen as a ‘regional drama.’⁷⁸ Moreover, in 1949 claims were made that the KMT government intended to replace the native Taiwanese opera with Chinese spoken drama.⁷⁹ Although the singing form of Taiwanese opera eventually remained unchanged, due to negotiation by Lu Sushang and other Taiwanese elites, the KMT government still proposed their plan of “old bottle with new wine.”⁸⁰ They wished to refill the form of traditional Taiwanese opera with the content of Chinese spoken drama because Chinese spoken drama contained themes that explore the Chinese Communist Party’s atrocities, as a way to spread nationalism into people’s everyday lives.

The motifs of anti-Communist spoken dramas generally showed how the KMT would lead the Taiwanese to live a prosperous life, fight against the cruel CCP, and finally return to their homeland of Mainland China. In the early 1950’s, the major anti-Communist themes portrayed direct combat between the KMT and the CCP before 1949. The ‘combat theme’ served to make nationalism apparent throughout the play, as the KMT’s soldiers and citizens sacrifice for their nation. Later, the theme shifted to anti-Communist actions in everyday life after the mainlanders settled in Taiwan.

Sacrifice for the nation transformed to domestic issues in anti-Communist spoken dramas when the nation was not at war. For instance, Liu Yin’s *Dingshi zhi jia* (*The Affluent Family*) (1953) depicts a wealthy mainlander family in Taiwan and their familial problems, such as

⁷⁸Shushang Lu, “Xiju zhong de yuyan 戲劇中的語言 (The language of drama),” *Chinese Language Monthly* 15.6 (1964): 6.

⁷⁹Longting Chen, “Budaixi yu zhangzhi: wuling niandai de fangong kang’eju 布袋戲與政治—五〇年代的反共抗俄劇 (Puppet shows and politics: the anti-Communist drama in the 1950’s),” *Taiwan Historical Materials Studies* 12 (1998): 45.

⁸⁰S. Lu, *Taiwan dianying xijushi* 台灣電影戲劇史 (*History of Taiwanese cinema and theatre*), 398.

generational conflict, love triangles, and the challenge of parental discipline.⁸¹ Each of the family members is corrupted by their wealth, and loses his or her focus on their goals. As the play progresses, the characters gradually negotiate with one another, and are able to strike a balance between mental and material desires. The play ends on a happy note as each character achieves their his or her goals: The husband and the wife restore their relationship, the lovers decide to marry, and the children achieve their dreams.

Because of the play's happy ending and depiction of issues in modern society, Taiwanese scholar Wang Chunmei defines this type of play as the *shidai xiju* (modern comedy). She separates it from the category of 'pure' anti-Communist plays. In her definition, Wang classifies the sixty-seven plays collected in the *zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*) into five major types: 20 anti-Communist plays, 9 historical plays, 5 *guzhuangju* (costume dramas), 29 *shidaiju* (modern plays) and 4 children's plays. In these types, there can also be divided into tragedy, comic-tragedy, comedy, etc. Then, Wang gives a subtitle under each primary category, such as *kanri fangong ju* (anti-Japanese anti-Communist play), *fangong beiju* (anti-Communist tragedy), *fangong xiju* (anti-Communist comedy), and *shidai xiju* (modern comedy).⁸²

However, Wang's classification of the plays is misleading. In her definition, Wang claims that plays containing 'some' anti-Communist slogans that reflect real life in Taiwan cannot be considered anti-Communist plays. Rather, she identifies them as *shidaiju* (modern plays) that

⁸¹ Yin Liu, "Dingshi zhi jia 鼎食之家 (The affluent family)," *Zhonghuaminguo Jianguo liushinian Jinian Ziyoushongguo huajiliushizhong xuanji: Zhunghu Xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集* (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 4, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 1-173.

⁸² C. Wang, 287.

illustrate people's current lives in anti-Communist Taiwan.⁸³ On the surface, *Dingshi zhi jia* (*The Affluent Family*) seems to focus on personal problems in Taiwanese society, rather than anti-Communist issues. Nevertheless, upon closer examination of the play, it is not hard to find the concept of Chinese nationalism interspersed between characters' everyday dialogue. Chinese nationalism nurtured by the government authority becomes a basis of the characters' belief system. When discussing how their life in Taiwan has worsened, as compared to life in Mainland China, Father Qin says to his wife:

That [luxurious life] was the life in China back then. The situation is different now. China is hundreds of times larger than Taiwan. Now the KMT government implements a new reform each day. Things in Taiwan are back on track with the increase of agricultural and industrial productions. The agricultural production is increasing. Troops receive more drillings. The agricultural land reform is being conducted. People obey the law and elect local officials. Don't you know that? Everyone in Taiwan should find his or her place. In contrast, our children are dissolute and have no use for our nation.⁸⁴

On one hand, the KMT's social reforms and developments are specified by the dialogue. When audiences hear these lines, they will be impressed by the KMT's political achievements and their relationship with the nation. On the other hand, this dialogue emphasizes that the value of an individual is determined by his or her contribution to the country.

Dingshi zhi jia (*The Affluent Family*) implies that in order to be a good person, one must be a good citizen by making oneself useful to the nation. This explains Qin's fury at his son's attempt to enter a school by using bribery. He shouts that "to buy a school for study is to ruin the root of a nation."⁸⁵ Personal ethics is concerned with the national security. Thus, creating an individual's

⁸³C. Wang, 93.

⁸⁴The original text: 「那是大陸, 此一時, 彼一時, 大陸比台灣還大好幾百倍呢。現在政府天天在革新, 一切都慢慢的走上軌道, 農工要增加生產, 軍隊要增加訓練, 人民要守法, 三七五減租, 耕者有其田, 地方官員由人民自己去選舉。這些難道你不知道? 在台灣的就要各盡其力, 老二老三書不讀, 事不做, 這種廢物拿來做甚麼用?」 See Y. Liu, "Dingshi zhi jia 鼎食之家 (The affluent family)," 22.

⁸⁵Yin Liu, "Dingshi zhi jia 鼎食之家 (The affluent family)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of*

belief system influences the fate of a nation. This is why Qin reiterates the value of sacrificing oneself for the good of a large number of people. Father Qin's self-awareness, developed later in the play, illustrates the implicit anti-Communist theme. He says, "I have had a smooth life till now, so I have never been awakened. After eight years' war with Japan and the loss of the territory of Mainland China to the Communists, we have lost so many things. But we migrated to Taiwan and can still breathe the air of freedom. I finally realize the true meaning of life."⁸⁶

Service to one's nation may include not only the sacrifice of material goods but also the loss of life in combat. All acts are to be done for the betterment of the nation.

Zhao Zhicheng's *Huahao yueyuan (A Perfect Conjugal Bliss)* (1955) is another vivid case. This play demonstrates how anti-Communist concepts are more of a life style than a fight, or a slogan. This play depicts the upcoming wedding of Chou and Zhang. Zhang comes from a wealthy family, and is preparing for an expensive wedding ceremony by buying a luxurious home. In contrast, Tang and Wu plan for a humble wedding in accord with governmental policy. However, Chou and Zhang ultimately cannot afford their wedding. Consequently, they are forced to sell their house to repay the debt, and almost lose their jobs due to their reckless extravagance. The two couples finally decide to have a public wedding and save their money for the national need.⁸⁷ The concept of nationalism is revealed by this statement by the character Wu:

Our government's policy on 'spending cuts' unifies the citizens and soldiers by urging them to work together to tie over hard times. The aim of the policy is the extermination of the

contemporary Chinese drama), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 4, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 63.

⁸⁶See Y. Liu, "Dingshi zhi jia 鼎食之家 (The affluent family)," 135. The original text goes as: 「我可以說是一帆風順, 始終因為環境太好, 一直沒有醒悟過來。八年的抗日戰爭, 接著大陸淪入共匪的魔掌, 我們雖然蒙受了很大的損失, 可是今天依然能遷到台灣來, 呼吸一口自由的空氣, 卻使我明白了生命的真諦。」

⁸⁷Zhicheng Zhao, "Huahao yueyuan 花好月圓 (A perfect conjugal bliss)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 4, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 509-680.

CCP and the recovery of Mainland China. If we spend one more penny, we will lose more resources for the anti-Communist combat. From the second Sino-Japanese War to the anti-Communist campaign, we have been asking people to donate whatever they can. We were so lucky to escape the Iron Curtain and regain our freedom. What more can we want? Honestly, we have to save everything and donate whatever we have to help the anti-Communist effort. If we could exterminate the Communists, retrieve China, and return to our old, peaceful way of life, you young people can do whatever you like for your weddings.⁸⁸

Young people sacrifice their extravagant preparations for marriage, because the nation requires more money and human resources in order to recover of China. What looks like a comic play about personal issues is actually deeply related to the fate of the entire nation.

As the Chinese Civil War ended and people found themselves with materially sufficient lives in Taiwan, the KMT tried every possible way to remind people of the potential anti-Communist war in the future, and encouraged them to keep this thought throughout their daily lives. An example of sacrifice of a person's career for a nation's future can be observed in Zhong Lei's *Zhanghong (Long Rainbow)* (1965), a play about the ambitions of a group of young people in Taiwan. The play takes place in an apartment building, where tenants on each floor confront various difficulties and work toward their life goals. Xu, who is placed in charge of public works, builds an embankment (Dike of 'Firming the Root') and a bridge ('Recovery of China' Bridge). Li serves in an orphanage. Mei volunteers to work for the recovery of China. Lin goes into the army. Cai is sent to Africa by the government to teach farmers agricultural skills.⁸⁹ This 'modern play' seems to describe the progress of these young people in modern Taiwanese society, as they

⁸⁸See Z. Zhao, 148. The text goes as: 「目前政府一再倡導節約, 要軍民一體, 共度難關, 目的在消滅共匪, 光復大陸。現在我們多浪費一分錢, 就是損失一分反共力量。自從中日戰爭一直到反共抗俄, 我們不是一直嚷著有錢出錢, 有力出力嗎? [...] 我們大家能夠逃出鐵幕, 獲得自由, 還有何求? 老實說, 我們要節約, 決心不浪費, 所有力量獻給國家, 一切為反攻。如果將來我們消滅共匪, 打回大陸, 回到北伐以後抗戰以前一樣的安居樂業, 你們年輕人結婚, 你高興怎麼熱鬧都成。」

⁸⁹Lei Zhong, "Zhanghong 長虹 (Long rainbow)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 6, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 147–249.

all select a fitting career.

However, it should be noted that all of these jobs are related to the national plan of anti-Communism and the recovery of China. Through the dialogue, the anti-Communist project is unfolded in varying aspects of life. For instance, Father Lin says, “The name of the bridge, ‘Recovery of China’ Bridge, symbolizes the wish of all people in the town as well as in the nation: “To recover China and retrieve our lost territories.”⁹⁰ He expresses his worries: “If all of children do not enlist in the army, who can save our nation?”⁹¹ These lines show that the previous dramatic practice of portraying anti-Communist combat has transformed into depicting a daily effort of anti-Communism through certain behavioral codes. Once this concept was absorbed as a mission and a daily habit, it became natural and resisted any questioning. This idea can be seen in the words of the young architect, Xu, who clearly points out the purpose of life in Taiwan. Xu, who announces the purpose of life in Taiwan: “Life can never get away from combat. Especially today! You can say: ‘Now is wartime and here is a war battle.’ Whatever you do, you require to keep the spirit of combat!”⁹²

Thus, we can see that the ‘atypical’ anti-Communist plays may not use the theme of war to promotion nationalism, but they still introduce social values that correspond to the KMT’s nationalistic goals. They ask the people of Taiwan to donate to national needs, to dedicate themselves to national duties, and to make sacrifices for the national crisis. Through the socializing practices found in the daily language of spoken drama, nationalism becomes an “active dissemination of ideology” and the “conduct of everyday behavior.”⁹³ Unlike other

⁹⁰L. Zhong, 268.

⁹¹L. Zhong, 276.

⁹²Italics are mine. See L. Zhong, 191.

⁹³Allen Chun, “From Nationalism to Nationalizing: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Postwar Taiwan,” *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 31 (1994): 58.

theatrical forms, spoken drama allows playwrights to dissolve a nationalistic ideology into everyday realism—a realism that depicts a everyday life constantly filled with Communist threats.

Chapter 2

Performing an Omnipresent and Omnipotent Chinese Leader: The Image Making for Chiang Kai-shek

“Preparations for a counter-offensive be completed within one year;
a counter-offensive launched within two years;
sweep the Communists from the mainland within three years;
and a complete success within five years.”¹

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Taiwanese writer Zhang Qijiang could not forget the morning of Chiang Kai-shek’s death in 1975.

The news of President Chiang’s death is his troubling memory. The sky was suffocatingly dark. That day was one of the few remaining days of my dying grandfather, but he seemed to forget his illness upon hearing the news of Chiang Kai shek’s death. He grasped at my father, crying and crying: “We are OVER! We are OVER! CHINA IS DONE!” Father could do nothing but comfort him in a low voice, “Dad, even though Old Chiang (Chiang Kai-shek) died, we still have his son, Little Chiang (Chiang Ching-kuo).” Grandfather replied, “The Little Chiang can do nothing. He has no experience in commanding the army. How can he lead us when we fight our way back to China!”²

In Zhang’s vivid description, Chiang Kai-shek is portrayed as the embodiment of the hope of a return to China to his mainlanders followers. Zhang’s description raises the question of how images of Chiang Kai-shek were constructed, and how his symbolic relationship with China was created in Taiwan after 1949.

In Chinese historical scholarship, there are contending viewpoints on Chiang Kai-shek’s

¹Kai-shek Chiang, *Selected Speeches and Messages of President Chiang Kai-shek* (Taipei: Office of the Government Spokesman, 1952), 37.

²See Qijiang Zhang, “Xiaoshi de qiu 消失的球 (A ball that disappeared),” *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 6 Jan. 1992, national edition: 8. Emphasis in capital letters is mine. The title of Zhang Qijiang’s article, *Xiaoshi de qiu* (A Ball that Disappeared), evokes the author’s melancholy adolescence living under the Nationalist Party government’s sovereignty. See Q. Zhang. The Chinese text: 「所有的報紙電視乃至天空, 一片黑壓而崩亂的回憶。那天也是爺爺在世間最後幾天。爺爺似乎忘了自己的垂危, 整個早上揪著父親反覆哭訴: 『這可怎麼好哇? 完了! 完了! 中國完了!』父親不停地低聲勸慰: 『爸爸, 老蔣總統雖然走了, 但我們還有小蔣。』『小蔣怎麼成? 他連兵都沒帶過, 怎麼帶我們打回大陸?』」

political leadership and his role in his defeat in 1949. Some scholars praise Chiang's contributions to keeping China intact during the Second World War, while others criticize Chiang's authoritarian ruling and his corrupt, undisciplined Nationalist Party (Kuomintang or KMT).³ However, during the 1950's and 1960's in anti-Communist Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek's defeat was completely erased from public discourse. Instead, the KMT government portrayed Chiang Kai-shek as a sacred fighter of the anti-Communist crusade. In the KMT government's anti-Communist policies, Chiang was shown as the 'Savior of China'; only Chiang could defeat the Communist and establish a unified, prosperous China.⁴

In recent decades many Taiwanese scholars have harshly criticized almost all aspects of Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and moral character.⁵ I understand these critiques, which are often justified. But it is still important to understand how the KMT government constructed and

³For example, in order to understand Chiang Kai-shek's defeat in China in 1949, Brian Crozier analyzes the military deployments of the KMT and the CCP, and the lifestyle and personality differences between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong. See Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China: The First Full Biography of Chiang Kai-shek*, ed. James R. Brandon (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976). In Chiang Kai-shek in *Western Historiography*, Guy Allitto writes about negative views of Chiang Kai-shek in Western historiography, due to Chiang's autocratic political style. See Guy Allitto, *Xifang shixue lunzhezong de Jiang Jieshi* 西方史學論著中的蔣介石 (*Chiang Kai-shek in western historiography*) (Taipei: Gufen chubenshe, 1999). Joshua Lin calls Chiang the "refugee tyrant" in Taiwan. See Joshua Lin, "Appendix Five: Formosa Speaks," *Formosa Under Chinese Nationalist Rule*, ed. Fred W. Riggs (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), 189.

⁴In fact, Chiang Kai-shek was already acclaimed as the 'Savior of China' after China's victory in the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The KMT continued to use this title, even after the Republican government retreated to Taiwan.

⁵After the KMT government lifted martial law in 1987, more and more Taiwanese writers and scholars started to rewrite Taiwanese history from new nativist perspectives. For example, in his autobiography, You Liyi argues that the KMT's economic policy on land reform in Taiwan was not simply developed because of Chiang's political generosity. The primary purpose was his political scheme but was also his political scheme to weaken the power of local Taiwanese middle-class land owners. See Liyi You, *Cangsang suiye: Zhongguo de ye, Taiwan de ming, wode jianzheng* 滄桑歲月：中國的業、台灣的命、我的見證 (*Years of sea change: China's karma, Taiwan's life, and my testimony*) (Taipei: Youchen wenhua, 1995), 109. In addition, more publishers, such as *Yushanshe* (named after *Yushan*, the tallest mountain on Taiwan), have started to focus primarily on Taiwanese issues and agendas. Recently, two significant critics of Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, Li Xiaofeng and Chen Fangmin, have attempted to reevaluate Chiang's position in Taiwanese history. For example, see Xiaofeng Li, "Jiang zhengquan fangong kang'e de zhengzhi misi shiliao juyu 蔣政權反共抗俄的政治迷思史料舉隅 (Historical examples of anti-Communist political myths from the Chiang regime)," *Research on Taiwan's Historical Archives* 12 (1998): 45-79; Xiaofeng Li, *Taiwan ren yinggai renshi de Jiang Jieshi* 台灣人應該認識的蔣介石 (*The Chiang Kai-shek that the people in Taiwan should know*) (Taipei: Yushanshe, 2004). Also see Fangmin Chen, "Taiwan xinwenxueshi (11): Fangong wenxue de xingcheng jiqi fazhan 台灣新文學史 (11): 反共文學的形成及其發展 (Taiwan's new literary history (11): the formation and development of anti-Communist literature)," *Unitas* 199 (2001): 156-159.

encouraged the mass adoration of Chiang Kai-shek. In this chapter, accordingly, I want to investigate how he was glorified in cultural productions and national events. I am interested in ‘performativity’ of this process of glorification—that is, the imagery, the visual codes, and verbal descriptions that were used to stage and represent his glorious identity for the people of Taiwan.

This performativity was achieved through a group mindset. Each individual member of the country was encouraged by the government to share the same ideology. Under Chiang Kai-shek’s leadership, the KMT government constructed Chiang as the irreplaceable national symbol of China to the people in Taiwan, including both the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese people. In addition, the government promoted images of Chiang as omnipresent and omnipotent. Chiang’s sacred image appeared everywhere in Taiwan; the Chiang cult of personal idolization was established by the state to indoctrinate people in Taiwan and to ingrain the image of Chiang in the minds of generations to come.

In the Name of the ‘Savior of China’: the Representation of the Political Figure of Chiang Kai-shek

As portrayed in Zhang Qijiang’s description, the Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek represented a powerful promise of homecoming to the mainland migrants. But this image of Chiang Kai-shek, though pervasive in the years after the KMT gained control of Taiwan, was not always the way he was perceived. During the years under Japanese sovereignty, he was not an influential figure to most native Taiwanese people. In spite of Taiwan’s freedom from Japan in 1945, jubilation in welcoming Chiang Kai-shek and his KMT government soon subsided when the native Taiwanese people witnessed the corruption of mainland officials. After the KMT government’s massacre of civilians on February 28, 1947, native Taiwanese people’s anger

toward the KMT government escalated.⁶ The KMT government had to strengthen its hold on Taiwan and determine a way to integrate native Taiwanese people into this new anti-Communist regime. The new political order needed to provide a close link between the leadership and the people. This duty fell to one man, Chiang Kai-shek.

The government decided that the promotion of cultural activities could be one of the most effective ways for native Taiwanese people to become familiar with the image of Chiang Kai-shek, and to become indoctrinated with his anti-Communist ideals. Chen Jiying, the director of a KMT-oriented literary organization, ‘Zhongguo wenyi xiehui (Chinese Writers’ & Artists’ Association),’ insisted that the KMT’s development of anti-Communist literature and art in post-war Taiwan was directly due to Chiang’s personal guidance of the association for writers and artists:

We all know how much our President cares about literature and art. Last year, President frequently summoned the director of the ‘Zhongxuanbu (Chinese National Central Propaganda Department)’ and inquired about issues related to [anti-Communist] military songs, films, dramas, literature and fine arts. The foundation of the ‘Zhonghua wenyi jiangjin weiyuanhui (Chinese Literature and Art Awards Committee)’ was based on the President’s directive [...] When asked who should lead the movement of literature and art, the President replied with no hesitation: “Certainly the movement should be led by our party. By the party-designated personnel.” [...] I told the President that we [artists] would welcome and follow his mandates. He was pleased by my words.[...] I believe that politics, economics, and the military are inseparable. If great politicians and great militarists are fond of literature and art, they will achieve more success in their careers.⁷

⁶On February 28, 1947 (known as 2:28, 2/28, or the White Terror), tension finally exploded due to a conflict between native Taiwanese people and mainlanders, causing an island-wide massacre in which many local elites were arrested and then disappeared. See Hill Gates, *Chinese Working Class Lives: Getting By in Taiwan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 45. In the wake of 2:28, Lin Hengtai, a native Taiwanese poet, wrote a bitter poem in Japanese, entitled *The Masses*: “In the shadow without sunshine/ Green patterns/ Out from the dark and private life/ Covertly produce thousands upon thousands/ Endless and infinite.” Translation of this poem is mine. See David D. W. Wang, ed., *Cong wenxue kan lishi: Taiwan 從文學看歷史: 台灣 (A History through Literature: Taiwan)* (Taipei: Rye Field Publishing Co., 2005), 234. In Lin’s metaphor, the native Taiwanese people are like moss, maintaining a strong will to survive and thrive despite governmental oppression. Details about the 2:28 incident can be found in the Introduction of this dissertation.

⁷See Jiying Chen, “Liangye zongtong tan wenyi 兩謁總統談文藝 (Two meetings with President Chiang on literature and art),” *China Weekly* 79 (1951): 6. The Chinese text: 「總統重視文藝，大家是知道的去年中宣部主管層屢次被召見接受指示，對於軍歌，電影，戲劇，文學，美術等部門，都有詳細的叮嚀。中華文藝獎金委員會便是由總統首

In his statement, Chen's idolization of Chiang identifies the President as the symbol of both the Nationalist party and the state government. Chen provides a justification for nationalized literature and art, and encourages the subordination of these cultural and artistic products to the leader's personal will.

Chiang Kai-shek often intervened, directly or indirectly, in cultural productions in anti-Communist Taiwan. According to Wang Jue, a veteran theatre and film actor, Chiang's son Chiang Ching-kuo (head of the secret police from 1950 to 1956) had two meetings with theatre and film actors in the early 1950's. The 'Zhonghua mingguo fangong kang'e dianying xiju xiehui (Anti-Communist Motion Picture and Drama Association)' was therefore founded in 1957, as a result of the meetings.⁸ Wang notes that the talks were held at Chiang's private mansion. Also the historian Lin Guoxian has discovered that Chiang Kai-shek hosted many of the KMT government's meetings about cultural propaganda in the 1950's.⁹ Chiang's influence largely directed the content of anti-Communist slogans presented in promotional publications. In the KMT government's anti-Communist policies, Chiang was the ultimate decision maker about what was made public. In other words, it was not only the KMT government's anti-Communist policy that shaped Chiang Kai-shek's public representation. It was also the image of Chiang Kai-shek that helped to shape the nationalist mission to unify a divided China.

先提倡 [...]。中國文藝協會自成立以來，所有工作，經常得到總統間接和直接的鼓勵 [...] 關於究竟應該誰領導文藝運動一節，總統毫不遲疑地說：『當然由黨來領導』，由黨指定的人來領導！』我進一步解釋 [...] 總統的指示我們樂於接受也必能遵守。總統表示滿意。[...] 同時我更相信文藝與政治，經濟，軍事有不可分性，大政治家與大軍事家如果常常接近文藝，他的功勳業績必更光輝燦爛。」

⁸See Yuzheng Shao, *Liuzhu huaju lishi de biaoyan yishujia* 留住話劇歷史的表演藝術家 (*Performers who capture the history of Chinese spoken drama in Taiwan*) (Taipei: Asiapac Books, 2001), 66. The original text of actor Wang Jue is as follows: 「民國四十年初，經國先生重視文化宣傳，打算組織影劇工作者，為社會服務，於是邀集古軍，王珽，威莉，吳驚鴻，藍天虹等十餘人，在中山北路四條通蔣公館會談兩次，中華民國反共抗俄電影戲劇協會（現在的中華民國影劇協會），就是從那兩次會談中組成的。」

⁹Guoxian Lin, "Yijiu wuling niandai fangong dalu xuanchuang tizhieh de xingcheng 一九五〇年代反攻大陸宣傳體制的形成 (The formation of propaganda in order to reconquer the mainland in the 1950's)," Diss., National Chengchi University, Taiwan, 2009.

Given the official supervision of anti-Communist cultural activities, the direct representation of Chiang Kai-shek was a highly sensitive issue that turned into a political taboo. Any direct action or vague implication that served to damage Chiang Kai-shek's image as an impeccable *lingxiu* (a great national leader) would invite severe punishment. To monitor potentially improper on-screen images of Chiang, the 'Xinwenju (Government Information Office),' under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, established the 'Dianying jiancha chu (Department of Film Censorship)' in 1955.¹⁰

The government censored any film—Taiwanese or foreign—that portrayed a leader in negative terms. The fear was that such a representation might be interpreted as a surrogate version of Chiang Kai-shek. A well-known example was the film *Désirée* (1954), starring Marlon Brando, which represented the supposed love affairs of the emperor Napoleon. The official association conducting film censorship accused the film of being a biting satire of President Chiang, because of implications about Chiang's dictatorship and youthful sexual scandals.¹¹ The film was quickly banned. Some films were censored because they did not present the correct image and spirit of the great leader. For example, one film was removed from cinemas because of shadowy spots seen on the face of Chiang Kai-shek; 'Dianying jiancha chu (Department of Film Censorship)' that governed the film industry claimed these damaged his image as a national leader.¹²

¹⁰It was in the same year that the KMT government launched the anti-Communist cultural campaign called "Zhandou wenyi (Combat Literature and Art)," as directed by Chiang Kai-shek. See Liang Liang, *Kanbujian de dianying: bainian jinbian daguan* 看不見的电影：百年禁片大觀 (*The unseeable: list of banned films over the last hundred years*) (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2004), 176.

¹¹It has always been rumored that young Chiang frequently visited brothels. It is also said that Chiang abandoned his legal wife because he wanted to marry Song Mei-ling (later as Madame Chiang), whose powerful and wealthy family could help Chiang achieve his successful political career. For example, please see Xianwen Zhang, *Jiang Jieshi quanchuan* 蔣介石全傳 (*The complete biography of Jiang Jieshi [Chiang Kai-shek]*), vol. 1, 2 vols. (Henan: Henan rennin chubanshe, 1996), 54.

¹²Wanxiang Zheng, "Zhanhou Taiwan dianyuin guanli tixi zhi yanliu (1950-1970) 戰後台灣電影管理體系之研究 (Research on the administrative system of cinema in post-war Taiwan from 1950 to 1970)," MA. thesis, National Central University, Taiwan, 2001, 45.

The censorship efforts that safeguarded Chiang's nationalist image became much stricter during major national events. Cheng Zhuru, an important Taiwanese news anchor, pointed out that during Chiang's presidency, any negative reporting was prohibited from appearing on any public media during nationwide holidays.¹³ The control over censorship escalated on October 31st (Chiang Kai-shek's birthday), when the government would remove images and words that implied any possibly insult or negative meaning. This policy resulted in absurd omissions. For example, even film titles might be censored to remove supposedly suspect words: *The Memory of a Killer* became *The Memory of a **, and *Wait Until Dark* was condensed to *Wait Until **.¹⁴

Cheng, the newscaster, has also described an incident when a national TV station accidentally inserted a subtitle for a drama into a scene of Chiang Kai-shek waving to the people. It read: "It is no good, Big Brother." The KMT's security bureau immediately investigated this mistake, describing it as a Communist plot to publicly criticize the leader (Big Brother) and terrify the people (Taiwan is no good). After the investigation, the staff members who were involved in the mistake were punished.¹⁵ At that time, the Taiwanese understanding of the world was primarily constructed by official representations, often filled with these absurd erasures.

The construct of Chiang Kai-shek as the only 'Savior of China' was gradually established by the KMT government in anti-Communist Taiwan, often through his own declarations. During his presidency of nearly thirty years (1950-1975), Chiang Kai-shek never forgot to remind his fellow countrymen—in Taiwan and all over the world —of his efforts to restore Mainland China.

¹³There are a series of important national holidays on Taiwan in October. October 10, commonly called the Double Tenth Day, is the national day that marks the founding of Republican China. The Retrocession Day of Taiwan is on October 25, the day that celebrates Taiwan's return to China from Japan in 1945. The culmination of October celebrations is Chiang Kai-shek's birthday on October 31.

¹⁴Zhuru Cheng, *Yingguanmu qian: Cheng Zhuru dianshi shengya huiyilu*. 螢光幕前：盛竹如電視生涯回憶錄 (*On the silver screen: Cheng Zhuru's memoir of his TV career*) (Taipei: The Journalist, 1995), 41.

¹⁵Z. Cheng, 41.

Chiang's political dominance over Taiwan became firmly ingrained in the minds of the people through the repetitive nature of his performative statements. At major national events, Chiang presented himself (or was presented by the state media) as a representative of Nationalist China, unified as Mainland China before 1949. For example, in his "New Year's Message to the Nation" in 1950, Chiang exhorted his leadership to his "450 million fellow countrymen" to accept him as the symbol of China.¹⁶ He proclaimed that he sought the loyalty of all Chinese people, no matter where they lived." As American political scientist Murray Edelman pointed out,

When an individual is recognized as a legitimate leading official of the state, he becomes a symbol of some or all the aspects of the state: Its capacity for benefiting and hurting, for threatening and reassuring. His acts, for this reason, are public in character. They are perceived as having significant, strong enduring [and] indirect consequences for a large numbers of people.¹⁷

Chiang identified himself with 'Free China' (including the yet to be regained Communist China), despite the fact that China was in the hands of the CCP. Therefore it was hard for people in Taiwan to separate Chiang Kai-shek—the incarnation of China—from the ideology of China, both materially and spiritually.

Chiang's dictatorial manner as a national leader was demonstrated in various propagandist artifacts. For instance, poet Pi Mingwang's ode rephrases the defeat of 1949 in China that "Our 1949 failure in Mainland China resulted from our partial loyalty to our *lingxiu* [...]. Today, in addition to our reverence to our *lingxiu* [...] we should place our freedom, happiness, and even our lives in the hands of our *lingxiu*. Take the *lingxiu*'s will as our own will and his actions as our

¹⁶See Zhongming Liang, ed., *Women weida de lingxiu* 我們偉大的領袖 (*Our great leader*) (Taipei: Xin zhonghua wenhua chubanshe, 1954), 218. In 1950, Taiwan's population was about 7.65 million, compared to 450 million people in Mainland China. See Daozhang Jiang, "Renkou chengzhang yu guotu ziyuan 人口成長與國土資源 (Population growth and national resources)," *Center of Teacher Education, Chinese Culture University* (Aug. 1, 1999), 20 Jan. 2012 <<http://w3.sce.pccu.edu.tw/land/lctx10.htm>>.

¹⁷Murray J. Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 73.

actions.”¹⁸ Pi absolved Chiang of any fault, obscuring historical fact by blaming the people for the defeat in China.¹⁹ He reinforced the concept that the nation, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, demanded complete loyalty to the *lingxiu*. This code of loyalty therefore diminished, even eliminated, any possibility of individuality. To obey the *lingxiu* negates one’s sense of self.²⁰ This process integrated the individual into a bigger group. By this means, the process created a sense of love for the leader and the nation he symbolizes.

The use of this term *lingxiu* that referred to Chiang Kai-shek helped to establish the Chiang cult in anti-Communist Taiwan. Obedience to the *lingxiu*, and integration into a coherent nation, involved the public in performances of their loyalty. National celebrations became elaborate spectacles in which people demonstrated their reverence toward Chiang. Through national celebrations for Chiang’s birthday, the National Birthday, and the Retrocession Day of Taiwan, the KMT government designed public performances in which people demonstrated their love for the nation and especially for Chiang Kai-shek who proclaimed Chinese identity for everybody in Taiwan, including the ethnic people.

Every year, during major events in Taiwan, the front pages of the newspapers displayed photographs of Chiang Kai-shek standing on the balcony of the Presidential Palace and waving to a crowd of patriotic citizens (Figure 2.1). These photographs sent an important visual message

¹⁸See Mingwang Pi, “Women gai zenyang xiaozhong lingxiu 我們該怎樣效忠領袖? (How to be loyal to our leader?)” *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 31 Oct. 1951, national edition: 7. The original text: 「我們在大陸上為什麼會失敗? 我以為主要的原因, 這是我們對領袖未能盡忠效命, 所造成的後果, 所以, 我們今天除向領袖虔誠的懺悔外, 我們該怎樣效忠領袖 [...] 把個人的自由, 幸福, 乃至生命, 都交給領袖, 以領袖的意志為意志, 以領袖的行動為行動。」

¹⁹As E. J. Taylor addresses, these official titles “attribute not to Chiang himself but to followers from a group [...] who sought to promote loyalty to their mentor.” See Jeremy E. Taylor, “The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek’s Personality Cult, 1929-1975,” *Modern China* 185 (2006): 99.

²⁰Y. Antonia Chao, “Guozu xiangxiang de quanli luoji: shilun wuling naindai liuwang zhuti, gonglingyu, yu xiandaixing zhi jian de keneng guanxi 國族想像的權力邏輯: 試論五〇年代流亡主體, 公領域, 與現代性之間的可能關係 (The logic of power in imagining the nation-state: diaspora, public sphere, and modernity in the 1950’s),” *Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 35 (1999): 48-51.



Figure 2.1: Chiang Kai-shek on the balcony of the Presidential Hall, waving to the crowd during the celebration of his resumption of the presidency, 1 March, 1950. X. Li, *Taiwan ren yinggai renshi de Jiang Jieshi* 台灣人應該認識的蔣介石 (*The Chiang Kai-shek that the people in Taiwan should know*), 104.

that contrasted Chiang's exalted position on the Palace balcony with the lowly position of the multitude below. A visiting American journalist described the public spectacle: Chiang Kai-shek is regarded by the Chinese much as Queen Victoria must have been thought of by the English of the last century. [It] was impossible to conceive of anyone else at the helm."²¹

One public performance that particularly glorified Chiang Kai-shek was the military parade on the National Birthday (officially called the Double Tenth Day). An official documentary shows that the military parade held on the National Birthday doubled as a demonstration of military force and a warning to Communist China across the Taiwan Strait.²² During Chiang's presidency,

²¹See "Courier-Journal of Louisville: Man at the Helm of National Destiny," *Chiang Kai-shek president of China: As Seen Through the Eyes of Foreign Friends and Journalists* (Taipei: China Publishing Company, 1968), 130. International news was monitored and censored by the KMT government during Chiang's regime. In order to prove that Chiang was supported by the anti-Communist league worldwide, the state-run publishers selected and printed news that lauded the KMT and Chiang Kai-shek.

²²"Zhonghua minguo wushisan nian guoqing yuebing dadian zhuanji 中華民國五十三年國慶閱兵大典專輯 (The documentary of the 1964 military parade on the national birthday)," *Digitalarchives.tw* (Oct. 10, 1964), 18 Nov. 2011

the military parade on Double Tenth Day was held almost every year. After Chiang died, these expensive military demonstrations were largely eliminated due to budget cuts.²³

Another event that showcased Chiang's unique role as the savior was Chiang Kai-shek's birthday on October 31. Performances throughout the month of October highlighted the Taiwanese people's reverence for Chiang (Figure 2.2). Student parades took place on Chiang's birthday, because Chiang was the president of the 'Zhongguo qingnian jiuguotuan (China Youth Corps),' founded on his birthday in 1952. Newspapers honored Chiang Kai-shek with the Chinese word *shou*, literally meaning 'long life,' placed in the middle of the front page in large font (Figure 2.3). Businesses that took out advertisements on this front page also had to express their respect for Chiang in their ad copy.

To celebrate Chiang's birthday, painters created images of pine trees to symbolize his longevity, poets dedicated their writings to the great leader, dancers choreographed folk dances offering presents of lucky birthday peaches, and performers put on anti-Communist dramas that showed their love and respect for the leader.²⁴ The mass media celebrated Chiang's birthday as if the whole island had taken a break from work. One comic strip depicted Chiang Kai-shek as standing in the middle of a heavenly halo. A group of Chinese traditional gods that symbolize fortune (*fu*), prosperity (*lu*), and longevity (*shou*) send their blessings to Chiang. This image showed the importance of Chiang's birthday, as if its impact could reach all the way to heaven.

<<http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/item/00/3a/1b/50.html>>.

²³See Jionghua Wang, "Guofang yusuan zao shanjian / wufa zhiying pangda jingfe: jinnian guoqingri bujuxing yuebing 國防預算遭刪減 / 無法支應龐大經費：今年國慶日不舉行閱兵 (Military budget cut: no military parade on the national birthday)," *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 14 May 1996, national edition: 4. The journalist Wang Jionghua documents a gradual decrease of military parades on Double Tenth Day each year since Chiang's death. During Chiang's presidency, the parade was held in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1960, 1963, and 1964. However, in 1964, an aviation accident caused severe casualties, so the parade was canceled until 1975. The military parade was resumed in 1978, 1981, 1988, 1991, 2007 and 2011.

²⁴See "Zongtong liujiu huadan 總統六九華誕 (President Chiang Kai-shek's 69th birthday)," *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 31 Oct. 1955, national edition: s0000017 and Y. Shao, 55.



Figure 2.2: In this comic script that celebrates Chiang’s birthday, he wears a long Chinese gown and stands in the middle of the crowd, including military people on his right and left. “Wanmin zhushou tu 萬民祝壽圖 (Thousands celebrated President Chiang’s birthday).”

However, Chiang did not publicly receive people’s acclamations on his birthday. Instead, he made a point of avoiding all celebrations (*bishu*) by retreating to his mountain residence. It implies that Chiang’s power strengthened the power of the state, and helped to achieve the recovery of China. Chiang Kai-shek’s physical absence on his birthday highlighted his spiritual enlightenment. Chiang Kai-shek’s absence thus served to further sanctify him as an honorable leader (Figure 2.4). While Chiang disappeared from the birthday event, his civil and military subordinates set up temporary halls in sites all around the world for people to pay their respects. People streamed into these halls and signed their names to demonstrate their loyalty and admiration. Also, as if they were participating in a national performance, thousands of people got up early and climbed the *Zongyi* Mountain (Mountain of *Loyalty*) to show their reverence to Chiang.²⁵ Thousands of costumed people performed in the street as a way to pray for Chiang’s longevity.²⁶

Besides the public spectacles, the government used anti-Communist films to deliver its message. For instance, *Meili baodao* (*Formosa: The Beautiful Island*) (1953) tells the story of a

²⁵“Gongzhu zongtong huadan: gejie renshi siwanyuren deng zhongyishan chengjing zhushou 恭祝總統華誕：各界人士四萬餘人登忠義山誠敬祝壽 (Over 40,000 people climbed the *Zhongyi* Mountain in celebration of the honorable President Chiang Kai-shek’s birthday),” *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 26 Oct. 1972, national edition: 3.

²⁶“Zhu zhongtong riyu bingshou 祝總統日月並壽 (Long live President Chiang),” *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 31 Oct. 1957, national edition: 4.

newlywed Chinese couple from the Philippines who come to Taiwan to spend their honeymoon. They visit many national industrial sites and see the happy and prosperous people of Taiwan. In the middle of this narrative, a documentary about Taiwan is awkwardly inserted, as if the couple is also watching this documentary. In one episode of the documentary, Chiang presides over the 1952 military parade. Thus, the film spectators, like the young couple, must observe the public celebration of Chiang as a national icon. There is no escape from the propaganda.

The national campaign occurred in every possible form of cultural media. For example, the Military Department of the ROC supervised a documentary about the life of Chiang Kai-shek, which was shown in state-run cinemas in order to celebrate Chiang's birthday. On another occasion, the government utilized a train to promote anti-Communist ideology. A photograph of Chiang Kai-shek was hung on the front of a train that toured the small towns and villages in Taiwan to promote anti-Communist ideals during the 1950's (Figure 2.5).

Temporal and Spatial Capabilities: A Living Symbol of China and the World

The physical absence of Chiang Kai-shek on his birthday did not diminish the praise that he received by means of various textual and visual representations. Indeed, these representations multiplied year by year. As we have seen, the visual representations extended from a large portrait attached to a locomotive to popular comic scripts. And the textual representations, both explicit and implicit, appeared not only in governmental documents and speeches but also in the outpouring of propaganda plays. These plays, along with an increasing number of official films (especially by the 1950's), provide an insightful glimpse into how versions of Chiang and his governmental policies were articulated and disseminated. No matter whether he was physically present or absent, his representations attained almost an omnipresent and omnipotent status in



Figure 2.4: A comic strip showing celebrations of Chiang Kai-shek’s 65 birthday in 1951. On both sides, there are gods joining in the celebration. “Heshan tongshou 河山同壽 (Living as long as the nature).”



Figure 2.5: A train promoting anti-Communist propaganda during the 1950’s. X. Li, *Taiwan ren yinggai renshi de Jiang Jieshi 台灣人應該認識的蔣介石 (The Chiang Kai-shek that the people in Taiwan should know)*, 118.

Taiwan.

For example, Wu Rou's play *Tianzhang dijiu (Forever and Ever)* (1961) depicts the life of a group of mainlanders who had settled in the city of Taipei, yet longed for the abandoned homeland. A major plotline of the play revolves around the characters' hopes for a future return to China. One of the major characters, named Old Wang, expresses their dream of homecoming. This dream depends solely on President Chiang Kai-shek, because he once led the mainlanders to victory in the Second Sino-Japanese War. Old Wang announces his great faith in Chiang Kai-shek.

It has been over ten years since we fled to Taiwan. Our government in Taiwan has been well prepared by the military and the economy. We have faith that President Chiang will bring us back to Mainland China, and that is why we survive till now. Of course, we have suffered greatly, but our present suffering pales in comparison to the sufferings we experienced when we had to flee China, or to the sufferings of our miserable brothers in China. Let us stand up and toast. To our elder and respectable President Chiang. We wish him a long life and hope he will lead us to fight our way back to China in the near future!²⁷

Wang's wish for Chiang's longevity emphasizes the belief that Chiang is the only leader capable of carrying out the necessary steps so that the mainlanders can return home. Without Chiang, the nation of China, including all the Chinese-speaking diasporas, cannot be saved. The act of toasting an absent Chiang can be understood as analogous to a prayer in a ritual, offered to an invisible being or a god even though Chiang was still alive at the time when the play was produced.

Guo Qiang's play *Chuantong (Tradition)* (1955) also honors Chiang, whom the father credits for his lucrative business:

²⁷See Rou Wu, "Tianzhang dijiu 天長地久 (Forever and ever)," *Zhonghu xijuji 中華戲劇集 (The anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 1, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1970), 27. The original text: 「我老頭子說幾句,再敬大家一盃酒。我們逃到台灣十多年了!政府在台灣,整軍經武,生產建設,突飛猛進,我們相信蔣總統一定能帶領我們打回大陸去,所以我們活下來了!當然,我們吃了不少的苦頭,可是我們總比逃離大陸的時候好得多了!比在大陸上那些現在受苦受難的同胞好得更多了!我們大家起來,用這盃酒,恭敬蔣總統他老人家[壽比南山],在不久的將來,帶領我們打回大陸去!」

You have to know that [the success of] my business is not solely my own. It is because we have a capable leader who implemented a successful economic policy—Minsheng (for the livelihood of the people). We should thank our government for what we have today.²⁸

Chiang's great contribution to China and Chinese people is further glorified by another character in the play.

Auntie: Nothing to worry about if President Chiang keeps his leadership role. Our life will only get better.²⁹

These sentiments of the characters reflect the notion that Chiang's inspired ability to run the government is irreplaceable. Although *Chuantong* (*Tradition*) does not directly preach the government's anti-Communist politics, it still emphasizes the vital significance of Chiang by depicting the vibrant celebrations of his fourth-term inauguration.³⁰ By supporting the leader, the characters also accept his anti-Communist ideology.

The emphasis placed upon Chiang Kai-shek is also evident in Wang Shaoqing's play *Qian yu qiao* (*Wall and Bridge*) (1963).³¹ The play takes place in Hong Kong ten years after China was

²⁸See Qiang Guo, "Chuantong 傳統 (Tradition)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 5, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 645-767. The Chinese text: 「你要知道, 這不是單靠我的力量, 這完全是在總統領導之下, 實行民生主義經濟政策的成功。本公司要不是在政府扶助之下, 哪會有今天?」

²⁹See Q. Guo, 665. The original text: 「我們能得到蔣總統繼續領導, 一切都放心了, 以後的日子一定會更好。」

³⁰In this play, the playwright's intent to promote and justify Chiang's unconstitutional presidency is obvious. According to the constitution of the Republic of China established on December 23, 1946, a single person can only be elected president for two terms, each for six years. However, the established ROC constitution did not go into effect due to the rise of the Civil War (1945-1950) and the retreat of the KMT government in 1949. In Taiwan, the constitution was also not effectively implemented, as the KMT launched martial law in 1947. Therefore, from March 1947 until 1987, Taiwan was in a state of martial law. Although the constitution still maintained regular democratic elections, the elections were actually supervised by martial law. Under the pretext that new presidential elections could not be held in Communist-occupied constituencies, Chiang was able to bypass term limits to remain president. As a result, Chiang was first elected as president by the National Assembly in 1948, and was reelected four times in 1954, 1960, 1966, and 1972.

³¹Shaoqing Wang, "Qian yu qiao 牆與橋 (Wall and bridge)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 8, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 531-689.

‘stolen’ by the CCP. In this play, members of the Zhong family choose between two political ideologies. The title’s metaphor represents a biased understanding of the two regimes: Whereas the CCP imprisons people within the slavery of Communism, the KMT offers people an escape to Taiwan, where a democratic government supposedly exists. Characters in the play who live under the CCP’s rule are eager to escape China and flee to Taiwan. As the father does in *Chuantong* (*Tradition*), the father in *Qian yu qiao* (*Wall and Bridge*) extols Chiang’s selfless contribution to a united China:

Now the Republic of China under President Chiang’s leadership has enough power to reclaim China. The CCP is on the edge of collapse. That is why the CCP teaches you to hate Taiwan—only kids would believe in their words. Don’t you understand? You!³²

This play intends to promote loyalty to Chiang for all Chinese citizens who live beyond the confinement of Mao’s government. Unsurprisingly, all characters in the play eventually make the choice to go to Free China—that is, Taiwan. By the end of the play, the father designs a model bridge as a symbolic birthday present for President Chiang, who will lead his people across the bridge or, metaphorically, will provide the leadership that will bridge the differences China and Taiwan, thus unifying all Chinese people.

In these plays, however Chiang is represented, he is portrayed as the revered leader who will triumph over Communist slavery. He will regain the Mainland. But he is never portrayed in the plays or any other media as an actual character who is embodied by a specific performer.³³

³²The original text: 「現在中華民國在蔣總統領導之下, 已有了復興的力量, 共產黨已到了崩潰的邊緣, 他們怕中華民國政府復興起來反攻回去, 所以才教你們恨臺灣, 因為只有小孩子才會聽他們的話, 你懂不懂? 你!」 See S. Wang, 567.

³³This was at least true before the KMT government lifted the rule of martial law in 1987. However, Chiang Kai-shek was first shown as a real character in Mainland China in a 1979 film titled *Ji Hongchang*. The film is about how Ji Hongchang (1895-1934), a former KMT anti-Japanese general, converted to Chinese Communism during the second Sino-Japanese War in 1931. The film intends to show how Chiang Kai-shek’s policy of ‘extinguish[ing] the outlaws (the Communists) before fighting against invaders’ disappointed Ji. Thus, Ji transferred his loyalty to the CCP and fought against the Japanese army to benefit the Chinese. Chiang Kai-shek is depicted negatively in this film. He is described as a dictator, crazed for power and requiring blind obedience from his subordinates. Interestingly, Mao

Instead, he is an idea, a larger-than-life figure. Thus, the sociologist Jeremy E. Taylor describes Chiang as a transcendental figure: “The Chiang cult relied on an official ability to collapse time (by merging Chiang with other ‘great men’), or to freeze it completely (by inscribing Chiang’s name into the landscape and his face into the collective mind’s eye).”³⁴

These abilities to transcend temporal and spatial limitations provide the foundation for the invention of the Chiang cult on the island of Taiwan. In addition to anti-Communist plays set in modern times, the number of anti-Communist historical plays also increased dramatically after the KMT’s move to Taiwan. Titles of these historical plays—*Goujian fuguo* (*Goujian Restored His Country*) (1952),³⁵ *Tandan fuguo* (*Tandan Restored His Country*) (circa 1954),³⁶ *Shaokang zhongxing* (*Shaokang Restored His Country*),³⁷ *Shoufu liangjiang* (*Guo Ziyi Restored Two Capitals*),³⁸ and *Guangwu zhongxing* (*Guangwu Restored His Country*)³⁹—suggest an important

Zedong was performed as a character in Chinese film only one year before Chiang Kai-shek was impersonated by an on-screen actor. It seems that these two great Chinese politicians not only competed with each other in their political career, but also in films after their deaths.

³⁴J. E. Taylor, 106.

³⁵The story was well known to Taiwanese people, at least before the 1980’s, because it was important educational material in Taiwan. During China’s Warring States Period, two countries, Wu and Yue, had been at war for years. The King of Yue, Goujian, was defeated and lost his country. While serving the King of Wu, Goujian lived humbly and was forced to bide his time in his efforts to restore his lost land. After many years, Goujian found a good opportunity to defeat Wu, and finally restored his country. See Zhijun Tan, “Goujian fuguo 勾踐復國 (Goujian restored his country),” *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 3, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 289-320.

³⁶During China’s Warring States Period, a general called Tian Dan utilized his military talent to design a tactic called ‘Fire Cattle Columns,’ which helped to defeat his rival, regain his country’s territory, and restore the king’s son as the ruler.

³⁷The publication year of this play is unknown. However, most of the playwright Jin Ma’s plays were published around 1956. The story is about Guo Ziyi, one of the most famous generals during the Tang Dynasty of China. He ended the An Shi Rebellion caused by barbarian tribes and recovered the two capitals of Zhangan and Louyang. See Ma Jin, “Shoufu liangjiang 收復兩京 (Restoring two capitals),” *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 10, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 289-320.

³⁸Shaokang was the sixth ruler of the Xia Dynasty of China. His father was killed by Han Jiao and Han Yi before Shaokang was born. After Shaokang grew up, he defeated and killed the Han brothers, and restored the Xia Dynasty. It is also said that Shaokang was the first person in the history of China to restore his country.

³⁹Liu Xiu was the founder of the Eastern Han Dynasty and the descendent of the royal Western Han Dynasty. He

focus of these plays. These plays depict Chinese historical heroes who successfully ‘restored’ their lost territory.

Performances of historical plays that told these restoration stories were major events during this period. Veteran performers recall that hundreds of actors from different theatrical troupes were brought together by governmental associations in the 1950’s, in order to perform anti-Communist historical plays.⁴⁰ For instance, *Guangwu zhongxing* (*Guangwu Restored His Country*) was performed on October 1950 as a celebration of Chiang Kai-shek’s 65th birthday. On November of the same year, *Zheng Chenggong* (*Koxinga*) was performed to celebrate the birthday of Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China. In 1953, *Zhonghua hun* (*Spirits of China*) was performed in front of the Presidential Palace. It is an epic Chinese tale spanning the period from the first Chinese ancestor, Huangdi (the Emperor of *Huang*), to land reform efforts in Taiwan in the 1950’s. The story of *Guangwu zhongxing* (*Guangwu Restored His Country*) was also included in this play.⁴¹ In 1956, Li Manqui’s play *Dahan fuxingqu* (*The Restoration Story of the Han Dynasty*) (1966) was performed in celebration of Chiang Kai-shek’s 71th birthday. This play became hugely popular with citizens and was highly praised by the government.

Zhong Lei’s poem, written in honor of Chiang’s reelection in 1951, makes grand comparisons between Chiang Kai-shek and great heroes in Chinese history: “Your business mission of restoring China is like the achievements of that of Guangwu of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and your commitment to reuniting China like the achievements of Hongwu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty.”⁴² The emperors of Guangwu and Hongwu both defeated the usurpers of their

defeated Wang Mang, the usurper of the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC—240 AD), and restored the Han Dynasty.

⁴⁰Y. Shao, 185.

⁴¹Y. Shao, 505.

⁴²The Hongwu Emperor was also known as Zhu Yuangzhang. He was the first emperor to defeat the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty, and founded the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). He was also well known by his temple name Taizu of Ming. See Zhong Lei, “Xinshengri de gesong: qingzhu zongtong fuzhi zhounian sianci 「新生日」的歌頌：慶祝總統復

dynasty, and were restored to positions of great political power. This poem serves to align Chiang with great emperors of Chinese Han history, and conflates his image with other great historical figures who recovered their lost land. In doing so, he would then avoid the repercussions of his 1949 defeat. The poem thus emphasized his potential for success, a success that was linked to the past, even as it looked to the future.

Through the repeated performances of such restoration stories, Chiang's own dreams of restoration could be realized on stage again and again. By evoking and quoting these historical victories of restoration, Chiang and his KMT government were able to put forth a triumphant discourse about his potential victory. Likewise, these appealing discourses could replace the lived history of the Japanese colonization of Taiwan with an exalted narrative of Chinese history. In *Performing History*, Freddie Rokem notes that performed versions of history are capable of shaping collective identities: "By performing history the theatre, at times even more forcefully than other discourses about the past like historiographical writing or novels about historical events, engages in such ideological debates, frequently intervening in them directly."⁴³ By means of powerful acts of indirection, the history plays not only evoke and locate the presence of Chiang Kai-shek in the dramatic action but also re-inscribe that presence in the minds of the Taiwanese people, especially the exiled mainlanders. Chiang may be absent from the stage as a represented character but he is still present as a powerful idea and political force.

Among all historical Chinese heroes in anti-Communist Taiwan, one of the most frequently discussed figures is Koxinga, otherwise known as Zheng Chenggong (1624-1662). Koxinga was a Ming loyalist who stabilized Taiwan as a military base, which was then used to fight against the

職週年獻辭 (Ode to a new birthday: dedicated to the anniversary of President Chiang's resumption of presidency)," *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 31 Oct. 1950, national edition: 11.

⁴³Freddie Rokem, *Performing History: Theatrical Representations in Contemporary Theatre* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2000), 3.

Manchurian Qing Dynasty that invaded the Mainland. The folk beliefs elevating Koxinga as a deity have long been integrated into Taiwanese culture. In his article published on October 25, 1949, which was also the fourth anniversary of the Restoration Day of Taiwan, Li Youbang noted that Taiwan had already served as a base for regaining China during Koxinga's time. Koxinga's story was used to prove the long, close relationship between Taiwan and China.⁴⁴ In another article in 1960, when discussing the relationship between President Chiang and the restoration of Taiwan, Zhuang Jinde emphasized that Koxinga was a pioneer who advocated the concept of revolution in China. The emphasis on Koxinga and his revolutionary actions bridged the political and cultural gap symbolized by the Taiwan Strait, which separated Taiwan and China during fifty years of Japanese colonization. It also helped to justify Chiang's political propaganda, directed at reclaiming China.⁴⁵ The KMT government utilized the historical facts of Koxinga and his life to establish a political hierarchy of China over Taiwan, and of the KMT elites over native Taiwanese people.

The KMT government frequently compared Koxinga to their leader Chiang Kai-shek. Both were great military leaders but they retreated (or were driven) from China and took Taiwan as their military base. Neither gave up the dream of reconquering the Mainland before their deaths. And, as Chiang could likely only understand shortly before his death, both left this dream of restoring the Mainland to their sons.⁴⁶ When visiting Kinmen, the frontline island closest to China, Chiang made a point of climbing to the mountaintop, examining the place where Koxinga

⁴⁴Youbang Li, "Zhunbei fankung talu kuangfu chihti 準備反攻大陸光復失地 (Be prepared to fight back to restore the lost land of China)," *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 25 Oct. 1949, national edition: 11.

⁴⁵Jinde Zhuang, "Zongtong yu Taiwan guangfu 總統與臺灣光復 (President Chiang Kai-shek and the restoration of Taiwan)," *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 25 Oct. 1960, national edition: 9.

⁴⁶Frederick Lumley, ed., *The Republic of China Under Chiang Kai-shek: Taiwan Today* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1976), 130.

played chess as a way to ruminate on his military strategy.⁴⁷ In 1950, a highly ritualized military event passed the torch from the Koxinga Shrine in Tainan, located in southern Taiwan, into the hands of President Chiang.⁴⁸ This torch presented to Chiang symbolized the dream of achieving a successful return to China. Through such public performances, the KMT government insisted upon an inseparable relationship between Chiang and Koxinga.

As Lu Susheng, a native Taiwanese playwright, has pointed out, a large number of plays about Koxinga were produced after the KMT government escaped to Taiwan.⁴⁹ These plays have been written in several different genres, such as traditional Chinese operas, Chinese spoken dramas, and Lu's own reformed Taiwanese operas.⁵⁰ Lu's reformed Taiwanese opera *Yangpingwan fuguo (The Restoration Story of Koxinga)* (1955) won a prize from a state-sponsored literary institution called the 'Zhonghua Wenyi Jiangjin Weiyuanhui (Chinese Literature and Art Awards Committee).' Plays about Koxinga were performed as Chinese spoken dramas in 1951 and 1961, and also as reformed Taiwanese operas in 1955. In addition, the Military Ministry also published a Mandarin play about Koxinga in 1951. From 1950 to 1964, scripts of traditional Chinese operas in Mandarin about the story of Koxinga were also produced by mainland playwright Fei Xiaotian.⁵¹ Lu notes that the number of stories about Koxinga had grown greatly after the KMT government's evacuation to Taiwan because the stories of such a

⁴⁷"Lingxiu zhaopian ziliao jijin 108 領袖照片資料集輯 108 (Photos of our great leader Chiang Kai-shek (108)," *Digitalarchives.tw* (Oct. 18, 1964), 18 Nov. 2011 <<http://catalog.%20digitalarchives.tw/item/00/39/ce/13.html>>.

⁴⁸"Zhonghua minguo wushisan nian guoqing yuebing dadian zhuanji 中華民國五十三年國慶閱兵大典專輯 (The documentary of the 1964 military parade on the national birthday)."

⁴⁹Shushang Lu, "Zheng Chenggong de xiju 鄭成功的戲劇 (Plays about Zheng Chenggong)," *The Taiwan Folkway* 11.4 (1961): 25.

⁵⁰The 'reformed' Taiwanese opera refers to a new style of Taiwanese opera. In the 1950's, the KMT's anti-Communist policy aimed to eradicate any erotic or superstitious elements from traditional Taiwanese operas. Therefore, the Taiwanese elite Lu Shusheng incorporated more anti-Communist concepts into traditional Taiwanese operas in order to preserve the genre.

⁵¹Mijian You, "Lu Shushang he Taiwan xiji 呂訴上和台灣戲劇 (Lu Shushang and Taiwanese theatre)," *Taipei Historical Documents China Weekly* 434 (1958): 15.

great historical hero in Taiwan had significance for the government. This significance would be realized by the victory of reconquest on the mainland.⁵²

However, there was an unintended yet dark irony in these decisions to base the many plays on the life of Koxinga. In comparison to other great Chinese heroes, such as Goujian, Tandan, Shaokang, or Guangwu, who successfully restored their lost land, Koxinga was a tragic hero. After his exile, Koxinga did not live long enough to achieve his goal of restoring the Ming dynasty in Mainland China. Even after his death, this goal was never realized. He failed in his goal of returning to the Mainland; so did Chiang. If the various playwrights had been true to the life of Koxinga, the plays should have been written as tragedies. But the playwrights, the government, the spectators, and even Chiang ignored the actual parallels that should have made them avoid the comparison of Koxinga and Chiang. Instead, they all imposed a willful blindness on themselves as they selected the Chinese tragic hero's story.

Like many other plays about Koxinga created in the 1950s, Lu's own reformed Taiwanese opera, *Yangpingwan fuguo (The Restoration Story of Koxinga: Zheng Chenggong)*, never discusses Koxinga's eventual failure in the restoration of Ming China on Taiwan. Lu's play consists of six scenes, beginning with a scene where the Ming emperor bestows the imperial name 'Chu' on Zheng Chenggong. After receiving the emperor's last name, Zheng is determined to be loyal to the dynasty. However, his opportunist father, Zheng Zhilong, only cares about making money. Chenggong tries to convince his father to serve the emperor, but is imprisoned by his father instead. Chenggong escapes; meanwhile, his father is captured by the Qing dynasty. The Qing dynasty holds Zhilong as a hostage, and forces Chenggong to stop working on behalf of the

⁵²See S. Lu, "Zheng Chenggong de xiju 鄭成功的戲劇 (Plays about Zheng Chenggong)," 25-26. The Chinese text : 「赤禍橫流大陸, 政府遷台以後, 在此時此地演此民族英雄是很有意義的, 我們可看絡繹不絕地鄭成功的戲, 形色各有不同, 但是主張是一致的。」

Ming dynasty. Choosing between patriotism and filial piety, Chenggong chooses the former, deciding to be faithful to the Ming emperor. The story ends with Chenggong's determination to take revenge on the Qing dynasty for his father's murder.⁵³ There is no further stage description after Chenggong's counterattack, as if it had gone smoothly. Like many plays about Koxinga written in Taiwan in two decades after 1949, Lu's play highlights the loyalty of Koxinga to the Ming dynasty, and ignores his betrayal of his father. Lu's dismissal of Koxinga's failure to retake the Mainland helps make the KMT government's mission of retaking China.

While the government took pains to highlight Koxinga's parallels to Chiang Kai-shek, it concealed and marginalized the truth of Koxinga's eventual failure. History under the KMT government's rule was edited and constructed to achieve particular ideological and political ends. During the 1950's and 1960's, Chiang compared himself to Koxinga in order to promote his image as a leader closely identified with the land of Taiwan, and as a respectable, god-like 'Chinese-born' hero and military commander.⁵⁴

While ancient Chinese history was manipulated by the KMT government to establish the relationship between Taiwan and China, modern Chinese history surrounding the founding of the Republic of China was used to confirm that the KMT government was the only legitimate ruling regime of China. Plays such as *Guofu chuan (Sun Yat-sen: the Founding Father of the Republic of China)* (1965),⁵⁵ *Bixiu huanghua (Martyrs of Republican China)* (1952),⁵⁶ and *Zougrong (The*

⁵³S. Lu, "Zheng Chenggong de xiju 鄭成功的戲劇 (Plays about Zheng Chenggong)," 26-28.

⁵⁴Koxinga has been deified as a god in Taiwan after his death; consequently, when pro-KMT artists compared Chiang with Koxinga, they identified Chiang not only with Koxinga's heroic actions in life, but also with his deified personality after death.

⁵⁵Manqui Li, "Guofu chuan 國父傳 (Sun Yat-sen: the founding father of the Republic of China)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 2, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 305-306.

⁵⁶The play is about the tenth revolution of China, which occurs before the successful process of nation building. It focuses on those young people who sacrifice themselves for the founding of Republican China. In fact, the KMT

Martyr of 1911: Zou Rong) (1955),⁵⁷ all feature significant stories of the founding of the Republic of China on the significant day of October 10th (the Double Tenth Day) in 1911. Native Taiwanese people who had lived under Japanese rule for nearly fifty years remembered their inferior treatment by the government, as compared to citizens living in Japan. The 1911 revolution led by Sun Yat-sen was fresh in the post-war Taiwanese mind. It was therefore necessary to emphasize that the Republican China, not Communist China, saved Taiwan from the shackles of Japanese suppression.

In order to confirm the legitimacy of the KMT's the Republic of China in the exotic land of Taiwan, the government taught the citizens stories of revolutions of the Republican China. On the first Double Tenth Day that celebrated the founding of the Republic of China after the KMT government's evacuation in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek announced his intention to safeguard the legitimate nation that was founded by Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party. He stated that, "Only thus can we preserve our nation, both in its form and title, as well as in our national [colors], anthem, and our National Day, the Double Tenth. Only thus can we comfort the Father of our Republic of China [Sun Yat-sen] and the revolutionary martyrs. Long Live the Chinese Republic! Long Live the Three People's Principles!"⁵⁸

government had already published the play in 1939 in China. However, it was re-published in 1952 in Taiwan to promote Chinese ideology in Taiwan. See Shaohua Tang, "Bixiu huanghua 碧血黃花 (Martyrs of Republican China)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 2, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 115-228.

⁵⁷The play is about Zou Rong (1885-1905), a nationalist and the revolutionary martyr of the anti-Qing movement in China. In 1903, he published a small book called '*Gemingjun (The Revolutionary Army)*' that influenced a subsequent group of revolutionaries, such as Chiang Kai-shek. Zou was put into prison because of his revolutionary beliefs. He fell ill and died in prison at the age of 21. In his speech to a literary organization, Chiang Kai-shek pointed out the influence of Zou Rong's book on his thinking, and asked the writers and artists to continue fighting as he had done. See Chiang Kai-shek, "Dui quanguo diyi jie wenyi huitan zhici 對全國第一屆文藝會談致詞 (Speech at the first national meeting about literature and art)," *Xian zongtong Jiangong yanlun xuanji: dui wenyijie de qimian 先總統蔣公言論選集：對文藝界的期勉 (Selected speeches of President Chiang Kai-shek: expectations for literary and art circles)* (Taipei: Zhongyan wenwu gongying she, 1952), 67.

⁵⁸K.-s. Chiang, 10.

On National Day, which commemorates the successful revolution of 1911, newspapers produced an additional edition to celebrate this revolution, as well as local Taiwanese revolutionaries. Artists drew cartoons to help the native Taiwanese people easily understand the founding of the Republic of China, and their relationship with this remote province of China in Taiwan. A series of comic strips highlighted the significant role that President Chiang played in these revolutionary acts of nation building.⁵⁹ For instance, Chiang is depicted in the middle of the map of China, determinedly raising his clenched fist. Underneath is a group of soldiers on the battlefield, led by Chiang to their final victory in regaining China. The comic script ends with Chiang's portrait, rising like a god high above the flags of the Republic of China and the entire territory of China. In the middle of the map of China, it reads: "Restoring China" (Figure 2.6). By employing a visual link between Chiang, the territory, its flags, and the military troops representing statehood, Chiang is translated into the symbol of the nation.

To firmly establish Chiang's relationship with these revolutions, the KMT government both propagated and reinvented Chiang's biography in the 1950's and 1960's. For example, Liang Zhongming, one of the more famous mainlander cartoonists in anti-Communist Taiwan, was commissioned by a state-sponsored publisher to draw and edit a book entitled *Women weida de lingxiu (Our Great Leader)* (1954) in order to celebrate Chiang's second presidential term.⁶⁰ According to Liang, the book is based on the content of a previous book, *Jiang zongtong zhuan (Biography of Chiang Kai-shek)* (1952), which was written by a Nationalist member to promote Chiang's image from his extraordinary childhood to his outstanding power as a national leader.⁶¹

⁵⁹Yi Xia, "Zhonghua minguo jianguo huashi 中華民國建國畫史 (Comic strips about the founding of the Republic of China)," *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 10 Oct. 1959, national edition: 14.

⁶⁰Z. Liang, 313.

⁶¹Xiangguang Dong, *Jiang zongtong zhuan 蔣總統傳 (Biography of Chiang Kai-shek)* (Taipei: Zhonghua wenhua chubanshiye weiyuanhui, 1952).

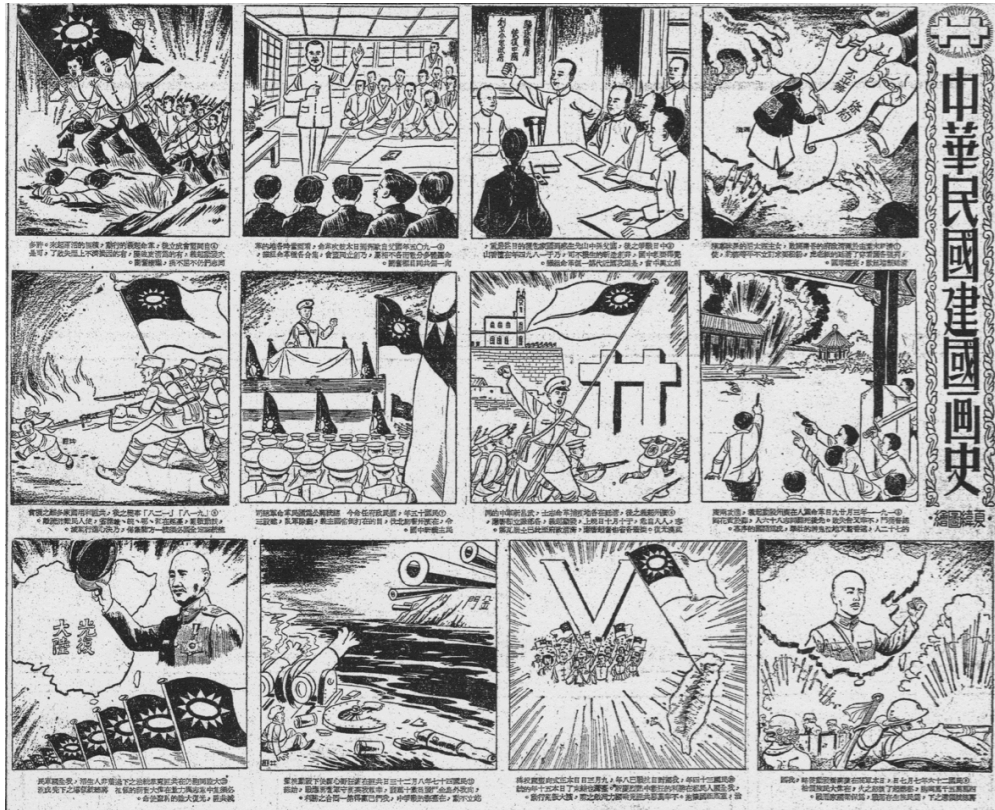


Figure 2.6: A series of comic scripts illustrating the story of the Republic of China’s founding since 1911. Y. Xia.

This utilization of older elements to tell Chiang’s story ensures that the creation of Chiang’s persona remained politically correct. In the author’s acknowledgments, Liang Zhongming offered gratitude to a large group of government officers.⁶² The long list of names demonstrates that almost all of the KMT’s political divisions were engaged in the dissemination of Chiang’s image. Through anecdotes and autobiographies, Chiang and the KMT government achieved their political goal of establishing Chiang as the only capable national leader.

Despite the long list of Chiang’s accomplishments, the KMT government often emphasized four events (relatively unfamiliar to native Taiwanese people) in order to demonstrate Chiang’s

⁶²See Z. Liang, 313. The names in the list include The KMT Secretary-General, the President of the Control Yuan, the Secretary-General of the National Assembly, the President of the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, the President of the Legislative Yuan, the Director of the Education Department of the Taiwan Provincial Government, and finally the Chinese scholar Hu Shih.

contribution to Chinese nation building: ‘Dongzheng, beifa, jiaofei, kangzhan (the East Expedition,⁶³ the Northern Expedition,⁶⁴ the suppression of the Communists, and the War of Resistance against the Japanese Army). Chiang himself insisted upon the importance of these four events: “In retrospect, I must say that in all the most arduous efforts of my life—those of the Eastern Expedition, the Northern Expedition, the suppression of the Communists, and the War of Resistance—I have sought to terminate internal disturbances and end all external aggression that threatened the survival of the Chinese race, that stood in the way of implementing democratic rule under the law, and that damaged the people’s livelihood.”⁶⁵

Chiang and his KMT government brought attention to his great contributions to Chinese history in order to consolidate his irreplaceable position as the supreme leader of China. Even the so-called Lucky Chinese General He Yingqin, who could potentially compete with Chiang’s military prowess, was required to write complimentary articles about these four accomplishments in order to show his admiration for and loyalty to Chiang.⁶⁶ These historical stories stories, as retold by the government and Chiang, repeatedly praised Chiang’s omnipotent and omnipresent abilities that allowed him to save China. Even after Chiang’s death, the image of Chiang’s omnipresent leadership during these major events is preserved in the commemorative song “Xian zongtong Jianggong jiniange (Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Song): “President Chiang Kai-shek, you are the savior of mankind. You are the great hero of the world. President General Chiang, you

⁶³From 1924 to 1925, Chiang Kai-shek and his disciples of the Whampoa Military Academy launched a series of military campaigns to limit the power of local warlords in eastern China. The so-called ‘Eastern Expedition’ led to the consolidation of Chiang’s military power.

⁶⁴The Northern Expedition refers to the military campaign led by Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist Party from 1926 to 1928 to exterminate the local warlords’ *Beiyuan* government, and to unify China under the rule of the KMT government.

⁶⁵Alfonso P. Policarpio, “Confidence in Mainland Liberation is Growing,” *Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Republic of China: As Seen Through the Eyes of Foreign Friends and Journalist* (Taipei: China Publishing Company, 1968), 233.

⁶⁶Husheng He, *Jiang Jieshi chuang 蔣介石傳 (Biography of Chiang Kai-shek)* (Taipei: Huawen chubanshe, 2005), 1029.

are the lighthouse of freedom. You are the Great Wall of democracy. You terminated internal disturbances and ended external aggression that threatened the survival of the Chinese race.” Through the lyrics of this song, the KMT government glorified Chiang’s accomplishments as grand events of international significance, and constructed Chiang as a symbol of freedom and democracy for Chinese people and all mankind.

As with the American story featuring George Washington’s honesty in confessing that he mistakenly cut down a cherry tree, most biographies of Chiang highlight his extraordinary bravery, perseverance and intelligence in his childhood, which predict his great accomplishments in adulthood. In state media, Chiang is described as having been born in a sacred place in Xikou, Zhejiang Province, where many great scholars and Goujian (the Chinese hero who recoved the lost land) were born. Even at the beginning of his life, Chiang’s relationship with Goujian is established as a way to prove his ability to restore the lost land of China. Chiang’s ancestors are portrayed as kind-hearted people who offered charity to their neighbors. When combined with his sanctified birthplace, and his family legacy of kindness to the less fortunate, the stage is set for a leader to emerge. All these stories are aimed at a crucial point: Chiang’s divine greatness. He was by nature the chosen leader of China.

According to Taiwanese scholar Zhang Zhaoxiang, this process of creating significance around the events of Chiang Kai-shek’s youth was a common practice, especially after the KMT government moved to Taiwan.⁶⁷ Two stories of Chiang’s youth that were widely circulated in Taiwan, as well as taught in schools, demonstrated this process of myth making. One of the stories portrayed Chiang’s perseverance, learned from observing small fish that swim upstream

⁶⁷Zhaoxiang Zhang, “Suzao yu chuangbo: aiguo fanri de xuesheng Chiang Kai-shek 塑造與傳播：愛國反日的學生蔣介石 (Image-making and circulation: Chiang Kai-shek, a patriotic and anti-Japanese student),” *Banzhong xuebao* 5 (2006): 175.

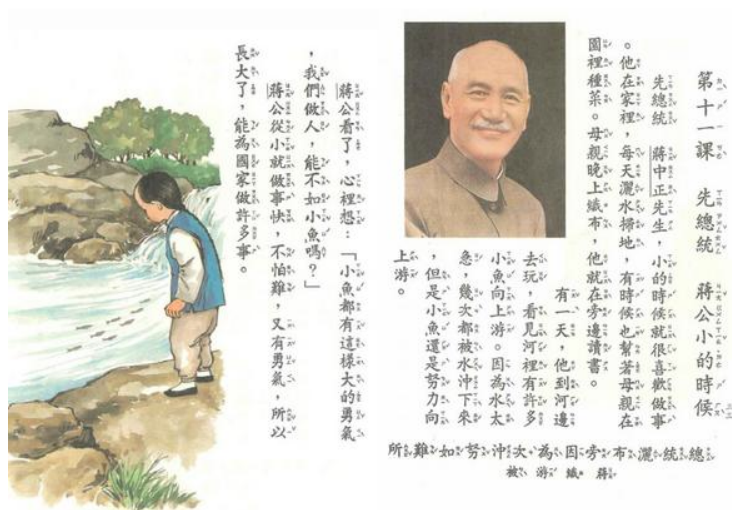


Figure 2.7: The illustration in a textbook showing Chiang Kai-shek's childhood bravery. “Xian zongtong jiangong de gushi 先總統蔣公的故事 (Stories about the deceased President Chiang Kai-shek).”

against the current to spawn. In textbooks in anti-Communist Taiwan, this story describes a young Chiang who was always helpful to his mother by assisting with household chores. While playing by the riverside, Chiang saw the fish swim upstream. He was inspired by the fish's bravery, and decided to become a brave man fighting against the odds (Figure 2.7). However, in Liang Zhongming's version, there is no mention of Chiang's doing chores or helping his mother. Instead, this version adds another detail that is not discussed in the textbook. In this version, after Chiang saw the fish, he tried to challenge himself by swimming in the rapids, and almost drowned (Figure 2.8).⁶⁸ The difference between these two stories reveals how the story was edited and rearranged by the government in order to appeal to different readerships. Liang's book emphasizes the bravery of Chiang to encourage ordinary citizens, while the elementary textbook has to teach young students obedience to their elders, and by extension to their leaders.

Another story that testifies to Chiang's extraordinary leadership described how Chiang

⁶⁸Z. Liang, 17-18.



Figure 2.8: Liang Zongming's version of Chiang Kai-shek. Z. Liang, 18.

courageously challenged one Japanese drillmaster during his studies in Japan.⁶⁹ According to Liang's version, the drillmaster compared 400 million Chinese people to the microorganisms living within a block of soil held in his hands. While his peers were silent, Chiang stood at the podium and responded to the drillmaster's insult by crumbling the soil. He then said: "So if there are fifty million Japanese, does that mean you live in an even smaller soil block?" The story ends with the Japanese drillmaster's embarrassment.⁷⁰ This story showcases Chiang's triumphant victory over foreign humiliation and, by extension, the story also forecasts that Chiang would be a courageous leader. As history shows, Chiang successfully led China to victory against the

⁶⁹"Xian zongtong jiangong de gushi 先總統蔣公的故事 (Stories about the deceased President Chiang Kai-shek)," *Guomin xiaoxue guoyu keben* 國民小學國語課本 (*National language textbook for primary school*) (Taipei: The National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 1985), 23-24.

⁷⁰Z. Liang, 177.

Japanese army. Also, other students stand in as a silent backdrop, serving as a contrast to the uniquely bold voice of Chiang Kai-shek.

The original story of Chiang's challenge against the Japanese drillmaster includes another deleted detail. This version describes how, after Chiang challenged the Japanese drillmaster, the drillmaster pointed at Chiang's bald head [a feature reportedly hated by Chiang] and shouted: "Are you a revolutionary?" Chiang angrily replied: "I rejected your false accusation; do not distract me from the subject at hand."⁷¹ The KMT government intentionally eliminated the negative image of Chiang's baldness from the school text. By employing Chiang's brave image in textbooks and illustrating his patriotic qualities, these stories successfully establish Chiang as the only qualified leader of China who dared confront the invading foreign forces, even in his youth. Nevertheless, these stories of young Chiang Kai-shek, primarily told by state media between the 1950's and the early 1980's, influenced generations of Taiwanese youth.

In addition to young Chiang's extraordinary capabilities, as described in his biographies, the state media also emphasized the close relationship between Chiang and Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of Republican China. The KMT government proclaimed that a spiritual lineage existed between Sun and Chiang; thus, Chiang was the true heir to Republican China (Figure 2.9).

The connection between Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek was established earlier, during the Nanking decade (1927-1937) in Mainland China. As a way to demonstrate his loyalty to Sun, Chiang reportedly chose a site —“near to, but topographically lower than Sun's remains in Nanking”—for his eternal resting place.⁷² However, after the KMT's evacuation, almost all the physical symbols that would have linked Chiang and Sun were left behind in China. New

⁷¹Z. Zhang, 179.

⁷²J. E. Taylor, 99.

symbolic links between these two men had to be reinvented.

After the KMT government's retreat in 1949, tales about Sun Yat-sen and his relationship with Taiwan were widely told by the KMT. The places that Sun had visited in Taiwan were celebrated and shown as significant to the people in Taiwan. However, the invention of these meanings could be as minuscule as to be absurd. For example, a location in Taipei where Sun took a hot bath was used to remind people of Sun's revolutionary career, and advocate for the KMT government's anti-Communist efforts, even though this site had no relation to Sun's political actions.⁷³

Chiang regarded himself as a faithful disciple of Sun Yat-sen, and relied on Sun's San-min Doctrine (Three Principles of the People)⁷⁴ to build a model of a wealthy and democratic Free China in Taiwan, standing in stark contrast to Communist China. This is why Chiang Kai-shek and other Nationalists decided to designate Dr. Sun's birthday as Cultural Renaissance Day, launching the Confucian movement on Taiwan in response to the 1966 Chinese Cultural Revolution. The symbolic place where Chiang held the meeting starting this movement was the Chun-shan building, constructed in memory of the late Sun Yat-sen on what would have been his 101st birthday.⁷⁵ Before a crowd of fifteen hundred Nationalists, Chiang declared that the building not only commemorated Sun's foundation of the Republic of China, but was also designed to promote the "advancement and outreach of Chinese culture in its full grandeur and refulgence."⁷⁶

⁷³"Guofu zai beitou xi le yici zao 國父在北投洗了一次澡 (The founding father took a bath in Beitou)," *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 10 Oct. 1950, national edition: 10.

⁷⁴San-min Doctrine (The Three Principles) was stipulated by Sun Yat-sen as the guiding principles of the Republic of China, as led by the KMT. It refers to Minzu (nationalism), Minquan (democracy) and Minsheng (people's livelihood).

⁷⁵Chun-shan is another name used by Sun Yat-sen. Chiang Kai-shek also went by another name, Chun-cheng. The words 'chun' in both of their names means center, referring to their traits of fairness and modesty. These names demonstrate expectations placed upon them, and are related to 'goodness' as understood by Chinese moral philosophy.

⁷⁶W. Tozer, 82.

Chiang Kai-shek's association with Sun Yat-sen was established by the state media in historical time, but also in physical space. Jane Portal has described North Korea as: "the whole landscape of the DPRK [the North Korea] is a realm of hyper-reality, a theme park to the memory of the Great Leader."⁷⁷ This is similar to the situation in Taiwan. By the time of the KMT's relocation to Taiwan, almost every city had a main street named after Sun Yat-sen (Zhongshan Road), and another small road, often nearby, named after Chiang Kai-shek (Zhongzheng Road). Many schools, parks, and concert halls were named or renamed by the government after Sun Yat-sen (Chun-san) and Chiang Kai-shek (Chun-cheng). Statues of Sun and Chiang were often erected outside villages and public buildings. In his study of these statues, Huang Youxin finds that statues of Sun and Chiang were often similar in clothing and gestures.⁷⁸ This made it easy for people to identify Chiang and Sun, and further confirmed Chiang's leadership of the Republic of China in Taiwan.

Chiang's statue was usually erected in the busiest intersections, so that it could be seen by more people (Figure 2.10). It is estimated that there were 45,000 statues of Chiang Kai-shek in public venues in Taiwan in the 1950's and 1960's.⁷⁹ Students bowed to Chiang's statue at the entrance to their schools. Major celebrations of Chiang and the nation were held in front of the statues, so that people could express their eternal respect and love to this image of the great leader. It is therefore not surprising that, when Chiang died, thousands of people mourned and burned incense in front of his statue. The government utilized the immortal statue of Chiang to invoke his immortal spirit, while his physical body was absent.

⁷⁷Jane Portal, *Art under Control in North Korea* (London: Reaktion, 2005), 81.

⁷⁸Youxin Huang, "Taiwan weiren xingxiang de fushi yihan 臺灣偉人形象的服飾意涵 (The connotations of images of great people's costumes in Taiwan)," *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art* 19.7 (2001): 71.

⁷⁹X. Li, *Taiwan ren yinggai renshi de Jiang Jieshi 台灣人應該認識的蔣介石 (The Chiang Kai-shek that the people in Taiwan should know)*, 119.



Figure 2.9: Photographs of Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen displayed together in big national events in Taiwan. “Jianggong shish sandhi zhounian fangong gongye zuishou chuansong 蔣公逝世三十週年反共功業最受稱頌 (Thirty years after Chiang Kai-shek died, he got much credit for his anti-Communist efforts),” 18.



Figure 2.10: A statue of Chiang Kai-shek in military uniform erected at an intersection of the capital city of Penghu Province, an archipelago off the western coast of Taiwan. L. Ji, 83.

The KMT government reshaped the collective memories of Chinese history, as possessed by the people in Taiwan, to connect Taiwan and China. Likewise, the KMT government reshaped the landscape of Taiwan through erecting statues and monuments to cast Chiang Kai-shek as an immutable, timeless leader in Chinese history.

In 1952, the inscription ‘Wuwang zaiju (Never forget the time at Ju),’⁸⁰ was etched on the base of Mt. Taiwu in Kinmen, styled after Chiang Kai-shek’s calligraphy.⁸¹ This inscription refers to the Warring States period, when the state of Qi successfully reclaimed its territory, headquartered at the city of Ju. The KMT government drew an analogy between this story and the tension between Taiwan and China, emphasizing that Chiang would likely enjoy success in the future. This inscription has become a sightseeing destination that demonstrates Chiang’s determination to restore China. The KMT government widely circulated a photograph of Chiang standing in front of the inscription, both in Taiwan and abroad (Figure 2.11). Chiang Kai-shek’s son Chiang Ching-kuo, poet Zhong Lei also and many others people in Taiwan also took pictures in memory of Chiang Kai-shek, using the inscription as the backdrop (Figure 2.12). In a poem, Zhong Lei praises the miracle of this rock standing undamaged after a series of bombings.⁸² He uses this as an analogy for Chiang’s determination and his resistance to attacks from Communists, ultimately attempting to restore China.

Due to the efforts of KMT-affiliated associations and pro-KMT supporters, a variety of inspirational anti-Communist slogans were inscribed into rocks on Kinmen, the closest island to

⁸⁰Another common translation of this inscription is “Do not forget national humiliation in time of peace and security.” This translation serves as a clearer reminder to people in anti-Communist Taiwan about the need to recover Mainland China.

⁸¹Xilong Li, ed., *Liangdai Jiang zongtong yu Jinmen 兩代蔣總統與金門 (Two President Chiangs and Kinmen)* (Kinmen: Cultural Affairs Bureau of Kinmen County, 2003), 79.

⁸²Zhong Lei, “Wuwang zaiju benyi duhou 勿忘在莒本義讀後 (After reading the original text of ‘never forget the time at Ju’),” *China Weekly* 528 (1960): 7.

China: ‘Fangong kang’e (Anti-Communist and Russian Soviet),’ ‘Zongxing zaiwang (Hopeful Restoration),’ ‘Haiwo heshan (Returning Our Lost Land),’ ‘Guruo jintang (Strong Fort),’ ‘Rending shengtian (Man can Conquer Nature),’ and ‘Wanshi diantou (Even the Stubborn Stone Nods).’ The underlying intention of these inscriptions is illustrated by one of the inscriptions etched in 1965: ‘Qijie rushi (As Hard as Rock and Stone).’ This inscription comes from Chiang Kai-shek’s name ‘Jieshi,’ meaning ‘hard rock.’ This name implies Chiang’s strong will. However, it also demonstrates that when Chiang’s name was engraved into the rock, he by extension altered the physical landscape, signifying his formidable power. If Chiang is capable of conquering nature, he is certainly able to recover China.

Chiang Kai-shek’s uniquely supernatural power over nature is also demonstrated through visual presentations of Chiang in public media. Photographs show Chiang sitting on the bow of a ship with telescopes pointed toward China, looking far away, or standing on a high mountain, meditating alone. In the documentary *Zhonghua minguo jiuxing: Jiang zongtong (Savior of the Republic of China: President Chiang)*, filmed by the Ministry of National Defense, Chiang is shown standing on top of a mountain, looking down at the people far below.⁸³ When the voiceover describes how much President Chiang enjoys being in nature, the camera angled to show him as a huge figure. Feng Xi, a mainlander literary critic, honors Chiang as “a great helmsman and an immortal giant who rescues the sinking mother China.”⁸⁴ Chiang is transformed into a giant too tall to be seen in his entirety, and too large to be conquered.

Chiang subjugates external enemies with determination, but also takes care of his *tungbao* (national brothers) with kindness; these elements of fortitude and compassion often attributed to

⁸³*Zhonghua minguo jiuxing: Jiang zongtong* 中華民國救星：蔣總統 (*Savior of the Republic of China: President Chiang*), 1979, film, Chinese Film Studio.

⁸⁴Xi Feng, “Weida de duoshou 偉大的舵手 (The great helmsman),” *New Life Daily* [Taipei] 31 Oct. 1950, national edition: 11.

nature are used in myth making around Chiang's image. Ge Xianning, a poet and KMT loyalist, wrote a poem called "Changzhufeng de qingchun (Youth of Mt. Changzhu)" and dedicated it to "President Chiang and those who fight for national freedom."⁸⁵ In this famous eulogy, Ge uses Mt. Changzhu (Mt. Everest), a mighty mountain, as a symbol of Chiang's fatherly greatness and supernatural qualities. Ge writes, "I use Mt. Everest as a symbol / Of your unprecedented greatness in the world. / But what I dedicate / Is not to a god but to a man. / A man who might not be flawless in life, / But whose greatness cannot be denied. / As brilliant as the Sun and the Moon his greatness is. / As floating as clouds his shortcomings are."⁸⁶ When praising Chiang (who compared himself to the "lighthouse of freedom and democracy,") poet Zhao Youpei used the metaphor of a rising sun, later widely used to glorify the CCP's leader Mao Zedong during the Chinese Cultural Revolution in the 1960's⁸⁷ : "Look, look! The Sun is going to rise in China. From the East, the East, the light is coming [...] That is the bright Sun, our President Chiang."⁸⁸

Ge Xianning described Chiang as "the representative of justice and an avatar of truth that inspires people in China, and people all around the world," echoing the KMT government's

⁸⁵ See Xianning Ge, *Fangong kang'e shixuan* 反共抗俄詩選 (*A collection of anti-Communist poems*) (Taipei: Zhonghua wenhua chubanshe, 1952), i. This poem was first written by Ge Xianning in 1941 and reprinted in 1952. Ge Xianning (1908-1961) was an important mainlander writer who supported Chiang Kai-shek and his KMT regime. To express his loyalty to the KMT's anti-Communist policies, he published a book in 1955 that was given the same title as the KMT's policy: "Combat Literature and Art." In addition, he also served as the editor-in-chief of the *Wenyichuangzuo* magazine (*Literary Creations*) (1951-1956) and worked for the semi-official literary institution, the Literary and Art Awards Committee (1950-1956).

⁸⁶ See X. Ge, *Fangong kang'e shixuan* 反共抗俄詩選 (*A collection of anti-Communist poems*), i. The original text : 「我以常住峰 / 象徵著您— / 巍峨崇大 / 曠世無與比倫! / 但我歌頌的 / 是人不是神, / 也許在您生命當中 / 尚帶著瑕痕; 可是無礙於您的偉大, / 有如輝煌的日月 / 微抹上浮雲。」

⁸⁷ The comparison is similar to a famous Chinese song "Dongfang Hong (The East is Red)" that was sung as the *de facto* anthem of the People's Republic of China during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The song was produced in 1950's to idealize the CCP leader Mao Zedong and praises him as the Sun that warms all Chinese people. The lyrics are as follows: "The east is red, the sun rises. China has brought forth Mao Zedong. He works for people's happiness. Hurrah, he is the people's great savior! / Chairman Mao loves the people. He is our guide to building a new China. Hu'er Haiyo, he leads us forward! / The Communist Party is like the Sun, wherever it goes, it is bright. Where there is the Communist Party, Hu'er Haiyo, there the people are liberated!"

⁸⁸ Youpei Zhao, "Taiyang he xuehua: quigzhu zongtong liushi jinsi danchen 太陽與雪花: 慶祝總統六十晉四誕辰 (Sunbeams and snowflakes: celebrating President Chiang's 64th birthday)," *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 31 Oct. 1950, national edition: 11.

construction of Chiang as the only legitimate unifier of China, and a peacemaker for the entire world.⁸⁹ However, Chiang was still merely a man, susceptible to political fallibility and the force of mortality. Before his death in 1975, Chiang never accomplished his goal of retaking China within five years.⁹⁰ Chiang's "fierce resolve," as Brian Crozier has noted, "became an aspiration, then a myth, then a liturgy."⁹¹ That dream of triumphant return remained an unfulfilled prescription during Chiang's reign, and it soon became an empty form during the reign of Chiang's son. When Chiang Ching-kuo died in 1988, while still serving as President, the liturgy had lost its power and control over the people who began to free themselves from their absent leader.

On the 31st of December, 1988, one of the statues of Chiang in Chiayi County was damaged.⁹² During the 1990's, many statues of Chiang Kai-shek were intentionally defaced and destroyed.⁹³ By the turn of the twenty-first century, more statues of Chiang were torn down and removed from schools, parks, and city halls all over Taiwan. Many of them were sent to the Cihu Sculpture Memorial Park at the Cultural Resort of the Jiang (referring to Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo), where Chiang Kai-shek's mausoleum is located (Figure 2.13). Chiang's omnipresence and omnipotence were shown to be confined, trapped by time in his physical body at the mausoleum, existing only in memories of those anti-Communist days in Taiwan.

⁸⁹Xianning Ge, "Zai zongtong de chishixia xiezuo 在總統的啓示下寫作 (Writing using inspiration from the president)," *China Weekly* 149 (1953): 8.

⁹⁰Lin Wei, "Dahui dalu qu 打回大陸去 (Fighting back to regain Mainland China)." *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 20 May 1950, national edition: 8.

⁹¹B. Crozier, 351.

⁹²"Zhang Boya zhishi jiyishi minzhengju weihu guofu jiangong tongxiang 張博雅指示嘉義市民政局維護國父蔣公銅像 (Chiayi county Magistrate Chang Boya asked the bureau of civil affairs to protect the statues of our national fathers Sun Yat-sen and former President Chiang)." *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 1 Jan. 1989, national edition: 3.

⁹³"Zhang Boya zhishi jiyishi minzhengju weihu guofu jiangong tongxiang 張博雅指示嘉義市民政局維護國父蔣公銅像 (Chiayi county Magistrate Chang Boya asked the bureau of civil affairs to protect the statues of our national fathers Sun Yat-sen and former President Chiang)." "Su Qiuzhen luzhong yu chaichu jiangong tonxiang shouzu 蘇秋鎮率眾欲拆除蔣公銅像受阻 (Su Qiuzhen attempted to tear down the statue of former President Chiang, but faced resistance)." *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 10 Dec. 1992, national edition: 4, and "Sunhui guofu ji jiangong tongxiang 損壞國父及蔣公銅像 (Vandalization of to the statues of our national father Sun Yat-sen and the former President Chiang)." *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 20 Feb. 1989, national edition: 10.

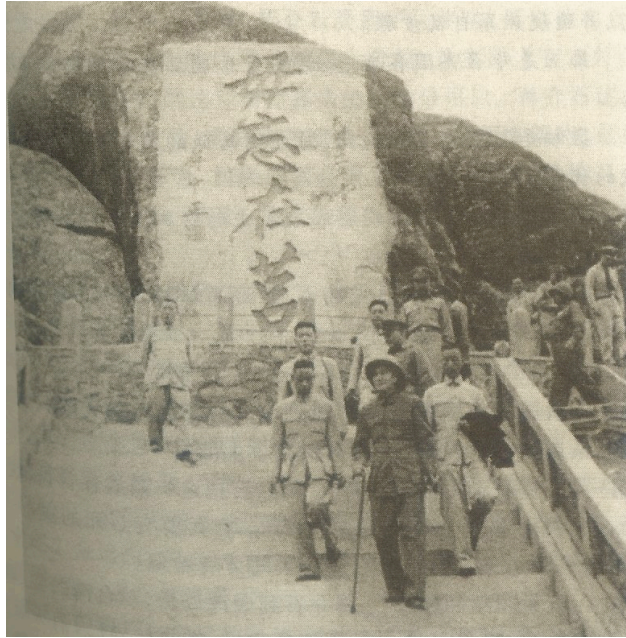


Figure 2.11: Chiang Kai-shek standing in front of the inscription ‘Wu wang zaiju (Never forget the time at Ju)’ etched into the base of Mt. Taiwu. H. Chen, 1053.



Figure 2.12: Poet Zhong Lei imitating Chiang Kai-shek and standing in front of the inscription etched into Mt. Taiwu. Z. Lei, “Wu wang zaiju benyi duhou 勿忘在莒本義讀後 (After reading the original text of ‘never forget the time at Ju’),” 7.



Figure 2.13: Statues of Chiang Kai-shek removed from all over Taiwan and installed at Cihu Sculpture Memorial Park at the Cultural Resort of the Jiang (Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo). Z. Guo.

Chapter 3

Performing a Virtuous Chinese Woman in the Nation Building of Anti-Communist Taiwan

“The female Communist leader claimed that everything, including one’s body and life, belongs to the Communist nation [...]. Men serve in the army, but women cannot. But men have sexual desires and are troubled by them. In order to comfort and encourage men, women should devote our bodies to the nation and to meet men’s sexual needs.”

*Nüfeigan (Female Bandit) (1950)*¹
TIE WU (WRITER)

The retreat of the Chinese Nationalist Party government from China to Taiwan in 1949 caused the separation of countless families across the Taiwan Strait. While the migrant government was eager to set up a new state on this exotic island, in order to combat Communist China, millions of mainlanders forced to move were also longing to find a sense of home. It became essential for the KMT government to funnel people’s emotions about their personal losses into hatred for the Communists, and their desire for home into a passion for their nation. In order to integrate the social roles of the family into the collective role of the state, the KMT government revived and utilized traditional notions of Chinese Confucianism —*xiushen, qijia, zhiguo, pingtianxia* (to cultivate oneself, to put family in order, to govern the government, and finally to bring peace to the world).

Based on the Confucian hierarchy of nation building, the KMT government’s anti-Communist policies highlighted women’s relationship with the family. Women were regarded as important educators in the family. They were tasked with teaching the next generation

¹See W. Tie, 50. The original text: 「婦女會領導者胡天訓話 [...], 在無產階級專政之下, 任何東西都屬於國家, 一個人的身體和性命也不例外。[...] 必須每一個人, 把他的一切都貢獻出來。男子要當兵, 上前線去拼命, 我們女人, 因為天賦所限不能同樣去作戰。但是男子們在前方作戰, 他們很苦悶而枯燥, 唯一缺乏的, 是生理上的性慾調劑, 不能解決, 我們為了安慰他們, 鼓勵他們, 應該把身體貢獻給國家, 由國家來支配。」

proper beliefs regarding Confucian filial obedience and patriotism. Yet in the process of emphasizing women's role in the family, governmental propaganda also confined women within the family, and marginalized their roles in the public discourse to nation building.

In this chapter, I address how the KMT government's anti-Communist policies capitalized on the mainlanders' yearning for home by using women's roles as understood by Confucianism as a way to found a legitimate Chinese government. I also examine how anti-Communist propaganda, such as plays, films and comic strips, represented and reinforced confining roles for women in Taiwan. Likewise, I investigate how the KMT government equated women's obedience to men with citizens' loyalty to the nation. To achieve this goal, the government used characterizations of women's virtue to accuse the Communists of savagery, and manipulated ideas about women's ability to bear children as a way to secure the government's continuity. Women's moral integrity was judged by emphasizing their physical appearances—their physical beauty, dress, and hairstyles. Virtuous women in anti-Communist Taiwan were starkly contrasted with immoral Communist women.

Between Men and Women: The Gender Border of Sexuality

In 1950, one year after China was divided into two states with two opposing governments, *Taiwan Xinsheng Bao* (*Taiwan New Life Daily*) published an anti-Communist novel called *Nüfeigan* (*Female Bandit*). In the preface to the novel, the author Tie Wu claimed that this novel was based on a true personal story that he 'heard from' an ex-Communist female bandit named Lou Yifen after she fled China.²

The novel uses a first-person narrator to depict how Lou is convinced by her lover Li Zihen

²W. Tie, 1.

to join the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Lured by the CCP's doctrines, she severs ties with her family and devotes herself to the CCP's army. The party official, who covets Lou because of her physical beauty, intentionally rejects Li's application to marry Lou. Instead, he assigns Li to marry a less attractive female comrade. Lou is heartbroken. The party official rapes and imprisons her as his sex slave, showing her the true essence of Communism. In the meantime, Lou's father is accused of being a capitalist, and is tortured to death. Her family is completely destroyed. Lou tries to escape, but is caught and sent to the 'weian fu (comfort women)' camp serving the army.³ She finally finds a chance to escape, but has contracted syphilis and is very ill. Near death, she repents and hopes that her personal misery can reveal the CCP's true wickedness, and awaken listeners and readers to the evils of Communism.

As the film critic Huang Zen has pointed out, the novel caused a huge public outcry against the CCP when it was first published in Taiwan. The people in Taiwan were apparently so eager to read the story in the daily newspaper that sales of the newspaper increased dramatically. To explain the popularity of this anti-Communist novel in the 1950's, Huang compares it to the "romance novels of Ch'iung Yao in the 1960's in Taiwan⁴ and the *wuxia* (martial arts and chivalry) novels in the 1970's."⁵ The latter two genres dominated popular entertainment for Taiwanese people in the 1960's and 1970's. Because of the novel's popularity, the story was published as a series of comic strips that attracted a wide audience (Figure 3.1).⁶ In 1951, the

³The term 'comfort women' is a euphemism, which is used to describe women who were forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military during the Second World War.

⁴Ch'iung Yao is the pen name of a Taiwanese romance novelist. Many of her works have been made and remade into TV series and films. During the late 1960's, she published her first novel, *Chuangwai (Outside the Window)* (1963), which was very well-received. Almost all the films made from her works were popular in the 1970's.

⁵Zen Huang, "The Rise and Fall of Taiwan's Propagandist Films," *Eye-Movie* (Dec. 23, 2001), 28 Oct. 2011 <<http://movie.cca.gov.tw/files/16-1000-263.php>>.

⁶See Xia Lao, "Nüfeigan 女匪幹 (Female Bandit)," *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 2 Mar. 1950, national edition: 8. The comic strips first appeared in the *Taiwan New Life Daily* from April. 28 1950. Then it was published on the following dates in 1950: April 30, May 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 26, 28, 30, and June 5 and 12.

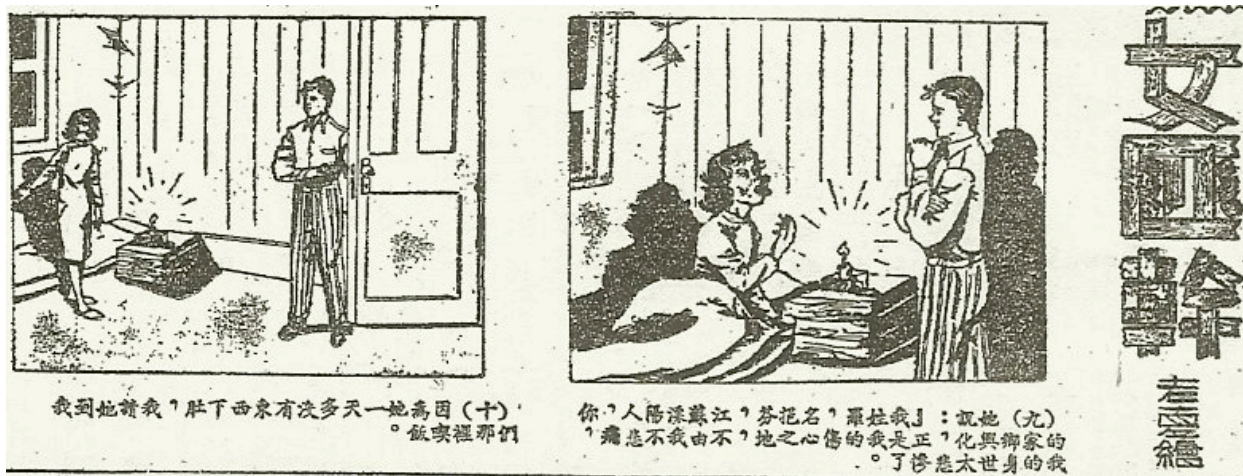


Figure 3.1: Part of comic strips of *Nüfeigan* (*Female Bandit*) by Lao Xia, published in the *Taiwan Xinsheng Bao* (*Taiwan New Life Daily*) in 1950. The female protagonist Lou Yifen is terribly sick after being tortured by the CCP. X. Lao.

state-owned film studio repackaged the story as a Mandarin-speaking anti-Communist film entitled *Emengchuxing* (*Bad Dreams*) (1950) (Figure 3.2).⁷ In order to teach the native Taiwanese people the government's anti-Communist policies, the story was also transformed into plays written in the local Taiwanese dialect, Hoklo, using both the genres of *gezexi* (traditional Taiwanese opera),⁸ and *butaixi* (Taiwanese puppet theatre) in the early 1950's (Figure 3.3).

The popularity of Tie Wu's *Nüfeigan* (*Female Bandit*) can perhaps illustrate how successfully the novel aroused the hatred of displaced mainlanders toward the Chinese Communist Party. The tragic story demonstrated the brutality of Chinese Communism and confirmed the imminent ruin of the CCP. At the same time, the versions of *Nüfeigan* (*Female Bandit*) that the KMT government sponsored as propaganda theatre, films, and popular comic strips illustrated that the suffering and sacrifice of women would be transformed into the nation's

⁷The film was co-funded by the 'Nongye jiaoyu dianying gongsi (Agricultural Education Film Company)' (1939-1954) and the 'Zhongguo dianying zhipianchang (Chinese Motion Picture Studio)' (1933-1995). Zong You, the film director of *Emengchuxing* (*Bad Dreams*), held many important posts in the KMT's organization.

⁸The playwright Lu Susheng adopted the original title *Nüfeigan* (*Female Bandit*) as the title of his play. This play was praised by the KMT government, and became the model for similar types of plays performed by other Taiwanese opera troupes. See Jason C. Kuo, ed., *Art and Cultural Politics in Postwar Taiwan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 126.



Figure 3.2: The female protagonist Lou Yifen (standing to the right) in anti-Communist film *Emengchuxing (Bad dreams)* (1950). “Emengchuxing (Bad dreams).”



Figure 3.3: A 1997 reconstruction of the female protagonist, Lo Yifen, from *Nüfeigan (Female Bandit)*, from the Taiwanese puppet theatre version performed in 1956. “‘Nüfeigan (xiaodan)’ 「女匪幹 (小旦) (The Taiwanese puppet *Nüfeigan (Female Bandit)*.”

spiritual awakening and triumph over Communism.

Like *Nüfeigan (Female Bandit)*, anti-Communist theatre and film, along with other visual presentations, made these physically brutalized women central to the public discourse. For example, the majority of anti-Communist plays usually required the sacrifice of a woman. Women in anti-Communist plays regularly testified to brutality at the hands of the despicable CCP and described their being sexually violated by the Communists. Most plots offered variations on a basic story. For example, in a standard narrative, a happy young married couple is separated by the Chinese Civil War. A Communist covets the beautiful woman, and she commits suicide to protect her virtue. Finally, her husband, who is serving in the KMT army, kills the Communist, exacting revenge for her.

Variations on this plot can be observed in many anti-Communist plays. Wu Ruo's *Lisan shija (Disporic Family)* (1957) and Liu Yin's *Tianlunlei (Debt of Love)* (1953) represent two of the typical plots.⁹ Wu Ruo's *Lisan shija (Disporic Family)*, adapted from a novel by the renowned writer Chen Chiying, depicts a traditional large Fan family (including the families of the Elder Master, the Second Master and the Third Master) that was effectively destroyed by the CCP in Peking in 1945.¹⁰ The action centers on the wife, Tao Ping, who must sell her own dowry in order

⁹Rou Wu, "Lisan shija 離散世家 (Disporic family)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 9, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 103–244.

¹⁰Peking was the old name of Beijing before September 1949. In fact, the naming of the old city Peking also reflects a political power transfer in politics. In Chinese history, three dynasties—Yuan, Ming and Qing—all located their capital city in Peking, but imposed a distinct name on the city. In the late fourteenth century, the city was named Peking. In 1403, Peking was changed to Beijing. In 1911, Beijing was established as the Republican of China's (ROC) capital city. In 1927, when the KMT government moved its capital to Nanking, Beijing was renamed as Peking again. In 1949, when the CCP founded the People's Republic of China, Peking was once again changed back to Beijing. See Jianming Zhang and Qi Dachi, *Huasho jingshang 話說京商 (Stories of Beijing Merchants)* (Beijing: Zhonghua gongshang lianhe chubanshe, 2006), 7. Because of the ideology behind the naming, writers who migrated with the KMT government to Taiwan still called Beijing by the old name Peking in order to show their nostalgia and patriotism. Please see Rushan Qi, *Peking 北平 (Beijing)* (Taipei: Zhengzong Bookstores, 1957) and Haiyin Lin, *Chengnan jiushi 城南舊事 (My memories of old Beijing)* (Taipei: Erya chubanshe, 1960).

to pay the expenses of her family because the young men had been drafted into the army. After several traumatic events, she realizes how horrific the CCP truly is, and poisons herself. By the end of the play, the Fan family has been completely broken. In addition to Tao Ping, there are many female characters in the play whose tragic endings are due to the evil CCP. Meifeng, the family maid, is raped by a Communist; her parents are also tortured to death by the CCP. In contrast, the Second Master's daughter, Zhiyie, becomes a Communist and inflicts the wickedness of the CCP on her own family members. To achieve her evil schemes, she even uses her body to entice men into committing crimes.

This play demonstrates that traditional familial relationships are entirely destroyed by Communism. Under the CCP's rule, people become greedy, turning their backs on traditional values. Fathers, such as the Third Master Fan who becomes prosperous through illegal profits, fail to honor their established values and responsibilities, and daughters, such as Zhiyie who joins the CCP, abandon their traditional place in the family. Like many other anti-Communist plays, this play offers the lesson that if the individual cannot recognize the truly evil essence of the CCP, neither the individual nor the nation has a chance to survive. This idea is also expressed in the old Chinese saying: "Fuchao zhixia wu wanluan (When a bird's nest is overturned, no egg can remain intact)." The decline of family values and structure is necessarily followed by the government's ruin.

In this play, the individual and the nation abide by and follow strict gender roles. When the nation is in crisis, men commit themselves to their military roles and swear loyalty to the nation; women, in turn, commit themselves to their roles in the home and family. If they are fortunate, they can follow their husbands to a free place, like Taiwan; if not, they necessarily have to end their own life, in order to preserve their virtue and their family's honor.

One of the most wicked characters in this play is the woman Zhiyie. She suppresses the virtuous female characters, disobeys her parents, and betrays her family. She symbolizes the vilest qualities of the CCP, and becomes the root of the family's decay. Zhiyie's actions demonstrate that if a woman disobeys Chinese morality and accepts the CCP's evil doctrines, she will become evil and dangerous. She is even more horrible than a man because of her greater violation of traditional understandings of womanhood. The play insists that a proper woman, in contrast to Zhiyie, heeds the Chinese teachings of sexual abstinence and remains loyal to her husband. By means of proper moral behavior she is both a good wife and a respected citizen. Chinese traditional ethics thus separate the family and the nation, real and fake women, good and bad families, humans and savages, and free and caged people, represented respectively by the KMT and the CCP.

A similar Chinese moral lesson is also evident in Liu Yin's *Tianlunlei (Debt of Love)*. The play is set in the summer of 1949, the year of China's division, after the Communist army had crossed the Yangtze River. The Wangs are a traditional Chinese family that heeds Confucian doctrines. After being away from his family for twelve years, the only son in the family, Wang Qi, returns home as a Communist leader. While he is away, his wife, Suzheng, has remained at home, caring for his aging parents. But Wang has taken a Communist comrade, Sheng Jing, as another wife. After the CCP's brutality is unleashed upon the Wang family, Wang finally realizes the nefarious nature of the CCP, but is unable to leave the party. In order to protect themselves from being sexually assaulted, the wife and the mother both commit suicide. Finally, an anti-Communist guerrilla team defeats the CCP. The leader of the squadron confirms his dedication to fighting the CCP, and an anti-Communist song echoes in the air.¹¹

¹¹Yin Liu, "Tianlunlei 天倫淚 (Debt of love)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji*

Liu Yin's *Tianlunlei (Debt of Love)* also depicts how the CCP uses treachery to ruin a traditional Chinese family, and how an individual's life is closely linked to national fate. When the CCP crossed the Yangtze River in order to attack the Wang family, they are about to break the Confucian moral line in a symbolic way. However, compared to Wu Ruo's *Lisan shija (Disporic Family)*, Liu Yin's *Tianlunlei (Debt of Love)* further exposes the distinct sexual boundaries between virtuous women and lecherous women. It provides a moral lesson that, once women leave the private sphere and step into the public sphere of politics, their inevitable spiritual pollution will be embodied in their physical degeneration, namely their sexual denigration. In contrast to the virtuous women that the KMT honors, the women in the CCP are marked by wild sexuality, an untamed animalistic behavior. Two opposing extremes of women's physical virtue represent two different moral standards of the opposing parties, the Nationalist and the Communist. This play illustrates that the Nationalists are committed to maintaining the purity of women's bodies, while the Communists are committed to polluting women's bodies and corrupting their minds. Women's bodies are transformed into a metaphor for the national dignity.

Between Man and Monster: The Borders of Female Bodies and National Dignity

Women's bodies have often been used symbolically in Chinese literature and politics to represent the nation, its dignity and its destiny. This symbolic mode, which operates in the arts of many nations, is common when a country or people is invaded by foreigners. In fact, women's bodies being used to represent a nation's dignity and destiny was not a new occurrence in Chinese literature, especially when China encountered foreign invaders. For example, when China faced

liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 7, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 407–582.

threats from the West and Japan, the miserable state of women's lives was often used to symbolize the nation's humiliation.¹² After the Nanking Massacre (also known as the Rape of Nanking) in 1937, photographs of raped women were exhibited by the government to reveal Japan's horrible violence against women. Stories about the sexual brutality of the Japanese army were distributed among the Chinese people. The government hoped to stir up the anger of men and to inspire them to expel the foreign forces from Chinese soil. As scholar Liu Lydia H. points out, "the raped woman often serves a powerful trope in anti-Japanese propaganda. [Women's] victimization is used to represent—or more precisely—to eroticize China's own plight."¹³

In her study of stories of women's virtue in late Ming China, Katherine Carlitz observes that at least four major types of women's stories were circulated in popular literature: "filial piety, virginity, resistance to remarriage, and resistance to rape."¹⁴ The morally pure bodies of women prevented the patriarchal lineage from being polluted by any impure, exotic blood from the barbarian Qing dynasty. Women's resistance to invasion, and their assumed loyalty symbolized by their virginity, reassured men's belief in their pure lineage. Women's bodies have always been "a site or theatre used by the imperium to constitute itself, asserting the impenetrability of its borders, undergirding the idealized Chinese pyramid of loyalties."¹⁵ By dedicating themselves to the patriarchal codes, the women expressed their their loyalty to men and to their country governed by men. Women's bodies thus demarcated a distinct line between civilized Chinese

¹²See Gail Hershatter, *Women in China's Long Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive: University of California Press, 2007), 86 and Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, "Introduction," *Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China*, ed. Mayfair Mei-Hui Yang (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 18.

¹³Lydia H. Liu, "The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse: Manchuria in Xiao Hong's Field of Life and Death," *Body, Subject & Power in China*, ed. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 161.

¹⁴Katherine Carlitz, "Desire, Danger, and the Body: Stories of Women's Virtue in Late Ming China," *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State*, ed. Christina K. Gilmartin et. al (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1994), 111.

¹⁵K. Carlitz, 111.

people and eroticized non-Chinese cultures, whether they were Westerners, Japanese, or barbarian Mongolians and Manchurians from the border areas of China. In other words, the bodies of women were identified as a site or location for the performance of an ideal Confucian morality that was derived from the Chinese Han civilization. This transformation of the private identity of a woman into the public identity of national morality used women's bodies as tokens of legitimacy for the male-dominated society.

In a similar manner, the competition between the KMT and the CCP was reenacted symbolically as a political conflict between civilized Chinese people and non-Chinese invaders. In 1949, the Nationalist Party transferred the capital of the Republic of China (ROC) to Taiwan, establishing a new political base in order to counter the Chinese Communist's People's Republic of China (PRC). Competition for creating the only possible legitimate China was heated. The Communists controlled the most people and the largest physical territory. But the defeated Nationalists owned the majority of art treasures, shipped from the former Forbidden City in Peking and placed in the Taipei National Museum Palace.¹⁶ The Nationalists also claimed to be the party that terminated the Manchu Qing dynasty, restored the Han lineage, and founded the first modern government in China. Inevitably, the advantage of the Nationalists was to stress its legitimacy in Chinese-Han history and promote their domination of Chinese cultural heritage.

In contrast to the CCP's perceived cultural destruction of Chinese traditions, especially during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the KMT government in Taiwan claimed to be the guardian of Chinese culture, particularly Confucianism. On July 28, 1967, shortly after the Cultural Revolution, President Chiang Kai-shek launched the Movement for Chinese Cultural

¹⁶J. C. Kuo, 4.

Renaissance in Taiwan.¹⁷ In this movement, Confucian morality was further reinforced as a cultural and ideological legacy from the Han Dynasty. The notion of *li* (ritual and etiquette) defined proper human behavior, and distinguished the civilized Han Chinese from the bloodthirsty Barbarians (non-Han people).

One of the KMT's strategies to monopolize the ideological position of legitimate China was to separate Nationalist China's humanity from Communist China's bestiality. This division of good from evil was thus derived from Confucian morality. As Myron L. Cohen states: "From the elite Confucian [...] perspective *li* was indeed a civilizing force."¹⁸ The KMT labeling the Communists as *shou* (animals) indicated their savagery. The alleged distinction between human and animal, and Nationalist and Communist, denied the latter's Han-Chinese identity and singled out the former as the solely legitimate leader of China.

In Taiwan's textbooks from the 1950's to the 1980's, the Chinese Communists were called *gongfei*.¹⁹ The term *fei* literally means rebels or bandits, often characterized as violent and brutal, and without basic human dignity. In Taiwan, an official gazette from 1951 stipulated that the naming of Communists should "comply with the regulations made by the KMT Central Reform Committee. All Communists should be called *gonfei* or *Zhu-Mao feibang*. [...] All Communist soldiers are called *feijun*."²⁰ Furthermore, the KMT government only used the ancient phrase *hanzeibuliangli* to express its hostility toward the CCP. On the one hand, this phrase means that the legitimate government cannot be reconciled with the opposing group of traitors. On the other

¹⁷See Yuang Chung Teng, "The Cultural Development of Taiwan, ROC during the Past Forty Years: A Study of Seven Chinese Views," *American Journal of Chinese* 1.2 (1992): 394 and W. Tozer, 82. Although some scholars locate the start of Cultural Renaissance on 28 July 1967, Warren Tozer believes that Taiwan's Cultural Renaissance began on 12 November 1966.

¹⁸Myron L. Cohen, "Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity," *Daedalus* 120.2 (1991): 117.

¹⁹Doris T. Chang, *Women's Movements in Twentieth-Century Taiwan* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 87.

²⁰D. T. Chang, 87.

hand, it also implies that the traitors, namely the *fei*, possess no sense of shame. The sense of shame, or *li*, separates the civilized Han-Chinese from the barbarians.

The non-Han identity of the Chinese Communists was also evident in *The Political Platform of the Kuomintang*, written in September 1, 1950. The platform stated:

The international prestige of a free and independent nation, which our party has won for the Republic of China through half a century of revolutionary struggles, by first overthrowing the *Manchu* autocratic rule, and then defeating *Japanese* militarism with the sacrifice of precious lives and properties of innumerable people, has now been destroyed by the fanatical and traitorous *Communist rebels*, who are offering up on a silver platter all the territory, manpower and resources on the mainland to *Soviet Russia*.²¹

The Nationalists compared the Communist bandits to other invading barbarian forces, such as Manchus, Japanese and Soviet Russians. By means of this comparison, the Nationalist erased the Han-Chinese identity of the Communist and cast them as ‘others.’ Lu Jun, a mainlander writer, condemned the Communists for their lack of shame. He insisted that “the success of the 1911 Revolution in overthrowing Manchu rule was the glory of the KMT government [...] as well as the glory of the Republic of China [...] It was such a shameless act when the Communists proclaimed this special day of the Republic China to commemorate the revolution.”²² By using this rhetoric, the Nationalist Party depicted itself as the only inheritor of Han-Chinese lineage, and the true representative of China.

After the transfer of the KMT government to Taiwan, an extended campaign was commenced for over two decades to use all forms of visual imagery to represent the irrational,

²¹See Ranzhi Xie, *The Kuomintang: Selected Historical Documents, 1894-1969* (New York: St. John’s University, 1970), qtd. in 228. Emphases are mine. The original text of the announcement goes as: 「關於對共匪稱謂，遵照中央改造委員會的規定，對共匪全體稱『共匪』，『朱毛匪幫』[...] 對共匪官兵稱『匪軍』。」(台灣省政府公報,1951年冬52期)。

²²See Jun Lu, “Yige wuchi de yangmou: tan zhonggong juran yeyao jinian xin hai geming 一個無恥的陽謀：談中共居然也要紀念辛亥革命 (A shameless plot: the Chinese Communist intended to commemorate the 1911 Revolution),” *Soul of the Nation* 431 (1981): 12. The original text: 「辛亥雙十革命成功，是中國國民黨的光榮 [...] 辛亥雙十革命成功，是中華民國的光榮 [...] 中共 [...] 公然宣稱要紀念辛亥革命 [...] 很明顯是一項無恥的陽謀。」

and animalistic nature of the Communists. Figure 3.4 shows a typical depiction of a brutal, dehumanized Communist. He stands in darkness on a mountain of human skulls. Shadows of Communists in animal shapes repeatedly appear in public media in Taiwan, such as in Figure 3.5. It is not hard to figure out why, in the illustration of Liu Shi, the Communist's appearance is an animal. This illustration mocks the animal-like first names of Communist leaders Zhu De and Mao Zedong, whose surnames spoken together sound like a Chinese term for the hair of the pig (Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7). In Figure 3.6, the Communist has a pig head and a human body, but in Figure 3.7, he has a pig body as well. Butchering a pig using a gun inscribed with the word Taiwan is seen as absolutely justified. These disturbing representations of inhumane beasts were intended to highlight the Communist's brutish nature.

Pigs carry a negative connotation in China, and are seen as greedy and excessive. In the Chinese classical novel *Xiyouji (Journey to the West)*, one of the male protagonists Zhu Bajie is probably the most famous 'pig' in China. His gluttonous image is widespread and has been used to criticize people who are similarly voracious and insatiable. In anti-Communist comic strips, the KMT government propagandists intentionally endowed the Communists' with hyper-sexual characteristics. Many anti-Communist comic strips show pig-snouted Communists attempting to rape women. Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9 show the Communists grasping women's breasts with their mouths watering. Their greedy cruelty contrasts sharply with the distraught expressions of the women, who are clearly suffering.

Accusations of sexual immorality were an important aspect of the KMT government's propaganda war against Communist China. Vivid descriptions of the Communists' sexual violations of women were prevalent in the public discourse of anti-Communism. The title of Wu Rou's play *Renshouzhijian (Of Man and Beast)* (1951) indicates the great distance between two



Figure 3.4: An illustration entitled “The Seventieth Anniversary: In Memoriam of the 1911 revolution.” It shows a Communist monster standing on a pile of skulls, people who sacrificed themselves for truth. J. Lu, 14.



Figure 3.5: A Communist monster. The caption reads that the Communist, like a tiger, kills people without any expression of humanity. The shadow shows the true essence of the CCP’s beastly nature. L. Hong, 24.

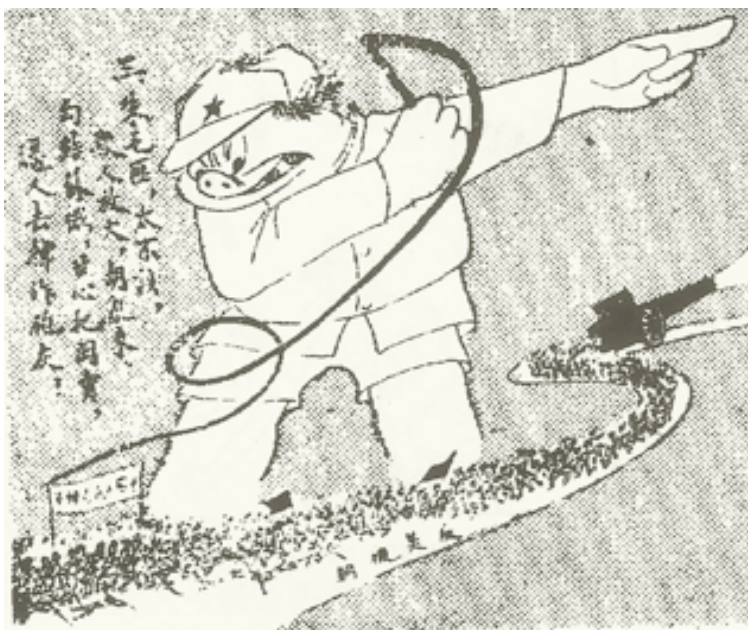


Figure 3.6: A Communist with a pig head. The caption reads that the Communists committed all kinds of crimes and sent innocent people to their deaths. S. Liu, “Zhumaofei 豬毛匪 (Rebel Zhu and Mao),” 23.



Figure 3.7: A Communist shown as a pig. S. Liu, “Zhumaofei 豬毛匪 (Rebel Zhu and Mao),” 23.

different types of creatures (man and beast) as well as two political parties.²³ The harassment of women is also described in *Guci : About Li Laoer*.²⁴ Here, the author writes that “the rebel possessed a shameless bestial nature. He hugged and caressed the woman like a dog with rabies.”²⁵

In the book *Tienu nei de jiemeimen (Our Sisters behind the Iron Curtain)*, almost all possible sexual cruelties are displayed: teenage girls underwent gang rape and had babies with unknown fathers; women were raped, sent to the ‘comfort women’ camp to provide sexual service to male soldiers, and infected with sexual diseases; pregnant women were raped and stabbed through their pregnant bellies; nuns were forced to marry monks and to conduct sexual behavior in public; as well as many other horrifying stories. Fu Qian, a female writer who in 1951 described the horrors of sexual abuse, expressed her opinion that women should stand up “to free the nation, to save the people and to benefit women.”²⁶ Despite Fu’s advocacy for women, she subordinates the fate of women to that of the nation, and she accepts that rhetorical idea that women’s bodies delineate the national boundary. As Gail Hershtatter notes, “the status and treatment of women were taken as a signal of how well state-building was going.”²⁷ The boundary denoted by women’s sexuality testifies to the Communists’ bestial nature, reaffirming both the KMT government’s Confucian-based humanity and the legitimacy of the state as shown in anti-Communist propaganda.

²³Rou Wu, “Renshouzhijian 人獸之間 (Of man and beast),” *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 7, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 1–155.

²⁴*Guci* is the local folk song of the place from Wenzhou in China.

²⁵Dalang Liu, “Guci : Li Laoer 鼓詞：李老二 (Wenzhou’s local folk song about Li Laoer),” *Chinese Labor* 26 (1951): 27.

²⁶Qian Fu, ed., *Tienu nei de jiemeimen 鐵幕內的姊妹們 (Our sisters behind the iron curtain)* (Taipei: gaizao chubanshe, 1951), 1.

²⁷G. Hershtatter, 80.



Figure 3.8: Two women being raped by Communists. One woman, who was assumably raped, hung herself from a tree. L. Hong, 24.



Figure 3.9: A woman being sexually fondled by a Communist. H. Qing, 25.

Between *Jia* (Family) and *Guo* (Nation): The Border of the Private and the Public Spheres

Confucian decorum distinguishes between civilized Chinese and Barbarians by setting up a strict social hierarchy in both the family and the nation. The Confucian *Five Relationships*, which was written by philosopher Mencius around 320 BCE, clearly emphasizes that the first person always ranks above the second, according to seniority and gender: ruler to the governmental minister, father to son, husband to wife, and elder brother to younger brothers. Traditional Chinese concept held that “no two persons are equal; one is always higher than the other” in the society.²⁸ To ensure social hierarchies are not disturbed, the duties associated with each role need to be repeatedly practiced through the daily repetition of Confucian teachings.

As demonstrated in the *Five Relationships*, the basic social hierarchy of the nation is rooted in a paternalistic code that strictly defines the relationships among family members in terms of parenthood, motherhood, and brotherhood. The close relationship of the nation and the family can also be seen in the Chinese language. In Chinese, the word *guojia* (state) actually consists of two words: *guo* (the nation) and *jia* (the family). As Hall Gates points out, official ideology described “families as microcosms of the great *guojia*, or nation-family.”²⁹ The Confucian Five Relationships help integrate the private sphere of the family and the public sphere of the nation.

The KMT government preserved Confucian ideology in Taiwan. The Confucian understanding of gender roles was manifested in the KMT government’s national policies. Beginning in 1949, the KMT policymakers developed a family-centered ideology at the welfare services. One of the aims was to identify and control ideas of women’s essential functions and

²⁸Wen-Hui Tsai, “From Tradition to Modernity: Social Change in the Republic of China,” *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, vol. 1 (1992), 363.

²⁹H. Gates, 801.

identities in Taiwan. The government expected the family to be the primary socio-economic unit that would take care of the elderly and the young when the men were deployed with the army.³⁰ This understanding of women's roles had already been preached by policy makers during the Nationalist's Nanjing decade (1927-37). The educational system and the media repeatedly glorified the roles of virtuous wives and responsible mothers. In 1934, Chiang Kai-shek launched the New Life Movement, which specifically emphasized distinct gender roles in accordance with the Chinese saying: "men's work is outside of the home, and women's work is inside."

The hierarchical relationship between the nation and the family is seen in the image-making for Chiang Kai-shek in post-war Taiwan. He was the head of the Republic of China, and was portrayed by the government-controlled media as the patriarch of the Chinese nation and the Generalissimo directing the KMT's troops. On the other hand, Madame Chiang, who was at least as competent in international affairs as Chiang Kai-shek, was always depicted as a virtuous wife and assistant to her husband, as well as a tender mother to the Chinese people, even though she never had children of her own.

Images of perfected gender roles, modeled after Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang, frequently appeared on the cover page of the state-run women's monthly magazine, *Fuyou* (*Women's Companion Monthly*).³¹ These cover photographs in post-war Taiwan in the 1950s helped integrate the public and private life of the First Family. Some photographs from this time period present the couple in a formal manner as the President and the First Lady, with the backdrop of a national ceremony or the national flag (Figure 3.10). Other photographs create a

³⁰D. T. Chang, 62.

³¹This magazine was founded in December 1954, and ceased publication in August 1985. It was the first women's magazine in Taiwan after 1949 that was sponsored by the KMT government. Therefore, this magazine can be regarded as an official ideological statement about women in Taiwan. See Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League, ed., *Fulian sanshinian* 婦聯三十年 (*Thirty years of the women's anti-aggression league*) (Taipei: Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League, 1980).



Figure 3.10: The Chiang couple attending a national celebration. “President Chiang and His Wife.”



Figure 3.11: Chiang Kai-shek helping Madame Chiang adjust her brooch. “The Daily Life of President Chiang and His Wife.”

more casual atmosphere in which the President's happy family was like everyone else's. The couple was always smiling, whether decorating the Christmas tree or admiring each other's clothes (Figure 3.11)

By showing Madame Chiang in a supporting role to the national leader, these photographs skillfully deliver a message about the role of men and women, both in the family and the nation. Despite the public—and political—activities of Madame Chiang, these images still implied that family life for women was a necessary bridge to the public sphere of the nation. These photographs also confirmed women's role as good and virtuous wives. Similar to the image of Madame Chiang in this official magazine, women's most important societal role was their relationship with their husbands.

In an article written in 1936 regarding the issue of the New Life Movement, Madame Chiang expressed the idea that “the education and health of a nation's woman was a measure of civilization, and that educated and capable women should engage in public service consistent with those duties that embrace the care of their homes.”³² Her family-centered focus on women continued when she founded the ‘Zhonghua funü fangong lianhehui (Chinese Women's Anti-Aggression League)’ in 1950, after the KMT government moved to Taiwan. She claimed that the league's goal was “to mobilize women for social services and auxiliary duties in the anti-Communist struggle.”³³ In fulfilling the government's anti-Communist policies, Madame Chiang believed that women's duties were to be diligent wives and mothers in order to raise obedient children to work for the nation's future. As one of the most important women in modern Chinese political history, Madame Chiang still carefully kept herself within the private domain of

³²Norma Diamond, “Women under the Kuomintang Rule: Variations on the Feminine Mystique,” *Modern China* 1.1 (1975): 9.

³³N. Diamond, 15.

the home in her public speeches.

Madame Chiang's statement echoed the words of the eighteenth-century Confucian scholar Chen Hongmo (1696-1771), who wrote a guide for educating women: "Virtuous mothers ensure virtuous descendants. The process of civilizing begins in the women's quarters. Everyone in the *jia* benefits from female [virtue]."³⁴ On the surface, Chen seemed to emphasize the importance of women by praising their intelligence and power. However, the phrase 'in the women's quarters' drew a clear line that confines women to the private domain of home.

Female writers, particularly female playwrights, aligned themselves with Madame Chiang's ideology. They joined male writers in promoting a national ideology that glorified men's obligation to restore their nation and subordinated women's identity as citizens. Among the forty-two playwrights whose sixty-seven plays were collected in *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*) (1971), only five were female, and two of them primarily wrote children's plays as part of a program of state-imposed Confucian education.³⁵ None of the female playwrights wrote about topics directly related to larger national issues in relation, such as national policies and public construction, as other male playwrights did in propaganda plays.

Li Manqui (1905-75), the 'Mother of Taiwan's Little Theatre,' was one of the female playwrights caught in this gendered dilemma. Many of her plays, written in China before 1949, revealed her intention to heighten the importance of women in the public domain of Chinese patriarchal society. Her plays were frequently reprinted and received high evaluation by the KMT government in Taiwan. Despite her intentions, the plays often concluded with some kind of compromise by the female characters. For example, *Nihuaajia* (*The Female Painter*) tells the story

³⁴Louise Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican China," *Modern China* 26.2 (2000): 126.

³⁵In fact, the analogy was published in 1976 instead of 1971.

of how the female protagonist Kunyi becomes a talented painter, after her divorce from her disloyal husband. The play illustrates the difficulties that a divorced woman might confront while trying to pursue her art. In the end, Kunyi, who rejects love and family, dies alone.³⁶ The play shows a woman's personal journey to find her own calling outside the home, and points out how difficult it could be for a Chinese Ibsenesque character to succeed without love and family.

This mostly-autobiographical play also reflected Li Manqui's life journey. She fully devoted herself to the theatre and remained single throughout her life. She chose her own life path. But when Li Manqui was asked by the press about the defining traits of the modern Chinese women, she still answered: "Be diligent housewives and virtuous mothers who raise good children but also modern Chinese women who still try to develop their talents in pursuit of more successful careers."³⁷ To some extent, this statement contradicts her own life. The image of *nuqiangren* (literally 'strong women') in Chinese society often has negative connotations; it is understood that women who are professionally successful are doomed to lead an unhappy family life.

Liu Xinhuang, an influential male critic in the 1950's, insisted that women's writing lacks the qualities of men's writing, due to their inherent motherly tenderness.

The strength of female writers is that they are emotional and delicate when describing feelings and objects [...] Unfortunately, they only write about trivial subjects that happen around them. Reading their work, you would never know that we actually live in such an eventful and tragic period of time.³⁸

³⁶The play was originally called *Tienwen (Asking the God)* and published in 1943. It was changed to the title *Nühuajia (The Female Painter)* and published again in Taiwan in 1955. See Manqui Li, "Nühuajia 女畫家 (The female painter)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 4, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 371–504.

³⁷The original text: 「誠誠懇懇兢兢業業的一邊做賢明的主婦, 做良淑的母親, 製造良好的後代建立理想的基礎, 一邊得設法發展自己的才智, 屆求事業上的深造。」 See H. Li, 31.

³⁸The text in Chinese: 「她們的優點在於情感豐富, 思想細緻, 描寫心情和事物 [...] 可惜的是, 她們所寫的差不多是身邊瑣事。讀她們的作品, 彷彿不知道是在這樣驚心動魄的大時代裡。」 See Xinhuang Liu, *Zhongguo wenxue liushinian 中國文學六十年 (Sixty years of Chinese literature)*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Zhengzong Bookstores, 1972), 21.

Liu's statement expresses the prejudice of this patriarchal society against women and their ability to express themselves in the public domain of writing.

The belief that women were biologically predisposed towards motherhood was clearly reflected in the KMT government's anti-Communist public discourse, such as in Madame Chiang's speech. This discourse on gender roles can be seen in various nationalistic statements that reinforced the fixed ideology on gender in anti-Communist Taiwan. For example, in the article "Funü dui fangong kang'e de renshi yu renwu (Women's anti-Communist education and mission)," LoHuang Xiaolan accused the CCP of oppressing women and children, and of breaking up happy families. In order to support President Chiang's anti-Communist policies and to reunite divided families in China, LoHuang proclaimed that women should love their husbands, love their children, love their family, love their society, love their nation and love humanity.³⁹ The healthy and intact family, supported by motherly love, must serve as a strong foundation for nation building in anti-Communist Taiwan.

In "Funü yu jiating (Women and Family)," Liu Shuixiu also emphasized women's essentially maternal nature. According to Liu, women should have triple roles: Mother, Wife and Lover. First, because women have the inherent nature of kindness, they should raise well-behaved children to serve the nation. Secondly, women should be thrifty and maintain order in their families, so that their husbands can work outside the home without worries. Finally, women's

³⁹See Xiaolan LoHuang, "Funü dui fangong kang'e de renshi yu renwu 婦女對反共抗俄的認識與任務 (Women's anti-Communist education and mission)," *Zhongyuan* 25 (1966): 4-5. The text in Chinese: 「在反共抗俄的戰爭中, 我們婦女界同胞究應擔負何種任務才能發揮偉大的力量呢? 我認為有左列幾點, 是最基本而必要的。第一, 發揚婦女慈愛的精神, 愛丈夫, 愛子女, 愛家庭, 進而愛社會, 愛國家, 愛人類, 並且實行起來要由家庭做起協助丈夫, 教導子女, 始能全力全心對社會服務隊國家效忠。第二: 發揮婦女勤勞節約的美德, 摒除一切奢侈浮華的陋習, 俾能節省家庭消費, 進而轉移社會奢靡風氣, 增進戰時氣氛, 建立戰時生活。第三, 發揮婦女的同情心, 抱定人生以服務為目的的觀念, 犧牲小我, 為社會為國家為人類貢獻齊力量。第四, 喚起婦女警覺, 加強婦女組織, 集中力量, 直接或間接參加反共抗俄工作。第五, 聯合自由世界婦女, 揭穿共匪的醜惡面目, 共同為消滅共產奸黨而奮鬥。」

loving nature can provide comfort and encouragement to their husbands. Their caring qualities allow everyone to have a happy family life.⁴⁰

Both LoHuang's and Liu's statements showed that a pervasive ideology about womanhood existed under Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT nationalist discourse. This ideology insisted that the female virtues of chastity, obedience, and tenderness should be maintained in the domestic space of the home, which is much more highly regarded than women's professional lives. Also, as the Confucian hierarchy requires, men rank higher than women, both inside and outside the home. Women are fully themselves only if they serve men well at home.

The motivation to establish such hierarchies was demonstrated in a 1949 speech by Chiang Kai-shek. In this speech, Chiang not only reinforced the gender ideology later expressed by LoHuang and Liu, but also blamed ignorant women for being easy targets for the social and political propaganda of the CCP. Chiang proclaimed that if women leave their comfortable domestic zone and get involved in politics, they are at great risk for being duped by the CCP. Their actions will lead to ruin for their families, society, and the nation.⁴¹ Deceived and deceiving women such as Zhiyie in *Lisan shija* (*Disporic Family*) and Sheng Jing in *Tianlunlei* (*Debt of Love*), are familiar characters in the anti-Communist plays. They are usually responsible for

⁴⁰See Shuixiu Liu, "Funü yu jiating 婦女與家庭 (Women and family)," *Zhongyuan* 25 (1966): 5. The original text: 「有人說：『一個理想的主婦一身要兼具三種職務—母親太太和情人。』這話的確不無道理。因為第一，婦女不僅有生男育女的本能，同時因為婦女天性仁慈，教養子女是她們的特長。子女在家庭中能夠得到優良的教養，長大後才可能成為社會上良好的公民，作國家有用的人才。第二，婦女有勤儉耐勞的美德，適宜治理家務。他們能夠協助丈夫把家庭許多繁雜的事務，管理得井井有條，使一切飲食起居環境衛生料理得清潔整齊，使一家人生活過得舒適而愉快。第三，婦女有溫柔雅靜的性格，他們不僅能夠在事業上予丈夫以莫大的鼓勵，並且能夠在精神上以丈夫以深摯的安慰，使家庭形成一種溫暖甜蜜的氣氛，快樂幸福的樂園。以上三點，是婦女的特長，也是婦女要作賢妻良母應盡的職責。今天我們要建立幸福家庭，必須婦女重視自己在家庭中所處核地位的重要，並切實進到相夫教子主持家務的責任。」

⁴¹See "Zongtong mianli funütongbao fangong kang'e shijianjiuguo gongxian yiqieliliang zhengjku dalutongbao 總統冕勵婦女同胞反共抗俄實踐救國貢獻一切力量拯救大陸同胞 (President Chiang urged women to dedicate themselves to the anti-Communist efforts and the rescue of our brothers and sisters in China)." *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 18 Apr. 1949, national edition: 1. The original text: 「共匪為要破壞我們政府一切的措施，他一定先要破壞我們的家庭，潛入我們的社會，所以他們不惜用種種卑劣的手段，威脅利誘一般的無知婦女，來作他們的間諜。因此，我們婦女要時刻警覺，要檢舉匪諜，使之無從活動，無法藏身。」

destroying the peace of their families and ruining their homes.

Chiang Kai-shek's statement, and the larger anti-Communist public discourse, also showed that the various characteristics of individual women were erased, replaced by a single collective 'Woman.' Under the KMT, the supposedly unchanging virtues of womanhood were insisted upon and the diverse nature of Chinese women was denied. Teresa de Lauretis offers a helpful distinction on this topic. She distinguishes "Woman" (which she capitalizes) from "women" (in the lower case). In her definition, "Woman" is identified as the inherent nature of all females, while "women" refers to the real human beings who exist as social and political subjects within specific historical locations and conditions.⁴² Part of the KMT government's plan for recovering China was to create the image of a virtuous Chinese *Woman*, separated from the public domain inhabited by men. *Xianqi liangmu* (virtuous wife, good mother) was an idealized role for Woman. Only virtuous women could fit into the category Woman in order to be accepted by the KMT's moral standard.

To distinguish the private and public spheres, Chiang Kai-shek's mother, Madame Wang, was also exemplified as the perfect model of a virtuous wife (a widow) and a good mother who raised the greatest son—Chiang himself. In 1955, the cover pages of *Fuyou* showed the young Chiang standing beside a seated Madame Wang. An official award was set up that year calling for articles written by women that paid respect to Madame Wang, illustrated the importance of motherhood, and celebrated the seventieth birthday of Chiang Kai-shek.⁴³ Most of the winners had almost the same story. Many of them were mainlanders. They struggled financially after

⁴²Teresa De Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 19.

⁴³"Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang funü weiyuanhui wei qingzhu jiangong qishihuanan juban funüwenyi zhengwen 中國國民黨中央婦女委員會為慶祝總統蔣公七十華誕舉辦婦女文藝徵文 (The KMT central committee on women's affairs called for women's writing in celebration of Chiang Kai-shek's 70th birthday)," *Fuyou (Women's Companion Monthly)* 22 (1956): 26.

moving to Taiwan in 1949. However, they overcame difficulties and singlehandedly raised well-behaved sons who served in the military to benefit their country. Most of these model mothers shared the same parenting tale as that of Madame Wang. Madame Chiang's story shows that the highest accomplishment that 'Woman' could receive was to raise an obedient son who sacrificed for his nation by serving in the army.⁴⁴

Gender disparities constructed in anti-Communist plays, often set up between men in the army and women at home, reflected ideological gender types constructed by the KMT's patriarchal regime. The metaphor used by the female protagonist in anti-Communist plays, such as Liu Shoufu's play *Ying (Firefly)* (1965), again reiterates the KMT's gender policies:

Men are like oil lamps hung in the hallway, and women are like kindling at the bottom of a fireplace. Oil lamps are bright and eye-catching, but a gust of wind may blow out the flame. No big deal—so long as kindling does not go out, oil lamps can be lit up right away.⁴⁵

The female protagonist is a traditional Chinese woman. She tolerates her husband's disloyalty in order to keep her family intact. She sacrifices her own happiness and gives up her own energy and vibrancy to maintain her family, much like the firefly, as described by one of the male characters in the plays: "Although the firefly is so tiny, she is the only creature that can generate light! Only she can prevent him from getting lost in the dark." In Liu's other play, *Xuanfeng (Swirling Wind)* (1963), the male protagonist reinforces a stereotypical understanding of gender and morality: "In this male-centered society, men are responsibility for societal prosperity and Taiwan's security.

⁴⁴ *Ershinianlaide Taiwan funi* 二十年來的台灣婦女 (*Women in Taiwan over the past twenty years [after 1949]*) (Taipei: Woman Writers Association of Taiwan, 1965).

⁴⁵ See Shoufu Liu, "Ying 螢 (Firefly)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 6, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 85. The Chinese text: 「男人就好比掛在堂前的那盞明燈, 女人就好比那長年埋沒在爐底的火種; 堂前的那盞明燈, 雖然光芒四射, 明亮奪目, 說不定吹來一陣野風, 他就會熄滅的! 可是那並不要緊; 只要那埋沒在爐底的火種不滅, 那盞燈立刻就可以再燃亮起來。」

The family's stability and happiness rely completely on women."⁴⁶ The performative spaces in anti-Communist plays are as gendered as the images shown in women's magazines. Most anti-Communist plays are set inside the house. Virtuous women and mothers are always at home which ensures that their homes are pleasant and warming for men to come back to.

Liang Youming's comic strips, published by the state-run media, also helped to visualize the constructed ideology of gender and gendered space. One comic strip entitled "Women de xingfu jiating (Our Happy Family)" represents the domestic spaces and obligations of women. A Woman is shown at home doing household chores, while the male head of household plays the violin.⁴⁷ In Liang's other comic strips, called "Gaijin jiating jiaoyu xuanchuan yundong zhao tiehua (Posters that Promote Improvement of Family Education)," the Woman is depicted as educating children and serving her husband and mother-in-law (Figure 3.12).⁴⁸

Liang's visual images were also shown in a Mandarin textbook for first grade students. The illustration in the 1976 chapter entitled "Shei qide zao (Who Gets Up Early?)" apparently copied the action and clothing from Liang's "Gaijin jiating" drawing (bottom left).⁴⁹ In Liang's drawing the text reads, "Learning the habit of diligence in working should start at a very young age."⁵⁰

Here, gender roles were not directly spelled out by the text, but implied by the visual image. In

⁴⁶See Shoufu Liu, "Xuanfeng 旋風 (Swirling wind)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushiguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 5, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 30. The original text: 「在這一個男性社會中心時代裡, 社會的繁榮與鞏台的安全責任, 是應該由我們男人來負起, 至於家庭的安定與幸福, 就完全決定在你們女人身上了。」

⁴⁷Youming Liang, "Women de xingfu jiating 我們的幸福家庭 (Our happy family)," *Fuyou (Women's Companion Monthly)* 54 (1959): inside back cover.

⁴⁸Youming Liang and Xia Zuzhao, "Gaijin jiating jiaoyu xuanchuan yundong zhaotiehua 改進家庭教育宣傳運動招貼畫 (Posters that promote improvement of family education)," *Fuyou (Women's Companion Monthly)* 70 (1960): inside back cover.

⁴⁹*Shei qide zao 誰起得早 (Who gets up early?)* Vol. 1 (Taipei: The National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 1974), 11–12.

⁵⁰Y. Liang and X. Zuzhao.



Figure 3.12: A Chinese woman helping her family. Y. Liang and X. Zuzhao.

the textbook gendered nature was not only shown by the illustration, but also taught by the accompanying caption. The text reads, “Who gets up early? Mother gets up early. She gets up early and is busy cleaning the house. Who gets up early? Father gets up early. He gets up early to read a newspaper” (Figure 3.13).⁵¹ As Jeffrey E. Meyer has pointed out,

In fact, if you look at the illustrations in the textbooks, women are always shown cooking the food, sweeping the floor, arranging flowers, knitting, and so forth. The men are shown reading the paper, doing men’s jobs around the house, working in the yard; outside the house fathers are shown *inter alia* as farmers, soldiers, fishermen, factory workers. There is no encouragement for women to seek careers beyond the home. The subliminal messages in every way confirm the traditional role model.⁵²

These images and ideas of ‘Woman’ are not natural, as the KMT insisted; instead, the stereotypes

⁵¹ *Shei qide zao* 誰起得早 (Who gets up early?) 11.

⁵² Jeffrey E. Meyer, “Teaching Morality in Taiwanese Schools: the Message of Textbooks,” *The China Quarterly* 114 (1988): 277.

to usher in new concepts of gender roles. In the 1920's, the Communists labeled the Nationalist term *nüxing* (women) as “half of the Western, exclusionary, essentialized, male/female binary.”⁵³ To correct this outdated ideology, the Communist changed the word *nüxing* into *funü*, a neutral term that was said to equate women with men.⁵⁴

As part of the campaign for gender equality, the Communist replaced the traditional slit-skirted *qipao* with a soldier's uniform, which was described as “the new fashion of progressive woman.”⁵⁵ Communist female soldiers usually lived with men during their military deployments. The main goal of the change in standards of dress was to make women look like men. Therefore, women who portrayed themselves as sexually attractive through their physical appearances were regarded as political rebels. They were seen to either solicit their male revolutionary comrades or to corrupt the CCP's revolutionary ideologies. The outward image of an androgynous woman did not display any visible signs of sexuality but was proof of her sexual abstinence and passion for the CCP.

The neutral gender of Communist women, portrayed without any sense of sexuality, was an image manifested in the CCP's cultural productions. When writing about the Model Theatre during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Chen Xiaomei observes that female protagonists often dressed themselves as women warriors in order to submerge their gender identity in the collective identity of the revolutionary army, so that their movements and gestures were “hardly distinguished from those male soldiers.”⁵⁶ The adornment of women's bodies, such as high heels, earrings and makeup, were considered signs of the KMT government's feudalism

⁵³E. Barlow, Tani, “Theorizing Woman: Funü, Guojia, Jiating (Chinese Woman, Chinese State, Chinese Family),” *Body, Subject & Power in China*, ed. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 266.

⁵⁴E. Barlow, Tani, 269.

⁵⁵Emphases are mine. See Katherine Hui-ling Chou, “Staging Revolution: Actresses, Realism and the New Woman Movement in Chinese Spoken Drama and Film, 1919-1949,” Diss., New York University, USA, 1997, 268.

⁵⁶X. Chen, *Acting the Right Part: Political Theatre and Popular Drama in Contemporary China*, 110.

and nefariousness. Women soldiers' uniforms symbolized a new China, achieved partly through its dedication to sexual equality.

Likewise, policing women's clothes was also important in the rival KMT government's nationalist discourse, as an (counter-) attack on the CCP's destruction of Confucian gender distinctions. To be expected, the KMT government rejected the CCP's social and political attempts to reformulate gender roles, and instead remained fully committed to the Confucian tradition. As Antonia Finnane notes, women's clothes had long been an issue in nationalist iconography during the first half of the twentieth century.⁵⁷

In the Nationalist viewpoint, the Communists' new women without distinctive gender characteristics were degenerative creatures. One Communist woman, Cai Chang, vividly recounts in her autobiography how the Nationalists conducted a witch hunt in 1927 for the progressive, feminist women who often wore men's clothes:

More than 1,000 women leaders were killed in that year alone in all of China—not all were Communists, some were bourgeois and there were many students, but all were revolutionary leaders [...] And when girls were arrested in Hunan,⁵⁸ they were stripped naked, nailed on crosses and their noses and breasts cut off before they were killed [...] After girl students were beheaded, their heads were put into men's coffins, and the gendarmes said: "You have your free love now!" If girls and men happened to be killed at the same time their heads were exchanged on their bodies.⁵⁹

By means of these horrible assaults, the Nationalists took public revenge on the CCP.

Although the KMT government did not descend to the brutality of its predecessors, it remained to oppose gender equality that the Communists advocated through mingling women with men. Free love, equated by the KMT government with promiscuity, was defined as a shameful crime of women involved in the CCP. In the KMT government's ideology, progressive

⁵⁷ Antonia Finnane, "What Should Chinese Women Wear? A National Problem," *Modern China* 22.2 (1996): 106, 117.

⁵⁸ Hunan is the home province of the CCP's leader Mao Zedong.

⁵⁹ N. Diamond, 6.

women who wore clothes like men and promoted free love symbolized sexual promiscuity, to them a danger to the national order. In Taiwan after 1949, attacks on Communist women's sexual immorality in anti-Communist propaganda were prevalent. The KMT assumed that Communist women could sleep with men as easily as they would drink a glass of water. The KMT government used this assumption to accuse Communist women of ignoring family values and treating marriage as a game.

One version of punishment was displayed in an ironic song sung about Communist China's 'Funü jiuguohui (Institute of Chinese Women's National Salvation).' This song was popular in Taiwan in the 1950's because it was in agreement with the KMT government's gender ideology. The lyrics are: "Funühui, funühui, shrewish women gather together. They bully their husbands and shout at their parents. They dump their kids and enjoy being hookers. After one month, sexual sores appear all over the body. This is the good thing happening to them."⁶⁰ Communist women who promoted gender equality were criticized by the KMT government as immoral because they betrayed the traditional female virtue of obedience to their husbands.

In the same vein, anti-Communist plays and films present Communist women whose promiscuity necessarily denied their traditional gender identity as feminine, virtuous women. In the KMT government's logic, Communist women's androgynous clothing causes sexual immorality, and causes internal as well as external ugliness. The images of the Communist women seen in Figure 3.14 and Japanese male soldiers in Figure 3.15 highlight such gender similarity that constantly appears in anti-Communist propaganda. It is interesting to see how the

⁶⁰See Xinru Du, *Gongfei huoquo shimo* 共匪禍國始末 (*Details of how the Communists brought calamity to China*) (Taipei: Chinese Anti-Communist Publishing Co., 1952), 15. The Chinese lyrics are: 「婦女會, 婦女會, 潑辣婦女結成對, 欺丈夫, 罵爺娘, 撇下兒女去當娼, 當娼不到一個月, [梅] 毒大瘡身上長, 這是婦女會的好下場。」 As to how the CCP's women threatened the moral order, see Tao Shu, ed., *Gongfei baoxing tiezheng* 共匪暴行鐵證 (*Evidence of the Chinese Communist's savagery*) (Taipei: Zhongwai wenhua chubanshe, 1954), 93.



Figure 3.14: A Communist woman (standing right) shown in the anti-Communist play *Chunni* (*Earth of the Spring*) (1966). She wears a cap, a pair of glasses, and a soldier's dress that hides the female figure. She is presented as entirely unfeminine. Y. Chou, 12.

image of women and men in soldiers' garment are so similar; their bodily appearances would remain the same if their heads were exchanged. They are both shown as ugly, with flat noses, big mouths and high cheekbones. They always hold their heads in a haughty manner, condescending to those wearing traditional Chinese clothes (Figure 3.16). In the KMT government's representations, Communist women were as immoral as Japanese men, possessing similar physical defects that reflected their inner ugliness.

In the anti-Communist film *Emengchuxing* (*Bad Dreams*), the Communist woman is portrayed as obese and sexually aggressive, lacking in femininity. She even dares to rape the male protagonist, reversing traditionally coded gender roles. Similarly negative images of Communist women also appear in anti-Communist plays such as Zhiyie in *Lisan shija* (*Disporic Family*), and Sheng Jing in *Tianlunlei* (*Debt of Love*). Zhiyie uses her body to entrap men to achieve her nefarious political goals, and Sheng Jin has a sexual affair with the party's second in command.



Figure 3.15: The Japanese soldier (sitting left) in the anti-Japanese play *Wuguo wujia* (*My Nation, My Home*) (1972). Y. Chou, 12.



Figure 3.16: An unattractive female Communist. She separates a couple, and forces a man to marry her. Y. Liang, “Zhenshi gushi gongfei dui dalu funü de baoxing: Dong Xianqing yijiaren de mingyun 真實故事共匪對大陸婦女的暴行：董獻卿一家人的命運 (True story of the CCP’s violence against women in China: the destiny of the Dong Xianqing’s family).”

These negative images of Communist women shared a common meaning: no matter how skillfully the Communist women tried to conceal their gender, they could never hide their immoral sexual desires and promiscuous behavior.

Ugly, non-feminine women in warriors' garments who raped men were one type of reviled Communist women. Women in revealing dress who seduced men were another. In addition to attacking masculine Communist women, the KMT government also lashed out at the extremely sexualized women. Although the image of the Communist woman as an evil, seductive beauty occurs in some Nationalist propaganda plays and films before 1950, the image was reinforced and intensified by the KMT government as part of the effort to combat the CCP. In its national campaign to encourage citizens to be "aware of the Communist spies," the government warned that the sexual appeal of women could be used to disguise wicked schemes.

Many anti-Communist plays and films featured cold-blooded women assassins and sexual spies.⁶¹ For example, the female protagonist in the play-adapted film *Yingshuhua (Opium Poppy)* (1955) demonstrated the sexual qualities thought to be possessed by an evil Communist woman (Figure 3.17). This malevolent Communist woman was presented as sensual and always ready to have sexual contact with a male KMT party member. The camera shows the female protagonist smoking while she says: "We [Communists] are man-eaters. If we are eaten by others, the world will turn upside down." By the end of the film, she is spiritually redeemed by the male protagonist, in this case an honest Nationalist man, and regrets all the reprehensible things she had done.

The KMT government condemned Communist women's androgyny and sexualized appearances, and crafted the images of Confucian 'moderate' women as an acceptable alternative.

⁶¹M. M.-h. Yang, 55.



Figure 3.17: The female Communist in the anti-Communist film *Yingshuhua* (*Opium Poppy*) (1955). “Xianqi liangmu cixiang nainai: Lu Biyun 賢妻良母慈祥奶奶：盧碧雲 (Virtuous wife, good mother and kind grandmother: Lu Biyuan.”

The KMT government put forth *qipao* (*cheongsam*) as the correct dress to represent an appropriate feminine image for a virtuous Chinese woman. For the Nationalist, women’s clothes should express their femininity, namely the curves of their bodies, but should also properly guard their virtue through adequate covering of their bodies. It can be seen how the collared *qipao* was redesigned for Taiwan’s hot and humid summers, but still remained conservatively styled in order to cover most parts of women’s bodies.⁶²

The reformed long-slit *qipao* with femininity helped reinforce the KMT government’s mainstream ideology of gender dichotomy. Always in a close-fitting Chinese *qipao*, Madame Chiang was seen as the model wife, as well as the symbol of Chinese womanhood (Figure 3.18). Her image continued to appear on the cover of the official Taiwanese magazine *Fuyou* representing a virtuous wife. Similarly, women in the play *Dongchuan jiaxu* (*The Best Son-in*

⁶²Qing Li, “Xiaji fuzhuang mantan: gailiang qipao ling 夏季服裝漫談：改良旗袍領 (Scattered thoughts on summer clothes: redesigning the collar of the *qipao*),” *United Daily News* [Taipei] 7 Aug. 1956, national edition: 6.



Figure 3.18: A portrait of Madame Chiang as shown on a stamp of the Republic of China (Taiwan) around the 1960's. Almost all her public representations show her dressed in an elegant *qipao*. “Soong Qingling Soong Meiling jingdian zhaopian pingxing jihezhan (yi) 宋慶齡宋美齡經典照片平行集合展(一) (Classical photos of Soong Qingling and Soong Meiling compared(1).”

Law), shown in Figure 3.19, were all dressed in simple *qipao* as a way to emulate Madame Chiang's model of a virtuous wife and Chinese woman. From the cover picture of the playbill for the anti-Communist play *Yinrongjie (Reunion)* (1967), the virtuous mother in the play is also dressed in a standard plain *qipao*.

In contrast to these beautifully dressed women, women in plain dress were considered to be pure and innocent. In his research on women in modern Europe, George L. Mosse has noticed that “woman as a preindustrial symbol suggested innocence and chastity, a kind of moral rigor directed against modernity—the pastoral and eternal set against the big city as the nursery of vice.”⁶³ When men control women's appearances and required them to maintain and protect their innocent behavior and appearances, men seem to be empowered to control crime in the modern

⁶³George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 98.

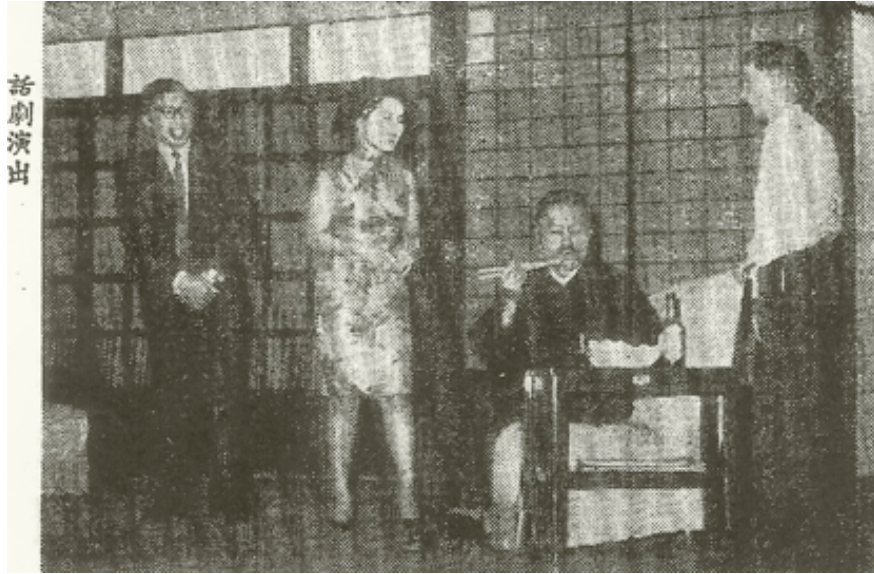


Figure 3.19: A woman dressed in a Chinese *qipao* in the spoken drama *Dongchuan jiaxu* (*A Best Son-in Law*). N. Chen, 24.

world.

Although the extant anti-Communist plays offer only a few descriptions of the dress for the women characters, the anti-Communist films provide a number of visual images that clarify the relationship between the Chinese *qipao* and female virtue. For example, in the film version of the aforementioned Tie Wu's *Nüfeigan* (*Female Bandit*), the female protagonist wears a Western shirt and skirt when she works in a feminist organization. Later, when she joins the CCP, she appears in a baggy, masculine military uniform. But, when she repents for her wrongdoings during her time working for the CCP, she is seen wearing a plain *qipao*, finally returning to her chaste, spiritual innocence. The plain *qipao*, without excessive colors or decoration, was used to reflect women's internal obedience to their family, as well to as the nation.

The representation of women's dress that was changed from a fancy to a simple style demonstrates how Chinese women gave up their individual desire for pleasure. In the process, they identified with the national move towards frugality in anti-Communist Taiwan. Figure 3.20



Figure 3.20: A contrast between a woman dressed in plain *qipao* nowadays and in fancy *qipao* in the past. S. Liu, “Xiang dangnian dao zujin 想當年到如今 (Thinking about the past and the present)”



Figure 3.21: A Chinese woman sewing clothes, dressed in simple *qipao*. Y. Liang, “Qingzhu zongotong huadan 慶祝總統華誕 (Celebrating President Chiang’s birthday)”

shows how women changed their appearances from more luxurious to more simple after the KMT government moved its government to Taiwan in 1949.⁶⁴ In Figure 3.21, a woman dressed in a simple *qipao* is seen sewing clothes, with piles of handmade clothing around her.⁶⁵ *Qipao* were often simply designed using one dark color. It was assumed by the KMT that virtuous women seldom adorned themselves with earrings and rings, and wore low-heeled shoes that allowed them to move easily. This type of woman worked hard to finish sewing military uniforms for male soldiers at the front lines. In comparison, women in extravagant dress were depicted as spiritually corrupted. They smoked and lay in bed all day. They wore thick makeup, high heels, brilliant earrings and rings, and fashionable *qipao* that exposed their figures. They were usually labeled as bad women, because they were lazy and took no responsibility for their family and for the nation. Their actions contradicted the definition of the KMT government's 'good woman' that was part of the KMT government's attempted national restoration of a moral China, lost to the malicious Communists.

As addressed throughout this chapter, the representations of women in anti-Communist plays, films, and comic strips intend to present *Woman* with a capital *W*. *Woman* was officially regarded as the guardian of Confucian traditions lost in Communist China. The boundary enforced by preserving *Woman's* chastity was considered as an embodiment of the boundary of national loyalty and dignity. Therefore, demands made of *Woman* to be a virtuous wife and a good mother had a great impact on maintaining the Chinese patriarchal lineage as pure and prosperous. *Woman*, in the KMT government's discourse, was used as a national symbol.

Woman's looks determined her sexuality, which was judged as the standard of morality—a ethical

⁶⁴Shi Liu, "Xiang dangnian dao zujin 想當年到如今 (Thinking about the past and the present)," *Taiwan New Life Daily* [Taipei] 2 Oct. 1950, national edition: n.p.

⁶⁵Yunpo Liang, "Qingzhu zongotong huadan 慶祝總統華誕 (Celebrating President Chiang's birthday)," *Fuyou (Women's Companion Monthly)* 14 (1955): inside back cover.

line drawn between Nationalist China and Communist China. Showing *Woman* who wraps her clothes tight and keep her legs closed assured the restoration and continuity of the KMT government's Confucian China, a legitimate China.

Chapter 4

Performing an Upper/Middle-Class Society in Anti-Communist Taiwan

“Based on the spirit of the San-min Doctrine,¹ the Republic of China is a nation of the people, by the people, and for the people. Everyone is entitled to all the rights to freedom, equality, fraternity, and a happy and satisfied life, as set forth in our democratic constitution. We are truly blessed.”

Central Daily News (1975)²

There is no consensus on the best definition of the term ‘class,’ as the term has different meanings depending on context. Karl Marx explains that the so-called ‘civilized’ society has its roots in conflict between two different socio-economic classes, namely how the upper/middle-class capitalists (bourgeoisie) exploit lower-class wage-workers (the proletariat or masses). This conflict results in class wars and social revolutions.³ During the military conflicts between the Nationalists and the Communists before 1949, the Chinese Communist Party accused Chiang Kai-shek of deriving his political power primarily from the support of wealthy merchants in large cities, such as Shanghai, Chongqing, and Nanking. By contrast, Mao Zedong’s major support came from rural areas. He encouraged revolutionary efforts in the countryside, and helped to launch a series of rural uprisings against the ‘bourgeoisie,’ namely the upper/middle-class people. In this political struggle, Mao won not only the heart of the majority of the Chinese population—the working class (the masses) made up of soldiers, workers and

¹The San-min Doctrine (The Three Principles) was established by Sun Yat-sen as the guiding principles of the Republic of China, as led by the KMT. This idea was borrowed from the Western political concept of ‘of the people, by the people, and for the people.’ It refers to Minzu (nationalism), Minquan (democracy), and Minsheng (people’s livelihood).

²The original text: 「我國以三民主義民有，民治，民享為立國精神。根據此一精神，人人享受民主憲政體制下的各種保障，自由，平等，博愛，生活富足精神愉快，實在太幸福了。」 See “Qingtian bairi xia dajia shenhao 青天白日下大家生活好 (Under the blue sky and bright sun, everyone’s life is great).”

³Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, eds., *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition* (London: Verso, 1998), 35.

peasants—but also gained the entire territory of Mainland China. By the end of the war in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party had no choice but to retreat to Taiwan.

The issue of class divisions was critical in confrontations between Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and in the result of the Chinese Civil War of 1949. One of the CCP's most famous statements reflected the party's stance on class divisions. In May 1942, Mao Zedong delivered a significant address entitled "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art." He urged city intellectuals to live with and learn from the working class in the countryside, so that they could create artwork to meet the needs of the masses.⁴ Under the CCP's rule, for the first time in China's long history, working-class people were valued more highly by the central government than the elite people at the top of society.

Unlike the CCP, the KMT government attempted to avoid issues of class divisions. In the KMT government's policies, the term 'anti-Communist' represented an ideological campaign against the CCP and its faith in Communism, particularly its political rhetoric that celebrated the masses and attacked the bourgeoisie. The KMT government's public rhetoric claimed to care for all classes, while simultaneously blurring class divisions and attempting to eliminate discussions about class. Of course, this did not mean that class divisions did not exist in anti-Communist Taiwan under the KMT's rule.

Although the KMT's national policies did not explicitly forbid any depiction of the working class in anti-Communist public discourse, their anxiety, if not fear, toward the working class was evident. For example, in the six objectives detailed in "Zhankai fangong wenyi zhandou gongzuo

⁴Mao Zedong, *Mao Zedong's 'Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art.' A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*, trans. Bonnie S. McDougall (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, 1980), 65-68.

shishi fangan (Plans for Unfolding the Campaign of Anti-Communist Combat Literature and Art)” in 1955, the KMT government spelled out a nationwide social policy: “Centered in Taipei, the campaign of literature and art should be expanded to the entire island and even to the costal areas of Fukien province.⁵ The campaign must heed the needs of soldiers, [students in] school, farmers, workers, women, and children.”⁶

At first glance, this state policy seems to only address the appropriate scope of this policy. However, this policy puts special emphasis on the potential threat coming from working class people. The KMT government’s document not only points out the campaign’s focus on the city center, Taipei, but also reveals the KMT’s anxiety that the working classes (warriors, peasants, and workers) and those living in rural regions would be incited to revolution by Communism. The geographical implications of this policy are also relevant. For instance, Taiwanese scholar Wang Chunmei’s dissertation focuses on the horizontal expansion of state-controlled art and literature into the countryside. However, she ignores the symbolic role that the capital of Taipei played in Taiwanese society, which had been established by the mainlander immigrants after 1949. She does not analyze the significance of this vertical hierarchy of ‘urban center and rural margin’ in Taiwan.

Therefore, in this chapter, I investigate the KMT government’s dilemma about how to show the class distinctions in anti-Communist Taiwanese public discourse without emphasizing the divisions. I examine how the KMT government viewed the geographical, political, social, and cultural conditions of the rural and urban regions, and represented them through their

⁵After the Chinese Civil War of 1949, the Fukien Province split into two parts governed by the Republic of China (ROC or Taiwan), and the People’s Republic of China (PRC or Mainland China), respectively. Strictly speaking, the ROC only governs the small archipelagos of Kinmen and Matsu Islands off the southeast coast of Fukien Province. The rest of the area of Fukien Province belongs to the PRC.

⁶See C. Wang, qtd. in 41. The Chinese text: 「以台北為中心，延展至台灣全省各地及福建沿海地區，特別注重於軍中，前線，學校，農村，工廠，使戰鬥文藝的活動，適應戰士，學校，農民，工人，婦女，兒童之需要。」

anti-Communist representations of class identities, despite their intent to conceal these issues. Cultural productions from anti-Communist Taiwan, particularly propaganda theatre and film, illustrate how the KMT set up urban-rural divisions that distinguished between the upper/middle-class (primarily mainlanders) and the lower working-class (mainly native Taiwanese people).

To reveal how the KMT government attempted to construct a social reality in which all classes had equally wealthy and happy lives, I consider a film genre called ‘jiankang xieshi zhuyi (healthy realism) film’ that the government launched in the 1960’s as both a supplement and alternative to the upper/middle-class subject matter that define most of the anti-Communist propaganda plays and films. This new genre of film, which depicts working class people in the countryside, presents them as self-contented communities who valued traditional ethics and lived in a picturesque setting. This genre also reveals some of the ways that the KMT government’s public messages expressed class identities while intending to obscure class divisions. Finally, I conclude this chapter by analyzing a literary event called the ‘Xiangtu wenxue lunzan (Nativist literary debate)’ from the 1970’s that argued for the significance of representing lower-class native Taiwanese people in literature. This event helped to illuminate the distinct class lines previously demarcated by anti-Communist plays and films.

KMT’s Upper/Middle-Class Heaven: a Construct of the Absence of Working Masses

After the victory of the Civil War of 1949, Mao proclaimed that his new China was an ideal country for the working-class proletariat. During the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-76), Mao Zedong and his followers forcefully punished intellectuals by sending them to the countryside to perform onerous hard labor. In an article entitled “The Haifeng Peasant Association,” Peng

Pai—one of the CCP’s revolutionary pioneers—offered a vivid description in 1926 of the CCP’s early ideological struggles over class distinctions. Peng was among one of the first young intellectuals sent into the countryside by the CCP. He describes his situation:

I was dressed in a white Western-style suit and wore a white hat. A peasant about thirty years of age was mixing manure in front of the village. When he saw me coming, he said, “Sir, how are you? Are you here to collect taxes?”⁷

Peng later understood that the peasants assumed his instantly recognizable Western-style clothes represented his upper class status. His white hat and suit were symbols of imperial oppression to the villagers. The title ‘xiansheng (Sir)’ also highlighted the large gap between social classes. Only intellectuals and people who held esteemed positions were called ‘Sir’ in traditional Chinese society. In order to organize the peasants, Peng changed his clean outfit into clothes similar to what the villagers wore, mingled with them, and acted as if he were one of them. The ‘dirty’ countryside—a marginalized area in past Nationalist regimes—was gradually elevated to occupy the CCP’s idealized New China, which would establish the masses as the new masters of a socialist society.

As the CCP inverted the structure of traditional society, any criticism of the masses was not allowed. The CCP transformed social hierarchies, not only through political reforms, but also through the tools of literature and art. The outline of the CCP’s ideals were made clear in one of Mao Zedong’s 1942 speech. Mao called for a reformation of traditional Chinese culture and popularization of all arts. He also demanded art and literature to be “a component of the whole revolutionary machine, [...] a powerful weapon for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and helping the people to fight with one heart and one

⁷Pai Peng, “The Haifeng Peasant Association,” *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, ed. Patricia Ebrey (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 365.

mind.”⁸ To achieve Mao’s goal, the CCP established the ‘Xiju gaige weiyuan hui (Bureau of Dramatic Reform)’ on March 25, 1949. Under the direct control of the PRC’s Ministry of Culture, this entity vigorously agitated for change. The Ministry banned or revised many traditional Chinese plays which honor not only the ‘diwang jiangxiang (emperors and nobility)’ but also the ‘caizi jiaren (gifted scholars and beautiful ladies).’ The Ministry also censored any work that contained “exaggerated movement and speeches that insulted the proletarian class.”⁹

The CCP used visual arts, including theatre, to present the ideological message that the suffering of the poor could unify the masses to fight against the Nationalist Party, its evil ally the United States, and the invaders of Imperial Japan. In the ‘Model Theatre Movement,’ supervised by Mao Zedong’s wife Jiang Qing during the Chinese Culture Revolution (1966-1976), only eight plays were allowed to be performed on stage. These eight *yanbanxi* (model plays) clearly reflected the CCP’s discrimination against intellectuals and the bourgeois. These plays were: *Hongdengji (The Red Lantern)*, *Shajiabang (Shajia Village)*, *Zhiqu Weihushan (The Strategy of Taking Tiger Mountain)*, *Qixi Baihutuan (Raid on the White Tiger Regiment)*, *Longjiangsong (Praise of Dragon River)*, *Haigang (On the Dock)*, and two ballets: *Hongse Niangzijun (The Red Detachment of Women)* and *Bai Maonü (White-Haired Girl)*. These model plays and ballets represent the ruthless oppression of peasants and workers, who are exploited by landowners and imperialist powers supported by the Nationalists and the United States. In contrast, the empathetic Communist Party strenuously battles these evil forces, leads the masses out of their oppressive regimes, and wins the final victory by founding the first socialist country in Asia.

⁸Daniel S. P. Yang, “Censorship: 8 Model Works,” *The Drama Review* 15.2 (1971): 259.

⁹D. S. P. Yang, 259.

In the CCP's master narrative, only poor people suffer. As Chen Xiomei states, poverty is glorified in the model plays.¹⁰ The main characters in these eight plays all come from the working class, and are primarily poor soldiers, farmers and workers. Also, these plays are without exception set in the countrysides, factories, and battlefields. The plays take place in sparsely decorated work areas, such as farms and docks, filled with old, broken furniture, farming tools, and equipment. These settings emphasize the masses' revolutionary spirit.

In these model plays, the once-upper class is brought down from their lofty status as the privileged wealthy; in turn the once-lower class is elevated to the top of the social hierarchy. For instance, the play *Hongse Niangzijun (Red Detachment of Women)* depicts the liberation of a peasant girl, Wu Qinghua, on Hainan Island. After joining the CCP, she fights against the exorbitant rent charged by her sexually oppressive KMT landlord Nanbatian, and eventually kills him. *Bai Maonü (The White-Haired Girl)* also shows the suffering of the peasantry. A peasant girl, Xier, is raped by the despotic and KMT-supported landlord, Huang Shiren. Xier's lover, who serves in the CCP, comes to her rescue, and kills the landlord. These model plays show how the misery of the lower classes is transformed into a triumph over despotic wealth and mistreatment. This shared condition of hardship justifies the decision of the working class to join forces and fight against the oppression of the imperial forces. As Walter J. Meserve points out, "in declaring their purpose to remold man, ideologically, the Chinese Communists meant that all "backward" ideas should be overcome and replaced with 'the advanced ideas of the working class.'"¹¹

Compared to the CCP, the KMT government emphasized the importance of the upper/middle-class people, including merchants and military leaders. After their failure in the war

¹⁰X. Chen, *Acting the Right Part: Political Theatre and Popular Drama in Contemporary China*, 133.

¹¹D. S. P. Yang, 259.

of cultural propaganda against the CCP, the KMT government became motivated to launch an official anti-Communist cultural campaign in post-war Taiwan. In his first ‘national’ meeting with artists and writers in 1952 in Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek lashed out at the CCP’s cultural plots before and during the Chinese Civil War. He demanded that all artists in attendance devote their energy to creating art and literature that would combat the CCP’s ideological permeation into Taiwan.¹² Likewise, Jiang Tingfu, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (also known as ROC), believed that the KMT’s military and political influences were defeated by the CCP’s cultural power when the CCP encouraged intellectuals and artists to stand with the masses and write for their needs.¹³ This threatening situation prompted the KMT to develop an anti-Communist campaign of cultural propaganda, a campaign that intensified year by year in Taiwan.

The KMT government regarded the ideology of class divisions as one of the major reasons for the KMT’s defeat in the Civil War. Accordingly, in 1952, as the writer Su Xuelin¹⁴ explained, pro-KMT writers and artists started to establish a pioneering right-wing literary circle in Taiwan.¹⁵ The members of this circle were dedicated to creating a cultural environment of “simplicity, purity and tranquility.” They believed that this new environment would be able to contain any infiltration of the CCP’s class ideology, as had occurred in the literary circles in

¹²C. Kai-shek, 68.

¹³M. Li, “Xinwenxue yundong licheng zhong de guanjian shidai: shilun wuling niandai ziyou zhongguo wenxue chuanguo de silu jiqisuo chansheng de yingxiang 新文學運動歷程中的關鍵時代: 試論五〇年代自由中國文學創作的思路及其所產生的影響 (A critical time for new literary movement: thoughts about and the impacts of literary creation in Free China during the 1950’s),” 147.

¹⁴Su Xuelin was a female Chinese author and scholar. She was famous for her attack on Lu Xun, a contemporary left-wing writer. When the CCP took control of China, Su moved to Hong Kong to show her anti-Communist principles. She moved to Taiwan in 1952 and taught in many universities. In 1955, she also founded the official ‘Zhongguo funu xiezu xiehui (Chinese Women Writers Association)’ for female writers in Taiwan. She died in Taiwan in 1999.

¹⁵See Xuelin Su, “Wenhua fuxing ying zhuzhong zhandou wenyi 文化復興應注重戰鬥文藝 (Any cultural renaissance should focus on combat literature and art),” *Chinese Cultural Renaissance Monthly* 1.8 (1968): 58. The original text: 「民國四十一年，我自海外返回台灣，見台灣已建立了一個新文壇，氣氛非常單純，清潔，寧靜，從前左派控制下的烏烟瘴氣一掃而空。」

Mainland China in the 1930's. Her description is a testament to the purity of her own political ideology. It is also an accusation against left-wing writers and artists, who sided with the CCP's ideology of class conflict during the Civil War.

Actually, the KMT's ideological cleansing begun in China in the late 1920's. The KMT government was aware of some party members' disloyalty toward the party, and started to examine the members' commitment to the San-min Doctrine (Three Principles of the People) during the Civil War. This determined if they were allowed to travel to Taiwan. Those who did demonstrate enough loyalty often chose, or were chosen, to stay in Mainland China. Consequently, most of the KMT's followers from China—including mainlander artists and writers—shared a common hatred toward the CCP.¹⁶ They believed that the CCP's wicked ideology, especially in regards to class conflict, corrupted and separated China.

After 1949 the opposition became even more intense. Taiwanese scholar Hu Fanqi explains that the KMT government's use of the prefix 'anti-' in its anti-Communist policies refers to anything that opposes Communism. It was a war between two extremes of both thought and action. It could also be regarded as a war between the self and the other.¹⁷ As a Chinese saying goes, "One shall stand, one shall fall (*nisi wowang*)."¹⁷ Given this cultural predilection to diametrically opposed extremes, Taiwanese people could easily identify with the former and condemn the latter. As a result, the state's national policy of working toward a return to China had its basis in people's common hatred towards the CCP. The 'anti-' Communist campaign thus

¹⁶Not all KMT members were party loyalists. For example, some of the young soldiers who were kidnapped from the Chinese countryside were forced to join the KMT army, and held grudges against the KMT because they were separated from their parents. Stories of the boy soldiers can be found in Ying-tai Lung (Taipei: Commonwealth Magazine, 2009).

¹⁷Fangqu Hu, "1950 niandai Taiwan fangong wenyi lunshu yanjiu 1950年代台灣反共文藝論述研究 (Discourse on anti-Communist literature and art in the 1950's in Taiwan)," MA. thesis, National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan, 2007, 4-5.

created a clear separation between these two ideological camps; when people chose one political system, they actually chose a specific ideology and rejected the other. In other words, if the CCP worked to promote the position of the working class, the KMT government should definitely work against this.

However, it is the dichotomy between the self and the other that put the KMT government in a dilemma when confronting the issue of class. If ‘class’ means to ‘classify’ people—to put some people in one category and others in another, such exclusivity and divisiveness were inconsistent with the KMT government’s political tenets of freedom, democracy, and equal prosperity. A political dilemma emerged: the KMT government would become a reactive follower if it simply opposed what the CCP had done. Also, the KMT government would appear overly authoritarian if it subscribed to any class distinction that excludes the working class. Paradoxically, it would be a risk for the KMT government to publicly discuss the issue of class, when they advocated against the CCP’s class conflict in their anti-Communist campaigns.

The KMT government therefore recast the issue of class as one of truth under the KMT’s founding tenets found in the San-min Doctrine. The KMT government discredited the CCP by accusing the CCP of fabricating class divisions in China. The official statements reiterated that the San-min Doctrine tolerated but did not exclude any class distinctions. In its 1954 inaugural issue, the official *Youshi wenyi (Youth Literary Magazine)*¹⁸ wrote that literature, under the guidance of the San-min Doctrine, should side with truth and justice in order to combat ‘red’

¹⁸*Youshi wenyi (Youth Literary Magazine)*, founded by the Chinese Youth Writing Association in 1954, was primarily used to promote ‘zhandou wenxue (combat literature)’ in anti-Communist Taiwan. The KMT government set up this writing association to educate youth about anti-Communist ideology. Therefore, this writing association was supervised by the ‘Zhongguo qingnian fangong jiuguo tuan (China Youth Corps),’ an organization led by Chiang Ching-guo, son of Chiang Kai-shek. The educational system in early post-war Taiwan was informed by a series of the KMT’s ideological reforms.

literary works.¹⁹ Zhang Daofan, the chief supervisor of the state cultural propaganda agency, provided a clearer explanation of the KMT's concept of class. He argued that the Republic of China was based on the San-min Doctrine, a doctrine that sought to ensure happiness for all citizens. Therefore, cultural productions, especially literature, in Free China (namely Taiwan) should meet the needs of 'all people.' Any line that divided people based on class should be erased.²⁰ The KMT government's San-min Doctrine, what the literature and art were based on, was not intended to highlight the class issue. Rather, the San-min Doctrine was designed to further obfuscate the CCP's concept of class, as portrayed in the KMT's public discourse.

The KMT used political theories (the San-min Doctrine versus Communism) to replace the lower classes by the upper/middle-classes in its campaign against the CCP. According to the KMT, the San-min Doctrine guaranteed a happy life for all people, while Communism brought only suffering. Under this national policy, the description of divergent lives was often due to different regimes. One account of this, a textbook of a Taiwanese elementary school describes the KMT mission:

We live happily and freely on the beautiful island of Taiwan. The life in Taiwan and in Communist China is like life in 'Heaven' and in 'Hell.' Only by implementing the San-min Doctrine can we exterminate the Communists, restore Mainland China and rescue our

¹⁹See Xinhuang Liu, ed., *Dangdai zhongguo xinwenxue daxi: chilao yu suoyin* 當代中國新文學大系：史料與索引 (*The anthology of contemporary Chinese literature: an archive and reference*) (Taipei: Dangdai xinwenxue daxi bianji weiyuan, 1981), 658. The original text: 「在真理之前，不容中立，在正義之前，不容懷疑；在國難之前，不容沈醉。因此，我們不但深惡痛絕那挑撥製造階級鬥爭的赤色文藝，我們也萬分鄙薄那不知死活腐蝕人心的黃色文藝，以及那是非不明態度曖昧的灰色文藝。」 (There is nothing neutral before the Truth. There is no doubt before Justice. There is no self-indulgence in a state of national emergency. Thus, we have to abandon the very idea of 'red' literature that incites class conflict, of 'yellow' literature that corrupts people's hearts, and of 'grey' literature that blurs the line between right and wrong.)

²⁰The idea comes from Zhang Daofan's article "Women suo xuyao de wenyi zhengce 我們所需要的文藝政策 [The policies we need for arts and literature]." It was first published in 1942. Later, when Zhang was in charge of the KMT government's cultural promotion in the 1950's, this article was revived and used as one of the guiding principles in developing anti-Communist literature and art in Taiwan. The article can be found in D. F. Zhang's "Women." See Ruiteng Li, "Zhang daofan xian sheng 'women suoxuyao de wenyi zhengce' shilun 張道藩先生「我們所需要的文藝政策」試論 (Zhang Daofang's 'The policies we need for literature and art')," *Bulletin of the Taipei Public Library* 6.1 (1988): 99.

brothers and sisters who we miss so dearly.²¹

In this description, the political system determines and guides economic ideology, and also people's quality of life. Taiwanese scholar Ceng Jingyue has observed that the representation of these two political regimes as 'Heaven' and 'Hell' was also shown through the images accompanying the text. The editor of the textbook used colored pictures to represent the pleasant, prosperous life of people in Taiwan.²² The people in these images are always smiling and dressed in clean, stylish clothes. On the other hand, the black and white pictures depict the dreadful life of people in Communist China. These images show emaciated people wearing sad expressions and tattered clothes.

Another example of the linkage between political regimes and economic success, as shown in comic strips, is found in the cartoonist Liu Shi's work. These comic strips of the Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival (a Chinese holiday for family reunion) show a stark contrast between two different political regimes. In one drawing, the moon is smiling, and the trees are lush. In Free China, a man and a woman, presumably a couple, are lying on comfortable chairs and eating, drinking, and smoking. Most importantly, they have prominent bellies, showing their affluence. However, in the other drawing, the moon is crying, and the trees are dead. The land is barren. An emaciated man dressed in worn clothes rests his head on a log and holds a skull, which ostensibly predicts his future. Next to him is a broken, empty bowl (Figure 4.1). In these images, the satisfaction of the people in these two regimes was measured by their economic achievements, instead of their class distinctions.

²¹ See Jingyue Ceng, "Taiwan diqu xuexiao fangong jiaoyu zhi yanjiu 台灣地區學校反共教育之研究 (Report on anti-Communist education in Taiwanese schools)," MA. thesis, National Normal Taiwan University, Taiwan, 1995, 43. The Chinese text: 「我們在這美麗的寶島上，過著快樂，自由的生活，和大陸上的同胞相比，真如『天堂』和『地獄』的分別。我們懷念大陸同胞，我們只有實行三民主義，消滅共匪，光復大陸，才能拯救他們。」

²² J. Ceng, 43.



Figure 4.1: A comic trip showing the different lifestyles under the regimes of the KMT and the CCP. S. Liu, “Tongshi zhongqiu yuexia ren 同是中秋月下人 (Under the same mid-autumn moon)”.

Like the cartoonist Liu Shi, playwrights in anti-Communist Taiwan understood that class divisions were not to be addressed outright in their characters and settings. Plays written under the guidelines of the San-min Doctrine do not overtly highlight the concept of class divisions, and avoid primary focus on ‘poor’ people. Among the sixty-seven plays in the state-sponsored compilation *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*), forty-six plays (including historical and modern plays) feature upper/middle-class characters, such as educated scholars, rich businessmen, and landlords.²³ Upper/Middle-class characters are portrayed in these plays as a way to show the KMT government’s political and economic achievements. If class conflict is mentioned, it is used to attack the CCP’s persecution of people who belong to the upper/middle-classes.

²³The statistical number comes from my calculation of the plays in the *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*). I include those plays that feature the upper/middle-class characters and are set in the houses of wealthy families.

Among the aforementioned forty-six anti-Communist plays, sixteen plays written throughout the 1950's use extravagant settings to demonstrate the CCP's oppression of upper/middle-class people. The plays are often set before 1949 in a spacious mansion, located in a large Chinese city. For instance, the locale is in the spacious living room of Principal Zhong in Li Manqui's play *Weixinqiao (Weixin Bridge)* (1956),²⁴ the luxurious main hall of the Fan family in Wu Rou's *Lisan shija (Disporic Family)* (1957),²⁵ or the gorgeous Western-styled living room found in Shanghai in Wu Rou's *Renshouzhijian (Of Man and Beast)* (1951).²⁶ All of these plays from this decade attempt to demonstrate how the CCP persecuted wealthy people in Mainland China. The suffering of the upper/middle-class family in these plays—sexually violated wives and daughters, families separated from one another, and even physical torture—represented the brutality and cruelty of the CCP. These plays typically focused on how the CCP destroyed traditional Chinese concepts of family and filial obedience. The upper/middle-class identity of the major characters was used to embody good, traditional ethics in these cultured families, in contrast to the rural, brutal, and merciless inhumanity of the CCP.

In the 1960's, anti-Communist plays focused more on themes of family and contemporary social issues, but still attempted to ignore class divisions, at least explicitly. During this period, the mainlander migrants had become established in Taiwan; accordingly, anti-Communist plays

²⁴See Manqui Li, "Weixinqiao 維新橋 (Weixin bridge)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集：中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 7, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 583–689. *Weixinqiao (Weixin Bridge)* shows Principal Zhong's strong opposition to the CCP, which results in the dissolution of his family and his death.

²⁵*Lisan shija (Disporic Family)* represents the dissolution of the Fan family due to the CCP's permeation into their family. Some of their family members are killed, while some choose to kill themselves. Some retreat to Taiwan to find shelter. No matter where they end up, the characters become aware of the CCP's treachery and cruelty.

²⁶*Renshouzhijian (Of Man and Beast)* shows Xun, a wealthy social butterfly, who changes her political orientation from the left-wing CCP to the right-wing KMT when she realizes the fact of the CCP's brutality. She tries to help the KMT's undercover agent, and volunteers to be a KMT spy in the CCP. Xun's identity is ultimately revealed. She decides to poison herself and encourages the rest of her friends to fight against the CCP.

from this decade are more often set in Taipei, the capital city of Taiwan. The settings were shifted from large Chinese residences to modern Western-style homes. For instance, Ding Yi's *Fumuxin* (*Parents' Heart*) (1961) unfolds in the gorgeous living room of a Western-style house. The play focuses in family conflicts and discoveries in the family of Yuan, a successful businessman. It shows how Yuan, the father, seeks his son who is left in China, but finds only an impostor, and how Yuan's daughter discovers she is adopted. Finally, the fake son confesses his crime, and his daughter finds her biological father, and also accepts her adopted father. Starting with the title, the play intends to promote filial obedience in the family.

In these anti-Communist plays, mainlander characters with successful careers in Taiwan no longer fear that the CCP will loot their treasures and burn their houses to ashes. Instead, during this period, these plays began to confront contemporary social issues, such as the upbringing of children, generational gaps, social crime, and ethical conflicts. Family ethics are often the major concern in these plays. Upper/Middle-class families are usually described as having better moral ethics than those of working-class families. Class divisions were not thought to divide and disrupt society, as the CCP's class conflict did in Mainland China. Instead, they were often considered as one type of dramatic element that could highlight these social issues. However, these plays still express the anti-Communist mission, as the slogan of returning to China was always spoken or sung about in these plays.

Modernization also helped differentiate the KMT (which provided its citizens happy, wealthy lives) from the CCP (whose citizens were doomed to live deprived and distressed lives). The differentiation could be seen in plays featuring upper/middle-class families. In these plays, upper/middle-class families in large Taiwanese cities often testify to the KMT's political and economic achievements that secure the personal and financial safety for citizens in Taiwan, in

contrast to the severe famine and suffering caused by the CCP's erroneous policies.

Modernization thus became an important indicator to distinguish between the Self and Other, Here and There, and Heaven and Hell of the two opposing regimes.

The playbill and setting of the play and film of *Yinrongjie* (*Reunion*) demonstrate the modernization of a middle-class family in Taiwan. This play was originally a novel, which was revised into a stage play, and finally adapted into a film.²⁷ Set in Taipei in 1951, the play's setting is described as follows: "The wall of the living room is hung with many portraits of Jesus Christ and various oil paintings in different sizes. A grand piano, an easel, and a sofa set are placed in the living room, which demonstrate an artistic atmosphere and the host's sense of style."²⁸ This simple description briefly indicates the modern lifestyle of a middle-class family.

The playbill of *Yinrongjie* (*Reunion*) in 1967 further visualizes one idea of the living standard of the middle-class family. Three Western paintings are hung on the wall, and a sculpture is placed on the table. The mother and the elder daughter are dressed in a elegant *qipiao* (or *cheongsam*),²⁹ a type of full-lengthed dress that often served as a symbol of proper middle-class life in Taiwan. By contrast, the younger daughter and the kneeling man are dressed in fancy, Western-style clothes. These clothes are not designed for laborious work. The film version provides more details about the modernity of a middle-class setting. In the spacious house, there is a fish tank, a telephone, an elegant sofa set, a refrigerator, and a piano. The family

²⁷ *Yinrongjie* (*Reunion*) was originally a novel by Chen Jiying. Chen Wenquan revised the novel into a play in 1952. In 1956, Chen Wenquan directed this play, and the 'Liushi niandai juyishe (Theatrical Troupe of the Sixties)' performed this play at the *Dahua* Cinema (used both for film cinema and theatre). In 1960, Zong You directed the film version. Many contemporary stars participated in the film and made this film a hit.

²⁸ Wenquan Chen, "Yinrongjie 音容劫 (Reunion)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*), ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 9, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 158.

²⁹ *Qipao* is an one-piece Chinese dress for women that has been worn since the Manchu ruled China in the seventeenth century.

members have an abundance of leisure time.³⁰ The mother plays the musical recorder to accompany her son's singing, and the daughter plays the piano. These people seem to not have to work. Many scenes take place while they are on outings or involved in leisure activities.

Yinrongjie (Reunion) was praised by the KMT as a play that educated people in Taiwan about correct anti-Communist ideology.³¹ The play emphasizes dichotomies based on political affiliation. The KMT's followers succeed in their business and had a happy family life. Tan Zhuhuan's review of the play helped explain its political correctness:

Yinrongjie (Reunion) is a tragicomedy. It is about happiness, sadness, separation, and reunion in a critical era of China. It also reveals how we in Free China care for our fellow brothers in Mainland China, and their love for our homeland. After seeing *Yinrongjie (Reunion)*, you will not forget the miserable scenes in China which occurred under our enemy's savage rule. It appeals to our common humanity and brotherhood. Touching and thought-provoking, it is a play of blood and tears of love and hate.³²

In this description, Tan did not discuss the concept of class division that operates in this play. He focuses on universal human emotions to explain the dichotomies of happiness and sadness, love and hatred, reunion and separation, and finally, Heaven (Taiwan under the KMT's rule) and Hell (Communist China under the CCP's rule). Tan treated it as natural that these dichotomies were distinguished by two different lifestyles. The difference in these lifestyles did not come from

³⁰The play features a mainlander woman, Madame Huang, who was separated from her son because the CCP took over China. She always stands on a bridge, looks across the river in Taipei, and imagines seeing her son standing across the strait. Because of her sorrow, she cries and becomes blind. Later, her son escapes from China, but his voice is damaged due to the CCP's torture. After a series of misunderstandings, the mother identifies her son and the family is reunited.

³¹See "Guofangbu Jiang buzhang jixu 'Yinrongjie' 國防部蔣部長嘉許「音容劫」(The Minister of National Defense praised the play *Reunion*)," *United Daily News* [Taipei] 4 May 1967, national edition: 7 and "Guomintang zhongyang jiajiang 'Yinrongjie' 國民黨中央嘉獎「音容劫」(The KMT's officials praised the play *Reunion*)," *United Daily News* [Taipei] 15 Mar. 1967, national edition: 8. Then-Minister of National Defense Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Chiang Kai-shek, publicly complimented the play's ideology as bringing correct political values to society.

³²Zhuhuan Tan, "Kan huaju 'Yinrongjie' de yanchu 看話劇「音容劫」的演出 (On the performance of *Reunion*)," *China Weekly* 883 (1967): 24. The original text: 「『音容劫』是一個感傷的喜劇，寫出了大動亂時代中人生的悲歡離合，寫出了祖國對大陸同胞的關懷，大陸同胞對祖國的熱愛。『音容劫』使人看後不會忘記大陸故鄉在敵人的蹂躪底下的悲慘情景，激起了人類愛，同胞愛。它是感人肺腑，發人深省的作品，它是有血有淚，有愛有恨的劇本。」

class divisions, but from political alignments. On one side of the political division reside freedom and abundance, and on the other suffering and poverty. The KMT claimed that choosing the right path leads to choosing a correct political ideology, and then necessarily to a comfortable life.³³

Yinrongjie (Reunion) is not an isolated demonstration of the upper/middle-class life style. Many anti-Communist films also represent the upper/middle-class life of migrant mainlanders. They demonstrate a similar valuing of upper/middle-class privilege, which comes from aligning oneself with the KMT government and their goal of retuning to China. In an earlier anti-Communist film *Qilu (Crossroads)*, the wealthy female character spends most of her time wearing expensive stockings and gloves. She lives in a spacious house in Taipei, and often meets friends in a café or at an expensive restaurant. In *Tianlunlei (Debt of Love)*, the mother of the family is a doctor. Her living room is well decorated. The characters are all wearing expensive clothes. In *Guilai (Homecoming)*, the male protagonist wears a Western suit, sits in a fine chair, and reads a newspaper. His adopted niece appears in a stylish, one-piece dress, and holds a Western-style doll. On the wall is a family portrait filled with smiling faces.

Similar to many of the anti-Communist plays, the films provide visual images of upper/middle-class settings that define key traits of the characters. Characters often live in a spacious house in a large city, primarily Taipei. The house has Western-style decorations and high-tech appliances. These upper/middle-class families have countless amounts of leisure time for walking, chatting, drinking coffee, reading the newspaper, and going to the theatre. Through

³³See Jicong Wang, ed., *Minzu wenxue yu shidai jingshen* 民族文學與時代精神 (*Nationalist literature and the contemporary spirit*) (Taipei: The Commercial Press of Taiwan, 1971), 8. Wang Jicong, a KMT loyalist, also insists that class divisions cannot replace our universal humanity. He states: “We are human beings. We are Chinese. During our progress, we cannot forget the fact that we are human beings and Chinese. Based on this understanding, any wicked theory that denies the notion of human beings and universal humanity and divides people into different classes should be completely rejected.” The original text: 「我們的根本是人，是中國人。在求新中，千萬不可以忘記自己是人。是中國人。基於此一立場，否定人類，人性而將人分成階段，以階級利益及思想情感代替普遍人性者，這種『新』邪說我們固然要反對。」

these visual images, a family in Taipei which obeys Confucian ethics is frequently shown as happy and wealthy. These characters reiterate that their high quality of life is due to the KMT government, so they enthusiastically contribute their energy and property to the KMT's anti-Communist policy of reclaiming China. In doing so, their life style of leisure is ostensibly protected.

Through depictions of a modern, convenient, and comfortable city life, anti-Communist media translates the upper/middle-class pleasures into an important economic achievement as a way to combat Communism. The rich and happy upper/middle-class family was constructed as the sole social unit in Taiwanese society through anti-Communist plays and films. The representation of the upper/middle-class family obliterated any discussion of class divisions in public discourse. Even the visual presentation of housewives dressed in *qipao* in many anti-Communist plays and films, such as *Yinrongjie (Reunion)*, serves the double mission of upper/middle-class and anti-Communist propaganda. Norma Diamond, an American anthropologist whose research focuses primarily on China and Taiwan, points out that the life of an idealized housewife could be found in the Taiwanese media's construction of an upper/middle-class lifestyle:

[Being a housewife in Taiwan] is a form of upward mobility, in their eyes [...] In the distorted picture of life in China that is presented to the Taiwan public one learns that under the Communists women are forced to work and toil—as compared to Taiwan, where they are free to remain at home, enjoying a life of leisurely motherhood.³⁴

The stark contrast of women's lives found in the opposing political policies of the two political regimes represented different vocations and lifestyles of citizens on each side of the Strait. The KMT used the dreamy, upper/middle-class life found in visual representations in Taiwan as a tool

³⁴N. Diamond, 857, 871.

to stabilize anti-Communist society. Jobs involved with manual labor, such as workers and peasants, were related to the suffering under Communism in China.

In the KMT's public discourse, life under their rule offered great opportunities for the advancement of lower class people to upper/middle-class modernity. In 1955, the special issue of the *Taiwan Xinsheng Bao* (*Taiwan New Life Daily*) celebrating Retrocession Day (October 25) included various articles that described the difference between past and present life in Taiwan.³⁵ The authors described their currently wealthy lives, as compared to their memories of life under Japanese rule, and expressed their gratitude to and happiness under the rule of the KMT's San-min Doctrine.³⁶ In another special issue of the *Central Daily News*, published on the thirtieth anniversary of Retrocession Day in 1975, a banner across the top of the newspaper reads: "Under the blue sky and white sun, everyone's life is great."³⁷ The issue included articles entitled "Two Different Worlds," "The Infinite Happiness of Farmers," "The Abundant Life of the Aborigines," "Happy Workers," "The Fisherman's Name is Boss," "The Worker Became a Boss," "Good Life of Salt Village," and "Starting from Nothing to Everything." In these articles, people from the working class describe how they moved up from their formerly poor lives, due to the benefit of the KMT's San-min Doctrine. For these and other people in Taiwan, accordingly, life under the San-min Doctrine makes possible the pursuit of wealth and happiness. In its propaganda, the KMT government pretended to include the lower-class people of Taiwan in the political and economic efforts to reform society. However, research has shown that the social foundation of

³⁵The titles of these articles celebrate the recovery of Taiwan from Japan and China and from the control of the CCP: "Memories of the Victory over Japan," "When I First Served in the Administration of Taipei," "Singing the National Anthem of ROC and Learning Mandarin," "Recovering China to Celebrate Retrocession Day," and "Taiwan in the Past and Now: Two Different Worlds."

³⁶"Taiwan guangfu benbao chuankang shizhounian jinian zhengwen teji 台灣光復本報創刊十週年紀念徵文特輯 (Special issue: the 10th anniversary of *New Life Daily* and Taiwan's retrocession," *New Life Daily* [Taipei] 31 Oct. 1955, national edition: s00003.

³⁷The blue sky and white sun (*qingtian bari*) is the symbol on the KMT's party flag, as well as on the national flag.

Taiwan during the 1950's and 1960's was actually middle-class mainlanders working in the government and the army, not working-class people.³⁸ In 1950, one year after its evacuation to Taiwan, the KMT set about reforming the party's organization. The guidelines of the reform efforts emphasized the significance of working-class labors and the masses, and intended to secure their participation. The guidelines stressed that "young intellectuals, peasants, and workers" were pillars of society.³⁹ The KMT learned that a large number of people from these three groups participated in the CCP before and during the Civil War. These groups were seen as potential Communist revolutionaries. The state's socio-economic policies that supposedly were meant to serve the working class people, actually manipulated and controlled their lives and conditions.

Instead of establishing the working-class as a social pillar in anti-Communist Taiwan, the KMT government required the city, filled with loyal official and military mainlanders, to be utilized as a way to combat against the rural areas that held many supposed enemies.⁴⁰ Therefore, an article like "The Infinite Happiness of Farmers" proclaimed that for farmers to find a better life, they needed to own modern electronic equipment—such as a record player, television, radio, fan, or motorcycle that were often used in the city.⁴¹ The whole point of this article was not to show the reality of a farmer's labor-intensive work, but to prove that a farmer could be as rich as an urban professional, under the guidance of the KMT's San-min Doctrine.

³⁸Yijun Gong, 'Wailai zhengquan' yu bentu shehui: gaizaohou guomindang zhengquan shehui jichu de xingcheng 「外來政權」與本土社會：改造後國民黨政權社會基礎的形成 (1950-1969) (*Immigrant-state and resident society: the formation of a social foundation after the KMT's party reform*) (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 1998), 70.

³⁹Y. Gong, 102.

⁴⁰"Nonjiale lewuqiong 農家樂樂無窮 (The infinite happiness of farmers)," *Central Daily News* [Taipei] 25 Oct. 1975, national edition: 11.

⁴¹Zhengxiu Lin, "Taiwan zhanhou chengxiang guanxi zhi zhengzhi fenxi 台灣戰後城鄉關係之政治分析 (1945-1992) (Political analysis of the rural-urban relationship in post-war Taiwan (1945-1992)," MA. thesis, National Taiwan University, Taiwan, 1993, 16.

The Working Class Heaven: a Construct of the Abundant Countryside

“For many years, we had taught ‘history for history’s sake [in Taiwan]. The San-min Doctrine told us to care about people’s lives, but the life in traditional history was the ‘life’ of the aristocracy, not that of the common people. The aristocrats were merely a small percentage of our entire population. Therefore, the history we [Taiwanese people] read [...] had nothing to do with our current experience.”⁴²

Class and ethnic divisions (and certainly gender differences) should always be examined together in order to better understand visual presentations involving the issue of class in anti-Communist propaganda. These presentations constantly involved the establishment of clear geographical divisions between the city and the countryside.

After arriving in Taiwan, three-fifths of the mainlanders chose to live in cities, and most of them settled in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan.⁴³ Taipei was the governmental center for the anti-Communist campaigns. The predominantly KMT-affiliated mainlanders knew little of the native Taiwanese people and of Taiwanese rural areas when they first came to the island. The separation between city and country was reinforced by the KMT.⁴⁴ As the intellectual center of anti-Communist efforts and the most Westernized city, Taipei both consumed and produced a large percentage of political, economic, and cultural resources. Only a city like Taipei could be equal to Chinese urban centers, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing, and Nanking. Therefore, Taipei was always the center for the anti-Communist grand narrative.

Mainlanders dominated official/government positions in anti-Communist Taiwan, even

⁴²See J. Yip, 95. The original text: 「許多年來, 我們的歷史教學不過是『為歷史而歷史』; 三民主義告訴我們要重視人民生活, 不過傳統歷史所關心的『生活』是王公貴族的生活, 而不是廣大老百姓的生活。帝王和貴族不過是社會裡的一小撮, 因此我們所讀的歷史 [...] 跟我們現今的經驗毫無連結。」

⁴³Z. Lin, 2.

⁴⁴Considering that mainlanders in Taiwan constituted only 13.6 percent of the population, the number of native Taiwanese people working in official positions was quite small. See Binghui Liao, “Muyu yundong yu guojia wenyi tizhi 母語運動與國家文藝體制 (Mother tongues and national literature),” *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 22.4 (1993): 14.

though they were the minority in Taiwan. In the early 1950's, nearly 1.5 to 2 million mainlanders from China came to Taiwan. They transferred their urbanized economy from Mainlander China to Taiwan after the great retreat in 1949.⁴⁵ According to official data, by June 1950, mainlander people numbered 53,024 of the 81,006 employees who worked in the government.⁴⁶ They accounted for more than half of total government employees.⁴⁷ For three decades after the 1950's, mainlander political elites continued to dominate the Nationalist Party and the KMT government.⁴⁸

Taiwanese socialist Wei Yung explicitly addresses several discernible ethnic differences between the native Taiwanese people and the mainlanders, including the widespread attitude among mainlanders that they were more sophisticated and belonged in the upper/middle- classes of society:

First of all, the overwhelming majority of the mainlanders live in the large urban centers of Taiwan, while the [native] Taiwanese stay mainly in smaller towns and villages. The Taiwanese are engaged in the agricultural, fishing and small business sectors of Taiwan's economy, whereas the mainlanders are employed mainly in government, military, and academic circles.⁴⁹ In addition, the mainlanders speak Mandarin—the official spoken language—as their common language, while the Taiwanese speak either a southern Hoklo or Hakka dialect. All of these differences have contributed to the feeling of isolation between these two groups.⁵⁰

⁴⁵Kangfen Chen, "'Zhongguo wenyi xiehui' shequn yu zhanhou Taiwan wuling niandai fangong wenxue jizhi de xingcheng 「中國文藝協會」社群與戰後台灣五〇年代反共文學機制的形成 (The development of the 'Chinese Writers' & Artists' Association' community and anti-Communist literature in post-war Taiwan in the 1950's)," *Aletheia University Taiwanese Literature Research Magazine* 6 (2004): 153.

⁴⁶Fred W. Riggs, *Formosa Under Chinese Nationalist Rule* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), 49.

⁴⁷K. Chen, 153.

⁴⁸F. W. Riggs, 49.

⁴⁹The influx of refugees in 1949 included, "generals with their defeated or retreating troops; wealthy landlords and businessmen who feared the approaching Communists; and a swarm of government officials, secret police and camp followers." See F. W. Riggs, 48.

⁵⁰See Yung Wei, "Political Development in The Republic of China on Taiwan," *The Question of Taiwan: Document and Analysis* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 92. According to Taiwanese scholar Wang Fuchang, the emergence of the conflicts between two major ethnic groups primarily began in 1945, due to differences between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese people. The 228 Incident occurring in 1947, in which two mainlander officers shot two native Taiwanese people, further intensified the rivalry between these two groups. See Fuchang Wang, "Shengji ronghe de benzhi: yige lilun yu jingyan de tantao 省籍融合的本質：一個理論與經驗的探討 (The essence of ethnic integration:

Native Taiwanese people called the mainlanders ‘people with money,’ because most mainlanders had a higher socioeconomic status.⁵¹ Mainlanders also enjoyed labeling themselves as educated, and often viewed native Taiwanese people as less educated. Hill Gates has specified that “pride simply in being Taiwanese was rare, at least in the urban areas where mainlander values were most pervasive.”⁵²

Although living in upper/middle-class society was the typical mainlander’s life experiences, it was also the effect of a group mindset. Taiwanese anthropologist Cai Shuling has conducted research on the identification of social class in Taiwan. She found that the mainlanders, compared to other ethnic groups in Taiwan, had the highest percentage of people identifying themselves as members of the middle class.⁵³ The construction of these pervasive attitudes was in part due to a large influx of upper/middle-class mainlander migrants to Taiwan, who came along with the KMT government. In part, the KMT reduced the numbers of native Taiwanese elites by the landlord reforms of the 1950’s, and by executing them for real or perceived dissent toward the KMT government in the 228 Incident.⁵⁴ These policies served to both eliminate opposition to the Nationalist government, and also absorbed the native Taiwanese elites into the KMT’s sectors of industry. Consequently, upper/middle-class mainlander immigrants occupied the urban landscape,

research based on theory and practice),” *Zuqun guanxi yu guojia renting* 族群關係與國家認同 (*Ethnic relationship and national identification*, ed. Zhang Maogui 張茂桂 (Taipei: Chang Yung-fa Foundation Institute for National Policy Research, 1993), 71. Details of the 228 incident can be found in Introduction.

⁵¹H. Gates, 256.

⁵²See H. Gates, 256. However, this general statement cannot exclude the existence of lower-class mainlanders and middle-class Taiwanese people in society.

⁵³See Shuling Cai, “Zhongchan jieji de fenhua yu rentong 中產階級的分化與認同 (Division and identification of the middle class),” *Bianqian zhong Taiwan shehui de zhongchan jieji* 變遷中台灣社會的中產階級 (*The middle class in a changing Taiwan*), ed. Xiao Xinhuan 蕭新煌 (Taipei: Juliu, 1989), 57. Although the research was conducted in 1988, almost twenty years after the scope of my dissertation, the result of the research can still cover and reflect social conditions after the 1950’s.

⁵⁴Zhengguang Xu, “Zhongchan jieji xingqi de zhengzhi jingjixue 中產階級興起的政治經濟學 (The politico-economy of the rise of the middle class),” *Bianqian zhong Taiwan shehui de zhongchan jieji* 變遷中台灣社會的中產階級 (*The middle class in a changing Taiwanese society*), ed. Xiao Xinhuan 蕭新煌 (Taipei: Juliu, 1989), 42.

and the Nationalist government also effectively controlled the rural landscape.⁵⁵ As a result, Taiwan was dominated by a small group of mainlander elites who promoted the San-min Doctrine's principles.⁵⁶

Native Taiwanese people, on the other hand, were largely confined to the agricultural regions, as opposed to the landless mainlanders. As the historian Huang Junjie has pointed out, the post-war society of Taiwan in 1949 was primarily rural and agricultural, in contrast to the urban world of the upper/middle-class migrants. Taiwanese farmers made up 58.6 percent of the entire population in Taiwan; 39 percent of them were tenant farmers. Despite the number of tenant farmers being radically reduced in the 1950's due to government policies, Taiwan was still agriculturally oriented.⁵⁷ These distinct vocational and residential differences further widened the gap between mainlanders and native Taiwanese people.

Because most of the anti-Communist plays and films were written in Mandarin by mainlander playwrights who lived in Taipei, the characters, settings, and themes of the plays tend to represent the social and economic conditions of urban people of the upper/middle classes. Chi Wei-jan, a Taiwanese theatre scholar and critic, observes that in most anti-Communist plays, families of upper/middle-class mainlanders all have houses, cars, chauffeurs, subordinates, and

⁵⁵See Edwin A. Winckler, "Elite Political Struggle, 1945-1985," *Contending Approaches to the Political Economy of Taiwan*, ed. Edwin A. Winckler and Susan Greenhalgh (Armonk: An East Gate Book, 1988), 161 and Edwin A. Winckler, "Mass Political Incorporation, 1500-2000," *Contending Approaches to the Political Economy of Taiwan*, ed. Edwin A. Winckler and Susan Greenhalgh (Armonk: An East Gate Book, 1988), 61.

⁵⁶Xu Zhengguang notes that the KMT wanted to build Taiwanese society in the 1950's as a society without class, except for the dominating elite of mainlanders. See Z. Xu, 42.

⁵⁷See Junjie Huang, ed., *Zhanhou taiwan de zhuanxing jiqi zhanwang* 戰後台灣的轉型及其展望 (*Changes and prospects in post-war Taiwan*) (Taipei: National Taiwan University Publishing Co., 2006), 58, 65. Official data show that in the 1950's, 45% of the Taiwanese people worked in agriculture, while only 13% of the mainlanders worked in this industry. Land reform in Taiwan was conducted after 1945. It included a program of rent reduction in 1949, the sale of public land in 1951 and a land-to-tiller program in 1953. Landlords were asked to sell their land to the government, which was then resold to the farmers. The land reform resulted in income redistribution. The number of tenant farmers was largely reduced. Their life was much improved and the agricultural productivity was greatly increased, at least according to official reports.

servants. They seem to live within a protective vacuum that isolates them from the rest of society, including the hard working people of the lower classes and the rural population of Taiwan.⁵⁸ This isolation results in the absence of non-mainlanders and lower-class people, except as servants.

In a similar way, many anti-Communist novels lack correspondence between the world in the novels and actual Taiwanese life and conditions, as literary scholar Chang Sun-sheng Yvonne has shown. For example, Pan Renmu's novel, *Lianyi Biaomei (My Cousin Lianyi)* (1952), offers a “middle-brow artistic vision” that portrays the life of a mainlander girl who is conditioned by the “commercialized urban environment of Taiwan, which, in turn, is a continuation of that in the big cities of pre-Revolution China before the Civil War.”⁵⁹ Likewise, Taiwanese painters working under anti-Communist policies were afraid to present lower-class subjects in their drawings, because such images could invite potential punishment from the government.⁶⁰ Working-class subjects—particularly farmers and workers—and their environments were largely excluded from anti-Communist visual presentations and discourses.

To be expected, the anti-Communist propaganda that guides the plays and films usually represents the social and political values and perspectives of the KMT government on matters of class and ethnic identity. For example, consider the role of the servant in both the anti-Communist play and the film version of *Yinrongjie (Reunion)*. In the 1955 play version, the servant was described to be an old mainlander woman. But in the 1960 film version, a native Taiwanese girl

⁵⁸W.-j. Chi, “Shan'e duili yu human didai: Taiwan fangong xiju wenben yanjiu 善惡對立與晦暗地帶: 台灣反共戲劇文本研究 (Manichaeism and its deviations: a study of anti-Communist drama in Taiwan),” 154. The original text: 「這些唯心主義的劇作, 以刻劃彷彿生活於真空狀態的外省中上家庭 (有獨棟洋房, 有汽車和司機, 有部屬和僕傭) 為主, 以致佔台灣多數的本省人或不分省級的底層階級在當時舞台上缺席的。」

⁵⁹Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance: Contemporary Chinese Fiction from Taiwan* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 73.

⁶⁰Yating Li, “Jiangou Taiwan yishu zhutixing de kunjing: zhanhou guomingdang de wenyi zhengce 建構台灣藝術主體性的困境: 戰後國民黨的文藝政策 (Difficulties in constructing the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature and art: KMT's policies of literature and art in post-war Taiwan),” MA. thesis, National Taiwan University, Taiwan, 2002, 36.

replaces the mainlander. Her peculiar Mandarin accent distinguishes her from other family members, and is used to produce some humorous moments.

The change in ethnic identity of the servant character demonstrates the exclusion of two ethnic and economic groups from anti-Communist visual representations, in accord with the guidelines of the KMT's San-min Doctrine. Class and ethnic divisions became insignificant in public anti-Communist propaganda. The old servant in the play version of *Yinrongjie (Reunion)* represents the lower-class mainlanders, who were in the working class in post-revolution China after 1911. They were less educated, and possessed little professional expertise that might be used to earn a comfortable living. But in the film version of *Yinrongjie (Reunion)* the lower-class mainlander disappears, to be replaced by the Taiwanese girl servant. The servant in the film thus represents a familiar type of migrants in the 1950's who moved from the rural areas into the city in order to find a better life. The mother tongue of the Taiwanese migrants was different from that of their mainlander masters. Given the political goals that emphasized a happy and wealthy life under the San-min Doctrine, both the poor mainlanders and native Taiwanese people had little or no chance of being portrayed as the successful protagonists in anti-Communist public discourse.

The KMT government marginalized the images of impoverished people in anti-Communist public discourse because these images pointed to the failure of the KMT's economic policies which served to damage its anti-Communist political campaign. However, the KMT government could not ignore the fact that the working class still existed in society. Meanwhile, ten years after the retreat to Taiwan in 1949, the KMT government realized that the slogan of a return to China was politically ineffective. Because China had not been regained (and there were decreasing signs that it would be regained), an additional cultural campaign had to be promoted to galvanize support in Taiwan for the KMT government. Thus, in the 1960's, Taiwan's state-owned film

studio, ‘Zhongyang dianying gongsi (Central Motion Picture Corporation, or CMPC),’ together with the KMT government, developed a new genre of Mandarin-speaking films called ‘jiankang xieshizhuyi (healthy realism)’ films.

The idea of ‘healthy realism’ films in anti-Communist Taiwan came from the Italian ‘neo-realism’ films that appeared during the years after World War II. The new genre was originally used as a tool to realistically expose the darker sides of society, including the problems of prostitution, crime and poverty. However, this realism was sanitized to express the anti-Communist state ideology; the films had to promote the ‘healthy’ Confucian family values, which stood in opposition to the CCP’s destructive values. This modified realism was designed to show the lives of lower-class people in then-Taiwanese society, which had so far barely appeared in anti-Communist public promotions. But negative images of working-class people—either poor mainlanders or native Taiwanese people—were officially replaced by positive depictions as part of attempts to present ‘jiankang xieshizhuyi (healthy realism).’ These presentations of the working class in Mandarin-speaking healthy realism films became part of the KMT government’s official discourse.

Li Hsing was one of the dominant healthy realism film directors in the 1960’s.⁶¹ He claimed that traditional family values were preserved not in urban dwellers, but in rural, hard-working people. He wanted to develop a new method for representing lower class life, especially that of native Taiwanese people. Li’s *Jietou xiangwei (Our Neighbors)* (1963) pioneered the trend of

⁶¹Li Hsing (1930—) is a Taiwanese film director. He came from Mainland China to Taiwan due to the Civil War. He joined many theatrical activities at college, and then decided to work in theatre. Later, he had the chance to participate in many anti-Communist films as an actor, such as *Yingshuhua (Opium Poppy)*, and *Meiyou nuren de defang (Where There is No Women)*. He directed his first film in 1958, a Taiwanese-based film called *Wangge liuge you Taiwan (Brother Liu and Brother Wang on the Road in Taiwan)*. The film became very popular in Taiwan, and jump-started his film directing career, which included many important films of healthy realism. Li directed over 30 films between 1959 and 1986.

healthy realism filmmaking, which depicts a working-class world very different from anti-Communist representations of middle-class mainlanders in Taipei (Figure 4.2).⁶² The people in the film are a group of laborers living in a poor, dark, and small community at the margin of Taipei. The roads are filled with muddy puddles and trash. Disheveled residents are dressed in tattered clothes. The mainlander group includes a garbage picker, a rickshaw driver, a grandmother and her grandson, and an unemployed young man. The group of Taiwanese migrants include a prostitute who supports her mainlander boyfriend through her work, and an ill mother caring for her seven-year-old daughter. They work in the lowest tier of society, and they live in the shadowy corners of Taipei.

As the title indicates, however, the film places emphasis upon the social bonds forged between the two distinct ethnic groups rather than the lower-class identities of the characters. It shows how the garbage picker adopts the seven-year-old native Taiwanese girl, after her mother dies due to illness. They share a familial love, depicted as even more powerful than biological connections. Similarly, the community is also comparable to a large family. They care about each other, regardless of their ethnic differences. Most of the characters work hard at their onerous duties as laborers. Only the unemployed man stays at home and relies on his girlfriend's income, earned by being a prostitute. After tracing a series of misunderstandings and troubles in the community, the film concludes with scenes that reveal the spiritually fulfilled and basically happy life of these people. The native Taiwanese prostitute finds another job and begins dating the mainlander rickshaw driver. The mainlander garbage picker lives happily with the little native Taiwanese girl. After the unemployed man leaves the neighborhood, the community members

⁶²Unlike the typical healthy realism films that were set in the countryside, *Jietou xiangwei* (*Our Neighbors*), was set on the margin of Taipei. However, this film depicts working class people and has family values as its major subject. Therefore, this film is generally regarded as a pioneer of healthy realism film.



Figure 4.2: The film poster for Li Hsing’s *Jietou xiangwei* (*Our Neighbors*), showing the working class community and their neighborhood. “Li Hsing de xingli: Jietou Xiangwei 李行的行李: 街頭巷尾 (Li Hsing’s baggage: *Our Neighbors*).”

return to their peaceful lives, full of care and love.

Li Hsing’s *Lu* (*The Road*) (1967) is another early ‘healthy-realism’ film that stresses family values by incorporating ethnic as well as generational groups. The film portrays an older mainlander named Old Kuo, who works very hard to support his son’s education. In their small town, there is also an unemployed man and a woman who works as a seamstress in order to support them both. Initially feeling only sympathy, the son gradually falls in love with the woman. After a series of quarrels between the father and the son, they reconcile and learn to value their family more. The son becomes the first college graduate in this small community and brings

honor to his mainland Chinese ancestry. The film conveyed to the people in Taiwan how the KMT government intended to persuade working class people to spend their energy raising children with promising futures. The new generation would also participate in serving the military and help to recover China.

Healthy realism films adopted a sentimental strategy to represent the successful integration of the mainlanders and native Taiwanese people in these impoverished communities. By showing images of ethnic integration, these films intended to promote an official notion of society as a family that works together in order to combat the CCP's class divisions. This message of moral uplift is articulated by the old grandmother's words at the end of *Jietou xiangwei* (*Our Neighbors*): "In Taiwan these days, everyone should be lawful and know their place [...] Only then will we be able to return home [in Mainland China]." This statement is a promise to bring the mainlanders back home, an encouragement toward ethnic reconciliation, and an attempt to stabilize the potential rebels of the lower class by bringing them into the big happy family of society. In other words, the government tolerated the existence of the lower class people only if the members of the community discipline themselves into being good citizens.

The healthy realism films of the 1960's began to depict some of the country life as experienced by lower-class people, and introduced the topic (if not the promise) of ethnic integration between mainlanders and native Taiwanese people. However, these officially sponsored Mandarin-speaking films still presented some stereotypes of native Taiwanese people, as seen through the mainlanders' perspective. For example, in Li's *Jietou xiangwei* (*Our Neighbors*) and *Lu* (*The Road*), all the native Taiwanese characters are women from the countryside. To make a living, the native Taiwanese woman in *Jietou xiangwei* (*Our Neighbors*) works as a prostitute, and those in *Lu* (*The Road*) serve as sexualized hairdressers in order to

attract male customers. Despite images of positive ethnic integration, Li's early healthy realism films still represent native Taiwanese people as inferior to the working-class mainlanders. The promotion of ethnic integration in these healthy realism films is built on the premise of mainlander characters who accept essentially inferior native Taiwanese characters into their communities. Yet the mainlanders, with few exceptions, made little or no attempt to integrate themselves into the larger and more populous Taiwanese culture and society. The native Taiwanese people were supposed to change, not the mainlanders, who supposedly would soon return to China in order to resume their lost or displaced lives.

In order to acknowledge the existence of the majority of rural native Taiwanese people, the government attempted to represent rural life as another kind of 'artificial heaven' as joyful as city life. As seen through the lens of the state governmental policies and as represented in healthy realism films, rural areas became another successful model of the KMT's economic programs. Similar to the achievements of the well-established families of the urban mainlanders, the rural families were claiming their proper place in the social structure.

However, this social transformation of rural areas was occurring in a very particular way in accord with the rigorously proscribed guidelines. Lu Feiyi, a film critic, has listed the 'six nots' that best demonstrate how the state policy promoted an imagined countryside: "Do not publicize the dark sides of society, do not stir up class hatred, do not have a pessimistic tone, do not express romantic sentiment, do not produce trivial works, and do not express incorrect thinking."⁶³ In other words, healthy realism films had to embrace these restrictions in order to correctly present stories that proclaim the KMT's economic achievements, whether they actually occurred or not. The KMT's anxiety toward the working class can be easily perceived in this list of 'six nots.'

⁶³C. Berry and M. Farquhar, qtd. in 93.

Two healthy realism films that represented the carefully formatted abundance of the countryside and at the same time avoided the issue of class are Li Hsing's *Enü (Oyster Girl)* (1964), and *Yangya renjia (Beautiful Duckling)* (1965). Both films intended to promote the significance of family values—love and forgiveness—that should prevail over material desires. *Enü (Oyster Girl)* is about Alan (Orchid) and Jinshui (Water), who are in love. They cannot get married because Water is poor. Fortunately, the government establishes an oyster cannery, which helps to increase the inhabitants' income. Life in the town becomes tranquil and prosperous. Water happily marries Orchid. *Yangya renjia (Beautiful Duckling)* portrays the life of a girl named Xiaoyue (Moon) with her foster father Tian in the countryside. They run a duckling farm to support their family. Although they are not very rich, their industriousness affords them a content life. Also, because the state's agricultural council helps them to produce a new breed of ducklings, their financial situation is greatly improved. One day, Moon's biological brother Fu shows up and asks for the bribe from Tian to conceal the fact that Moon is not Tian's biological daughter. Tian sells the ducklings to pay Fu. Finally, Moon realizes the fact of her real identity but decides to live quietly with Fu in the countryside.

As anti-Communist plays and films intend to ignore the existence of working class people, these Mandarin-speaking healthy realism films acknowledge the existence of the working class but avoid negative social topics and issues. Instead, these healthy realism films show idealized scenes set in the country. They construct family values through images of rural scenes and farmland abundance. Therefore, the settings of the films were moved from indoor studios to outdoor locales to show the realities of life in the Taiwanese countryside. For this purpose, director Li Hsing employed a “wide lens, close-ups, montage within the shot, and editing” to



Figure 4.3: The poster for the film *Enü (Oyster Girl)*. The film shows the abundance of the harvest, symbolized by the boats' colorful sails and the oyster girls' sexualized bodies. "Enü 蚵女 (Oyster girl)."

suggest the extensiveness of the Taiwanese countryside.⁶⁴ In *Enü (Oyster Girl)*, hundreds of boats with colorful sails set sail at sunset to celebrate their large harvest of oysters (Figure 4.3). In *Yangya renjia (Beautiful Duckling)*, the agricultural council holds a grand competition of agricultural products. Local Taiwanese vegetable and fruits, such as bananas and pineapples, are piled into small hills. Many ducklings swim on the pond (Figure 4.4). The depiction of rural abundance in these two films boasts of the government's contribution to the countryside's high standard of living. These healthy realism films were produced to demonstrate traditional family values, modern farm machinery, and Chinese nationalism as promoted by the KMT.⁶⁵

⁶⁴C. Berry and M. Farquhar, 93.

⁶⁵Yi-Kuan Huang, ed., "Taiwan xiangtu xushi yu 'wenxue dianyi' zhi zaixian (1970's-1980's): yi shenfen rengtong, guozu xiangxiang wei yanjiu 台灣鄉土敘事與「文學電影」之再現 (1970's—1980's)—以身分認同，國族想像為研究 (A study of film adaptations of Taiwanese native literature (1970's—1980's)—with an emphasis on identity and the imagined community)," *Bulletin of Taiwan Literature* 6 (2005): 181.



Figure 4.4: The poster for the film *Yangya renjia* (*Beautiful Duckling*). Please note the fashionable dress for the country girl worn while she is working. “Li Hsing de xing li: Yangya renjia 李行的行李: 養鴨人家 (Li Hsing’s baggage: *Beautiful Duckling*).”

At the beginning of *Yangya renjia* (*Beautiful Duckling*), a narrator informs us that “duckling farms are common features in the Taiwanese countryside.” Li Hsing’s healthy realism films provide many beautiful images of life in the countryside in Taiwan. They suggest that the KMT built an ideal society that provided everyone with an equal portion of prosperity, especially for native Taiwanese people. In addition to the material abundance shown on the screen, this standard of living is also registered in the presentation of the female protagonists in both films; they wear heavy makeup and humble clothing, appearing to be beautiful girls from middle-class families. Their relatively prosperous images provide the rural working class with a material goal to pursue.

Although there are no available statistics on the ethnic identities of the spectators for the healthy realism films, it is highly unlikely that many Taiwanese people in the countryside saw *Yangya renjia* (*Beautiful Duckling*) because the film’s dialogue and narration are in Mandarin.

Nor did many rural Taiwanese audiences see the other healthy realism films. During this period, one set of production companies made Mandarin films and another group of production companies made Taiwanese films.⁶⁶ The government-ran film studio designed the positive imagery of healthy realism films mostly for a mainlander audience because the film's dialogue and narration were in Mandarin. During the shooting of *Yangya renjia* (*Beautiful Duckling*), Lai Chengying, the director of photography, described his confusion about the target audience for the healthy realism films. He felt that the film misrepresented the actual condition of the Taiwanese society if people who should have spoken Taiwanese dialect spoke Mandarin and people who should have spoken Japanese still spoke Mandarin.⁶⁷

Most mainlanders did not understand Taiwanese movies due to the language barrier. They perceived the Hoklo-speaking movies as being overly erotic, superstitious, and violent, and refused to see these locally made movies (Figure 4.5). In contrast to the mainlanders, Taiwanese viewers liked to see images of people laboring, set in their familiar world.⁶⁸ Interestingly, Li Hsing, the director who created many official 'healthy-realism' films, also produced a variety of popular Taiwanese films. As a mainlander, Li Hsing's debut film was a successful Taiwanese feature film titled *Wangge liuge you Taiwan* (*Brother Liu and Brother Wang on the Road in Taiwan*) (1959). In this film, two differing viewpoints of the city and the countryside were cleverly bridged and offered the state's view of the prosperous city, while also showing the

⁶⁶Mandarin feature films were made by major large studios and/or production companies—'Zhongyang dianying gongsi (Central Motion Picture Corporation),' 'Guolian dianying (Grand Pictures),' 'Lainbang yingye (Union Pictures),' and 'Diyi yingye (First Film Enterprise).' In contrast, Taiwanese feature films were produced by small to mid-sized studios and production companies, such as Huaxing, Yufen, Tailian, Jixing, and others. See Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 18.

⁶⁷Chanqu Yu, ed., "Shidai de duanzhang: 'yijiu liuling niandai Taiwan jiankangxieshi yingpian zhi yihan' 時代的斷章:「一九六〇年代台灣健康寫實影片之意涵」座談會 (Unfinished chapters of our time: the significance of Taiwan's 'healthy realism' films in the 1960's)," *Film Appreciation Journal* 12.6 (1994): 22.

⁶⁸Tsu-k'uang Lou and Wolfram Eberhard, eds., *Zhongguo dianying tiyao: yijiu liuling niantai Taiwan, xianggang de yingpian* 中國電影提要: 一九六〇年台灣香港的影片 (*The Chinese silver screen: Hong Kong & Taiwanese motion pictures in the 1960's*) (Taipei: The Orient Cultural Service, 1972), 34.



Figure 4.5: Characters of native Taiwanese people in *Yangya renjia* (*Beautiful Duckling*). Native Taiwanese people are often depicted as vulgar and licentious in official films. “Li Hsing de xing li: Yangya renjia 李行的行李: 養鴨人家 (Li Hsing’s baggage: *Beautiful Duckling*).”

Taiwanese view of the corrupt city.

Wangge liuge you Taiwan (*Brother Liu and Brother Wang on the Roads in Taiwan*) (1959) depicts the adventures of two working-class Taiwanese men, the fat Brother Wang and the skinny Brother Liu, counterparts to the American Laurel and Hardy. Brother Wang is a bootblack and Brother Liu is a rickshaw driver. In this Taiwanese-speaking film, a different side of poverty in Taiwan is shown. Brother Liu’s rickshaw is shown parked outside a dilapidated adobe house in the countryside. The house is dirty, and contains only a few pieces of broken furniture. The Brothers are always in need of food, clothes, and other material goods (Figure 4.6). One day, they meet a fortune-teller who tells Brother Wang that he will win a large amount in the lottery, but that Brother Liu will die within forty days. Wang therefore decide to take Liu for a tour around Taiwan using the lottery money. Many funny episodes take place when they venture into urban territory, portrayed as quite exotic to these two country dwellers.

The Brothers experience life in the city, but have a better and more fulfilling life in the



Figure 4.6: A film still from *Wangge liuge you Taiwan (Brother Liu and Brother Wang on the Roads in Taiwan)*, showing the tattered dress and laborious professions of lower-class Taiwanese people. W. Ni, 40.

country. After they receive the lottery money, they don clean, Western-style suits, go to expensive restaurants, and squander their money. Suddenly, the scenery changes from the impoverished countryside to the modern cities of Taipei (in the north) and Kaohsiung (in the south). In the cities, the Brothers draw attention to themselves because of the language barrier and their comparatively vulgar behavior. They order a steak in a Western-cuisine restaurant, but do not know how to eat with appropriate table manners. Nor do they know the correct tableware to use. They also are shown drinking and flirting with women in a club. They become quite exhausted by the city as well as by their constant worry about Brother Liu's imminent death, so they decide to go home to the country. Although they had spent all of the lottery money, they live a simple and content life into old age. The pure, spiritual life of these two countrymen is preferable to the fancy yet exhausting life of people in the city.

Li's *Wangge liuge you Taiwan (Brother Liu and Brother Wang on the Road in Taiwan)* shows both positive and negative aspects of the city and the country. In *The Country and The City*, Raymond Williams suggests two opposing qualities of different rural and urban worlds in postcolonial countries:

On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an archived center: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation.⁶⁹

The mainland director's Li's Hoklo-speaking *Wangge liuge you Taiwan (Brother Liu and Brother Wang on the Roads in Taiwan)* cleverly integrates these two opposing concepts of the country and the city, without leveling much criticism at either side. On the one hand, the rural area is no longer a source of abundance to be utilized by wealthy urban areas, but has become the poor and backward corollary to the city's modernity. On the other hand, when the two brothers come back from their urban tour, they realize the country is a primitive and tranquil haven from the corrupt city.⁷⁰ As a director of both healthy realism films and Hoklo-speaking Taiwanese films, Li chose not to judge either the country or the city when creating this film. Focusing on the humorous qualities of the characters, Li tried as much as possible to show both the negative and positive sides of urban and rural scenes in Taiwan. This balanced view allowed for a basically uncritical perspective on which the story can unfold. The film is primarily a comedy, based on character, not a satire, aimed at society.

⁶⁹Julie Skurski and Fernando Coronil, "Country and City in a Postcolonial Landscape: Double Discourse and the Geopolitics of Truth in Latin America," *Views Beyond the Border Country: Raymond Williams and Cultural Politics*, ed. Dennis L. Dworkin and Leslie G. Roman (New York: Routledge, 1993), qtd. in 233.

⁷⁰These two films were produced by the same director Liang Zhefu (or, Liang Che-fu) and the same studio of Tailian, and performed by the same male and female protagonists. Liang Zhefu (1920-1992) was born in Guangzhou, China. He worked as a theatre director during the Sino-Japanese War. Later, he became a film director in Hong Kong. In 1957, he moved to Taiwan and directed several Taiwanese-speaking films. Numerous Taiwanese actors, such as Xiao Yanqiu, Chen Yang, and Bai Lan, became popular due to his films.

Despite his attempt at balance, Li still highlighted certain stereotypes about life in the country and the city. And in a gentle way he presented some of the obvious differences between the rural Taiwanese people and the urban mainlanders. The city life was shown as wealthy and complex while the country life was poor and simple. While the city people were used to their life in Western-cuisine restaurants and clubs, the country dwellers were contented with their simple life in their humble huts. In other words, although the film did display some of realistic locales and aspects of lower-class Taiwanese life, the people in these settings were still placed in the subordinate tiers of the social hierarchy.

The distinguishing qualities of the country and the city were further polarized in Taiwanese-speaking films made by local Taiwanese studios. Taiwanese-speaking films sometimes presented negative images of city life; these snapshots of urban society often expressed a critical Taiwanese viewpoint. Two tragic films—*Gaoxiong fade weibanche* (*The Last Train from the Kaohsiung Station*) (1963) and *Taipei fade zaobanche* (*The First Train from the Taipei Station*) (1964)—clearly showed the native Taiwanese people's uneasy, even fearful view of corrupted city life. These two films, made by the Taiwanese studio Tailian, used the journey of a train to symbolize the dangerous passage from the country to the city. All too often the trip leads to destructive events, including self-destruction. Unlike anti-Communist and healthy realism films made by large, government-sponsored studios, these two films present a tragic romance that captures some of the negative ways that Taiwanese people perceived Taipei and its inhabitants.

Gaoxiong fade weibanche (*The Last Train from the Kaohsiung Station*) tells a tragic story about the death of a poor, innocent, girl named Cuicui from rural Taiwan. She falls in love with a wealthy man, Chen, from a good family in Taipei, whose father wants her to marry his boss's daughter. After his vacation, Chen has to return to Taipei. He tells Cuicui that he will take the last



Figure 4.7: A film poster. “Gaoxiong fade weibanche 高雄發的尾班車 (The last train from the Kaohsiung station).”

northbound train from Kaohsiung to Taipei. Cuicui is not able to catch the train, and decides to find Chen in Taipei. They meet again and get married, but are separated by Chen’s disapproving family. Although Chen’s family finally gives their blessing to the marriage, Cuicui is too ill to be a happy bride. She sings her last song and dies with a smile (Figure 4.7).

Local Taiwanese films of this time demonstrated a new way of portraying the city and the country, certainly different from the anti-Communist works of propaganda. In these films, the city is shown as a place of abundance and pretentiousness, while the country is impoverished and backwards. Characters who live a comfortable life (one endowed with a television, fan, sofa, glasses, and fancy decorations) in Taipei are always formally dressed in *qipao* and Western suits, as shown in anti-Communist films and comics. They are more educated, but also more conceited. They look down on rural people for their vulgarity and ignorance, while the rural people loathe

this arrogant attitude. Marriage between urban and rural people is seldom allowed in these films, just as marriage between the mainlanders and the Taiwanese people was banned in early post-war Taiwan. Usually, the country people are poorly clothed, and the rural girls often lack shoes. Her house is an old, small, ramshackle room. The rural people are impoverished and in debt, and therefore have to sell their daughters.⁷¹ The train that sends people from the country of Kaohsiung to Taipei is used as a symbol of the path leading to corruption, and even death.

This disruption between the country and the city is apparent in *Taipei fade zaobanche* (*The First Train from the Taipei Station*) (1964). Despite the title, this film was a sequel to *Gaoxiong fade weibanche* (*The Last Train Departed from the Kaohsiung Railway Station*). It differs from the earlier film in its more extensive and explicit depiction of the process of corruption. *Taipei fade zaobanche* (*The First Train from the Taipei Station*) is about a poor girl named Lan, whose father is dead and whose mother is very ill. She becomes a dancer in a Taipei club, and is raped by her boss. Meanwhile, her lover Earth comes from the countryside to Taipei, but is disappointed to learn of her chaotic life. Earth tells Lan that he plans to take the first train southbound back to Kaohsiung, and he hopes that Lan will join him; however, Lan does not catch this train. She accidentally stabs her boss in the process of trying to escape. She is disfigured during the struggle, and sentenced to life in prison. Meanwhile, Earth is stabbed by the boss's men and is blinded. Standing outside the prison, Earth promises to wait for her forever in the countryside (Figure 4.8).

To those Taiwanese audiences, the slogan of returning home to China as highlighted in the

⁷¹One of the popular subjects among first-generation Taiwanese writers in early post-war Taiwan was the sale of rural women. One plot details how a poor, young girl from the countryside was sold to a rich, urban family. Although she was identified as an adopted daughter, she actually served as a maid. When she grew up, she had to marry the son of the household. This process allowed the parents to supervise the girl, and secured her virginity. See Liling Li, "Wulin niandai guojia wenyu tizhi xia taiji zuojia de chujing jiqi chuanguo chutan 五〇年代國家文藝體制下台籍作家的處境及其創作初探 (A preliminary study of Taiwanese writers' life and work under national institutions in the 1950's)," MA. thesis, National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan, 1995, 110.



Figure 4.8: A film poster. “Taipei fade zaobanche 台北發的早班車 (The first train from the Taipei station).”

KMT’s anti-Communist propaganda was irrelevant to their daily lives. These working-class people living in the country desired a better life in the city. However, they also feared that city life would destroy their purity. The lyrics of the opening song in the film *Taipei fade zaobanche* (*The First Train from the Taipei Station*) read: “The rural girl has a happy life.” When Lan decides to work in Taipei, her mother warns her, “Taipei is resplendent with variegated coloration.” However, it is her mother who contentedly counts the money Lan earns. It is also Snow, who introduces Lan to her job as a dance girl, who tells her, “The city is complicated.” An innocent girl is ruined because of the evil lurking in the city. The complicated feelings of the countrymen toward the city made up another side of the urban/rural divide that was constructed by the KMT’s ‘healthy’ policies.

The KMT failed to discuss the actual lives of rural Taiwanese in plays and films, as well as in

literature. Books about rural subjects were not celebrated, unless they omitted any discussion of class conflict. The KMT government marginalized working-class people's rural life in the state's cultural propaganda, even though working-class Taiwanese people made up the majority of the population in Taiwan.

Taiwanese literature also reflected the state's segregation between the upper/middle-class life in the city and the working class in the country. Because of the language barrier, only a few native Taiwanese writers were capable of using Mandarin to depict literary subjects that were pleasing to and required by the state. In the 1950's, the Taiwanese writer Zhong Lihe used Mandarin, instead of Japanese, to write a novel called *Lisan Nongcheng (Li Mountain Farm)* about the relationship between the landlord and the farmer. It was the only literary work from a Taiwanese writer that was recognized by the state.⁷² However, this work presumably got an award because it does not show conflict between farmers and landlords.⁷³ Instead, it describes a politically-correct idea of cooperation between varying social classes. Works of other native Taiwanese writers who exposed class conflict were, on the contrary, ignored by the state.

The absence of the working class in anti-Communist propaganda was not publicly discussed until the late 1970's. A literary event called the 'Xiangtu wenxue lunzan (Nativist Literary Debate)' (1977-1978) further called attention to the distinct class line that was still hidden in anti-Communist plays.⁷⁴ The Nativist debate compared Taiwanese writers to CCP writers

⁷²One of the popular subjects among first-generation Taiwanese writers in early post-war Taiwan was the sale of rural women. One plot details how a poor, young girl from the countryside was sold to a rich, urban family. Although she was identified as an adopted daughter, she actually served as a maid. When she grew up, she had to marry the son of the household. This process allowed the parents to supervise the girl, and secured her virginity. See L. Li, 110.

⁷³Danju Chen, "Zhanhou Taiwan nongmin xiaoshou de leixing yanbian 戰後台灣農民小說的類型演變 (Genre development of peasant novels in Taiwan)," MA. thesis, National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan, 1995, 27.

⁷⁴See Y. C. Teng, 347. Actually, the opposition of the KMT-aligned writers and the nativist writers started between 1953 and 1963. However, the large-scale debate was in 1977-1978, and involved almost all writers in Taiwan, including both mainlanders and native Taiwanese.

because their focus on rural issues emphasized the class divide in Taiwanese literature. This debate stressed the strict class distinctions and descriptions found in literary works, as well as in the society of post-war Taiwan.⁷⁵ It also pointed out the long-term political fears of the Taiwanese people that pertained to class issues.

The existence of class divisions in Taiwan became gradually more visible through literary and filmic works which helped to highlight the absence of the working class in anti-Communist propaganda in the 1950's and 1960's. One of the most important work to reveal class divisions among mainlanders is Zhu Tianxin's autobiographical article, titled *Xiangwo juancun de xiong dimen* (*Thinking of My Fellow Brothers in the Military Dependents' Village*), written in 1992. Zhu Tianxin is a so-called second-generation mainlander writer.⁷⁶ This article is about her memories of her life in a military village.⁷⁷ She records vivid images of class divisions between different ethnic groups, and she reveals the effect of this division on the life of people in post-war Taiwan, even decades after the anti-Communist era. When she wrote about stories she heard from her mainlander parents, Zhu admitted that it is not easy to distinguish between real and constructed memories. Zhu jokingly described that no matter what kind of life they had in Taiwan, these

⁷⁵See Jiaxian Yang, "Lun zhanhou Taiwan waisheng xiaoshuojia zuopin zhong de 'taibei/ren' 論戰後台灣外省小說家作品中的「台北/人」(The study of 'Taipei/people' in the novels of mainlander writers in post-war Taiwan)," MA. thesis, National Taiwan University, Taiwan, 2004, 62. For example, the writer Wang Wenxing has harshly criticized four weaknesses of the Nativist Literary Movement. First, the purpose of literature is to serve the people and the society. The subject of working-class farmers and workers only served a specific group of people. Secondly, the literature that served the working class is too simple to fulfill the need of readers who desire complicated literature. Thirdly, the nativist literature attacks classes other than the working class, and therefore distorts realism. Finally, nativist literature excludes other genres of literature.

⁷⁶The 'second-generation' mainlanders refer to those whose parents (at least their fathers) came from Mainland China around 1949, but who were born in Taiwan and had never been to China, at least before the KMT lifted the ban on visiting China in 1987.

⁷⁷*Juancun* (A military village or a military dependents' village) is a community in Taiwan built around the 1950's to accommodate mainlander soldiers and their dependents, after the KMT retreated to Taiwan. At the beginning, the houses in these villages were regarded as temporary settlements for the refugees, so they were usually poorly constructed. Later, when the slogan of a return to China became an illusion, the residents who stayed in these villages started to confront the issues arising from these dilapidated houses. In the 1990's, the government began to forcibly demolish these villages, and relocate their residents to newly built apartments.

mainlanders always saw themselves as the elite and superior class.

On those nights, when there was no other entertainment such as TV, their [mainlander] parents got used to telling stories to their children, stories about their lives in China and their days as refugees. After years of repetitive bragging, all parents were once either rich men or rich landlords (the ranch owned by Maomao's family was five to six times bigger than Taiwan). They all owned more than ten housemaids, a dozen soldiers, and a half-dozen chauffeurs. Most mainlander parents claimed that they were forced to abandon tons of gold nuggets on their way to Taiwan. The total of the gold nuggets they dropped outnumbered those nuggets brought by the KMT to Taiwan. Because they had such an extraordinary experience in the past, how could they live their final days on this small island?⁷⁸

When describing the life of the native Taiwanese people, Zhu writes:

Many years later, [the second-generation mainlander girl] began to get along with her Taiwanese classmates, whose families were farmers on the other side of the mountain. Her classmates invited her to do homework at their home. She was so surprised to see that their daily lives were so much different from hers: They did not like to turn on the light. Their room was dark and got little sunshine, even in daytime. Their toilet was next to a pigsty. Although they had running water, they preferred to carry water from the well. They used a bench in the barn as a desk for studying.⁷⁹

It is likely that Zhu's memories were a mixture of realism and imagination after repeated reconstruction, much like her parents' memories. However, Zhu's description reveals how mainlanders saw the native Taiwanese people and themselves in post-war Taiwan, after the KMT gradually loosened its politically dominant grip on Taiwan.

In anti-Communist plays and films, the frequent representations of upper/middle-class mainlanders, as well as the absence of working-class Taiwanese people, were consciously constructed to demonstrate the KMT's economic miracle working in post-war Taiwan.

⁷⁸See Tianxin Zhu, *Xiangwo juancun de xiongdimen* 想我眷村的兄弟們 (*Thinking of my fellow brothers in the military dependents' villages*) (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 1992), 79-80. Translation of Zhu's article in this dissertation is mine. The original text: 「他們的父母, 在有電視之前又缺乏娛樂的夜間家庭相聚時刻, 他們總習於把逃難史以及故鄉生活的種種, 編作故事以饗兒女。出於一種複雜的心情, 以及經過十數年反覆說明的膨脹, 每個父家母家都曾經是大地主或大財主 (毛毛家祖尚有的牧場甚至有五六個臺灣那麼大), 都曾經擁有十來個老媽子一排勤務兵以及半打司機, 逃難時沿路不得不丟棄的黃金條塊與日俱增, 加起來遠超過俞鴻鈞為國民黨搬來台灣的。曾經有過如此的經歷, 眼界, 怎麼甘願, 怎麼可以就落腳在這小島上終老?」

⁷⁹See T. Zhu, 80. The Chinese text: 「而不知在多少年之後, 例如她, 漸與幾個住在山後的本省農家同學相熟, 應她們邀約去作功課, 很吃驚他們日常生活水平與自己村子的差距: 不愛點燈, 採光甚差連白日也幽暗的堂屋, 與豬圈隔牆的茅坑, 有自來水卻不用都得到井邊打水。她們在曬穀場上以條凳為桌作功課。」

This supposed miracle was opposed to the CCP's fiscal destruction of Mainland China. This miracle was also mixed with the KMT's collective memories of China, and its imaginary, idealized life in Taiwan. The mountain in Zhu's article separated the lives of the mainlanders from the lives of the native Taiwanese people. It served as a geographical divide as well as a class divide. And as a symbolic emblem of division, it protected the sense of self-identity of the mainlanders and their place in the government's hierarchy.

Chapter 5

Performing an Imaginary China in Time and Space: Presentations of Ethnicity in Anti-Communist Propaganda

“Taipei is my most familiar place—really familiar. But I have never felt that Taipei in Taiwan is my home, neither is Quilling in China. Honestly, I have been terribly homesick since I moved to the United States. It is not nostalgia of a concrete ‘home’: a house, a place, or anywhere. It is hard to explain. But I miss it so much.”

Moranhuishou (Turning Around) (1978)¹
PAI HSIEN-YUNG (WRITER)²

Sang Pinzai was only eleven years old when he served in the military of the Chinese Nationalist Party in Mainland China. He was sent to Taiwan in 1950, and almost died of hunger at the Keelung port.³ Separated from his family in Mainland China, he stayed in the KMT army as a boy soldier and went to the military school. Later, he became a writer, writing stories that were set in and after 1949.

In 1987, when the KMT finally permitted home visits, Sang returned to China for the first time in almost forty years. Upon seeing him, Sang’s aged father beat him with a stick, blaming him for the death of his mother who murmured his name in despair on her deathbed. Several years later in his autobiographical novel *An yu an (Shore to Shore)* (2001), Sang reflected upon his experiences as a mainlander in Taiwan. In his preface, which he entitled “Cong lische de

¹See H.-y. Pai, *Moranhuishou* 驀然回首 (*Turning Around*), 167-168. The English translation is mine. The original text: 「台北我是最熟的 [...] 真正熟悉的, 你知道, 我在這裡 [美國] 不認為台北是我的家, 桂林也不是 [...] 都不是。也許你不明白, 在美國我想家想得厲害。那不是一個具體的『家』, 一個房子, 一個地方, 或任何地方 [...] 而是這些地方, 所有關於中國的記憶的總合, 很難解釋的。可是我真想得厲害。」

²Pai Hsien-yun (1937—) is a mainlander writer who was born in Quilian, China. He later moved to Taipei in 1952, and then to the United States. Pai’s father was the famous KMT general Pai Chung-hsi. Pai’s writings are often about the melancholy life of large and wealthy families migrating to Taiwan. He is regarded as one of the most influential modern writers in Taiwan.

³D. D. W. Wang, *Cong wenxue kan lishi: Taiwan* 從文學看歷史: 台灣 (*A History through Literature: Taiwan*), 271.

emeng xinglai (Awakening from History's Nightmare)," he wrote: "[The mainlanders] did not intend to inscribe [a colonial] history [on Taiwan]. They were also pushed by an invisible hand and moved along on the arranged track [of history]. They devoted their youth and life to the country, but ended up being ridiculed and cursed [by the native Taiwanese people]."⁴ He called these mainlanders "a group of orphans brutally hacked to death by time."⁵ Sang's statement expresses not only the complex colonial history of post-war Taiwan, but also the deep sorrow of a Chinese generation in exile, a sorrow caused by their lost homeland and the discontinuity of their personal history in China. He used the metaphor of the orphan to describe the unsettling—and sometimes bitter—experiences of the mainlanders, whose lives were one part of the turbulent conditions of Chinese history in modern times.

Sang's memories and reflections can serve as a touchstone for my investigation into the ethnic conditions for mainlanders and native Taiwanese people under the KMT government. I want to examine how the mainlander immigrants conceived, implemented, remembered, and narrated their versions of experiences in Taiwan. How did they inscribe their 'presence' onto an exoticized Taiwan? How did they use both their actual and imagined memories of China to create cultural narratives and agendas that served their anti-Communist politics? In my attempt to answer these questions, I will examine how the KMT government inscribed its political ideology on the urban and cultural landscape of Taiwan. A layer of Chinese experiences and values were imposed on top of Taiwanese society.

During the two decades after the Second World War, nostalgia for China was prevalent in anti-Communist Taiwan. This nostalgia expressed the mainlanders' pain at losing their homes in

⁴See Pinzai Sang, *Cong lishi de emeng xinglai 從歷史的惡夢醒來 (Awakening from history's nightmare)*, foreword, *An yu an 岸與岸 (Shore to shore)* (Taipei: Publishing Company, 2001). The original text: 「他們無意要寫這種歷史，卻被一隻無形的手推著在設定的軌道中前進；他們獻出了青春和生命，獲得的竟是嘲弄，甚至咒罵。」

⁵See P. Sang. The Chinese text: 「那群被亂刀砍殺的時代孤兒。」

China. Because of this nostalgia, which found expression in anti-Communist plays and many other cultural products, the native Taiwanese people found themselves degraded by the attitudes of mainlanders and the actions of the KMT government. The mainlanders's longing for their lost homeland of China created a psychological perspective that contrasted the actual conditions of a diverse and divided population in Taiwan with an imagined Chinese homeland that existed in a separate time and space. Absence sanctioned the attitudes and justified the actions.

Among all the anti-Communist cultural productions, anti-Communist plays offer a significant glimpse into how the mainlanders constructed the Chinese nostalgia, both in the texts of the plays and in the imaginative responses of the theatregoing mainlanders. I will also investigate anti-Communist songs which only used the official language of Mandarin. The lyrics of the anti-Communist songs repeatedly expressed the pervasive Chinese nostalgia by creating various images of a lost China, existing in an imagined time and space.

In addition to the standard anti-Communist films which used Mandarin, the state-run film studio, 'Taiwanshen dianying zhipianchang (Taiwan Film Studio),' planned to produce films that used the native dialect Hoklo in order to attract the native Taiwanese audience. This plan began with *Huangdi zisun (The Descendants of the Emperor Huang)* (1956), which reflected conception of an idealized ethnic integration. However, for some reasons, the studio stopped producing films containing any Taiwanese dialect and *Huangdi zisun (The Descendants of the Emperor Huang)* became the only state-produced film that used Hoklo dialect during the 1950's and 1960's. Therefore, this film provided important sources to show the KMT's government's attitude toward the ethnic Taiwanese culture and languages. In this regard, I will focus attention on the Taiwanese theatre scholar Lu Sushang in post-war Taiwan. This is not only because Lu's Taiwanese theatrical troupe participated in the production of *Huangdi zisun (The Descendants of the*

Emperor Huang), but also because his experiences revealed how the KMT absorbed the native Taiwanese elites into the national hierarchy in order to transform the landscape of native Taiwanese popular art.

The Mainlanders' Present Home in an Absent China

Between 1945 to 1949, an estimated 1.5 to 2 million people migrated from China to Taiwan with the relocated (or defeated) KMT government.⁶ The majority of these new migrants were young male soldiers. When these young boys left their homes and families, they passionately believed that President Chiang Kai-shek would soon recover China and bring them home. However, as time passed and they grew older, they still remained on the island of Taiwan.

The mainlanders and the native Taiwanese people spoke different languages and had different daily customs. Most native Taiwanese people avoided contact with mainlanders because they understood the mainlanders as having little concern for their island, and no respect for the Taiwanese people.⁷ An article in the *Minbao* (*People's Newspaper*) on January 21, 1947 described the native Taiwanese people's disgust with and distrust of Chinese immigrants after Taiwan's retrocession. The article states: "Those who migrated from Mainland China are like rascals. Besides, they take most of the superior social positions available in our society. This situation is deeply disappointing to native Taiwanese people, and native people have developed a grudge against the newcomers. As a result, the gap between the two ethnic groups has become wider."⁸

⁶The KMT government claimed they 'yidu (relocated)' the capital of the ROC from Nanking in China to Taipei in Taiwan, while the CCP regarded the Nationalist Party's relocation of the capital as the retreat of a 'defeated' and corrupt regime.

⁷Alan M. Wachman, "Competing Identities in Taiwan," *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 54. In Taiwan, there had long been a derogatory term for mainlanders—*waisheng zhu*, meaning 'the mainlander pigs.'

⁸See X. Li, "Cong minbao kan zhanhou chuqi Taiwan de zhengjing yu shehui 從〈民報〉看戰後初期台灣的政經與社會 (Perspectives on politics and society from the newspaper *Mingbao* in early post-war Taiwan)," qtd. in 118. The original text: 「迨後由內地來的同胞, 不肖多於賢達, 而又佔了優越的地位, 以致台胞們大形失望, 終至內外山人

Many postcolonial discourses describe the KMT émigré regime as the colonizers and the mainlanders as the interlopers. Edward Said clearly represents the pioneering postcolonial point of view. However, the postcolonial binary of self/other, described as existing between the West and the East, cannot perfectly explain the dilemma of these ‘foreign’ mainlanders in exile on an ‘alien’ island.

In his well-known book *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said argued that Europeans constructed a hierarchy between Western (the Occident) and Eastern (the Oriental) worlds, where the former was always superior to the latter. Westerners operated under the conception that they are civilized, as compared to the uncivilized Easterners; therefore, the West had to teach the East how to be civilized. The theory of colonialism is established on the basis of this concept. In this theory, there is always a fixed ‘Self’ that colonizes the ‘Other.’⁹

However, the ostensibly colonial relationship between mainlanders and native Taiwanese people was destabilized by narratives told by each group. The mainlanders, who defined native Taiwanese people as uncultured, felt uneasy about being uprooted and deposited on this distant island. As the *Minbao* (*People’s Newspaper*) article suggests, the mainlanders were alienated from their Taiwanese neighbors. Their primary desire was to return home. In order to describe and define the mainlanders, the Taiwanese people used various terms, such as *dalu tongbao* (mainland compatriots), *dalu ke* (mainland guests), and *toudu ke* (illegal immigrants).¹⁰ These terms, which distinguished between the Taiwanese ‘self’ and the mainlander ‘other,’ reveal how native Taiwanese people sought to estrange, distance, and exclude the mainlanders ideologically

的感情隔膜，內趨深刻。」 *Minbao* was founded by native Taiwanese people in 1945 after Taiwan was recovered by Republican China. Contrary to the official *Taiwan xinsheng bao* (*Taiwan Daily News*), *Minbao*’s readers is primarily made up of Taiwanese people, and reveals a different narrative of Taiwanese society.

⁹Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

¹⁰Ren Hai, “Taiwan and the Impossibility of the Chinese,” *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan*, ed. Mellissa J. Brown (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Center for Chinese Studies, 1996), 77.

through the language they used.

Because of their feelings of alienation, the mainlanders also identified themselves as visiting guests who had little concern with Taiwan. This widespread alienation was expressed by a second-generation mainlander immigrant spoke of her father's attitude toward Taiwan in the first decade after the arrival: "[He] still believed that we were going back there to the mainland, so we didn't buy anything. We didn't buy a house, we didn't buy anything [attached to this land]."¹¹ Rather, they connected their own identity to a remote land and located their presence in Taiwan in an absent China, the site of their ideological home. As Catherine Wiley and Fiona R. Barnes point out: "If exile is to be in flight from, then home is to move towards. In the continuum of home and exile, if exile contains dislocation, isolation, and individualism, then home incorporates connection, relocation, and community."¹² From this perspective, Taiwan could be explained by these mainlanders as a 'space' of dislocation, but not a 'place' of connection. The place they had an emotional attachment to was China, as it existed before 1949—or perhaps it is more accurate to say, as it existed in their imaginations.

During the 1950's, Taiwan saw an increase in the production of literary works of nostalgia, especially in novels, poetry, and plays.¹³ During his trip to Taiwan in 1988, Jeffrey E. Mayer noted that the nostalgia for the homeland had intensified: "One of the great sources of sadness I have perceived on Taiwan is the longing for the Mainland, which goes far beyond a simple power

¹¹ A. M. Wachman, qtd. in 55.

¹² Catherine Wiley and Fiona R. Barnes, *Homemaking: Women Writers and the Politics and Poetics of Home* (New York: Garland Pub., 1996), xvi.

¹³ Among all the nostalgic literary works, the novel stood out in the 1950's in post-war Taiwan. Among the novels, Jiang Gui's *Xuanfeng (The Whirlwind)* (1952) and *Zhongyang (The Double Ninth Festival)* (1961); Chen Jiying's *Dichun chuan (The Story of Di Village)* (1950); Sima Zhongyuan's *Kuang fengsha (Wild Sandwind)* (1961), etc. These novels are regarded not only as political propaganda, but also as works with artistic value. See Zhao Yang, "Moshi qingxu sia de duozhong shijian: zailun wuling, liuling niandai de Taiwan wenxue 末世情緒下的多重時間：再論五〇、六〇年代的台灣文學 (Multiple time dimensions at the fin de siècle: more thoughts on Taiwanese literature in the 1950's and 60's)," *Unitas* 10.8 (1994): 19.

lust for regaining control of lost territory or *space*. It is rather a nostalgia for specific *places*, the *benji* [ancestral home] they had to leave when they fled the Revolution in 1949.”¹⁴ Mayer recognized that this longing was not just a matter of the political agenda of the government. Besides the struggle of two different governments over territorial boundaries, the lost homeland was a psychological condition that found expression in people’s stories. Thus, by re-remembering memories from China, mainlander writers were able to express their deep feelings toward home while also communicating with other mainlanders. As Yang Zhao has observed, these specifically Chinese places of memory are marked by elements of tradition and self-identity:

When we look at Taiwanese literature in the 1950’s and 60’s, we should not ignore the wartime experiences of these mainlander writers. One of their greatest common features is that they were all forcibly removed from the traditional Chinese society. They found themselves in the slightly modernized small island of Taiwan. Everything on this island was so exotic to them. Most importantly, this island was only one stop on their journey of retreat. To them, living on this sub-tropical island was an uncertain moment of life.¹⁵

This search for tradition and self-identity also makes up the meaning of *zuqun* (ethnicity) in Taiwan. Although the definition of ethnicity varies, and is frequently a topic of debate, its central concern is still to form an “imagined community.”¹⁶ This has been described as “a sociocultural construction used to categorize people who interact within the same sociopolitical arena into different groups [...] the emphasis [of the categorizations] is neither on physical nor political characteristics; rather, it is on multiple factors that reflect the general sociocultural circumstances

¹⁴Emphases are mine. See Jeffrey E. Mayer, “Teaching Morality in Taiwan Schools: The Messages of the Textbooks,” *The China Quarterly* 114 (1988): 283. Also see N. Guy, *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan*, 189 n.5.

¹⁵See Z. Yang, “Moshi qingxu sia de duozhong shijiang: zailun wuling, liuling niandai de Taiwan wenxue 末世情緒下的多重時間：再論五〇、六〇年代的台灣文學 (Multiple time dimensions at the fin de siècle: more thoughts on Taiwanese literature in the 1950’s and 60’s),” 154. The original text : 「因此來看五〇, 甚至六〇年代的台灣文學, 不應該忽略這些作家所經歷的戰亂, 他們最大的共同點是被從一個傳統社會中抽離, 來到一個已經具備現代化難型的小島上, 這個島上的一切對他們而言是如此陌生, 不習慣, 更重要的, 這個島是他們一路潰退中的一站 [...] 這個陌生的亞熱帶島嶼對他們而言是生命意識上, 無從確定, 掌握的一個瞬間。」

¹⁶The idea of ‘imagined community’ comes from Benedict Anderson. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

in which social interactions take place.”¹⁷ In the 1950’s, regardless of their provincial origins, class or religious identities, and linguistic dialects, mainlanders from China were bound together by their shared desire to return home. They created a group identity, ‘a sense of sameness over time and space,’¹⁸ and found security in their shared memories of China, which served to isolate them from other ethnic groups. Their artistic attempts to retrieve their lost homes and identities helped to comfort their pain caused by their experience of feeling homeless.

Taiwanese scholars, such as Yang Jiaxian, have argued that the nostalgic literature of Taiwan, regardless of its genre, should be completely separated from the anti-Communist literature of Taiwan.¹⁹ However, the shared goal of returning to China makes them somehow inseparable. It is therefore hard to draw a distinct line between the mainlander individual’s nostalgic desire to go home and the KMT government’s anti-Communist ideology that hinged on recovering China. During two decades in post-war Taiwan, nostalgia for China played a significant role in the KMT government’s anti-Communist cultural productions. Among these cultural productions, anti-Communist plays that represent a particular time and space can often best illustrate such nostalgic intent.

Chinese Time and Space in Anti-Communist Plays Mainlanders’ understandings of the visible landscape of ‘space’ in present Taiwan and the invisible landscape of ‘place’ in remote China can be manifested through the concepts developed by Una Chaudhuri. In her pioneering book *Staging Place*, Chaudhuri examines geographical places in both physical and symbolic

¹⁷S. L.-c. Lin, qtd. in 20. The original quote is from Chen Chung-min, Zhuang Yingzhang, and Huang Shu-min, eds., *Ethnicity in Taiwan: Social, Historical, and Cultural Perspectives* (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1994), 5.

¹⁸John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁹J. Yang, 21.

manners in theatre, which she calls “topographic theatre.”²⁰ Based on the theory of postcolonial diaspora, Chaudhuri describes the “schizophrenia of immigrant experience”—the conflict between home and exile—that is expressed in drama. Several of her descriptions mirror the experience of first generation mainlanders after their retreat from China. Chaudhuri argues that the sense of loss, like the sense of loneliness, “is a process that that inevitably raises the specter of return, of the need to recover somehow the true meaning of that very real—increasingly real—place one has left behind.”²¹ This may also explain why the mainlanders built a large number of *juancun* (military dependents’ villages) to live together in Taiwan and effectively confined themselves to the island. In this restricted space, they could maintain their world as a whole, safe from outside interruption.

Among the forty-two playwrights whose sixty-seven plays were collected in *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*), none of them was native Taiwanese people.²² Because anti-Communist plays were primarily written by mainlanders for their peers, most of the plays were either intended to ‘recall’ and ‘reinvent’ experiences in China, or to depict situations and conditions set in large Chinese cities that the population in Taiwan might not have experienced. As Wan Lan—the famous anti-Communist novelist and playwright—has claimed, experiences under the CCP’s suppression in China before 1949 offered mainland writer relevant topics for anti-Communist writing.²³ In the eyes of the mainlanders, native Taiwanese people living under Japanese rule had not lived through the central experiences of the

²⁰Una Chaudhuri, *Staging Place: The Geography of Modern Drama* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 138.

²¹U. Chaudhuri, 174.

²²I counted the number of plays and identified the ethnic background of the playwrights by examining the introduction of the author in each volume of the *Zhonghua xijuji* (*The Anthology of Contemporary Chinese Drama*). Also see C. Wang, 339-359.

²³L. Wang, *Xie sheme? zenme xie? 寫甚麼? 怎麼寫? (What to write? how to write?)* 17.

Sino-Japanese War and Chinese Civil War. Neither could native Taiwanese sympathize with the sorrows of the mainlander refugees who lost their homes and families; therefore, they were unlikely to write anti-Communist plays that featured ‘real’ Chinese experiences.

However, the ‘real’ experiences that most anti-Communist writers use to create their works are not actual historical events. Rather, most of their stories are from an imaginary history, anchored in a nostalgia based in “a sense of sameness over time and space.”²⁴ Most mainlander writers believed that they did not have to live under Communist rule in order to understand the brutality of the CCP. Rather, they could “deduce, imagine, and apply” past Chinese experiences as a way to produce anti-Communist cultural productions that were as realistic as actual historical events.²⁵ These ‘imaginary’ memories located in China’s past bound the mainlander community together, distancing them from their physical presence in exotic Taiwan where they already felt excluded. And many mainlanders accepted, even embraced, this exclusion during the 1950’s and 1960’s because they felt different from, or even superior to, the ethnic Taiwanese populations.

These stories, which usually featured events and settings in China during the years before and after 1949, depicted a starkly different landscape than that of contemporary Taiwan.²⁶ In these plays mainland playwrights reflected on how a Chinese utopia turned into a Communist hell. Accordingly, the playwrights attempted to use these ‘imaginary histories’ to create an alternative narrative that would revise and rewrite the historical fact of a lost China. These plays

²⁴J. R. Gillis, 3.

²⁵See L. Wang, *Xie sheme? zenme xie? 寫甚麼? 怎麼寫? (What to write? how to write?)* 65-67. The Chinese text: 推斷的 (deductive), 想像的 (imaginary), and 眾所皆知的 (common sense).

²⁶These plays include: Li Manqui’s play *Weixin qiao (Weixin Bridge)* (1956) set in a southern city of China in 1949; Wu Rou’s *Lisan shija (Disporic Family)* (1957) set in Beijing in 1945, *Lan yu hei (Blue and Black)* (1961) set in Shanghai from 1944 to 1948, *Renshouzhijian (Of Man and Beast)* (1951) set in Shanghai in 1949; Wang Fangshu’s *Fanlong (Cage)* (1951) set in a unidentified large Chinese city during 1949 and 1950; Gou Sifen’s *Dabashan Zhilian (Love at Mount Daba)* (1951) set in Sichuan Province in 1949; and Ho Yen (Liu Yin)’s *Tianlunlei (Debt of Love)* (1953) set in a southern city of China in 1949. The year appears after the play’s title is the possible year of the first publication in Taiwan.

sometimes celebrate the frequent victories of the KMT soldiers against the CCP. If they portray any defeats, these events are only temporary because the propaganda had to insist upon a successful return to China. Actual history had to be replaced by the imagined return to the lost homes where the abandoned family members awaited the displaced mainlanders. The mainland writer intended to create memories as a way to construct a new reality of an imaginary China. Whether these plays ‘recall’ the time and place of the CCP’s takeover before 1949, ‘reinvent’ Communist brutality during 1949, or ‘imagine’ the suffering of the Chinese people under the CCP after 1949, they express China’s nostalgia for an imagined community.

As the mainlanders gradually became permanently settled in Taiwan, anti-Communist plays began to be set in contemporary Taiwan. However, mainland playwrights wrote their versions of Taiwan through the lens of their Chinese experiences. Everything seen through this lens is either sinicized (made Chinese) or exoticized (made alien). In many cases, local Taiwanese settings are still depicted in the text as simulacra of Chinese places. The characters in the plays recall a China of the past, as if it were derived from playwrights’ memories.

For example, Liu Shoufu’s play *Quanguan jujiu* (*The Rooster Sings*) (circa 1960) combines aspects of the plots of William Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* and *Romeo and Juliet*. It is a comic romance involving two mainland couples from two extremely different families who constantly quarrel. At first glance, it looks as if the image of China and the homeland are irrelevant to the narrative of this modern play set in Taiwan. The characters discuss their daily experiences in Taiwan and make reference to Taiwanese locations and conditions. On a closer look, though, the playwright announces at the beginning of the plays that the action is set ‘in sub-tropical Taiwan where trees are *as* evergreen as those in the south of Yangtze River Delta of China in late spring.’

Obviously, the playwright conceived this setting with an image of China in his mind.²⁷ Or consider Chen Wenquan's *Yinrongjie (Reunion)* (1952), which describes how a mother in Taiwan looks forward to her son's homecoming. One of the scenes depicts how the mother stares beyond the Chung-cheng (Zhongzheng) Bridge of Taipei, imagining her home in China.²⁸ This small river in Taiwan is transformed into the Taiwan Strait, that separates Taiwan and China. She is able to see China in her mind's eye, despite the geographic reality.²⁹ In these examples Taiwanese places are connected to Chinese places through mainlanders' nostalgic recollections, and gradually become as real as those in their memories.

In some of the other anti-Communist plays the playwrights adopt a tourist's viewpoint to depict Taiwanese scenes as alien scenes. For instance, in his play *Fumu xin (Parents' Heart)* (1961), Ding Yi establishes the setting with this explanation: "The Taiwanese people have developed a habit of taking a nap in the midsummer afternoon."³⁰ This description of setting seems relatively unimportant. However, when the playwright particularly stresses the term 'Taiwanese people' and their exotic or lazy behavior of napping during the hot summer, the description is cast from the point of view of an alien visitor. Such descriptions, which could easily be found in a tourist brochure, suggests that the intended audience was primarily composed of

²⁷Emphasis is mine. See Shoufu Liu, "Quanguan jiuji 關關雎鳩 (The rooster sings)," *Zhonghua xijuji 中華戲劇集 (The anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 1, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1970), 104. There is no indication of when the play was published; however, according to Xue Maosong's record, Liu published most of his between 1952 and 1960. It is assumed that the play was also published in early 1960's according to this play's content. See Maosong Xue, "Wushi niandai wenxue dashi jiyao 五十年代文學大事記要 (Chronology of literary events in the 1950's [in Taiwan])," *Wen Xun Monthly* 9 (1984): 162–208.

²⁸The Chung-cheng Bridge was named after President Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang Kai-shek, who gave himself an additional name of Chung-cheng, meaning 'righteousness.' He intended to use this name to show his moral virtues. Therefore, people in Taiwan use this name Chung-cheng to show their respect to Chiang Kai-shek, but people in China refuse to adopt this name.

²⁹W. Chen, 7.

³⁰Yi Ding, "Fumu xin 父母心 (Parents' heart)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 4, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 829.

mainlander immigrants. We can imagine that the playwright Ding Yi meant to introduce his mainlander spectators to the exotic land of Taiwan and its alien people. In this play, Taiwan is no longer described as a land with its own and culture. Rather, it is regarded as an alien land that can be redefined in order to express the mainlanders' nostalgia for China, and their curiosity about Taiwan.

Ding Yi's other play *Guxingren (Hometown Family)* (circa 1969) is a good illustration of how nostalgia for China found its way into the lives of mainlanders in Taiwan and became more firmly entrenched in their reality.³¹ The play describes the separation of the Yu family. Mr. Yu and his son Chin evacuate to Taiwan, and live a happy life under the rule of the KMT government. Both Yu's and Chin's wives are left in China to suffer under Communist rule. A transparent blue screen that divides the stage is used to symbolize the political and geographic gap between the two places. The play seems to focus on Mr. Yu's and Chin's pleasant life in Taiwan. However, as the concluding Mandarin song "Nianguxiang (Missing My Hometown)" is presented as the background music, Ms. Yu cries out longingly for President Chiang Kai-shek to rescue her and to recover China. Then, the screen is removed and the two sides on stage are merged into one. This play transforms nostalgia for China into the imagined reality of the recovery of China. The dream of a recovered homeland is displaced into current Taiwanese life and joined to the anti-Communist campaign of the government. The play ends with an exalted vision of a ready-to-be saved China.

Because the mainlander refugees who lived in Taiwan understood and cared little about the cultures and geographical regions of Taiwan, there was little reason for the playwrights to

³¹Yi Ding, "Guxingren 故鄉人 (Hometown family)," *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyoushongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama)*, ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫, vol. 8, 10 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971), 241–331.

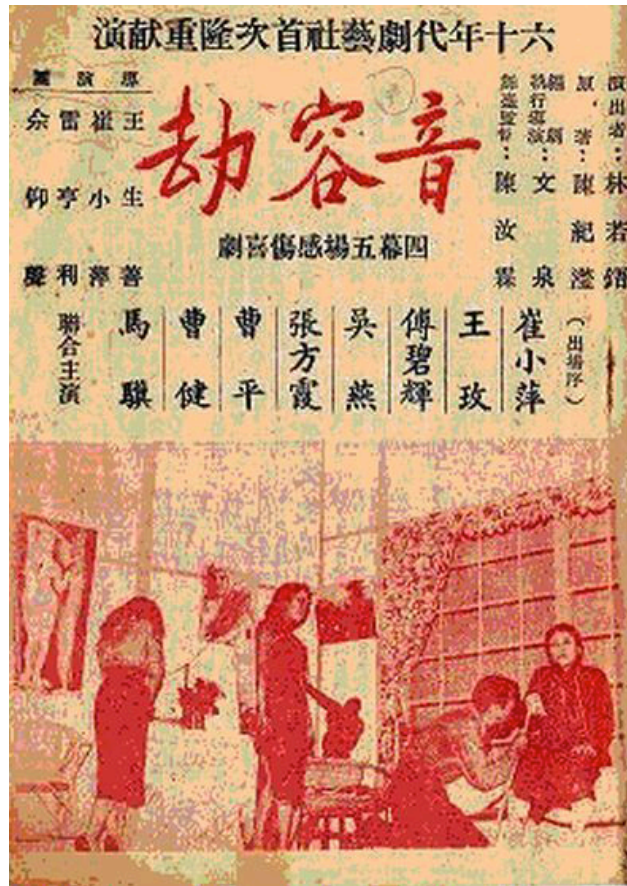


Figure 5.1: The playbill of *Yinrongjie (Reunion)* (1952). “Fangong kang’e ju 反共抗俄劇 (Anti-Communist plays).”

represent these features of the Taiwanese conditions and settings on stage. Therefore, the dramatic incidents in the anti-Communist plays that were set in Taiwan usually take place inside a house. These ‘studio plays’ limit the theatregoers’ view to that of an indoor scene and depict a Chinese or Western style living room (Figure 5.1). They provide little information about the outside world of the land of Taiwan. Characters inside the house frequently talk about the achievements of the KMT government and the great leader Chiang Kai-shek. And they complain about the cruelty of the CCP government on the mainland.

The focus of the conversation is the glory of China. On the other hand, Taiwanese life outside the boundary of the house is seldom mentioned. This imaginary boundary established in

anti-Communists plays reflects how the mainlanders distanced themselves from the native Taiwanese people, and locates the mainlanders within the environment of an imaginary China in Taiwan. Although the mainlanders could not yet return to China, they were invited by the playwrights to identify with characters who preferred the fantasy of an imagined China to the reality of the Taiwanese existence. In addition to anti-Communist plays set in modern times, the playwrights also wrote historical plays that described the recovery of formerly lost lands by heroes of Chinese history. Such stories captured aspects of the mainlanders' nostalgia for an often mythological China. The successful adventures of the historical figures provided analogues for the desires and dreams of the mainlanders. The historical narratives suggested that the goal of returning home is attainable.

As mainland writer Wang Mianzhi points out, these Chinese history plays use past events to forecast the anticipated success of anti-Communist wars.³² The plays, with their uplifting narratives, suggested that by recalling the past adventures one could not only honor the success of heroic figures but also expect a redeemed future under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. To be expected, then, what the mainlanders wanted was to embrace and retrieve the promise of the historical narratives. But to face the present was another matter, for this reality required the mainlanders to admit to the mortifying defeat by the CCP in 1949.

Chinese Time and Space in Anti-Communist Songs The mainlanders' use of Chinese nostalgia to mask Taiwanese reality was also realized through the lyrics of anti-Communist patriotic songs in post-war Taiwan. Although produced in Taiwan, a large number of these songs refer to a specific place in China, such as 'Huanghe de shui (The Water of the Yellow River),'

³²See M. Wang, 3. The Chinese text: 「這些劇作者在反共抗俄的大前提下, 為賦予他們作品裡的革命意志和戰鬥意識盡心盡力, 或是以昔人革命經驗以為我們的借鏡, 或是以表揚昔人革命氣節以為我們後人效法。」

“Zhangjiang de shui yijiu zailiu (The Running Water of the Yangtze River),” “Zhangbai shanshang (On the top of Mount Zhangbai),” and so on. For instance, the lyrics in “The Water of the Yellow River” read: “How many people’s tears have turned into water in the Yellow River, How many people’s pain has the Yellow River expressed?”³³ The Yellow River—the mother river of China—is used here as a symbol of the mainlanders’ unbearable sorrow at losing China and being separated from their families. To the mainlanders, only these significant places in China can relate to their shared past, providing comfort despite their presence in Taiwan. These songs disregarded the land of Taiwan where the mainlanders were living.

Many of the patriotic songs illustrate how a nostalgia for China permeated their daily actions and replaced their actual life in Taiwan, through the use of common things found in everyday life. Some examples of titles are “Jia zai shan nabian (Home is Beyond the Mountain),” “Baiyun guxiang (Clouds and Hometown),” and “Ganzhe yu gaoliang (Sugarcane and Sorghum).” In these songs, mainlanders again and again recall their everyday life in China. For example, the song lyrics from ‘Sugarcane and Sorghum’ explain that “The sorghum is high and the sugar cane is long. The sugar cane looks exactly like the sorghum. The sorghum grows where my loving parents are.”³⁴ The sugarcane is a common crop in Taiwan. But, through the lens of nostalgia, the songwriter imagines the sugarcane as the sorghum, a common plant in Northern China, and relates it to his home and parents in China. Local items from Taiwan dissolved into the songwriter’s nostalgic map of China, and transformed into Chinese versions that were acceptable

³³The original text: 「不知多少人的淚已經化作黃河中的水。不知多少人的苦黃河為他在傾訴。」 See Xiaofeng Li, “Shidai xinsheng: zhanhou ershi nian de Taiwan geyao yu Taiwan de zhengzhi he shehui 時代心聲: 戰後二十年的台灣歌謠與台灣的政治和社會 (Voices of our time: the relationship between Taiwanese songs and Taiwanese politics and society),” *The Taiwan Folk Ways* 47.3 (1996): qtd. in 149.

³⁴The Chinese text reads: 「高粱高來甘蔗長叻, 甘蔗和那高粱一模樣叻 [...] 看到了甘蔗想起了高粱, 因為生長高粱的地方有我慈祥的爹和娘叻。」 See X. Li, “Shidai xinsheng: zhanhou ershi nian de Taiwan geyao yu Taiwan de zhengzhi he shehui 時代心聲: 戰後二十年的台灣歌謠與台灣的政治和社會 (Voices of our time: the relationship between Taiwanese songs and Taiwanese politics and society),” 151.

to these migrants.

By creating the 'imagined home' in anti-Communist plays and other cultural productions, the mainlanders were able to make sense of their status as exiles. Written texts provided a place to house the mainlanders' psychic ghosts, and the theatrical stages reconstructed their dreams and memories of Chinese cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Hangzhou. The name of each Chinese place became an icon of the mainlanders' collective home. In real life, their homes were destroyed in a historical nightmare; however, on stage and in song, the imagined home could be enacted day after day. Their home was in their mind, a place no one could suppress or plunder.³⁵ The specifically Chinese places and time performed in theatrical space and in song erased Taiwanese social reality and showcased Chinese utopias, invented by the mainlanders living in exile.

The KMT Government's Absent China in Taiwan's Absence

As I have argued, anti-Communist plays represented much more than just the explicit political agendas of the KMT government. The hope and longing in these cultural productions relieved the mainlanders' distress at being effectively homeless. However, this construct was not a process of naturalization that arose solely from personal homesickness, as was assumed by many mainlanders, but was also influenced by political pressures.³⁶

The mainlanders' nostalgic attempt to return home was co-opted by the KMT's state policy aimed at recovering China. Writer Pai Hsien-yung points out the combination of individual desires and national political goals.

³⁵This idea benefits from Leo Ou-fan, Lee. See Leo Ou-fan Lee, "Sishi nianlai de haiwai wenxue 四十年來的海外文學 (Oversea Chinese literature of the last forty years)," *Sishi nianlai zhongguo wenxue 四十年來中國文學 (Chinese literature of the last forty years [since 1949])*, ed. Yu-ming Shaw et al. (Taipei: Unitas Publishing Co., 1995), 65.

³⁶The original text: 「我們在大陸上被共產黨迫害到台灣, 我們當然希望能反攻大陸, 所以我們把所知道的, 心裡所有的寫出來。」 See Qichang Cai, "Zhanhou (1945-1959) Taiwan wenxue fazhan yu guojia jiaose 戰後 (1945-1959) 台灣文學發展與國家角色 (The development of Taiwanese literature and the role of nation (1945-1959))," MA. thesis, Tunghai University, Taiwan, 1996, qtd. in 62.

At the beginning of the KMT government's relocation to Taiwan, the slogan of 'anti-Communist to recover China' had been widely promoted in Taiwan. The slogan was everywhere. This official myth clearly expressed the mindset of the mainlander refugees: People migrating from China saw Taiwan as a temporary base from which they could carry out their dream of restoring China. They hoped and believed that someday they would cross the strait and return home. This beautiful myth was deeply ingrained in the minds of people under the KMT rule. No one dared to question it. The literature at that time certainly reflected the myth that hypnotized the people.³⁷

Through the KMT government's anti-Communist policy, the destiny of individuals returning home was inseparably linked to the fate of the KMT's Republic of China in Taiwan. Nostalgia was an integral part of the KMT government's greatest national mythologies about retaking China.

It is therefore difficult to separate the personal concerns of the mainlanders from the goals of the larger mainlander community, as symbolized by the KMT government. In his research, Cai Qichang observes that the 107 writers who were members of the government literary organization during the 1950's were all mainlanders. 46% of these mainlander writers were Nationalist party members, and 37.4% of them served in military-related jobs. Overall, 65.4% of these writers had close relationships with the Nationalist government.³⁸ Furthermore, the performers in Mandarin-language anti-Communist plays and films were primarily mainlanders. The majority of them were professional actors who migrated with military theatrical groups to Taiwan. Due to their cultural and linguistic advantages, they dominated the anti-Communist stage, leaving few opportunities for Taiwanese performers.

³⁷See Hsien-yung Pai, "Liulang de Zhongguoren—Taiwan xiaoshuo de fangzhu zhuti 流浪的中國—臺灣小說的放逐主題 (The nomadic Chinese—the motif of the nomad in Taiwanese literature)," *Pai Hsien-yung zixuanji* 白先勇自選集 (*The collection of Pai Hsien-yung's works*) (Taipei: Huacheng chubanshe, 1996), 407. The original text: 「國民政府遷臺之始, 即提出響噹噹的『反攻復國』口號, 從火車站到酒瓶標紙上隨處可見, 可謂無所不在。這官方的神話正好代表了流放者的心態: 從大陸逃來的人, 不過以臺灣為臨時基地, 好發他們的美夢, 希望有一天回到海峽的彼岸。國民政府統治臺灣初期, 這種神話在人民的政府心理上根深蒂固, 沒有人能懷疑; 當時的文學作品自然也反映在這方面, 不免產生麻醉的作用。」

³⁸Q. Cai, 162.

Li Mu also makes it clear that mainlanders who retreated to Taiwan with the Nationalist government were generally anti-Communist KMT loyalists.³⁹ The mainlanders' memories of their days in China, and their desire to return, converted most of them into loyal KMT government supporters and followers of Chiang Kai-shek. The KMT government relied on the mainlanders to spread the gospel of the greatness of President Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, and lead the effort of returning to China.

At least two cultural movements were relevant to the efforts toward nationalizing nostalgia that engendered a national collective Chinese solidarity in postwar Taiwan.⁴⁰ First, in order to raise consciousness about China in Taiwan and to prepare for the planned reclamation of China, the KMT government started anti-Communist propaganda efforts in almost every aspect of Taiwanese life, notably in the printed media, publishing industries, radio, films, and theatre. Second, the KMT launched the Cultural Renaissance Movement in 1966, which claimed Taiwan to be the legitimate heir of Chinese cultural heritage, as opposed to the cultural destruction of the Chinese Communist Movement. These two movements worked together to forge Taiwan into a Chinese province, as well as into the base of efforts toward recovering China and establishing Free China.

Under the KMT government's Chinese nationalism, Taiwan was absent both visually and ideologically. The voiceover in a documentary video filmed in 1950 used the terms 'Free China' and 'Mother Country' to replace the word 'Taiwan.' This served to erase the image of Taiwan, replacing it with an imaginary image of a much larger China. Taiwan was relegated to the status

³⁹M. Li, "Xinwenxue yundong licheng zhong de guanjian shidai: shilun wuling niandai ziyou zhongguo wenxue chuanguo de silu jiqisuo chansheng de yingxiang 新文學運動歷程中的關鍵時代: 試論五〇年代自由中國文學創作的思路及其所產生的影響 (A critical time for new literary movement: thoughts about and the impacts of literary creation in Free China during the 1950's)," 46.

⁴⁰A. Chun, 58.

of a small province; its existence as a nation demonstrated the KMT government's embarrassing failure at losing China. As Yang Zhao states, the 'now' that Taiwan represented to the mainlanders is shallow, lacking the depth of time.⁴¹

In fact, the phrase 'anti-Communist' already implies an absence of the Taiwanese present, as it shifts focus to a distant Communist China in the past and future. The Chinese phrase *fangon* (anti-Communist) is almost always used with another Chinese phrase, *fuguo*, meaning the restoration of the lost state. The former refers to mainlanders' aspirations to overthrow the Communist regime, after witnessing the Chinese Communists destroying their homes and the free land of China. The latter demonstrates the determination that the mainlanders maintained in their efforts to take back China. The two dimensions of time and space represented in the phrase *fangon fuguo* (fighting against the Communists and restoring the nation) both exist in a past and future China, which intentionally erases the present temporal and spatial realities of Taiwan.⁴²

Therefore, from both material things (such as plays and songs) and immaterial things (such as commonly used language), everything in Taiwan was redefined by the concept of the Republic of China. This echoes what historian Eric Hobsbawm called the "invented tradition."⁴³ By replicating China through symbolic means, the continuity of the past, the present, and future was reinvented in Taiwan, providing an ideological aid for the KMT government's goal of a return to China. The present Taiwan was defined by the ancient China from the past, as well as the unified

⁴¹Z. Yang, "Moshi qingxu sia de duozhong shijiang: zailun wuling, liuling niandai de Taiwan wenxue 末世情緒下的多重時間：再論五〇、六〇年代的台灣文學 (Multiple time dimensions at the fin de siècle: more thoughts on Taiwanese literature in the 1950's and 60's)," 155.

⁴²I benefit my idea of the time dimensions incorporated in the Chinese word, *fangon fuguo* (fighting against the Communists and restoring the nation), from D. D. W. Wang, "Wushi niandian fangong xiaoshuo xinlun: yizhong shiqu de wenxue? 五十年代反共小說新論：一種逝去的文學？ (New perspectives on anti-Communist novels in the 1950's: a lost genre?)" 70-71.

⁴³Eric Hobsbawm, *Inventing Traditions*, Introduction, *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

China from the future.

The KMT government's Chinese nationalism, with the ultimate aim of a return to China, provided an answer to the mainlanders' nostalgic questions about China's past affluence, present predicaments, and future victories. It emphasized the heritage of China and became a political mythology that offered the KMT government a legitimate position from which to dominate Taiwan.⁴⁴ In 1944, Chen I—the head of the Taiwan Investigation Committee, and later the first KMT governor-general of Taiwan—explained in a document how to eliminate the phenomenon of Japanese assimilation in Taiwan.⁴⁵ In Chen Yi's view, the Taiwanese 'national brothers' were a group of dangerous people who were hostile towards the newly established KMT regime. Chen believed that education about China would eradicate the negative impact of Japanese colonialism on Taiwanese people. Thus, the "Taiwan jieguan jihua ganyao (Outline of the Plan for the Takeover of Taiwan)," formulated by the Committee in 1945, specified that "after the takeover, cultural policy should be focused on promoting national consciousness and eradicating the slave mentality."⁴⁶ In his statement, Chen boldly expressed his distrust of and dislike for native Taiwanese people. The promotion of a Chinese consciousness in Taiwan after Japanese colonialism was derived from official efforts, and was not purely an individualized, natural process.

After Taiwan was returned to China (ROC) from Japan, the KMT government began to

⁴⁴Christopher Hughes, *Taiwan and Chinese Nationalism: National Identity and Status in International Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 27.

⁴⁵Chen proclaimed: "[The enemy] not only degraded [Taiwanese] minds into servility; they also prohibited the use of [Chinese] national daily and literary languages and imposed Japanese education [...] Therefore, Taiwanese who are under fifty hardly have opportunities to learn Chinese culture and Sun Yat-senism. See A.-c. Hsiau, *qtd. in* 53. *Naturally, they feel lost. This is extremely dangerous* [...] [The] very difficult task is to educate them after recovering the island. Taiwan's [colonial] education is highly progressive [...] After the recovery, we must maintain everything necessary and make sure it continues to operate; we must ensure that the Taiwanese appreciate the effect of [our] revolution and that the [Japanese] enemy will not laugh at us." Emphases are mine.

⁴⁶A.-c. Hsiau, *qtd. in* 53.

strategically assimilate native Taiwanese people, so as to eliminate Japanese colonial influence, and started constructing an imaginary China on the landscape of Taiwan. Jason C. Kuo indicates that

[Like] the Japanese who destroyed the [Qing] dynasty's governmental offices [in China] and local temples in order to build Western-style structures and Shinto shrines, the KMT government destroyed Japanese colonial architecture to erect buildings modeled on Ming-[Qing] palaces and other ritual structures on mainland China in order to decolonize as well as re-Sinicize Taiwan.⁴⁷

The race for spatial domination between the Japanese colonizers and the KMT regime developed into a kind of competition for national sovereignty in Taiwan. The Taiwan Government-General building constructed by the Japanese was renamed and used as the KMT government's Presidential Office of Republican China. A Japanese Shinto Shrine, located on top of Mt. Yuan north of Taiwan's Presidential Office, was dismantled and rebuilt as a palatial Ming-styled Grand Hotel. Zhongshan Hall was remodeled in a classical Ming-Qing style as a meeting site for the KMT government's National Assembly.⁴⁸ Any Japanese symbol [the colonial Taiwanese symbol] was either eradicated or concealed by replacing it with a Chinese symbol.

The KMT government imposed a surrogate Chinese identity onto the landscape of Taiwan. Under the KMT's rule, major roads were named for Nationalist ideals and for Chinese Confucian virtues.⁴⁹ And many of the streets, particularly in the capital city of Taipei, were given the names of mainland cities in China in order to construct an imaginary map of China within the island of Taiwan. The map of Taipei and other large cities became a map of China condensed into a smaller scale. Additionally, newspapers and magazines frequently included images of Chinese cities in

⁴⁷J. C. Kuo, 9.

⁴⁸J. C. Kuo, 25-28.

⁴⁹See A. M. Wachman, 55. The four major roads in Taipei were: Zhongshan South Road on the west—named for Sun Yat-sen, Hangzhou South Road on the north—a reference to a Confucian virtue, Aiguo East Road on the south—literally, 'love the country,' or Patriotism Road, and Xinyi Road on the east, meaning 'loyalty.' These roads transgress the major cities of Taiwan.



Figure 5.2: The map of China and Chinese cities on the front page of the official Taiwan Daily News on the National Birthday of Taiwan, 1957. “Dalu heshan 大陸河山 (The landscape of Mainland China).”

order to to inspire the people to work towards the recovery of China (Figure 5.2). With this imaginary map of China as a guide, it became possible to travel across the entirety of mainland China in just twenty minutes, visiting Xining (Road) and Guangzhou (Road) along the way.⁵⁰ While traveling an imaginary China, mainlanders could ideologically ignore the actual island of Taiwan.

In a similar fashion, the anti-Communist plays of the 1950’s regularly set the dramatic action

⁵⁰Guangzhou is the capital city of Guangdong province in southeastern China.

in such cities as Nanjing, Hangzhou, Hankou, Shanghai, and Beijing. These cities were some of the few cities which were free from the CCP's influence and the KMT imagined them to be part of an idealized image of the KMT's Republican China. The KMT government's imaginary spatial construct of China projected on the physical landscape of Taiwan reinforced the 'imagined home' found in anti-Communist plays and throughout the entire theatregoing experience. It suggests that a mainlander audience can walk out of his or her mainlander military village and across the streets named for Chinese landmarks, enter Zhongshan Hall, the central performance place in Taipei, and watch a performance that takes place in China, not Taiwan. During his or her entire theatregoing experience, the mainlander spectator was likely to see nothing but a reconstructed China, a displaced representation of a lost country.

Fearing that they might forget home, the mainlanders inscribed images of an absent China onto Taiwan's reality. In the process the anti-Communist plays removed the actual Taiwan from the mainlanders' real life. The mainlanders' collective identity and nationality became rooted in this constructed space and time of an absent China. The KMT government constructed this sense of Chineseness as a way to encourage nostalgia for China, just one part of an officially sanctioned Chinese identity.

Through the cultural permeation of these ideas into many realms, especially education, the native Taiwanese people learned to accept Chinese ideals as their core ideology that replaced their attachment to the nation of Taiwan. For instance, Taiwanese scholar Li Xiaofeng points out that anti-Communist patriotic songs were frequently sung on public media during national events. Therefore, they were deeply imprinted in the hearts of the people in Taiwan, and were gradually absorbed as part of their everyday reality.⁵¹ These patriotic songs were not only designed to

⁵¹Xiaofeng Li, "Liangjian weiquan tongzhi shiqi 'aiguo gequ' nerong xilun 兩蔣威權統治時期「愛國歌曲」內容析

galvanize the mainlanders' desire to return to China. After being bombarded with these patriotic songs, the native Taiwanese people also learned to hate the evil CCP and yearned for China. The KMT government taught the native Taiwanese people to identify with an exotic China, which was entirely absent in their everyday reality.

The ideology of China in these anti-Communist patriotic songs emphasizes loyalty and national duty. In contrast to these Mandarin-language songs, Hoklo-speaking songs of this period show a completely different image of Taiwan. The Hoklo-speaking songs (hereafter Taiwanese songs) describe a feeling of loneliness. Characters depicted in the lyrics are eager for unattainable wealth or for unrequited romantic love. For example, the lyrics to the song “Kulian ge (Song of Unrequited Love)” read: “I know that you have no real feelings for me, but I still want to sacrifice for you. I know you have no true love for me, but I still cannot help but cry for you.”⁵² Although these Taiwanese songs do not directly criticize the KMT's politics, they demonstrate the sentiment of native Taiwanese people under such high political pressure. The personal emotion described in these Taiwanese songs is used to express the native Taiwanese people's suppressed complaints about the mainland government. Taiwanese scholar Du Wenjing explains how the majority of native Taiwanese people translate the government's oppression to self-repression: “There is no complaint, only self-hatred [in these Taiwanese songs]. There is no blame of others, only blame of one's destiny. Aren't these descriptions the reflection of the mindset of native Taiwanese people [under the KMT's rule]?”⁵³

論 (Study of the content of patriotic songs during the two Chiang's dictatorships),” *Taiwan Studies in Literature and History* 1 (2009): 151.

⁵²The original text: 「明知對我無真情, 偏偏為伊來犧牲。明知對我無真愛, 偏偏為伊留目屎。」

⁵³The Chinese text: 「沒有怨人, 只有恨己, 沒有責人, 只有宿命, 這豈不也是台灣人的寫照。」 See X. Li, “Shidai xinsheng: zhanhou ershi nian de Taiwan geyao yu Taiwan de zhengzhi he shehui 時代心聲: 戰後二十年的台灣歌謠與台灣的政治和社會 (Voices of our time: the relationship between Taiwanese songs and Taiwanese politics and society),” qtd.in 142.

The government imposed the identity of ‘Chinese’ on Taiwanese people, while yet maintaining, in key ways, the distinction between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese people. They were forced to speak Mandarin, learn Chinese history and geography, and pay tribute to Chinese martyrs who founded the Nationalist Party and the Republic of China. However, the native Taiwanese people were still not Chinese because they were not provided with the same privileges as mainlanders. For example, only few of them were allowed to work in high government positions and they got less wage than that of the mainlanders in the same position. As a result, the native Taiwanese people were much more concerned with their daily life than with political conflicts.

A famous Mandarin-language song created in the 1950’s—“Taiwan hao (Taiwan is Good)”—reflects the KMT government’s intent to designate new Chinese names and image to things in Taiwanese.⁵⁴ The lyrics read, “Taiwan is good, Taiwan is good, Taiwan is the bastion of our return to China. The anti-Communist heroes all came to this land [...] Our brothers and sisters in Mainland China, we are going back to China soon, very soon.”⁵⁵ The song was widely promoted and sung in post-war Taiwan. In the lyrics of this song, the value of Taiwan stems entirely from its ability to sponsor the effort to return to China. There is no reference to the fate of Taiwan and its people once China would be recovered.

Children in Taiwan, including the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese people, could only speak Mandarin at school. They were taught to identify with themselves as ethnic Chinese from kindergarden by reciting Mandarin-language statements, such as “We are Chinese.” It reads that

⁵⁴The lyrics of this song “Taiwan hao (Taiwan is Good)” were written by Luo Jialun, one of the important leaders of the May Fourth Movement in China in 1919. For details about this movement, please see Chapter One.

⁵⁵X. Li, “Shidai xinsheng: zhanhou ershi nian de Taiwan geyao yu Taiwan de zhengzhi he shehui 時代心聲: 戰後二十年的台灣歌謠與台灣的政治和社會 (Voices of our time: the relationship between Taiwanese songs and Taiwanese politics and society),” qtd.in 152.

“We are Chinese and we all love China. Our China’s national territory is the largest, the population the greatest, and our products the most abundant.”⁵⁶ Another passage in a fifth-grade history book places China in the center of the civilized world, according to the literal meaning of China as ‘the central kingdom’: “The Republic of China also has the world’s most outstanding race. The facts from the following historical examples can prove this [...] Three thousand years ago, while other races of the world were still leading a primitive life, our country had already developed a writing system and simple writing implements.”⁵⁷ China is understood in two ways in this passage. The legacy of China as an old, civilized country serves to glorify the legitimacy of the state, and by extension, the KMT government. The imaginary China that the history book projected onto Taiwan marginalizes Taiwan as a political and cultural entity, deleting its unique history. One of these ideas of China erases Taiwan, while the other redefines Taiwan; both served to indoctrinate the Taiwanese people.

An anti-Communist propagandist film called *Huangdi zisun* (*The Descendants of the Emperor Huang*) (1956) clearly shows the erasure of Taiwan by Chinese nationalism in both space and time. The film was produced by the state-run film studio, ‘Taiwansheng dianying zhipianchang (Taiwan Film Studio),’ and supervised by the ‘Taiwan shenzhengfu (Taiwan Provincial Government).’ As the film’s title indicates, this film aims to indoctrinate citizens with the ideology that people of Chinese heritage are all descendants of a common ancestor *Huangdi* (the Emperor *Huang*), regardless of their different migratory routes and historical backgrounds. This film is considered the first film in Taiwan that uses two languages (official Mandarin and the native dialect Hoklo) in one film to showcase ethnic harmony. However, the primary use of the

⁵⁶Richard W. Wilson, *Learning to Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1970), qtd. in 46.

⁵⁷R. W. Wilson, qtd. in 46.

native dialect Hoklo implicitly indicates the major target audience is the native Taiwanese people. This film demonstrates the ideological ruling constructs imposed on the native Taiwanese people. It presents how the KMT government used this film to indoctrinate the native Taiwanese people with Chinese ideology regarding Chinese history and geography.

The film intended to promote Chinese nationalism, the KMT government's political legitimacy, and the benefits of ethnic integration. It begins with an image of President Chiang Kai-shek's portrait hung on the wall of a elementary school classroom. On the right side of Chiang's portrait is written the slogan *fangong dalu* (To recover China), and on the left side is written *fixing minzu* (To restore the Chinese people). These slogans' focus on recovering an absent China, ignoring any concern for Taiwan as a distinct land with its own culture, language, customs, and ethnic groups.

This film firmly establishes the hierarchy of China and Taiwan when a map of China is drawn on the center of the blackboard. Taiwan is depicted as a small island, dwarfed by the huge country of China. The camera then shifts to the students, while the Hoklo-speaking teacher from China teaches Chinese history dating from 5,000 years ago. The teacher asks, "Whose descendants are we?" One native Taiwanese student murmurs to himself, "I am my grandfather's decedent." In contrast, another mainlander student stands up and answers, "We are the offspring of the Emperor *Huang*." In the film, the viewpoint of the native Taiwanese student is depicted as self-centered, caring only about the lineage of his particular family in Taiwan. The mainlander student embodies a politically correct ideology, which places the Chinese people before one's individual family (wherever that family may live).

This unbounded idea of Chinese and native Taiwanese ethnicity in Taiwan, as Richard Handler suggests, traces its origin to an indefinite place in the distance past and to an expansive

idea of territorial boundaries. Therefore, the necessary project of Chinese nationalism is to establish a common culture across society that is grounded in the same history and territory.⁵⁸

Taiwanese scholar Wang Fuchang explicitly describes the idea of a unified, ‘nationwide’ China that was taught in history classes in the schools in Taiwan before the Taiwanese nativist movement became active in the 1980’s:

Taiwan’s history prior to 1950 was irrelevant, except that it had been a Chinese territory since ancient times and was once lost to the Japanese. Chinese history, as was narrated in these textbooks, began more than 5,000 years ago with *Yandi* (the Emperor *Yan*) and *Huangdi* (the Emperor *Huang*) and went through a succession of more than 20 different dynasties, until Sun Yat-sen founded the Republic of China in 1911.⁵⁹

By utilizing the grand narrative of Chinese mythology in portraying this long and unified shared history, this film mobilizes people to support the government’s political agenda. The origin myth, as taught in the history class in Taiwan, also appeared in the content of anti-Communist plays and other cultural productions. Anti-Communist cultural productions were unified in their efforts to shape Taiwanese understanding about Chinese nationalism.

The reconciliation between two students in *Huangdi zisun* (*The Descendants of the Emperor Huang*) also symbolizes an idealized ethnic integration that—if it were to happen—would erase the existence of a separate identity for Taiwan and its people. When two students with different ethnic background argue about the relationship of Taiwan and China, the teacher corrects them by claiming that “Taiwan is part of China.” Later, when the Taiwanese student’s grandfather asks him to call his teacher ‘Auntie,’ the student replies, ‘But she comes from Mainland China.’ The grandfather answers, “According to our ancestry, your teacher is our distant relative in China.”

⁵⁸Richard Handler, “Is ‘Identity’ a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?” *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 29.

⁵⁹Fu-chang Wang, “‘Why Bother about School Textbooks?’ An Analysis of the Origin of the Disputes over Renshi Taiwanese Textbooks in 1997,” *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan: Bentuhua*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 62.



Figure 5.3: A photo of film *Huangdi zisun* (*The Descendants of the Emperor Huang*) (1956) taken at the studio with the actors and the director, Bai Ke (the fifth person from right in the second row) at the final scene of a wedding ceremony. L. Ye, 10.

The grandfather also expresses his wish to visit their ancestors' graveyard in China when the KMT government recovers this lost land. Individual ancestry is incorporated into an all-encompassing family tree that is rooted in historical China. By the end of the film, the efforts at ethnic integration reaches a climax when a grand wedding ceremony for many mainlanders and native Taiwanese people occurs. At this point, the blood of different ethnic groups is wed by marriage. The native Taiwanese people become completely incorporated into the grandiose narrative of Chinese ancestry and history (Figure 5.3).

The ending song of the film, sung in Mandarin (in contrast to the native dialect Hoklo dialogues, that is used throughout the rest of the film), concludes the film with an ideological standpoint that centralizes Chinese nationalism:

The high mountain cannot discontinue the linkage of history. The big ocean cannot exhaust the deep love of history. We are the offspring of the Emperor *Huang*. We are a family. No

matter which provinces and counties we are from. We are rooted in the same ancestry. In Taiwan, Mainland China and overseas, we are unified as one heart, one heart to exterminate the Communists, to restore China, and to enjoy eternal peace.⁶⁰

The grand Chinese ideology locates the ancestry of the Taiwanese people in the history of China; it proclaims that ‘we’ are all Chinese. But this idealized version of history ignores the discrepancies of language, cultural identity, religious heritage, and established customs that existed between the native Taiwanese and the mainlanders in their long historical developments. This historical and geographical link was established in the film due to the KMT government’s cultural policies. In this mindset, Taiwanese identity was regarded as ‘provincial’ and ‘ethnic,’ in contrast to Chinese identity, which was seen as ‘national’ and ‘legitimate.’ The hierarchy of the mainlander dominating the native Taiwanese, and China being superior to Taiwan, is repeatedly reinforced through the permeation of this ideology in post-war Taiwan.

The Taiwanese Presence in the Taiwanese Absence

While the imaginary map of China was spread over the anti-Communist stage and the landscape of Taiwan, this map intentionally concealed or erased the entity of Taiwan—represented by national sovereignty, language and culture. Discrimination against Taiwanese cultural activities was prevalent among the mainlander elites, and was supported by the KMT government. The KMT elites divided Chinese and Taiwanese cultures into high and low cultures. They used this strategy to secure the Chinese cultural advantage in Taiwan in order to mobilize their cultural war against the Communists and dominate Taiwan.

For example, mainlander writer Chen Shiqing in 1964 identified three weaknesses of

⁶⁰The Chinese lyrics are as follows: 「高山隔不斷，歷史的腳印。大海流不盡，歷史的深情。我們是黃帝的子孫，黃帝的子孫，都是一家人。不分省分，不分縣，千枝萬葉一條根。台灣大陸和海外，大家結成一條心，一條心，同心合力滅共匪，再造中華享太平。」

Taiwanese theatre in post-war Taiwan. Chen's viewpoint reflected the dislike of mainlander elites held toward native Taiwanese culture, and their attempts to uproot it. First of all, he proclaimed that themes of traditional Taiwanese opera were primarily uncultured and melodramatic. In contrast to Chinese Beijing opera and anti-Communist spoken drama, which were filled with representations of patriotism and filial piety, the majority of Taiwanese opera performances presented a family farce, avenger drama, and romantic tragedy. Secondly, the mainlander actors in Chinese theatre were more polished and professional, while the native Taiwanese actors in Taiwanese opera were almost amateurish and rough. Most Taiwanese did not receive any formal training of performance and they seldom practiced before they performed on stage. Thirdly, traditional Taiwanese opera was often filled with erotic elements to entertain the lower-class audience. Chen saw these erotic elements as deeply corrupting to the nation.⁶¹ He criticized the KMT government's censorship of theatre in 1954 for allowing 'too many' rude Taiwanese performances on stage.⁶² In fact, among approximately one hundred plays that the KMT government allowed to be performed, only twenty-nine were native Taiwanese performances, while the rest were Mandarin performances.

Discrimination against local Taiwanese culture also occurred among some of the native Taiwanese elites. Because these people supported the political policies of the KMT government, they felt the pressure to also support the cultural policies, including the attacks and censorship on Taiwanese popular theatre. Some of these native Taiwanese leaders completely aligned themselves with the anti-Communist government and the propaganda plays. Yet others felt the dilemma of divided or confused loyalties. Among the native Taiwanese elites, Lu Sushang was a

⁶¹ Shiqing Chen, "Guoju zaitai de xiaozhang yu difangxi fazhan 國劇在臺的消長與地方戲發展 (The rise and fall of Beijing opera in Taiwan)," *Wen Xun Monthly* 15.1 (1964): 182.

⁶² S. Chen, 183.

typical pro-KMT figure. He chose to support anti-Communist cultural policies. But instead of abolishing the Taiwanese theatre as the KMT government had desired, he attempted to preserve the theatre by reforming it.

Lu Sushang was highly valued by the KMT government as a Taiwanese cultural maestro in early post-war Taiwan. He was a versatile and talented person: a performer, a film director, an owner of a Taiwanese theatre and a film studio named Yinhua, and a scholar of Taiwanese theatre and film. His knowledge of and his influence on Taiwanese performing arts made him an important cultural figure that the KMT government sought his cooperation in furthering its cultural policies. Because of Lu's political loyalty, the KMT government went out of its way to praise and support him. For example, the government compared him to Qi Rushan, the famous expert on Beijing opera⁶³ and provided him with significant positions in cultural sections of the government. By means of this identification and similar kinds of calculated praise, Lu's position in Taiwanese society was elevated.

In 1950, the KMT government attempted to abolish traditional Taiwanese theatre, replacing it with Chinese theatre which was filled with state-approved patriotic and ethical teachings. As soon as he heard this, Lu pleaded with the government to reform Taiwanese theatre, rather than uprooting it. Subsequently, the KMT government founded the 'Taiwan sheng defang xiju xiejinhui (Taiwan Province Reform Committee)' in 1952 and designated Lu as the chairman tasked with training native Taiwanese performers. The KMT government gave Lu Sushang great authority to make changes.⁶⁴ However, except for Lu and a few pro-KMT Taiwanese elites, the

⁶³M. You, 15.

⁶⁴In the annual meeting of the official 'Zhongguowenyi xiehui (Chinese Literature and Art Association)' in 1951, Lu Shushang was the only native Taiwanese. Also, among the seven executive directors of the state-owned 'Zhongguo yingshi fangong kang'e xiehui (Chinese Film and Television Anti-Communist Association),' Lu was the only Taiwanese.

committee members were composed of mainlander officials who knew little about Taiwanese theatre. It is evident that the KMT government's reforms of native Taiwanese theatre were simply to nationalize (sinicize) it, making it less Taiwanese and more Chinese.⁶⁵

As one of the major members in charge of the committee and many other official positions, Lu Sushang wrote a large number of articles to show his loyalty to the KMT government's anti-Communist cultural policies, and to promote reform of the Taiwanese theatre. In "Wo zenyang xie guoce juben (How I wrote plays based on national policies)," Lu pointed out there were two types of nationalist plays. The 'special' type was written under the government directive, while the 'general' type was written to express the playwright's patriotism. He claimed that writing plays based on anti-Communist national policies was the job of every mainlander and native Taiwanese playwright in Taiwan rather than simply a task demanded by the government. It was the playwright's duty to write for the nation and the public. It was therefore unacceptable for any playwright in Taiwan to create 'pure art' that does not work toward the national policy of recovering China.⁶⁶ In another article entitled "Zenyang gailiang Taiwan xiju (How to reform the native Taiwanese drama)," Lu pointed out that, there were still many Taiwanese operas and musicals that needed to be reformed. His criticism was that local performances were produced only to meet the need of commercial markets, and ignore their responsibility to protect citizens' mental health.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Kunliang Qiou, *Taiwan xiju yu wenhua bianqian: lishi jiyi yu minzhong guandian* 台灣戲劇與文化變遷: 歷史記憶與民眾觀點 (*Taiwanese theatre and cultural transformation: historical memory and people's views*) (Taipei: Tai-Yuan, 1997), 99. The instructors in the Taiwan Province Reform Committee include mainlander officials (Zhang Daofan, Cheng Tianfan, Ni Wenya, Zhu Xubi), pro-KMT Taiwanese elites (Cai Peihuo, Jiang Weichuan, Xie Dongmin, Wu Sanlian), mainlander playwrights (Qi Rushan, Chen Jiying, Zhang Ying, Lei Hengli, Weng Bingrong, Deng Suining), and only one Taiwanese theatre expert (Lu Sushang). Obviously, the teaching group was organized from a Chinese theatrical viewpoint for a political benefit. It is obvious that the KMT government did not hold the expertise of the Taiwanese theatre artists in high regard.

⁶⁶Shushang Lu, "Wo zenyang xie guoce juben 我怎樣寫國策劇本 (How I wrote plays based on national policies)," *China Weekly* 121 (1952): 4.

⁶⁷The original text: 「目前在台灣的戲劇界, 表達民族文化, 雖然正在逐漸抬頭生長, 但是佔了大多的歌仔戲, 歌

Lu suggested that Taiwanese theatre should learn from the ethically oriented scripts taken from Mandarin performances. This is what Lu called ‘reformed’ Taiwanese theatre—“the Taiwanese opera in the style of Beijing opera and spoken drama.”⁶⁸ For example, Lu’s *Nüfeigan* (*Female Bandit*) (1951) is an adaptation of a famous anti-Communist story about a former female bandit’s acknowledgment of the CCP’s cruelty. His *Jianhu nüxia* (*The Heroine Qiu Jin*) (1953) depicts the Chinese revolutionary heroine Qiu Jin’s courage in overthrowing the corrupt Qing dynasty at the turn of the twentieth century. In his *Haiwo ziyou* (*Returning to My Freedom*) (1955), Lu used modern anti-Communist themes in a spoken drama form, but performed it in the manner of a traditional Taiwanese opera.⁶⁹ By producing these plays, Lu hoped to strike a balance between Chinese theatre with its patriotic content, and native Taiwanese theatre using its operatic form, in order to reform and partially preserve native theatre. Lu’s plays demonstrate the process of nationalizing native theatre through anti-Communist policies, and of sinicizing the Taiwanese theatre by adopting the ethical content of Beijing opera and spoken drama.⁷⁰

Throughout the 1950’s the Taiwan Province Reform Committee held drama competitions in the provincial communities to reform native theatre. The committee demanded that all the Taiwanese theatrical tropes participate in this competition and put on plays that conformed to national policies. According to the rules of the competition as established in 1958, potential plays for performance by Taiwanese theatrical troupes were limited to only ten plays, including three Chinese history plays that promoted patriotic themes, and seven modern plays that attacked the

舞劇，卻還是脫不了商業化的領域。大多數是舊態依然，只在私利上大算盤，常常為著爭取更多的私己利益，演出低級甚至淫靡的歌仔戲或大腿戲，而忘去顧及影響國民的心理健康。」 See Shushang Lu, “Zenyang gailiang Taiwan xiju 怎樣改良台灣戲劇 (How to reform native Taiwanese drama),” *China Weekly* 251 (1955): 9.

⁶⁸Kunliang Qiou, *Lu Sushang* 呂訴上 (*Lu Sushang*) (Taipei: Ministry of Culture, 2004), qtd. in 43, 140.

⁶⁹Shushang Lu, *Haiwo ziyou* 還我自由 (*Returning to my freedom*) (Taipei: The Youth Publishing Co., 1955).

⁷⁰S. Lu, *Taiwan dianying xijushi* 台灣電影戲劇史 (*History of Taiwanese cinema and theatre*), 575.

Communists.⁷¹ The association also supervised the activities of these Taiwanese groups in order to ensure each performer's political loyalty.

Although these competitions seemed to support native Taiwanese culture, the major aim of the government was to transform the Taiwanese theatre into an instrument of governmental policy. By means of this campaign, the government firmly established the hierarchy between, on the one hand, the provincial Taiwanese theatre which was required to undergo a series of reforms, and, on the other hand, the national drama *guoju* (namely, Beijing opera) and the Mandarin spoken dramas, which enjoyed state-sanctioned promotion and financial support. The order of importance between the high and low cultures was firmly established.

It is hard to know whether Lu wrote these pro-KMT articles and plays out of personal beliefs and commitments, or due to pressure from the government. However, it is undeniable that Lu Shushang's ideas about how to best reform Taiwanese theatre corresponded with the perspectives of elite mainlander culture. Lu stayed in line with hierarchical rule in his identification of Chinese theatre as ethical and professional and Taiwanese theatre as eroticized and ill-mannered. Lu claimed that he was filling an "old bottle with new wine (to fill a new content into an old form)" as a way to replace the landscape of Taiwanese culture with Chinese fashion.⁷² For a Taiwanese elite who studied in Japan in his youth, Lu's identification with China in his dramatic works was a construct much like the nostalgia of China seen in Mandarin anti-Communist plays.

Although the KMT government, along with Lu Sushang, tried to change the content of Taiwanese theatre, Lu's reformed theatre was not very popular among Taiwanese people. Most popular Taiwanese plays still contained melodramatic themes, such as a family farce, avenge

⁷¹S. Lu, *Taiwan dianying xijushi* 台灣電影戲劇史 (*History of Taiwanese cinema and theatre*), 520.

⁷²S. Lu, *Taiwan dianying xijushi* 台灣電影戲劇史 (*History of Taiwanese cinema and theatre*), 398.

drama, and romantic tragedy. In the first decade in post-war Taiwan, there were still twenty Taiwanese theatrical troupes that performed two or three plays every day, touring around the island for about two hundred days a year.⁷³ In other words, reformed Taiwanese theatre did not significantly decrease the popularity of native traditional theatre among Taiwanese people. The number of the performances shows how welcome the native Taiwanese theatre was in post-war Taiwan. The topics of Chinese ethics and anti-Communism did not arouse much attention from native Taiwanese, who did not have the same level of nostalgia for China.

In 1952, some owners of Taiwanese theatrical troupes participated in an official meeting to discuss the future of Taiwanese theatre. Unlike Lu, they disagreed about reforming native Taiwanese theatre into the style of Mandarin-speaking Chinese spoken drama, and tried to stand out the melodramatic element of the native Chinese Taiwanese theatre. Instead, they suggested adding more dramatic elements—farce, romance, and chivalry—into the political content of anti-Communist plays, in order to attract Taiwanese audiences. They believed that by doing so, more native Taiwanese people would come to the theatre to watch anti-Communist plays, furthering the promotion of Chinese ideology. More tickets would also be sold to maintain the theatre's business.⁷⁴ The native Taiwanese people demanded a different kind of theatre than what the state promoted. As John R. Gillis states,

Popular memory appears to have differed from elite memory in important ways. While the latter attempted to create a consecutive account of all that had happened from a particular point in the past, popular memory made no effort to fill in all the blanks. If elite time marched in a more or less linear manner, popular time danced and leaped. Elite time colonized and helped construct the boundaries of territories that we have come to call nations.⁷⁵

⁷³K. Qiou, *Lu Sushang* 呂訴上 (*Lu Sushang*), 107.

⁷⁴S. Chen, 182.

⁷⁵J. R. Gillis, 6.

Gillis' statement clearly points out the cultural divisions in post-war Taiwan. The KMT government drew a line between high Mandarin culture and low Taiwanese culture. The KMT government tried to transform Taiwanese theatre into a Chinese style linked to the linear past, while native Taiwanese people attempted to discuss matters of daily life in their traditional theatre, as a realistic way to resist the government's confinement.

Throughout the first two decades of the KMT government's exile in Taiwan, the mainlander focused most of their attention on a lost, idealized past life in China which would be recovered in the future. The recovery of China was the apex of a future-focused national policy, that would guarantee a unified and great nation. This attempt to imagine and construct the unified temporal and spatial landscape of China led to a governmental policy that in great measure either ignored or tried to transform and replace the present-day landscape and identity of Taiwan.

In contrast to the mainlanders' imagined versions of a past and future China, the Taiwanese people struggled, as best they could, to live in the present-day reality of the landscape and identity of Taiwan. This imaginary Chinese landscape that the mainlanders imposed on post-war Taiwan caused a fracture in their self-identities. Despite their political power, the mainlanders became orphans in the landscape of present Taiwan. Because they did not accommodate themselves to their present existence on the island, apart from the idealized dream of a recovered Chinese homeland, they became a group of 'others' who excluded themselves from the native Taiwanese people. They felt superior to the native population, yet their separation, in time, isolated them. Ironically, though they had the power to control the present, they could not accept it.

China served to reaffirm their national identity and centralize their understanding of home. For the mainlander elites, native Taiwanese people were regarded as the uncultured and uncouth 'others' who needed to be reeducated using traditional Chinese values. They disparaged things

related to Taiwan. The KMT government's suppression of the physical landscape of Taiwan, and their subsequent remapping of Chinese identity onto a Taiwanese landscape, helped to create and reinforce the separation of the mainlanders from the native Taiwanese people.

In consequence, despite two decades of denial of the present and of the Taiwanese people by the dominating KMT government, Taiwan's political condition as 'China' became a *de facto* entity when the United Nations transferred Taiwan's seat to the People's Republic of China in 1971. Since the 1980's, the fuller political and cultural lives of the island of Taiwan has begun to re-establish themselves when Taiwanization, also known as the Taiwanese localization movement, emphasized the importance of native Taiwanese culture, society, economy, and political entity. Students has started to learn the history of Taiwan, geography, and culture from a Taiwan-centric perspective. Native Taiwanese dialects, such as Hoklo, Hakka, and aboriginal languages have been promoted by the KMT government. The use of dialects has been prevalent in public media. Both the past and the future ideas of China have had to accommodate themselves to the present ideas and reality of a multicultural and multiethnic Taiwan.

GLOSSARY

Bai Ke	白克	<i>Dongchuan jiaxu</i>	東床佳婿
<i>Bai Maonü</i>	白毛女	Dongfang Hong	東方紅
bensheng ren	本省人	Dongzheng, beifa, jiaofei, kangzhan	東征 / 北伐 / 剿 匪 / 抗戰
baiyun guxiang	白雲故鄉	ertongju	兒童劇
baodao	寶島	ertong shenghuo gongyue shijian guitiao	兒童生活公約實 施計劃
bishou	避壽	fangong beiju	反共悲劇
budaixi	布袋戲	fangong fugou	反共復國
Changzhufeng de qingchun	常住峰的青春	fangong kang'e	反共抗俄
Chantou wenyi	戰鬥文藝	fangong xiju	反共喜劇
Chen Duxiu	陳獨秀	fanyan	方言
Chen Hongmo	陳宏謀	Fei Xiaotian	費嘯天
Chiang Ching-kuo	蔣經國	fuchao zhixia wu wanluan	覆巢之下無完卵
Chiang Kai-shek	蔣介石 (蔣中正)	funü	婦女
<i>Chuangwai</i>	窗外	Funü jiuguohui	婦女救國會
Ch'iung Yao	瓊瑤	fuxing minzu	復興民族
Chun-cheng	中正	<i>Fuyou</i>	婦友
Chun-shan	中山	gailiangxi	改良戲
<i>Dahan fuxingqu</i>	大漢復興曲	<i>Gaoshan qu</i>	高山曲
dalü ke	大陸客	Ganzhe yu gaoliang	甘蔗與高粱
dalü tongbao	大陸同胞	Gaoshan zu	高山族
Dianying jiancha chu	電影檢查處	Ge Xianning	葛賢寧
<i>Dichun chuan</i>	荻村傳	geju	歌劇
diwang jiangxiang caizi jiaren	帝王將相 / 才子 佳人		

gezexi	歌仔戲	Kangle zongdui	康樂總隊
gongfei	共匪	kangri fanggonju	抗日反共劇
<i>Goujian fuguo</i>	勾踐復國	<i>Kuang Fengsha</i>	狂風沙
guangboju	廣播劇	li	禮
<i>Guangwu zhongxing</i>	光武中興	Li Hsing	李行
Guofangbu zong zhengzhi zuozhang ju	國防部總政治作 戰部	Liang Zhefu	梁哲夫
guojia	國家	<i>Lianyi Biaomei</i>	漣漪表妹
guoju	國劇	lingxiu	領袖
Guruo jintang	固若金湯	<i>Lisan Nongcheng</i>	笠山農場
guzhuangju	古裝劇	Liushi niandai juyishe	六十年代劇藝社
Haigan	海港	<i>Longjiangson</i>	龍江頌
<i>Haiwo heshan</i>	還我河山	Lu Jingruo	陸鏡若
He Yingqin	何應欽	lunshu	論述
heji	合集	<i>Minbao</i>	民報
Huanghe de shui	黃河的水	Mei Lanfang	梅蘭芳
<i>Hongdengji</i>	紅燈記	Minxing she	民興社
<i>Hongse Niangzijun</i>	紅色娘子軍	<i>Minzu Wanbao</i>	民族晚報
Hu Shih	胡適	Mu Zhongnan	穆中南
Huangdi	黃帝	nisi wowang	你死我亡
huangminju	皇民劇	<i>Niulang zhinü</i>	牛郎織女
<i>Jiang zongtong zhuan</i>	蔣總統傳	Nongye jiaoyu dianying gongsi	農業教育電影公 司
jiankang xieshi zhuyi	健康寫實主義	nü qiangre	女強人
Jia zai shan nabian	家在山那邊	nüxing	女性
Jiang Qing	江青	Pai Hsien-yung	白先勇
Juancun	眷村	Pan Renmu	潘人木
		pao longtao	跑龍套

Peng Pai	彭湃	<i>Tandan fugou</i>	田單復國
pinju	平劇	<i>Taohua shan</i>	桃花扇
Qi Rushan	齊如山	toudu ke	偷渡客
Qijie rushi	其介如石	tungbao	同胞
qingnianju	青年劇	waisheng ren	外省人
qingtian bairi	青天白日	Wang Dingjun	王鼎鈞
qipao	旗袍	Wang Jicong	王集叢
<i>Qixi Baihutuan</i>	奇襲白虎團	Wang Jue	王珏
qupu	曲譜	Wanshi diantou	頑石點頭
Rending shengtian	人定勝天	weian fu	慰安婦
Sanmin zhuyi	三民主義	Wenhua quingjie yundong	文化清潔運動
<i>Shajiabang</i>	沙家浜	wenmingxi	文明戲
Sheng baoan siling bu	省保安司令部	<i>Wenyichuangzuo</i>	文藝創作
shidai xiju	時代喜劇	<i>Women weida de lingxiu</i>	我們偉大的領袖
shidaiju	時代劇	Wuwang zaiju	勿忘在莒
shiju	詩劇	wuxia	武俠
<i>Shoufu liangjiang</i>	收復兩京	Xian zongton Jianggong jiniange	先總統蔣公紀念歌
Taiwan hao	台灣好	xiangsheng	先生
Taiwan jieguan jihua ganyao	台灣接管計劃綱要	Xiangtu wenxue lunzan	鄉土文學論戰
Taiwan sheng defang xiju xiejinhui	台灣省地方戲劇協進會	xianqi liangmu	賢妻良母
Taiwan xingzheng zhangguan gongshu	台灣行政長官公署	Xiju gaige weiyuanhui	戲劇改革委員會
<i>Taiwan Xinsheng Bao</i>	台灣新生報	<i>Xin Qingnian</i>	新青年
Taiwansheng dianying zhipianchang	台灣省電影製片廠	xinju	新劇
		Xinwenju	新聞局
		xiushen, qijia, zhiguo, pingtianxia	修身 / 齊家 / 治國 / 平天下

<i>Xiyouji</i>	西遊記	<i>Zhonghua shiyan jutuan</i>	中華實驗劇團
<i>Xuanfeng</i>	旋風	<i>Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong</i>	中華文化復興運動
yanbanxi	樣板戲	<i>Zhonghua Wenyi Jiangjin Wiyuanhui</i>	中華文藝獎金委員會
Yandi	炎帝	<i>Zhongshen dashi</i>	終身大事
<i>Yangpingwan fuguo</i>	延平王復國	<i>Zhongxuanbu</i>	中宣部
Yibushen zhuanhao	易卜生專號	<i>Zhongyang</i>	重陽
<i>Youshi wenyi</i>	幼獅文藝	<i>Zhongyang qingnian jushe</i>	中央青年劇社
Zhangbai shanshang	長白山上	<i>Zhongyang ribao</i>	中央日報
Zhang Daofan	張道藩	<i>Zhou Yixiao</i>	周一鶚
<i>Zhangjiang de shui yijiu zailiu</i>	長江的水依舊在流	<i>Zhu-Mao feibang</i>	朱毛匪幫
<i>Zhankai fangong wenyi zhandou gongzuo shishi fangan</i>	展開反共文藝戰鬥工作實施方案	<i>Ziyou Zhongguo</i>	自由中國
Zheng Chenggong	鄭成功	<i>Zong You</i>	宗由
<i>Zhiqu Weihushan</i>	智取威虎山	<i>Zongxing zaiwang</i>	中興在望
<i>Zhongguo funu xiezuo xiehui</i>	中國婦女寫作協會	<i>Zou Rong</i>	鄒容
<i>Zhongguo qingnian fangong jiugou tuan</i>	中國青年反共救國團	zuqun	族群
<i>Zhongguo wenyi xiehui</i>	中國文藝協會	<i>Zhu Bajie</i>	豬八戒
<i>Zhongguo xiju yishu zongxin</i>	中國戲劇藝術中心		
<i>Zhonghua funü fangong lianhehui</i>	中華婦女反共聯合會		
<i>Zhonghua hun</i>	中華魂		
<i>Zhonghua mingguo fangong kange dianying xiju xiehui</i>	中華民國反共抗俄電影戲劇協會		

APPENDICES

Table 1: The Number of Different Theatrical Genres Produced from 1951 to 1959

Year	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	Total
<i>Huaju</i> (Chinese spoken drama)	13	19	34	29	17	16	21	20	32	201
<i>Pinju</i> (Beijing opera)	1	1	1			2	6			11
<i>Gezixi</i> (Taiwanese opera)	1									1
<i>Shiju</i> (Verse drama)			2	1						3
<i>Geju</i> (Opera)				1						1
<i>Guangboju</i> (Radio drama)					2	1			2	5
<i>Ertongju</i> (Children's drama)			2	1						3
<i>Qupu</i> (Music score)							1			1
<i>Heji</i> (Drama collection)		1								1
<i>Lunshu</i> (Drama criticism)			3	4	3	10	3		1	24
Total	15	21	40	33	22	29	31	20	36	247

Source: T. Jiao, 220-233.

Table 2: Filmography

Chinese Title	English	Director	Performer	Distributor	Year	Langauge
Fangon dianying (Anti-Communist Film)						
Emengchuxing 惡夢初醒	Bad Dreams*	Zong You 宗由	Lu Biyun 盧碧雲	Agricultural Education Co.	1950	Mandarin
Fenghuoliren 烽火麗人	Wartime Beauty	Chen Wenquan 陳文泉	Wu Jinghong 吳鶯鴻	Agricultural Education Co.	1953	Mandarin
Meili baodao 美麗寶島	Formosa: The Beautiful Island	Chen Wenquan 陳文泉	Wu Jinghong 吳鶯鴻	Agricultural Education Co.	1953	Mandarin
Qilu 歧路	Crossroads	Xu Xinfu 徐欣夫	Mu Hong 穆虹	Central Pictures Co.	1955	Mandarin
Yingshuhua 罌粟花	Opium Poppy*	Yuan Congmei 袁叢美	Lu Biyun 盧碧雲	Taiwan Film Studio	1955	Mandarin
Meigangchunhui 梅崗春回	Spring Comes Back	Zong You 宗由	Mu Hong 穆虹	Central Pictures Co.	1955	Mandarin
Huangdi zisun 黃帝子孫	The Decedents of the Emperor Huang	Bai Ke 白克	Dai Qixia 戴綺霞	Taiwan Film Studio	1956	Hoklo
Meiyou nüren de defang 沒有女人的地方	Where There is No Woman*	Tang Shaohua 唐紹華	Jiao Hongying 焦鴻英	Taiwan Film Studio	1956	Mandarin
Jinxuqiancheng 錦繡前程	Teenagers Folly*	Zong You 宗由	Wei Pingao 魏平澳	Central Pictures Co.	1957	Mandarin
Hehuanshanshang 合歡山上	On Top of the Joy Mountain	Pan Lei 潘壘	Xiao Yanqiu 小艷秋	Chinese Film Studio	1958	Mandarin
Guilai 歸來	Homecoming	Zong You 宗由	Mu Hong 穆虹	Central Pictures Co.	1958	Mandarin
Cuilingzhangchu 翠嶺長春	Forever Green	Wu Wenchao 吳文超	Wang Jue 王珏	Taiwan Film Studio	1959	Mandarin
Tianlunlei 天倫淚	Debt of Love*	Yi Wen 易文	Zhang Xiaoyan 張小燕	Central Pictures Co.	1960	Mandarin
Yinrongjie 音容劫	Reunion*	Zong You 宗由	Mu Hong 穆虹	Central Pictures Co.	1960	Mandarin
Jiankang xieshizhuyi dianying [Healthy Realism Film]						
Jietou xiangwei 街頭巷尾	Our Neighbor*	Li Hsing 李行	Li Guanzhang 李冠章	Central Pictures Co.	1963	Mandarin
Enü 蚵女	Oyster Girl*	Li Hsing 李行	Wang Mochou 王莫愁	Central Pictures Co.	1963	Mandarin
Yangya renjia 養鴨人家	Beautiful Duckling*	Li Hsing 李行	Tang Baoyun 唐寶雲	Central Pictures Co.	1964	Mandarin
Lu 路	The Road*	Li Hsing 李行	Cui Fusheng 崔福生	Central Pictures Co.	1967	Mandarin
Taiyu dianying [Native Dialect Hoklo Film]						
Wangge liuge you Taiwan 王哥柳哥遊臺灣	Brother Liu and Brother Wang on the Roads in Taiwan	Li Hsing 李行	Li Guanzhang 李冠章	Tailian	1959	Hoklo
Taipei fade zaobanche 台北發的早班車	The First Train from the Taipei Station	Liang Zhefu 梁哲夫	Bai Lan 白蘭	Tailian	1963	Hoklo
Kaohsiung fade weibanche 高雄發的尾班車	The Last Train from the Kaohsiung Station	Liang Zhefu 梁哲夫	Bai Lan 白蘭	Tailian	1964	Hoklo
Other Film (CHINA)						
Ji Hongchang 吉鴻昌	Ji Hongchang*	Li Quanghai 李光惠 and Qi Xingjia 齊興家	Da Qi 達奇	Changchun Film Group Co.	1979	Mandarin

Note:

1. This table only includes the movie titles mentioned in this dissertation.
2. English titles with the "*" symbols are original translations from film studios.

PLAYS

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- . “Guxingren 故鄉人 (Hometown family).” *Zhonghuaminguo jianguo liushinian jinian ziyouzhongguo huaji liushizhong xuanji: zhonghua xijuji* 中華民國建國六十年紀念自由中國話劇六十種選集: 中華戲劇集 (*Sixty selected works in celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China: the anthology of contemporary Chinese drama*). Ed. Liu Shoufu 劉碩夫. Vol. 8. Taipei: Chinese Theatre Art Centre Publishing Co., 1971. 241–331. 10 vols.
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