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Beyond Commemoration: The 2-28 Incident, the Aesthetics of Trauma and Sexual Difference

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To Taiwan and the world at the crossroads; and
to those who walked through the dark valley of death.

To my beloved daughter Juan Tang 阮棠,
who endures the separation from me at a very young age, and embraces her life with
great curiosity and courage.

The encounter with her is the greatest joy in my life.

Her becoming contributes a great deal to mine.

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Abstract

This dissertation considers three questions arising from the annual commemorative art exhibitions of the February 28 Incident in Taiwan in 1947, where the Chinese nationalist coloniser systematically eradicated Taiwanese intellectuals and massively victimised the civilian Taiwanese population across the island. The exhibitions started to be held in 1993 and corresponded with the project of new Taiwan nation-building that was based on the historicisation and commemoration of the 2-28 Incident that had begun during the mid-1980s and continued into the 1990s. This commemoration of the 2-28 Incident has, I shall argue, contributed to the discursive formation of contemporary Taiwanese national and cultural identities and subjectivities.

The first major question this thesis addresses is: is the Incident *an event* which is already in the past so that the Taiwanese should look forward and move on, as it was frequently argued particularly after the mid-1990s? This position is symptomised by *Sadness Transformed: 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition in 1997*. Within this commonly agreed narrative, the 2-28 men victims have been redeemed as the national heroes to become subjects for the new Taiwan nation; a post-2-28 harmonious political utopia has been declared, as *Sadness Transformed* also seems to witness to. Against this question, a second one asks: why and how were ‘women’ and ‘the female body’ integrated into this narrative and by that means rendered unremembered again? The thesis thus explores the gendered terms of commemoration hingeing on distinct degrees of feminine invisibility in both constructions of national identity and in ‘new forms’ of subjectivity. The two phenomenal commemorations, the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally by two different political camps for the 2004 Presidential Election Campaign, and the division of people in Taiwan worsened by the dispute over the results of the Election clearly show that the 2-28 Incident has not been resolved by the commemoration narratives. Instead it appears to return compulsively to haunt Taiwan again and again. Therefore, the third question concerns the power of historical events, such as the 2-28 Incident, to haunt a culture? How can aesthetic practices contribute to the processes of witness and transformation?

I shall argue that the 2-28 Incident should be considered not as *a historical event* alone but also as *a historical and political trauma*. Trauma has long term, unknown and unbound affects and effects, so that it returns to haunt *even today*. Hence, it is necessary for us to revisit the making of the 2-28 memories, through contemporary art in this case, and carefully work out its structure and mechanism as trauma rather than merely as a traumatic event. In the meantime, I shall indicate that the new Taiwan nation narrated through 2-28 commemoration and historicisation is indeed a patriarchal one with very rigid boundaries. It rendered women and other people who are different from the

Taiwanese 2-28 elite men victims unremembered or remembered briefly to be forgotten again. The force of trauma lies in its mechanism identified by Sigmund Freud not only in terms of individual psychic suffering but also in terms of the formations of cultural identities and traditions: early trauma-latency-defence-neurosis-partial return of the repressed. I shall show how the making of the 2-28 memories in Taiwan largely repeats this cycle that defines trauma as a structure. I shall suggest that only through witnessing and listening to the wound: the 2-28 Incident as having the character of trauma, can this trauma cycle be transformed. In the final chapter, I shall discuss how certain artists exhibiting in the exhibition *Sadness Transformed* provide an aesthetic model for such 'transporting' of trauma.

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Notes on Language

Chinese names and titles are generally spelled in the Wade-Giles Romanisation system except where there is specific spelling preferred by the persons themselves. Chinese and Japanese names are given in their customary order; surname first followed by given name, except in the citations to authors' works published in the English language, where they appear in English order. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese to English are by the author.

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Introduction

On Sunday 15 December 2002, I visited the 2-28 Memorial Park in Chia-yi City 嘉義市二二八紀念公園. There was no one in the Park. The 2-28 Memorial stands in the corner. Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Museum 嘉義二二八紀念館 located inside the Park was closed. Though the Park and Museum are not far away from the centre of Chia-yi City the entire place seemed so quiet, as if it has been ‘deserted’ for a while.¹

As I was unable to look around the Museum on this visit, I visited Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Park again on Friday 25 July 2003 at which time I saw people gathered around the entrance of the Museum. I could not wait to see what the Museum looked like, how it functioned and what it can offer to the public or to a cultural researcher like myself. As I stepped in, I was immediately told that the Museum was closed (again) and that it only opened on the occasion of an exhibition. Last time it opened had been around February 2003, the 55th anniversary of the 2-28 Incident. Those people were only gathered there because they were going to attend an agricultural function together elsewhere. I had travelled a long way to see the Museum, so I asked if I could see anything in it before it was closed again.

As I looked around, it did indeed feel to me as if the Museum had been ‘deserted’. The exhibition rooms, the library and the offices were all closed. There seemed to be no trace of any recent activities. Some places in the building were stacked with piles of chairs and other unused furniture. Only photographs of the 2-28 victims of the Chia-yi regions still hung there. The whole place seemed to inspire awe. It looked like a holy yet ‘deserted’ shrine for the 2-28 victims massacred in the Chia-yi regions.

I was puzzled. The 2-28 Memorial Park in Chia-yi City was established on 28 February 1996 and meant to be permanent. According to the Regulations set up by the

¹ Here, ‘deserted’ should not be taken literally. It is a figurative use for describing the inactive state of Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Museum.

Chia-yi City Government, the Museum is supposed to open regularly from 8:30 to 21:00 from Wednesday through to Sunday. Only under special circumstances approved by the Chia-yi City Government can the Museum increase or decrease its opening hours.² Why was the Museum closed when I visited? Were there any special circumstances responsible for its closure? Earthquake? Flood? None of these had happened, nor was any official reason given to explain the closure.

As an extremely sympathetic regional government for the 2-28 victims, Chia-yi City Government has always been keen to commemorate 2-28. Confronting the Central Government and the Provincial Government run by the KMT (*Kuomintang* 國民黨, Chinese Nationalist Party), it built the very first 2-28 Memorial in Taiwan in 1989. It also set up the very first 2-28 Memorial Museum in Taiwan. Notably, the whole Memorial Park was designed and built with more careful attention than many of its counterparts, and the Chia-yi City Government was about to announce the agreement made with President Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁 that the very first national-level 2-28 memorial museum was to be set up in Chia-yi City.³ Given this historical trajectory, I was even more puzzled. Why would this relatively new Museum, which had opened only nine years before, be allowed to function so improperly without any constructive intervention from the Chia-yi City Government?

Certainly, there were serious problems of administration and of museum professionalism with the Museum, such as those openly put forward by Chen Shih-hsien

² See *Chia-yi shih 2-28 chinien kungyuan chinienkuan kuanli shihyung yiaotien* 嘉義市二二八紀念公園、紀念館管理使用要點 (Regulations on Governing the 2-28 Memorial Park and the 2-28 Museum in Chia-yi City) listed on the website of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the Chia-yi City Government. (<http://www.cabcy.gov.tw/> accessed date: 15 July 2003) The Museum's mission is to 'commemorate the 2-28 history and promote the idea of democracy and peace' by 'holding art and cultural exhibitions, and charitable activities and expositions'.

³ For a review of its design, see the website of *Taiwan chienchu* 台灣建築 (Taiwan Architecture): mag1.arch.net.tw/7-2/1zp4.ptm; and the website of Taiwan Institute of Economic Research: <http://english.tier.org.tw/05publish/energy/9006/%E5%B0%81%E9%9D%A2%E6%95%85%E4%BA%8B%E4%BA%8C.htm> accessed date: 15 July 2003. 'Chen Li-chen: chiasih Chiang she kuochiachi 2-28 chinienkuan 陳麗貞：嘉市將設國家級 228 紀念館 (Chen Li-chen [the Mayor of Chia-yi City] Said: Chia-yi City will Set Up the First National-level 2-28 Memorial Museum', *Chungkuo shihpao* 中國時報 (China Times), 26 March 2003, Chia-yi local news page. See <http://www.maillist.com.tw/maillist/file/cyca/20030407120550.html> accessed date: 15 July 2003.

陳世憲, a local resident in the greater Chia-yi region and one of the curators of *Ning-shih Taiwan: ch'itung Taiwan meishu chung te 228 yuansu* 凝視台灣—啟動台灣美術中的二二八元素 (*Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art*, 2002) whose venues include Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Museum.⁴ Nevertheless, there must be other structural problems as well. In February and March 2004, I found that Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum very quiet; attendance had dropped significantly in comparison with its heyday at the end of the 1990s.⁵ The Museum is located in the heart of Taipei City, with the very popular 2-28 Peace Park nearby. Despite its location there seems to be a lack of interest in the Museum. In distinct contrast to the 1990s when the 2-28 commemoration and historicisation were the active concern of many people, in the third millennium these two 2-28 memorial museums seem almost forgotten and abandoned.

Were these two sites not born out of a recent and common will in Taiwan to remember the 2-28 Incident? Why is it that both these museums seem trapped in a very difficult situation? Their role should be to help us to remember the 2-28 Incident but it seems that they themselves have become the object of collective forgetting.

The 2-28 Incident happened in Taiwan in 1947, just two years after Chiang Kai-shek's KMT regime took over Taiwan from the previous colonial power, Japan. It was triggered by the fact that on 27 February three KMT policemen assaulted and robbed an old woman, Lin Chiang-mai 林江邁, who barely made both ends meet selling smuggled cigarettes. The bystanders sympathised with the woman and condemned the

⁴ Chen Shih-hsien also reveals the functional problems of Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Museum in his curatorial statement. See Chen Shih-hsien, '2-28 chung te 2-28 二二八中的「二二八」(The 2-28 Incident' within the 2-28 Commemoration)', in Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art*, Taipei: Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, 2002, 190-2.

⁵ Besides problems of museum professionalism, Taipei 2-28 Memorial seemed also involved in the ideological disputes towards 2-28 commemoration between Yieh Po-wen 葉博文, its ex-director (early 1998-2000) and an associate with Chen Shui-bian's Democratic Progressive Party Taipei City Government (end of 1994-1998), and Long Ying-tai, the then director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of Ma Ying-jeou's KMT Taipei City Government (end of 1998 to the present). The ideological disputes, however, seemed wrapped in the disguise of administration problems. See Yieh Po-wen, *Long Ying-tai Ma Ying-jeou yu 2-28* 龍應台、馬英九與二二八 (Long Ying-tai, Ma Ying-jeou and 2-28), Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, 2001.

three policemen. Being questioned and feeling frightened, the three policemen ran away and one of them shot a bystander dead during their escape. On the next day, more and more people gathered and asked Chen Yi 陳儀, the then Governor of Taiwan appointed by Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石, to hand the murderer over to the court, a request to which the government did not respond. Extremely dissatisfied with the corrupt KMT colonial rule, which was subjecting people in Taiwan to an even more devastating political, social and economic condition than the pre-war Japanese colonial rule, more people gathered together in front of the Governor's Office, today the Presidential Hall, to protest. The Governor's Office ordered the shooting of the protesting civilians. More and more angry civilians protested and a few organised military revolts occurred across Taiwan. A temporary organisation of Taiwanese intellectuals and other prominent persons, the 2-28 Resolution Committee 二二八處理委員會, was established at the Governor's invitation, and charged with working out solutions to the crisis. While negotiating with this committee, Chen Yi reported to and asked Chiang Kai-shek to send troops to Taiwan. When Chiang's troops arrived on 9 March, they began large-scale killing and victimisation of the Taiwanese across the country, and systematically eradicated Taiwanese intellectuals and the elite. Although the 2-28 Incident was officially declared ended on 15 May 1947, its aftermath seems to have lasted a long time, and its traumatic affects and effects seem to be influential even today. Many people suffered retaliation, accused of 'conspiring with Chinese communists', a common and fatal accusation during the White Terror period 白色恐怖 (1950s onwards).⁶ The political, social, economic and cultural power structures of the victims' families, and Taiwan itself,

⁶ The 'White Terror' describes the suppression of political dissents and public discussion of the massacre under the Martial law from May 19th 1949 to July 15th 1987. During the 'White Terror', around 140,000 of the Taiwanese were imprisoned or executed for their real or perceived opposition to the KMT government led by Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, according to a recent report by Executive Yuan of Taiwan. Some prosecuted Taiwanese were labelled by the KMT as 'communist spies', meaning spies for Chinese communists, and punished as such. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_Terror.

became totally dominated by the Sino-centric KMT regime, with the Taiwanese oppressed and discriminated against in their own land.⁷

Many Taiwanese people died during the 2-28 Incident. However, there have been disagreements over the estimates of how many people died. The *Executive Yuan's Report on the '2-28 Incident'*, an official report done by liberal and sympathetic Taiwanese historians and offered by the KMT government in 1994, disputes the 1947 account given by the the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters (TGGH, 警備總部) which claims only 133 people died including 90 soldiers. The *Executive Yuan's Report on the '2-28 Incident'* does not give any estimate of how many people died in total because the population data is unreliable and too difficult to manage. Instead, it summarises other estimates offered by non-governmental institutions and independent research. The Association of the Taiwanese in Shanghai asserted at a conference held 10 April 1947 that more than 10,000 Taiwanese people were killed between 8 March and 16 March. The Association of China's Unification stated that more than 30,000 people were killed. A 1953 population survey finds that more than 100,000 people were missing and most of them were 2-28 victims. Li Chiao's more recent research indicates that the number of the death could be between 20,500 and 15,500 people.⁸

⁷ Lai Tze-han 賴澤涵, Roman Myers 馬若孟, Wei Wou 魏萼, *Peichu te kaituan* 悲劇的開端(A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947), Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991; trans. Lo Lo-chia 羅珞珈, Taipei: China Times, 1993; Lai Tze-han et al., *Hsingchengyuan 2-28 shihchien yianchiou paokao* 行政院「二二八事件」研究報告(The Executive Yuan's Report on the '2-28 Incident'), Taipei: China Times, 1994; Tai Kuo-hui 戴國輝, Yieh Yun-yun 葉芸芸, *Ai tzeng 2-28: shenhua yu shihshih chiekai lishih chih mi* 愛憎二二八：神話與史實、揭開歷史之謎(The 2-28 Incident: Love and Hatred: mythology and historical truth: unveiling the myth of history), Taipei: Yuanliou, 1992; and Li Hsiao-feng 李筱峰, *Chietu 2-28* 解讀二二八(Interpretation on 2-28[1993]), Taipei: Yu-san, renamed and reprinted, 1998.

⁸ Lai Tze-han et al., *The Executive Yuan's Report on the '2-28 Incident'*, 261-263. There is no statistics telling us how many women died during the 2-28 Incident. The name lists available to and shown by the *Executive Yuan's Report on the '2-28 Incident'* indicate that almost all of the dead were men. Ibid, 264-363. In 1947, the population of Taiwan was about 4,000,000. See the account on the 2-28 Incident given by the website of Radio Taiwan International: http://www.rti.org.tw/big5/recommend/taiwan/content/content_2.html accessed date: 15 April 2006. The most recent report done by the DPP regime does not confirm any of the estimates mentioned above nor offer any new estimate of the dead during the 2-28 Incident. See 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation, *2-28 shihchien tzejn kuishu yianchiu paokao* 二二八事件研究歸屬報告(Research Report on the Responsibility for the 2-28 Massacre), Taipei: 2-28

Pro-Taiwan-Independence institutions have sometimes drawn parallels between the 2-28 Incident and the Holocaust in terms of state atrocity and genocide. The Incident is seen as the event that changed the whole course of Taiwan's history and led to the Movement for Taiwan's Independence from China.⁹ The 2-28 Incident differs in many respects from the Holocaust in, for example, not having the industrial manner of killing and enslavement.¹⁰ However, while people are still trying to remember, explore and work out the affects and effects of the Holocaust from many perspectives – historical, psychological, literary, artistic, philosophical and so forth – I wonder why people in Taiwan so easily remember to forget the 2-28 Incident. What is it, since 1987, as part of the process of making 2-28 cultural memory, that has in effect (whether intentionally or not) paved the way for this collective forgetting?

The Research Questions

Since there has been no research into this problem either in Taiwan or elsewhere, this thesis hence seeks to investigate and intervene in this collective oblivion of the catastrophic 2-28 Incident in Taiwan by considering both the commemorative art exhibitions of the event of the 1990s and later, and materials related to these exhibitions.¹¹

Incident Memorial Foundation, 2006.

⁹ See one of the website run by Ilha Formosa, a group of Taiwanese organisations in the USA, France and elsewhere dedicated to pursue the future of Taiwan as a free, democratic and independent nation. <http://www.taiwandc.org/228-intr.htm>.

¹⁰ In terms of the Holocaust, Germans killed and enslaved the Jews in the most calculated and modernised way based on efficient bureaucracy and advanced technologies.

¹¹ The most relevant research is probably the one on the cultural representations of the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror by Cheng Fei-wen. However, Cheng seems to be more interested in analysing the process of how the nation and the national identity have been forged through the cultural representations the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror than in dealing with the problem and the process of cultural trauma, collective remembering and forgetting. The model of her research is mainly based on the White Terror. Her thesis tends to place the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror into the same category and does not differentiate them. The meaning and contents of 'the nation' and 'the national subject' produced by the commemoration and historicisation of these two events are generally different: crudely speaking, the former seems largely pro-Taiwan's Independence; the latter seems involved more in the question of how to revolutionise the KMT or China in general from a leftist and democratic perspective. This difference seems not specified in Cheng's thesis and what Cheng means by 'the nation' and 'the national subject' seems not clarified either. Cheng Fei-wen, *The 'Wounded' Nation: Trauma, Memory, and National Identity in*

First, this thesis examines the making of cultural memory of the 2-28 Incident from 1987 to 2004 critically using cultural theories from Europe, North America and Taiwan of memory and history as well as of cultural trauma, theories initially stemming from the study of the Holocaust. It explores the ground contested by different collective and cultural memories held by different political factions within this period. It asks why a commonly accepted narrative – that the 2-28 Incident had ended and the Taiwanese should look forward and move on – was produced, particularly after 1995 when Taipei 2-28 Memorial was established in the heart of Taipei City next to the Presidential Hall, and when the Legislative Yuan 立法院 passed the *2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act* 二二八事件補償處理條例, the Executive Yuan 行政院 set up the 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation 二二八事件紀念基金會 to carry out the Act, and the anniversary of the 2-28 Incident was integrated into the national calendar as 2-28 Peace Day 二二八和平日.¹² It also scrutinises why the two phenomenal 2-28 commemorations held by the opposing Pan-Green and Pan-Blue Coalitions for the 2004 Presidential Election both repeated the same narrative in their national imaginings?¹³ In the historicisation and commemoration of the Holocaust, Eric Santner identifies two types of responses to traumatic events: ‘narrative fetishism’ and ‘work of mourning’. The former is the way in which ‘an

Contemporary Taiwanese Society, PhD Thesis, Institute for Women’s Studies and Department of Sociology, Lancaster University, 2003.

¹² For such narratives, see Li Chi-kuang 李季光, ‘*Chinnien 2-28 peich’ing yu yangkuang te fenshuiing* 今年二二八 悲情與陽光的分水嶺 (February 28 this Year, A Watershed between Sadness and Sunshine[Happiness]), *China Times*, 27 February 1995, 3 quoted in Hsia Ch’un-hsiang 夏春祥, *Meichie chiyi yu hsinwen yishih: 228 shibchien hsinwen te wenpen fenhsi 1947-2000* 媒介記憶與新聞儀式：二二八事件新聞的文本分析 (Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000), Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Journalism, National Chengchih University, 2000, 105; Tu Cheng-sheng’s comment in *United Daily*, 28 February 1995, 8 quoted in Hsia Ch’un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 113; and Lee Teng-hui’s remark in ‘*Lee tzungtung chichehui* 李總統記者會 (President Lee’s Press Conference), *China Times*, 23 February 1988, 2 quoted in Hsia Ch’un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 118.

¹³ DPP led by Chen Shui-bian and Taiwan Solidarity Union 台灣團結聯盟 (TSU 台聯) led by Lee Teng-hui formed the Pan-Green Coalition 泛綠陣營 and continued to support Chen Shui-bian and Annette Lu 呂秀蓮 (Vice-president of Taiwan, 2000-2004; 2004-) to run for the 3rd presidency. On the other hand, KMT led by Lien Chan 連戰, People First Party 親民黨 led by James Soong 宋楚瑜 and New Party 新黨 led by Yu Mu-ming 郁慕明 formed the Pan-Blue Coalition 泛藍陣營 and supported Lien Chan and James Soong to run for the 3rd presidency.

inability or refusal to mourn emplots traumatic events' and a strategy of 'undoing the need for mourning' by 'situating the site and origin of loss elsewhere', leaving behind the responsibility of re-thinking one's 'self-identity.' The latter is 'a process of elaborating and integrating the reality of loss or traumatic shock by remembering and repeating it in symbolically and dialogically mediated doses.' It is 'a process of translating, troping, and figuring loss' that 'may encompass ... "a relation between language and silence that is in some sense ritualized".'¹⁴ Based on Santner's view, I ask if the commonly accepted narrative of the 2-28 Incident produced particularly after 1995 is indeed, in Santner's words, 'narrative fetishism' and why do people tend to leave the responsibility of 'remembering' and 'working through' to 'sites of memory' such as monuments, memorials or memorial narratives, as James Young suggests?¹⁵

Second, the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and, to some extent, the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally propagated the idea of a post-2-28, united and harmonious Taiwan nation, as *Sadness Transformed: 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* had done in 1997. Less than two weeks later, however, the division of people in Taiwan widened through disputes over the result of the 2004 Presidential Election, and, as this thesis will argue, repeated the earlier division of people in Taiwan as structured by the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident. This has been discussed by Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu.¹⁶ Besides, immense pain and loss still permeate some works of *Sadness Transformed* such as *One Century* by Chang Yi-hsiung despite the claim for the arrival of the post-2-28

¹⁴ Eric L. Santner, 'History beyond the Pleasure Principle: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Trauma' in Saul Friedlander (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992, 144.

¹⁵ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, New York: Prestel, 1993, 5.

¹⁶ Lin Tzung-yi, 'Kangcheng yihuo fubo: wuli yachibche v.s. kunan te bsingts'unche 抗爭抑或復和? 武力壓制者 v.s. 苦難的倖存者 (Confrontation or Reconciliation?: Military Suppressors vs. Surviving Victims and Families)', in Chang Yian-hsien, Chen Mei-jung & Yang Ya-hui (eds.), *2-28 shihchien yianchiou lunwenchi 二二八事件研究論文集 (A Collection of Research Papers on the 2-28 Incident)*, Taipei: Wu San-lien Publishing, 1998, 371-396; Li Ch'iao 李喬, '“2-28” tzai Taiwanren chingsheng shih te yiyi 「二二八」在台灣人精神史的意義 (The meaning of “2-28” in the Geistesgeschichte of the Taiwanese)', in Chang Yian-hsien, Chen Mei-jung & Yang Ya-hui (eds.), *A Collection of Research Papers on the 2-28 Incident*, 397-408; Lin, Yi-fu 林毅夫, *Taiwanren 'shounue bsingke' fenhsi 台灣人「受虐性格」分析 (Analysing 'the Masochism' of the Taiwanese)*, Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, 2004.

political utopia. In other words, the 2-28 Incident returned to haunt Taiwan. If the commonly accepted narrative is right and wished for, why does the 2-28 Incident come back to trouble Taiwan again and again? Therefore, this thesis asks why the commemoration of the 2-28 Incident collapsed while the traumatic event retains the power to haunt. This thesis investigates the collapse of the commemoration of the 2-28 Incident by referring to the writings of Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu on individual and collective PTSD (Post-traumatic Stress Disorder) inflicted by the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident and by considering the trauma theories elaborated by Sigmund Freud, Cathy Caruth and Ruth Leys.¹⁷ This thesis explores how such blockages in commemoration could be related to the difference between 'a traumatic event' that can be historicised and 'trauma' involving a kind of supplement to an historical event that leaves a trace of unrepresented residue having the timeless power to haunt.

Third, this thesis seeks to show why 'narrative fetishism' of commemoration cannot resolve the long term affects and effects of historical, political and cultural trauma. It attempts to argue that only through witnessing to and listening to the wound, that is through, in Santner's words, 'work of mourning' can the long term affects and effects of the 2-28 Incident, as a trauma, be worked through and transformed. Hence, it tries to see how specific kinds of art work in *Sadness Transformed* can stage transformation through their aesthetic structures.

¹⁷ Ibid. Also see Sigmund Freud's major writings on trauma: Sigmund Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia (1917[1915]),' in *Metapsychology: the Theory of Psychoanalysis*, The Penguin Freud Library, vol. 11, London: Penguin, 1991, 245-268; Sigmund Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920),' in *Metapsychology: the Theory of Psychoanalysis*, The Penguin Freud Library, vol. 11, London: Penguin, 1991, 269-338; Sigmund Freud, 'Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays (1939 [1934-1938]),' in *The Origins of Religion: Totem and Taboo, Moses and Monotheism and other works*, The Penguin Freud Library, vol. 13, London: Penguin, 1990, 237-386. For Cathy Caruth's major writings on trauma, see Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and the Possibility of History*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1996; and Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1995. Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000.

Finally, this thesis asks why the commemoration of the 2-28 Incident produces and reproduces dimensions of gendered contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism. It further explores the issues of sexual difference and trauma-processing that may also involve work on gender dimensions. It will also indicate why in both cases women are rendered missing, or remembered briefly and forgotten again. By reading *Epitaph* by Wu Mali, an installation work made for *Sadness Transformed*, this thesis seeks to address the question of how to write missing women back into the narrative and how to witness to the silenced, the unseen, and the unremembered.

The Structure and Methodologies

This thesis has three parts. Part One will explore how the 2-28 Incident has been remembered and commemorated in historical and cultural representations in Taiwan. Chapter 1 will examine what kinds of 2-28 historical and cultural memories have been made and collectivised since the outbreak of the 2-28 Incident in 1947, and the reasons for this. It is built upon major research on the historical and cultural representations of the 2-28 Incident in Taiwan and elsewhere such as that by Hsia Ch'ung-hsiang and others listed in Section 4 of the Selected Bibliography. Some major theories on the issue of collective memory, cultural memory and history by theorists in Taiwan and in Europe and North America (such as Wang Ming-ke Maurice Halbwach, Pierre Nora, James Young, and Hsiau A-chin) will be critically drawn into the discussion in order to understand the social process and transformation involved in the making of the 2-28 collective memory and cultural memory in the mid-1980s and the 1990s in relation to the discursive formation of contemporary Taiwanese national identities and subjectivities.¹⁸

¹⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, with an introduction by Mary Douglas, New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1950; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, edited, translated, and introduced by Lewis A. Coser, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992; Wang Ming-ke 王明珂, 'Chit'i lishih chiyi yu tzuch'un jentung 集體歷史記憶與族群認同 (Collective Historical Memory and Ethnic Identity)', *Tangtai* 當代(Contemporary), vol. 6,

Chapter 2 will investigate the development of the 2-28 artistic memories by reviewing the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held in Taiwan in the 1990s and in the 21st century. Since the early 1990s the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions have been integrated into the new Taiwan nation-building based on the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration which took place in the mid-1980s and the 1990s. It will look into what kinds of national imagining these 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions have articulated through their aesthetic practices. The chapter will propose that two major discursive frames have been produced by the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions: a new ‘Taiwan art’ and a new Taiwan nation. This chapter will focus on exploring the former, and leave the latter until Chapter 3. This chapter will scrutinise how different 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions have performed, produced and reproduced a new category of ‘Taiwan art’ that connects with and signifies the aesthetic of the new Taiwan nation. The 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions will be regarded as a ‘discursive formation’, a concept of discourse analysis developed by Michel Foucault.¹⁹ This will lead to a review of the exhibitions’ works, curatorial statements, catalogue essays, venues, curators, organisers, sponsors and so forth in the contemporary historical, political, social and cultural contexts of Taiwan. This review will negotiate the ideas that take the art/cultural space as ‘the cultural apparatus of state ideology’, as suggested by Louis Althusser, and the site for the nation to exemplify and exercise its aesthetic ideology and citizenship, as suggested by Carol Duncan.²⁰ Nonetheless, it will be recognised that

1993, 6-19; Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*’, in Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn eds., *Representations*, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, Spring 1989, 7-25; James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, New York: Prestel, 1993; and Hsiao, A-chin 蕭阿勤, ‘*Chiti chiyi lilun te chient’ao: chiep’oche chengchouche yu yichung mingchu kuantian* 集體記憶理論的檢討：解剖者、拯救者與一種民主觀點(Examining the theory of collective memory: anatomist, rescuer and a democratic view)’, *Ssu yu yian* 思與言 (Thought and Words: Journal of the Humanities and Social Science), vol. 35 no. 1, 247-296.

¹⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, New York: Pantheon Books, 1972, 38.

²⁰ Louis Althusser, ‘Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an Investigation’, in Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster, London: NLB, 1971, 121-173; Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, ‘The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual: An Iconographic Analysis’, *Marxist Perspective*, winter 1978, 28-51;

what happens in the art/cultural space is always more complicated than just a result of state interpellation. Homi Bhabha regards the art/cultural space as ‘the performative memory’ as opposed to ‘the pedagogical/national memory’ exemplified by national memorials. By ‘the performative memory’, Bhabha asserts that the art/cultural space is full of the potential to resist ‘the pedagogical/national memory’ by re-narrating the nation from the margin.²¹ A reading, based on such theoretical re-consideration, of the aesthetic politics of the new ‘Taiwan art’ in different 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions will be presented, identifying competing aesthetic discourses embodied by different 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. The chapter will consider how ‘Taiwan art’, referred to by many Taiwanese nationalist intellectuals and art professionals as ‘Taiwan Painting’ or the ‘Taiwan School’, gradually becomes the major aesthetic of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions emerging from its previous repressed status under a Sino-centric KMT regime, and how this view has been contested by other aesthetic persuasions.

Instead of giving an overview of all the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions mentioned in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 will, in the context of 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, consider in detail the works of a specific 2-28 commemorative art exhibition, namely *Sadness Transformed*, in order to see the process of how a new Taiwan nation has been made through 2-28 memorial narratives, and how the new Taiwan nation works. What do the pastoral landscape painting by Liao Te-cheng 廖德政, the wedding scene by Cheng Tzu-tsai 鄭自財, and the familial scenes by Lai Wu-hsiung 賴武雄 and others – works whose appearance does not ‘reflect’ the nation – have to do with

Carol Duncan, ‘Art Museums and Citizenship’, in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press in cooperation with the American Association of Museums, 1991, 88-103.

²¹ Homi K. Bhabha, ‘Introduction: narrating the nation’, in Homi K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge, 1-7.

the discursive formation of a new Taiwan nation? It is obvious that neither formalist analysis nor realist analysis enables us to address this question.

Although it will not be said directly but implicitly in Chapter 3, as well as in Chapters 2, 4 and 6, the visual interpretation of these works is not based on formalist or realist analysis, but on semiotic analysis as proposed by Elizabeth Cowie in her acclaimed feminist article on film analysis 'Woman as Sign'.²² Cowie argues that to address the problem of film's representation of women, one must consider film both *as the production of women as a category* and *as a signifying system*.²³ She refuses to accept realist film analysis which sees film as mere reflection of society. She is also not satisfied with the feminist film analysis of that time. In her view, feminist analysis uncritically follows realist film analysis and reckons film as the 'reflection', 'reproduction' or 'distortion' of 'the 'lived' relations of women in society 'as mother, housewife, worker and sexual partner'. It often criticises 'stereotypes presented of women, the types of parts women play and the kinds of stories told about women in films' for being something that a self-respecting human being could not identify with, and for having detrimental ideological effects on women's status in society.²⁴ It simply assumes 'woman' in the film as 'an unproblematic category' 'drawn from a general reading of women outside the film, in society'.²⁵ It totally ignores the possibility of film 'as a system which produces meaning through the articulation of signifying elements' offered by semiotic film analysis and hence does not recognise that film as a system actually produces its own definitions and meanings of women.²⁶

In the light of Cowie's argument, Chapter 3 will regard *Sadness Transformed* as a signifying system that connects with the social. Many works of the exhibition

²² Elizabeth Cowie, 'Woman as Sign', in *M/F*, 1978, 1(1), 49-63.

²³ *Ibid*, 49.

²⁴ *Ibid*.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 50.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 49-50.

aesthetically produce together a harmonious post-2-28 political utopia like a pastoral paradise: a new Taiwan nation. By categorising men and women, the new Taiwan nation that these works have produced is indeed a patriarchal one. Men are the national heroes, forefathers and masters; women are the mourners, the trauma markers and the guardians of their sons and heirs. The power of the new Taiwan nation signified and produced by these works is passed among men.

Having provided in Part One a discourse analysis of the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, and of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, the problem of ‘narrative fetishism’ has been identified in which the trauma is remembered to be forgotten again, and the sadness cannot be transformed. Furthermore Part One has problematised the main aesthetic category of the new ‘Taiwan art’ and also the structure, history and memory of the new Taiwan nation produced by the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. In Part Two, these problematics will be addressed by means of theoretical re-visioning in order to open up new ground for further discussion.

By thinking through *Epitaph* by Wu Mali exhibited in *Sadness Transformed* which questions the making of 2-28 memories that renders women missing, Chapter 4 will offer a feminist cultural analysis of the making of the new patriarchal Taiwan nation performed by *Sadness Transformed*. I will seek to explain how the making of the new Taiwan nation is gendered by drawing significant theoretical insights on ‘gendered nationalism’ and ‘kinship’ worldwide. I will analyse the sexual structure and relations of men and women produced in the works of *Sadness Transformed* by artists of different sexes in relation to some discourses of the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, and consider why and how this structure and these relations are formulated. This analysis will also address the sexual structure and relations implied by Taiwanese nationalist national imaging produced by the discourses of the Pan-Green Presidential election campaign. While criticising the main framework of the new patriarchal Taiwan nation,

Chapter 4 will attempt, by a close reading of *Epitaph*, to deliver a constructive consideration of how to write missing women back into the narrative. It will show that *Epitaph* enables the traces of the traumatic experiences of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims to be seen by constructing an overwhelming she-ness through texts on the panels in the installation space, and it will propose an inter-subjective and trans-subjective listening to the traces of the trauma, and indicate that a responsibility exists for women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. It also suggests that the enigmatic seascape acoustic image of *Epitaph* brings out the silence and absence of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, and their trauma affects such as ‘compulsion to repeat.’ In other words, *Epitaph* indeed presents something different from what has been discussed in Part One. It does not recover the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims as whole and undamaged national subjects through heroisation and resurrection, as in *Die Hard* or *Sweet Potato Planted*. Women in the families of the 2-28 men victims can only be known and remembered through their traces and likewise their trauma. Therefore, how do we witness to the traces of the unremembered in contemporary Taiwanese nationhood and to the ‘remnants of trauma’ in order to transform sadness?

Chapter 5 will offer a consideration of the trauma mechanism in order to pave the way for the discussion in Chapter 6 which will be conducted in terms of witnessing and the aesthetic transformations of the 2-28 historical and political trauma. Chapters 1 and 3 show that ‘narrative fetishism’ has been produced so that the 2-28 Incident is remembered to be forgotten again. This production of ‘narrative fetishism’ is based on the understanding that the 2-28 Incident is *a traumatic historical event* which ended in the past, rather than as trauma which continues to have unbound and persistent affects and effects today. Chapter 5 presents an investigation into major theories on trauma by Sigmund Freud, Cathy Caruth and Ruth Leys in order to understand the structure of

trauma, a theoretical undertaking that is not addressed in any of the 2-28 discourses and research.²⁷

In *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud began with a much debated hypothesis (which is however not the main thesis): Moses was an Egyptian and killed by the Jews. Freud asked what are the socio-psychic forces that bind a people to their tradition/history/memory? Given the passing of time, tradition should become weaker. However, using the case study of his own people, at a time of unprecedented real menace to their survival by an aggressor (the Nazis), Freud showed why the opposite is the case. Why are people loyal to or unable to escape from their past? Why does 'tradition' work and remain influential? Freud's argument is that in the case of his own people and their tradition, the power of the past lies in its traumatic origin. Freud also showed how in responding to the repressed trauma of the murder of Moses (guilt) the event is mis-remembered by complete inversion, producing idealised loyalty to Moses and his Monotheist religion. Based on such theorisation, Freud provided a formula for the structure of trauma: Early trauma—defence—latency—outbreak of neurotic illness—partial return of the repressed.

First of all, Freud separated the event from the 'impressions', namely affective feelings, of the event defined as trauma. This can be used to challenge the common misunderstanding of 2-28 discourses that only regard the 2-28 Incident as an event. Second, Freud argued that the trauma of murdering Moses, namely guilt, was repressed for a long time by the Jews. The repressed event, however, came back partially and forcefully from the reserve of the extremely marginalised and unremembered oral

²⁷ Sigmund Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia,'; Sigmund Freud, 'Beyond the Pleasure Principle,'; Sigmund Freud, 'Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays'; Cathy Caruth(ed.), *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and the Possibility of History*; Cathy Caruth(ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*; Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000.

tradition and propelled the Jews to forge a Jewish people and a Monotheist religion and to become the most loyal advocates of that religion.

From Freud's trauma theory, Caruth identifies three significant features of trauma mechanism by thinking through the traumatic experiences of the Holocaust survivors: 'belatedness', 'literal return of the event' and the 'collapse of witnessing.' The term 'belatedness' as used by Caruth, refers to the fact that the trauma survivors could not fully know what had happened as the event occurred. The symptoms and neurosis only came later in the forms of dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations, namely 'the literal return of the event.' Despite such 'literality', the trauma survivors could not remember the event at all. It is thus difficult for them to 'represent' their traumatic experiences which are beyond their comprehension. This creates the 'collapse of witnessing' and hence requires a listener to process and respond to the words that describe their 'literal return of the event.' Ruth Leys challenges Caruth's view in terms of her orthodox psychoanalytic reading of Freud. Leys points out that Caruth should not regard 'the literal return of the event' – a form of 'compulsion to repeat' – as *the* trauma mechanism ignoring the trauma mechanisms of past sexual experience and repression. Leys further indicates the event doesn't always return in literal form but in forms and content that need to be deciphered.

Having discussed these trauma theories, the discussion will return to the question: why does the 2-28 historical and political trauma come back and haunt people in Taiwan so powerfully, in the form of the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally, the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally, and the division of the people exacerbated by the disputes over the Presidential election in 2004? Why does the 2-28 historical and political trauma refuse to go away even when most people in Taiwan desire to forget it and move on? The answer seems to lie in the traumatic origin of the 2-28 historical and political trauma. The 2-28 Incident happened in 1947 and remained latent, repressed by the

KMT authoritarian regime until the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. The affects and effects of the 2-28 historical and political trauma came back to strike forcefully, the repressed trauma partially returned and forged in the mid-1980s and in the 1990s a new Taiwanese national imagining based on a rather essentialist version of 'Taiwaneseeness'. In the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally, the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally, and the increased division of people after the Presidential election in 2004, we see the repeated and compulsive re-enactment of the 2-28 historical and political trauma, even though the traumatic experiences of the forgotten women and others, and even some aspects of the traumatic experiences of the most remembered 2-28 men victims remain unremembered. Another vicious circle of trauma mechanism seems to start. This will lead, in Part Three, to a consideration of how some artists' work might transform such a repeating trauma circle.

This theoretical task has never been undertaken in Taiwan. Yet, there are some compelling and touching works of *Sadness Transformed* that need to be understood in depth. In order to do this, in Chapter 6 I wish to consult Jill Bennett and Bracha Ettinger's insights on the aesthetic transformation of trauma in order to expand the horizon for discussion.²⁸ Bennett regards contemporary art as 'empathic vision' that would lead the viewer to bodily engage with traces of trauma and in further reflection. Ettinger conceives contemporary art as 'the transport-station of trauma' in which 'passage of remnants of trauma' might happen by which the viewer can potentially have a trans-subjective encounter with the artist and the trauma survivors. On what account can contemporary art constitute 'empathic vision' and 'the transport-station of trauma'?

²⁸ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005; Jill Bennett, 'The Aesthetics of Sense-Memory: Theorising trauma through the visual arts,' in Susannah Radstone & Katherine Hodgkin (eds.), *Regimes of Memory*, London & New York: Routledge, 2003, 27-39; Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Art as Transport-Station of Trauma', in *Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger: Artworking 1985-1999*, Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts & Ghent-Amersdam: Ludion, 2000, 91-115; and Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art', in *Fatal Women: Essays on Film noir and Related Matters*, Kjell R. Soleim (ed.), Bergen: Centre for Women's Research and Gender Research, University of Bergen, vol. 11, 1999, 115-128.

Bennett and Ettinger seem to suggest that the contemporary art which gives a form to ‘trauma affect’ and ‘remnants of trauma’ can be ‘empathic vision’ and ‘the transport-station of trauma’. Another key feature to ‘empathic vision’ and ‘the transport-station of trauma’ is empathic/inter-subjective listening in Bennett’s case and trans-subjective/wit(h)nessing in Ettinger’s case, which is quite related to Dori Laub’s idea of witnessing that will be discussed at the end of Chapter 4. By listening to the wound, Bennett and Ettinger, as well as Laub, offers a potential way to transform sadness. Different from other theorists, Ettinger is unique in combining her theory of ‘art as transport-station of trauma’ through affective wit(h)nessing gaze with the feminine. Hence, art, trauma, and gender encounter each other beautifully.

The Positionality and Intervention

This thesis focuses on the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, a group of exhibitions that have not been the serious object of any research in Taiwanese art historical studies. They are, however, very significant in Taiwanese art/history not only because they stand alongside the formation of contemporary Taiwanese national identities and subjectivities based on the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, but also because they began in the 1990s, a critical period when the aesthetic identities and subjectivities of Taiwan’s art gradually shifted from a Sino-centric perspective to a Taiwan-centric horizon. Furthermore, the 2-28 Incident that the exhibitions commemorated is the historical and political trauma that has structured Taiwan and given birth to Taiwanese Consciousness and the Movement for Taiwan’s Independence. By working with such exhibitions, I seek to critically understand the ‘discursive formation’ of contemporary Taiwanese national, cultural, sexual and artistic identities and subjectivities in the 1990s and after, its ‘consistency’ and ‘rupture.’²⁹ I regard this

²⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, New York: Pantheon Books, 1972, 38.

research as a starting point to establish a 'contemporary Taiwanese art history' that takes Taiwan as the subject not only on the island but also in the world. This research resists the Sino-centric and Sino/West binary art historical view that prevailed prior to the early 1990s. It also confirms the efforts made by a few senior Taiwanese art historians with a Taiwan-centred concern, for example, Hsieh Li-fa (Shaih Lifa) 謝里法, and Yen Chuan-ying 顏娟英.³⁰

Unlike Hsieh Li-fa and Yen Chuan-ying, I choose to work with a contemporary subject whose forms, contents, and contexts are continually changing. I remember when I first started my research in 1996, a curator at TFAM totally disapproved of my topic because she assumed that Art History has to deal with something already dead and because she could hardly accept that Art has anything to do with the political and social. Despite such prevalent disapproval, I continued with my research because I think the research questions raised above that had never been posed before are very important to a Taiwan and to a world still threatened by terror and tormented by great pain and loss. Also, I have been interested in contemporary art since I was an undergraduate at the National Taiwan University; I have been writing art criticism at a professional level; and my academic and professional life has been deeply involved in the political, the social and, more recently, the socio-psychoanalytic. Therefore, I continue to work with the exhibitions and grow with their transformation throughout the time.

³⁰ Hsieh Li-fa(Shaih Lifa), *Jibchu shibtai Taiwan meishu yuntung shih* 日據時代台灣美術運動史(The History of Taiwan's Art Movement under Japanese Occupation), Taipei: Artist, 1978; 1992. Yen Chuan-ying has been writing very extensively on Taiwanese art particularly under the period of Japanese Occupation. Her bibliography includes: Yen Chuan-ying, 'The Art Movement in the 1930s in Taiwan', in John Clark (ed.), *Modernity in Asian Art*, Sydney: Wild Peony, 45-60; Yen Chuan-ying, 'Tient'ang chung te meishu: Tiawan tzaoch'i hsientai meishu yu wenhua ch'imung 殿堂中的美術：台灣早期現代美術與文化啟蒙(Art in the Holy Place: Early Modern Taiwanese Art and Cultural Enlightenment), in *Lishih yuyian yianchiusuo chikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊(Journal of Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica), vol. 64, no. 2, 1993, 469-610; Yen Chuan-ying, *Taiwan chintai meishu tashih nienpiao 1895-1945* 台灣近代美術大事年表 1895-1945 (The Timeline of Modern Taiwanese Art 1895-1945), Taipei: Hsiung-shih, 1998; Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengching hsinching: Taiwan chintai meishu wenhsien taotu* 風景心境：台灣近代美術文獻導讀(The Spirit of Landscape: an Introductory Reading to the Archives of Modern Taiwanese Art), Taipei: Hsiung-shih, 2001.

No one knows how to write a ‘contemporary Taiwanese art history.’ ‘Taiwanese art history’ only came into existence three decades ago if we count from the publication of Hsieh Li-fa’s *The History of Taiwan’s Art Movement under Japanese Occupation* (1978) and prior to the late 1990s most ‘Taiwanese art history’ still largely focused on Taiwanese art under the Japanese colonisation, or on art in post-war Taiwan.³¹ There was no graduate school in Taiwan in the early 1990s that offered a space for any contemporary art historical studies. Therefore, my beloved university professor Chu Ching-hua 朱靜華 advised me to go abroad for further training. As a young student from a conservative working class family in rural Taiwan, I managed to maintain my ‘disapproved’ research at Sydney University and at the University of Leeds by working very hard as an art translator and art critic. Hence, this thesis is very much grounded in my practice of art translation and art criticism.

I generally work with the art/cultural works/exhibitions beginning with its basic elements as a standard art critic would do, and identify the problematic in relation to their specific historical and cultural contexts. Second, I search for and read relevant theoretical resources in Taiwan and then Europe and North America that might widen and deepen my understanding of the problematic and, above all, help me to see beyond what the present historical framework in which the problematic is embedded can offer, carefully reading them in the light of Taiwan’s specific contexts. Then I go back to the art works/exhibitions again to carry out another level of close analysis that supplements the first level of close reading.

As has been shown above and will be seen in the thesis, I draw extensively on, translate into my analysis, and negotiate with cultural theories originating from Europe and North America: theories on memory and history, theories on the operation of state

³¹ For example, Hsiao Ch’ung-ray 蕭瓊瑞, *Wuyue yu Tungfang: Chungkuo meishu bsientaihua yuntung tzai chanhou Taiwan chih fachen 1945-1970* 五月與東方：中國美術現代化運動在戰後台灣之發展 1945-1970 (The Fifth Moon and the Eastern Painting Groups: Chinese Modernist Art Movement in Post-war Taiwan 1945-1970), Taipei: Tungta, 1991.

ideology, new museology, discourse analysis, postcolonial theories, semiotic analysis, theories of gendered/nationalisms, feminist cultural analysis, trauma theories, and theories on the aesthetic transformation of trauma. Of course, I am not unaware that there are cultural differences underlying these cultural theories and that there might be power politics involved in the use of these theories. Moreover, I am not unaware that the positivist Taiwanese art historical tradition does not appreciate such an approach since these theories are not native. However, I do believe I need these theories. This thesis is all about seeing the unseen, remembering the unremembered, and trying to connect with the unknown in contemporary art in Taiwan. What the Taiwanese art traditions can offer me is very limited since it would not help me to see the unseen, to remember the unremembered and to connect with the unknown as they have simply 'not existed' according to empiricist and positivist principles. The theories that I choose all reflect on and address the question of how to see the unseen, to remember the unremembered and to connect with the unknown. I regard contemporary art in Taiwan as the social and cultural production of contemporary condition in Taiwan. I consider contemporary Taiwan as a relatively open island which sustains itself by international trading and is very much subject to the vicissitudes of global economy. Under such circumstances, art and culture in contemporary Taiwan have been marked, voluntarily or involuntarily, with traces of international migration, in particular, for example, North Americanisation. Therefore, I do not see contemporary art in Taiwan through the static model of cultural relativism that pertained prior to the Cold War: Taiwan/West; or East/West; and only occasionally do they meet each other.³² For me, contemporary art in Taiwan is complexly layered and marked with 'travelling concepts' at the level of connected human experiences.³³ It has its own cultural and historical specificity as well

³² In Taiwan, 'the West' is a cultural category and generally refers to 'Euro-America'.

³³ I appropriate this term from Mieke Bal's writing. Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*, Toronto, Buffalo & London: Toronto University Press, 2002.

as fragmented traces of international human encounters. Based on this view, I use those cultural theories, but with as careful a touch as is possible.

This is why in almost every chapter I laboriously reconsider the theories in relation to the works that are rooted in specific Taiwanese contexts. By such an effort to understand and decolonise theories, I wish to move beyond the Taiwan/West binary opposition that is so commonly accepted and assumed in Taiwanese art historical studies: the empirical (Taiwan)/the theoretical (the West). I also wish to supersede the suddenly fashionable consumption of art and cultural theories that have originated in Europe and North America now apparent in a few extremely ambitious academic practices of Taiwanese art history in Taiwan which have emerged in the 21st century. What puzzles me is that such academic practices still regard the theories as ‘foreign’ and ‘Western’, especially when foreign scholars or Taiwanese scholars trained abroad use them. Nevertheless, they largely use, in an unprocessed way, the same theories that they consider as ‘foreign’ and ‘Western’ in their analysis of art works or exhibitions in order to legitimise it as ‘new art history’. At best, they might impose the theories directly on the objects of their research. At worst, they leave the theories as ‘an alien body’ in their analysis.

Art for me is like ‘the dream’ in Freud’s words, or like ‘trauma’ that Ettinger might wish to suggest, in which unknown and interweaving traces of human experiences are hidden. In other words, art has many layers of ‘latent content’ and ‘its own grammar’ that require careful, patient and laborious unpacking layer by layer.³⁴ Cathy Caruth suggests that cross-disciplinary insights are needed to enable us to start to grasp the unknown traumatic experience that permeates all levels of human life in a very

³⁴ Sarah Kofman, *The Childhood of Art: An Interpretation of Freud’s Aesthetics*, New York & Surrey: Columbia University Press, 1988, 39; Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, ‘Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art’, 122.

complicated manner.³⁵ In this vein, I suggest that contemporary art in Taiwan also requires a similar approach and so does the writing of contemporary Taiwanese art history. By carefully negotiating with European, North American and Taiwanese cultural theoretical insights which have processed the unknown in their cultural and historical specific ways, I write my contemporary Taiwanese art history and propose a trans-subjective and trans-disciplinary encounter between subjects in Taiwan, Europe, North American and elsewhere. Within such trans-subjective encounter, I hope the specificity of contemporary Taiwan and Taiwanese art history can offer insights to the world; and benefit from the practice of Taiwanese art history.

Last but not least, this thesis is fundamentally grounded in ‘feminist interventions into art’s histories’ in Griselda Pollock’s words.³⁶ ‘A feminist art critic’ is how I became known in the Taiwanese art circle, especially after I co-founded the Taiwan Women’s Art Association, became its vice-chairwoman in 2001, and curated the first international women’s art festival in Taiwan in 2003. Misunderstanding came with such perception. Many people start to think I only care and write about women artists or feminist artists. I wish to make myself clear in this thesis. For me, the visibility of women/artists, as well as other socially disadvantaged groups, is very important. However, I am very much more concerned with deconstructing the sexist structure of contemporary art in Taiwan that continues to render women/artists invisible. Therefore in this thesis, I read the structural problems evidenced in or tackled by the works of women artists as well as men artists in the course of 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. I agree with Pollock’s assertion that ‘feminist interventions into art’s histories’ is not about producing a category of ‘feminist art’. It is about dismantling the unjust gender, social, political, cultural and ideological structure of the society in which the art practice is embedded

³⁵ Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1995, 4.

³⁶ Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art*, London: Routledge, 1988, 1-17.

and the artists live.³⁷ I take this position of 'feminist intervention' in this thesis and try to deconstruct the unjust gender, social, ideological, and cultural structures in which the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions were/are rooted and in which the participating artists of the exhibitions lived/live. I also look into how subjects of different sexes live and operate socially and psychically within such unjust structures and attempt to offer a discursive space that would enable people potentially to see the unseen, to remember the unremembered and to connect with the unknown. The 'feminist intervention' of this thesis, together with the social activist agenda of my curatorial and art writing practice, is another intervention into (Taiwanese) art's histories. Unlike present practices of Taiwanese art history, this thesis does not take 'feminist intervention' as a 'women's problem' *only*, nor as a once fashionable but now passé issue. It is still relevant and very much needed because it helps mobilise a socially just world for everyone living today and tomorrow.

³⁷ Ibid, 8.

Chapter 1: Commemorating the February 28 Incident: Cultural Memory in Taiwan 1987-2004

My experience in Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Park and Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum, described in the very beginning of the Introduction, suggests that remembering and forgetting seem to pose a very complicated, paradoxical, and impossible question. In *Moses and Monotheism*, Sigmund Freud brings our attention to this complicated mechanism of remembering and forgetting of traumatic and catastrophic events situated inside the individual human psyche and in the psyche of society and culture.³⁸ In his studies on Holocaust memorials, James Young reveals such a paradoxical memory mechanism in his social analysis of Holocaust commemorations. He finds a collective and structural amnesia where people leave the social responsibility of remembering to sites of memory such as memorials, monuments and other objects so that they can forget and embark on an easy and convenient life?³⁹ Pierre Nora also notices the coexistence of the possibility of remembering and forgetting underlying what he calls *lieux de mémoire* (which may be rendered in English as ‘sites of memory’) by contextualising the relationship between French national history and memory since the advent of the modern.⁴⁰

These insightful theories indicate that the issue of remembering and forgetting involves two major aspects for research consideration. On the one hand, it leads to the psychoanalytic studies of trauma as suggested by Freud in *Moses and Monotheism*. His text enables us to understand how both the individual and analogously the collective human psyche of people in Taiwan work in relation to 2-28 commemoration. For the sake of clarity of this dissertation, this aspect will be explored later and in more depth in

³⁸ Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism 1939[1934-8]’, 237-386.

³⁹ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, 1993, 5.

⁴⁰ Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*’, in Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn eds., *Representations*, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, Spring 1989, 7-25.

Chapter 5. On the other hand, inspired by the studies of Young and Nora, the second aspect leads to the social and historical contextualisation of what and how 2-28 cultural memories have been produced by 2-28 commemoration and historicisation since 1987. This aspect will be elaborated fully in this present chapter. This mapping of the production and selective collectivisation of 2-28 cultural memories will help us to assess if there is any discursive closure that determines the above mentioned collective forgetting in the process of commemorative remembering.

1.1 Theorising the Making of Cultural Memory

First of all, I wish to map out the framing structure underlying my reading of the making of 2-28 cultural memories in Taiwan through theories on memory and history proposed by some major scholars from Europe, North America and Taiwan.

Moving away from the Enlightenment and Romanticist ideas of memory as a space for individualistic recollection and contemplation, Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945), a French Durkheimian sociologist, opens up a social space of memory called ‘collective memory’.⁴¹ This turn of thought has allowed society’s memory process to become legible.

Halbwachs was not concerned with any biological and psychological readings of individual memory process. Memory, for him, is neither a cerebral process nor a psychological process through which memories are ‘preserved’ ‘in the mind in the unconscious and can become conscious again when recollected’.⁴² Instead, memory for Halbwachs was always socially constructed. Halbwachs argued that memory results from collective and social frameworks. From daily observation of life, he asserted that

⁴¹ In her introductory essay, Liliane Weissberg traces back how the individualistic concepts of memory have been put forward by Immanuel Kant, Henri Rousseau and Halbwachs’s school teacher Henri Bergson and gradually transformed into social conception of collective memory by philosophers and sociologists since early 20th century like Maurice Halbwachs. Dan Ben-Amos and Liliane Weissberg (eds.), *Cultural memory and the construction of identity*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, c1999, 7-26. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, edited, translated, and introduced by Lewis A. Coser, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

⁴² Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 39.

people only reconstruct the past in response to questions that are asked, or that could have been asked by other social group members such as family and friends. 'It is in society that people normally acquire their memories' and 'recall, recognise and localise their memories'.⁴³

For what and how does an individual of a society recollect the past? Halbwachs asserted that collective memory is always 'selectively' 'reconstructed' in accordance with a social group's 'present needs'.⁴⁴ These 'present needs' are generally determined by the 'predominant thoughts of society' produced and disseminated by various dominant groups and hegemonic discursive powers.⁴⁵ It follows that to an extreme extent there is no continuity between the past and the present. The past is always a silent one, totally open to presentist appropriation and manipulation. Once the 'present needs' have changed, 'collective memory' will be transformed accordingly.

Hence 'collective memory' is, for Halbwachs, 'the result, or the sum, or the combination of individual recollections of many members of the same society' determined by its 'predominant' 'present needs'.⁴⁶ Different societies, i.e. social groups such as class, family and religious groups, always possess different collective memories according to their different needs and situations.⁴⁷ Hence, this is also why and how society and community can stay together either in reality or in imagination, and explains why different societies are structured very differently from other societies. While Halbwachs's teacher Emile Durkheim found that a 'collective effervescence' binds people of a society together during periods of festivals and special occasions, he made another theoretical breakthrough in finding that 'collective memory' binds people of society together in their daily routines and mundane life.

⁴³ Ibid, 38.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 50.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 40.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 39. Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, with an introduction by Mary Douglas, New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1950, 48.

⁴⁷ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 40.

Finally, there is one more major theoretical idea which holds Halbwachs' architecture of 'collective memory' together. Halbwachs stressed that no memory is possible without language or representation that is already socially constructed.⁴⁸ Lewis Coser cogently explains Halbwachs' finding very well: it is through 'the form of a variety of ritual and ceremonial acts of heroic actors, and commemorated in bardic and epic poetry' that collective memory is kept alive in daily routines.⁴⁹ Influenced by poststructuralist thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Liliane Weissberg also confirms the crucial roles of discourse, rituals and cultural representations in the construction of Holocaust memory. She further identifies key agents, institutions and institutional mechanisms that powerfully practise, perform and disseminate such discourses, rituals and representations and act as important forces and sites for commemorating, mediating and maintaining of collective memory and hence group identity. These comprise the use of a national calendar, the media industry, memorial museums, public libraries and so forth.⁵⁰

Halbwachs, Coser and Weissberg's theoretical considerations of collective memory reiterated here have outlined the basic infrastructure underlying my theoretical mapping of the making of 2-28 cultural memories since 1987. As sociologists, Halbwachs and Coser pay more attention to the structure of society than to the historical condition and trajectories, or to the cultural content of society. As an art and cultural historian, however, I wish to focus like Weissberg on this latter issue. Hence, I will keep the following questions in mind for later analysis. How do people of different groups in Taiwan reconstruct the past by commemorating and historicising the 2-28 Incident? What kinds of memories, as representations and interpretations of the past, have been constructed during this process and have become part of Taiwan's collective memory and cultural history? How do these memories reproduce and become a repertoire for

⁴⁸ Ibid, 43-45.

⁴⁹ Lewis A. Coser, 'Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945', in Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 24-5.

⁵⁰ Dan Ben-Amos and Liliane Weissberg (eds.), *Cultural memory and the construction of identity*, 18-24.

producing contemporary Taiwan people's identities and subjectivities? What has not been remembered, or what has been remembered and forgotten again during this process and why? How does this un-signified, un-represented or neglected experience of the past impact upon contemporary Taiwan people's identities and subjectivities?

As will be shown in detail later, Halbwachs' theory is particularly illuminating for it enables us to see why and how the 2-28 memories and histories constructed by the KMT government dramatically changed around 1987. Before 1987, the KMT government represented the 2-28 Incident as 'a rioting act organised by Taiwanese gangsters, Japanese colonial slaves and Chinese communists that intended to overthrow the ruling regime'.⁵¹ After 1987, it described the 2-28 Incident as 'an accident and a tragedy where many innocent people were killed by its KMT predecessors'.⁵² The first version was invented to contain the possible damage that the exposure of the KMT's state cruelty would have cost its regime, a regime that was about to crumble after many years at war with Chinese warlords, Japan, and Chinese communists. The second compromise version was, on the other hand, made by the KMT government to improve its negative image resulting from it having imposed state cruelty upon Taiwan in order to maintain its rule in a highly competitive political climate. The 2-28 memories and histories were indeed reconstructed and narrativised according to the KMT's changing political interests throughout the time.

Halbwachs' theory is also helpful in observing the highly contested ground of 2-28 historical representations after 1991. Later in this chapter, I will consider the many disparate constructions of 2-28 memory and history. These include those given by the

⁵¹ Yang Liang-kung 楊亮功, '2-28 *shihchien tiaoch'a paokao* 二二八事件調查報告(A Report on the 2-28 Incident)', in Chen Fang-ming 陳芳明(ed.), *2-28 shihchien hsueshu lunwenchi: Taiwan kuoshang shihchien te lishih buiku* 二二八事件學術論文集：台灣國殤事件的歷史回顧(A Collection of Research Papers on the 2-28 Incident: Reviewing Taiwan's National Traumatic Event), Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, 1988, 195-231.

⁵² Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 126-167.

KMT government, the families and friends of the 2-28 victims (and the people who identify with them), the groups who support Taiwan's unification with China, the groups who favour Taiwan's independence from China, and other social groups based on ethnic origin, gender and class. All of these groups give their specific and selective emphases to particular aspects of the 2-28 Incident.

Halbwachs, Coser and Weissberg's theoretical considerations of collective memory are also instrumental in the mapping out of the social mechanisms that help publicise certain types of 2-28 memories and histories; including media, commemorative activities, memorial architecture, institutions, cultural representations and so on. Through these institutional functions, certain types of 2-28 memories are consolidated and kept alive and become a collective memory that binds together groups of people in Taiwan.

Above all, Halbwachs' theory of collective memory has been frequently used and developed to analyse why and how transforming or emerging nation-states in many parts of the world have striven to construct and collectivise their own national myths by reconstructing the past. Halbwachs finds that the collective memory, formed gradually over time, can bind people of the same society together. Political, social and ethnic groups in the transforming or emerging nation-states do, however, construct – consciously and actively – certain collective memories to consolidate their constituencies together. Such groups seek to canonise their collective memories in order to win from other interest groups (and maintain) the leadership of the nation-states. Lewis Coser succinctly illustrates this aspect by citing the example of a remote historical event of Masada in ancient Israel. He argues that Masada has been continually reconstructed and, more than two thousand years later, helped to establish Zionism and consolidate the Jewish nation, Israel.⁵³

⁵³ Lewis A. Coser, 'Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945', 32-4. Masada is the site of an ancient fortress in Israel. Since it is located at 'a high plateau overlooking the Dead Sea and the Judaeen desert', Masada was used by the King Herod as 'a place of retreat' and 'a defense

Like Coser, Wang Ming-ke 王明珂, a senior researcher at the Institute of History and Languages, Academia Sinica, also maps out how competing ethnic and national identifications based on ‘Taiwanese consciousness’ and ‘Chinese consciousness’, have been continually substantiated and justified through different productions of collective memory by different social groups. He further supplements Halbwachs’ theory by drawing on the findings of L. S. Vygotsky, V. N. Voloshinov and Frederick Bartlett’s psychological researches on memory, and on Clifford Geertz and P. H. Gulliver’s anthropological researches on memory and history.⁵⁴ Halbwachs repudiated any possible psychological reading of the memory process. Vygotsky and Voloshinov’s viewpoints and Bartlett’s theory of ‘schema’, on the other hand, demonstrate that the human psyche also works in a socially and culturally constructed way, and thus confirm Halbwachs’ notion of the social constructedness of memory. Clifford Geertz states that the construction of common ethnic blood ties and historical memory through artefacts and objects is crucial for maintaining ethnic identity. P. H. Gulliver observes that over time people remember and forget things differently according to their present interests. When there is a transformation of interests and of ethnic identification, the combination of cultural objects – and hence the content of collective memory – will change accordingly. During this process, forgetting will also be at work silencing or abandoning

post’ at the end of 1st century B.C. It was used by Jewish people as a site for refuge and resistance after Jerusalem was taken by the Romans in 70 A.D. Knowing the fall of Masada was unavoidable, Jewish people decided to do the best they could to defy the Romans. There have been debates about the way in which Jewish people of Masada defied the Romans. According to Josephus (c. 37-100 A.D.), they committed suicide before the Romans came. According to the *Book of Jassipon*, a popular chronicle of Jewish history written by an anonymous writer around the tenth century, however, they ‘went out to fight the Roman soldiers and encountered their death in that last battle’. In the 20th century, the Zionist interest in reconstructing the ancient past for the Jewish nation encourages the rediscovery of Josephus’ view of the fall of Masada which has been taken uncritically as a turning point of Jewish history. The fall of Masada has been reconstructed as a heroic act of resistance. By death, Jewish people of Masada deprived the Romans of the sense of victory. By death, they show a strong sense of patriotic love for the Jewish nation against alien invasion. There is also a will to parallel the fall of Masada with the victimisation of the Jewish in the Holocaust. Hence, Masada has become ‘a modern pilgrimage’. For further discussion on the complex and constantly changing relationship between the memory making of the fall of Masada and the establishment of contemporary Jewish nation-state in Israel, see Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995, particularly Chapter 5, 8 and 11.

⁵⁴ In Wang Ming-ke’s text, ‘V. N. Voloshinov’ is typed wrongly as ‘V. N. Vovoshinov’.

anything that is conceived as irrelevant or unimportant to the present reality. Gulliver calls this process of forgetting 'structural amnesia'.⁵⁵

Wang basically argues that contemporary Taiwanese nationalists have been eager to differentiate their political stance from that of their Chinese nationalist opponents by remaking Taiwan's historical and cultural memories based on a strategically essentialising distinctive Taiwanese-ness.⁵⁶ In relation to historical and cultural studies, he points out three major and inter-related contemporary Taiwanese nationalist projects. Firstly, contemporary Taiwanese nationalists are rewriting the history of Japanese colonisation of Taiwan. In doing this, they tend to attribute the achievement of contemporary Taiwan to Japanese rule rather than to Ch'ing China and the KMT's rule as it is in the KMT's Chinese nationalist history.⁵⁷ Secondly, contemporary Taiwanese nationalists emphasise the Australasian origin of Taiwan's aborigines (to whom many earlier Han Chinese immigrants to Taiwan, namely Taiwanese, were married) taking it as 'the common origin' of the Taiwanese.⁵⁸ Thirdly, contemporary Taiwanese nationalists have replaced 'the memory of the Nanking Massacre' when, during the Second World War, Japan killed millions of Chinese in Nanking, China, with 'the memory of the 2-28 Incident' as 'the common past of suffering of Taiwan'.⁵⁹

Together with a Chinese translation of Coser's introduction to Halbwachs and his theory of collective memory published in the same issue of the journal, Wang's work

⁵⁵ Wang Ming-ke, 'Collective Historical Memory and Ethnic Identity'. Also see Wang Ming-ke, '*Kuoch'u, chit'i chiyi yu tzuch'un jentung: Taiwan te tzuch'un chingyian* 過去、集體記憶與族群認同：台灣的族群經驗 (The Past, Collective Memory and Ethnic Identity: Taiwan's Ethnic Experiences)', in Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica 中央研究院近代歷史研究所 (ed.), *Jentung yu kuochia: chintai chunghsi lishih te pichiao lunwenchi* 認同與國家：近代中西歷史的比較論文集 (Identity and the Nation-State: A Comparative Studies of Modern Chinese and Western History), Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, June 1994, 249-274; Wang Ming-ke, '*Kuoch'u te chieko: kuanyu tzuch'un penchih yu jentung pianch'ian te t'ant'ao* 過去的結構：關於族群本質與認同變遷的探討 (The Structure of the Past: An Investigation into the Essence of Ethnicity and the Transformation of Identity)', in *Hsinshihhsue* 新史學 (New Historiography), vol. 5, no. 3, 1994, 119-140; and Wang Ming-ke, '*Taiwan yu Chungkuo te lishih chiyi yu shibyi* 台灣與中國的歷史記憶與失憶 (Taiwan and China's Historical Memory and Amnesia)', *Lishih yuekan* 歷史月刊 (History Monthly), October 1998, 34-40.

⁵⁶ Wang Ming-ke, 'Taiwan and China's Historical Memory and Amnesia', 34-40.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 37.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 38.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 38.

has been extremely influential in the analysis of the reconstruction and representation of Taiwan's post-1987 national history and culture.⁶⁰ For instance, it has been extensively used in research on the historical and media representation of the 2-28 Incident by Wu Chin-yung 吳金墉, Ho Hua-ch'ing 何華欽 and Hsia Ch'un-hsiang. Wu, Ho and Hsia's researches, however, do not critically engage with Wang's or Halbwachs' ideas. Their researches all use 'the social constructedness of collective memory', asserted by Wang and Halbwachs, to deconstruct the hegemonic power that dominates mainstream 2-28 commemoration and historicisation in Taiwan. In the end, they all seem to fall into a dangerous relativism that debases their own standpoint.⁶¹

Only Hsiao A-chin 蕭阿勤, a cultural sociologist at the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, makes a contribution to this theoretical terrain through his research on some sociological theories of collective memories, disseminated in Great Britain and in the United States, and their implication for liberal and democratic politics. He argues that Halbwachs' social constructivism of collective memory is a powerful theoretical tool for challenging the domination of hegemonic collective memory and considering alternative collective memories. However, there is a danger of relativism if collective memory is taken only, and totally, as a social construct according to 'presentist needs'. Based on Coser and the findings of the others, Barry Schwartz asserts that the continuity of the past, to some extent, still prevents the reckless manipulation of historical memory on the basis of personal interests in an open and democratic

⁶⁰ Lewis A. Coser, 'Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945', translated into Chinese by Ch'iu P'eng-sheng 邱澎生, 'Halbwachs yu chit'i chiyi 阿伯瓦克與集體記憶(Halbwachs and Collective Memory), *Contemporary*, vol. 6, 1993, 20-39.

⁶¹ Wu Chin-yung, *Kuotzu chienko lishih chiyi yu chinien k'ungchien: 228 chinienpei de chienko 國族建構、歷史記憶與紀念空間：228 紀念碑的建構*(Nation Building, Historical Memories and Commemorative Spaces: The Construction of the [Taipei] 2-28 Memorial), M.Sc. Thesis, Graduate School of Architecture and Town Planning, National Taiwan University, 1994; Ho Hua-ch'ing 何華欽, *228 lishih hsushihch'uan te chengtuo chi ch'i shehui hsiaoying: lishih te hsushih fenhsi 228 歷史敘事權的爭奪及其社會效應：歷史的敘事分析*(A Narrative Analysis of the February Twenty-Eighth Incident: The Contestation of Historical Narratives and Its Social Effects 1987-1996), MA Thesis, Department of Sociology, Tunghai University, 1996; and Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*.

discursive field. Hence, he continues to argue that there is an ethical need to believe that people, to some extent, still try to pursue historical truth when dealing with fragments of archives and historical material.⁶² Hsiau A-chin's view offers a very constructive and insightful critique both of Halbwachs' theory and its application and of Wang's point. As I shall show later, it has the potential to question Wang's perception of the Taiwanese nationalist reconstruction of Taiwan's history in the 1980s and the 1990s that it is constructed totally out of presentist political interests.

So far, Halbwachs, Coser, Wang, Hsiau and the others all deal with the formation of collective memory in a presumed democratic state or at least a non-authoritarian state. Here, I wish to briefly indicate the limitation of their theories in explaining the formation of the 2-28 collective memory before the mid-1980s. In Halbwachs' theorisation, collective memory is gradually acquired and formulated through the consensus of the same social group. This collective memory is finally a hegemonic one since it results from the predominant thoughts of the society. It is held by dominant members and to a larger extent voluntarily (or unconsciously) performed by less privileged members of the same social group. This finding needs to be refined when used as a framework for Taiwan's 2-28 history and memory in the wider temporal, political, historical and cultural context. The most prevalent and dominant pre-1987 2-28 collective memory and history, wilfully constructed and made up by the foreign and colonial KMT state machine, were that 'Taiwanese riots, communists and Japanese colonial slaves endangered the nation and killed mainlander Chinese'.⁶³ It has been coercively imposed upon different social groups of people in Taiwan by the colonial KMT state machine as the only 2-28 collective memory. This is true to such an extent

⁶² Hsiau A-chin, 'Examining Theories of Collective Memory: Anatomist, Rescuer and a Democratic View'.

⁶³ Chen Ts'ui-lien 陳翠蓮, '2-28 *shibliao p'ingshu* 二二八史料評述 (A Critical Review on the Archives of the 2-28 Incident)', *Taiwan shibliao yianchiou* 台灣史料研究 (Taiwan Historical Materials Studies), no. 22, February 2004, 162-163.

that the majority of people in Taiwan of both similar and different social and ethnic groups even falsely believed that they shared the same past with the perpetrating KMT state machine. This mechanism of authoritarian nation-state power, its effects and the cross-groups' response to it in relation to the making of 2-28 cultural memories, should be referred back to Halbwachs' theory of collective memory and its contemporary and trans-national cultural translation.

The making of pre-1987 2-28 cultural memories also questions the presumption of Halbwachs' theory of collective memory in cases where there is no such thing as memory being repressed and activated again. When the KMT regime was extremely repressive, there was a coercive official 2-28 collective memory and history. However, there was still a limited amount of 2-28 cultural memories different from the official 2-28 collective memory and history, which either existed away from the public realm of Taiwan or had quietly left their carefully hidden mark in autobiographies and literary works.⁶⁴ Around 1987 when the authoritarian KMT regime started to crumble, these hitherto silenced 2-28 memories emerged as potential 'points of resistance' returning as powerful and dynamic 'counter-memories' that had been withheld by the pre-1987 KMT version of 2-28 collective memory.⁶⁵

The making of 2-28 cultural memories around 1987 and in the early 1990s further questions the core of Halbwachs' theoretical hypothesis of collective memory. During the period between 1987 and 1994, many competing 2-28 cultural memories were retrieved and constructed, mainly according to the current political standpoints and interests. However, there is still a generally agreed image of the 2-28 Incident that is common to most of these competing 2-28 cultural memories, that suggests 'historical

⁶⁴ Ibid, 155-162. Li Hsiao-feng 李筱峰 and Lin Fang-wei 林芳微, 'Huiyilu yu tzuchuan chung te 2-28 shibliao 回憶錄與自傳中的二二八史料(A Review on the 2-28 Historical Materials)', *Taiwan Historical Materials Studies*, no. 11, May 1998, 23-45.

⁶⁵ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: Introduction*, vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley, New York: Pantheon, 1978, 95. Michel Foucault, *Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews* edited and introduced by Donald F. Bouchard; translated from the French by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977, 139-64.

continuity' among them parallel to the presentist approach.⁶⁶ 'Historical continuity' is certainly missing in Halbwachs' presentist view of collective memory. In fact, Coser has already pointed out the problem of historical discontinuity residing within Halbwachs' theory of collective memory by referring to Barry Schwartz's research on images of Lincoln in the United States.⁶⁷ According to Schwartz, a contemporary American sociologist, 'the past is always a compound of persistence and change, of continuity and newness'.⁶⁸ He finds, that though the Lincoln in modern biographies differs from that of the image held by those who experienced the shock of his assassination, that some resemblance can still be found between these two images. He thus concluded that 'collective historical memory has both cumulative and presentist aspects'. A society does refashion the past according to its present needs. In the meantime, certain aspects of the past are also kept alive through a common cultural code system.

Pierre Nora interprets and develops the co-existence of historical continuity and discontinuity in a different way from Coser. He opens up theoretical and critical platform, that is very interesting and valuable, and which I can use to refine the framing structure that underlies my reading of the making of 2-28 cultural memories in Taiwan, and my witnessing of the lost past.⁶⁹ Nora differentiates *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) and *milieux de mémoire* (the real environment of memory). He states that there are *lieux de mémoire* such as archives and cultural representations of the past as opposed to *milieux de mémoire* in which the past existed but now no longer exists. He argues *lieux de mémoire* are always intended by the present society to compensate for the loss of *milieux de mémoire* and to maintain historical continuity. Since *milieux de mémoire* no longer exist, such an intention will never be fulfilled. Therefore, within *lieux de mémoire* there is

⁶⁶ Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 12-15.

⁶⁷ Lewis A. Coser, 'Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs 1877-1945', 25.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Ibid, 26-8. For Coser and Schwartz's views, also see Hsiao A-chin, 'Examining Theories of Collective Memory: Anatomist, Rescuer and a Democratic View', 265-274.

⁶⁹ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*'.

always a desire for historical continuity that constantly attempts to repress, seize and destroy the multiplicity of memories for certain national or other purposes or interests. Yet, there is always a historical rupture and inconsistency that defies such repression, seizure and destruction. Between on the one side this tension between history and memory and on the other side the gap between historical continuity and rupture in *lieux de mémoire*, a precious space of critical history is opened up by Nora that resists the unifying national historical force and cultural closure.

Next, I wish to take the making of 2-28 cultural memories as *lieux de mémoire* in order to give a more dynamic historical picture that speaks of complex transformation during different historical periods. In formulating a discursive site of critical engagement and resistance against forms of cultural and political hegemonies, I wish to focus on identifying the tension between history and memory, the gap between historical continuity and rupture, and on witnessing to the silence resulting from memories being repressed, seized and destroyed by Taiwan's unifying national will.

1.2 The Making of 2-28 Cultural Memory in a Brief Historical and Political Context

The lifting of Martial Law, the demise of the dictator Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) and the end of Chiang Ching-kuo's (1910-1988) authoritarian KMT regime as the political climate moved toward democratisation all paved the way for Taiwan to deconstruct its post-war Sinicised past and reconstruct a Taiwanised future. De-colonising the legacy of the Chiangs' 'colonization' or 'internal colonization' and the building of a Taiwanised notion of nationhood took much historical and cultural effort in reconstructing the past.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ 'Anne McClintock explains three kinds of colonization. *Colonization* is the appropriation and exploitation of another geopolitical territory, together with an organised interference in its rule. *Internal colonization* is treating a group or region in the same fashion as an external colony. Imperial colonization is the large-scale domination of substantial areas of the earth and multiple external territories' quoted in Peter Childs and Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1997, 227. The way Chiang Kai-shek's regime on China ruled Taiwan between 1945 and 1949 is closer to what Anne

The 2-28 Incident exposed state cruelty of Chiangs' colonial dictatorship and has been considered as crucial in challenging the legitimacy and legacy of the KMT's authoritarian rule. Remaking the memories of the 2-28 Incident has become a very important move towards democratisation, particularly for many Taiwanese nationalists, one of the key forces in pushing Taiwan towards democratisation, Taiwanisation and independence from China. Historicising and commemorating the 2-28 Incident as a turning point in the making of contemporary Taiwanese consciousness has become one of the most indispensable political and cultural projects since 1987.⁷¹

1.3 Mapping the Making of 2-28 Cultural Memory 1987-2004

Memories of the 2-28 Incident differing from those of the KMT were carefully and strictly withheld by the authoritarian central government and did not enter public consciousness for most people in Taiwan until 1987. The mid-1980s marked one of the most important historical moments for Taiwan as it moved towards democratization and further Taiwanisation. Successive political protest and social movements of the 1980s together with the establishment of the opposition DPP in 1986 eventually forced Chiang Ching-kuo, then President of the Republic of China on Taiwan and the KMT

McClintock has named as 'colonization'. After the defeat and retreat of Chiang Kai-shek's regime on China to Taiwan in 1949, it is closer to a combination of what Anne McClintock has named as 'colonization' and 'internal colonization'. Chiang Kai-shek's regime came from Mainland China, took over Taiwan from its previous Japanese colonizers, imposed their rules on Taiwan and used Taiwan as an economic base to struggle with Mao Zedong's communist China. In general, Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo's regimes adopted Sino-centric ethnic ruling strategies to systematically marginalize *'penshengren'* 本省人 native Taiwanese politically, socially, linguistically and culturally. '*Penshengren*' mainly refers to residents of Taiwan of Fulao and Hakka origins, excluding those of Aboriginal origins. It is a postwar binary categorisation against '*waishengren* 外省人', a category which has been specifically used to refer to postwar Chinese mainlanders emigrants who came to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek's regime and their descendants. It is worthy of noting that Taiwan for Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo's regimes was in reality 'the only geographical territory' after 1949. However, Taiwan was always taken by Chiang's regimes as 'another or the other geographical territory' for them mentally and in their national imagination.

⁷¹ Chen Li-fu 陳俐甫 (ed.), *Chinchi, yuantzui, peichu: hsinshengtai kan 2-28 shihchien* 禁忌·原罪·悲劇：新生代看二二八事件 (Taboo, Sin and Tragedy: the 2-28 Incident from a new generational perspective), Taipei: Taohsiang, 1990, Chen's preface, 1-7. Chen Fang-ming (ed.), *A Collection of Research Papers on the 2-28 Incident: Reviewing Taiwan's National Traumatic Event*, 13-20. Chang Yian-hsien 張炎憲, '2-28: taiwanshib ch'uanshib te yuantian 2-28: 台灣史詮釋的原點 (2-28: the Point of Departure for Taiwan's Historical Interpretations)', *Taiwan Historical Materials Studies*, vol. 3, February 1994, 3-8.

leader, to end almost 40 years' rule by Martial Law.⁷² The lifting of Martial Law in 1987 formally and legally relaxed the authoritarian political climate in Taiwan and facilitated the active return of many previously prohibited political, social and cultural actions and discourses such as those dedicated to Taiwan's Independence from China, Taiwan histories, and the 2-28 Incident.

The 2-28 Peace Day Association 二二八和平日促進會 has played a pioneering, crucial and indispensable role in remaking 2-28 cultural memories in Taiwan.⁷³ It was privately founded in January 1987 and led by Chen Yung-hsing 陳永興, a psychiatrist, Cheng Nan-jung 鄭南榕, a political activist, and a chief editor of a dissident press called *Tzuyiou shihtai* 自由時代 (Liberty Era) who burnt himself in 1989 in protest against the attempted arrest by the KMT of him and other previous KMT political dissidents who had been closely associated with the DPP. Exposing the KMT's state culpability and cruelty, the 2-28 Peace Day Association made many unprecedented efforts to breach the prevailing silence and counter the absence of the 2-28 Incident from Taiwan's public memory under the KMT regime on Taiwan (1945-2000).⁷⁴ Politically, it demanded that the KMT central government led by Lee Teng-hui 李登輝 (1923-) investigate the 2-28 Incident, and rehabilitate the 2-28 victims and openly apologise to their families and friends. Historically, it urged the KMT central government to re-historicise the 2-28 Incident and release files and archives on the 2-28 Incident. It also inspired, initiated and called for the private sectors of Taiwanese society to set up professional teams to explore and reconstruct the 2-28 Incident. It held public lectures to disseminate the hitherto

⁷² Martial Law on Taiwan was declared by Taiwan Military Garrison on 20 May 1949 and lifted on 14 July 1987.

⁷³ Wu Chin-yung, *Nation Building, Historical Memories and Commemorative Spaces: The Construction of the [Taipei] 2-28 Memorial*, 17-8. 2-28 Peace Day Association(ed.), *Tzouch'u 2-28 te yinying: 2-28 Hopingjib ts'uchin yuntung shihlu 1987-1990 走出二二八的陰影：二二八和平日促進運動實錄* (Out of the Shadow: the 2-28 Peace Day Movement 1987-1990), Taipei: 2-28 Peace Day Association, 1991. A timeline of the 2-28 Peace Day Movement (1987-1997) can be viewed from the website of the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum: <http://228.culture.gov.tw/html/No4-1.htm> accessed date: 1 July 2003.

⁷⁴ In the second presidential election of Taiwan in 2000, KMT lost and DPP won.

concealed memories and historical knowledge of the 2-28 Incident and mounted religious and cultural events to commemorate the 2-28 victims and to consolidate and sustain those memories and histories.

With support from the families of 2-28 victims, DPP politicians and their allies, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, and by using the substantial findings of historical research on the 2-28 Incident, the 2-28 Peace Day Movement finally made the reluctant KMT central government decide to no longer deny the existence of the 2-28 Incident.⁷⁵ Around 1990, the KMT central government started, despite their unwillingness, to respond to the demands from the 2-28 Peace Day Movement.⁷⁶ The Control Yuan 監察院 released the report written by Yang Liang-kung, the Fukien and Taiwan regional supervisor of the Control Yuan, that still represents the KMT's pre-1987 official view.⁷⁷ The Taiwan Provincial Archives 省文獻會 and the Executive Yuan both set up their own scholarly teams to investigate the 2-28 Incident in 1988 and 1991. Members of the Legislative Yuan, the majority of whom are KMT members, and some KMT central governmental officials finally offered their condolences to the 2-28 victims, their families and friends.⁷⁸ In the early 1990s, the 2-28 Peace Day Movement, through the memories of the 2-28 Incident that it had recognised and disseminated, became a powerful and successful countering force undermining the KMT amnesia of the 2-28 Incident and the KMT version of 2-28 memory and history. The KMT regime was

⁷⁵ Chang Yian-hsien, '2-28: the Point of Departure for Taiwan's Historical Interpretations', 4-5. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has long been associated with Political Protesting Movements in Taiwan. For its involvement in the 2-28 Peace Day Movement, see Chuang Tien-ts'u 莊天賜, 'Changlao chiaohui yu 2-28 p'ingfan yuntung 1987-1990: yi 'Taiwan chiaohui kungpao' wei chunghsing chih yianchiou 長老教會與二二八平反運動 1987-1990—以「台灣教會公報」為中心之研究 (Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the 2-28 Peace Day Movement 1987-1990: a research based on *Taiwan chiaohui kungpao* (Taiwan Church News))', *Taiwan Historical Materials Studies*, no. 12, 1998, 25-44.

⁷⁶ A timeline of how KMT has responded to the 2-28 Peace Day Movement 1987-1997 can be viewed from the website of the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum: <http://228.culture.gov.tw/html/No4-1.htm> accessed date: 1 July 2003.

⁷⁷ Yang Liang-kung, 'A Report on the 2-28 Incident'.

⁷⁸ Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 130.

forced to remember the 2-28 Incident again but from a very different standpoint and in a very different way as will be discussed later in this chapter.

In addition to the line taken by the 2-28 Peace Day Movement, the successful domestic and international debut of *A City of Sadness* 悲情城市 in 1989 also contributed greatly to the discursive formation of 2-28 cultural memories in Taiwan.⁷⁹ This film, directed by Hou Hsiao-hsien 侯孝賢, addresses Taiwan's traumatic historical and political transition from Japanese colonisation to the rule of the KMT regime led by the military dictator Chiang Kai-shek, as it was experienced by the Lins, a large and prosperous *pengshengren* family living near Taipei. The film overlays several individual memories of the Lins and successfully suggests an alternative image of the 2-28 collective memory from that put forward by the KMT. When the film was reviewed by the government censors they demanded that Hou cut the scenes where the KMT soldiers brutally abuse *pengshengren*. This demand was successfully opposed because *A City of Sadness* won the prestigious Golden Lion Award at the Venice International Film Festival in the same year. It was the first film from Taiwan to receive international recognition. The film was finally shown uncut in Taiwan and received enthusiastic public attention and discussion not only in the media and cultural circles but also in Taiwan's political circles.⁸⁰ Opinions and the ensuing cultural, historical and political debates in the media and

⁷⁹ Wu Chin-yung, *Nation Building, Historical Memories and Commemorative Spaces: The Construction of the [Taipei] 2-28 Memorial*, 18.

⁸⁰ Jean Yen-chun Ma, *Time without Measure, Sadness without Cure: Hou Hsiao-hsien's Films of History*, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of English Language and Literature, University of Chicago, 2003, particularly 1-15. See also Robert Chi, 'Getting it on Film-Representing and Understanding History in *A City of Sadness*', *Tamkang Review*, 29:4, summer 1999, 47-84; Liao Ping-hui, 'Passing and Re-articulation of Identity-Memory, Trauma and Cinema', *Tamkang Review*, 29:4, summer 1999, 85-114; and Robert Yi-hsin Chi, *Picture Perfect: Narrating Public Memory in Twentieth-Century China*, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Comparative Literature, Harvard University, 2001, 176-248. For the complex discussions on *A City of Sadness*, also see Mitzo 迷走 and Liang Hsin-hua 梁新華 (eds.), *Hsin tienying chih ssu: ts'ung 'Yich'ie wei mingtien' tao 'Peich'ing ch'engshih* 新電影之死：從「一切為明天」到「悲情城市」(The Death of New Movie: from *All about Tomorrow* to *A City of Sadness*), Taipei: T'angshan, 1991.

within the cultural industry, especially after 1991, have helped publicise and popularise a certain kind of knowledge of the 2-28 Incident.⁸¹

Once the political and the cultural climate loosened and the state had itself broken the political taboo against remembering the 2-28 Incident, reconstructing 2-28 immediately became a flourishing industry that involved history, politics, media and culture. Between 1991 and 1997, writing and commemorating 2-28 became a highly contested ground where different political, social and cultural forces of differentiated political, national or cultural identifications and beliefs could articulate their own versions of 2-28 memories and histories. There are various 2-28 histories written and memories collected and articulated by the KMT central government and by the private investigating teams (See Appendix 1: A Selected List of 2-28 Historical and Cultural Representations in Taiwan).

Over this time span, Academia Sinica and the Taiwan Provincial Archives have been the main agents of the KMT central government in the making of the 2-28 memories and histories. They have edited and published, and recently released governmental files and archives. They have also conducted oral historical projects in which some KMT government officials and their associates were interviewed and gave their accounts and interpretations of the 2-28 Incident. Also, leading private publishers such as Tzu-li 自立, Ch'ien-wei 前衛, Tao-hsiang 稻香, Yu-san 玉山 and Wu San-lien Foundation 吳三連基金會, Jen-chien 人間, and China Times 中時, have published even more remarkable testimonies, oral histories, historicisations and symposium proceedings on the 2-28 Incident. Obviously, the reconstruction and interpretation of the 2-28 Incident offered by Jen-chien and China Times are different from those by Tzu-li, Ch'ien-wei,

⁸¹ Wu Chin-yung, *Nation Building, Historical Memories and Commemorative Spaces: The Construction of the [Taipei] 2-28 Memorial*, 18. Yieh Ssu-yi 葉斯逸, *Yiu hsushih lilun chiaotu fenhsi meichie '228 shihchien' te paotao 由敘事理論角度分析媒介對「二二八事件」的報導 A Narrative Analysis of News Coverage on the February Twenty-Eighth Incident*, M.A. Thesis, Department of Journalism, National Cheng-chih University, 1998, 20. Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 101-14.

Tao-hsiang, Yu-san and Wu San-lien Foundation. Despite their usual conflicting political and historical positions, the accessibility and popularisation of both governmental and private 2-28 historical representations in publications and in media coverage has assured the entry of the memories of the 2-28 Incident into public consciousness.⁸²

Within this period, many memorials, museums, foundations, associations and regular events have been set up as enduring sites and institutional bases for commemorating 2-28 consequently consolidating the newly made 2-28 cultural memories (See Appendix 2: A Timeline of the Establishment of 2-28 Memorials, Memorial Parks and Memorial Museums in Taiwan).

The 1990s witnessed the high tide of political competition in building 2-28 memorials in many cities and counties.⁸³ Chia-yi City government in southern Taiwan whose constituency was one of the most devastated areas of the 2-28 massacre was pioneering in setting up the first 2-28 memorial in 1989. Seven years later, it established a well-designed 2-28 Memorial Park in which a new 2-28 memorial and the first 2-28 Memorial Museum were installed. Other regional governments such as Ping-tung, Kaohsiung and Tainan in southern Taiwan and Keelung in Northern Taiwan soon joined in, building their own 2-28 memorials. All of these regions had a great proportion of their population victimised in the 2-28 Incident and traditionally have been governed over the last couple of decades by previous anti-KMT dissidents or, more recently, DPP politicians. Building 2-28 memorials has become an important instrument for these DPP regional governments not only to reconstruct and consolidate their 2-28 cultural

⁸² *United Daily News* 聯合報 has conducted three surveys on public awareness of the 2-28 Incident since 1988. In 1988, only 15% of the interviewees knew the 2-28 Incident. The number has surged to 80% in 1992 and slightly marked up to 86% in 1997. See Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 103.

⁸³ For a review of all 2-28 memorials across Taiwan, see ASAHY 2-28 Peace Memorial Museum 阮朝日紀念館(ed.), *Taiwan 2-28 chinienpei t'uchi* 台灣二二八紀念碑圖集(2-28 Memorials in Taiwan), Lin-pian, Ping-tung: ASAHY 2-28 Peace Memorial Museum, 2004.

memories both regionally and nationally, but also to show their democratic and progressive political stance and participate in the national reengineering of Taiwan's past, present and future.⁸⁴

The 2-28 memorials in regions such as Taichung City, which have long been KMT constituencies, were mostly built later in the first years of 21st century. Within this general tendency, the case of Taipei City represents a very noteworthy exception. Housing the Presidential Hall and other major national governmental institutions, Taipei City as the capital of Taiwan (also used by the KMT regime as 'the temporary capital of the Republic of China') has long been a pro-KMT stronghold. As 2-28 memories became more and more widespread along with increasing demand for 2-28 memorials by the 2-28 Peace Day Movement, and as the voices of families of the 2-28 victims became stronger and stronger, the KMT central government (whose post-war predecessor was the perpetrating state machine in the 2-28 Incident) was pressured to do something national to cope with the political climate and to keep being politically competitive. In 1991, Lee Teng-hui and his KMT central government finally decided to build a national 2-28 memorial in Taipei City.⁸⁵

The journey of building Taipei 2-28 Memorial was however destined to be an extremely arduous one, being a highly contested ground for different social and political groups to fight for their interests, beliefs and historical and other symbolic capital. There have been so many controversies and complicated debates as to whether Taipei 2-28 Memorial should be built or not, who should have been involved in the Preparation Committee, where the best site would have been, who could have best represented the families of 2-28 victims and their interests, whether the selection of the design for the Memorial was conducted in a fair manner, what should have been written as the epitaph

⁸⁴ Wu Chin-yung, *Nation Building, Historical Memories and Commemorative Spaces: The Construction of the [Taipei] 2-28 Memorial*, 19-21.

⁸⁵ For a timeline and vicissitudes of building Taipei 2-28 memorial and other regional 2-28 memorials across Taiwan, *ibid*, 108-13.

of the Memorial and so forth. Every contention, negotiation and compromise regarding each single procedure which contributed to the completion of the Taipei 2-28 Memorial involved the construction of a complicated memory and embodied different stances and desires in the making of Taiwan's contemporary nationhood.⁸⁶

After Chen Shui-bian of DPP became the mayor of Taipei City in December 1994, through a hard-won election, he made many immediate political moves to join the debate concerning Taipei 2-28 Memorial. He had the vast site surrounding Taipei 2-28 Memorial landscaped into a Taipei 2-28 memorial park. In 1996 he renamed 'Taipei New Park 台北新公園', an established landmark of Taipei city life containing the Taipei 2-28 Memorial, as 'Taipei 2-28 Peace Park 台北二二八和平公園'. In the following year he refurbished the old building of Taipei Radio Broadcasting 台北廣播電台 next to the Taipei 2-28 Memorial and made it into the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum.

Besides the setting up of concrete and sustained structures like 2-28 memorials and memorial museums, ephemeral Christian and Buddhist commemorative ceremonies have been held annually to commemorate 2-28 since 1987. The fact that KMT government officials like Hao Po-ts'un 郝伯村, the head of the Executive Yuan attended the 2-28 Christian Commemorative Mass organised by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and offered their condolences to the 2-28 victims in December 1990 anticipated the rapid transformation of Taiwan's attitudes towards the 2-28 Incident that occurred in the 1990s. In 1992, a 2-28 commemorative concert was held in the National Concert Hall of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall 中正紀念堂國家音樂廳. The National anthem was deliberately not played in the commemorative concert as a friendly gesture from the State. Lee Teng-hui, then the President of Taiwan, attended the concert and gave a

⁸⁶ Wu Chin-yung, *Nation Building, Historical Memories and Commemorative Spaces: The Construction of the [Taipei] 2-28 Memorial*, Chapter 3, 4 and 5. See also Cheng Fei-wen's further theoretical elaboration based on Wu's research. Cheng Fei-wen, *The 'Wounded' Nation: Trauma, Memory and National Identity in Contemporary Taiwanese Identity*, Chapter 5.

speech in which he expressed his condolences.⁸⁷ This concert has been seen as another important turning point for commemorating the 2-28 Incident, especially in the field of art.⁸⁸

Inspired by the 2-28 commemorative concert of 1992, Liao Te-cheng 廖德政, Lin Tzung-yi of WACCSVF (World Alliance for Concerned Citizens and Surviving Victims and Families) 二二八關懷聯合會 and others set out to organise the first two commemorative art exhibitions hosted respectively by the Eslite Gallery 誠品畫廊 and the Nan Gallery 南畫廊 in Taipei in 1993 (See Appendix 3: A List of 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibitions in Taiwan).⁸⁹ Lin Tzung-yi is the director of WACCSVF. His father, Lin Mao-sheng 林茂生, Dean of the School of Liberal Arts at the National Taiwan University, was arrested and murdered during the 2-28 Incident.⁹⁰ Another member of WACCSVF, Liao Te-cheng, is a well-established Japanese-trained Taiwanese artist whose father Liao Chin-ping 廖進平 was also arrested and murdered during the 2-28 Incident.⁹¹

When Chen Shui-bian became the Mayor of Taipei City, he started to intervene enthusiastically in the making of 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. Taipei City Government led by Chen began to work with another private gallery in Taipei called the Dimension Art Centre 帝門藝術中心.⁹² In 1996, the government directed that annual 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions be held at the prestigious Taipei Fine Arts Museum 台北市立美術館, then the only municipal art gallery of Taipei City and one of the leading

⁸⁷ Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 106.

⁸⁸ For example, see Lin Tzung-yi 林宗義 and Chen Chin-fang's 陳錦芳 prefaces in Eslite Gallery (ed.), *2-28 chinien meichan 二二八紀念美展* (The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition), Taipei: Eslite Gallery, 1993.

⁸⁹ Eslite Gallery (ed.), *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*.

⁹⁰ Lin Tzung-yi, 'Lin Mao-sheng and the 2-28 Incident', in Chen Fang-ming (ed.), *A Collection of Research Papers on the 2-28 Incident: Reviewing Taiwan's National Traumatic Event*, 21-45.

⁹¹ Huang Yu-ling 黃于玲, 'T'uikai lipa tzohsiang yangkuang tati 推開籬笆、走向陽光大地 (Pushing away the Fence, Walking towards Sunny Land) in Nan Gallery 南畫廊 (ed.), *Taiwanhua 3: chinien 2-28 chuanchi 紀念二二八專輯* (Taiwan School 3: In Memory of 2-28), Taipei: Nan Gallery, 1993. 17-20.

⁹² Dimension Art Centre (ed.), *2-28 chinien meichan 二二八紀念美展* (The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition), Taipei: Dimension Art Centre, 1995.

modern and contemporary art museums in Taiwan. When Chen lost his Mayorship in December 1998, the Taipei Fine Arts Museum immediately abandoned its plan for annual 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions.⁹³

The 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions of 2000 and 2001 were held at the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum and the Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Museum respectively.⁹⁴ After 2002, two years after Chen Shui-bian and DPP has won the presidency, the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions were once more privately organised but by the pro-DPP Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation 海洋文化基金會 whose president is Lin Li-ts'ai 林黎彩, daughter of a 2-28 victim, and whose husband Liao Chung-shan 廖中山 was a *waishengren* professor dedicated to Taiwan's Independence from China. However, they were not held in private galleries like their counterparts in the early 1990s but, with state funding, in exclusive and prestigious public venues such as the Presidential Hall Gallery 總統藝廊, the Dr. Sun Yat-san Memorial Hall 國父紀念館 and some historical sites across Taiwan where the 2-28 massacres had taken place in 1947.⁹⁵

⁹³ TFAM(ed.), *Huiku yu hsingssu: 2-28 chinien meichan* 回顧與省思—二二八紀念美展 (Remembrance and Reflection: 2-28 Commemorative Exhibition), Taipei: TFAM, 1996; TFAM(ed.), *Peich'ing shenghua: 2-28 meichan* 悲情昇華—二二八美展 (Sadness Transformed: 2-28 Commemorative Exhibition), Taipei: TFAM, 1997; TFAM(ed.), *Ningshib yu hsingssu: hoshitai te lishih kuanch'a* 凝視與形塑—後二二八世代的歷史觀察 (Reflection and Reconsideration: 2-28 Commemorative Exhibition), Taipei: TFAM, 1998; TFAM(ed.), *Lishih hsiench'ang yu t'ubsiang: chiencheng, fanssu, tzaisheng* 歷史現場與圖像—見證、反思、再生 (Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals), TFAM, Taipei: TFAM, 1999. The titles of these exhibitions are translated by TFAM.

⁹⁴ Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum(ed.), *2-28 Peit'ung chung te chienyi yu shenghua: shonanche chi chiasuyiwen techan* 二二八悲慟中的堅毅與昇華—受難者及家屬藝文特展 (Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families), Taipei: Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum, 2000; Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum(ed.), *Chia-yi 2-28 mei-chan* 嘉義二二八美展 (Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition), Chia-yi: Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, 2000.

⁹⁵ Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation(ed.), *Ningshib Taiwan: ch'itung Taiwan meishu chung te 228 yuansu* 凝視台灣—啟動台灣美術中的二二八元素 (Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art), Taipei: Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, 2002; Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation(ed.), *Chiyi te shengchang yu kuayue: fanssu lishih chienko kuanai Taiwan chih hsin* 記憶的伸張與跨越—反思歷史、建構關愛台灣之心 (Recovering Memory, Transcending Pain and Restoring Justice: Reflect on History to Build Consciousness for Taiwan), Taipei: Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, 2003; Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation(ed.), *Hui wo tzunyian hsieh wo chiachih* 繪我尊嚴·寫我價值 (Paint My Value, Write My Respect) Taipei: Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, 2004; Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation(ed.), *Hsiang-ssu hsiangch'o chia tzai ho fang* 鄉思·鄉愁·家在何方 (Longing, Yearning, Where am I), Taipei: Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, 2005. The titles of these exhibitions are translated by the Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, except *Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art*.

There are also other institutions that independently produced 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. Nan Gallery hosted one of the first 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions in 1993 and went on to organise a series of 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions involving works specifically created for the exhibitions.⁹⁶ Taiwan Museum of Art 台灣省立美術館, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan Provincial Government and became a national art museum after the abolition of the Taiwan Provincial Government in 2000, presented its only 2-28 commemorative art exhibition in 1999. This specifically commemorated three KMT dissident *waishengren* Chinese mainland printmakers who witnessed the 2-28 Incident and were later executed, persecuted or forced to leave Taiwan.⁹⁷ Chapter 2 of this dissertation will give a more detailed overview of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions and further explore the problematics and implications that those exhibitions propose and suggest.

With all the persistent efforts made by different people and institutions, memories of the 2-28 Incident have been successfully publicised and gradually made into a national trauma. In 1992, Lee Teng-hui, as the then President of Taiwan and leader of the KMT, openly apologised to the 2-28 victims for the state atrocity. In 1995, the Legislative Yuan passes the *2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act* and the Executive Yuan sets up the 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation to carry out the requirements of the Act. Thus the State finally established a formal institutional mechanism to deal with the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident. Finally by 1997, commemoration of 2-28 had been integrated into

⁹⁶ Nan Gallery (ed.), *Taiwan School 3: In Memory of 2-28*; Nan Gallery(ed.), *Taiwanhua 15: 2-28 yu huabui shibtai* 台灣畫 15：二二八與畫會時代(Taiwan School 15: 2-28 and the Era of Painting Groups), Taipei: Nan Gallery, 1995; and Huang Yu-ling, *Teng jibt'o: 2-28 hua li te kushih* 等日頭—二二八畫裡的故事(Waiting For the Sunrise: Stories of the Paintings Concerning the 2-28 Incident), Taipei: Nan Gallery, 1998.

⁹⁷ Taiwan Museum of Art (ed.), *Shibtai te tache: 2-28 nientai te chiencheng* 時代的他者—二二八年代的美術見證(Time's Other: Witnesses of the Era of the 2-28 Incident in Art), Taichung: Taiwan Museum of Art, 1999.

the national framework, and the anniversary of the 2-28 Incident became the 2-28 Peace Day in Taiwan's national calendar.⁹⁸

While reviewing the process of how the hidden 2-28 cultural memories have been made public, I have been wondering what kind of roles the 2-28 victims or their families have played in the whole process. What have the 2-28 victims and their families contributed institutionally to the remaking of 2-28 memories? In most archives, other than 2-28 oral histories, WACCSVF and a couple of its elite members, such as Lin Tzung-yi, seem the only ones who are named as actively and institutionally involved in the remaking. In fact, there are other associations of the families of the 2-28 victims across Taiwan.⁹⁹ A few of them such as the Association of the Families of the 2-28 Victims in Chia-yi 嘉義二二八關懷協會 had also initiated the investigation and writing of 2-28 oral histories of their region.¹⁰⁰ Most families of the 2-28 victims, particularly those non-elite ones, however, remain largely under-represented or choose to remain anonymous behind the label '2-28 *shounan chiashu* 二二八受難家屬 (the families of the 2-28 victims)'.¹⁰¹ Despite the elitism of the practice of 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, this anonymity arises perhaps from the fear the families have been living with all their lives. Juan Mei-shu and Li Ch'iao both indicate that this fear still survives after the lifting of Martial Law and prevents the families from giving 2-28

⁹⁸ It is made an official memorial day by the then Taipei City Mayor Chen Shui-bian in 1995. For his report at the Taipei City Council 台北市議會 dated 11 April 1995, see http://www.taipei.gov.tw/cgi-bin/SM_theme?p=/41a9a38d/41a459df/41a5b83e/41a5b9b8/41abce8c&page=41abce8c accessed date: 22 November 2005. It is made a national memorial day by the then President Lee Teng-hui in 1997. See Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 111-2.

⁹⁹ The 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation offers a list of these associations of the families of the 2-28 victims across Taiwan. See http://www.228.org.tw/care_family_group.php accessed date: 22 October 2005.

¹⁰⁰ Chen Ch'ung-kuang 陳重光, 'Preface', in Chang Yian-hsien 張炎憲, Kao Shu-yuan 高淑媛, Wang Yi-shih 王逸石, Wang Chao-wen 王昭文, *Chiayi peihui 2-28 嘉義北回二二八* (The 2-28 Incident in Chiayi the Tropics of Cancer), Taipei: Tzu-li, 1994, reprinted on the website of Wu San-lien Foundation: http://www.twcenter.org.tw/a02/a02_02/228_10_4.htm.

¹⁰¹ Shen Hsiu-hua 沈秀華, a 2-28 oral historian, also notices this phenomenon in the practice of 2-28 historicisation. She suggests that it is resulted from the elitism and sexual division of labour resided in the 2-28 historicisation. See Shen Hsiu-hua, 'Preface', in Shen Hsiu-hua and Chang Wen-yi 張文義, *Kemalan 2-28 噶瑪蘭二二八* (The 2-28 Incident in Yilan), Taipei: Tzu-li, 1992; and Shen Hsiu-hua, *Chamorang e 2-28 查某人的二二八—政治寡婦的故事* (Women's 2-28: Stories of Political Widows), Taipei: Yu-shan, 1997, 6-31.

testimonies.¹⁰² Instead of blaming the families for lack of ‘moral courage’ to fight against the KMT or for being ‘masochists’, I will give a psychoanalytic reading of this fear in the light of theories of trauma. I will argue that this fear and its symptoms also characterise the ‘fixation’ of trauma in the form of ‘repetition-compulsion’.¹⁰³ In order to elaborate my view in more detail and make this chapter clearer and more focused, I will defer this discussion to Chapter 5. Now, I will continue to discuss the contents of the making of 2-28 cultural memories of different historical moments in Taiwan.

1.4 2-28 Cultural memory I: pre-1987

Hsia Ch’un-hsiang notes two distinct types of KMT’s pre-1987 memory of the 2-28 Incident in his examination of news coverage in the *Taiwan hsinsheng pao* 台灣新生報 (Taiwan Hsinsheng Daily), KMT’s post-war official paper.¹⁰⁴

Until 9 March 1947, the 2-28 Incident was represented as an urgent and reasonable public request to eliminate post-war difficulties and improve the corrupt KMT rule.¹⁰⁵ In the official statement announced by Chen Yi, the Governor of Taiwan, on 6 March 1947, Chen confirmed Taiwan’s devastating economic condition and expressed his will to deal with it and reform Taiwan’s political structure.¹⁰⁶ He also invited many native Taiwanese elites to co-establish the 2-28 Resolution Committee across Taiwan and to look into solutions to Taiwan’s predicament.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Juan Mei-shu 阮美姝, *Yiouan chiaolou te ch’isheng: bsunchao2-28 sanluo te yitzu* 幽暗角落的泣聲—尋找二二八散落的遺族 (Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner: Looking for the Dispersed February 28 Victim’s Families), Taipei: Ch’ien-wei, 1992, for example 16. Li Ch’iao, ‘The meaning of “2-28” in the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Taiwanese’, 401-405.

¹⁰³ Li Ch’iao, ‘The meaning of “2-28” in the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Taiwanese’, 403-405 and Lin Yi-fu, *Analysing ‘the Masochism’ of the Taiwanese*. Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays,’ in Sigmund Freud, *The Origin of Religion: Totem and Taboo, Moses and Monotheism and other works*, The Penguin Freud Library, vol. 13, London: Penguin Books, 1990, 237-386.

¹⁰⁴ Hsia Ch’un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 90-7.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Editorial’, *Taiwan Hsinsheng Daily*, 1 March 1947, quoted in *Ibid*, 95.

¹⁰⁶ Chen Yi, ‘*Chen changkuan ti san ts’u kuangpo ts’u* 陳長官第三次廣播詞 (Governor Chen’s Third Broadcasting Record: at 3pm, 6 March 1947)’ in Taiwan Provincial Archives 台灣省文獻委員會, *2-28 shihchien wenhsien hsulu* 2-28 事件文獻續錄 (A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident), vol. 2, Nanto: Taiwan Provincial Archives, 1992, 488-9.

¹⁰⁷ Chen Yi, ‘*Chen changkuan ti erh ts’u kuangpo ts’u* 陳長官第二次廣播詞 (Governor Chen’s Second Broadcasting Record: at 3 pm, 2 March 1947)’ in Taiwan Provincial Archives, *A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident*, vol. 2, 487.

When more and more KMT troops sent by Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Taiwan on 9 March, the KMT regime started to represent the 2-28 Incident in a totally different way. Chen Yi reported the Incident as a 'rioting act initiated by gangsters and conspirators who wished to overthrow the regime', so he or the 'benevolent' KMT government could not but take military action to eradicate them thoroughly.¹⁰⁸ Chiang Kai-shek blamed 'communists among those former Taiwanese soldiers who fought for Japan against China' and the '2-28 Resolution Committee' for forcing the KMT central government to take military 'cleansing' actions in Taiwan.¹⁰⁹ In other words, KMT's official representations all stopped mentioning, let alone looking into, the failure of KMT's corrupt and violent rule of Taiwan and its killing of innocent people. As Chen Yi-shen 陳儀深, a researcher at the Institute of Modern History, Academic Sinica, argues cogently, these representations were intended to legitimise KMT's massacre and avoid any responsibility for the crimes they had committed.¹¹⁰

This representation of the 2-28 Incident made after 9 March 1947 hence became KMT's official version of 2-28 memory and history and remained the only legal version until 1987. Immediately after the outbreak of the 2-28 Incident, eight out of 20 newspaper companies were shut down or destroyed. Only those closely associated with the KMT survived.¹¹¹ Many leaders and reporters of the press were censored,

¹⁰⁸ Chen Yi, 'Chen changkuan ti ssu ts'u kuangpo ts'u 陳長官第四次廣播詞(Governor Chen's Fourth Broadcasting Record: at 10am, 10 March 1947)' in Taiwan Provincial Archives, *A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident*, vol. 2, 489-91. Chen Yi, 'Chen changkuan kao chuankuo tungpao ts'u 陳長官告全國同胞詞(Governor Chen Addresses to the Public: 10 March 1947)' in Taiwan Provincial Archives, *A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident*, vol. 2, 491-2. Chen Yi, 'Chen chien tzungssuling wei shihshih ch'inghsiang kao chuansheng minchung shu 陳兼總司令為實施清鄉告全省民眾書(Governor Chen Addresses to the Public for Ch'inghsiang Cleansing the Country: 26 March 1947)' in Taiwan Provincial Archives, *A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident*, vol. 2, 492-3.

¹⁰⁹ Chiang Kai-shek, 'Chiang chubsi tzai chungshu kuofu chinien chou kuanyu Taiwan shihchien paokao ts'u 蔣主席在中樞國父紀念週關於台灣事件報告詞(Chairman Chiang reports Taiwan's incident in the commemoration week of Dr. Sun Yat-san: 10 March 1947)', in Taiwan Provincial Archives, *A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident*, vol. 2, 473.

¹¹⁰ Chen Yi-shen, 'Lun Taiwan 2-28 shihchien te yuanyin 論台灣二二八事件的原因(On the Causes of the 2-28 Incident)', in Chen Yung-hsing (ed.), *2-28 hsueshu yiant'aohui lunwenchi 二二八學術研討會論文集 (Symposium Papers on the 2-28 Incident)*, Taipei: Civil 2-28 research Team, Taiwan American Foundation, Modern Research Foundation, 1992, 53.

¹¹¹ Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 86.

questioned, arrested or murdered.¹¹² Hence, only KMT's official version of 2-28 memory and history was allowed to be disseminated in the public sphere. Particularly after Martial Law was declared on 20 May 1949, there was no freedom of speech and many press writers were imprisoned because of their views.¹¹³ Since then, almost nothing about the 2-28 Incident was ever mentioned in the newspapers.

Under such a repressive political climate, nevertheless, different 2-28 memories were still quietly circulating and were preserved both internationally and domestically until 1987. They are either hidden in memoirs, autobiographies, biographies and literary works published in Taiwan, or offered as alternative 2-28 histories published elsewhere.¹¹⁴

Wubnakuo 無花果 (Fig, 1967) by Wu Chou-liou 吳濁流 (1900-1976) is an autobiography. Wu was trained and worked as a school teacher during the Japanese colonisation, then a privileged profession for the Taiwanese. For criticising Japan's education system, Wu was transferred to a school in a rural area. After teaching for more than 21 years, he worked as a news reporter during the Second World War and in the post-war period, travelling between Nanking, China, and Taipei. After this, and for the remainder of his life, he worked as a literary writer. He set up the literary journal *Taiwan wenyi* 台灣文藝 (Taiwan Literature) in 1964 and played a very important role in promoting Taiwan's literature. Always concerned with social, political and economic problems in Taiwan and offering precious accounts of Taiwan's history since Japanese colonisation, his literary works have been highly valued and widely disseminated in Taiwan particularly after 1987.

¹¹² Juan Mei-shu, 'Press influenced by the 2-28 Incident' quoted in Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *ibid*, 123. Juan Mei-shu's father Juan Ch'ao-jih, also a 2-28 victim, was the manager of *Taiwan Shin-shen Daily*. Lin Tzung-yi's father, Lin Mao-sheng in charge of *Mingpao* 民報 (People's Daily) and Sung Fei-ju 宋斐如 in charge of *Jenmin Taopao* 人民導報 (People's Herald), were both killed. See also Li Hsiao-feng, *2-28 hsiaoshih te Taiwan chingying* 二二八消失的台灣菁英 (Disappeared Taiwanese Elites during the 2-28 Incident), Taipei: Tzu-li, 1990.

¹¹³ Nanfang Shuo 南方朔, 'Woumen ts'engching yioukuo yike beyan nientai: hsinwen wenhua jen pei chengchih yap'ou te natuan lishih 我們曾經有過一個黑暗年代：新聞文化人被政治壓迫的那段歷史 (We Had a Dark Age: the History of the Press being Oppressed by the Politics)', *Journalist*, 98, 1988, 68-70 quoted in Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 123.

¹¹⁴ Chen Ts'ui-lien, 'A Critical Review on the Archives of the 2-28 Incident', 148-157.

His work *Fig* describes the author's life until 1947-1948 and gives a history of social, political and economic transformations in Taiwan since Japanese colonisation. It contains four specific chapters on lives in post-war Taiwan, which testify to KMT's repressive and corrupt rule on Taiwan and the discrimination against the Taiwanese (which was worse than that of the Japanese colonisers), and the total disappointment of the Taiwanese towards China that finally led to the 2-28 Incident.¹¹⁵ Wu's 2-28 cultural memory shares a similarity with many others, such as that provided by Ch'iu Nien-tai 丘念台(1894-1966), a son of the renowned Taiwanese historical figure Ch'iu Fung-chia 丘逢甲(1864-1911) who fought against Japanese colonisation, and a KMT high official who came to Taiwan to investigate the 2-28 Incident.¹¹⁶

Besides Wu Chou-liu, the 2-28 memory represented by Ong Lok-tek 王育德(1924-1985) has also been very influential in Taiwan's Independence Movement.¹¹⁷ A linguistic and literary talent, Ong taught at the prestigious National Tainan First Senior High School 台南一中 during the post-war period. When his brother, the acclaimed barrister Wang Yu-ling 王育霖, was murdered during the 2-28 Incident, Ong escaped to Hong Kong and then to Japan. His work gives a good account of the 2-28 Incident and KMT's systematic eradication of Taiwanese intellectuals. Along with Wu Chou-liou's work, his work inspired the contemporary Taiwanese independence movement because

¹¹⁵ Wu Chou-liou, *Wuhuakuo* 無花果(*Fig*, 1967), Taipei: Taohsiang, 1995, 135-211. *Fig* was first printed in *Taiwan Literature* in 1967 and 1968. It was banned from being published as a book in 1970. It was then published by Taiwan Press in the United States and finally by Ch'ien-wei Press in Taiwan in 1988.

¹¹⁶ Ch'iu Nien-tai 丘念台, *Linghai weipiao* 嶺海微飆(*The Vicissitudes of Linghai* [Kuang-tung]), Taipei: Chunghua Daily, 1962. For more 2-28 counter-memories in the memoirs, autobiographies, biographies and literary works, see a brief review offered by Chen Ts'ui-lien, 'A Critical Review on the Archives of the 2-28 Incident', 155-157; and by Li Hsiao-feng and Lin Fang-wei, 'A Review on the 2-28 Historical Materials', 23-45. For a list of these works, see Appendix 1: A Selected List of 2-28 Historical and Literary Representations.

¹¹⁷ Ong Lok-tek, *Taiwan: kuman te lishih* 台灣：苦悶的歷史(*Taiwan: A Depressing History*[1964]), Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, 1999, 153-162. Wang's book is first published in Japanese in Tokyo. Not until 1993, it is published in Chinese in Taiwan. For the political history of Taiwan's Independence Movement in both modern and contemporary times, see Chen Lifu 陳俐甫, *Taiwan mingtzu chuyi chih jianjiou: 1950nientai yich'ien te Taiwan Mingtzu chuyi yuntung* 台灣民族主義之研究—1950年代以前的台灣民族主義運動(*Taiwanese Nationalism: Taiwanese Nationalist Movements before the 1950s*), Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, 2004.

it proposed that 'the Taiwanese finally decide to disconnect from China and to establish their own nation after the 2-28 Incident'.¹¹⁸

There are also left-wing 2-28 memories written by ex-Taiwanese communists in China, such as books by Yang Ke-huang 楊克煌 and Su Hsin 蘇新.¹¹⁹ Both of them witnessed the 2-28 Incident and disclosed many hidden aspects such as 'KMT's suppression and massacre', 'the relationship between KMT's factionary struggle and the Incident', 'the betrayal of Taiwanese elites' and 'people's resistance across Taiwan'.¹²⁰ These left-wing 2-28 memories, nevertheless, often emphasise that the 2-28 Uprising/Incident was a great act of 'people's liberation'. Chinese communists supported it wholeheartedly and worked in collaboration with Taiwanese communists. Chen Ts'ui-lien indicates that these memories are untrue, presenting other evidence from their contemporary communist colleagues and from the left-wing Taiwanese 2-28 historian Chen Fang-ming that shows there was no connection between Chinese and Taiwanese communists at that time. She also argues that these memories often reflect the memory-makers' will to express their loyalty to China and hence secure themselves against the effects of acute and violent political struggle in China such as the Cultural Revolution.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Chen Li-fu, *Mingching yu ch'eng-ai: chipen 2-28 yianchiou chutzou chih p'ingchie* 明鏡與塵埃：幾本二二八研究著作之評介 (Mirror and Dust: A Review on Some 2-28 Researches), in Chen Li-fu (ed.), *Taboo. Sin and Tragedy: the 2-28 Incident from a new generational perspective*, 77-84.

¹¹⁹ Su Hsin 蘇新 (a.k.a. Chuang Chia-nung 莊嘉農), *Fennu te Taiwan* 憤怒的台灣 (Angry Taiwan), Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, reprint, 1949/1971/1990; and Yang Kehuang 楊克煌 (a.k.a. Lin Mushun 林木順), *Taiwan eryue keming* 台灣二月革命 (Taiwan's February Revolution), Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, 1948/1990. It is necessary to know that the left-wing 2-28 memory provided by Su Bing 史明 who sets up the Association for Taiwan's Independence in Japan in 1967 still holds its assertion for Taiwan's independence from China. See Su Bing, *Taiwanren 400 nien shih* 台灣人四百年史 (Taiwan's 400 Year History: The Origins and Continuing Development of the Taiwanese Society and People [1962]), San Jose: Formosan Culture, 1980. This book is published in Japanese in Japan and then in Chinese and English in California. It offers the very first version of Taiwan's history from a Marxist Taiwanese nationalist perspective and remains extremely influential in shaping the thought of contemporary Taiwan's Independence Movement.

¹²⁰ Chen Ts'ui-lien, 'A Critical Review on the Archives of the 2-28 Incident', 149.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 149-151.

1.5 2-28 Cultural memory II: 1987-1995

The period 1987 to 1995 was a time of re-examining and re-making the 2-28 cultural memories from the perspectives of the victims, the perpetrators, the bystanders and their subsequent generations. After the 2-28 Peace Day Movement was initiated in 1987, 2-28 cultural memories proliferated and diversified in Taiwan.

Firstly, some daring scholars, activists and publishers started to publish their research that had been carried out quietly before 1987. For example, books by Li Hsiao-feng in 1986 and 1990 provide us with an in-depth investigation into the process of the KMT's systematic elimination of Taiwanese intellectuals during and after the 2-28 Incident, which, in a sense, echoes Ong Lok-tek's work mentioned above.¹²² In 1988, Ch'ien-wei Press published a whole series from the *Taiwan wenku* 台灣文庫 (Taiwan Literary Archive) as *Hsin Taiwan wenku* 新台灣文庫 (New Taiwan Literary Archive). This was published in the United States before the lifting of Martial Law and comprised those 2-28 counter-cultural memories hidden in the memoirs, biographies, autobiographies and literary works mentioned above. Together with his other books, Li Hsiao-feng has provide a structure for part of the core knowledge of the 2-28 Incident and the rationale of contemporary Taiwanese Independence Movement. This has been further deepened by some significant anthologies of symposium papers edited by Cheng Fang-ming, Chang Yian-hsien, and Chen Yung-hsing.¹²³

Secondly, books by left-wing writers such as Su Hsin and Yang Ke-huang mentioned above were re-published in Taiwan. Some left-wing scholars such as Li Ao 李敖, Tai Kuo-hui 戴國煒 and Yieh Yun-yun 葉芸芸 also began to introduce to Taiwan a few

¹²² Li Hsiao-feng, *Taiwan chanhou ch'uch'i te mingyi taipiao* 台灣戰後初期的民意代表 (Taiwanese Members of the Parliament in the Post-war Period), Taipei: Tzu-li, 1986. Li Hsiao-feng, *Disappeared Taiwanese Elites during the 2-28 Incident*. Li's other works on the 2-28 Incident include: Li Hsiao-feng, *Interpretation on 2-28* [1993]; and Li Hsiao-feng, *Lin Mao-sheng, Chen Hsin han taman te shihtai* 林茂生·陳炳和他們的時代 (Lin Mao-sheng, Chen Hsin and their Time [1996]), Taipei: Yu-san, renamed and reprinted, 1996.

¹²³ Chen Fang-ming (ed.), *A Collection of Research Papers on the 2-28 Incident: Reviewing Taiwan's National Traumatic Event*. Chang Yian-hsien, Chen Mei-jung & Yang Ya-hui (eds.), *A Collection of Research Papers on the 2-28 Incident*. Chen Yung-hsing (ed.), *Symposium Papers on the 2-28 Incident* [1991].

Chinese reports on the 2-28 Incident as well as testimonies offered by Taiwanese communists.¹²⁴

All these memories of different people with differing political beliefs speak of the KMT's massacre of the Taiwanese during the 2-28 Incident. The KMT, however, did not admit this until Lee Teng-hui apologised later. In response to the 2-28 Peace Day Movement and to public opinion, the KMT released the report by Yang Liang-kung in 1988. Yang's report describes the atrocity of the 2-28 Incident without at all mentioning the KMT's traumatisation and victimisation of Taiwanese people.¹²⁵ Not until Lee Teng-hui urged the Executive Yuan to organise an official 2-28 research team in 1991 did the KMT government start partially to release its official archives.¹²⁶ Finally, the KMT released its new official report in 1994.¹²⁷ Academia Sinica conducted 2-28 oral history projects and interviewed KMT high officials.¹²⁸ In general, the KMT and its high officials are still very reluctant to admit their state atrocity, and like to claim that the 2-28 Incident was a tragic 'accident' and are still refusing to investigate who should be held responsible for the crime.¹²⁹

After 1991, there was a mass publishing of 2-28 archives, oral histories and research in Taiwan, that provided alternative 2-28 cultural memories from Taiwan, China, the

¹²⁴ Anonymous, *2-28 Chenhsiang* 二二八真相 (The Truth about the 2-28 Incident), unknown publisher and date quoted in Chen Ts'ui-lien, 'A Critical Review on the Archives of the 2-28 Incident', 157-158. Yieh Yun-yun 葉芸芸, *Ch'engyian 2-28 證言二二八* (The Testimonies of the 2-28 Incident), Taipei: Jen-chien, 1990. Li Ao 李敖, *2-28 Yianchiou* 2-28 研究 (Research on the 2-28 Incident), vol. 1-3, Taipei: Li Ao, 1989.

¹²⁵ Yang Liang-kung, 'A Report on the 2-28 Incident'. Despite its pro-KMT position, Yang's report, written in April 1947, was held unseen until 9 March 1988.

¹²⁶ Academia Sinica (Institute of Modern History) 中央研究院近代史研究所, *2-28 tzuliao hsuanchi* 二二八資料選輯 (The 228 Incident: a documentary collection), vol. 1-6, Nankang: Academia Sinica, 1992-1997. Taiwan Provincial Archives 台灣省文獻委員會, *2-28 shihchien wenhsien chilu* 2-28 事件文獻輯錄 (A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident), vol. 1, Nanto: Taiwan Provincial Archives, 1992. Taiwan Provincial Archives, *A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident*, vol. 2. Taiwan Provincial Archives, *2-28 shihchien wenhsien pulu* 2-28 事件文獻補錄 (A Collection of Archives on the 228 Incident), vol. 3, Nanto: Taiwan Provincial Archives, 1994.

¹²⁷ Lai Tze-han et al., *The Executive Yuan's Report on the '2-28 Incident'*.

¹²⁸ Academia Sinica (Institute of Modern History), *Kosbu lishih: 2-28 chuanbou* 二二八專號 (Oral History: Special Issue on the February 28th Incident), vol. 3, February 1992, Nankang: Academia Sinica, 1992 and Academia Sinica (Institute of Modern History), *Kosbu lishih: 2-28 chuanbou* 二二八專號 (Oral History: Special Issue on the February 28th Incident), vol. 4, February 1993, Nankang: Academia Sinica, 1993.

¹²⁹ 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation, *Research Report on Responsibility for the 2-28 Massacre*.

United States and New Zealand. The KMT's archives on the 2-28 Incident stored in Nanking were finally released and proved that the KMT had already decided to massacre Taiwanese intellectuals as early as 5 March 1947. The 2-28 Incident was not a tragic accident at all.¹³⁰ The 2-28 memories written by George Kerr 葛超智, an American diplomat who worked in American Consulate during the 2-28 Incident, and by Allan J. Shackleton, a New Zealander who worked at the United Nation Rehabilitation Relief Administration in Taiwan during the 2-28 Incident are both published in Chinese and testify to the KMT's state atrocity.¹³¹

Finally since 1992, a new and significant group of cultural memories have been produced through the method of oral history and published by Ch'ien-wei, Tzu-li, and Wu San-lien Foundation, mainly led by Chang Yian-hsien, Juan Mei-shu and Shen Hsiu-hua. (See the section on 'oral histories' for a complete list in Appendix 1: A Selected List of 2-28 Historical and Cultural Representations in Taiwan) They provide a very good source of testimonies from people of different backgrounds and classes against the KMT: the 2-28 victims, their families and their friends.

1.6 2-28 Cultural memory III: 1995-2004

The period from 1995 to 1997 was a time when a dominant narrative of the 2-28 Incident was produced and consolidated.

The year 1995 saw the reluctant KMT government finally making some significant institutional and practical moves. After a long debate, the Taipei 2-28 Memorial was finally established in the heart of Taipei City next to the Presidential Hall. The Legislative Yuan passed the *2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act* and the Executive

¹³⁰ Chen Hsing-tang 陳興唐, *Nanking ti erh lishih tangannkuan ts'ang Taiwan 228 shihchien tangan shibliao* 南京第二歷史檔案館藏台灣二二八事件檔案史料 (Historical Materials on the 2-28 Incident collected in the Second Archive of Nanking, China), Taipei: Jenchien, 1992.

¹³¹ George Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed* [c.1965], New York: De Capo, 1976 translated into Chinese by Chen Jung-ch'eng 陳榮成, *Pei ch'umai te Taiwan* 被出賣的台灣, Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, 2003. Allan J. Shackleton, *Formosa Calling* 福爾摩沙的呼喚, translated into Chinese by Sung Ya-po 宋亞伯, *Fuermosha te huan*, Taipei: Wangch'unfeng, 2002.

Yuan set up the 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation to carry out the Act. The anniversary of the 2-28 Incident was integrated into the national calendar as 2-28 Peace Day in 1997.

During this period, a closure of the debate on the 2-28 Incident seems gradually to have formed and consolidated in the guise of the need to move on and look into the future rather than into a historical scar on the past.

Li Chi-kuang 李季光, a reporter of *China Times* 中國時報, wrote at the moment when the 2-28 ceremony was held in 1995,

2-28 commemoration is initiated in 1987 by the fighters for democratisation such as Chen Yung-hsing and others. This year, the government has established the national 2-28 memorial and is about to pass and enact the '2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act'. From being a social taboo in Taiwan to being commemorated by the official memorial, '2-28' has come a long way. *This year is considered the time when the '2-28' Incident ends.*¹³²(Italics mine)

Li's passage presents the belief that the establishment of the Taipei 2-28 Memorial and the 2-28 *Compensation and Rehabilitation Act*' marked the end of the 2-28 matter and the beginning of a bright future.

Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝, a pro-Taiwan-centric Academia Sinica historian of ancient Chinese social and cultural history, formerly Director of the National Palace Museum (2001-4) and at present Minister of Education in DPP's central government (2004-), has also claimed that the 2-28 Incident is over because the KMT government has set up memorial institutions and schemes to commemorate the 2-28 Incident and compensate the 2-28 victims. He says,

'2-28' has long symbolised the sad scar of the Taiwanese and a great barrier between *waishengren* and *penshengren*. *The scar and the barrier will be removed today with the government's declaration: namely its apology, release of the archives and setting up a national day for 2-28 commemoration. 28 February of 1995, the 84th year of the national calendar of the Republic of China, is the most memorable date in Taiwan's history. This is a date when the gloom goes away and the sky becomes clear.*¹³³(Italics mine)

¹³² Li Chi-kuang, 'Chinnien 2-28 peich'ing yu yangkuang te fenshuiling 今年二二八 悲情與陽光的分水嶺 (February 28 this Year, A Watershed between Sadness and Sunshine[Happiness]), *China Times*, 27 February 1995, 3 quoted in Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 105.

¹³³ *United Daily*, 28 February 1995, 8 quoted in Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *ibid*, 113.

This kind of opinion had perhaps been developed much earlier from the KMT's official reluctance in dealing with the 2-28 Incident even after 1987. In 1988, Lee Teng-hui perhaps pressured as the KMT leader and the President, expressed his will to look ahead and not to look into the past,

...as for the questions about '2-28' posed just now...I reckon that all of you aged under 40...Now, no one over 40 years old talk about '2-28'. This is rather strange for me. During the outbreak of '2-28', I was a fourth year undergraduate student at the National Taiwan University. What was the situation then? Should we not leave it to the future historians to research on so many things that happened then? Why do we present this problem now? It is conspiring...say, 'do not forget 2-28', 'Peace Day' etc... I think this problem is in fact a tragedy that happened in the Restoration of Taiwan in the past. This tragedy is presented repetitiously every year. Isn't 'do not forget 2-28' against the principle of benevolence and love? [If we follow the principle of] 'an eye for an eye' and 'a tooth for a tooth', then the society will not be stable at all. I will not agree with the act to conspire in the name of these things according to [certain] political positions.¹³⁴

Wu Chin-yung has also observed this intention to look ahead in his analysis of the construction of the Taipei 2-28 Memorial. He noted that the decorations at the February 1993 ground-breaking ceremony for the Taipei 2-28 Memorial were all in black and white as if the occasion were a funeral for the victims of the incident. However, those at the same ceremony held in the following year were all in red and gold as if it were a traditional Chinese-style wedding celebration. The sad one seems dedicated to the victims marking the end of the matter. The celebratory one, on the other hand, seems to signal the beginning of a new Taiwanese nation, without the burden of the 2-28 historical wound.¹³⁵

Through this prolonged intention to forget or, at least, not to mention the past, a dominant narrative seems gradually to have formulated and consolidated. This view is confirmed by the research of Yieh Ssu-yi on the modes of narrativisation of the 2-28 news coverage offered by two relatively pro-KMT newspapers *China Times* and *United Daily* between 1991 and 1998. According to Yieh, the 2-28 Incident was represented as a

¹³⁴ 'Lee tzungtung chichehui 李總統記者會(President Lee's Press Conference), *China Times*, 23 February 1988, 2 quoted in Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *ibid*, 118.

¹³⁵ Wu Chin-yung, *Nation Building, Historical Memories and Commemorative Spaces: The Construction of the [Taipei] 2-28 Memorial*, 53.

tragic accident in the past in which many innocent people were killed. This means that *only the KMT government in the past* has to take the blame and responsibility.¹³⁶

The only unfinished business, on the one hand, seems to reside in the fact that Taipei 2-28 Memorial does not yet have an acceptable epitaph. In the epitaph provided by the Executive Yuan in 1997, Chen Yi and other high military officials take all the blame. Chiang Kai-shek and his horrific state machine are not mentioned, and the victims are only mentioned as an innocent and anonymous group and not rehabilitated at all. This contrasts with the alternative epitaph written by Li Hsiao-feng in 1999.¹³⁷ The representation of the 2-28 Incident presently offered to the public by the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum governed by Ma Ying-jeou's KMT's Taipei City government still coincides with this version of story.¹³⁸

On the other hand, after 1997, the investment in the discourses of the 2-28 Incident seems largely to have decreased and the range they cover has become much less, focusing on matters such as how the victims were killed, by who and when, who should be responsible, and how the victims can be compensated. In 1991, Chen Yung-hsing anticipated and participated in this move.

The Director of the '2-28 Peace Day Association' Chen Yung-hsing said yesterday: the taboo of the 2-28 Incident has been broken. The media and the academic circle have openly discussed this matter. At the moment, only how the government takes the responsibility for the victims remains. The mission of the Association is fulfilled. Hence, the Association will not hold any commemorative activities after this year.¹³⁹

Chen Yung-hsing seems bound by the core thinking that the 2-28 discourses should focus on the 2-28 victims and their families. In other words, the 2-28 Incident remains the business of 2-28 victims and their families'. This thinking is even more clearly shown in the report of the Executive Yuan on the 2-28 Incident published in 1994, and

¹³⁶ Yieh Ssu-yi, *A Narrative Analysis of News Coverage on the February Twenty-Eighth Incident*, 137-140.

¹³⁷ *Taiwan chiaoshih* 台灣教師 (Taiwan Teachers), online newsletter, no. 41, 10 February 2000, <http://uttm.tnmt.tn.edu.tw/e41.htm> accessed date 25 October 2005.

¹³⁸ <http://228.culture.gov.tw/web/228/228-1.asp> accessed date: 25 October 2005.

¹³⁹ Chen Yung-hsing, '2-28 chinchi yichin tapoule Chen Yung-hsing ch'eng putzai chupan leissu houtung 二二八禁忌已經打破了陳永興稱不再舉辦類似活動 (The Taboo of the 2-28 Incident has been Broken, Chen Yung-hsing Says No More Commemorative Activities [held by the Association]), *China Times*, 19 February 1991, 4 quoted in Hsia Ch'un-hsiang, *Memory and Rituals of News Media: A Textual Analysis of February 28 News Coverage 1947-2000*, 105.

through the establishment of the Taipei 2-28 Memorial, and the enactment of the *2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act* in 1995.

This strong desire not to mention, namely not to remember or in fact to forget, perhaps explains why the 2-28 memorial museums have become deserted holy shrines, and why the prolonged traumatic impact that underpins the social, cultural and psychic condition of the victims and other individuals in Taiwanese society, both in the post-war period and now, have not been consistently or effectively investigated. Its effect – memory crisis – seems to be emphasised by symptoms such as the fierce competition between the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally and the 2-28 Hand-In-Hand Rally held by different political campaigns in 2004, by the public's enthusiastic responses to it, and by its effect after the presidential election. I shall conclude this chapter with the discussion of this competition.

1.7 Conclusion: 'Narrative Fetishism': Memory Crisis of Commemorating 2-28¹⁴⁰

On 20 March 2004, Taiwan held its third presidential election. Because the DPP won the second presidential election, the third one became a fierce battle for both DPP and the KMT. The DPP, led by Chen Shui-bian, and the TSU, led by Lee Teng-hui, formed the Pan-Green Coalition and continued to support Chen Shui-bian and Annette Lu in running for the third presidency. The KMT, led by Lien Chan, the People First Party, led by James Soong, and the New Party, led by Yu Mu-ming, formed the Pan-Blue Coalition which supported Lien Chan and James Soong in their bid for the third presidency.

On Saturday 28 February 2004, both the Pan-Green Coalition and Pan-Blue Coalition held their own country-wide rallies to commemorate the 2-28 Incident. Held

¹⁴⁰ The concept of 'narrative fetishism' is taken from Eric Santner's work. See Eric L. Santner, 'History beyond the Pleasure Principle: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Trauma' in Saul Friedlander (ed.), *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the 'Final Solution'*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992, 143-154.

on the weekend near the voting date and on a day loaded with symbolic meanings, the 2-28 commemorations organised by the two coalitions were expected to have a great impact on how people would vote on 20 March 2004.

It was a bright sunny day. The Pan-Green Coalition held the *228 paiwanren shouhu Taiwan* 百萬人手護台灣(2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally). Two million people were either mobilised or independently turned up to join this Rally. They came from all walks of life, generations, and geographies both domestic and international. They held hands together without necessarily knowing each other and formed a human chain running from the north to the south of Taiwan Island. At 2:28 p.m., they said ‘yes’ to Taiwan in an attempt to claim democratic Taiwan’s sovereignty and said ‘no’ to China for its constant missile threat against Taiwan.¹⁴¹ The participants of the Rally and its vast number of supporters watching on the television were all immersed in a high-spirited peace protest against China and in a happy family reunion atmosphere of national integrity.

The 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally picked up Taiwan’s long-term anxiety towards China’s invasion since the post-war period. By taking against China, as Taiwan’s hostile other and outsider, the Rally was intended to consolidate the desire and the need for Taiwan’s national solidarity regardless of people’s differences in ethnicity, beliefs and so forth.¹⁴² It attempted to legitimise not only the Pan-Green Coalition’s call for the ‘anti-missile referendum’ 反飛彈公投 but also a fundamental national identification, that is, Taiwan as an sovereign political entity and Taiwan as an independent country from China, with Chen Shui-bian as its leader. Wrapped in a friendly and cheerful mood of national unity, the Rally successfully attracted many new or young supporters while consolidating the faithful support for the Pan-Green Coalition.

¹⁴¹ ‘Yu 228 wan jen shou chien shou 逾 228 萬人手牽手 (More than 2.28 million people attended the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally)’, *Taiwan jihpao* 台灣日報 (Taiwan Daily), February 29, 2004, 1.

¹⁴² ‘2004.2.28 Taiwan jenmin bsishou bsiehsia le mitzu chenkuai te lishih 2004.2.28 台灣人民攜手寫下彌足珍貴的歷史 (People in Taiwan wrote a precious history together on 28 February 2004)’, the editorial statement, *Taiwan Daily*, February 29, 2004, 2.

Competing with the Pan-Green Coalition, the Pan-Blue Coalition held a 2-28 *Hsin lien hsin lupao* 二二八心連心路跑(2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally), accompanied by a blood donation event organised by the New Party. The 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally was a cross-country running event, starting from the Memorial of the 8.23 Artillery War in Quemoy 金門八二三砲戰紀念碑 through several major sites of 2-28 massacre across Taiwan.¹⁴³ The running began on 14 February and ended on 28 February in Kaohsiung. At 2:28 p.m. on 28 February, the presidential candidates of the Pan-Blue Coalition, Lien Chan and James Soong, and four ethnic representatives met up in Kaohsiung. They embraced each other in a gesture of ethnic and national integrity. Lien and Soong further joined in the blood donation event to affirm the gesture. The blood donation event took the 'mixture of blood' on board, as a sign of ethnic and national integrity, showing above all that Lien and Soong, as leaders of a previously foreign Chinese regime, now became integrated with Taiwan in blood and flesh.¹⁴⁴ Two weeks after the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally, the Pan-Blue Coalition further confirmed this message by having Lien and Soong kneel down and kiss Taiwan's soil.¹⁴⁵

Compared to the frantic and enthusiastic reception of the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally, the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally was less well attended and less well received. As has already been shown, Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian of the Pan-Green Coalition are two of the major players in the history of 2-28 commemoration in Taiwan. The Pan-Blue Coalition, constituted by the former KMT powers, carries with it the long history and fundamental attitude of opposing the 2-28 commemoration and its

¹⁴³ It is necessary to know that the Memorial of 8.23 Artillery War in Quemoy is not a 2-28 memorial. It is established to commemorate the dead in the warfare between Taiwan and China between 1958 and 1978. The warfare begins on 23 August 1958 and does not end until 1978. KMT's choice of this site as the starting point for the Heart-Linking-Heart Rally seems to propose a counter-discourse by presenting another historical and political traumatic event suffered by the KMT regime.

¹⁴⁴ '*Hsin lien hsin lup'ao ts'ung Chinmen ch'ip'ao* 心連心路跑從金門起跑(Heart-Linking-Heart Rally Starting from Quemoy)', *China Times*, February 14, 2004.

¹⁴⁵ '*313 ta yiouhsing Lein Soong ch'inwen t'uti* 313 大遊行連宋親吻土地(During 313 March, Lien and Soong Kissed the Land), *Liberty Times* 自由時報, 14 March 2004, see <http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2004/new/mar/14/today-p10.htm> accessed date: 25 October 2005.

historicisation. Hence, it was very difficult for the Pan-Blue Coalition to appropriate successfully the 2-28 commemoration for its own political benefit even though it wanted to, especially after its former leader Lee Teng-hui was forced to leave the KMT following the KMT's defeat in the 2000 presidential election.

It is however more pertinent here to note that both the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally had deliberately produced a happy memory of national solidarity for the 2-28 commemorations in 2004 and that the public also danced with them. The memory production had an anti-China patriotism in its heart, or at least had such political rhetoric and mannerisms on the part of the Pan-Blue Coalition. On the one hand, the Pan-Green Coalition aimed to protect Taiwan as the homeland by protesting against a newly arising Chinese imperialist neighbour. On the other hand, the Pan-Blue Coalition attempted to prove their love for Taiwan and strategically clarified their ambivalent attitudes towards China and by showing they are at one with Taiwan.

In summary, patiently witnessing to the 2-28 historical trauma seems to have become the least thing to be concerned about in the 2-28 commemorations of 2004. If it was going to be done, it had to be done in a happy mode.¹⁴⁶ The happy memories that show Taiwan's national integrity on 28 February 2004 and an anti-China patriotic narrative have, in effect, replaced other cultural memories of the 2-28 Incident. Hence, I wish to argue that both of them unfortunately work as 'narrative fetishism' that powerfully removes the historical burden of remembering the 2-28 Incident from the shoulders of the people of Taiwan. I wish to refer to Eric Santner for a sophisticated explanation of the concept of 'narrative fetishism'. He writes in his analysis of the Holocaust historical representations in Germany:

By narrative fetishism, I mean the construction and deployment of a narrative consciously or unconsciously designed to expunge the traces of the trauma or loss

¹⁴⁶ The enthusiasm of *China Times* to embrace a 'happy 2-28' and get rid of 'sad 2-28' seems to confirm my observation. 'Huanle 2-28 歡樂二二八(Happy 2-28)', the editorial, *China Times*, 7 February 2005.

that called that narrative into being in the first place. The use of narrative as fetish may be contrasted with that rather different mode of symbolic behavior that Freud called *Trauerarbeit* or the 'work of mourning'. Both narrative fetishism and mourning are responses to loss, to a past that refuses to go away due to its traumatic impact. The work of mourning is a process of elaborating and integrating the reality of loss or traumatic shock by remembering and repeating it in symbolically and dialogically mediated doses; it is a process of translating, troping, and figuring loss and, as Dominick LaCpra has noted in his chapter, may encompass 'a relation between language and silence that is in some sense ritualized.' Narrative fetishism, by contrast, is the way an inability or refusal to mourn emplots traumatic events; it is a strategy of undoing, in fantasy, the need for mourning by simulating a condition of intactness, typically by situating the site and origin of loss elsewhere. Narrative fetishism releases one from the burden of having to reconstitute one's self-identity under 'posttraumatic' condition; in narrative fetishism, the 'post' is indefinitely postponed.¹⁴⁷

Based on Santner's view, I will argue that the 2004 2-28 commemorations *in effect* symptomise 'narrative fetishism', although at least for some, who initiated or participated in the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally, the narrative produced in the Rally *might not be intended to* constitute a conflicting and opposing negation of the making of 2-28 cultural memories. Once the historical scar is touched, there is no way that it will not hurt. If the tissue under the skin is ruined, there is no way we can be sure 'not to touch the historical scar' when dealing with the wound. Thus I wish to suggest that the narrative fetishism produced, consolidated and widely disseminated in the course of the 2004 2-28 commemorations runs the risk of preventing any further exploration of the impact of the 2-28 trauma 'that called that narrative into being in the first place'. It also risks taking away the potentiality and possibility of reflecting on how to 'reconstruct' Taiwan's 'self-identity' during 'the posttraumatic condition' for all kinds of people in Taiwan. Hence, it is not surprising that Taiwan has been subjected to a dangerous and irrecoverable division after the Pan-Blue Coalition rejected their defeat in the third Presidential election. All the complex social and cultural divisions among the people in Taiwan shaped by the impact of the 2-28 historical trauma heavily strike back. The traumatic symptoms impressed on the social and cultural fabric of Taiwan, repressed under the dominating forgetting logic of 'looking ahead', have compulsively returned.

¹⁴⁷ Eric L. Santner, 'History beyond the Pleasure Principle: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Trauma', 144.

This powerful trauma mechanism is named by Freud as ‘partial return of the repressed’ or ‘the return of the repressed’.¹⁴⁸ To address this repetitive trauma mechanism requires pertinent knowledge in order to understand its structure and affect and effect, and requires ‘work of mourning’ advocated by Santner in order to deal with its affect and effect. This is the task this dissertation takes on board. In Chapters 2, 3, and 4, it will map out, translate and analyse how the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions aesthetically responded to the impact of the 2-28 trauma in formulating Taiwan’s artistic and national identities and subjectivities. In Chapter 5 it will explore in more depth the structure of trauma in relation to understanding further the 2-28 political and historical trauma. Finally in Chapter 6, it will specifically investigate how the aesthetic can be ‘work of mourning’ in addressing the affect and effect of trauma.

¹⁴⁸ Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism 1939[1934-8]’, 323-336; 372-376.

Chapter 2 'Taiwan Art': Ideologies of Nationhood and the Aesthetic Politics of the 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibitions

The 2-28 Incident and forty years' White Terror following it have affected lives and cultures of Taiwanese people enormously. There is no dramatic or distinctive change to painting and fine art [scenes]. However, they have exerted a noticeable influence upon the psyche [of the Taiwanese artists] and produced a very distinctive style. Repression, awkwardness or profound sadness is overwhelming in most Taiwanese paintings that are named by some as 'ben-t'u-hui-hua 本土繪畫 (native painting)'.¹⁴⁹ (Italics mine) ---Huang Yu-ling 黃于玲

In the exhibition catalogue of *Chinien 228 Taiwan huachan 紀念二二八台灣畫展* (Commemorating 2-28: an Exhibition of Taiwan Painting) held by the Nan Gallery in 1993, one of the first two public commemorative art exhibitions in Taiwan, its curator Huang Yu-ling tried to summarise the main features of Taiwanese painting after the 2-28 Incident, that commemorates the death of the 2-28 victims.¹⁵⁰ Her curatorial statement put forward two major discursive frames for *Commemorating 2-28* and other later 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions; frames which should be understood in the context of Taiwan's ongoing new nation-building and ideological restructuring through 2-28 commemoration and historicisation of the late 1980s and the 1990s. On the one hand, there is an aesthetic production of what *Taiwan meishu 台灣美術* (Taiwan art) is and can be after the 2-28 Incident, that is, what kind of art can best represent Taiwan as the new nation. On the other hand, there is, whether implied or explicit, the political production of memorial narratives (or in few cases non-narratives) regarding the 2-28 Incident and its victims.¹⁵¹ In this chapter, I will concentrate on exploring the first discursive frame and leave the second to Chapter 3.

¹⁴⁹ Huang Yu-ling, 'Tengtai Taiwanhua te huatuo 等待台灣畫的花朵 (Waiting for Taiwan Painting to Blossom)', 5.

¹⁵⁰ The other is the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* curated by Liao Te-cheng and held by the WACCSVF at Esilte Gallery in 1993. Esilte Gallery (ed.), *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*.

¹⁵¹ In his well-surveyed and insightful book, *Modern Asian Art (1998)*, John Clark also identifies two similar discursive frames in which 'questions of nationalism have been articulated through and reciprocally constructed by art discourses in modern Asian art'. These two discursive frames produce two major corresponding expressions of the state: one, described

In her statement, Huang Yu-ling frames her observation of what *Taiwan hua* 台灣畫 (Taiwan painting) is in terms of *ben-t'u-hui-hua* (native painting). This clearly indicates its close connection with *ben-t'u-hua yun-tung* 本土化運動 (the Nativist Movement) in Taiwan in the mid-1980s and the 1990s.¹⁵² Responding to the tide of *ben-t'u-hua yun-tung* (the Nativist Movement), there has been much discussion in the art world since the mid-1980s on the issue of what *Taiwan meishu* 台灣美術 (Taiwan art) is. Between April 1991 and February 1993, there was an acute debate about what *Taiwan meishu* (Taiwan art) is and can be, mainly recorded in *Hsiung-shih Mei-shu* 雄獅美術 (Lion Art Magazine).¹⁵³ Neither Huang Yu-ling's statement nor *Commemorating 2-28* can be understood without referring to this intense debate on *Taiwan meishu* (Taiwan art) in the early 1990s, and the historical and cultural contexts in which it is embedded. The same logic applies to all the other 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. Some curators and

as 'national content', refers to 'values or forms expressed through art considered "national"'; the other, described as 'national intent', 'art that is explicitly motivated by the purpose of an artist--or the program of a regime--to express or give symbolic life to themes that are considered "national"'. By this distinction, John Clark asserts, the former can thus include and signify the 'autonomous art discourses which use forms or techniques that are only incidentally to be classified as "national", and which have no "national" purpose'. He specifically exemplifies the former by referring to the formation of the concepts of *nibonga* (Japanese painting) in Japan and the category of *guohua* ('national-style' painting) in China.¹⁵¹ Based on formalist interpretation, 'gouache painting discourses' as in the case of Japan and 'brush painting discourses' as in the case of China 'have been highly motivated' by Japanese nationalists and Chinese nationalists as the 'authentic art expression' of the national, namely Japanese-ness and Chinese-ness in art. John Clark's theoretical reflection indicates two major threads that weave 'questions of nationalism', 'allegories of the state' and modern Asian pictorial expressions together: the form and the themes in art that connote the national. It is illuminating for my view here since ideologies of nationhood embodied and performed by 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions can certainly be understood better through those two axes that it identifies. 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions complexly construct what John Clark describes as 'national content' and 'national intent' by articulating 'Taiwanese painting', namely 'Taiwanese-ness of Taiwanese painting', and by delineating Taiwan's history through the making of 2-28 collective memory and cultural memories. See John Clark, *Modern Asian Art*, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1998, 239-259.

¹⁵² In the mid-1980s and the 1990s, there is a strong wave of Nativist Movement in Taiwan, which aims to restructure Taiwan's political and cultural systems. For the former, see Stéphane Corcuff (ed.), *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*, London & New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002. For the latter, see Hsiao A-chin, *Contemporary Taiwanese Nationalism*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000, particularly 4, 5 and 6 on literature, language and history respectively.

¹⁵³ See Yieh Yu-ching 葉玉靜, 'Taolun: chiou chancheng li te hsin hop'ing: ts'ung 90 nientai meishu lunshu fengch'ao kan Taiwan tangtai meishu bent'ubua chih ch'ienching yu mongtian 導論：舊戰爭裡的新和平—從 90 年代美術論述風潮，看台灣當代美術本土化之前景與盲點 (Introduction: New Peace in an Old War: Looking at the Prospect and Blind Spot of the Nativisation of Taiwan's Contemporary Art)', in Yieh Yu-ching (ed.), *Taiwan meishu chung te Taiwan yishih: ch'ien 90 nientai 'Taiwan meishu' lunshu lunshu chuan'chi* 台灣美術中的台灣意識：前九〇年代「台灣美術」論戰選集 (Taiwanese Consciousness in Taiwan Art: Selected Writings on the 'Taiwan Art' Debate in the early 1990s), Taipei: Hsiung-shih, 1994, 6-36.

essayists of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions were active participants in the debate. For example, Ni Tzai-ch'in 倪再沁, the curator of *Time's Other* held at Taiwan Museum of Art, and the Director of the exhibition venue, triggered the whole debate.¹⁵⁴ Shih Ping-hsi 施並錫 (Vince Shih), the curator of *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals* held at the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, fiercely challenged Ni Tzai-ch'in's views in the debate.¹⁵⁵ Ironically, both Ni and Shih curated a 2-28 commemorative art exhibition in the same year, presenting rather opposing views of 'Taiwan art' to each other. Chen Jui-wen 陳瑞文, an essayist of *Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*, also confronted Ni's view in the debate.¹⁵⁶ Chien Tang 簡唐, one of the key executive curators of all the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions since 2002 – *Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art, Recovering Memory, Transcending Pain and Restoring Justice: Reflect on History to Build Consciousness for Taiwan, Paint My Value, Write My Respect and Longing, Yearning, Where am I*, makes it clear that all the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions he has co-curated concern and present 'Taiwan painting', although he did not participate in the debate of the early 1990s.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. For Ni's most controversial article that triggers the whole debate, see Ni Tzai-ch'in 倪再沁, 'Hsifang meishu Taiwan chih tzao: Taiwan hsientai meishu te p'ip'an 西方美術·台灣製造: 台灣現代美術的批判 (Western Art, Made in Taiwan: A Critique on Modern Art in Taiwan)', in Yieh Yu-ching (ed.), *Taiwanese Consciousness in Taiwan Art: Selected Writings on the 'Taiwan Art' Debate in the early 1990s*, 37-87. Taiwan Museum of Art (ed.), *Time's Other: Witnesses of the Era of the 2-28 Incident in Art*, Taichung: Taiwan Museum of Art, 1999. I wish to thank Ms. Shih Shu-ping 施淑萍 at the Taiwan Museum of Art for kindly providing this exhibition catalogue.

¹⁵⁵ Shih Ping-hsi, 'Fen luo ch'ih tang ching tung mantien hsing to 糞落池塘·驚動滿天星斗 (Shit that Drops in the Pond Stirs all the Stars in the Sky)', in Yieh Yu-ching (ed.), *Taiwanese Consciousness in Taiwan Art: Selected Writings on the 'Taiwan Art' Debate in the early 1990s*, 155-161. TFAM, *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals*, Taipei: TFAM, 1999.

¹⁵⁶ Chen Jui-wen 陳瑞文, 'Taiwan wenhua yu ben'tu wenhua suo yin ch'u te pian tuan ssuk'ao 台灣文化與本土文化所引出的片段思考 (Reflecting on Taiwan Culture and Native Culture)', in Yieh Yu-ching (ed.), *Taiwanese Consciousness in Taiwan Art: Selected Writings on the 'Taiwan Art' Debate in the early 1990s*, 142-149. Chen Jui-wen, 'Weishemo tzai Taiwan meishu li kan putao lishih shih chien: 2-28 chinien meichan te yiyi 為什麼在台灣美術裡看不到歷史事件: 二二八紀念美展的意義 (Why can't we see any historical events in Taiwan art: on the meaning of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions)', in Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum (ed.), *Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*, 128-132.

¹⁵⁷ Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art*. Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Recovering Memory, Transcending Pain and Restoring Justice: Reflect on History to Build Consciousness for Taiwan*. Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Paint My Value, Write My Respect*. Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Longing, Yearning, Where am I?* Interview with Chien Tang, 22 March 2004. I wish to thank Mr. Chien Tang for kindly providing most of the exhibition catalogues published by the Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation.

After situating 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions in the broader context of the political and art worlds in the mid-1980s and the 1990s, I will explore how 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions can be the aesthetic production of the different ideologies of contemporary Taiwanese nationhood. What kind of *Taiwan meishu* (Taiwan art) do different 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions promote and legitimise, and what kind of discursive formation of contemporary Taiwanese national identity and subjectivity do they produce and reproduce?

2.1 Discourse Analysis on the 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibitions

This chapter takes the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions as the ‘discursive formation’ of contemporary Taiwanese nationhood. The concept of ‘discursive formation’ is taken from Michel Foucault’s poignant book *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972). Foucault explains what he means by ‘discursive formation’,

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with *a discursive formation*—thus avoiding words that are already overlaid with conditions and consequences, and in any case inadequate to the task of designating such a dispersion, such as ‘science’, ‘ideology’, ‘theory’, or ‘domain of objectivity’. The conditions to which the elements of this division (objects, mode of statement, concept, thematic choices) are subjected we shall call the rules of formation. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division.¹⁵⁸(emphasis in the original)

Using Foucault’s notion, I wish to place the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions in ‘the conditions of their existence’, namely, the new nation-building of Taiwan through 2-28 commemoration and historicisation, rather than see them as isolated artistic phenomena. Secondly, I wish to examine some of the main elements of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions in order to show how they together produce and reproduce certain kind of nationalist ideological structures: art objects or installations, exhibition venues, exhibition catalogues, and the statements of artists, curators, essayists

¹⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, New York: Pantheon Books, 1972, 38.

and sponsors.¹⁵⁹ Since the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions are organised by different curators and institutions at different historical moments and involved different artists, essayists and sponsors of varying backgrounds and beliefs, I will observe the continuity and discontinuity inside the exhibitions themselves and also between the exhibitions. This approach is also inspired by Foucault's assertion that there is regularity as well as discontinuity and rupture within the discourses.¹⁶⁰

Carol Duncan has been a pioneer in seeing the exhibition as an ideological practice, 'discursive formation' in Foucault's words, rather than a simple display of art objects whose meaning is defined by the artists' intention as was thought before the 1970s.¹⁶¹ She indicates that the exhibition space can 'endow its objects with meaning' and the objects can also 'contribute to the larger meaning of the space they decorate'. She observes that monastery dining halls often incorporate images of the Last Supper so that the monks might associate their meal with the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. She argues that 'museums, as modern ceremonial monuments' are in particular 'dedicated exclusively to ideology', although every architecture 'has its own ideological aspects'.¹⁶² She takes the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MOMA), the 'prototype' of many modern art museums in the world that has 'achieved institutional hegemony in academic art history, art education, and the higher reaches of the gallery world and the art press', as an example to illustrate her point.¹⁶³ She indicates that the design of spaces, the selection of works, the organisation of exhibits, of exhibitions, and of visitor routes, all lead the individual visitor to MOMA into an aesthetic ritual/ordeal of experiencing and

¹⁵⁹ For a more in-depth discussion on the history and production of exhibitions, see Reesa Greenberg, Bruce Ferguson and Sandy Nairne (eds.), *Thinking about Exhibitions*, London & New York: Routledge, 1996.

¹⁶⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 21-30.

¹⁶¹ Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, 'The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual: An Iconographic Analysis', *Marxist Perspective*, winter 1978, 28-51. Carol Duncan, 'Art Museums and Citizenship', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press in cooperation with the American Association of Museums, 1991, 88-103.

¹⁶² Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, 'The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual: An Iconographic Analysis', 28.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 30, 33.

worshipping the modernism, and the capitalism that gave birth to the museum. By placing works by Cézanne (late Impressionism), Picasso (Cubism), Jackson Pollock (American Abstract Expressionism), and so forth in the most noticeable individual rooms, MOMA privileges, legitimises and celebrates a certain lineage and individualism in modernist art/history. Moving from room to room, the viewer experiences the process from the 'darkness' and 'death' signified by the threatening female nude (first encountered in those modernist masters) to the 'enlightenment' and 'rebirth' suggested by the exit of the labyrinth-like exhibition spaces. This viewing process, as an aesthetic ritual/ordeal, subjects the viewer to the same anxieties of 'competitive individualism' and 'alienated human relations' characterised by contemporary capitalist society.¹⁶⁴

In her later essay on art museums and the ritual of citizenship, Duncan further explores a slightly different type of ideological practice that the Louvre Palace follows: an ideological practice of the modern nation. She reckons the Louvre Palace used to show the king's taste, splendour, wealth and his legitimacy to rule. After the French revolution, the Republican government immediately declared it a public art museum of the new Republican State in order to show the fall of the monarch and 'the creation of the new order'. The Republican government inscribed the French Revolutionary decree over the entrance of the reception hall/the prince gallery of the Louvre Palace and opened the museum on 10 August 1793 'commemorating "the anniversary of the fall of the tyranny"'. The king's collection and the crowns were all displayed as 'public property'.¹⁶⁵ Duncan suggests that 'every major state' knows the symbolic usefulness of public art museums. The public art museums make the state 'look good: progressive, concerned about the spiritual life of its citizens, a preserver of past achievements and a provider for the common good'. Through 'the work of art', 'the relationship between

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 46.

¹⁶⁵ Carol Duncan, 'Art Museums and Citizenship', 93.

the individual as citizen and the state as benefactor is enacted'. The public art museums convert the king's collection into 'art historical objects, repositories of spiritual wealth, and products of individual and national genius'. 'The museum context' transforms what were once 'displays of material wealth and social status into displays of spiritual wealth'.¹⁶⁶ In public art museums, everyone as citizen is 'in principle' given equal access.

Duncan concludes at this stage,

To be sure, equality of access to the museum in no way gave everyone the relevant education to understand the new art-historical values of the old treasures, let alone equal political rights and privileges; in fact, only propertied males were full citizens. But in the museum, everyone was in principal equal, and if the uneducated were unable to use the cultural goods the museum proffered, they could—and still can—be awed by the sheer magnitude of the treasure.¹⁶⁷

Carol Duncan's view is illuminating in suggesting how every exhibition element, from the exhibition venue through the objects to the statements, can be packaged to signify the ideology of those who sponsor and organise the exhibition and its venue, that is, the 'regularity' of the exhibition as 'the discursive formation' in Foucault's words. Her analysis provides a theoretical basis for understanding how different elements of different 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions have been packaged to show different discursive practices concerning Contemporary Taiwanese nationhood. From being held in prestigious commercial galleries to being held in public art museums, different 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions effect different aesthetic productions of ideology. By offering different aesthetic objects, installation and art historicisation, different 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions produce different national and aesthetic ideologies.

Duncan's idea, however, does not enquire into how artists, curators, essayists, or viewers come to participate in the aesthetic productions of ideology. In this vein, I wish to explore the process of agency in the cultural production of ideology by reference to

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 93-94.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 95.

Louis Althusser's theory.¹⁶⁸ Putting together Karl Marx's theories of the state and Sigmund Freud's theories of the dream and the unconscious, Althusser builds up his theoretical reflection on the operation of state ideology. He indicates that the State does not simply control its people by what Marx calls 'the Repressive State Apparatus', namely the State machine constituted by 'the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons and so forth', primarily 'by repression' and secondarily 'by ideology'.¹⁶⁹ Rather, his view is that the State controls its people through what he calls 'the Ideological State Apparatuses' (ISAs): 'the religious ISA, the educational ISA, the family ISA, the legal ISA, the political ISA, the trade-union ISA, the communication ISA', and, most relevantly to this thesis, 'the cultural ISA', exercising this control primarily 'by ideology' and secondarily 'by repression'.¹⁷⁰ All these different ISAs, despite their 'diversity' and 'contradiction', are always unified '*beneath the ruling ideology*', 'which is the ideology of "the ruling class"' and 'the reproduction of the exploitative class relations of production'¹⁷¹ (emphasis in the original). The ruling class controls the State and maintains its State power by exercising 'its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses'.¹⁷²

For Marx, 'ideology' is 'the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group'.¹⁷³ Keeping in mind Freud's theory of the dream and the unconscious, Althusser further develops Marx's idea and defines 'ideology' as a "representation" of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence'.¹⁷⁴ On the one hand, Althusser metaphysicises 'ideology' (in singular form) as 'reality', an 'omni-historical reality' that determines human existence like Freud's

¹⁶⁸ Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an Investigation', in Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster, London: NLB, 1971, 121-173.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 134-6; 138.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 136-138.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 139; 146.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

unconscious.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, he holds the idea that ‘ideologies’ (in plural form) have ‘*a history of their own*’. That is, ‘ideologies’ have their own historical formations¹⁷⁶.

Althusser delineates two ways in which ideology operates. Firstly, ideology has ‘a material existence’. Ideology always exists and operates ‘in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices’.¹⁷⁷ Secondly, ‘*all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects*’.¹⁷⁸ In other words, ideology makes individuals misrecognise and believe in the ‘ideas’ that their ‘consciousness’ ‘inspires’ rather than compelling them to do what the ruling class wants them to do. Individuals have to act on their ‘ideas’ and beliefs and if they do not, they are ‘wicked’.¹⁷⁹

It is through this mechanism that ‘all ideology’, in the form of a representation, ‘hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects’ and makes the artists, curators and so forth participate in its aesthetic production. However, is ideology always consistent and able to control every individual? Both Duncan’s and Althusser’s essays do not face this question, a question which involves what Foucault calls the ‘discontinuity’ and ‘rupture’ of the discourse mentioned above. What happens if an individual or a social group does not respond to the hailing and interpellation by (the State’s) ideology and resists it by producing what Foucault calls ‘counter-discourse’ and ‘counter-memory’, namely a certain type of counter-ideology?¹⁸⁰

In his significant anthology on nation and nationalism, *Nation and Narration*, Homi K. Bhabha discusses the possibility of such resistance against the domination of the State’s ideology.¹⁸¹ Rather than seeing the nation positivistically as the structure and processes

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 149; 151-2.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 151-2.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 155-6.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 162.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 157.

¹⁸⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, vol. 1, trans. R. Hurley, New York: Vintage, 1990, 1-13. Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, edited, with an introduction by Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

¹⁸¹ Homi K. Bhabha, ‘Introduction: narrating the nation’, in Homi K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge, 1-7.

of 'social polity', Homi Bhabha further develops Benedict Anderson's view of understanding Nationalism in relation to the 'cultural systems' preceding it, and regards 'the nation's coming into being' as a 'system of cultural signification' and as 'the representation of social *life*'.¹⁸² Bhabha argues that the nation is 'only fully realized in the mind's eye'.¹⁸³ In other words, the nation has to be deciphered through 'narratives', 'language', 'representation', namely national and cultural memories, whose signification depends on the inter-relations of their 'textual strategies, metaphoric displacements, sub-texts and figurative stratagems'.¹⁸⁴

Bhabha analyses the ways in which national and cultural memories co-articulate the nation-space by mapping out who tells them to whom, and what has been told, and by articulating the flow of power relations in and around them. He identifies and delineates, based on his own situated-ness as an intellectual migrant of Indian ethnic origin in the historical and cultural contexts of the United States, two inter-connected memory spaces that structure the nation-space: 'the pedagogical memory' (in singular form) and 'the performative memories' (in plural form).¹⁸⁵

In his theoretical construction, 'the pedagogical memory' refers to those narratives produced by the state's traditional authority, for example most inscriptions of state memorials, which aim to claim the 'holistic', 'universal', 'linear' and 'evolutionary' national history. He finds that the state nationalists always produce a national pedagogy in which 'the idea of the nation' is regarded as 'a continuous narrative of national progress, the narcissism of self-generation, the primeval present of the *Volk*'.¹⁸⁶ Bhabha also notes that in 'pedagogical memory' the Nation is usually seen as 'the

¹⁸² Homi K. Bhabha, 'Introduction: narrating the nation', 1-2.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 1.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, 2-3.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 3-4.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 1.

ideological [State] apparatus of power' in which people are spoken to by state ideology.¹⁸⁷

He argues instead that nation and its representation are both 'Janus-faced' by referring to the view proposed by Tom Nairn, Hannah Arendt and others.¹⁸⁸ He urges us to have 'a *discursive* conception of ideology—ideology (like language) is conceptualised in terms of the articulation of elements' in order to unpack the 'Janus-face' of 'ideology' and 'ideological sign'. He reckons that 'pedagogical memory' is only a fixed version of the 'Janus-face of ideology'.¹⁸⁹

Bhabha differentiates and articulates 'performative memories' as the site for exploring 'the Janus-faced ambivalence of language itself in the construction of the Janus-faced discourse of the nation'. Within this site, the nation-space, its history and image are always 'half-made' because they are always 'in the process of being made' and 'being composed'.¹⁹⁰ He asserts,

...For the nation, as a form of cultural *elaboration* (in the Gramscian sense), is an agency of *ambivalent* narration that holds culture at its most productive position, as a force for 'subordination, fracturing, diffusing, reproducing, as much as producing, creating, forcing, guiding'.¹⁹¹ (Italics in the original)

For him, 'to evoke such ambivalent margin of the nation-space' is an intervention of 'the performative' into 'the pedagogical',

...To reveal such a margin is, in the first instance, *to contest claims to cultural supremacy*, whether these are made from the 'old' post-imperialist metropolitan nations, or on behalf of the 'new' independent nations of the periphery. The marginal or 'minority' is not the space of a celebratory, or utopian, self-marginalization. *It is a much more substantial intervention into those justifications of modernity—progress, homogeneity, cultural organicism, the deep nation, the long past—that rationalize the authoritarian, 'normalizing' tendencies within cultures in the name of the national interest or the ethnic prerogative...*¹⁹² (Italics mine)

What Bhabha does is to put together Althusser's theory of ideology and Foucault's idea of 'discursive formation'. The cultural production of the State's ideology has been unpacked into ambivalent facets produced and performed by different agents such as

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 3.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 2.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 3.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 3-4.

¹⁹² Ibid, 4.

‘traditional authority’ or ‘minority’ particularly specified in his essay. Therefore, as far as memories of a nation are concerned, there is not only ‘pedagogical memory’ – ‘the ideological State apparatuses’ in Althusser’s words – whose producer is consciously or unconsciously instructed by the State’s ideology, but also ‘performative memories’ whose producers, coming from the margins as ‘minority’, intervene in a nation structured by the fixation of the former. For Bhabha, what Foucault discusses as ‘discontinuity’, ‘rupture’, ‘resistance’, ‘counter-discourse’ and ‘counter-memories’, all constitute ‘the performative memories’ and vice versa.

For me, the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions have their own ‘historical formation’. In the transition from ‘counter-memory’ to ‘pedagogical memory’, they signify very differently in different places at different times. They are not always consistent, although they are all held to commemorate the 2-28 Incidents, ‘interpellated by the State’s ideology’ or sometimes by direct request of certain governmental powers. Their aesthetic productions comprise consistent or competing discourses produced by different objects, installations, and statements of artists, curators, essayists and so on. In the next section, I shall unpack the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions in order to explore the multiple facets of ‘Taiwan art’ framed and articulated in them and by them.

2.2 ‘Taiwan Art’ as ‘Taiwan Sensibility’ of ‘Taiwan School’ or ‘Taiwan Painting’

Most exhibits in the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held by the Nan Gallery and in the Eslite Gallery in 1993 (Pl. 2.1, Pl. 2.2) do not present any direct memorial narratives of the 2-28 Incident. There are mostly landscape paintings, nude, portrait paintings and other genres in oil which more or less reflect the artists’ standard or regular painting practice.¹⁹³ As Liao Te-cheng, the key player in these two exhibitions, said, to ‘reveal the historical scar’, that is to represent the 2-28 Incident, was never the

¹⁹³ See Eslite Gallery (ed.), *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*. Nan Gallery (ed.), *Taiwan School 3: In Memory of 2-28*.

main focus of these 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions.¹⁹⁴ In other words, to contribute actively to the memorial narratives like those recorded in 2-28 memorials and histories was never the agenda of these 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions.

It is worth noting that both unprecedented 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions were privately funded and exhibited in privately funded commercial galleries, despite the fact that Lin Tzung-yi, the director of the WACCSVF (World Alliance for Concerned Citizens and Surviving Victims and Families), seemed to have a good relationship with the then President Lee Teng-hui. They could be exhibited in the public spaces not because of any governmental support but because of the courtesy of some daring gallery owners that included Wu Ch'ing-you 吳清友 of the Eslite Gallery and Lin Fu-nan and Huang Yu-ling of the Nan Gallery. Liao Te-cheng has indicated that 'it was extremely difficult for him to find any exhibition venues because most people in Taiwan were still very afraid of having anything to do with the 2-28 Incident', even though it was widely known that Lee Teng-hui had chaired the 2-28 Memorial Concert held in the prestigious and exclusive 'Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall' in 1992.¹⁹⁵ Perhaps due to this prevalent fear of state suppression, the first two 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions in general seem, in general, deliberately to have avoided producing memorial narratives of the 2-28 Incident. The organisers and curators constantly try to legitimise the exhibitions by referring to the fact that Lee Teng-hui had chaired the 2-28 Memorial Concert in the previous year.¹⁹⁶ The rationale of the exhibitions was also carefully aligned with the consensus, gradually formulated by the KMT government, the media

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Liao Te-cheng, 25 February 2004.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ See both Lin Tzung-yi's and Chen Chin-fang's prefaces in the exhibition catalogue in Eslite Gallery (ed.), *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*. Liao Te-cheng also refers to this fact in the panel discussion entitled 'The Impact of the 2-28 Incident on Taiwan Art' held before the exhibition held by Nan Gallery. For the record of his talk, see Lin Fu-nan and Huang Yu-ling, '2-28 tui Taiwan meishu te yinghsiang: tzuotan hui chajiao chilu 二二八對台灣美術的影響：座談會摘要記錄(The Impact of the 2-28 Incident on Taiwan Art)', a panel discussion held in Howard Hotel on 21 December 1992, in Nan Gallery, *Taiwan School 3: In Memory of 2-28*, 12.

and the 2-28 Peace Day Movement, to 'look into the future' rather than 'reveal the historical scar' as has been set out in Chapter 1. Lin Tzung-yi writes,

...Through the power of art, the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* organised by the WACCSVF this year aims to lead both the governmental and civil sectors to strengthen their concern for the biggest tragedy in Taiwan's recent history. It also aims to call for rebuilding our culture on the basis of love and forgive-ness into a positive and healthy one that respects life and human rights and that is activated by the love for *hsiang-t'u* 鄉土 (the country and the soil), yet with the international framework in mind. And this culture will not give rise to any form of 'the 2-28 Incident'.

Art pursues truth, goodness and beauty, and takes love as its core spirit....The theme of this exhibition is not specifically on 'the 2-28 Incident' although it is titled as the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*. Artists are invited to submit their works that have been made prior to the exhibition in order to add a colourful facet to this commemorative activity that makes history. Hope this activity initiated by the non-governmental sectors can bring the whole country to learn from history, speed up democratisation and build up together a peaceful, trustful and just society'.¹⁹⁷

Lin Tzung-yi's writing shows the appeal of the view promoted by the KMT and the media. The *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* does not seem intended to reveal anything about the 2-28 Incident in order to build up 'a peaceful society' based on 'forgiveness' and 'love'. Art as the metaphor for beauty and love is particularly used here to displace the pain inflicted by the 2-28 Incident as well as any aesthetic investigation into the 2-28 Incident, which might promote the pursuit of a peaceful future.

Furthermore, Lin Tzung-yi's writing vaguely indicates the intervention into the traditional Sino-centric aesthetic ideology of the KMT reign by emphasising the love for *hsiang-t'u* (the country and the soil), that is, the love for Taiwan and its land, which is seen as one of the essential features of a better Taiwan. This fundamental Taiwanese nationalist attitude is apparent in the curator Liao Te-cheng's selection of the artists and their works for the exhibition. Artists invited by Liao are all of Taiwanese ethnic origins, and their works were loosely categorised by Liao as '*Taiwanhua*(pai) 台灣畫(派) (Taiwan School)' in the panel discussion held before *Commemorating 2-28* by the Nan Gallery, a term usually used almost interchangeably with '*Taiwanhua* 台灣畫 (Taiwan painting)'. According to Liao who acted as 'the mentor of Taiwan School' in the panel discussion,

¹⁹⁷ Lin Tzung-yi's preface, in Eslite Gallery (ed.), *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*.

‘the political oppression following the 2-28 Incident has totally changed the course of Taiwan art’, and under such circumstances, Taiwanese artists cannot but dive into an art world that secludes itself from politics and ‘produce a distinctive genre of painting’ called the ‘Taiwan School’. Liao, nevertheless, does not explain clearly in words what he means by ‘Taiwan School’.¹⁹⁸

Lin Fu-nan and Huang Yu-ling, the curators of *Commemorating 2-28* and the owners of Nan Gallery, largely aligned themselves with Liao and elaborated in more detail what is meant by the ‘Taiwan School’ and what ‘Taiwan painting’ is and can be.¹⁹⁹ Lin states,

... ‘Taiwan School’ Movement campaigned by Nan Gallery.... Middle-aged artists and artists who are older than them (but not *ch’ien-pei-hua-chia* 前輩畫家 [senior Japanese-trained Taiwanese painters under Japanese colonial rule]) who are humble and have been working diligently and quietly since the end of the World War II, art works made out of Taiwan’s sensibility, and the spirit of painting inspired by Taiwan, a sunny land,...should have a representative term, a standing point, or a representative? Who would want ‘Taiwan School/Taiwan painting’ to be positioned as the second art of the colonised forever and ever?! Where is the dignity of ‘Taiwan School/Taiwan painting’? No one can give an answer but us, the Taiwanese. After being in contact with those enthusiastic, persistent and sincere artists for a long time, we feel we would owe them if we do not [re]define and [re]position their works that are deeply rooted in the land of Taiwan... Every issue of the journal *Taiwan School* are all representatives of ‘Taiwan School’.... Every artist and every artwork they introduce are all rooted in Taiwan and concern Taiwan. It is not narrow-mindedly local and native. It is a painting school that is situated in the global framework and embodies the uniqueness of Taiwan.²⁰⁰

For Lin, ‘Taiwan School/Taiwan painting’ specifically refers to ‘art works’ inspired by ‘the land of Taiwan’ and made out of ‘Taiwan’s sensibility’ particularly by the then ‘mid-aged artists and artists who are older than them’. Supplementing Liao and Lin’s viewpoints, Huang, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter, describes some ‘unique’ characteristics of the aesthetic styles of ‘Taiwan School/Taiwan painting’: repression, awkwardness or profound sadness. In short, Liao, Lin and Huang’s passages and the exhibits altogether indeed give ‘Taiwanese-ness in art’, as proposed by the

¹⁹⁸ Lin Fu-nan and Huang Yu-ling, ‘The Impact of the 2-28 Incident on Taiwan Art’, 12.

¹⁹⁹ In 2004, Liao, and Lin and Huang had severe rifts over the issue of copyright and plagiarism. Huang Yu-ling found that the monograph on Liao Te-cheng written by Li Ch’in-hsien, sponsored by the Council for Cultural Affairs and published by Lion Art last year copied many of her earlier writings on Liao without giving her any credit. See <http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2004/new/dec/10/life/art-3.htm> and <http://www.nan.com.tw/>.

²⁰⁰ Lin Fu-nan, ‘Where is the Dignity of Taiwan Painting/School?’

Taiwanese visual nationalist rationale of the earliest two 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, specific, concrete and unique aesthetic content. Here, I wish to make use of the perceptive research of Hsiao A-chin again in order to further understand the Taiwanese cultural nationalist operation underscoring the aesthetic production of the earliest two 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. He discusses ‘cultural nationalism’ while differentiating it from ‘political nationalism’ whose primary goal is to establish an autonomous state,

...Whether it is stated or implied, the ultimate object of cultural nationalism is to create a ‘new man’ by instilling a distinctive culture into those who are regarded as members of the nation....Cultural nationalists believe that national identity is mainly a matter of consciousness which rests on internalising a particular way of life as a result of unique national history and geography, rather than on simply participating in contemporary socio-political processes under the rule of a state. Therefore, cultural nationalists often devote themselves to preserving, rediscovering, and even ‘creating’ the distinctiveness of their ‘national culture’ as the foundation of their identity....²⁰¹

What Lin, Liao and Huang’s cultural practice does is to identify the aesthetic uniqueness of the ‘Taiwan School’, a product resulting from the painful history of the 2-28 Incident and the KMT’s oppression, and from the nourishment of Taiwan’s land and geography, and to use it as the distinctive culture for the new Taiwan and as the distinctive cultural basis for the new Taiwanese national identity. It also takes the group of men artists of Taiwanese ethnic origins as typifying the members of this new nation. Such cultural practice can be seen quite clearly in the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* (Pl. 2.3) sponsored by Chen Shui-bian’s Taipei City Government and held in the Dimension Art Centre in 1995, the year when the KMT central government officially established the Taipei 2-28 Memorial near the Presidential Hall. With Chen’s governmental support and given that the public attitude towards the 2-28 Incident has changed, Liao’s curatorial statement was titled ‘Making the Blueprint of Taiwan’s New

²⁰¹ Hsiao A-chin, *Contemporary Taiwanese Nationalism*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000, 15.

Culture' and showed such cultural practice without any of the earlier reservation.²⁰²

Liao's writing explicitly indicates the two discursive frames that I described at the beginning of this section: 'Taiwan art' and 'the memorial narratives of the 2-28 Incident' that work as the aesthetic production of Taiwan's new nation building. Liao writes,

Generally speaking, the features of the exhibits include the following two spiritual contents. For one, it is 'concerning the 2-28 Incident', which aims to present the historical meaning [of the event]. It can be the objective depiction of the 2-28 Incident, warning people not to repeat the historical tragedy. It can also be the subjective creation that concerns how to come out from the shadow of the unfortunate event and offers the public a harmonious and bright future image. For two, it is 'concerning the native of Taiwan', which presents the humanist meaning [of the event]. For the native painters who were born and grew up here, to care for the native is a historical responsibility and a national characteristic. Only those works that are based on [the artists'] own land and are inspired by the lives of [the artists'] fellow countrymen are the most touching. What is the concern for the native? It is not just a fashionable slogan or the superficial *hsiangt'u hsiehsih chuyi* 鄉土寫實主義 (Homeland Realism). Instead, it is to explore in depth those landscapes and portraits that truly embody Taiwan's sensibility. Taiwan's land, mountain, rivers, trees, the sun and the diligent civilians. Everything has to uniquely belong to Taiwan and different from the foreign. It is a deep affective concern, a love. Only truly love everything on this land is the real care for the native. Leo Tolstoy has given it the best definition: 'to love every tree and every lawn'.²⁰³

Liao basically confirms the agenda put forward by the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* of the Eslite Gallery and *Commemorating 2-28*. He expands the horizon of the aesthetic national representatives from the previous 'Taiwan School' to 'the native art of Taiwan' perhaps to include more people than the group of 'mid-aged artists and artists who are older than them' enthusiastically promoted by Lin Fu-nan. However, the most noticeable change in his writing is that the previously under-represented or deliberately hidden historical aspect of the 2-28 Incident returns in a relatively explicit manner. In

²⁰² Liao Te-cheng, 'Miaohui Taiwan hsin wenhua te lant'u 描繪台灣新文化的藍圖 (Making the Blueprint of Taiwan's New Culture)', in Dimension Art Centre (ed.), *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*, 4-5. It should be noted that there was no 2-28 commemorative art exhibition in 1994. In December 1994, Chen Shui-bian was elected as Taipei Mayor and on 28 February 1995 the KMT finally set up Taipei 2-28 Memorial. This political transition was extremely instrumental to Liao's organisation of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* was originally scheduled to exhibit in the public Taiwan Provincial Museum next to the site of Taiwan Provincial Museum 台灣省立博物館. Since Taiwan Provincial Museum was undergoing its interior refurbishment, the exhibition was held in the Dimension Art Centre instead. From 1993 to 1995, we could see the shifting public and governmental attitudes towards the 2-28 Incident and Liao's sensitive and cautious response to the attitudes.

²⁰³ Liao Te-cheng, 'Make the Blueprint of Taiwan's New Culture', 5.

the exhibition catalogue of *Commemorating 2-28*, the essay by Li Min-yung 李敏勇, a renowned pro-Taiwan-Independence poet and cultural critic, had pointed out the lack of historical imagery in Taiwan's art whether by 'Taiwanese artists' or by 'Chinese artists in Taiwan who came with the Chiang Kai-shek's regime.'²⁰⁴ Both the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* at the Eslite Gallery and *Commemorating 2-28* in general still symptomise what Li said in the article. Not until the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* of the Dimension Art Centre do the two discursive frames become the standard and legitimate practice of 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. What Hsiao A-chin sees as the Taiwanese cultural nationalist 'craft' to produce a distinctive culture through unique 'history' and 'geography' of Taiwan becomes explicit finally in the structures of the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* at the Dimension Art Centre and of other later 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions.

Returning to my discussion on the issue of 'Taiwan art', how can we understand the exhibits of the earliest three 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, and in what ways do they show 'Taiwan's sensibility'? Basically, the exhibitors in these three exhibitions are largely similar. In particular, those of the *2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* at the Eslite Gallery and the Dimension Art Centre are almost the same, except the latter includes more artists from the younger generation. The overlapping artists comprise a few senior Japanese-trained Taiwanese painters (trained under Japanese colonial rule) such as Chen Ch'eng-po and Chang Yi-hsiung 張義雄, the first generation of Japanese-trained Taiwanese painters who established their careers between the Wars under Japanese colonial rule, and are, mostly, artists who were born between the Wars and trained in Japan (like those senior painters) or were taught in Taiwan by those senior painters, such as Liao Te-cheng, Hsu Wu-yung 許武勇, Kuo Tung-jung 郭東榮, Wu Wang-ch'eng 吳王承

²⁰⁴ Li Min-yung, 'Ch'itai tzai meishu li te 2-28 lishih chiyi yu fahsien 期待在美術裡二二八歷史記憶與發現(Expect the Discovery of the 2-28 Historical Memories in Fine Art)', in Nan Gallery, *Taiwan School 3: In Memory of 2-28*, 7-9.

and so forth. Exhibitors who were born in the postwar period are mostly students of this last group.

Chen Ch'eng-po's *Chang-hua Folklore Museum* 彰化民俗館 (1934) (Pl. 2.4) of *Commemorating 2-28* is an oil painting that depicts the museum in Lu-kang 鹿港, an ancient prosperous town in Taiwan, built by local merchants in 1919 according to a Japanese interpreted European Baroque style. The painting emphasises the red-brick building, sub-tropical trees, and lotus pond in the front, with references to local scenery and plants, and uses a palette that shows the artist's negotiation with Japanese interpretation of Impressionist and Fauvist styles that he had learned and adopted. As Liao Hsin-tien 廖新田 and Wang Shu-chin 王淑津 point out in their research, the trope of promoting Taiwan's 'local colour' and 'tropicality', as shown in *Chang-hua Folklore Museum*, in the beginning was deployed by the Japanese colonial rule to reconcile Taiwan's emerging nationalist movement for independence in the 1920s with Japan's power over Taiwan.²⁰⁵ In the meantime, the art world in the master country Japan was also interested in using the same trope to emphasise 'Taiwan's exoticism' because it took Taiwan's art 'as a supplement to its art' as well as an 'imperial collection and colonial prey'. Following this guideline, both Japanese and Taiwanese artists in Taiwan became dedicated to the artistic pursuit of 'local colour' and 'tropicality' of Taiwan. Nevertheless, as both Taiwan's nationalist movement for democratisation and independence and Japan's imposition of colonial assimilation policy on Taiwan became more and more intense in the 1930s, 'the cultural uniqueness' in art that 'local colour' and 'tropicality' represent was unexpectedly and arguably given a new political task as 'a

²⁰⁵ Liao Hsin-tien, *Colonialism, Post-colonialism and Local Identity in Colonial Taiwanese Landscape Paintings 1908-1945*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Central England, 2002. Liao Hsin-tien, *Fuhao fenhsi, yiyi chuanshib yu yuetu ts'elue: jihchu shihtai Taiwan meishu yianchiou mianhsiang te ssuk'ao* 符號分析、意義詮釋與閱讀策略：日據時代台灣美術研究面向的思考 (Semiotic Analysis, the Interpretation of Meaning and Reading Strategies: Reflecting on the Studies of Taiwanese Art under Japanese Occupation), *Art Today* (renamed as *ArtCo*), no. 126, March 2003, 59-63. Wang Shu-chin 王淑津, 'Jihpen chihmin shihtai Taiwan meishushih te 'tifang sets'ai' lunt'i 日本殖民地時代台灣美術史的「地方色彩」論題 (The Issue of "Local Colour" in Taiwanese Art History under Japanese Occupation)', *Art Today* (renamed as *ArtCo*), no. 126, March 2003, 52-58.

resisting strategy' against the colonial power. The dedication to exploring the 'local colour' of Taiwan hence indicates not only Taiwan's submission to Japan's imperial view of Taiwan as the colonial other, but also a political will to raise the consciousness of nationalist self-determination in the minds of the Taiwanese. This exploration of the local became a discursive articulation of Taiwanese artistic and national identity and subjectivity. Given this ambivalent context, 'the artistic representations of the so-called 'local colour' became more and more fruitful and produced much more diverse imageries of Taiwan than those required and promoted by Japan's colonial power'.²⁰⁶

Liao Te-cheng's *Overlooking the Sea* 望海 (1992) (Pl. 2.5) of *Commemorating 2-28* shows that 'Taiwan School' or 'Taiwan painting' seems to follow the tradition of 'local colour' established in the pre-War period. Educated in the Tokyo School of Art like Chen Ch'eng-po, Liao is very much influenced by the works of the French Impressionist painter Paul Cézanne (1839-1906). He continually paints Mt. Kuan-yin in north-western Taipei as Cézanne painted Mt. Sainte-Victoire in Provence.²⁰⁷ *Looking at the Sea* is clearly one example. Depicting the sea and Mt. Kuan-yin from the bay of Ba-li, it has composition similar to Cézanne's *The Bay from L'Estaque* (c. 1886). However, Liao increases and diversifies the use of cobalt blue in order to catch the humid weather and cloudy sky of north-western Taipei besides including local scenery, a rocky coast and so forth.

In summary, 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting' promoted by the earliest three 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions both refer to particular types of oil painting practised mainly by artists of Taiwanese ethnic origins in Taiwan during the post-War

²⁰⁶ Wang Shu-chin, 'The Issue of "Local Colour" in Taiwanese Art History under Japanese Occupation'. For a comprehensive development of Taiwan's art under Japanese rule, see Hsieh Li-fa (Shaih Lifa) 謝里法, *The History of Taiwan's Art Movement under Japanese Occupation*.

²⁰⁷ Huang Yu-ling who has been writing about Liao and his work for decades also shares this view. See Huang Yu-ling, 'Hsiangssushu huakai: Taiwan huap'ai taoshih Liao Te-cheng te hua yu jensheng 相思樹花開：台灣畫派導師廖德政的畫與人生 (Acacia confuse in Blossom: Liao Te-cheng, the Mentor of Taiwan School, His Life and Paintings)', in Nan Gallery (ed.), *Taiwanhua 2: Taiwan huap'ai chuanchi* 台灣畫 2：台灣畫派專輯 (Taiwan School 2: Special Issue on Taiwan School), November 1992, 1-8.

period. Marginal, and submissive to the hegemony of the KMT's aesthetics, this painting tradition nevertheless follows, with limited innovation, that established by Japanese-trained Taiwanese artists during the War period as discussed above in relation to Chen Ch'eng-po's painting. This tradition rather quietly and persistently still influences the curriculum of Taiwan's art education not only at the tertiary level but also at the school level.²⁰⁸ It is, however, seldom discussed or explored in Taiwan's art histories, mainly written after the lifting of Martial Law, which regard it as nothing but 'a conservative salon tradition'.²⁰⁹ Liao Te-cheng, Lin Fu-nan and Huang Yu-ling's promotion of 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting', in the course of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, shows an effort to redeem and rehabilitate this largely overlooked fundamental layer of Taiwan's art and make them into the representative art

²⁰⁸ For the discussions on how the KMT's regime marginalised the painting tradition established by Japanese trained Taiwanese artists during the postwar period, see Hsieh Li-fa, *T'anssou Taiwan meishu te lishih shihyie* 探索台灣美術的歷史視野 (Exploring the Historical Insight of Taiwan Art), Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1997; and Hsiao Ch'ung-ray, *The Fifth Moon and the Eastern Painting Groups: Chinese Modernist Art Movement in Post-war Taiwan 1945-1970*, particularly Chapter 3. In his essay, Hsieh Li-fa seems to indicate that a-political paintings specified here as 'Taiwan School', landscape painting, nude and so on, are resulted from the artists' submission to KMT's oppression after the 2-28 Incident. Practicing such paintings, the artists marginalised in KMT's reign are able to obtain minimal public recognition through competing for the prize awarded by the Provincial Exhibition 省展 held by the KMT government or by the Tai-yang Exhibition 台陽美展 held by the influential painting group Tai-yang Association of Art established in 1934 by acclaimed Japanese trained Taiwanese artists. Also see Hsieh Li-fa, 'Lun 2-28 shihchien tzai Taiwan meishushih shang te tiwei 論二二八事件在台灣美術史上的地位 (The Meaning of the 2-28 Incident in Taiwanese Art History)', in TFAM(ed.), *Remembrance and Reflection: 2-28 Commemorative Exhibition*, 38-43. For the formation on Taiwan's Art Education both before and after the War, see Lin Mun-lee 林曼麗, 'Jihchih shihch'i te shehui wenhua chiehch'iu yu Taiwan meishu chiaoyu chintaihua kuoch'eng chih yianchiou 日治時期的社會文化機制與台灣美術教育近代化過程之研究 (Social and Cultural Institution of Japanese rule and the Modernisation of Taiwan's Art Education)', in Council for Cultural Affairs 行政院文化建設委員會(ed.), *Howei Taiwan? chintai Taiwan meishu yu wenhua jentung lunwenchi* 何謂台灣? 近代台灣美術與文化認同論文集 (What is Taiwan? A Collection of Conference Papers on Modern Taiwan's Art and Cultural Identity), Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, 162-199; and Wu Kuo-ch'un 吳國淳, *Chanhou 50 nien lai Taiwan tich'u chung hsiao hsue meishu chiaoyu yianchiou* 戰後五十年來台灣地區中小學美術教育研究 (A Study on the School Art Education of Taiwan: Fifty Years after the War), Ph.D. Thesis, Graduate Institute of Education, National Normal University, Taipei, 1996.

²⁰⁹ The artists and their works included in the aesthetic category of the 'Taiwan School' or the 'Taiwan painting' discussed so far are seldom covered by Taiwan's major art historical books, such as Lin Hsin-yue 林愷嶽, *Taiwan meishu fengyun ssushih nien* 台灣美術風雲四十年 (Forty Years' Vicissitudes of Taiwan's Fine Art), Taipei: Tzu-li, 1987; Lin Hsin-yue, *Tuyue ching'ao bailang te Taiwan meishu* 渡越驚濤駭浪的台灣美術 (To Tide over a Chopping Environment of Art in Taiwan), Taipei: Artist, 1997; Hsiao Ch'ung-ray, *Taiwan meishu shih yianchiou lunch'i* 台灣美術史研究論集 (A Collection of Articles on the History of Painting in Taiwan), Taichung: Boya, 1991; Jason Kuo 郭繼生, *Art and Cultural Politics in Postwar Taiwan*, University of Washington Press, 2000. I wish to thank Chiang Ju-hai 江如海, a Taiwanese art historian who is currently completing his Ph.D. degree in Art History at Sydney University under John Clark's supervision, for leading me to re-think and re-position paintings of 'Taiwan School' and the like as the base layer of Taiwan's art.

of the new Taiwan. Furthermore, the naming and promotion of the ‘Taiwan School’ and ‘Taiwan painting’ by the Nan Gallery is also determined by the Gallery’s own marketing strategy in the early 1990s when there was much enthusiastic investment in ‘native’ paintings by ‘senior Japanese-trained Taiwanese painters under Japanese colonial rule’, and works by artists of their following generation, despite the Taiwanese nationalist ideological and aesthetic belief of the Gallery. Huang Chun-hsiung 黃俊雄, then the new managing director of the Nan Gallery (who previously worked for Acer Computer Technology and was responsible for marketing its products in Europe) crudely invented the category of the ‘Taiwan School’ and ‘Taiwan painting’ in order to differentiate Taiwanese paintings the Gallery exhibited from other categories of art in the international market such as ‘British art’.²¹⁰ However, using such comprehensive terms as the ‘*Taiwan* School’ and ‘*Taiwan* painting’ to present only certain types of works by Taiwanese artists of certain ethnic origins seems to create a fairly limited aesthetic membership of the new Taiwan, and has been very much contested while being supported and further developed by later 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. Taiwan’s particularly complex historical and aesthetic development has made what is and what can be termed ‘the native’ and ‘of Taiwan’ in art a highly contested question in the course of 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions in the 1990s.

2.3 ‘Taiwan Art’ as the Cultural Hybrid that Is Taiwanese, Contemporary and Internationally Cutting-edged

The 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held in the Taipei Fine Arts Museum (Hereafter abbreviated as ‘TFAM’ in this chapter) between 1996 and 1999 present a different view of ‘Taiwan art’ compared with that proposed by three previous 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions.

²¹⁰ Huang Yu-ling 黃于玲, Lin Fu-nan 林復南 and Huang Chun-hsiung 黃俊雄, ‘*Heiann chung tengtai: wei Taiwan huapai tianteng* 黑暗中等待：為「台灣畫派」點燈 (Waiting in the Dark Night: Lighting a Lamp for “Taiwan School”)', in Nan Gallery (ed.), *Taiwan School 2: Special Issue on Taiwan School*, 10.

The exhibitions were only held at the request of Chen Shui-bian's Taipei City Government which controls TFAM. Having TFAM as their venue, however, was a milestone for the exhibitions. Su Chen-ming 蘇振明, an essayist of *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals* and the curator of *Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* held at the Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, indicates its symbolic meaning,

‘2-28 commemorative art exhibitions’ is a cultural breakthrough during Taipei Mayor Chen Shui-bian's governmentation of Taipei City. It goes beyond the limit of the governmental sectors in breaking the historical taboo. If 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions can be seen as a cultural ritual of art therapy, for them to be held by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum signifies that the government is willing to face the historical error and to make a public apology.²¹¹

According to Su, for the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions to be held in TFAM meant that both the exhibitions, and the 2-28 Incident they commemorate, were officially and publicly recognised. Although TFAM is subject to the jurisdiction of Taipei City Government, a regional rather than a national government, it has spoken for Taiwan's modern and contemporary art since it was established in 1983.²¹² Held in TFAM, the exhibitions were supported by public sponsors and through public resources with the assistance of many art and cultural professionals. They were, above all, potentially able to reach a more general audience all over Taiwan, and disseminated their rationale better than before, although they were not received particularly well by the professional art world that in general devalued their artistic quality since they were mounted by political request.²¹³ In other words, the exhibitions became more powerful

²¹¹ TFAM(ed.), *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals*, 30.

²¹² Sun Hsiao-lan 孫曉嵐, *Hsientai meishukuan chanlan yu kuotzu jentung lunshu: yi 1983 chih 1994 nien chien Taipei shihli meishu chanlan kuan wei li* 現代美術館展覽與國族認同論述：以1983至1994年間台北市立美術館展覽為例(Discourses on National Identities and the Exhibitions held at Taipei Fine Arts Museum), MA Thesis, Institute of Art Studies, National Central University, Taoyuan: National Central University, 2002.

²¹³ The art world is either largely indifferent to the exhibitions or troubled by the wrestle between art and politics. Most articles about the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions are essays written for the exhibition catalogues of the exhibitions and reprinted in art journals and magazines. There is no independent art criticism outside the course of the exhibitions. One particular refreshing article is a record of a panel discussion on *Sadness Transformed* held at Taipei Fine Arts Museum in the course of the exhibition and chaired by Professor Chien Ying-ying 簡瑛瑛, a feminist literary and art theorist who teaches in the Graduate Institute of Comparative Literature at Fu-jen University in Taipei. The panellists invited some of the women artists who exhibited their work in the exhibition: Wu Mali 吳瑪悒, Lin Pey-chwen 林

and efficient than their predecessors but above all they became *legitimate* in disseminating their ideas concerning 'Taiwan art' and the 2-28 Incident.

In comparison with their predecessors, the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held by TFAM presented selected works of more diverse expressions and in recently popular styles and languages by artists of more diverse artistic, ethnic, generational and gender backgrounds, works which, to a large extent, deal more directly with the 2-28 Incident.

Remembrance and Reflection: 2-28 Commemorative Exhibition (Pl. 2.6) showed paintings, sculptures, and photographs by Chen Ch'eng-po (one of the 2-28 victims), by his son-in-law Pu Tien-sheng 蒲添生, by his close student Ouyang Wen 歐陽文, and by friends of some 2-28 victims such as Chen Hsia-yu 陳夏雨, Chang Yi-hsiung, Hsu Wu-yung and Cheng Shih-fan 鄭世璠, as well as works by Liao Te-cheng. The list of exhibitors overlapped totally with the three earliest 2-28 commemorative exhibitions. However, the works presented here are of better range and quality, and show more clearly the trajectories of the artists' early training in Impressionism, Fauvism and Cubism and the outworking of their training in representing the land and people of Taiwan. The major breakthrough was that the exhibition unprecedentedly created an

珮淳, Liu Hsiu-mei 劉秀美, Chien Fu-yu 簡扶育, and Ts'ai Hai-ru 蔡海如. Chien Ying-ying, Chiang Tsou-man 江足滿, Lin Hui-ya 林慧雅, Chien Su-cheng 簡素瑋 & Feng Hui-ying 馮慧瑛 (eds.), *Pei yiwang te nuhsing: 2-28 meichan nuhsing yishuchia tzuotan hui* 被遺忘的女性：二二八美展女性藝術家座談會 (Forgotten Women: A Panel discussion with the Women Artists of the 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition)', *Hsientai meishu* 現代美術 (Modern Art), no. 71, April 1997, 68-77. The only one academic research on *Sadness Transformed* is by Cheng Fei-wen. See Cheng Fei-wen, *The 'Wounded' Nation: Trauma, Memory, and National Identity in Contemporary Taiwanese Society*, Chapter 4. Cheng's chapter provides an interesting analysis of the gender and nation relations presented by the works of *Sadness Transformed*. However, Cheng's thesis does not aim to analyse the overall structure and the dynamic of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. It mainly deals with some specific cultural representations of White Terror and the 2-28 Incident. Its main argument and theorisation evolve from the historical and political trauma of White Terror rather than from that of the 2-28 Incident. For the exhausting wrestle between art and politics, see Su Chih-Ch'e 蘇志徹, 'Yishu te chengchih ssuk'ao 藝術的政治思考 (The Political Thinking of Art)', in *Modern Art*, no. 70, February 1997, 2-3; Hsiao Ch'ung-ray 蕭瓊瑞, 'Hou 2-28 shihtai yu 2-28: ts'ung chienpei tao meichan te ssuk'ao 後二二八世代與二二八：從建碑到美展的思考 (Post-2-28 Generations and the 2-28 Incident: Reflection from the Establishment of 2-28 memorials and the 2-28 Commemorative Exhibitions)', in TFAM(ed.), *Reflection and Reconsideration: 2-28 Commemorative Exhibition*, 8-21; Chen Wen-hsiang 陳文祥, "2-28 meichan" tzuowei yishu yu chengchih te piencheng ch'angyu 「二二八美展」作為藝術與政治的辯證場域 ("2-28 commemorative art exhibitions" as a Debating Field between Art and Politics)', in *Modern Art*, no. 77, April, 1998; and Chen Jui-wen, 'Why Can't We See Any Historical Events in Taiwan art: on the Meaning of the 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibitions', 128-132.

artistic, cultural, historical and social dialogue concerning the 2-28 Incident. It offered a brief introduction of the Incident and included essays by the exhibitor Liao Te-cheng, the art historian curator, two art critics and historians, a poet and cultural critic, a literary historian and theorist, a historian and a sociologist, that specifically addressed the Incident. All these writers are acclaimed in their fields and in Taiwan. Many of them, such as Li Hsiao-feng, Chen Fang-ming, Hsieh Li-fa and Li Min-yung, had conducted research or persistently written about the 2-28 Incident. Together with the exhibits, these articles provided a good and reliable resource about the 2-28 Incident which had never been made available in any previous 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions or in the art world in general. In these texts, the history of the 2-28 Incident is represented. Hsiao A-chin indicates that the process and 'craft' of cultural nationalism involves the construction of a unique national geography and history, as has been described earlier in this chapter. Through the promotion of 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting', the three earliest 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions showed Taiwanese cultural nationalists' 'crafting' the uniqueness of Taiwan's geography in particular, i.e. landscape. At this stage, the 'craft' was incomplete because of limited historical references. *Remembrance and Reflection* and other 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held in TFAM can perhaps be seen as joining and completing Taiwanese cultural nationalist efforts to 'craft' Taiwan's unique history in art. In other words, 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting' was given an explicit historical foundation here.

Like *Remembrance and Reflection*, post-1996 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions of TFAM also produced memorial narratives of the 2-28 Incident. Unlike *Remembrance and Reflection*, the exhibitions did not have as many texts about the 2-28 Incident. Nevertheless, there were more exhibits explicitly dealing with the course of the 2-28 Incident. For the production of 2-28 memorial narratives in art, the exhibitions looked to different groups of artists such as those who had worked with political and cultural

issues just before and since the lifting of Martial Law, artists like Mei Dean-e 梅丁衍 (1954--), Wu Tien-chang 吳天章(1956--), Wu Mali(1957--) and Lin Pey-chwen(1959--), and in different styles and media such as expressionist styles and installation art. In *Sadness Transformed, Reflection and Reconsideration: 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* and *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals* (Pl. 2.7-2.9), works by Chen Ch'eng-po were no longer included. There were fewer senior Japanese-trained Taiwanese painters (who had worked under Japanese colonial rule) and fewer from the generation following the senior painters who had been promoted as artists of 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting'. More and more exhibitors born in the late 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were involved in the exhibitions. A few acclaimed Chinese mainlander artists in Taiwan like Hsia Yang 夏陽(1932--), Liu Kuo-sung 劉國松(1932--), Hsiao Ch'in 蕭勤 (1935--) and Li Hsi-ch'i 李錫奇(1938--) were also included in *Sadness Transformed*. Given this deliberate amalgamation of artists of different backgrounds that perhaps illustrated Chen Shui-pian's rhetoric or guideline of 'ethnic harmony' for organising *Sadness Transformed* (and for governing Taipei City), it is not surprising that the exhibits comprised not only paintings and sculptures with much more diverse styles than before, but also mixed media installations, a relatively novel form that was particularly popular in both Taiwan and in Europe and America in the 1990s.²¹⁴ As a result, the 'Taiwan', 'Taiwan's sensibility', the specific Impressionist and Fauvist modernist stylistic references, and the specific ethnic identification of the artists in 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting' were largely played down. 'Taiwan art' as shown in post-1996 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions of TFAM became *contemporary Taiwanese and international/Euro-american*. Being 'Taiwan' in the sense of 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting' therefore seemed much less emphasised than being 'cutting edged' and

²¹⁴ Chen Shui-bian, 'Preface', TFAM(ed.), *Sadness Transformed*, 6-7; Yao Jui-chung 姚瑞中, *Taiwan chuangchih yishu 台灣裝置藝術* (Installation Art in Taiwan 1991-2001), Taipei: Mu-ma, 2002.

'international/Euro-american' in the 'Taiwan art' represented by the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held by TFAM after 1997. The 'Taiwan art' presented by TFAM's post-1996 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions was a combination of Taiwan's history and memorial narratives, and Taiwan's 'cutting edged' contemporary art that reached an international/Euro-american standard.²¹⁵ Since the works of *Sadness Transformed* will be examined in detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 6, their aesthetic features that present what I call 'Taiwan art as the cultural hybrid that is Taiwanese, contemporary and internationally cutting-edged' produced by TFAM's 2-28 exhibitions will not be discussed in length here.

This transition in the production of 'Taiwan art' from *Remembrance and Reflection* to *Sadness Transformed* and beyond seemed to witness to TFAM's changing attitudes towards 'Taiwan art', and to Taiwan's cultural struggle between *bent'ubua* 本土化(nativisation), and *kuochihua* 國際化(internationalisation). In the early 1990s, TFAM made many efforts to historicise 'Taiwan art' by exhibitions like *Taiwan t'zaoch'i hsiyang meishu chan* 台灣早期西洋美術回顧展(Early Western Art in Taiwan, 1990) and *Taiwan meishu hsinfengmao* 台灣美術新風貌(Taiwan Art 1945-1993, 1993). At that point, 'Taiwan art' as *bent'u* art still largely referred to works by those senior Japanese-trained Taiwanese painters that worked under Japanese colonial rule. In 1996, the very first Taipei Biennale aimed to explore *Taiwan t'echih* 台灣特質(Taiwan's characteristics) in the name of searching for *Taiwan chut'ibsing* 台灣主體性(Taiwan's subjectivity).²¹⁶ It is necessary to note that the exhibition used *Taiwan chut'ibsing* and *Taiwan t'echih* instead of *bent'u*. The former two terms are obviously broader than the latter. Chen Jui-wen strongly challenges the use of the term 'bent'u culture' particularly in the 1990s and argues that in the whole world there is

²¹⁵ The 'international standard' in Taiwan often means 'Euramerican standard'.

²¹⁶ TFAM (ed.), *1996 shuangniénchan: Taiwan yishu chut'ibsing* 1996年雙年展：台灣藝術主體性(1996 Taipei Biennale: the Quest for Identity), vol. 1: catalogue essays, Taipei: TFAM, 1996. My translation is different from that by TFAM. I wish to differentiate *jentung* 認同(identity) and *chut'ibsing* 主體性(subjectivity) in translation.

nothing 'original', 'authentic' and 'native' about 'bent'u culture'. He asserts that 'Taiwan culture does not equal bent'u culture' because it integrates different foreign elements at different historical moments. For Chen, Taiwan culture, since the nineteenth century at least, comprises 'the character of mainland Chinese immigrants in the pre-Japanese-occupation period', 'the colonised character under Japanese occupation', 'the repressed character after Japanese occupation', 'the character of dominant Chinese immigrants after 1949' and 'Euro-american modern culture since Japanese occupation', apart from the dominated and transformed 'aboriginal culture'. In other words, Taiwan culture is a product of continuous hybridisation.²¹⁷ The 'Genealogies & Archives' section of the 1996 Taipei Biennale, to a large extent, also shared this view. In the 1996 Taipei Biennale, the logic of 'Taiwan art' as bent'u art was largely played down and transformed. Especially in the 'Contemporary Issues' section, the major part of the exhibition, 'Taiwan art' largely referred to contemporary art works made mainly by artists who were born in the 1950s and the 1960s and who worked with diverse forms such as paintings, sculptures, mixed media installations and multi-media installations, having a concern for Taiwan's identity, memory, environment, social and sexual relations and so forth. 'Taiwan art' and 'Taiwan's characteristics' was given a new representation. It combined a response to contemporary Taiwanese society and a form that was compatible with international/Euro-american artistic trends. This tendency was even made clearer in TFAM's major international exhibitions (such as those held in Berlin and Sydney in 1995 and 1996 respectively) in the name of 'Taiwan art'.²¹⁸ It was also apparent in the exhibitions in the Taiwan Pavilion at Palazzo Delle Prigioni in Venice in 1995 mounted by TFAM and funded by Taiwan's central government and China

²¹⁷ Chen Jui-wen, 'Reflecting on Taiwan Culture and Native Culture', 142-149.

²¹⁸ Nicholas Jose and Yang Wen-I (eds.), *Art Taiwan: The Contemporary Art of Taiwan* 台灣當代藝術, Sydney: G + B Arts International in association with the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, 1995. Li Yu-ling (ed.), *Taiwan: Kunst Heute* 台灣今日藝術, Taipei: TFAM, 1996.

Airline.²¹⁹ According to the report written by the jury that selected the artists for the 1995 exhibition of Taiwan Pavillion, Huang Chin-ho 黃進河(1956--) and Lien Te-ch'eng 連德誠(1957--) both adopted 'a spirit of pop art' – the former 'combined the images and Chinese characters' and the latter integrated 'Taiwan's common and colourful aesthetics' while Wu Mali put together 'conceptual art' and 'oriental spirit'. Huang Chih-yang 黃志陽 (1965--) and Hou Chun-ming 侯俊明(1963--) 'transformed the tradition of ink painting and that of woodcut' and displayed their works in the form of installations.²²⁰

2.4 'Taiwan Art' as the Disrupted Leftist, Expressionist and Social Realist Chinese Woodcut Tradition

Time's Other: Witnesses of the Era of the 2-28 Incident in Art (1999) (Pl. 2.10) hosted by Taiwan Museum of Art, then a provincial public art museum and now a national art museum, provided a very different perspective of 'Taiwan art' when compared with other 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. Its exhibits all dated from the late 1940s representing either the 2-28 Incident or the historical and social contexts in which the Incident took place. This exhibition rationale of offering historical testimonies is, only in this aspect, similar to that of *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals* of TFAM curated by Shih Ping-hsi who asked the participating artists to imagine and represent for the exhibition the history of the 2-28 Incident as it happened in 30 different locations.²²¹ Instead of oil paintings, sculptures and installations by

²¹⁹ Yang Wen-I (ed.), *Art Taiwan: La 46 Biennale di Venezia Esposizione Internazionale D'Arte* 台灣藝術, Taipei: TFAM, 1995. Afterwards, there are TFAM (ed.), *Changing Faces: La 47 Biennale di Venezia Esposizione Internazionale D'Arte* 面目全非, Taipei: TFAM, 1997; TFAM (ed.), *Close to Open: La 48 Biennale di Venezia XLVII Esposizione Internazionale D'Arte* 意亂情迷, Taipei: TFAM, 1999; TFAM (ed.), *Living Cell: La 49 Biennale di Venezia Esposizione Internazionale D'Arte* 活性因子, Taipei: TFAM, 2001; TFAM (ed.), *Limbo Zone: La 50 Biennale di Venezia Esposizione Internazionale D'Arte* 心感地帶, Taipei: TFAM, 2003; and TFAM (ed.), *The Spectre of Freedom: La 51 Biennale di Venezia XLVII Esposizione Internazionale D'Arte* 自由的幻象, Taipei: TFAM, 2005.

²²⁰ Lu Pei-yi 呂佩怡, *Ho 90 nientai Taipei shihli meishu kuan kuochi ts'echan te 'bent'u/kuochi' tse'lue t'ant'ao* 後九〇年代台北市立美術館國際策展的「本土/國際」策略探討 (International Exhibitions of Taipei Fine Art[s] Museum in the Post-90s: Investigation of the Strategy 'Localization/globalization'), MA. Thesis, Graduate Institute of Museum Studies, National Tainan University of the Arts, 2001, 48. The title is Lu's translation.

²²¹ Taiwan Museum of Art(ed.), *Time's Other: Witnesses of the Era of the 2-28 Incident in Art*. Shih Ping-hsi, *Weile pu jang lishih shihchien ch'ungyian: chungshou lishih hsiench'ang yu t'uhsiang' te ts'echan ssuk'ao* 為了不讓歷史事件重演：「重塑歷史現場與圖像的策展思考」 (Not to Let the Historical Event Happen Again: the Curatorial Statement of *Historical Event Remapping*:

contemporary artists of Taiwanese ethnic origins, it presented black and white woodcuts made by three leftist Chinese mainland printmakers who had come to Taiwan after the end of the Second World War: Huang Yian 荒煙(1921-1989), Huang Rong-ts'an 黃榮燦(1918-1952) and Chu Ming-kang 朱鳴岡(1915-).

These woodcuts were generally made in the German Expressionist or Soviet Socialist Realist style, depicting the State's oppression and suppression, the people's struggle under or against state cruelty, and the lower class lives of Taiwan. *Horrible Inspection* 恐怖的檢查(1947) (Pl. 2.11) was smuggled out of Taiwan by the artist, Huang Rong-ts'an, and published in a well-read newspaper in Shanghai, *Wen Hui Pao*, 文匯報 on 28th of April 1948. It depicts the killing of Taiwanese people by the KMT soldiers in the 2-28 Incident. It shows a scene of state horror. A military truck carrying the KMT soldiers is shown speeding by. A man has already been killed on the street. Street vendors are about to be killed by the KMT soldiers. One has been shot and is falling down; another is surrendering; and still another is in a great shock. On the left of the woodcut, a woman bends over to pick up her packs of cigarettes that were scattered on the ground during the soldiers' violent search for smuggled goods. A soldier is beating her up with a gun. The child carried on her back is trying very hard to stop the assault. *Persecution* 迫害(1948) by Chu Ming-kang depicts a professor being taken away by two KMT secret police. The professor is in shock, dropping his books everywhere on the ground. *Persecution* tells of an era of no freedom of speech. *Outside the Red Door* 朱門外(1946) shows a father and a son wearing ragged clothes, starving and sitting helplessly outside a house of the rich. The title recalls the contrasting image between the rich and the poor found in a verse written by Tu Fu 杜甫(712-770), a poet of Tang Dynasty: 'Wine and

Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals), in TFAM(ed.), *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals*, 10-20.

meat are wasted and rotten inside the red door; yet the poor are frozen to death on the street 朱門酒肉臭 路有凍死骨'.²²²

Time's Other also showed Chu Ming-kang's woodcuts of the lower class life in Taiwan. *Preparation for the Chinese New Year* 準備過年(1947) depicts women grinding sticky rice in order to make cakes specially for Chinese New Year. A woman is wearing a skirt of a kind often made of cloth taken from the *kimono* worn during the Japanese colonisation. *Food Stall* 食攤(1946) (Pl. 2.12) shows people eating at a food stall. The food vendor on the right and the customer on the near left both wear Japanese style clogs. The scene is a street of Taipei surrounded by betel trees that are commonly seen in southerly Taiwan but absent from the geographically and culturally different northerly China.

With the historical testimonies about Taiwan in the 1940s represented in its exhibits, *Time's Other* aimed to redeem the status of the leftist Chinese mainland printmakers in Taiwan's art history. As Ni Tzai-ch'in, the director of Taiwan Museum of Art, wrote in the exhibition catalogue of *Time's Other*,

History is the last frontier of justice. These woodcut printmakers can be forgotten but cannot be eliminated. Time's other always sees his/her era better than those deeply involved. Finding these printmakers and their works is the justice that Taiwan's art should do most in the 2-28 commemoration.²²³

The art tradition that *Time's Other* tried to redeem as 'Taiwan art' belongs to the leftist Chinese woodcut tradition established in the early twentieth century. In China in the 1920s, the woodcut movement was initiated by Lu Xun 魯迅, a left-leaning radical writer who was one of the main campaigners of the May Fourth Movement for Chinese new culture. It was inspired by the works of artists introduced to China by Lu Xun such as Kathe Kollwitz (1867-1945), a German Expressionist printmaker and sculptor, Frans Masereel (1899-1972), a Belgian woodcut artist, Carl Meffert (1903-1988), a German

²²² This information is taken from the website designed by the Associate Professor Pan Lu Ch'i-ch'ang 潘呂祺昌 of the Centre of General Education, National Chiao Tung University in Taiwan specifically on some major poets of Tang Dynasty: <http://www.cc.nctu.edu.tw/~lccpan/newpage113.htm> (access date: 14 October 2005).

²²³ Ni Tzai-ch'in, 'Sbihtai te tache: 2-28 nientai te meishu chienheng 時代的他者—二二八年代的美術見證 (Time's Other: Witnesses of the Era of the 2-28 Incident in Art)', in Taiwan Museum of Art, *Time's Other*, 2.

woodcut artist, Nikolas Piskarev (1892-1959), a Soviet wood engraver, and so forth. Hence, modern leftist Chinese woodcut making was very much influenced by German Expressionism and Soviet Socialist Realism and was concerned with exposing the oppression and suffering of the masses. It was not only regarded by Lu Xun as a new and modern art form which could facilitate China's progress, but also taken by Lu Xun and Chinese communists as a convenient, economic and effective weapon for their political struggle against the corrupt ruling KMT.²²⁴

It is against this leftist and dissident background of modern Chinese woodcut making and the long term political struggle between the KMT and Chinese Communist Party that the KMT regime's very hostile attitudes towards Chinese woodcut artists should be seen. The KMT regime banned woodcut making in China in the 1930s because of its affinity with Chinese Communist struggle against the KMT, while integrating it strategically as a powerful propagandist weapon for fighting against Japan, its major enemy at that time, in the Sino-Japanese War.²²⁵ After the end of Sino-Japanese War in 1945, the KMT regime declared war against Chinese Communists. As has been discussed in Chapter 1, 'communist spies' were, according to the KMT's pre-1987 report, one of the major groups that caused the 2-28 Incident. Defeated by Chinese Communists in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek launched, in the following year, a thorough and long-term state campaign to eradicate all possible and potential communists, which led to the 40 years of the White Terror in Taiwan. Having realised what was happening, most Chinese mainlanders printmakers either chose to go back to China or to stay in Taiwan quietly and anonymously in order to survive the KMT's oppression. One of the artists exhibited in *Time's Other*, Huang Rong-ts'an, who exposed the horror of the 2-28 Incident, taught at the National Taiwan Normal University, and

²²⁴ Chen Shu-sheng 陳樹升, 'Ts'ung hsiehshih tao yinyu: 2-28 nientai Taiwan panhua ch'utan 從寫實到隱喻：二二八年代台灣版畫初探 (From Realism to Metaphor: Printmaking in Taiwan in the Era of the 2-28 Incident)', in Taiwan Museum of Art, *Time's Other*, 12.

²²⁵ Ibid.

wrote press articles in Taipei, was accused of being a 'communist spy' and executed by the KMT regime in 1952.²²⁶ Through such historical events and because of the KMT's long term ideological domination, the tradition brought into Taiwan by these leftist Chinese mainland printmakers has almost been forgotten.²²⁷

Time's Other seemed to be trying to disrupt the traditions of 'Taiwan art' established by the Nan Gallery and TFAM. Perhaps, this is not only because the victims of the White Terror remain un-rehabilitated in the post-2-28 commemoration era, but also because of Ni's own negative attitude towards the traditions of 'Taiwan art' established by the Nan Gallery and TFAM in the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions they have held. In the article which triggered the whole debate on 'Taiwanese consciousness in Taiwan art' in the early 1990s, Ni had already criticised works that embody these two traditions for being either 'Western art made in Taiwan' or 'self-secluded from the reality of life in Taiwan'. In the meantime, the same article shows that he admires the brief and disrupted expressionist and social realist tradition embodied by these leftist Chinese woodcut artists in the 1940s who delved into Taiwan's social, political and economic problems.²²⁸ To some extent, *Time's Other* is an extended war in the debate on 'Taiwanese consciousness in Taiwan art' that continued through the early 1990s. What it

²²⁶ *Time's Other* offers a list of who these Chinese mainland printmakers are/were, what did they do, when they came to Taiwan, when they left Taiwan and where they are/were now. Ibid, 20. For Huang Rong-ts'an's biographical information, see Mei Dean-e, 'Huang Rong-ts'an yiyun: Taiwan meishu yuntung te chinch'u [shang] 黃榮燦疑雲:臺灣美術運動的禁區(The Mystery of Huang Rong-ts'an: the Forbidden Zone of Taiwan Art Movement)', *Modern Art*, no. 67-69, August 1996, 40-63; October 1996, 38-53; December 1996, 62-76; Mei Dean-e, 'Huang Rong-ts'an shenshib chih mi yupo tangyang 黃榮燦身世之謎餘波盪漾(The Puzzle of Huang Rong-ts'an's Life Remains Unresolved)', *Yishuchia* 藝術家雜誌(Artist Magazine), no. 286, March 1999, 372-376; Mei Dean-e, 'Huang Rong-ts'an wei shey hsisheng 黃榮燦為誰犧牲(Whom did Huang Rong-ts'an Die for?)', *Art Today*, no. 114, March 2002, 74-75; Mei Dean-e, 'Meishuchia te chengyi chih sheng 美術家的正義之聲—「恐怖的檢查」(The Artist's Just Voice: [Horrible Inspection])', *Art Today*, no. 114, March 2002, 70-73; and Takeshi Yokochi 橫地剛, *Nantien chih hung: pa 2-28 shihchien ke tzai panhui shang te jen* 南天之虹—把二二八事件刻在版畫上的人(The Rainbow of the South: the Man Who Recorded the 2-28 Incident on the Woodcut Print), trans. Lu P'ing-cho, Taipei: Jenchien, 2002.

²²⁷ Chen T'ing-shih 陳庭詩 and Yang Ying-feng 楊英風 were two exceptions. However, they had turned to abstract art.

²²⁸ Ni Tzai-ch'in, 'Western Art, Made in Taiwan: A Critique on Modern Art in Taiwan.' In fact, in *Remembrance and Reflection*, some works concerning the historical, political, social and economic contexts by these leftist Chinese mainland artists have been included as an appendix and historical reference material to the exhibition catalogue, without much explanation. TFAM(ed.), *Remembrance and Reflection*, 163-168. *Time's Other* presents them as the only subject of the exhibition.

proposes and tries to legitimise as ‘Taiwan art’ is a tradition that has been marginalised both by the KMT reign because of its ‘political fatality’ and by the Taiwanese nationalism of the 2-28 commemoration because it came from China.

2.5 Back to ‘Taiwan Art’ as ‘Taiwan School’ and ‘Taiwan Painting’ with a Difference

The 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held at the third millennium began to involve more families of the 2-28 victims along with the general public, as well as continuing to invite visual artists to participate. *Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families* (Pl. 2.13) held in Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum only displayed works by the 2-28 victims and their families.²²⁹ *Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition* held by Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, and *Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan’s Art, Recovering Memory, Transcending Pain and Restoring Justice: Reflect on History to Build Consciousness for Taiwan, Paint My Value, Write My Respect, and Longing, Yearning, Where am I* (Pl. 2.14-2.18) held by the Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation all combine works, literature or music by the 2-28 victims and their families, and artworks by visual artists in different media and forms.²³⁰ These works comprise oil landscape paintings, sculpture, calligraphy and installations that either depict Taiwan or represent the 2-28 Incident. Compared to the exhibits of TFAM’s post-1996 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, most of these works are artistically less refined and offer memorial narratives and artistic languages that are more direct and comprehensible to lay people. The ‘Taiwan Art’ these exhibitions present is closer to the ‘Taiwan School’ or ‘Taiwan painting’ promoted by the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held in the Eslite Gallery,

²²⁹ Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum (ed.), *Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families*.

²³⁰ Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum (ed.), *Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*; Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan’s Art*; Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Recovering Memory, Transcending Pain and Restoring Justice: Reflect on History to Build Consciousness for Taiwan*; Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Paint My Value, Write My Respect*, and Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation (ed.), *Longing, Yearning, Where am I*.

the Nan Gallery and the Dimension Art Centre. However, the former includes a greater diversity of media and contemporary artistic languages than the latter, although the language some of their work has adopted is not as cutting-edged as that adopted in the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions of TFAM.

This slightly mutated aesthetics was a consequence of the change of curators, organisers and exhibition venues, and was influenced by TFAM's 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions. When Chen Shui-pian lost the mayorship of Taipei City to Ma Ying-jeou of the KMT in December 1998, the TFAM immediately stopped hosting and organising 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions after the one already scheduled for February 1999. The two 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions held in 2000 were mounted in the Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Museum, and in the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum then still run by pro-Taiwan-independence intellectuals.²³¹ After Chen Shui-pian was elected as the President of Taiwan in March 2000, the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions were organised by the Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation that was established by Liao Chung-shan, a pro-Taiwan-independence Chinese mainlander scholar, and Lin Li-ts'ai, the daughter of a 2-28 victim Lin Chie 林界. Among the curators invited by the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum and the Chia-yi 2-28 Museum, and by the Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation were Liao Jen-yi 廖仁義, Chien T'ang, Lin Hsiao-yun 林小雲 and Chen Shih-hsien who are also pro-Taiwan-independence art professionals.²³² With no need to negotiate with TFAM's highly institutionalised high art concern for the internationalisation of Taiwan's contemporary art, these post-1999 exhibitions,

²³¹ Until May 2000, Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum was still run by the Taiwan Peace Foundation 台灣和平基金會 established by pro-Taiwan-Independence intellectuals after Ma Ying-jeou of the KMT was elected as the Taipei Mayor. However, there had been severe dispute between Taiwan Peace Foundation and the museum's governing institution, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the Taipei City before May 2000. Taiwan Peace Foundation was banned from competing for the managerial rights of the museum. Since May 2000, the museum had been run by the Institute of Taiwan Regional Development established by ex-KMT high officials and pro-KMT entrepreneurs took over until it was totally taken over by the Bureau in 2003.

²³² Chien T'ang's email dated 17 October, 2005. It is also necessary to note that Chien Tang has become the head of the project managing division in the 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation in 2005.

particularly those organised by the Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation in collaboration with many art institutions run by the families of the 2-28 victims, took up again an aesthetic close to the ‘Taiwan School’ and ‘Taiwan painting’, but with the difference described above. Those organised by the Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation in particular also aimed to reach a wider audience beyond the artistic community and the circle of the 2-28 victims, their families and their friends. These exhibitions were held in a politically symbolic space such as the Chiang Kai-shek Gallery of the Presidential Hall; in the universal survey museums such as the National Kaohsiung Museum of History; in sites of humanist concern such as Yi-lan Prison; or in the historical sites of the 2-28 Incident across Taiwan, such as the Keelung Harbour Art Gallery that witnessed the arrival of the KMT army and its killing of many Taiwanese people in 1947. Their Taiwanese nationalist aesthetics were further institutionalised, legitimised and disseminated through their state-run exhibition venues across Taiwan. More opportunities for reaching a more general public across Taiwan were created by the curators’ persistent efforts in offering guided tours, public lectures, explanatory notes and workshops.

2.6 Conclusion

The discussion so far shows that the aesthetic of ‘Taiwan art’ that most 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions produce and promote is determined by something close to the ‘Taiwan School’ and ‘Taiwan painting’, which, though repressed, have underscored the infrastructure of Taiwan’s art education since the post-war period and have been repeatedly redeemed and made an explicit and legitimate artistic tradition. Eric Hobsbawm offers an explanation for the process and the product of inventing traditions,

‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies

continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past...²³³

Connecting with the 'local colour' tradition (enthusiastically pursued by Taiwanese artists under Japanese colonisation and disrupted during the KMT regime) through the practice and the existence of the 2-28 artist victim Chen Ch'eng-po, the course of the 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting' has been established by most of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions as something *bent'u* or native to Taiwan. At the same time, this aesthetic has been contested by the TFAM's and TMA's 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions with their focus on international cutting-edged contemporary art made by artists of all ethnic origins, or on the expressionist and social realist woodcut prints brought into Taiwan by Chinese mainland artists in the postwar period and banned by the KMT regime. The Chinese ink painting tradition that was singularly privileged by the KMT as 'national painting' has been generally excluded from the discursive practice of 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions.

In excluding Chinese ink painting tradition in Taiwan, the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions are in tune with the Taiwanese nationalist resistance in its exclusion of the KMT regime as 'the foreign regime' particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. There is a strong will to cancel or ignore the cultural and artistic memories and traditions formed under the colonial KMT regime. However, these cultural and artistic memories, together with the new contemporary artistic persuasion produced by Taiwan's enthusiasm to be integrated into global artistic circuit, continue to contest the redeemed and transforming 'Taiwan School' and 'Taiwan painting' tradition.

²³³ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984 (paperback).

Chapter 3 *Sadness Transformed* and the Aesthetic Representation of a New Taiwan Nation

Yi shibchi 一世紀 (One Century, 1996) by Chang Yi-hsiung (1914-) (Pl. 3.1), a senior Japanese-trained Taiwanese artist, for *Sadness Transformed* is an oil-on-canvas work painted in a pop poster style. The canvas is divided into four horizontal sections from the bottom to the top. In the small lowest section, the red and white national flag of Japan is partially represented. In the second section from the bottom, the national flag of Taiwan, the Republic of China, is painted, but with the symbol of the sun painted in red instead of white, its normal colour. The third section from the bottom is entirely black. The second and the third sections occupy more than 85% of the canvas and '1947' is written in white where the two sections meet. Above the black section comes the smallest section in sky blue. At the conjunction of the black section and the sky blue section, '1997' is written in military green.

One Century suggests a linear time spanning more than one hundred years retrospectively from 1997, the 50th anniversary of the 2-28 Incident and the time when the exhibition takes place. The canvas brings out the transition of Taiwan's political landscape from Japanese colonisation (1895-1945), through the reign of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo's foreign and colonial regimes (1945-1987), to the rule of post-Martial-Law KMT regime (1987-1997) during the last one hundred years.

The space of the canvas is not demarcated according to the length of the reigns. The second and the third sections that signify fifty-two years of the KMT rule almost occupy the whole canvas, whereas the lowest section that indicates the similar amount of time of Japanese colonisation takes up very little space. The vast blackness of the second section and the deliberately reddened sun of the ROC's national flag in the third section together seem to solicit the overwhelming darkness and horror of KMT's

authoritarian regime. *Tu jih ju nien* 度日如年 (to pass a day as if it were a year), a Han Chinese phrase frequently used in Taiwan to mean immense psychological suffering, effectively expresses in words the elongation and expansion of the time-space in *One Century* that signify KMT's colonisation.

The sky blue section above the second and the third sections, nevertheless, brings out the coming of another horizon. The dark blackness of the third section suddenly disappears at the thin line between the third and fourth sections and the sky blue immediately appears on the upper side of the line. *Yu kuo tien ch'ing* 雨過天青/晴, another Han Chinese phrase popular in Taiwan, which can be taken literally as 'after gloom comes brightness' but means 'difficult period gives way to bright future', can perhaps best explain this compositional and colour arrangement of *One Century*. The thin line marked with '1997' serves as the chronological watershed dividing Taiwan's history and life into two distinctive narratives: darkness and brightness, sadness and happiness.

One Century as a whole produces a memorial narrative. From the bottom section to the top section, *One Century* suggests that a new regime or a new political climate is coming and that the 2-28 historical trauma and the suffering of being colonised will be over and everything will be fine after 1997. Used as the cover image for the exhibition catalogue of *Sadness Transformed*, *One Century* represents the core thinking of the exhibition. It reminds us of Chen Shui-bian's preface to the exhibition catalogue. Chen says,

...*Sadness Transformed*...is aimed to transcend historical sadness and pursue social justice and harmony through art's open and diverse attitudes...
The shadow of the 2-28 Incident has covered Taiwan for fifty years. Besides remembrance and reflection, what we should do more today is to move on from the trauma, transform the suffering, face the new future and transform sadness...²³⁴

According to Chen, contemporary art paves the way for the emergence of a new, 'just' and 'harmonious' political utopia. In the emerging political utopia, the sadness of the

²³⁴ Chen Shui-bian, 'Preface', in TFAM(ed.), *Sadness Transformed*, 6-7.

2-28 political and historical trauma will be transcended and transformed and a bright future is expected.

Despite being based on a different political position, the rhetoric of Chen's preface recalls the immense collective desire to 'contain' and 'declare an end to' the 2-28 political and historical trauma explicitly expressed after the *2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act* was enacted in 1995 and the anniversary of the 2-28 Incident was commemorated and integrated into the national calendar as 2-28 Peace Day in 1997. As is shown by Wu Chin-yung's analysis of the ground-breaking ceremonies prior to the construction of the Taipei 2-28 Memorial discussed in Chapter 1, such rhetoric brings out the very contradictory process of new nation-building in Taiwan in the mid-1980s and the 1990s through 2-28 commemoration. The new Taiwan nation-building is very much intertwined with 'remembering', and with the remaking of the 2-28 cultural memories. Within this process, however, there is a political pressure to 'forget', namely to contain the 2-28 political and historical trauma, and to limit or, especially if the KMT is involved, to stop the public from continuing to remake the 2-28 cultural memories.

Therefore, in this Chapter, I will explore how *Sadness Transformed* participated in the contradictory process of the new nation-building in Taiwan. I wish to ask how a new Taiwan nation is aesthetically produced by the exhibition. What has been remembered and in what way? What has been forgotten and in what way? On what kind of social structures and relations is the new Taiwan nation, as imagined in the exhibition, based? How is the 2-28 political and historical trauma aesthetically contained and repressed again?

3.1 The Coming or the Arrival of A New Taiwan Nation

With *Sadness Transformed* as the exhibition title and the key theme, some senior artists made images and objects that signify the coming or the arrival of a calm and

harmonious utopia in order to say that the pain inflicted by the 2-28 political and historical trauma has gone.

Sharing a similar rhetoric with *One Century, Yiao jungbo puyiao ch'ingya* 要融合，不要傾軋 (Harmony, Not Conflict, 1997) by Liu Kuo-sung 劉國松(1932-) (Pl. 3.2), of Chinese mainland ethnic origin and a key advocate for *Chungkuo hsientaihua yuntung* 中國現代畫運動 (the Chinese Modernist Painting Movement) in Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s, proclaims the coming of a harmonious political utopia.²³⁵ *Harmony, Not Conflict* has five pairs of triangular ink pieces arranged neatly from the bottom to the top. The lower triangular pieces are mostly painted in black ink, with little touches of blue and white. The second, third and fourth pairs from the bottom are painted with more and more blue and white touches and with less and less black. The top triangular pieces are both entirely blue with no black at all. From the bottom to the top, *Harmony, Not Conflict*

²³⁵ Dis-satisfied with the hegemonic Chinese ink painting tradition privileged by the KMT regime and the early Japanese translated Taiwanese modernist oil and gouache painting traditions practiced by most Taiwanese artists, some Chinese mainland artists in the late 1950s and early 1960s looked to later modernist trends such as surrealism, abstract art and American abstract expressionism for creative inspiration, and later develop an eclecticism of Euro-american influenced abstract art and Chinese literati painting and/or philosophies. These artists were mostly trained at National Taiwan Normal University or National Taipei Teacher's College (now renamed as National Taipei University of Education) and/or follows Li Chung-sheng 李仲生, an eccentric Chinese mainland modernist painter and the mentor of the *Tungfang huahui* 東方畫會 (the Eastern Painting Group). They worked together as two painting groups: the Eastern Painting Group and *Wuyue huahui* 五月畫會 (the Fifth Moon Painting Group) and called for the 'Chinese Modernist Painting Movement' in order to find a new aesthetic route. Liu Kuo-sung was associated with the Fifth Moon Painting Group and saw himself as the spokesperson for the whole movement. He fiercely attacked Japanese translated Taiwanese modernist gouache and oil painting traditions for being 'not new enough', and for being 'Japanese' and 'not-Chinese'. In the meantime, he and the movement was also fiercely accused by Hsu Fu-kuan 徐復觀, a KMT's leading conservative aesthete, of 'being communist' based on the fact that 'Picasso was a communist therefore all modernists are communists'. Some of their exhibitions were banned or violently disrupted by the KMT government. Liu defended himself and the movement by arguing that the abstract art practice they are making is actually originated from Chinese literati tradition. He survived KMT's attack but his aesthetics totally changed around 1961. He uses Chinese literati landscape painting as the main locus instead of oil painting, with some variations inspired by American abstract expressionism and collage. Members of the Eastern Painting Group continue to quietly work with more diverse trends of Euro-american modernist art and make them into certain dialogue with Chinese philosophies. Many active members of the two painting groups, however, went abroad consecutively since the 1960s and the movement was gradually closed. For further discussion, see Elsa Hsiang-chun Chen, *Problems of Art Theory and Practice of Liu Kuo-sung 1957-1966*, M.A. Thesis, Department of Art Theory and History, University of Sydney, 1995. For a full and excellent historical study of the two painting groups and its contexts, see Hsiao Ch'ung-ray, *The Fifth Moon and the Eastern Painting Groups: Chinese Modernist Art Movement in Post-war Taiwan 1945-1970*, 1991.

depicts the transition from the cloudy sky to the complete bright sky, and hence conveys the evolution from misery to complete harmony.

Tati ch'unhui 大地春回(Spring Again, 1997) (Pl. 3.3) by Liao Te-cheng seems to show a political utopia by depicting an idyllic pastoral scene. In front of the far and misty mountain is the calm, lush and bountiful green field. Two young girls are walking peacefully through the small path cutting across the green field. Chickens move around the field at ease and ducks swim freely in the river nearby. The whole painting depicts the warm and lively revival and rebirth of the earth in spring after the cold winter.

One Century, Harmony, Not Conflict and *Spring Again* all deploy the rhetoric of *Yu kuo tien ch'ing* ('after gloom comes brightness'; 'difficult period gives way to bright future') as does Tu Cheng-sheng's statement quoted in Chapter 1. Situated in the discursive field of the 2-28 commemoration that is deeply embedded in and simultaneously configures the context of the new nation-building in Taiwan, these three works suggest that a promising new Taiwan nation is coming or has arrived, and not only the authoritarian KMT regime but also the pain inflicted by the 2-28 historical and political trauma has ended. But, how do other works in *Sadness Transformed* make use of other memorial narratives to support or defy such thinking?

3.2 Forbidden 2-28 Memory and History Spoken: Remaking the Historical Past of a New Taiwan Nation

Many works represent the previously forbidden history of the 2-28 Incident. As has been observed by Wang Ming-ke and Hsiao A-chin, discussed in Chapter 1, the remaking of repressed 2-28 memory and history was crucial to the construction of a new Taiwan nation in the mid-1980s and 1990s.

In *Ch'ungchien hsiench'ang* 重建現場(Recreating the Scene, 1997) (Pl. 3.4), Su Hsin-tien 蘇新田(1940-) represented the event that triggered the 2-28 Incident. *Recreating the Scene* is a mixed media installation comprising a painting and a few ready-made objects placed

on the floor in front of the painting. The painting is set in *Tienma ch'afang* 天馬茶房 (Tien-ma Tea House) and its surroundings in *Tataoch'eng* 大稻埕, the prosperous area where the police seriously assaulted Lin Chiang-mai, the woman who sold smuggled cigarettes. Using arches, which recall a distinctive feature of the fashionable European-style buildings of *Tataoch'eng* built under Japanese rule, the artist divides the painted plane diagonally into two sections. In the area near to the viewer, the happenings of the event are dramatised with a spotlight. Near the centre of the painting, the old woman and her daughter kneel in front of a policeman in KMT's military uniform begging for his mercy while trying to retrieve her confiscated cigarettes. Ruthlessly, the policeman hits the woman's head with the handle of his gun causing her to bleed. The abuse is so violent that the woman's blood drips all over her knees and even down to the ground outside the painting. The blood then leads the viewer from the painting to the disorganised old furniture on the floor. The effect of the violence is thus further dramatised by this contemporary installation of ready-made objects commonly used at the time of the 2-28 Incident. The policeman is condemned by the onlookers standing on the left, who are calling him 'bastard' in Japanese, and by the fiercely barking dog on the right. Among them, a spectator in a white shirt has been shot dead. Behind the arches on the far right, some people, looking towards the scene, are gathering, marching and protesting against the abuse. In *Recreating the Scene*, Su Hsin-tien seemed to be trying to give a realistic historical account of the event that led to the 2-28 Incident, and of the oppression of the KMT rule and its horror.²³⁶

Peich'ing 悲情 (Sadness, 1996) (Pl. 3.5) by Lin Hsien-mo 林顯模 depicts the KMT's massacre of the Taiwanese during the 2-28 Incident. On the right hand side, there is a

²³⁶ Su Hsin-tien is among the earliest artists who write about the 2-28 Incident. See Su Hsin-tien 蘇新田, '*Chengchih kungpu yinying chung shengtz'ung te Taiwanren* 政治恐怖陰影中生存的台灣人 (Taiwanese under the Shadow of Political Terror: the 2-28 Incident, the 4-6 Incident and the White Terror)', in Nan Gallery (ed.), *Taiwan School 15: 2-28 and the Era of Painting Groups*, 28-45.

strong man pointing a rifle with a bloody bayonet towards the civilians nearby. Although depicted as a classic male nude, he carries an umbrella on his back, which identifies him as a KMT soldier.²³⁷ In the left corner stands another strong man in KMT military uniform holding a rifle and stepping on the back of a man, a protesting intellectual. On the far left stands another strong KMT soldier with a rifle. These three men form a triangle that encloses the civilians. Inside the triangle is an extremely chaotic situation. On the left, a woman wearing a white hood and holding a memorial tablet that signifies the person killed. On the right, there is a boy wearing a white headband and holding a white flag, which suggests that the dead man is his father or grandfather. Between them, many women and children are protesting against the killing of their loved ones.

Sadness represents the killing of the Taiwanese by the KMT soldiers and the active resistance of the Taiwanese civilians against the KMT army. The horror lies in the bloody confrontation between the civilians with no weapons and the KMT state killing machine. The artist's condemnation of the KMT colonial rule seems to hide in the reference given by the painted woman figure above the central focus. She is carrying a baby on her back while holding a large yellow plate with a pig's head on it. 'Pig' was actually used in the post-war period by the Taiwanese as a degrading term for the Chinese foreign regime, as 'dog' was used for the Japanese colonial regime.²³⁸

Peich'ing ch'engshih 悲情城市 (City of Sadness, 1994) (Pl. 3.6) by Shih Ping-hsi is also set on the streets of *Tataoch'eng* as indicated by the European-style buildings on the far right like those seen in *Recreating the Scene*. The whole picture plane is mainly painted with rough strokes and greyish colours. Coils of barbed wire dominate the canvas, with

²³⁷ This imagery comes from the Taiwanese's first impression of the extremely embarrassing KMT soldiers described in much Taiwanese post-war literature. See Wu Chou-liou, *Fig* [1967], 147.

²³⁸ For instance, see Ong Lok-tek, *Taiwan: A Depressing History* [1964], particularly 153-157. In the book, Ong names his section on Taiwan being taken over by Chiang's Chinese regimes from Japan in 1945 as '*kou ch'u chu lai* 狗去豬來 (Dogs went, Pigs came)'.

distinctive touches of shocking red everywhere. Near the centre, fully armed KMT's 'anti-terrorist squads' line up. There is no direct evidence of protesters just the splashes of shocking red everywhere. These splashes of red seem to suggest the bloody killing or at least the armed suppression of the protesters. *City of Sadness* does not depict the 2-28 Incident since the KMT's 'anti-terrorist squads' were a more recent invention used to crush political protests against the KMT rule in the 1970s and 1980s. It, nevertheless, recalls the state suppression of the 2-28 Incident and its terrible and long-lasting aftermath over so many decades.

Recreating the Scene, Sadness and *City of Sadness* together represent the course of the 2-28 Incident with different focuses. The silenced and forbidden 2-28 memories they represent signified the colonisation of the KMT foreign regime, its state cruelty, and its discrimination against the Taiwanese which became the common historical past of the new Taiwan nation and legitimised the need and the move of Taiwan towards a new, progressive and democratic Taiwan-centric nation and society.

3.3 Rehabilitation of the 2-28 Men Victims: Making the New National Subject of a Patriarchal and Ethno-centric New Taiwan Nation

Many works rehabilitate the 2-28 victims aesthetically, which, I will argue next, signifies an attempt to make the 2-28 men victims into the historical and national subjects of the new Taiwan nation.

In the exhibition, *Sadness Transformed*, there was a predominant death trope of redeeming Taiwanese 2-28 men victims. Through redemption, Taiwanese 2-28 victims who were men, suffered infamous death and were maliciously labelled as 'criminals', 'communist spies' or 'rioters' under the KMT regime were now made 'sacred' and were recovered as 'whole and undamaged subjects'.

In *Ssu pu ming mu* 死不瞑目 (Die Hard, 1996)(Pl. 3.7), Hsu Wu-yung 許武勇(1920-), a man artist whose family members were victims of the 2-28 Incident and the White

Terror, used a combined style of history painting and fauvist techniques to represent the execution of Chen Fu-chih 陳復志 during the 2-28 Incident, a Taiwanese, and the then Director of Chia-yi Division of the Youth Group of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People* 三民主義青年團嘉義分部主任. Placed in the centre of the canvas, Chen Fu-chih is represented as a heroic and patriotic martyr who is not afraid to die for the nation.²³⁹ In order to strengthen the impression of the heroism, martyrdom and righteousness of Chen Fu-chih at his execution, many anonymous women and girls are painted as mourning his death. Fairies in Chinese traditional style costume come to lead Chen Fu-chih, the good man, to Heaven.

In *Fanshu hsiat'u* 蕃薯下土 (Sweet Potato Planted, 1997) (Pl. 3.8), Cheng Tzu-ts'ai (Deh Tzu-tsai) 鄭自財, an architect who, with Huang Wen-hsiung 黃文雄, attempted to assassinate Chiang Ching-kuo 蔣經國 on April 24 1970, and was commissioned to design and construct the Taipei 2-28 Memorial, does not directly redeem Taiwanese 2-28 men victims as national heroes and martyrs as Hsu Wu-yung does in *Die Hard*. Rather, Cheng frames his rhetoric of redemption in a narrative of resurrection comprising three consecutive and inter-connected episodes presented from the bottom to the top of the canvas. In the lowest section, the death of numerous anonymous Taiwanese 2-28 victims who were men is represented. In the middle section, pregnant women holding young children are represented signifying the women in the families of the Taiwanese 2-28 men victims. Both these relatively small sections are painted in a sombre dark greenish tone. In contrast, the top section that occupies the largest space of the canvas is painted in a cheerful brighter yellowish tone. In the centre of the top section, a young man is standing firmly and his bride is dancing for him. Some young women and men

²³⁹ According to Li Hsiao-feng's representation, Chen Fu-chih led people in Chia-yi to fight against the KMT at Chia-yi airport. It was a massive and successful fight in the beginning. Its leaders were later cheated by the KMT and surrendered, and Chen Fu-chih was arrested and executed. Li Hsiao-feng 李筱峰, *2-28 hsiaoshih te Taiwan chingying* 二二八消失的台灣菁英 (Disappeared Taiwanese Elites during the 2-28 Incident), Taipei: Tzu-li, 1990, 228-235.

surrounding them are holding hands together, dancing and celebrating their wedding which suggests a further continuation of the patrilineal family line through the bride's fertility. These three sections together construct a resurrection narrative: dead (fore)fathers are reborn as undamaged sons through their wives' (mothers') maternity and will be reborn again and again through heterosexual marriage. In other words, Taiwanese 2-28 victims who were men are redeemed in *Sweet Potato Planted* through rebirth.

Sweet Potato Planted is obviously not the only work in *Sadness Transformed* that redeems Taiwanese 2-28 victims who were men through a narrative of patrilineal resurrection. Both *Wei shoushang chiatzu lpei* 為受傷家族立碑 (Monuments to the Victims' Family, 1997) (Pl. 3.9) by Hsieh Li-fa(1938-), a man artist who has been associated with pro-independence Taiwanese intellectuals at least since the 1970s, and wrote the first comprehensive art historical book on Taiwan's modern art movement under Japanese occupation, and *Mother* 母親(1986) (Pl. 3.10) by Hsu Tzu-kui 許自貴 (1956-), a man artist, construct the same narrative to ensure the return of Taiwanese 2-28 victims who were men as unharmed sons/foetuses, and so to eternal life.²⁴⁰

Why is this trope of redeeming Taiwanese 2-28 victims who were men so predominant in a 2-28 commemoration like *Sadness Transformed*? The 2-28 victims, most of whom were men, suffered an unjust and infamous death during the course of the 2-28 Incident. They were falsely and maliciously labelled as 'criminals', 'rioters', 'Japanese slaves' and 'Chinese communist spies' by the KMT regime until the 1990s. Their surviving families suffered accordingly, not only from bereavement but also from tremendous degradation and deprivation in the political, social and economic spheres. There was an urgent need to do justice to, to clear and restore their names, and to

²⁴⁰ Hsieh Li-fa, *The History of Taiwan's Art Movement under Japanese Occupation*, Taipei: Artist.

compensate the 2-28 victims and their families. Hence, rehabilitation of the 2-28 victims also determines the major discursive frame of the 2-28 commemoration and historicisation. Under such circumstances, *Die Hard* which makes the infamous death of Chen Fu-chih into one that embodies martyrdom and heroism can, on the one hand, be understood as a realistic representational gesture to clear, restore and compensate the dignity and the name of the victim. On the other hand, however, why is there fantasmatic sacralisation and eternalisation of Taiwanese 2-28 men victims' death in this trope of redemption? Is there any politically, socially and culturally structural reason?

In his internationally influential book on nationalism, Benedict Anderson has discussed an obsession of modern nationalism with the sacralisation of death. He writes,

No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers. The public ceremonial reverence accorded these monuments precisely *because* they are either deliberately empty or no one knows who lies inside them, has no true precedents in earlier times. To feel the force of this modernity one has to imagine the general reaction to the busybody who 'discovered' the Unknown Soldier's name or insisted on filling the cenotaph with some real bones. Sacrilege of a strange, contemporary kind! Yet void as these tombs are of identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls, they are nonetheless saturated with ghostly *national* imaginings.

The cultural significance of such monuments becomes even clearer if one tries to imagine, say, a Tomb of the Unknown Marxist or a cenotaph for fallen Liberals. Is a sense of absurdity avoidable? The reason is that neither Marxism nor Liberalism are much concerned with death and immortality. If the nationalist is so concerned, this suggests a strong affinity with religious imaginings. As this affinity is by no means fortuitous, it may be useful to begin a consideration of the cultural roots of nationalism with death, as the last of a whole gamut of fatalities.²⁴¹ (Italics in the original)

Anderson observes that the powerful and inviolate sacralisation of death is key to the modern culture of nationalism and embodies its 'national imagining'. It is deeply embedded in religious imagining which generally attempts to transform the 'mortality' and 'contingency' of human life into 'immortality', 'continuity' and 'eternity' through the mystery of 'salvation' and 'regeneration' which links 'the dead' and 'the yet unborn'.

Based on Anderson's observation, I wish to argue that the sacralisation and eternalisation of Taiwanese 2-28 men victims' death in *Die Hard*, *Sweet Potato Planted* and

²⁴¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London & New York: Verso, 1991, 9-10.

other works reproduces a contemporary Taiwanese nationalist desire to establish a Taiwanese national imagining and identity. As the dead in the war cemeteries are often said to have died for the eternal life of a modern nation, Taiwanese 2-28 victims that were men, as illustrated in *Die Hard*, are also said to have died for the autonomous life of contemporary Taiwanese nation. The life of the contemporary Taiwanese nation can be created and sustained through the mystery of resurrection. In the case of *Sweet Potato Planted*, Taiwanese 2-28 men victims as the dead forefathers of the contemporary Taiwanese nation were reborn to women/mothers as its undamaged sons again and again.

A feature underlying the predominant contemporary Taiwanese nationalist trope of death as shown in *Die Hard* and *Sweet Potato Planted* differentiates itself, however, from Anderson's observation. While the 'anonymity' and 'modern universality' of the dead cannot be violated in Anderson's view, the death of Taiwanese 2-28 men victims, is nevertheless often sacralised and coded with their individual names and collective identities as 'Taiwanese', 'men' and perhaps even 'elites' by 2-28 historicisation and commemoration. In the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum, for example, there is a small oval room where photographs and name tablets of 2-28 Taiwanese elite men victims are neatly placed on the walls. Why does the cultural engagement of contemporary Taiwanese nationalists with death emphasise the distinctive individual and collective identification of the 2-28 victims?

Hsiau A-chin offers an insightful perspective on this question. He observes that contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism is a characteristic of the 'crafting' cultural and historical 'distinctiveness' of Taiwan because of the acute 'political competition' of Taiwanese nationalists against their threatening Chinese nationalist opponents both in contemporary Taiwanese politics and cross-Taiwan-Strait international politics. He regards the enthusiastic construction and production of the uniqueness of 'Taiwan

language', 'Taiwan literature' and '2-28 historicisation' in the 1980s and the 1990s as resisting discursive fields against the KMT's dominant political and cultural epistemologies and ideologies.²⁴² Hence, particularly the ethnic (and gendered) codification of the named dead 2-28 victims in 2-28 art representations re-enacts the contemporary Taiwanese nationalists' strategic essentialisation and nationalisation of ethnic, political, cultural, historical and geographical distinctiveness taken from certain aspects or traits of Taiwan. In other words, the ethnic codification of the named dead 2-28 victims proclaims: it is 'the Taiwanese (men)' who were victimised by a 'foreign' 'Chinese' regime, not 'the Chinese (men)'.²⁴³

Hence, I wish to suggest that the redemption, sacralisation and eternalisation of Taiwanese 2-28 men (elite) victims' death in *Die Hard*, *Sweet Potato Planted* and other works can be seen as producing a Taiwanese national imagining and identity that centres on (elite) men of Taiwanese ethnic origins, that is further sustained through father-to-son patrilineage, heterosexual marriage and women's reproductive function. Through the predominant death trope of the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, contemporary Taiwanese-men-centred national identity has obtained a powerful political stake through its strategically essentialised distinctive contents. Such Taiwanese consciousness and contemporary men-centered Taiwanese nationalists have replaced Chinese consciousness and men-centered Chinese nationalists, and have gradually become the predominant national consciousness and dominating political power in Taiwan since the mid-1980s. Moreover, Taiwanese-men-centred national identity has been privileged, hegemonised and naturalised as *the* national identity of Taiwan.

It would not be totally fair to say that there has never been any attempt by contemporary Taiwanese nationalists to incorporate difference among people in Taiwan,

²⁴² Hsiao A-chin, *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*, London and New York: Routledge, 2000, 15.

²⁴³ Either in Hsiao or Anderson's book, the problem of gendered (Taiwanese) national and cultural imagining is not discussed.

e.g. that of the aborigines as opposed to dominant Hoklo and Hakka ethnic groups, the two Taiwanese *penshengren* groups, within this wave of Taiwanisation.²⁴⁴ However, this predominant trope of death in 2-28 historicisation and commemoration as the foundation of national narration and representation is very limited in integrating differences, particularly when seen from today's viewpoint. As a consequence, its boundaries exclude, or at least create uneasiness among, contemporary Taiwanese people of different ethnic, class and gender backgrounds.

In *Sadness Transformed* as well as in 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, there have been a few attempts to contest this predominant trope of death. *Hsiang Huang Rong-ts'an chihching* 向黃榮燦致敬 (Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an, 1997) (Pl. 3.11) by Mei Dean-e, a Taiwanese artist of the Chinese mainlander ethnic origin, is one of these attempts. *Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an* also deploys a trope of death to redeem Huang Rong-ts'an. Mei dedicated a shrine to Huang in the style of those commonly set up in Taiwan's traditional Buddhist or Taoist funerals. On the white stand, Mei put a pile of white A4 paper on the edge of which he had cleverly reprinted Huang's work as a salute to the dead printmaker. At the back of the stand, Huang's photograph hung against the vast wall onto which Mei had reprinted and magnified Huang's work as much as possible. On top of, and in the centre of, the reprint of Huang's work on the wall, Mei placed Huang's portrait, and to the right his own research on Huang's life and deeds. While the viewer stands close to *Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an*, s/he can see Huang's art and life stories, and pay respect to Huang. On the left, there are the photographs and name tags of the 2-28 Taiwanese elite men victims.

In *Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an*, the death of Huang is equally overwhelming as that of Chen Fu-chih in *Die Hard*. Placed next to other 2-28 Taiwanese elite men victims, Huang, a leftist Chinese mainlander artist, is redeemed and heroised as the martyr of the

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 170-172.

new Taiwan nation in pursuit of social justice in the same way as his Taiwanese counterparts. *Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an* is a clear intervention into the discursive formation of contemporary Taiwanese ethnocentric national identity structured by the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration. It is an attempt to have a say in the 2-28 discourses from the perspective of a Chinese mainlander artist and hence to claim a place for Huang and the Chinese mainlander artist in the contemporary making of the new Taiwan nation and a new Taiwan art history.

Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an brings out a complex problem, concerning the place of *waishengren*, Chinese mainlander immigrants and their offspring, in Taiwan's history and society. The 2-28 Incident has many causes including the KMT's corrupt rule and economic system, the ethnic and cultural difference between *waishengren* (Chinese mainlander immigrants) and *penshengren* (the Taiwanese), severe discrimination against the Taiwanese and so forth. During the 2-28 Incident, the KMT massacred *penshengren* and many *penshengren* fought against the KMT. In a few areas, there were some fights between *penshengren* and *waishengren*. The KMT's massacre of *penshengren* and its later oppression of and discrimination against *penshengren*, the majority of Taiwan's population, further worsened the mistrust between these two groups. It made many *waishengren* think they were superior to *penshengren*. Some *penshengren* wanted to become *waishengren* or had trouble being *penshengren*; and to this day some *penshengren* hate, dislike or at least are unable to trust *waishengren*. Yet, several decades' experiences of inter-marriage and living together on Taiwan has made the love-hate relationship between these two ethnic groups much more complicated than ever, even the binary term '*penshengren* and *waishengren*' has become gradually weaker. On the other hand, some *waishengren* began to identify with Taiwan after living on the island for years but have finally realised that they are politically and culturally different from the Chinese of China, a country they thought – or were made to think – was theirs but in fact is not. As a result, some

waishengren think they are 'Taiwanese' not 'Chinese'; some say they are 'Taiwanese' and 'Chinese', and there are still a few who think they are 'Chinese' only.²⁴⁵

Within the remaking of the 2-28 cultural memories in the wave of the new Taiwan nation building, the KMT's sino-centric *waishengren* regime has been undermined and illegitimised as a foreign regime. Since the KMT has refused to say who were responsible for the crime of the 2-28 Incident, it has attributed the 2-28 Incident to the conflict between ethnic groups. Following this logic, *waishengren* have been made the scapegoat for the KMT, and the crime of the 2-28 Incident has been regarded as their 'sin'. This has become an unfortunate myth.²⁴⁶ Both Mei Dean-e's *Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an* and *Time's Other* curated by Ni Tzai-ch'in, discussed in Chapter 2, show their intention to counter this myth, by pointing out the contribution of some Chinese mainlander artists to Taiwan in the 1940s and early 1950s. Besides, they seemed to show the particular uneasiness and anxiety of *waishengren* towards the remaking of the 2-28 cultural memories and the discursive formation of the new Taiwanese ethno-centric national identity in the mid-1980s and the 1990s. In the meantime, the privilege and the Sino-centric belief system ascribed to *waishengren* by the KMT has been gradually undermined and illegitimised within the process of the new Taiwan nation-building. Confronting this enormous political and ideological restructuring is the particular crisis that has developed among *waishengren* concerning their national belonging. Inserting Chinese mainlander printmakers into 2-28 commemoration and historicisation and into Taiwan's art history as seen in both *Salute to Huang Rong-ts'an* and *Time's Other* is symptomatic of this anxiety and desire concerning national belonging.

²⁴⁵ For the research on the transition of *waishengren*'s national identity, see Stéphane Corcuff 高格孚, *Feng ho jib nuan: Taiwan waishengren yu kuochia jentung te chuanpian* 風和日暖：台灣外省人與國家認同的轉變 (Light Wind, Warm Sun: The Transition of Taiwan's *Waishengren*'s National Identity), Taipei: Yunch'en, 2004.

²⁴⁶ Chen Li-fu (ed.), *Chinchi, yuantzui, peichu: hsinshengtai kan 2-28 shihchien* (Taboo, Sin and Tragedy: the 2-28 Incident from a new generational perspective), Taipei: Taohsiang, 1990.

Like Mei Deane, Wu Mali also intervened in the discursive formation of contemporary Taiwanese national identity and subjectivity through 2-28 historicisation, but from a feminist perspective. Her work *Mu chih ming* 墓誌銘 (Epitaph, 1997) made for *Sadness Transformed* powerfully questions,

男人的歷史改寫了
 ——暴民可以變成英雄
 His/tory has been revised.
 --the rioter may become the hero.
 女人的故事呢？
 How about her story?²⁴⁷

Shen Hsiu-hua also writes about the exclusion or marginalisation of women's experiences in the 2-28 discourses in the introduction to *Chamorang e 2-28* 查某人的二二八一政治寡婦的故事 (Women's 2-28: Stories of Political Widows, 1997),

...The 2-28 Incident has become the event that signifies the collective suffering of the Taiwanese under the oppression of the foreign regime [the KMT regime]. Through re-articulating this painful history, the Taiwanese find the foundation for their *kun-tung-ming-yun-t'i* 共同命運體 (shared community). The 2-28 men victims, who died in 1947, are commemorated and become the pioneers who sacrificed for the autonomy of the Taiwanese in the contemporary historical construction of Taiwanese subjectivity.

*What is interesting is that women are missing in almost all 2-28 discourses. Women who survive/d the hardship and raise/d the children in terror are missing.*²⁴⁸ (Italics mine)

It might not be totally fair to say that there has not been any attempt by contemporary Taiwanese nationalists to incorporate gender difference within this wave of Taiwanisation through 2-28 historicisation and commemoration. Chen Fang-ming, a prominent pro-Taiwan-independence 2-28 man historian who teaches at the Department of Taiwan Literature at National Chengchi University 政治大學, has written a significant account on Hsieh Hsue-hung 謝雪紅 (Xie Xue-hong), a Taiwanese communist woman involved in anti-Japanese-colonisation movements, and who led military uprisings in Taichung regions during the 2-28 Incident and fled to China to avoid the KMT's persecution. The account is entitled *Hsieh Hsue-hung p'ing-chuan: luot'u putiao te yuyiebhua* 謝雪紅評傳：落土不凋的雨夜花 (A Critical Biography of Hsieh

²⁴⁷ In order to keep the structure of this chapter clear and simple, I wish to leave any further discussions on Wu Mali's work to Chapter 4.

²⁴⁸ Shen Hsiu-hua, *Women's 2-28: Stories of Political Widows*, 14.

Hsue-hung: the Flower that Fell but Never Withered Away, 1989).²⁴⁹ Chang Yian-hsien, an influential pro-Taiwan-independence 2-28 man historian and currently the Director of Academia Historica 國史館, claims in his introductory essay to *Taipei Nankang 2-28* 台北南港二二八 (The 2-28 Incident in Nankang, 1995) – a book which belongs to an important and popular collaborative series of 2-28 oral histories published by Wu San-lien Foundation – that writing ‘women’s 2-28 oral histories’ is ‘a new research path’.²⁵⁰ Much influenced and encouraged by Chen and Chang, *Sadness Transformed* was partially dedicated to the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims having a section in the exhibition called ‘the forgotten women’. The exhibition also included in catalogue essays on this subject written respectively by Chen and Chang.²⁵¹

As we have seen in *Die Hard*, women are represented as anonymous and helpless mourners in contrast to Chen Fu-chih, the heroic central figure/man. In *Sweet Potato Planted*, women are represented as mothers/pregnant women/fertile brides who are (potentially) pregnant with and looking after the son/heir, the central figure/man, of the dead (fore)fathers. These two paintings follow a visual order that places men at the centre of the gaze/narrative and women at the margin, subsidiary yet useful in securing the places of the men.

This visual hierarchy based on gender difference is also seen in some paintings of *Sadness Transformed*, where women are represented as the only figure. In *Days of Emptiness* (1986) (Pl. 3.12) by Lai Wu-hsiung (1942-), a man artist, has a woman sitting alone at a dining table against a blank and limited domestic space. On the table, there are a teapot

²⁴⁹ Chen Fang-ming, *Hsieh Hsue-hung p'ingchuan: luot'u putiao te yuyiehbua* 謝雪紅評傳：落土不凋的兩夜花 (A Critical Biography of Hsieh Hsue-hung: the Flower that Fell but Never Withered Away), Taipei: Ch'ien-wei, 1989.

²⁵⁰ Chang Yian-hsien, ‘2-28 nuhsing shih yianjiou te hsinlu 二二八女性史研究的新路 (Women’s 2-28 Histories as a New Research Path)’, in Chang Yian-hsien 張炎憲, Hu Hui-ling 胡慧玲, Lee Chung-kuang 黎中光, *Taipei Nankang 2-28* 台北南港二二八 (The 2-28 Incident in Nankang), Taipei: Wu San-lien Foundation, 1995.

²⁵¹ Chen Fang-ming, ‘ts'anhui chih men 殘毀之門 (The Arch of Destruction)’, Chang Yian-hsien, ‘2-28 nuhsing chiasbu te hsinling lishih 二二八女性家屬的心靈歷史 (The Psychological History of the Women in the Families of the 2-28 Victims)’, both in TFAM (ed.), *Sadness Transformed*, 24-27; and 28-30.

and two teacups. One teacup is placed in front of a vacant seat and the other remains on the tray. The woman looks towards the vacant seat and seems absorbed in thinking of the person who is supposed to be sitting there drinking tea. These two arrangements together indicate the real central figure of the painting/narrative: the (absent) central member of the family who is very dear to the woman, rather than the woman herself, and there is no one able to recognise and engage with the woman. Since *Sadness Transformed* is partially dedicated to ‘the forgotten women’, namely the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, it is reasonable to assume that the real central figure of *Days of Emptiness* is the absent 2-28 victim who might be the woman’s husband.

The wall – the background against which the woman sits – is overwhelmingly pale, which helps highlight the event in the foreground and defines the contour of the limited space in which the woman sits. The timeframe and the atmosphere seem frozen. The world in which the woman lives appears to be confined and blanked out. The mind and the life of the woman seem to have stopped at the point when the woman’s husband disappeared (or died). She has been suffering a great deal from being isolated and socially confined, endlessly waiting for her husband’s return. Her existence and whole life seems empty, hingeing on the tragic loss of the absent person in the family. In summary, all these inter-connected visual representational strategies successfully construct the overwhelming presence of the absence of the 2-28 man victim and how tragic it was to lose him, disguised by the veil of the bereavement of the painted woman figure.

Days of Emptiness is not the only exhibit in *Sadness Transformed* which uses this visual representational strategy. *P’enghu lao fujen: wang ni tzao kui* 澎湖老婦人：望你早歸 (Old Lady of Penghu, Looking for Your Early Return, 1983) (Pl. 3.13) by Chen Chin-jung 陳景容 (1934-) and *Lingwu* 領悟 (Realisation, 1996) (Pl. 3.14) by Lu Hsien-ming 陸先銘 (1959-), for example, both employ a similar visual representational strategy. In *Old Lady of Penghu*,

Looking for Your Early Return, it is her son whom the painted woman waits for.²⁵² *Realisation* suggests that it is also a son whom the woman waits for and whose child she is taking care of. Through the loss suffered by a painted woman figure, *Days of Emptiness*, *Old Lady of Penghu*, *Looking for Your Early Return* and *Realisation* all bring out the overwhelming presence of the loss of the 2-28 men victims and how tragic it was for the woman's life and for society.

The visual narratives and narrative strategies discussed so far have their own sexual division of labour: men die; women mourn. Men and women are also represented in very limited stereotypical ways: men are the innocent ones who die and become national martyrs, heroes and forefathers; women are survivors who remember and by feminine virtues take care of sons (heirs) in order to continue the patrilineage of the men. Although *Sadness Transformed* is partially dedicated to 'the forgotten women' who suffered from the 2-28 Incident, behind the celebration of the feminine virtues of these forgotten women, (dead) men are construed as national and historical subjects of the new Taiwanese nation while women are seen not as national and historical subjects but as silenced outsider witnesses to the death of their men and to the tragedy of 2-28 Incident, and are subsidiary to their men. The 'forgotten' women are hence 'forgotten' again.

These visual narratives and narrative strategies are not uncommon in 2-28 commemoration and historicisation. The catalogue essay by Chang Yian-hsien for *Sadness Transformed* is a shorter revised version of his earlier introductory essay to *The 2-28 Incident in Nankang*.²⁵³ In the second essay, Chang firstly indicates his liberal and pro-women standpoint by claiming 'women's 2-28 oral histories' to be 'a new research path'. He states that 'this new research approach' will enable us to see 'the psychological

²⁵² Chen Ching-jung 陳景容, 'Cb'uangtzuo tzushu 創作自述 (Artist Statement)', in TFAM (ed.), *Sadness Transformed*, 72.

²⁵³ Chang Yian-hsien, 'Women's 2-28 Histories as a New Research Path'.

trajectories of the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims which reflect the sexual relations and the transformation of women's social status in Taiwanese society'. It will not only enrich the content of women's histories, but also portray the sadness and the historical meaning of the 2-28 Incident.

He praises, however, only certain type of women, the wives of the Taiwanese 2-28 elite men victims executed and abandoned in Nankang, Taipei, such as the wives of Wang Yu-ling, Wu Hung-ch'i 吳鴻麒, a successful barrister, Lin Lien-tzung 林連宗, a lawyer and a councillor at Taipei City Council, Lin Hsu-ping 林旭屏, a high official of the Bureau of Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor 台灣菸酒專賣局, Li Jui-han 李瑞漢, a lawyer, Li Jui-feng 李瑞峯, a lawyer, and Li Jui-han's younger brother, and Shih Chiang-nan 施江南, a doctor and the second Taiwanese to gain a PhD in Medicine. He states that these widows are all well educated, have survived all the hardship caused by the 2-28 Incident and therefore deserve to be paid homage in historical writing. Hence in *The 2-28 Incident in Nankang*, recent photographs of these virtuous political widows are unconventionally placed beside the photographs of their husband and their old family albums, and pages are assigned for their memories. Chang takes the memories of these elite women/political widows as 'women's 2-28 oral histories in general' and claims that their 'feminine greatness of survivorship' is as important as 'the masculine beauty of protest and death.'²⁵⁴

The structure and the scope of Chang's introduction to *The 2-28 Incident in Nankang* and of the book itself place such a progressive proclamation in a somewhat awkward situation. The oral histories of these wives such as Yang Chao-chih 楊毛治 et. al are still arranged under the heading of their husbands' names like Wu Hung-ch'i et. al. rather than under their own names, or under the kind of headings used in Shen Hsiu-hua's

²⁵⁴ Ibid, 15. For the experiences of the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims from non-elite classes, see Shen Hsiu-hua, *Women's 2-28: Stories of Political Widows*.

book that describe who and how they are and what they do in real life. In Chang's introduction, in the case of Yang Chao-chih for example, she is addressed only briefly as 'the wife of Wu Hung-ch'i and 'Mrs. Wu Hung-ch'i' rather than by her own name. The introductory writing and the way the whole book is edited clearly place these well-educated women in subsidiary positions to their elite husbands. Their stories as token women's her/stories are subsidiary to their husbands'/men's histories as well as Taiwan's national histories. Women's stories are needed here to testify and substantiate the collective memory of the 2-28 Incident (as formulated by the media and many political factions) that the old KMT regime, as the monster other, killed innocent Taiwanese people. These stories can act as expanded specimens of those of other 2-28 victims and survivors from the non-elitist classes.

It is this structural sexual division of labour and its ideology, namely heroisation and redemption of men and femininisation of remembrance, deeply rooted in the hegemonic narrative and narrative strategy of 2-28 historicisation mentioned above, that together render women missing as non-national-and-historical subjects. As Shen Hsiu-hua states,

...Or, if we had ever heard their voices, it had been because we wanted them to tell us how their husbands had been victimised. *Stories of these women finding their way out [of the 2-28 historical trauma] are only used sporadically to embellish those of their men. Those of them as subjects are not seen at all.*²⁵⁵ (Italics mine)

At the first glance, Chen Fang-ming's book on Hsieh Hsue-hung seems to go beyond this sexual division of labour in 2-28 historicisation and commemoration.²⁵⁶ As a Taiwanese communist political activist leading the 2-28 Uprising in Taichung regions, Hsieh is represented by Chen as a powerful '*wuchuang nuhsing* 武装女性(armed woman)' rather than a powerless 'mourning wife or mother' who takes care of the sons/heirs of

²⁵⁵ Shen Hsiu-hua, *Women's 2-28: Stories of Political Widows*, 14.

²⁵⁶ Chen Fang-ming, *A Critical Biography of Hsieh Hsue-hung: the Flower that Fell but Never Withered Away*.

the 2-28 victims.²⁵⁷ She is represented as a 'female national hero' who is equal to or better than men and very much detached from any family role.²⁵⁸

In her research on the New Taiwan Literary Archive published by Ch'ien-wei, Lai Chih-yi offers a thoughtful feminist rhetorical criticism of Chen's representation of Hsieh Hsue-hung.²⁵⁹ She finds that there are two major stereotypes of women in the New Taiwan Literary Archive: 'strong wife and mother'; and 'female hero'.²⁶⁰ The former and the most popular stereotype emphasises the eccentric and strong women who endure hardship and sacrifice everything to raise their children and keep the family together for the absent father and husband.²⁶¹ The latter is mainly represented by Hsieh Hsue-hung. She reckons four complex and somehow contradictory rhetorical strategies are adopted to construct Hsieh Hsue-hung as a 'female hero'. Firstly, 'Hsieh is denied being a woman', by constantly emphasising that what she did is 'what normal women could not do' and she is indeed 'better than men'. Secondly, Hsieh is always represented as 'a woman as opposed to other men'. Hsieh is not compared to other women Taiwanese communists but to her men colleagues. There are only two kinds of Taiwanese communists in Chen's book: 'Hsieh and other male comrades'. Hence, Hsieh is not represented as a 'heroine' but as 'a brilliant female man' since what she has been praised for is something that is conventionally attributed to men. Lai quotes Chen, 'the reason why Hsieh Hsue-hung can become a mythic figure is not because of her youth or her being a woman, but because of her unyielding personality.' Thirdly, Lai argues Chen's rhetoric contradicts 'the ineradicable woman identity' of Hsieh. It is her being a woman that gives Chen's representation of Hsieh as an 'armed woman' who is 'better

²⁵⁷ Ibid, Chapter 11, 279-350.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, Chapter 1, 41-46.

²⁵⁹ Lai Chih-yi, *Nuhsing chuyi yuyi p'ip'ing te shihchien: yuetu 'Hsin Taiwan Wenku'* 女性主義語藝批評的實踐：閱讀「新台灣文庫」(Feminist Rhetorical Criticism: Reading the 'New Taiwan Literary Archive'), M.A. Thesis, Graduate School of Mass Communication, Fu-jen Catholic University, 1993.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 38.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 38-49.

than men' a powerful and dramatic rhetorical effect. Fourthly, Hsieh is represented as a 'token woman'. Her impossible move beyond 'the social bounds of women' is taken by Chen to encourage particularly Taiwanese men (and women) to breach their right-wing social, political and ideological constraints and to pursue the disrupted left-wing national struggle for Taiwan. The underlying logic is that if Hsieh of '*nuliu chihpei* 女流之輩 (womankind/the weaker sex) could succeed, why could/can men not do the same'.²⁶²

Lai concludes that Chen's representation of Hsieh Hsue-hung does not go beyond the usual representation of women in the New Taiwan Literary Archive as wives and mothers who have sacrificed everything for men in their pursuit of Taiwanese consciousness. By emphasising that she is more than men and stressing her escape from her previous marriages and family ties, Hsieh is basically seen as a (female) man. Yet Chen emphasises her purity in love affairs, her marriage with Yang Ke-huang and her return to the family in her later life. This seems a gesture to place Hsieh back as one of the stereotypical 'wives'.²⁶³ Based on Lai's finding, perhaps we could say Chen's representation of Hsieh does not challenge the structure that sustains the sexual division of labour in not only Taiwanese nationalist writing in the New Taiwan Literary Archive but also in the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration.

3.4 Feminisation of Victimhood: Making the New Nation and National Subject Perfect and Whole

There was also another narrative and narrative strategy in *Sadness Transformed* that rendered women missing as non-national-and-historical subjects, which activated a deeper psychic structuration to deal with the 'wound' of the historical trauma done to the Taiwanese national subject conceived as masculine. To see this, we need to move on to a psychoanalytic vocabulary.

²⁶² Ibid, 49-54.

²⁶³ Ibid, 92-94.

Crying Dawn 哭泣的黎明 (1996) (Pl. 3.15) by Liu Keng-yi 劉耿一 (1938-), a man artist, whose father was Liu Ch'i-hsiang 劉啟祥 (a renowned senior Japanese-and-European-trained Taiwanese oil painter) is an oil painting in modern expressionist style. It depicts a living man holding a dead female body. It is an emotionally engaging and powerful painting that attempts to represent the victimisation and the past dark age of Taiwan.²⁶⁴ What I want to highlight here is its use of the female body to signify the victimhood of the 2-28 men victims, in particular, and of Taiwan and Taiwan's history. It seems that the pain, as it were, the social castration, the lack and the loss specifically of the 2-28 men victims but also of Taiwan and Taiwan's history, has been loaded into this dead female body or, more precisely speaking, into this dead female body as a representational container and trope for the wound that, in contrast to heroic sacralised deaths discussed above, cannot be projected onto the masculine representations of the nation.

This narrative strategy is similarly seen in the exhibition catalogue essay written by Chen Fang-ming.²⁶⁵ In the essay, Chen used his memorial narrative of his family relationship as a trope to represent the impact of the 2-28 Incident and the later oppression by the KMT regime on the Taiwanese. In his memorial narrative, the father figure (his father) witnessed many of his friends being taken away by train to the north by the KMT soldiers during the 2-28 Incident. They never came back. Shocked and intimidated by the 2-28 Incident, its aftermath and later oppression, he silenced himself, stopped participating in public affairs and became 'submissive'. Instead he devoted himself to trading, became addicted to alcohol and nightclubs, becoming dislocated and disconnected from home, family and the world.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ Liu Keng-i 劉耿一, 'Ch'uangtzuo tzushu 創作自述 (Artist Statement)', in TFAM (ed.), *Sadness Transformed*, 82.

²⁶⁵ Chen Fang-ming, 'The Arch of Destruction', 24-27.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

There is hardly any explicit verbal transmission of the traumatic knowledge of the 2-28 Incident from the father figure to the son figure (Chen himself). The most intimate memory that the son has of his father is – when he was a young child – of times when his father held his little hand, took him to the railroad to see a beautiful sunset. He enjoyed all such rare moments with his father. Despite sensing an element of sadness in his father's silence, he did not realise until many years later that his father was actually looking towards the north and still hoping for his friends' return.²⁶⁷

With the reserved description of the father's silence and submission, the son's lack of knowledge of Taiwan's oppression and of his father's social castration, and of the bond between the father and the son, the virtuous mother figure (Chen's mother) enters Chen's memorial narrative. The mother figure becomes the most explicit signifier of the castration of the father survivor (the father figure) and the victimhood of Taiwan. The mother figure constantly suffers from and endures the pain of waiting for a dislocated, disconnected and abusive husband (the Taiwanese man) who cannot accommodate his historical traumatisation and takes it out on his wife, and also from the pain of raising their children with limited support.²⁶⁸ In Chen's narrative, endless frustration from waiting and endless pain from the bursting breasts of the mother figure (his mother) becomes 'the most painful images of Taiwanese mothers', which then becomes a metaphor bringing out Taiwan's most painful history.²⁶⁹

In the beginning of his narrative, Chen set up the historical stage for *Sadness Transformed*. He used 'the arch of destruction' 殘毀之門 to divide Taiwan's history. Inside 'the arch of destruction' is Taiwan's traumatised past. Outside 'the arch of destruction' is Taiwan's bright future.²⁷⁰ The 50th anniversary of the 2-28 Incident, the occasion when *Sadness Transformed* was held, lies exactly on the threshold of 'the arch of destruction'. At

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 24-5.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 26.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 27.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 24.

the end of his narrative, he echoed this setting by ‘seeing the Taiwanese mothers who suffered from the pain cruelly inflicted by history passing through “the arch of destruction”. They passed the historical ordeal painfully and fearfully in the beginning, yet peacefully and calmly in the end’.²⁷¹ In the end, this passing – this passage of history – is also redemptive. The son figure grows up, knowing the father figure’s historical and political trauma, and finally obtains his dignity.²⁷² The pain inflicted by history and politics in this narrative of father-to-son leaves almost no trace in the national and historical continuum. It has been totally displaced onto the mother figure. As has been mentioned before, the pain inflicted by history and politics cruelly leaves its marks on the body of the mother figure instead.²⁷³ Yet, at the threshold of ‘the arch of destruction’, these marks seem about to be left in the past. At the end of his essay, Chen recounted how he took a picture of his 73 year old mother. Her appearance in the picture reminded him of her in the one taken when she was 18 years old.²⁷⁴ Time seems to stop here. The mother figure has finally passed through ‘the arch of destruction.’ The 50 years’ historical ordeal displaced onto her is left inside ‘the arch of destruction’, ‘the gate of history’.²⁷⁵

In 2-28 commemoration, we seldom see works that represent the castration, damage and loss of the 2-28 men victims or other men in their families. It has been displaced onto the female body, so that the castrated male national and historical subject can be recovered and redeemed as whole and undamaged again. The traumatic past can be left in the past and the new Taiwan nation and a new political utopia can be declared.

The only work that can be said to have engaged with the loss, damage and castration of the 2-28 man victim is perhaps *Ch’ung sheng* 重生 (Revival, 1996) (Pl. 3.16) by Ouyang

²⁷¹ Ibid, 27.

²⁷² Ibid, 24.

²⁷³ Ibid, 25-6.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, 26-7.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 24.

Wen 歐陽文(1924-), a Taiwanese man artist. In the centre of *Revival*, an iron grey pillbox almost occupies the whole gaze of the viewer. Outside the pillbox on the left, there is a pair of rusty handcuffs. The pillbox and the rusty handcuffs seem to recall an experience of imprisonment in the past that might be central to the artist's life. Ouyang Wen (who was from the Chia-yi region) once learned art from and became very close to Chen Ch'eng-po. During the 2-28 Incident, he joined the fight against the KMT at Chia-yi airport. After Chen was executed, he went into hiding. During the White Terror period, he was arrested and sent to a prison on a remote island outside Taiwan. After 12 years' imprisonment, he could not teach anymore, his family almost split up and his life was ruined.

Outside the pillbox, there is a cluster of wild lilies in blossom. These flowers are native to Taiwan and can survive any hardship. This might be intended to produce a narrative in which the artist/subject is revived after long term of imprisonment and lives again like the wild lily. The grey and gruesome pillbox that occupies almost the whole picture plane, however, seems too overwhelming to sustain this intention, since it conveys a powerful traumatic affect that summons a sense of the loss and the damage suffered by the man during his imprisonment. I can still remember Ouyang describing, even many years after his release and after the lifting of Martial Law, how he still feared that the police were going to arrest him whenever he saw or heard them.²⁷⁶ In other words, the traumatic affect evades the intention to contain trauma; and the loss and damage are permanent.

In summary, *Revival* particularly shows the artist's struggle with the hegemonic way of reconstructing and compensating the damaged masculinity in 2-28 commemoration discussed above.²⁷⁷ In order to reconstruct a perfect and whole Taiwan national and

²⁷⁶ Chia-yi, 9 March 2004.

²⁷⁷ I wish to thank Dr. Paul-Francois Tremlett of the Study of Religion, School of Oriental and African Studies whose work on masculinity has brought me to elaborate more on this issue.

historical subject, the mark of loss and damage on the man subject inflicted by the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident can not be admitted, at least not consciously. *Revival* seems to reveal accidentally the loss associated with the man subject, the loss that cannot be spoken and remains a touching exception among 2-28 memorial works by this artist. In *Tai tienchi* 待天機 (Waiting for God's Will, 1993) (Pl. 3.17) exhibited in *Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families* and *Paint My Value, Write My Respect*, Ouyang Wen depicts a man in a dark prison cell. The man is wearing red, sitting in a dignified posture. He looks spirited and very much empowered. There is not any trace of damage or loss caused by the imprisonment.²⁷⁸ In *Hsin hsin hsiang jung* 欣欣向榮 (Prosperity, 2004) (Pl. 3.18) shown in *Paint My Value, Write My Respect*, and *Ts'ung heiann tao kuangming* 從黑暗到光明 (From Darkness to Brightness, 2004) (Pl. 3.19) exhibited in *Longing, Yearning, Where am I*, Ouyang Wen adopts the trope of the wild lily again. Unlike *Revival*, *Prosperity* and *From Darkness to Brightness* both show wild lilies in full blossom in a bright weather. As has been discussed earlier, this trope signifies that the pain inflicted on the subject has totally gone and everything is fine.²⁷⁹

3.5 Trauma that Refuses to Go Away and Some 'Unfinished Business'²⁸⁰

Does the pain inflicted by the 2-28 Incident really go away? No, as has been shown by the division of people in Taiwan (discussed in Chapter 1) that followed the 2004 2-28 commemorative events and the presidential election. The aesthetic attempts of *Sadness Transformed* to declare the coming and arrival of the painfree new Taiwan nation have not always been successful. Like *Revival* by Ouyang Wen, Chang Yi-hsiung's *One Century*

Paul-Francois Tremlett, *Power, Invulnerability, Beauty: Producing and Transforming Male Bodies in the Lowland Christianised Philippines*, Occasional Papers in Gender Theory and the Study of Religions, no. 1, London: Centre for Gender & Religions Research, SOAS, 2004.

²⁷⁸ Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum(ed.), *Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families*. Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation(ed.), *Paint My Value, Write My Respect*.

²⁷⁹ Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation(ed.), *Paint My Value, Write My Respect*. Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation(ed.), *Longing, Yearning, Where am I*.

²⁸⁰ This term is taken from the title of Griselda Pollock's course: 'Unfinished Business: Trauma, Cultural Memory and the Holocaust', for School of Fine Art, Histories of Art & Cultural Studies, University of Leeds.

fails to contain the pain of the 2-28 historical and political trauma. The second and third sections from the bottom that signifies fifty years of KMT rule occupy almost the whole picture plane and hence the viewer's gaze. The black and the bloody red seem to convey and fixate the overwhelming pain that perhaps unconsciously contradicts and undermines the main narrative of the painting: *Yu kuo tien ch'ing* ('after gloom comes brightness'; 'difficult period gives way to bright future'). This again indicates the need to explore the structure of trauma and understand why trauma always returns to haunt despite attempts to forget, and to investigate how to aesthetically address this continuing source of trauma – 2-28 – and transform it into memory. The former task is taken up in Chapter 5 and the latter in Chapter 6. The aesthetic formation of the masculine Taiwanese national and historical subject at the expense of the possibilities for constructing the feminine national and historical subject also leaves unaddressed the traumatic experiences of the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. This largely unfinished business concerning national trauma and sexual difference will be explored further in Chapter 4 and in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4 Nation, Nationalism and Missing Women²⁸¹

男人的歷史改寫了²⁸²
 ——暴民可以變成英雄
 His/tory has been revised (*Men's history has been revised*)²⁸³
 --the rioter may become the hero.
 女人的故事呢？
 How about her story? (*How about women's story?*)
 --- Wu Mali, *Epitaph*, 1997

Upon entering the installation, *Epitaph* (Pl. 4.1) by Wu Mali, this question immediately confronts the viewer. It arises from a feminist perspective of the 2-28 commemoration and historicisation. The history of the 2-28 Incident has been actively reconstructed in Taiwan's post-Martial Law nation-building. The 2-28 men victims have been rehabilitated as heroes and martyrs of Taiwan. Women, however, still remain invisible in this trope of historical and national construction.

Like Wu Mali, Shen Hsiu-hua notes, as was discussed in Chapter 3, that 'women are missing from almost all 2-28 discourses'. While the 2-28 men victims become national heroes and forefathers, she suggests the 'women who survive/d the hardship and raise/d the children in terror are missing'. Here, I wish to call this absence of women *the primary type of missing*, by which I refer to the fact that women are almost not mentioned at all in 2-28 historical and cultural representations. This refers to the omission of women in almost all 2-28 historicisation except for those women's 2-28 histories of Chen Fang-ming, Chang Yian-hsien, Juan Mei-shu and Shen Hsiu-hua, and in the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions other than *Sadness Transformed*.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ The author wishes to thank Dr. Lutgard Lams of the Catholic University of Brussels, Dr. Carsten Storm of Technische Universität Dresden, Dr. Paul-Francois Tremlett of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Dr. Shu-mei Shih of the University of California Los Angeles and Dr. Yuko Kikuchi of London University of the Arts for their comments on the earlier and partial version of this chapter.

²⁸² This passage has been quoted in Chapter 3. Since this chapter will discuss *Epitaph* in great details, I re-quote it here but with some minor variation. Hereafter, the characters in Wu Mali's Han Chinese texts are italicised by me in order to emphasise its sex/gender reference.

²⁸³ Hereafter, I will provide my own literal translation of some of Wu Mali's texts in bracket and italics in order to to emphasise emphasise its sex/gender reference.

²⁸⁴ Chen Fang-ming, *A Critical Biography of Hsieh Hsue-hung: the Flower that Fell but Never Withered Away*; Juan Mei-shu, *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude: Looking for my Father Juan Ch'ao-jih*; Juan Mei-shu, *Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner: Looking for the Dispersed February 28 Victim's*

Shen further identifies another way of excluding women from 2-28 historicisation which I wish to call *the secondary type of missing*. By ‘the secondary type of missing’, I wish to refer to the fact that women are sometimes mentioned, but only in a men-centred way or for men-centred purposes and persuasion. Shen indicates that in 2-28 historicisation those political widows are only visible when the privileged 2-28 historians ‘wanted them to tell us how their husbands had been victimised’. She argues that reason for the stories of those women ‘finding their way out’ is that they are ‘used sporadically to embellish those of their men’.²⁸⁵ In other words, what their relationships are to the state and how they cope with the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident in their daily lives are not mentioned in the mapping of contemporary Taiwanese nationhood by Taiwanese nationalists re-writing 2-28 history. Who they are as subjects and what they did/said and do/say as experiences are not valued.

Chang Yian-hsien’s introduction to *Taipei Nankang 2-28*, Chen Fang-ming’s essay ‘The Arch of Destruction’, and works by Hsu Wu-yung, Chen Tzu-ts’ai, Lai Wu-hsiung and Liu Keng-yi (as has been shown in Chapter 3) all exemplify the problem of ‘the secondary type of missing’.²⁸⁶ These representations all concern the ‘forgotten women’ of the families of the 2-28 men victims. In the end, however, they either privilege men as the only national and historical subjects of the new Taiwan nation or transfer men’s castration and victimisation onto women’s bodies. As a result, the ‘forgotten women’ are remembered to be forgotten again.

Shen Hsiu-hua attempts to locate the fundamental problem underlying these two types of women missing in the discursive field of 2-28 historicisation. She observes that much 2-28 historicisation and most 2-28 oral histories aim to restore the political and historical condition of the 2-28 Incident as it was in 1947. They produce 2-28 histories

Families; Chang Yian-hsien, ‘Women’s 2-28 Histories as a New Research Path’; and Shen Hsiu-hua, *Women’s 2-28: Stories of Political Widows*.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 14.

²⁸⁶ Chang Yian-hsien, ‘Women’s 2-28 Histories as a New Research Path’.

that centre on men's struggles, given the empirical fact that almost all 2-28 victims were men.²⁸⁷ Her observation implicitly questions the empiricist presumptions underlying the predominant 2-28 discursive practice of not writing women into history. She indicates that the empirical data and sources on which the predominant 2-28 positivist practices have been based do not constitute a universal truth but are the result of gender structuring. She identifies the two problems of gender difference and sexual division of labour as determining women's relationship to the 2-28 Incident and differentiating from that of men, both totally ignored by the predominant 2-28 positivist historical practices. Based on Virginia Woolf's renowned feminist argument that war and political violence are profoundly chauvinist and generally initiated, caused and controlled by men, Shen insists that most women are passively drawn into war. While men are killed in war and become national heroes, she continues to assert, women seldom benefit from war.²⁸⁸ She writes,

The 2-28 Incident is an event caused by political and military atrocity imposed by Chinese nationalist chauvinist regime in order to stabilise its rule on Taiwan. Within Taiwanese society during that particular time, those who were able to influence public opinion and held power and resources were men. Given this background, it is hence not surprising almost all of whom the KMT massacred were Taiwanese men, especially those social elites.

Thus, when men became the 2-28 victims, that their wives became the political widows in the massacre is definitely not a historical coincidence. *The emergence and existence of 'political widows' is basically a product of social and cultural construction. It is because the operation of our society is indeed gendered. Men and women are assigned different tasks by the power structure of the society and are offered different accesses and roles in the process of nation-building. Hence men and women are determined to have different experiences in power struggle and nation-building. And these experiences then lead to the fact that men and women have different national imagination and mapping.*²⁸⁹ (Italics mine)

Shen explains how culturally and socially constructed gender difference and sexual division of labour make women unlikely to become 'war/political heroes' in men's terms and therefore they do not fit into the positivist frames of 2-28 national and historical production, which are built upon the need for empirical 'war/political heroes.' Shen's feminist intervention hence opens up a new dimension that enables us to look

²⁸⁷ Shen Hsiu-hua, *Women's 2-28: Stories of Political Widows*, 10.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 12.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 13.

behind and think beyond the empirical veil of the presence of men and the absence of women in the history of the 2-28 Incident and in the 2-28 archival and cultural representations, and see ‘the primary type of women missing’. Furthermore, her feminist questions about how the political widows economically, socially, politically, psychically psychologically and even sexually adapted to the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident enable us to view in a different way than before the existence and experiences of the wives of the 2-28 men victims as national, historical, social, class and sexual subjects not subsidiary to the 2-28 men victims. Her writing proposes an alternative way of historicising the 2-28 Incident and its aftermath that contrasts with the predominant way in which the secondary type of missing women has been represented or re-enacted. It breaks the consensus of the predominant positivist 2-28 historical practice that to historicise the 2-28 Incident is to historicise the death and victimisation of the (elitist) Taiwanese men and hence redeem them as the only national and historical subjects.

Shen Hsiu-hua makes clear that the empirical data on which the 2-28 historicisation is based is indeed a social and gendered construct. Her book focuses on bringing in the empirical evidence for the political widows’ subjective relations to the 2-28 Incident, and to the state, and to society, being different from their husbands’. It does not address the structural problem of the predominant 2-28 historicisation *as a gendered Taiwanese nationalist representational system*. This is the question I wish to take on board in this chapter. Instead of looking at the discursive field of 2-28 historicisation, I wish to consider the modes of 2-28 artistic memorial representations exemplified by the works of *Sadness Transformed*. In Chapter 3, I mapped out some gendered ways by which men and women are represented in some works of 2-28 historicisation and of *Sadness Transformed*. In this chapter, I will further argue, on the basis of feminist discussions on gendered nationalisms, that contemporary 2-28 artistic representations, which embody the Taiwanese nationalist cultural techniques used to establish a contemporary

Taiwanese national imagining are indeed gendered.²⁹⁰ I wish to map out and analyse the gendered structure of contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism by engaging with feminist theories on kinship, and on the partition of space in society.²⁹¹

4.1 Taiwan as *Mother-land*

In *Sadness Transformed*, there is a trope of representing Taiwan as motherland, that is, as the maternal body.

Tati chih mu 大地之母 (Mother of the Great Earth, 1996) (Pl. 4.2) by Lin Wen-ch'iang 林文強, consists of a 227x182cm oil painting and a 65cm wood sculpture. The oil painting represents a male resistance fighter, which may refer to Lin's grandfather who was victimised because of being an anti-Japanese colonial fighter, and to his father who was involved in the 2-28 Incident fighting against the KMT oppressors.²⁹² The artist uses bold and rough black strokes to build up the man's body and its muscle. The rapid and chaotic movement and the crude texture of the paint seem to bring out the severe struggle the resistance fighter is involved in. The cracks and the hole in the paint with a hint of red seem to signify the wound and the pain of the fighter inflicted by the brutality. In front of the huge and overwhelming painting, the artist has placed a much smaller yellow wooden statue facing the man. According to Lin, the local Camphorwood of which this statue is made has 'the texture of earth', so that the statue

²⁹⁰ For feminist discussions on gendered nationalisms, see Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (eds.), *Woman-Nation-State*, Hampshire; London: The Macmillan Press, 1989; Andrew Parker et al. (eds.), *Nationalisms & Sexualities*, New York; London: Routledge, 1992; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993; Valentine M. Moghadam (ed.), *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies*, London: Published for the United Nations University Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU/WIDER) by Zed Books, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994; Anne McClintock (ed.), *Imperial Leather*, London: Routledge, 1995; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, London: Sage, 1997; Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-century France*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001; and Tricia Cusack and Sighle Bhreathnach-Lynch (eds.), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures*, Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2004.

²⁹¹ Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex', in Rayna Reiter, *Towards an Anthropology of Women*, New York & London: Monthly Review Press, 1975, 157-210. Shirley Ardener, 'Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction', in Shirley Ardener (ed.), *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, London: Croom Helm in association with Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, 11-34.

²⁹² Lin Wen-ch'iang, 'Artistic Statement', in TFAM(ed.), *Sadness Transformed*, 90.

represents a warm 'figure of Mother of the Great Earth'. By looking up to and silently embracing the male fighter, this 'figure of Mother of the Great Earth' is offering a particular comforting power to him and carrying and holding his pain for him.²⁹³

Mother of the Great Earth produces a gendered memorial narrative and national imagining. It privileges masculine heroism and martyrdom and makes men into the fighters of Taiwan as a nation, a human-structured construct. Meanwhile, it places the mother *outside* this human-structured nation. When the master man fighter gets hurt in the fighting against the male oppressor and invader, the mother is called upon to comfort and absorb the pain and give a new life to him. In *Mother of the Great Earth*, the mother is *outside* the power structure and the cultural frame of Taiwan as the new nation which is conceived as masculine. The mother signifies the *land of Taiwan* whose 'endless natural resources' meet the needs and sustain the life of the man resistance fighter, and whose 'natural healing power' comforts, holds and heals his pain and loss.

In a sense, the maternal body in *Mother of the Great Earth* combines the functions of providing the new Taiwan nation's eternal life by carrying and nurturing the son/heir as seen in Cheng Tzu-ts'ai's *Sweet Potato Planted*, and of holding the pain and loss of the father-victim in Chen Fang-ming's 'The Arch of Destruction.' The maternal body in the works of Lin, Cheng and Chen bring out something in common: women are placed completely outside Taiwan as a nation. Women contribute to the discursive formation of the new Taiwan nation, but have no place in it at all. Their uses of the maternal body are not unique. They are frequently seen in Taiwanese nationalist literature such as the New Taiwan Literary Archive published by Ch'ien-wei and in literary representations of the 2-28 Incident by man writers.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Lai, Chih-yi, *Feminist Rhetorical Criticism: Reading the New Taiwan Literary Archive*; and Chien Su-cheng 簡素埕, '2-28 *hsiaoshuo chung te nuhsing yu lishih* 2-28 小說中的女性、省籍與歷史 (Women, Ethnicity and History in the Novels on the 2-28 Incident), in *Chungwai Wenhsue* 中外文學 (*Chungwai Literary Monthly*), vol. 27, no. 10, March 1999, 30-43.

Li Ch'iao 李喬, an influential and prolific Hakka Taiwanese writer, who also writes about the 2-28 Incident and who works as an advisor to President Chen Shui-bian, constantly employs the same trope.²⁹⁵ He re-titles the abridged version of his renowned trilogy of Taiwanese historical novel *Hanyieh sanpuch'u* 寒夜三部曲 (Wintry Night: A Trilogy, 1980) as *Tati chih mu* 大地之母 (Mother of the Great Earth, 2001).²⁹⁶ *Wintry Night* is an epic that traces Taiwan's history from the 1890s to the late 1940s through the fortunes of the Pengs, a Hakka family. It elaborates how Hakka people migrated to Taiwan, opened up the wild land, struggled with other ethnic groups, and established their families, histories and cultures. In the book, Taiwan is metaphorised as 'the mother'. As Li Ch'iao says in the preface to the first edition of *Wintry Night*,

Wintry Night: A Trilogy can also be titled as '*Much'in te kushih* 母親的故事 (The Story of the Mother)'. Here, the mother does not only refer to the 'woman' in flesh and blood who gave birth to me... The mother of the land and life (offspring) signify the continuity and eternity in the world of human beings.²⁹⁷

Taiwan is represented as the maternal body which does not only give birth to and nurture Hakka ancestors but also eases their pain and continues to create new life, that is offspring. From Taiwan as the 'Mother of the Great Earth', the Taiwanese patrilineal family and national tradition hope to continue forever and ever. In this way, Taiwanese history was born and is sustained.

Co-authored with Li Yung-ch'ih 李永熾, Chuang Wan-shou 莊萬壽 and Kuo Sheng-yu 郭生玉, Li Ch'iao's book *Taiwan chut'ihsing te chienko* 台灣主體性的建構 (On Constructing the Sovereignty of Taiwan) represents Taiwan as the mother that is

²⁹⁵ His writing on the 2-28 Incident includes: Li Ch'iao, *Maiyuan 1947 maiyuan* 埋冤 1947 埋冤 (Burying Grievance, 1947 Burying Grievance), Miaoli: Hakka Cultural Broadcasting, 1995/1996/2003/2004; Li Ch'iao, 'The meaning of "2-28" in the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Taiwanese'.

²⁹⁶ Li Ch'iao, *Hanyieh sanpuch'u* 寒夜三部曲 (Wintry Night: A Trilogy [1980]), Taipei: Yuan-ching, 2001. Li Ch'iao, *Tati chih mu* 大地之母 (Mother of the Great Earth), Taipei: Yuan-ching, 2001 published in English as Li, Qiao (Li Ch'iao), *Wintry Night*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. Li Ch'iao also has a collection of poems on the same subject of *Wintry Night* that is called as *Taiwan, My Mother*. Li Ch'iao, *Taiwan, wo te mu ch'in* 台灣，我的母親 (Taiwan, My Mother), Taipei: Ts'ao-ken, 1995.

²⁹⁷ Quoted in Ch'i Pong-yuan 齊邦媛, 'Tzunya huanhsiang le ma? ts'ung 'hanyieh' tao 'tati chih mu' 鱒魚還鄉了嗎？從《寒夜》到《大地之母》 (Does the Salmon Return Home Yet? From "Wintry Night" to "Mother of the Great Earth")', in Li Ch'iao, *Mother of the Great Earth*, Taipei: Yuan-ching, 2001, 2. Also see Li Ch'iao, *Mother of the Great Earth*, 479.

pregnant with us and who suffered from the colonisation of foreign regimes. Its independent status thus needs to be pursued, re-established and protected.²⁹⁸ It is written,

Taiwan was used as a base and a springboard for the foreign regimes to develop outward or invade others. Taiwan had no sovereignty at all. Residents here used to be enslaved by the foreign regimes and were never their own masters, deprived of the right to be a subject. Now, we have to restore the sovereignty of Taiwan and its residents. *We should integrate her with sovereign residents together as 'Taiwan People'.... Taiwan is ours. We should grant her sovereignty. She is not part of China. She is Mother who breeds us and gives us life.*²⁹⁹ (Italics mine)

This trope is indeed prevalent and widely disseminated in the contemporary Taiwanese nationalist campaign. *On Constructing the Sovereignty of Taiwan* is used as a textbook, published and distributed widely by the exclusive Lee Teng-hui School 李登輝學校 and by the Taiwan Advocates Association 群策會, which was set up by Taiwan's former President Lee Teng-hui to train pro-Taiwan- independence Taiwanese elites.

We can still see this trope widely used in the songs written specifically for DPP's various election campaign by authors of different generations.³⁰⁰ I quote below two popular songs just to show the popularity of this trope in the discursive field of Taiwanese cultural nationalism. The first was written by a middle-aged man taxi-driver Wang Wen-te 王文德 and the second by two students – a woman and a man – in their twenties, Chou Fu-yi 周馥儀 and Wu Yi-jui 吳易叡.

²⁹⁸ Li Yung-chih, Li Ch'iao, Chuang Wan-shou, Kuo Sheng-yu, *Tai-wan chu-t'i-hsing te chien-ko* 台灣主體性的建構 (On Constructing the Sovereignty of Taiwan), Taipei: Taiwan Advocates Foundation in collaboration with Lee Teng-hui School, 2004. Li Yung-chih is the professor in History at National Taiwan University, Kuo Sheng-yu an executive member of Research, Development, and Evaluation Commission of the Executive Yuan and the deputy secretary to Taiwan Advocates Association 群策會, and Chuang Wan-shou a professor of Taiwanese Culture, Languages and Literature at National Taiwan Normal University and an executive member of the Native Education Committee at the Ministry of Education of Taiwan. Here, I unconventionally translate *chut'ihsing* in the book title as 'sovereignty' (*chuch'uan* 主權) rather than as 'subjectivity' (*chut'ihsing* 主體性) in order to keep Li Yung-chih's highly politicised usage of the term.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, back cover.

³⁰⁰ The author wish to thank Miss Lin Luhung 林綠紅 for discussing with me concerning the gendered imageries in the songs for DPP's election campaigns. Lin Luhung has been actively involved in Women's Movement in Taiwan for a decade. She is now the chairwoman of Taiwan Women's Link 台灣女人連線, and the chief aide to the DPP Legislator Huang Sue-ying 黃淑英 and the DPP Taipei City Councillor Hsu Chia-ch'ing 徐佳青 who have been two of the most active spokeswomen for the Women's Movement in Taiwan.

母親的名叫台灣(1989)³⁰¹

Mother's Name is Taiwan written and composed by Wang Wen-te

母親是山 母親是海 母親是河 母親的名叫台灣

Mother is the sea, Mother is the river, Mother's name is Taiwan

母親是良知 母親是正義 母親是你咱的春天

Mother is Conscience, Mother is Justice, Mother is our Spring

二十萬粒的蕃薯子 不敢叫出母親的名

Twenty million sons of sweet potatoes do not dare to call Mother's name³⁰²

台灣甘是彼難聽 想到心寒起畏寒

Is 'Taiwan' very unpleasant to the ear? It is bitter to think about it.

二十萬粒的蕃薯子 不敢叫出母親的名

Twenty million sons of sweet potatoes do not dare to call Mother's name

親像啞吧壓死子 讓人心凝捶心肝

It is extremely distressing, like the dumb lost her son but could not speak about her pain

二十萬粒的蕃薯子 不倘靜靜不出聲

Twenty million sons of sweet potatoes should not keep silent

勇敢叫出母親的名 台灣啊 台灣啊 你是母親的名

Call Mother's name with courage! Taiwan, Taiwan, you are Mother's name.

母親台灣(2003)³⁰³

Mother Taiwan written by Chou Fu-yi and composed by Wu Yi-jui

流出田園的溪水 是妳養飼阮的奶

Streams flowing through the fields are the milk you give

用甜美與溫暖 乎阮代代佇這站起

With sweetness and warmth, you make us stand up here through generations

淋過風雨的山嶺 是妳堅強的身影

Mountains after the rain are the image of your strength

用意志與鼓勵 乎阮踏出歷史的腳跡

With determination and encouragement you make us set our footprints on history.

無分族群 無論身份

Disregarding ethnicity, disregarding identity

妳攏共款甲阮成養大漢

You raise us up as equal

嚟經威嚇 拒絕奴役

Not fear any threat, denying enslavement

妳攏共款教阮活出尊嚴

You want us to live with dignity

妳是母親台灣

You are Mother Taiwan.

³⁰¹ This song is written in Hoklo language rather than in Mandarin as a resistance. Wang Wen-te first sang this song as an audience in the call-out radio program *Taiwan bsianghuo* 台灣香火 (Taiwan Tradition) hosted by a renowned Taiwanese singer Ts'ai Chen-nan 蔡振南 and a renowned Taiwanese writer Wu Nien-chen 吳念真. By Wang's request, this song was then sung by Ts'ai Chen-nan and became one of the most popular songs in the DPP election campaign. See *Music Taiwan*, ePaper, no. 4, 5 September 1999, <http://www.legend.net.tw/abcbbs/p4.htm> accessed date: 15 June 2005.

³⁰² In Taiwan, 'Sweet Potato 蕃薯' is a cultural code used to call 'the Taiwanese'/'penshengren'; and 'taro 芋頭' to call 'Chinese mainlanders and their offspring'/'waishengren'.

³⁰³ This song is written in Hoklo language rather than in Mandarin as a resistance. The Alliance to Rectify the Name of Taiwan 511 台灣正名運動聯盟, *511 Taiwan chengmin kainien chuanchi* *Ab mu e ni: yi ch'un ch'inienchisheng te yishih chitung* 511 台灣正名概念專輯—阿母 e 奶：一群七年級生的意識悸動 (The 511 Parade for Rectifying the Name of Taiwan--Mother's Milk: Conscious-raising of the people born in the 1980s), Taipei: the Alliance to Rectify the Name of Taiwan, undated. The 511 Parade for Rectifying the Name of Taiwan was done on Mother's Day, 11 May, 2002. Its basic agenda is to rectify the name of Taiwan as 'Taiwan' instead of 'China'. For its appeals and action plans, see the website of World United Formosans for Independence: <http://www.wufi.org.tw/eng/e511.htm> accessed date: 20 September 2005.

Cheng Fei-wen also notices this Taiwanese nationalist trope of representing Taiwan as the maternal body.³⁰⁴ She points out that ‘the metaphor of the maternal body’ is widely used to mark ‘the national space’ and ‘the boundary of national landscape’.³⁰⁵ She cogently argues that the maternal body is the site of the ‘national symbolic’ and the ‘national fantasy’ by which the life of the nation can be sustained and continued, and the wound of the nation can be repaired and compensated. By mediating and turning the pain into ‘national sentiment’ and displacing it onto the maternal body – the ideal pain-enduring woman – the ‘collective spirituality’ of ‘national belonging’ can be ‘naturally’ developed as a form of ‘kinship’, and Taiwanese ‘national identity’ can be ‘forged’.³⁰⁶ Her argument is interesting, analysing the framework by which the process of contemporary Taiwanese national identity has been discursively formulated through the metaphor of the maternal body. It also astutely indicates that women are totally excluded in the body politic of the nation despite their crucial instrumentality.

Nevertheless, I disagree with Cheng’s argument that takes ‘the maternal body’ as ‘the female body in general’ merely because of their common biological sex, since ‘the maternal body’ has been given very different gender meanings and functions from other types of female body in the Taiwanese nationalist discourses, especially in the 2-28 discourses. Cheng’s analysis is in line with Anne McClintock’s postcolonial reflection on why and how European white men imperialists and nationalists feminised the land they ‘discovered’ and ‘colonised’. McClintock points out that white men explorers and developers often referred to the land they ‘discovered’ as ‘virgin land’, ‘waiting for them to conquer’. She thus insists that ‘discovering and opening up the land’ was regarded as ‘an erotic act of engulfment’ by these adult men explorers and developers. On the other hand, she notes that the men explorers sometimes feminised the land as ‘mother’s

³⁰⁴ Cheng Fei-wen, *The Wounded Nation: Trauma, Memory and National Identity in Contemporary Taiwanese Identity*, Chapter 4.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, 162-3.

³⁰⁶ Ibid, 174-192.

tender bosom', waiting to embrace and feed them as though they were infants pursuing food, security and sexual gratification from a mother's breasts. She argues that the feminisation of the land was indeed a 'traumatic trope.' While exploring and opening up the land, these men explorers did not only lose their sense of boundary but also had to endure extreme hardship and loneliness. Hence, the feminisation of the land with a sexual overtone, following the logic of European patriarchy they were familiar with, is employed to ease their pain and to assure their 'sense of boundary'.³⁰⁷

In this vein, Cheng reckons that Taiwan, as an immigrant society, has a similar cultural rhetoric. For her, Taiwan was established by Han Chinese immigrants from south-eastern China who arguably ventured to Taiwan for economic reasons in a time of famine. Since most of these immigrants were '*lo-han-ka* 羅漢腳 (bachelors; vagrants).' Taiwan was imagined as 'the female body' to be conquered and as a 'mother's tender bosom' – with sexual overtones – to help them manage the hardship and the unknown danger of opening up the land.³⁰⁸

Perhaps there is a legacy of men immigrants feminising and sexualising the land they opened up. However, I wish to point out something that can not be ignored: 'the maternal body' in 2-28 discourses and in the contemporary Taiwanese nationalist discourses is almost de-sexualised. It is different from the female body that sustains the 'erotic act of engulfment', which is used in the discussion of exploration, migration and colonisation. It is a mother figure that is neither sexually tempting, nor touched, but continuously gives life and hope, endlessly suffering and unconditionally making sacrifices for others. It is also a mother figure that has been previously colonised by many foreign regimes but should not now be conquered again but has to be respected and protected at all costs by the people of Taiwan. Here, I wish to suggest that the land

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 167-9.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 164-7.

of Taiwan is represented as a de-sexualised mother figure in the 2-28 discourses and in the contemporary Taiwanese nationalist discourses perhaps because of *the demise of the Fatherland and the Father*. I notice that the term ‘*tzukuo* 祖國 (*fatherland*)’ seems seldom used in Taiwanese nationalist literature particularly since the 2-28 Incident. During Japanese colonisation, many anti-Japanese Taiwanese nationalists imagined China as their ‘*tzukuo*(*fatherland*)’ as opposed to Japan of a different ethnic origin on the basis that the Han Chinese and the Han Taiwanese share similar ethnic origins and blood ties. Having experienced the KMT’s massacre during the 2-28 Incident, and long term colonisation, and the contemporary threat from China, China as ‘*tzukuo*(*fatherland*)’ is no longer pursued or recognised.³⁰⁹ At the same time, the 2-28 Incident and the long term oppression which followed has almost eradicated a whole generation of Taiwanese men elites and has socially castrated Taiwanese men of many generations. The social structure of Taiwan as a heterosexual patriarchal kinship system led by and centred on the existence and power of men has been destroyed. The powerful Father figure *who can offer protection and to whom the Taiwanese can be loyal* is missing and ‘the virtuous mother widow’ has survived. Instead of showing the death of the fatherland, and the death and castration of the Father, the land of Taiwan is imagined as the motherland and the future of the new Taiwan as the not-yet mature son/heirs *who need to be protected*.

4.2 The New Taiwan Nation Structured as Heterosexual and Patriarchal Kinship System³¹⁰

The preceding section leads to the conclusion that the redemption of the 2-28 men victims, in the making of the new Taiwan nation, has been achieved through the restoration of the destroyed heterosexual and patriarchal kinship system. As has been

³⁰⁹ For the total disappointment of the Taiwanese towards the KMT and hence ‘*tzukuo* 祖國 (*fatherland*)’ China can be seen in Ong Lok-tek, *Taiwan: A Depressing History*[1964], 153-242; and Wu Chou-liou, *Fig* [1967], 135-211.

³¹⁰ Regarding the issue of gay marriage, Judith Butler problematises and challenge the assumption that ‘kinship is always already heterosexual’. Judith Butler, ‘Is Kinship Always Already Heterosexual’, *Differences: A Journal of Feminist and Cultural Studies*, 13.1, 2002, 14-44.

seen in *Sweet Potato Planted*, *Monument to the Victim's Family*, *Days of Emptiness*, *Old Lady of Peng-hu: Looking for Your Early Return*, and *Mother* in Chapter 3, the new Taiwan nation is represented using a rhetoric that echoes the heterosexual and patriarchal kinship/family structure: father, mother and son. In these representations, the mother is a non-national-subject-sign mediating the restoration and the resurrection of the deceased and castrated father in the son, the future heir of the new Taiwan nation.

This trope of using the patriarchal family structure to signify the structure of the new Taiwan nation is frequently seen in the rhetoric of the DPP's election campaigns. Chen Shui-bian represented himself and has been represented by others as 'the son of Taiwan' 台灣之子, the son heir of the new Taiwan nation, who has risen from the subaltern.³¹¹ In the hit songs for the DPP's 2000 and 2004 presidential election campaigns, Taiwan as the new nation and its fragile democratic future is often imagined as a not-yet mature young man who needs to be assisted but who is going to lead the nation. One such song is *Hsiaulien Taiwan* 少年台灣 (Young Man Taiwan, 2000) written by Lu Han-hsiu 路寒袖 and with music by Chan Hung-ta 詹宏達, and is like Cheng Tzu-tsai's *Sweet Potato Planted*.³¹²

少年台灣(2000)³¹³

Young Man Taiwan written by Lu Han-hsiu, music by Chan Hung-ta

A1 青春的面容 青春的面容 上美的理想

Young look, young look, the most beautiful ideal

A2 烏色的島嶼 烏色的島嶼 日頭找無厝

Dark island, dark island, the sun finds no where to shine

A3 堅心的期待 堅心的期待 有夢佇心內

Full of expectation, full of expectation, there is a dream inside

³¹¹ Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁, *Taiwan chih tzu: wo te ch'engchang lich'eng, chingying chehsue ho kuochia yuanching* 台灣之子：我的成長歷程、經營哲學和國家願景 (The Son of Taiwan: The Life of Chen Shui-bian and His Dreams for Taiwan), Taipei: Ch'enhshing, 6 December 1999. Chen Shui-bian, *The Son of Taiwan: The Life of Chen Shui-bian and His Dreams for Taiwan*, trans. David Toman, Taipei: Wangch'unfeng, 15 March 2000.

³¹² As has been discussed in length in Chapter 1, 2-28 discourses has laid the foundation for contemporary Taiwanese nationalist discourses in the 1980s and the 1990s. In the late 1990s, there was a consensus that the 2-28 Incident should be left in the past. Under such circumstances, DPP's election campaigns began to use songs outlining and celebrating the collective and promising future with positive and cheerful lyrics, with more diverse languages and with more rap, remix and other contemporary musical types, for example, *Young Man Taiwan*, in contrast to *Mother's Name is Taiwan* which describes the sadness of Taiwan's fate under KMT's Chinese colonisation.

³¹³ Downloaded from DPP website <http://www.dpp.org.tw/> accessed date: 15 June 2005. This song is written in Hoklo language.

意志若海湧 意志若海湧 永遠是心牽連

The will is as strong as recurring sea waves, the will is as strong as recurring sea waves, and the love for Taiwan is always passionate

金色的交椅 金色的交椅 裊是欲做多久

Golden throne, golden throne, how long are they going to occupy?

歡喜看世界 歡喜看世界 你我的好將來

With happiness we look at the world, with happiness we look at the world, our promising future

※已經行到二十一世紀 敢講烏雲抑挾凍變青天

It's already 21st century; can't the cloudy sky become clear?

時代已經強欲非起來 毋通恬恬互人片毋知

The world is on the fly, don't be fooled again

少年台灣新的風帆 駛向未來咱的嚮望

Young Man Taiwan, the new yacht, is driving us to the new future

少年台灣新的風帆 駛向未來好的嚮望

Young Man Taiwan, the new yacht, is driving us to the new future.

Until recently, there have been very few exceptions to these Taiwanese nationalist representations of the New Taiwan Nation as masculine and patriarchal. One example, *Yi shi lan e bo buey* 伊是咱的寶貝 (She is Our Baby) by Chen Ming-chang 陳明章 with music composed by Chen Ming-chang and Hsiao Fu-te 蕭福德, the main song for the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally held by the Pan-Green Coalition, arguably signifies the future of Taiwan through the metaphor of a little girl.

伊是咱的寶貝(1993; 2004)³¹⁴

She is Our Baby written by Chen Ming-chang and composed by Chen Ming-chang and Hsiao Fu-te

一蕊花 生落地

A flower comes to the world

爸爸媽媽疼尚多

Father and Mother love her all

風那吹 愛甲被

When the wind blows, keep her warm

吳通乎伊墮落黑暗地

Don't let her fall into the dark world

勿開耶花需要你我的關心

A bud needs our care

乎伊一片生長的土地

Give her a land to grow

手牽手

Hand in hand

心連心

Heart by heart

咱站作伙

We stand together

伊是咱的寶貝

She is Our Baby

³¹⁴ This song is written in Hoklo language, and downloaded from DPP website <http://www.dpp.org.tw/> accessed date: 15 June 2005.

It is nevertheless important to note that the song was not originally written for the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally. It was written in 1993 for the Garden of Hope Foundation 勵馨基金會, a Christian charity that helps young girls who have suffered from 'sexual abuse', 'sexual exploitation' and 'domestic violence', and tries to 'empower young girls and women'. It was written specifically for a charity function to support the rescuing of child prostitutes and to raise social awareness of child prostitution in Taiwan. This function was held by the Foundation in collaboration with a sponsor, 7-11 Taiwan, the biggest 24 hour convenience store chain run by the President Corporation 統一企業.³¹⁵ The 'flower' and the 'bud' in the lyrics of *She is Our Baby* refer to young girls, and call for parents and society to protect them and treat them well. In 2004, this song was used again by the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and this time the 'flower' and the 'bud' seemed to signify the 'fragile' new Taiwan nation and Taiwan's democracy that needed to be taken good care of, especially under the missile threat from China seemingly represented by 'the dark world' in the lyrics. This song was a successful strategic choice. Unusual in using a feminine image to represent the new Taiwan nation and Taiwan's democracy, it effectively raised collective patriotism for Taiwan against China. Yet, it is clear that 'the young girls' signified in lyrics and in the course of the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally will never be the heirs and leaders of the new Taiwan nation.

Next, I wish to investigate how men and women are placed spatially by the works of *Sadness Transformed* and thus further elaborate their gendered economic, political and social functions in the heterosexual and patriarchal kinship system. Figure 4.1 and

³¹⁵ For the history of the song *She is Our Baby* see Kuo Li-chuan 郭麗娟, 'Ch'ang t'zanmen te ke Chen Ming-chang hsin ch'ufeng: jenshib Taiwan tiechin shumin 唱我們的歌, 陳明章的心曲風: 認識台灣、貼近庶民 (Sing Our Songs Chen Ming-chang's Music from Heart/New Music: Knowing Taiwan, Being Close to the Public), *New Taiwan* 新台灣週刊, no. 468, 10 March 2005, <http://www.newtaiwan.com.tw/bulletinview.jsp?period=468&bulletinid=21490> accessed date: 15 June 2005. For the information about the Garden of Hope, see its official English website <http://www.goh.org.tw/english/index.htm>.

Figure 4.2 show the spatialisation of men and women respectively in selected works of *Sadness Transformed*.

Figure 4.1: Spatialisation of men in works of *Sadness Transformed*

Artist & Work	Space Type	Public Setting	Domestic Setting	Isolated or Secluded Space
Hsu Wu-yung <i>Die Hard</i>		place of execution		
Cheng Tzu-ts'ai <i>Sweet Potato Planted</i>		place of massacre open wedding scene		
Hsieh Li-fa <i>Monument to the Victim's Family</i>		artistic memorial space		
Wang Kuo-chu <i>Tree of Sorrow</i>		place of massacre		
Li Ming-sheng <i>Fire Red</i>		place of execution		
Mei Deane <i>Salute to Mr. Huang Rong-ts'an</i>		artistic memorial space		
Hsu Tzu-kui <i>Mother</i>				mother's womb
Kuo Wei-kuo <i>Salute to 2-28</i>		heaven open space		
Liu Hsiu-mei* <i>Road to Destruction</i>		street scene		

The artist whose name is marked with a bold star sign is a woman artist.

Figure 4.2: Spatialisation of women in works of *Sadness Transformed*

Artist & Work	Space Type	Public Setting	Domestic Setting	Isolated or Secluded Space
Cheng Shih-fan (Tei Sei-pwan) <i>The Forgotten Women</i>				secluded worship place
Hsu Wu-yung <i>Die Hard</i>		place of execution		
Chen Ching-jung <i>Old Lady of Peng-hu: Looking for Your Early Return</i>				isolated space
Cheng Tzu-ts'ai <i>Sweet Potato Planted</i>		place of massacre open wedding scene		
Hsieh Li-fa <i>Monument to the Victim's Family</i>			familial setting in an artistic memorial space	
Lai Wu-hsiung <i>Days of Emptiness</i>			home	
Hsu Tzu-kui <i>Mother</i>				isolated place
Wu Tien-chang <i>Springsnatch</i>				isolated space in a salon
Lu Hsien-ming <i>Realisation</i>		isolated space on the highway		
Liu Hsiu-mei* <i>Road to Destruction</i>		street scene		
Chien Fu-yu* <i>History of Women's History is Beyond History</i>		street scene work scene artists' studios museum space		
Wu Mali* <i>Epitaph</i>		artistic memorial space		
Lin Pey-chwen* <i>Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window</i>		artistic memorial space		
Ts'ai Hai-ru* <i>Untitled</i>		artistic memorial space		

The artists whose names are marked with a bold star sign are women artists.

Figure 4.1 shows that artists of both sexes represent men in public settings such as places of atrocity and in artistic and social memorial spaces. Hsu Tzu-kui's *Mother*, in which the son is represented in the mother's womb against an isolated background, seems to be the only exception. However, the son is placed at the centre of the gaze, and through the violently ripped open womb, which stands out from the huge mixed-media painting form, he seems to be given direct access to the public. It is interesting to note that women artists generally do not represent men at all. *Huimie chihlu* 毀滅之路 (Road to Destruction, 1983) by Liu Hsiu-mei 劉秀美 (1950-) (Pl. 4.3) is an exception. Different from works by men artists, it places men (father and son) in a very close familial relationship with women (mother and daughters) by sitting them closely together. The father and the son are not made particularly important. In the painting, there is another man, a cart driver. He and the father look somewhat bigger than the other figures. Both of them, however, are far from being privileged subjects since they look rather powerless and are represented as people from the 'lower social classes' engaging in their 'humble or domestic business' rather than in resistance against the KMT.

Figure 4.2 illustrates that the spatial strategies taken to represent women are more complex than those taken to represent the men in Figure 4.1. Artists of both sexes obviously adopt very different approaches in arranging women. Men artists generally set women in a familial relationship, and in either a domestic setting or an isolated space. I use the term 'domestic' loosely in the conventional sense of space that it is separated from and has very limited access to 'the public', comprising the national, political and economic spheres. Hsieh Li-fa's *Monument to the Victim's Family* and Lai Wu-hsiung's *Days of Emptiness* both place women in a familial relationship in domestic settings. Cheng Shih-fan's (Tei Sei-pwan) *The Forgotten Women* (Pl. 4.4), Chen Ching-jung's *Old Lady of Peng-hu: Looking for Your Early Return* and Hsu Tzu-kui's *Mother* all situate women in

familial relationship in an isolated space. *Die Hard* by Hsu Wu-yung, *Sweet Potato Planted* by Cheng Tzu-ts'ai and *Realisation* by Lu Hsien-ming seem not to follow this tendency as they represent women in public. However, the only privileged national subjects in *Die Hard* and *Sweet Potato Planted* are men rather than women, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Women in Lu's painting are totally confined or imprisoned by the two distinct metal walls jutting out from the painting surface. Hence, the women's space in Lu's painting is in fact an isolated one. In contrast, women artists generally put women in public settings such as artistic memorial spaces, although Lin Pey-chwen uses the shutters to make an ambiguous demarcation between the public and the private in *Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window* (Pl. 4.5).

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 clearly show how men and women are very differently organised and arranged in the works of *Sadness Transformed*. Based on anthropological findings, Shirley Ardener argues that 'space defines people' and vice versa.³¹⁶ She further asserts that the partition of physical and social space and the social structural relationships such as kinship, termed 'social maps', are intimately associated and are the product of gendered social organisation.³¹⁷ She notes that in patrilineal societies women are generally assigned private and domestic spaces and prevented from entering political arenas by 'the technology of gender'.³¹⁸ 'Boundaries' and 'ground rules' are designed, and 'hidden virtues' are enforced, to keep women intact in private and domestic spaces, and to prevent them from 'crossing the line'. The few women who do 'cross the line' and, for example, enter political arenas, are not seen as women, but as men. Hence, the rule that men associate with men is not challenged. Through such gender technology,

³¹⁶ Shirley Ardener, 'Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction', 11-13.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 11-15.

³¹⁸ This phrase is borrowed from an essay by Teresa de Lauretis, see Teresa de Lauretis, 'The Technology of Gender', in Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987, 1-30. Basically, she argues that gender is not transparent reality but a socially constructed representation through cultural strategies and devices.

women are kept from public spheres, conceived as masculine, and are kept below men in the social and political hierarchy.³¹⁹

In the light of Ardener's idea, I wish to further argue that by using the metaphor of the heterosexual and patriarchal kinship system and by allocating painted spaces on the basis of gender difference the works of *Sadness Transformed* produce a gendered Taiwanese nationalist imagining – masculine – and reproduce a gendered physical reality and 'national map', through social structural relationships that marginalise women.

4.3 Gendered Nationalisms

In Chapter 3 and so far in this chapter, I have explored how the Taiwanese nationalist imagining produced by many works of *Sadness Transformed* is gendered. The new Taiwan nation imagined by many works of *Sadness Transformed*, which appeal to and are fuelled by Taiwanese nationalism, is also gendered. Given this finding, I wish to further explore nationalism's mechanism of gendering.

In recent decades, a few feminist scholars have begun to investigate nations and nationalisms from women's and/or feminist perspectives. Most of them agree that nations and nationalisms are themselves gender formations.³²⁰ However, gendered nations and nationalisms remain neglected in major theoretical accounts of nation and nationalism.³²¹ Benedict Anderson is not totally unaware of possible gender

³¹⁹ Shirley Ardener, 'Ground Rules and Social Maps for Women: An Introduction', 16-28.

³²⁰ Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (eds.), *Woman-Nation-State*, Hampshire; London: The Macmillan Press, 1989; Andrew Parker et al. (eds.), *Nationalisms & Sexualities*, New York; London: Routledge, 1992; R. Radhakrishnan, 'Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity', in Andrew Parker et al. (eds.), *Nationalisms & Sexualities*, 77-95; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Woman in Difference: Mahasweta Devi's "Douloti the Bountiful"', in Andrew Parker et al. (eds.), *Nationalisms & Sexualities*, 96-117; Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993; Moghadam, Valentine M. (ed.), *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies*, London: Published for the United Nations University Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU/WIDER) by Zed Books, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994; Anne McClintock (ed.), *Imperial Leather*, London: Routledge, 1995; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, London: Sage, 1997; Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-century France*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001; and Tricia Cusack and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch (eds.), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures*, Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2004.

³²¹ Tricia Cusack offers a critical review on three major theoretical accounts on nation and nationalism and indicates their gender blindness or unwillingness to deal with the problem of gender. These three major theoretical accounts on nation and nationalism are by: Ernst

implications of nation and nationalism. He describes the modern nation as an ‘imagined political community’ that can be understood as a ‘deep, horizontal comradeship...[a] *fraternity*’ and in which a member has a ‘nationality’ as if s/he has a ‘gender’.³²² In making this novel call to consider nationalism as ‘kinship’ rather than as a ‘political ideology’ like ‘liberalism’ or ‘fascism’, he bases his assertion on the fact that a nation is often called a ‘motherland’ and is ‘loved’ by its people.³²³ Although there are other similar terms in his book that indicate gender, Anderson does not explicitly deal with nation and nationalism in terms of gender.

Relating nation and nationalism to ‘motherland’ and ‘kinship’, Anderson explains patriotism. He asserts that ‘motherland’, ‘kinship’ and ‘home’ all connote ‘natural ties’, so that ‘in this way nation-ness has been assimilated to natural ties such as skin-colour, *gender*, parentage and birth-era’.³²⁴ (Italics mine) ‘The family’ based on ‘natural ties’, namely ‘kinship’ and ‘the home’, has been traditionally seen as ‘the domain of disinterested love’. Hence, nationalists can easily mobilise ‘patriotism’, passionate love for the nation, as though it were for the family-bond. As a result of such ‘natural’ and ‘disinterested’ passionate love, thousands of men may kill or be killed, sacrifice or be sacrificed in the name of preserving the nation/home.³²⁵ In short, Anderson argues that nation and nationalism, as ‘artificial’ constructions, attract extremely passionate devotion because they are always assimilated as ‘natural’ and ‘disinterested’ kinship.³²⁶ In other words, people love and fight for their nation as though they were loving and fighting for their own family.

Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London & New York: Verso, 1983/1991; and Anthony Smith, *National Identity*, London: Penguin, 1991. See Tricia Cusack, ‘Introduction’, in Tricia Cusack and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch (eds.), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures*, Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2004, 2-3.

³²² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 7.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 5.

³²⁴ *Ibid.* By italicising ‘gender’ in the sentence, I wish to problematise Anderson’s assumption that gender is natural, rather than socially constructed by many feminist scholars such as Teresa de Lauretis mentioned above.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 143-4.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

In my view, Anderson's observation is based on the assumption that kinship is the family, the hub of biological relations and natural ties (although he is not unaware of the idea of 'the family-as-articulated-power structure'), and that patriotism, like *love* in general, is a *natural impulse*.³²⁷ Therefore, he does not consider the idea of 'the family-as-articulated power structure', brilliantly justified by Gayle Rubin, and its implications for nation and nationalism.³²⁸

Theoretically speaking, I do not think Anderson's assumption of *the transparent natural-ness* of familial love and hence patriotism is consistent with his overall post-structuralist framework, which takes nations and nationalisms as systems of social construction and cultural representation. His assumption may be problematic. Is such patriotism and familial love 'natural'? Or is it possible for it to be a product of State ideological interpellation as was discussed in Chapter 2?³²⁹ These questions, however, are beyond the scope and the concern of this chapter and this dissertation.

Regardless of this theoretical inconsistency, I think that Anderson's observation brilliantly confirms the link between, on the one hand, nation and nationalism, and kinship, on the other. It, nevertheless, does not ask how nation and nationalism are assimilated to kinship. To address this unasked question, which is crucial in understanding why women are missing, I wish to consider feminist research on nation and nationalism.

In their pioneering and influential research, *Woman-Nation-State*, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias summarise women's roles in nation and nationalism:

- (a) as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities;
- (b) as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups;
- (c) as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as the transmitters of its culture;
- (d) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences; and

³²⁷ Ibid, p. 144.

³²⁸ Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex', 157-210.

³²⁹ Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes towards an Investigation'.

(e) as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles.³³⁰

Only (e) refers directly to women who join the nationalist political and military struggle. Of the rest (a), (b) and (c) indicate that women's national roles are arranged according to the social organisation of the woman's body and women's reproductive power, and to the social division according to women's labour. By (d), Yuval-Davis and Anthias mean that women also 'constitute symbolic figuration'. In other words, women, seen as a collective category, Woman, are deployed as a cultural sign by nationalist representational systems to represent the imagined national difference, for example, 'the distinctive Sikh-ness'.³³¹ Items (a), (b), (c) and (e) all refer to the roles of *empirical women*, while (d) concerns *woman as a collectivity of women and her ideal femininity*.

In (a), (b) and (c) Yuval-Davis and Anthias point out very clearly that *nation and nationalism is organised as a heterosexual family structure, operating like kinship*. I think it is necessary to explain that I am using 'kinship' in the way Gayle Rubin does in her persuasive 1975 article which is different from what Benedict Anderson regards as 'kinship' mentioned above.³³² By critically re-reading Lévi-Strauss's *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* in relation to Sigmund Freud's theoretical construct of Oedipus complex and Karl Marx's idea of political economy, Gayle Rubin produces an invaluable theory on the formation of women's roles in society, which also explains women's oppression today. Unlike Anderson, she does not take kinship (simply) as 'a list of biological relatives'. Instead, she regards kinship as a 'sex/gender system'. In other words, it is 'the idiom of social interaction, organising economic, political, and ceremonial, as well as sexual, activity'.³³³ She reckons that kinship is 'organised' on the basis of exchange in order to satisfy economic and social needs. Tribe leaders trade/exchange goods among each other in order to establish and keep mutual social

³³⁰ Yuval-Davis and Anthias (eds.), *Woman-Nation-State*, 7; 8-10.

³³¹ *Ibid*, 9-10.

³³² Gayle Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex', 157-210.

³³³ *Ibid*, 169.

relationship with other tribes and to maintain their social status or to pursue a better one.³³⁴ Women are goods *par excellence* for the economic and social transactions that take the form of marriage.³³⁵ In order to ensure this exchange, sex and the sexuality of both women and men have to be organised.³³⁶ This organisation results in a 'sexual division of labour' and 'obligatory heterosexuality'. 'Incest taboo' is also employed to ensure exogamy. Female sexuality has to be constrained for reproduction, and for arranged marriage. Women are assigned 'passive' roles in order to accommodate them in the web of kinship.³³⁷ In kinship, women are exchanged between men. They (sisters, daughters) are given rather than being givers, so that they do not benefit from the transaction like men (fathers, brothers, sons) do.³³⁸ In Karl Marx's view, women are produced and transformed by the sex/gender system to serve men's subjective purpose and cause.³³⁹

Through Gayle Rubin's analysis, we can see the archetypical family as the basic social power structure identifying men with 'the public' – the social and the economic – and women with 'the private' – the domestic and the passive. Men enjoy power and control in both 'the public' and 'the private', while women serve men's power from and in 'the private'.³⁴⁰ Women are tied up with the role of reproduction and social communication, passing power between men, between father and son.

With Gayle Rubin's analysis in mind, we can re-read Yuval-Davis and Anthias's observation quoted above. It indicates how nation and nationalism assimilates the sex/gender structure of the kinship, the patriarchy, and finally becomes *the political and economic community of fraternity/men* described by Anderson. Nationalist assimilation of patriarchy continues to be kept intact not only through reasserting the nationalist social

³³⁴ Ibid, 172; 204-210.

³³⁵ Ibid, 174.

³³⁶ Ibid, 173.

³³⁷ Ibid, 178-83.

³³⁸ Ibid, 171.

³³⁹ Ibid, 176.

³⁴⁰ The debates on the public and the private spheres are complex. See Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 78-83.

infrastructure but also through *cultural representations by symbolically constructing woman and femininity in the way that fits their ideology and political needs* as suggested by (d). Women who directly join the nationalist struggle and question the nationalist social infrastructure, as stated in (e), and hence deviate from the role expected by the national patriarchy, are contained and controlled in the name of unity and solidarity in the nationalist struggle or treated as outcasts, differing from ordinary women and from the ideal woman. For instances, Partha Chatterjee notes that the question of women was a 'central issue in some of the most controversial debates over social reform in early and mid-nineteenth century Bengal' but disappeared from public debate with the rise of Indian nationalism in the late nineteenth century.³⁴¹ In the name of national unity and solidarity, the question of women, regarded as a 'private' matter, was repressed in order to further the Indian nationalist political struggle against British imperialism.³⁴² R. Radhakrishnan shares Chatterjee's view in relation to the representation of women in Indian nationalism. Radhakrishnan identifies a binary inside/India and outside/West representational logic in Indian nationalism. 'Indian Woman' as a sign for 'Indian interiority/Indian inner self' was continually deployed to fight against 'the outer-ness of Western Other'. Woman is an essential factor in the Indian nationalist struggle. However, women were ideologically framed by and confined to domesticity and interiority by Indian nationalism.³⁴³ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak observing the status of the subaltern women in Indian society after India was liberated from British rule and the independent Indian nation-state established, writes,

Especially in a critique of metropolitan culture, the event of political independence can be automatically assumed to stand in-between colony and decolonization as an unexamined good that operates a reversal. But the political goals of the new nation are supposedly determined by a regulative logic derived from the old colony, with its

³⁴¹ Partha Chatterjee, 'The nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question,' in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (eds.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989, 233, quoted in R. Radhakrishnan, 'Nationalism, Gender and the Narrative of Identity', 77.

³⁴² Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, 133.

³⁴³ R. Radhakrishnan, 'Nationalism, Gender and the Narrative of Identity', 84.

interest reversed: secularism, democracy, socialism, national identity, capitalist development. Whatever the fate of this supposition, it must be admitted that there is always a space that cannot share in the energy of this reversal. This space had no established agency of traffic with the culture of imperialism. Paradoxically, this space is also outside of organized labor, below the attempted reversals of capitalist logic. Conventionally, this space is described as the habitat of the *subproletariat* or the *subaltern*... (Italics in the original)³⁴⁴

She notes that the subaltern Indian women still had no place as national, historical and cultural subjects in society after Indian independence, because the new nation repeated the men-centred logic of the gendered colonial nation and nationalism.

With this discussion in mind, I wish to suggest that works of *Sadness Transformed* particularly those by men artists as shown in Fig. 4.1 repeat the men-centred logic of gendered nation and nationalism and place women in the private sphere, away from the power of the new Taiwan nation, by symbolically using the ideal woman that sustains men's power over the nation, the society and the family. Within such cultural representations of the 2-28 historical and political trauma, women are still missing. On the contrary, most works by women artists given in Fig. 4.2 employ very different symbolic representations of woman altering the logic by placing women in public contexts, or in artistic memorial spaces (as in Wu Mali's *Epitaph*), or by producing a women's historical and creative genealogy as in Chien Fu-yu's *History of Women's History is Beyond History* (Pl. 4.6). They seem to take the opportunity to address the problem of how to put back the 'missing women in the 2-28 discourses' as national, historical and cultural subjects. Instead of giving a general overview of how all these works of *Sadness Transformed* by women artists represent missing women, I wish to focus on and closely read Wu Mali's *Epitaph*, an intriguing and complex installation work that specifically and directly addresses the traumatic experiences of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, in order to explore and deal in depth with the problem of how to reinstate the 'missing women in the 2-28 discourses' as national, historical and cultural subjects.

³⁴⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Woman in Difference: Mahasweta Devi's "Douloti the Bountiful"', in Andrew Parker et al. (eds.), *Nationalisms & Sexualities*, New York; London: Routledge, 1992, 97.

4.4 Writing Missing Women Back

From the beginning, *Epitaph* brings women to the forefront through its opening question quoted in the beginning of this chapter. The question, through the first parts of each of its two sentences, creates parallels with 女人 *nu-ren* (female person; women) and 男人 *nan-ren* (male person; men). The two sentences are each written in magnified English and in Han Chinese characters on a large frosted glass panel on one wall of a dim partially enclosed space (3m x 4m x 3m). On another wall, hangs a similar panel on which the stories of women in the families of the 2-28 male victims are written (hereinafter referred as 'the second text'),

她以眼淚洗清屍體，

She, washed the dead body with tears.

待辦完喪事，親友都回去了，

After the funeral was over and all the relatives had gone,

終於放聲大哭：父啊——我怕！父啊——我怕！

She, finally burst out crying: God, I'm scared! God, I'm scared!

她，燒掉所有遺物，從此絕口不再提起，也不再打扮。

She, burned up everything and never utters a word about it or dresses up ever since.

她，洗髮淨身，坐在家中等待，有一決生死的準備。

She, cleaned herself up and sat in home, waiting for the moment of life and death.

她，被強姦，自形慚穢，留下孩子，跑走了。

She, being raped and feeling ashamed, left the kids and ran away.

她，身兼數職維持生計，六個孩子，從剛出生到十歲。

She, doing several jobs for living, has 6 children aged from newborn to ten years old.

她，常常在哭，但只躲在背後哭，恐懼如影隨形。

She's always crying, but only in the dark. Fear is with her everywhere like a shadow.

她，在諳啞禁聲中，度過了一生。

She, cries her life away.

她，是複數形式的女人。

She, is 'women' in plural form. (She, is women's plural form/woman-people.)

她的憂傷也一直是我們的憂傷。

Her sorrow has always been ours. (Sorrow of she has always been sorrow of I-we-us.)

What is transcribed here has been adapted by the artist from *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude: Looking for my Father Juan Ch'ao-jih, Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner: Looking for the Dispersed February 28 Victim's Families* and *2-28 ts'anan chishih 二二八慘案紀實* (A Record of the 2-28 Massacre, 1994).³⁴⁵ *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude* is a col-

³⁴⁵ Juan Mei-shu, *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude: Looking for my Father Juan Ch'ao-jih*; Juan Mei-shu, *Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner*, and Juan Mei-shu, *2-28 ts'anan chishih 二二八慘案紀實* (A Record of the 2-28 Massacre), P'ingtung: ASAHYI 2-28 Peace Memorial Museum (Juan Ch'ao-jih Memorial Museum), 1994.

lection of essays written by Juan Mei-shu in memory of her father, Juan Ch'ao-jih, who was arrested by KMT soldiers during the 2-28 Incident and never returned. *Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner* is also a book written by Juan Mei-shu based on her interviews with the families of the 2-28 victims. *A Record of the 2-28 Massacre* is a videotape of 2-28 testimonies later produced by the ASAHY 2-28 Peace Memorial Museum (Juan Ch'ao-jih Memorial Museum) established by Juan Mei-shu in 2001.

All the sentences of the stories of women in the families of Taiwanese 2-28 men victims, as enscribed, begin with the English word 'she' and the Han Chinese character *ta* 她(she). Almost every line of the text has at least one 她(she) – either the English word or the Han Chinese character. As a result, the text creates a distinct visual repetition of *she-ness*. This visual impact of the she-ness creates a strong sense of feminine presence in *Epitaph*.

The first section of the second text describes the immediate aftermath of the 2-28 Incident as experienced by women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. 'She' washed her husband's and sons' mutilated bodies with tears, took care of the funeral and kept all the fear to herself (adapted from testimony of Chang Yu-ch'ang 張玉嬋 whose father-in-law is Chang Ch'i-lang 張七郎, whose husband is Chang Kuo-jen 張果仁, and whose brother-in-law is Chang Tzung-jen 張宗仁).³⁴⁶ 'She' burnt everything that her husband left and stayed alone in silence, hoping to be able to forget (adapted from testimony of Juan Lin Su 阮林素 whose husband is Juan Ch'ao-jih).³⁴⁷ 'She' was determined to die with her father's killer (adapted from testimony of Chen Shuang-shih 陳雙適 whose father is Chen Hsin 陳焯).³⁴⁸ 'She' was raped and had to run away without taking her children with her (Anonymous). 'She' took several jobs in order to raise her six children alone. 'She' spent her life in fear, tears, isolation and silence.

³⁴⁶ Juan Mei-shu, *Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner*, 294.

³⁴⁷ Juan Mei-shu, *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude: Looking for my Father Juan Ch'ao-jih*, 20-21.

³⁴⁸ Juan Mei-shu, *Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner*, 54.

These sentences deliberately starting with ‘she’ immediately amplify the experiences, memories, and choices and not-choices shared by the missing women, namely the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. Women in the families of Taiwanese 2-28 men victims suddenly lost their loved one(s) who might be fathers, husbands, brothers or sons, in the 2-28 Incident. Being labelled and denigrated nationally and socially as families of ‘the criminals’, and being kept out of the social and national spheres and/or confined in the domestic, they had limited choices/not-choices: to die with their loved one; to silently resist the KMT perpetrating regime; to run away from violence and loss; to marry someone else; to raise young children alone in poverty, or to live alone in loneliness, silence and humiliation. The affective responses of women in the families of the men victims to the tremendous 2-28 trauma are vividly seen in the narrative of this text: women’s fear, tears, loneliness, love, pain, hatred, resistance, shame, helplessness, isolation, strength, silence and so forth.

Epitaph, like Shen Hsiu-hua’s book that was published in the same year, singles out and sacralises all these emotional responses and the consequent practices of the women in the families of Taiwanese 2-28 men victims without referring to their victimised men relatives. To some extent, this gesture prevents the missing women that have been written back here from falling into a position that is *secondary* to their victimised men relatives as in most 2-28 historicisation and commemoration. By giving equal recognition to all the emotional responses and consequent practices of the women in the families of Taiwanese 2-28 men victims without making any moral judgement, *Epitaph* goes against the mainstream 2-28 narratives in which they are celebrated because of their virtues, endurance, sacrifice and above all loyalty, in preserving their male relatives’ legacy and memory and raising the children left behind.

Epitaph’s setting of texts on large frosted glass panels on the walls of a partially enclosed space recalls the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum where large transparent acrylic

panels recounting the history of the 2-28 Incident and its men victims are also hung on the walls. With such installation techniques, *Epitaph* reminds us of a contemporary memorial or a sacred space or shrine like those in the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum and the Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial Museum. An epitaph is usually something dedicated to the deceased. Here, *Epitaph* is however unconventionally dedicated to the *survival* of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, some of whom were still alive at the time of its production and, indeed, are today.

While celebrating *Epitaph* for rewriting the stories of women in the families of the 2-28 victims, I also notice that *Epitaph* seems to run the risk of repeating the sexual division of labour as found in the women's 2-28 (oral) histories written by many Taiwanese nationalists: men died and women mourn and commemorate; men are rational and women emotional. Ch'iu Kuei-fen 邱貴芬, a leading Taiwanese feminist literary theorist who teaches Comparative Literature in the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature at the National Tsing-hua University in Taiwan 清華大學台灣文學研究所, makes this same observation in her significant essay on women's 2-28 oral history and literature.³⁴⁹ Ch'iu writes,

...While actively participating in the political accusation [against the KMT oppression] and hence breaking the silence of women in the political sphere, *this type of women's 2-28 writing can not avoid being trapped again by the 'sexual division of labour' of traditional historical memory making: men participate in historical events, making history; women mourn and commemorate and become the guardian of history.* That is, women's 2-28 memories which centre on the 'political widows' and 'the families of the victims' have imperceptibly hierarchised people of different sexes into master and subaltern statuses.³⁵⁰(Italics mine).

From a literary perspective, Ch'iu characterises 2-28 historical representation very well – 2-28 historical memory-making, as framed by contemporary Taiwanese nationalism, is itself gendered. It is this structure that dominates how these women speak, what they say, and how we listen to them.

³⁴⁹ Ch'iu, Kuei-fen 邱貴芬, 'Tumou tangtai nuhsing 2-28 chuanshu t'uhsiang 塗抹當代女性二二八撰述圖像 (Mapping Contemporary Women's Writing on the 2-28 Incident)', in *Chungwai Wenhsue* 中外文學 (*Chungwai Literary Monthly*), vol. 27, no. 1, June 1998, 9-25.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 13.

Ch'iu Kuei-fen explains this structural problem regarding women's voice and power in the making of 2-28 cultural memories by using Gayatri Spivak's well known and insightful question, 'can the subaltern speak?' and her own further elaboration. Spivak argues that 'the subaltern', a term borrowed from Antonio Gramsci that refers to people who are of 'low social classes' cannot speak because what they said is not even heard by the victims' own families and community. She further clarifies this point in *The Spivak Reader* by differentiating 'the subaltern cannot speak' from 'the subaltern cannot talk'. She asserts that 'the subaltern' can 'talk' but cannot 'speak', because what is said is always different from what the listener wanted to listen to, so that it cannot be heard.³⁵¹

By her reading of Shen Hsiu-hua's book, Ch'iu Kuei-fen argues that what the 'political widows' tried to say is not necessarily heard in the genre of women's 2-28 oral histories. Since 'the 2-28 Incident' is still taken to be a privileged signifier in Shen's book, how 'the 2-28 Incident' led to the misery of those women's lives is regarded as the main issue. However, Ch'iu finds many women consider their misery as a sign of their own 'misfortune' rather than being caused by 'the 2-28 Incident' or by 'state atrocity'.³⁵² Ch'iu argues that what these women tried to speak about is the hardship of being a widow living under Taiwan's patriarchy. Ch'iu writes,

...Reading/listening to them narrating their hardship after having lost their husbands, we find, the real reason that leads to 'suffering and solitude' of these women is perhaps more the sexual oppression of Taiwanese society [than anything else]. When their husbands were still alive, this deeply rooted problem concerning women's survival was often ignored. When their men were gone, the sexual oppression of Taiwanese society immediately came up to the front, exposing that colonial politics is not the only burden of Taiwanese women's lives. 'The 2-28 Incident' is not the ultimate cause that resulted in the hardship of 'these victims' families', but something that triggered it to happen. Structural problems such as women's lack of employment opportunities and limited access to economic means, the inferior social status of widows and so forth, worsened these women's life conditions. As Wang Cheng Ah-mei said, 'my husband died in February. I gave birth to my third child in June. The baby died only 7 days old. I thought at that time, I could not raise it even if it had survived. There was nothing to eat. How could I raise it?! I don't know what to say. Life is very difficult'.

...*Bloody political violence is the contingent cause of these women's hardship. Deeply rooted sexual oppression of [Taiwanese] society is however the persistent cause. Such social structure subjugates*

³⁵¹ Ibid, 14-5.

³⁵² Ibid, 15.

*women to men...They[Women] can be relieved from political horror by talking about their husbands' death. Yet, 'women's autonomy' is still not foreseeable.*³⁵³ (Italics mine)

Ch'iu considers the Taiwanese nationalist structures that dominate 'mainstream' (as she calls them) women's 2-28 oral histories that centre on 'the victims' families' and their reception, by taking into account the 'non-mainstream' women's 2-28 oral histories by Hsu Yue-li 許月里 and Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo 綢仔絲萊渥.³⁵⁴

Hsu Yue-li attended many anti-Japanese lectures and developed political knowledge at a very young age. After she grew up, she joined the Association of Manual Workers 工友協助會, a leftist under-cover anti-Japanese operations group. In the course of the 2-28 Incident, she was accused of 'helping communists' and imprisoned for 12 years. She gave birth to her child in prison. During her imprisonment, her husband began a new family with another woman. As a woman who was directly involved in the 2-28 Incident, Hsu Yue-li's experiences provide a very different perspective from that offered by women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. Her active political spirit and vocabulary and her pro-China attitude distinguish her 2-28 memories from those of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and also from the predominant 2-28 historicisation and commemoration.³⁵⁵

Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo is a Taiya aborigine woman married to Ohnishi Mitsuo 大西光男, a Japanese man who worked as an under-cover agent, helping the KMT regime during the 2-28 Incident to track down Japanese suspects who might conspire with 'Chinese communists'. *Shanshen ch'ingyao: t'aiyatzu nuhsing Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo te yisheng* 山深情遙：泰雅族女性綢仔絲萊渥的一生 (The Mountain is High, The Road of Love is Far: Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's Life) sets down Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's oral account, with

³⁵³ Ibid, 16.

³⁵⁴ Hsu Yue-li 許月里, 'Ch'angyieh manman heshih tan 長夜漫漫何時旦 (When does the Long Night Break?)' in Ying Ta-wei 應大偉 (ed.), *Taiwan nuren: pan shihchi te yinghsiang yu huiyi* 台灣女人：半世紀的影像與回憶 (Taiwan Women: Half Century's Images and Memories), Taipei: Tienyieh yinghsiang, 1996, 48-70. Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo, Masaru Nakamura and Hung Chin-chu (trans. & annot.) 綢仔絲萊渥口述、中村勝、洪金珠翻譯 (註解), *Shanshen ch'ingyao: t'aiyatzu nuhsing Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo te yisheng* 山深情遙：泰雅族女性綢仔絲萊渥的一生 (The Mountain is High, The Road of Love is Far: Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's Life), Taipei: China Times, 1997.

³⁵⁵ Ch'iu Kuei-fen, *Mapping Contemporary Women's Writing on the 2-28 Incident*, 18-9.

annotations by Nakamura Masaru 中村勝 (a Japanese professor of Agricultural Economics at Nagoya University) and Hung Chin-chu 洪金珠 (a Taiwanese foreign correspondent in Japan for *China Times*). Obviously the narrative form of Ch'ö Tzai Ssu Lai Wo is very different from that of Masaru Nakamura and Hung Chin-chu. Ch'ö Tzai Ssu Lai Wo focuses on her personal life with Ohnishi Mitsuo. Masaru Nakamura and Hung Chin-chu, however, present Ch'ö Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's oral account as a post-colonial Taiwanese national and historical narrative. Ch'ö Tzai Ssu Lai Wo only talked about her love-hate relationship with Ohnishi Mitsuo and said nothing directly about Japanese colonialism or the 2-28 Incident. On the other hand, Masaru Nakamura and Hung Chin-chu do not pay much attention to her intimate and complex sensitivity or her sexuality except when interpreting it as a symptom of internalised colonial desire of the colonised for the coloniser. Without either of them, however Ch'iu argues, we cannot witness and understand the complex inter-trajectories of sex/gender, nation and colonialism underlying the love stories of Ch'ö Tzai Ssu Lai Wo.

In my view, Ch'iu illustrates clearly the gender trap of the Taiwanese nationalist discursive frames that underline the production, reproduction and reception of women's 2-28 oral histories through a comparative analysis of different texts recording women's 2-28 cultural memories. By identifying the complex struggles between competing narratives and discursive frames, Ch'iu successfully shifts the Taiwanese nationalist discursive frames, and other exclusive and dominant narrative frames, in order to make those missing women speak from the 'clash' and 'fissures' of different discourses. This approach has been elaborated brilliantly by Gayatri Spivak in an Indian historical and cultural context.³⁵⁶ This is, I want to argue next, provides the terrain for the resistance against the gender trap and the closure of Taiwanese nationalist 2-28 discursive frames.

³⁵⁶ Gayatri Spivak, 'Woman in Difference: Mahasweta Devi's *Douloti the Bountiful*', in Andrew Parker et al., *Nationalisms & Sexualities*, 96-117. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives' in *History & Theory*, vol. 24, 1985, 247-272.

From this intellectual standpoint of resistance, I wish to go back to *Epitaph* and (adapting Juan Mei-shu's oral histories) ask: does *Epitaph* fall into the structural gender trap of Taiwanese nationalist discursive frames elaborated by Ch'iu? The schema of the experiences offered by the second text of *Epitaph* cannot avoid reiterating the sexual division of labour of the Taiwanese nationalist genre of women's 2-28 oral histories: men died and women mourn and commemorate; men are rational and women emotional. I want to argue, nevertheless, that other installation elements of *Epitaph* bring it back from the verge of ideological repetition by offering the possibility of something beyond that creates narrative gaps and fissures. The spotlight on *Epitaph*'s frosted glass panels immediately draw the viewer's attention to her/stories of *nu-ren*. The very opacity of the panels and the reflection of light, however, prevent the viewer from seeing the text too clearly and from seeing through to what is behind the text, the major signifier of women (and men's) histories. This representational structure makes the recovery of 'the forgotten women' difficult by hindering the optical comprehension and engagement of the viewer with the experiences and existence of these traumatised women. Under such circumstances, how and what the missing women speak, and how and what we listen to seem to pose a question that is not at all easy to answer.

In between the two panels mentioned above, there is an audiovisual scene of waves constantly pounding a rocky shore. It seems familiar and yet illegible. Moving suddenly from the overt and direct opening question to the second text and then to this audio-visual scene, the viewer is faced with a signifying rupture.

What is this landscape with its repetitive sound? What does it offer to the viewer/audience? Precisely speaking, it is not literally a landscape nor a landscape in the traditional art historical genre of painting. It is a seascape and an acoustic image, an image with the noise of seashore created by sound and video technologies. The rocky coast, constantly pounded by forceful sea waves, is familiar to the artist who lives by the

sea in northwestern Taiwan. It is also commonly seen and heard all around Taiwan which is a small island surrounded by the vast Pacific Ocean. After filming, cutting and editing it is screened here with a deliberately slowed rhythm using both video technology and artistic intelligence. As a result, this acoustic seascape is indeed uncanny, mysterious and strange. It seems intimate and familiar, and yet distant and strange. It seems naturalistic and real and yet illegible and opaque. The shore marks a coastline that implies a natural, cultural and perhaps psychological geographical boundary to somewhere, someone and something. Sea waves repeatedly pounding a rocky shore, however, are constantly breaching this boundary with their grand will and force. The sea, which is vast, limitless, deep, dangerous and unfathomable, continues to sustain these waves with its infinite power. The audio-visual scene of such repetition conveys a sense of eternity while the slowed, low and deep sound of that repetition suggests a rather violent sense of abreaction, relief through reliving.

If this acoustic seascape in *Epitaph*, like its textual counterparts, also works as a re-writing of forgotten women's 2-28 histories, what and how does it say, and how and what should we listen to it?

Shih Shu-mei 史書美, a cultural theorist teaching in the Department of Comparative Literature and East Asian Studies at the University of Los Angeles, astutely interprets the non-textual audio-visual seascape scene of *Epitaph* in relation to the task of re-writing women's history. She bases her interpretation on Gayatri Spivak's argument in the essay *Woman in Difference: Mahasweta Devi's Douloti the Bountiful*,

women are beyond major discursive frames [such as colonialism, anti-colonialism, nationalism, modernism, and capitalism] and to understand women has to go through the gaps between major discursive frames, go beyond major discursive frames, or start from the unspeakable.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Shih Shu-mei, 'Hsingpie chungtzu yu kuakuo shihchiao 性別、種族與跨國視角 (Gender, Race and Trans-national Perspectives)', in Chien, Ying-ying 簡瑛瑛 (ed.), *Nuhsing hsin/ling chih lu: nutzu shanghen yu pianchie shuhsie 女性心/靈之旅--女族傷痕與邊界書寫* (Women's Spiritual Journeys: Women's Traumas, and Writing from the Margins), Taipei: Fembooks, 2003, 31-32.

Shih argues that the audio-visual scene indicates ‘the limits of texts and languages’ by its non-text-ness, non-narrativity and non-figurativeness. She sees that the non-text-ness, non-narrativity and non-figurativeness of this audio-visual scene is indeed what Spivak describes as ‘the unspeakable’, ‘beyond the existing discursive frames’. It presents a ‘post-text’ and ‘post-language’ move that is needed in order to represent and rewrite ‘women’s traumatic experiences’, experiences which cannot be spoken and represented by the already ‘colonised text and language’.³⁵⁸

I agree with Shu-mei Shih’s insightful perception of the radical significance and revolutionary potential of the non-text-ness, non-narrativity and non-figurativeness of this audio-visual seascape scene as something ‘unspeakable’ and ‘beyond the existing discursive frames’ for representing women’s traumatic experiences which in turn permits the rewriting of women’s histories. Although the very opacity of the frosted glass panels and the reflection of light distance the viewer from the frame of the first and the second texts, this audio-visual scene confirms and empowers such distancing. I wish to address the mechanism of ‘the unspeakable’ and ask what this audio-visual seascape scene signifies, however, that has not been sufficiently elaborated in Shu-mei Shih’s article.

I want to suggest that what this acoustic seascape image alludes to is an allegory of what Sigmund Freud and Cathy Caruth described as ‘trauma’, a response to an overwhelming or catastrophic event.³⁵⁹ Freud found in patients who suffered from ‘traumatic neurosis’ a distinctive feature of trauma, which he termed the ‘compulsion to repeat’. He found that recurring and repeating ‘traumatic dreams and flashbacks’ kept ‘bringing the patient back into the situation of his accident against his wish’.³⁶⁰ ‘The

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Sigmund Freud, ‘Mourning and Melancholia (1917[1915])’; Sigmund Freud, ‘Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920)’; Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays (1939 [1934-1938])’. For Cathy Caruth’s major writings on trauma, see Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Unclaimed Experience*; and Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*.

³⁶⁰ Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Unclaimed Experience*, 4-5.

very literality' and 'non-symbolic nature' of the traumatic dreams and flashbacks, however, prevented the patient from recognising and understanding them and hence they constantly resisted 'the cure'. In other words, this 'insistent return' constitutes trauma, indicates its 'enigmatic core' and resists its possible cure.³⁶¹

In the acoustic seascape of *Epitaph*, the powerful sea waves pounding the rocky shore form the image and sound of the 'compulsion to repeat', and of the 'insistent return'. The repetition of sound is ponderous, profound and violent. The image that is repeated is obviously not the 'traumatic dreams' nor 'flashbacks' discussed by Freud, although the image seems figurative and familiar it is in fact strange, distant, mysterious, non-narrative, non-figurative and 'unspeakable' in Spivak's and Shih's words. I believe that the image offers something beyond 'traumatic dreams' and 'flashbacks'. So, what does it signify or represent? Ch'iu Kuei-fen noted that memories of Japanese colonisation and the 2-28 Incident are simultaneously 'present' in Ch'ò Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's love stories, but are somehow 'blank' in Ch'ò Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's autobiography.³⁶² In other words, memories of the traumatic colonial experiences are un-represented, hidden behind, leaving only marks on a 'screen', namely Ch'ò Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's narrative of her love stories. Such memories always need to be deciphered. Ch'iu concludes that these precious and inspiring 'present' yet 'blank' memory-existence marks are the very features of all the subaltern 2-28 memories that remain un-represented and un-representable within the 'mainstream' discursive frames of the 2-28 historicisation.³⁶³

In this vein, I wish to suggest that the seascape works like a 'screen', like Ch'ò Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's narrative of her love stories, and whose repeating image, with the sound of

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ch'iu Kuei-fen, *Mapping Contemporary Women's Writing on the 2-28 Incident*, 21.

³⁶³ Sigmund Freud, 'Screen Memories (1899),' in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. III (1893-1899), London: Hogarth Press and Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1962, 301-322. Ch'iu Kuei-fen, *Mapping Contemporary Women's Writing on the 2-28 Incident*, 20-21.

the forceful sea waves pounding against the rocky shore, constitutes the traces or marks of trauma that are 'present' but 'blank' and need to be listened to and deciphered. Placed next to the second text of *Epitaph*, this acoustic seascape image constantly extends women's hitherto limited traumatic experiences transcribed in the second text and displaces the hidden Taiwanese masculinist nationalist discursive frames by offering something, that is un-represented, strange, unknown, un-representable, provoking, challenging and, above all, indefinitely repeated, that is always present as differentiating marks on the subjectivity of the female families of the 2-28 victims.

Furthermore, I wish to consider the placing of the audio-visual scene in the installation space of *Epitaph*. *Epitaph* is a piece of installation work which involves the spectator in a certain environment. Hence, the audio-visual scene cannot simply be appreciated as a non-text as opposed to text as set out in Shu-mei Shih's article. The viewers of *Epitaph* are forcefully drawn into its half-closed installation space and become *insider witnesses* to women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, their gendered experiences of the 2-28 Incident, their absence, and the marks of eternal loss and the scars of the wounds on their subjectivity. As the end of the second text of *Epitaph* directly states,

她，是複數形式的女人。

She, is 'women' in plural form. (*She, is women's plural form/ woman-people.*)

她的憂傷也一直是我們的憂傷。

Her sorrow has always been ours. (*Sorrow of she has always been sorrow of I-we-us.*)

By making its viewer an insider witness, *Epitaph* acts as a discursive space for the formation of a potentially trans-subjective witnessing relationship with all the subjects who suffered from the 2-28 Incident, from its traumatic effects and affects. According to Dori Laub, witnessing always involves trans-subjectivity.

By extension, *the listener to trauma comes to be a participant and a co-owner of the traumatic event*: through his very listening, he comes to partially experience trauma in himself. The relation of the victim to the event of the trauma, therefore, impacts on the relation of the listener to it, and the latter comes to feel the bewilderment, injury, confusion, dread and conflicts that the trauma victim feels. He has to address all

these, if he is to carry out his function as a listener, and if trauma is to emerge, so that its henceforth impossible witnessing can indeed take place [...]

The listener, therefore, has to be at the same time a witness to the trauma witness and a witness to himself. It is only in this way, through his simultaneous awareness of the continuous flow of those inner hazards both in the trauma witness and in himself, that he can become the enabler of the testimony—the one who triggers its initiation, as well as the guardian of its process and of its momentum.³⁶⁴ (Italics in the original)

In conclusion, I want to suggest here *Epitaph* indeed offers a model of 2-28 cultural representation that would allow multiple-subjects (the viewers and the victims in general/women in the families of the 2-28 men victims) to co-emerge with difference within the discursive space of narrating the nation. The viewers of *Epitaph* who experience the work and listen to the untamed and unfinished trauma business that it presents at different historical and personal moments would formulate a slightly different discourse, which as a result continually denies the closure of contemporary Taiwanese national identity.³⁶⁵

Having discussed at length Ch'iu Kuei-fen's literary analysis of Ch'o Tzai Ssu Lai Wo's biography, I suggest that *Epitaph*, by situating us in a half-closed dim space watching and contemplating the literal yet mystical acoustic seascape image, produces the 'meaningful' absence, concerning the experiences and the voices of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, and has a strong aesthetic impact on us and yet is unknown to us. Through such potential trans-subjective encounter, *Epitaph* powerfully opens up a space for us to potentially engage with the experiences of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and thus with its traumatic affects and effects. Hence, women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and the viewer may co-emerge in the discursive field of narrating the new Taiwan nation. In this co-emergence, there seems

³⁶⁴ Dori Laub, 'Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening', in Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and Literature*. London: Routledge 1992, 57-58.

³⁶⁵ Here, the idea of 'trans-subjective encounter', 'trans-subjectivity', and 'co-emergence' are all taken from the terms and concepts articulated by Bracha Ettinger. I will discuss these terms and concepts in more detail in Chapter 6. See Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Art as Transport-Station of Trauma', in *Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger: Artworking 1985-1999*, Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts & Ghent-Amersdam: Ludion, 2000, 91-115; Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art', in Kjell R. Soleim (ed.), *Fatal Women: Essays on Film noir and Related Matters*, Bergen: Centre for Women's Research and Gender Research, University of Bergen, vol. 11, 1999, 115-128.

the possibility for sadness to be aesthetically transformed. However, the issues of how *Epitaph*, and perhaps other works of *Sadness Transformed*, and how the aesthetic, contemporary work of art, mentioned here, can offer the aesthetic transformations of trauma experience will be addressed in detail in Chapter 6. In Chapter 5, I will provide a basis for the discussion of Chapter 6 first by considering the 2-28 historical and political trauma and the structure of trauma.

Chapter 5 Theorising the 2-28 Historical and Political Trauma

In Chapter 1, I indicated that the 2-28 Incident has been remembered as a traumatic past historical event by the 2-28 commemoration and historicisation in Taiwan during the mid-1980s and the 1990s. The commonly agreed narrative is that the authoritarian KMT government in the post-war period cruelly killed innocent Taiwanese people, and that Taiwan as a contemporary new nation has to look forward and move on. Chapter 3 has shown that as a form of cultural representation *Sadness Transformed*, the 2-28 commemorative art exhibition in 1997, the 50th anniversary of the 2-28 Incident, also produced and reproduced this memorial narrative by its curatorial rationale and by many of its exhibits. A ‘post-2-28’ ethnically and politically harmonious utopia was declared, and the 2-28 victims who were men were redeemed, compensated, sacralised and glorified as the national forefathers and as the national subjects of the new Taiwan nation, and whose pain of death and castration is forgotten and displaced onto ‘the forgotten women’, the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, and onto ‘woman’ as ‘sign’, the ‘ideal’ woman. It seems that the 2-28 men victims have been rehabilitated, the historical wound healed, and the 2-28 Incident as a traumatic historical and political event laid to rest.

Great political fanaticism was mobilised by the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally, two phenomenal 2-28 commemorations held respectively by the Pan-Green Coalition and the Pan-Blue Coalition for the 2004 Presidential election campaign, to establish and consolidate this ‘post-2-28’ ethnically and politically harmonious utopia. It seemed that the 2-28 Incident was over and Taiwan had embarked on its ‘post-2-28’ future. Less than a month later, however, this ‘post-2-28’ ethnically and politically harmonious utopia was soon proved, by the painful

aftermath of the 2004 Presidential election, to be only hasty political rhetoric and, in Santner's words, 'narrative fetishism'. The people of Taiwan had, perhaps, never been so divided since the lifting of Martial Law. The division shows the re-enactment of the complex political, ethnic, social, cultural and affective relations resulting from the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident.³⁶⁶ In other words, the affects and effects of the 2-28 Incident *returned to haunt* Taiwan and the Taiwanese. The prefix 'post' in the term 'post-2-28' connotes only 'after', signifying 'coming later than the 2-28 Incident' rather than 'an end to the 2-28 Incident'. I will discuss this division at length in this chapter, in terms of Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu's observations of the psychological impact of the 2-28 Incident on the trauma survivors and the Taiwanese.

In this chapter, I wish to consider the problem posed by such phenomena. Why are people in Taiwan eager to remember the 2-28 Incident only to forget again? Why do the affects and effects of the 2-28 Incident constantly and repeatedly 'return to haunt' Taiwan and the Taiwanese in spite of the general will to forget? What can be done to deal with the affects and effects of the 2-28 Incident that constantly and repeatedly 'return to haunt' Taiwan and the Taiwanese?

The 2-28 commemoration and historicisation have produced various competing memorial narratives and historical narratives in an attempt to catch the historical truth of the 2-28 catastrophic *event*. There is, however, limited awareness of such phenomena and equally little consideration given to the questions I have posed, except in the rarely seen writings of Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu on the psychology of the 2-28 trauma survivors of the Taiwanese after the 2-28 Incident. I wish to propose that the same mechanism by which the affects and effects of the 2-28 Incident are able constantly to 'return to haunt' makes the catastrophic event not only 'unfinished

³⁶⁶ Lin Tzung-yi, 'Confrontation or Reconciliation?: Military Suppressors vs. Surviving Victims and Families'. Li Ch'iao, 'The meaning of "2-28" in the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Taiwanese'. Lin, Yi-fu, *Analysing 'the Masochism' of the Taiwanese*.

business' (in Griselda Pollock's words) but also makes it a political and historical *trauma* which has long-term overwhelming traumatic impact and unbound psychic affects beyond its cultural and historical specificity.³⁶⁷ In order to understand the 2-28 Incident in terms of its trauma, its overwhelming impact and unbound affects, namely *its trauma mechanism*, I wish to consider some specific theories on the structure of trauma elaborated by Sigmund Freud, Cathy Caruth and Ruth Leys. I will argue that only by understanding the structure of trauma can we better appreciate, and recognise the difficulty – and perhaps the impossibility – of grasping the forces of the 2-28 historical and political *trauma* beyond the limited grand memorial and historical narratives of the *event*.

Hence, this chapter proposes to revisit a range of cultural processes from those identifying the 2-28 Incident as the national traumatic event to those declaring a 'post-2-28' utopia as the closure of the case, accompanied by the general silencing once again of anyone who would deny this premature closure and address the unremembered. This chapter will reconsider them by taking the 2-28 Incident not as a historical *event* represented by numerous factual details and narratives, but as a historical and political *trauma* whose long-term cultural and psychic effects and whose unbound and forceful trauma affects have been experienced and yet are ignored and unremembered by the Taiwanese in general. In other words, the complex political, ethnic, social and cultural relations and, above all for the purposes of this chapter, the neglected affective relations, determined by the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident (in which the subjects of Taiwan and their subjectivities are formed) need to be carefully reconsidered and transformed.

³⁶⁷ The term 'unfinished business' is taken from the title of Griselda Pollock's course: 'Unfinished Business: Trauma, Cultural Memory and the Holocaust', for the School of Fine Art, Histories of Art & Cultural Studies, University of Leeds.

5.1 Discourses on the 2-28 Incident as a Historical and Political Trauma

So far in Taiwan, almost all 2-28 discourses address the 2-28 Incident as a traumatic historical *event*. Little that has been written construing the 2-28 Incident as a historical and political *trauma*. Next, I will review three major written works, by Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao, and Lin Yi-fu, on the psychological and cultural impact on the trauma survivors and on the Taiwanese in general.

Lin Tzung-yi, a psychiatrist and the son of a 2-28 man victim, Lin Mao-shen, and the director of WACCSVF, gave a pathological reading of the traumatisation of the 2-28 surviving victims and families (SVFs) in 1997.³⁶⁸ He described the different symptoms manifest by the SVFs and the struggles that the SVFs had undertaken during different historical and political phases of Taiwan. In the first period (28 February - 17 May, 1947), at the outbreak of the 2-28 Incident, the SVFs showed 'numbness, dissociation from reality, "depersonalisation" and "dissociative amnesia" in the shock of seeing families suddenly killed, taken away or much traumatised'.³⁶⁹ In the second period (1947-1949), the Cleansing Period when the KMT government systematically eradicated any 2-28 suspects and related Taiwanese intellectuals, the SVFs were angry, powerless and humiliated, and totally horrified by the massive KMT suppression. They felt guilty about their own survival. In the third period (1950-1987), the period of White Terror under Martial Law, the SVFs were in constant fear that they might suddenly die or lose their freedom. Constantly overwhelmed by the humiliation, social discrimination and dehumanisation inflicted by the KMT and its intensive police network, and by the impossibility of improving their situation, they withdrew from society and remained in total despair.³⁷⁰ Lin summarised his observations by a diagnosis that the SVFs were

³⁶⁸ Lin Tzung-yi, 'Confrontation or Reconciliation?: Military Suppressors vs. Surviving Victims and Families', 371-396.

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 371.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 372.

traumatised by the 2-28 Incident and suffered from ‘Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and Suppressed or Delayed Bereavement’. Living under the KMT’s repressive reign, the SVFs could not hold any proper funerals and hence mourn for the dead. They could not talk about their traumatic experiences at all. They had been immersed in inconsolable fear, repression and bereavement ever since the outbreak of the 2-28 Incident.³⁷¹

Based on this diagnosis, Lin Tzung-yi and others prescribed ‘the master plan’ as the cure. This plan included rehabilitating the victims and the SVFs, establishing an alliance among the SVFs and setting up reconciliation schemes with the post-martial-law KMT government led by Lee Teng-hui, which was perceived to be different from its predecessor, the perpetrator of the 2-28 Incident. *The Executive Yuan’s Report on the ‘2-28 Incident’* prepared by the Executive Yuan of the KMT government was published in 1994.³⁷² Taipei 2-28 Memorial was established in 1995. The *2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act* was approved by the Legislative Yuan, and the 2-28 Incident Memorial Foundation was set up by the Executive Yuan to realise the provisions of the Act in the same year. The New Park next to Taipei 2-28 Memorial was renamed the 2-28 Memorial Park in 1996 and the Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum inside the park was established in 1997. The date ‘February 28’ was made as a national memorial day and integrated into the national calendar in 1997. According to Lin, these events together constitute the cure.³⁷³ What remains unresolved for Lin is how to write the 2-28 Incident into the historical memory of Taiwan.³⁷⁴

In Lin Tzung-yi’s article, the 2-28 Incident is mainly regarded as a matter between, on the one hand, the victims and the SVFs and, on the other, the perpetrators, Chiang

³⁷¹ Ibid, 377-8.

³⁷² Lai Tze-han et al., *The Executive Yuan’s Report on the ‘2-28 Incident’*.

³⁷³ Lin Tzung-yi, ‘Confrontation or Reconciliation?: Military Suppressors vs. Surviving Victims and Families’, 382-4.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, 385-6.

Kai-shek's KMT regime. It is a historical and national trauma suffered only by the victims and the SVFs, rather than by the Taiwanese in general. By setting up a strategic reconciliation scheme with Lee Teng-hui's KMT government – the successor of Chiang's KMT regime – the victims can be redeemed by the nation and perhaps remembered by the post-2-28 generations, and as a consequence the SVFs' 2-28 trauma can be healed.

Unlike Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao, a literary critic and one of the major 2-28 literary writers and cultural theorists, is concerned more with the traumatic impact of '2-28' on the SVFs.³⁷⁵ He puts '2-28' in the context of the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Taiwanese in general. *Geistesgeschichte* is translated by him as '*ching-sheng-shih* 精神史 (the spiritual history, or the psychological history), which concerns 'the trajectories of how human psyche and mindsets have been schematised and transformed' through time and which embody 'ideas' such as world-view and ethics, and 'cultural representations' such as literature and art.³⁷⁶ Hence, the main thesis of Li's article is to analyse how '2-28' has affected and reorganised the mind-set of the Taiwanese.³⁷⁷

According to Li, not only the SVFs but also the Taiwanese in general have been traumatised and 'distorted' by '2-28'.³⁷⁸ He identifies some PTSD symptoms shown in the individual behaviours of the SVFs and in the 'behavioural patterns' of the Taiwanese.³⁷⁹

Li uses the cases of many SVFs to illustrate his observation. During the time when his 2-28 novel, *Burying Grievance-1947-Burying Grievance*, was serialised in a newspaper in the early 1990s, he received a phone call from a son of a 2-28 man victim. The son said

³⁷⁵ According to Li Ch'iao, every time he names 'the 2-28 Incident', he always uses '2-28' on its own rather than putting any descriptive and defined suffixes such as 'Incident', 'Massacre', 'Uprising', 'Revolution' and so forth, because of its very complexity. See Li Ch'iao, 'The meaning of "2-28" in the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Taiwanese', 407.

³⁷⁶ Ibid, 397.

³⁷⁷ Ibid, 398.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, 407.

³⁷⁹ Ibid, 401-4.

to Li, 'having read your novel yesterday, I recall the scene...I was there when my father was executed...', and then started to weep. After several minutes, he resumed his conversation with Li, 'I fear to live in the West [of Taiwan]...secret agents still follow me...I can't give you my number...I will call you.'³⁸⁰ Li thinks that this son is 'heavily wounded' and still locked up in the trauma, bereavement and paranoia inflicted by the aftermath of '2-28'.³⁸¹ In another passage, Li describes his interview with a 2-28 man survivor who luckily avoided execution. The 2-28 survivor utterly denied the fact that he is a 2-28 survivor during his interview with Li. He asserted that Li should not take revenge and should let bygones be bygones. He said that '2-28' was a crime committed by Chen Yi, the Governor of Taiwan during the 2-28 Incident, in collaboration with the communists, and that the present KMT government loves its people and has nothing to do with '2-28'. Li seems to reject completely this survivor's denial and his identification with the KMT governments.³⁸² Li also disagrees with many Taiwanese trauma survivors and their families who refused to stay in Taiwan or speak Mandarin, the official language of the KMT reign, or who do not participate in political and public affairs, or who are unable to trust the *waishengren* at all.³⁸³

Having the SVFs' PTSD symptoms in mind, Li continues to elaborate those symptoms manifested in some of the behavioural patterns of the Taiwanese. He identifies five common 'post-2-28 behavioural patterns'後二二八行為模式. Firstly, the Taiwanese tend to avoid any involvement in political and public affairs. Secondly, 'the *pengshengren* Taiwanese' still tend to think of themselves as 'the slave' seeing 'the

³⁸⁰ Li Ch'iao does not describe these SVFs' cases in details or name those SVFs. From his description, one can only know that the phone call happened when Li published his *Burying Grievance-1947-Burying Grievance* on a newspaper. The novel was printed firstly on *The Capital Daily* 首都早報 between 6 March and 28 August 1990 and then on *Taiwan Times* 台灣時報 between 28 December and 7 November 1991 following the liquidation of *The Capital Daily*. Ibid, 401-2. Also see Li Ch'iao, *Burying Grievance, 1947 Burying Grievance*, 643.

³⁸¹ Li Ch'iao, 'The meaning of "2-28" in the *Geistesgeschichte* of the Taiwanese', 401-2.

³⁸² The survivor was tied up with other victims by an iron wire piercing through his palm and thrown into the sea. Luckily, he escaped leaving an ostensible wound on his right palm. Ibid, 402.

³⁸³ Ibid, 399-400.

waishengren as 'their master'. They tend to adopt the master's views and judgements, even those which belittle and degrade them and which 'contradict their own sense of right and wrong'. Thirdly, 'the *pengshengren* Taiwanese' are inclined to take up a 'secondary' position to 'the *waishengren*', even within the political protesting movements against the KMT rule of the 1980s and 1990s. Fourthly, the Taiwanese tend not to believe in law and justice. They consider everything on the basis of self-protection and survival. Finally, the Taiwanese tend not to collaborate with each other. There is hardly any trust or solidarity.³⁸⁴

Taking as the manifestation of the 'post-2-28 syndrome' 後二二八症候群, some of these behaviours and behavioural patterns of the SVFs and the Taiwanese, Li concludes that '2-28' has totally damaged the collective psyche of the Taiwanese and the cultural fabric of Taiwan.³⁸⁵ During the period of Japanese colonisation, the Taiwanese suffered from feeling 'abandoned' and feeling 'like an orphan'. After the end of the World War II, 'the orphan' should have had the chance to grow up into 'an adult' on his/her own. This chance, however, disappeared because of '2-28' and the KMT's severe oppression afterwards. Psychologically, therefore, the Taiwanese 'cannot grow up into an adult, be independent and move on'. In terms of social relations, the Taiwanese follow a 'self-centred and selfish' principle, and do not 'respect truth and justice.' In terms of cultural belief, they adopt a world-view that encourages the acquisition of wealth or power through short-term speculation, and discourages long-term investment. Based on the same world-view, they practise a religion based on 'the principle of bribe.' 'They do good only because they want to get something back'. Aesthetically, they lack 'originality, creativity, autonomy and experimentality'.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Ibid, 403-5.

³⁸⁵ Ibid, 406.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, 406.

Acting as a Taiwanese cultural nationalist doctor, Li details the sickness of Taiwan and its people, the *penshengren* Taiwanese in particular. Li urges the Taiwanese to work out carefully the implications of '2-28' in every structural aspect of life and to build up 'a new and independent nation' and 'a new [Taiwanese] people' with a positive, healthy and 'autonomous cultural system'.³⁸⁷

Lin Yi-fu (1942-), a Taiwanese psychiatrist, who bases his medical practice in the US, uses professional psychotherapeutic terms to annotate and clarify Li Ch'iao's thesis and to structure his own observation of contemporary politics in Taiwan.³⁸⁸

Based on Li Ch'iao's observation, Lin Yi-fu identifies two major symptoms: 'PTSD' and the 'Stockholm syndrome'. Lin explains that 'people who experienced some catastrophic event that put their life in danger' are likely to suffer from PTSD. He continues to indicate the latest expansion of the definition of PTSD: 'people who saw or heard the catastrophic event can also suffer from PTSD'.³⁸⁹ Using this wider definition of PTSD, Lin finds a theoretical foundation for Li's and his own thesis: the effects and affects of the 2-28 historical trauma have marked not only the trauma survivors and their families, but also the contemporary outsiders, the Taiwanese of post-2-28 generations.

According to Lin, people who suffer from PTSD 'cannot help having nightmares and flashbacks of traumatic scenes'. The impact of these nightmares and flashbacks on them is as great as that of the catastrophic events themselves and still makes them feel frightened and anxious.³⁹⁰ In order to avoid fear and anxiety, people who suffer from

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 406-7. This assertion can also be found in one of his latest co-authored books. Li Ch'iao, 'Taiwan wenhsue chut'ihsing te chienko 台灣文學主體性的建構 (Constructing the Subjectivity of Taiwan Literature)', in Li Yung-chih, Li Ch'iao, Chuang Wan-shou, Kuo Sheng-yu, *On Constructing the Sovereignty of Taiwan*, 64-79.

³⁸⁸ Lin Yi-fu, *Analysing 'the Masochism' of the Taiwanese*.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, 40. For the debate on the definition of PTSD, see also Cathy Caruth, 'Introduction', in Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 3-12; Ruth Leys, 'Introduction', in Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, 1-17. Allan Young, *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

³⁹⁰ Ibid, 41.

PTSD will 'avoid anything that would remind them of the trauma', 'lose memory of the trauma', 'be indifferent to anything', 'dissociate themselves from anyone' and 'take negative attitudes towards their future'.³⁹¹ Lin reckons that the man who rang up Li Ch'iao clearly showed the sign of PTSD. He suffered from extreme fear and paranoia and wanted to avoid any memory of the 2-28 trauma and any possible threat from the KMT system.³⁹² Lin also argues that the SVFs and Taiwanese who deliberately avoid anything to do with the politics and the KMT system, as well as those Taiwanese who deliberately ignore and avoid the SVFs all suffer from PTSD.³⁹³

The 'Stockholm syndrome' refers to an armed robbery that happened in Stockholm in 1973. As recounted by Lin, a robber seized a bank, took four clerks hostage and demanded that the police release a prisoner. During the five-day period of negotiation, the robber abused and terrified the hostages. He also offered them some reward. In the end, the robber surrendered and the hostages were released. The hostages, surprisingly, sympathised and cooperated with the robber, and promised to help him in the future. In contrast, they were hostile towards the police. Lin explains that the hostages faced inescapable danger, humiliation, abuse and isolation during the period of negotiation. Under such circumstances, the hostages developed a 'bonding' with the robber in order to survive. They gradually became dependent on the perpetrator, took a favourable attitude towards the perpetrator and even totally adopted the world-view of the perpetrator. The 'Stockholm syndrome' is thus used to indicate situations in which the (hostage) victims form an inter-dependent and complicit relationship with the (robber) perpetrator.³⁹⁴

Lin Yi-fu suggests that the 2-28 survivor, who luckily escaped from his execution and was interviewed by Li Ch'iao, clearly showed evidence of the 'Stockholm syndrome'

³⁹¹ Ibid, 42.

³⁹² Ibid, 42-3.

³⁹³ Ibid, 43-5; 48-50.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 127-8.

because he identified with the world-view and propaganda of Chiang Kai-shek's KMT regime which would have been responsible for his execution and which carried out the massacre of the Taiwanese during the 2-28 Incident.³⁹⁵

Lin then takes the 'Stockholm syndrome' a step further to explain the collective psyche of the traumatised Taiwanese and particularly their ambiguous political relationship with the KMT repressive regimes.³⁹⁶ He draws an analogy between 'Taiwan' as 'the victim/the masochist' and 'the KMT China' as 'the perpetrator/the sadist'.³⁹⁷ Lin indicates that the KMT China oppressed and exploited the Taiwanese in order to 'secure itself' temporarily on Taiwan and 'recover Mainland China' in the end. At the same time, the regime embraced Sino-centrism and degraded all aspects of Taiwan: its people, its languages, its cultures, and so forth.³⁹⁸ Under the KMT's closed and repressive reign, the Taiwanese had to rely on and identify with the KMT regime in order to avoid trouble, or to be better treated, or to get certain institutional benefits and support.³⁹⁹

Under such circumstances, the Taiwanese as the victim masochist developed a complex 'defense mechanism' for their survival, which consists of 'denial', 'feeling powerless', 'having low self-esteem', 'waiting for salvation' and 'formulating and following a corrupt and complicit culture'⁴⁰⁰ whose attributes correspond to 'those behavioural patterns' described by Li Ch'iao and mentioned above. This complex 'defense mechanism' also helped formulate the ambiguous and ambivalent love-and-hate political attitudes of the Taiwanese towards the KMT, and towards China across the Taiwan Strait, and which, Lin continues to assert, very much hinder the

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 45-7.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 58-184.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 58.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 61.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 60.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 62.

pursuit of Taiwan's independence from China.⁴⁰¹ Lin notes that most Taiwanese civilians including political leaders of the present DPP government are all 'haunted' by the 'One China' ideology.⁴⁰²

Lin thus argues that the Taiwanese should not continue to be overshadowed by the legacy of the masochist and sadist relationships arising from the colonisation by KMT China. The Taiwanese, Lin asserts, have to stand up for themselves, hold on their own independence and learn from scratch to see Taiwan and Taiwan's cultures from a Taiwan-centred gaze rather than a Sino-centric one.⁴⁰³ This is the lesson the Taiwanese should learn from the 2-28 Incident.⁴⁰⁴

In summary, Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu all use psychotherapeutic terms to explain the traumatic affects and effects of the 2-28 Incident and offer a cure through some guidelines for political action. Lin Tzung-yi focuses on identifying the PTSD symptoms of the survivors and their families. The 2-28 Incident is contained as an individual psychological wound and as a private matter between the victims, survivors and their families, and the perpetrators. Once the KMT regime had set up the national rehabilitation and compensation scheme, the matter was (or had to be) considered settled. Both Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu see the 2-28 Incident as something like an earthquake. In the epicentre the victims, the survivors and their families; and surrounding the epicentre the Taiwanese in general. The trauma affects and effects of the 2-28 Incident reverberated and keep reverberating across Taiwan. The 2-28 Incident is hence regarded as a collective psychological wound in the cultural fabric of Taiwan. In order to heal the wound, both Li and Lin prescribe some moral, ethical and political principles for the Taiwanese.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 69-184.

⁴⁰² Ibid, 150-155.

⁴⁰³ Ibid, 208-300.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, 301-330.

Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu enable us to see that the 2-28 Incident is not just a historical event that happened and ended in 1947, but that today it continues to have immense psychic affects and effects on certain groups of the Taiwanese and on the Taiwanese in general. There are, however, still many questions to ask. Can the 2-28 historical and political trauma be healed? Can the loss inflicted by the 2-28 Incident and 40 years' oppression afterwards suffered by the trauma victims and survivors, their families and the Taiwanese in general be recovered? What kind of psychic and social institution made the 2-28 trauma survivors and their families, and people in Taiwan in general refuse to talk about the 2-28 Incident particularly in the time before the lifting of Martial Law? What is it that made people in Taiwan actively engage in the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration in the late 1980s and the 1990s, and turn away again just a decade later? How do we make sense of the claim of the 'post-2-28 utopia' and its consequent silencing once more of the discourses on the 2-28 Incident and trauma? How do we understand the division of people in Taiwan, and its pain, as re-enacted and worsened by the disputes over the 2004 Presidential election? What do the PTSD symptoms identified by Lin Tzung-yi, Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu register? Is there anything of the 2-28 historical and political trauma that the Taiwanese cannot see and deal with, and yet need to do so? What can be done to transform, if not heal, the 2-28 historical and political trauma? All these questions indicate a need to embark on a psychoanalytic analysis, informed by trauma theories, of the structure of the 2-28 historical and political trauma and how it operates in Taiwanese society.

Hence, I wish to consider the structure and the process of the 2-28 historical and political trauma by negotiating with Sigmund Freud's elaborations of trauma theory and with the work of two key figures in 'trauma studies', Cathy Caruth and Ruth Leys, who,

writing in North America in the 1990s, integrate insights from literary, historical and psychoanalytic studies and from Holocaust studies.⁴⁰⁵

5.2 Sigmund Freud on the Structure of Trauma

Sigmund Freud is not the first researcher in trauma research. He was nevertheless the first who tried to produce ‘a coherent theory’ of trauma. In spite of much criticism, his theoretical writings on trauma, *Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays (1939 [1934-38])* in particular, still remain influential in the field of research, and have inspired the main theoretical frameworks in the trauma studies of Cathy Caruth, Ruth Leys and others.⁴⁰⁶

Either directly or indirectly, Freud investigated traumatic experiences from the very early stages of his career.⁴⁰⁷ In this chapter, I will concentrate on Freud’s latest writing, *Moses and Monotheism*, in which he mapped out the structure of trauma.⁴⁰⁸

In *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud explored how the trauma of the killing of Moses by the Jewish people operated, and why and how its delayed affects and effects came back strongly, compelling the Jewish people of later generations to formulate Jewish monotheism and become the most faithful advocates of Monotheist religion. Freud built up an analysis of the group psychology of Jewish people by referring to discourses on Jewish religion, history and culture and to his previous research on individual

⁴⁰⁵ Dominic LaCapra has reviewed some major ideas elaborated by the key figures in the ‘trauma studies’ and problematises some debates in the discursive field. See Dominick LaCapra, *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004, 106-143.

⁴⁰⁶ Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays’, 237-386. For the evaluation of Freud’s status and influence in trauma research, see Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, 1-40. Among the most influential theorists of trauma in the field of trauma studies who are influenced by Freud is Cathy Caruth. Two books on trauma written or edited by Cathy Caruth are among the most widely discussed and used in any cultural research concerned with individual and collective traumatic experiences. Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*; and Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and the Possibility of History*. The latter owes much to Freud’s major writings on trauma such as *Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920)* and *Moses and Monotheism (1939[1934-1938])*. Another theorist of trauma that I wish to draw attention to is Ruth Leys. Basing on Freud’s seduction theory and concerning with the issues of child sexual abuse, Ruth Leys develops a different theory of trauma from that by Cathy Caruth and becomes one of the major critics of Caruth’s views. Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, Chapter I on Freud and Chapter VIII on Caruth.

⁴⁰⁷ For example, Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud, *Studies on Hysteria (1895)*, The Penguin Freud Library, vol. 3, London: Penguin Books, 1991.

⁴⁰⁸ Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays’.

psychology. He offered a structure of trauma and investigated how it operated in the making of Jewish religious and cultural memories, identities and subjectivities. I find that *Moses and Monotheism* enables me to reflect on the structure and the process of the 2-28 historical and political trauma and how it operates to facilitate the discursive formation of contemporary Taiwanese national and cultural memories, identities and subjectivities.

What can psychoanalysis offer to social and cultural studies? In *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud's theory of trauma and the question of the socio-psychic forces that bind a people to their tradition/history/memory are addressed specifically. Given the passing of time, tradition should weaken. However, using the case study of his own people, at a time of real menace to their survival by an aggressor (the Nazis), Freud showed why the opposite is the case. Why are people loyal to or unable to escape their past? Why does 'tradition' work and remain influential? Freud's argument is that in the case of his own people and their tradition, the power of the past lies in its traumatic origin. Freud also showed how in responding to the repressed trauma of the murder of Moses (guilt) the event is mis-remembered with a complete inversion producing an idealised loyalty to Moses and his Monotheist religion.⁴⁰⁹

Taiwan is not directly comparable with the Jewish case. Nevertheless, what is relevant is the structure of Freud's argument that a traumatic event (already surcharged psychically as a repetition and the return of the repressed (eg. castration) generates its own persistence and binds future generations to go beyond defence-repression-and-latency and force the return of the repressed: the haunting that needs something other than 'narrative fetishism', commemoration etc. to relieve it. Hence, trauma is not cured but transformed. This also addresses the issue of gender or sexual difference where the former victims, abject in their suffering, are remade as

⁴⁰⁹ For an analysis of Freud's argument concerning the process from trauma, tradition, latency, to the return of the repressed, see Richard J. Berstein, *Freud and the Legacy of Moses*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 27-74.

national heroes. This thesis wishes to move beyond that inversion to open up a space for processing rather than repeating the trauma.

Freud articulated a formula of how trauma works: Early trauma—defence—latency—outbreak of neurotic illness—partial return of the repressed.⁴¹⁰ I will explain elements of this formula in the following passages.

Freud defined 'trauma':

We give the names of traumas to those impressions, experienced early and later forgotten, to which we attach such great importance in the aetiology of neurosis. We may leave on one side the question of whether the aetiology of the neurosis in general may be regarded as traumatic.⁴¹¹

In this paragraph, Freud seems to separate the events from 'the impressions' of the events. He does not say that it is the nature of the events that defines trauma. Instead, he regards traumas as the 'impressions' that the neurotic patient gained at an early stage of his/her life, has forgotten later, and that have played a key role in the forming of his/her neurosis. In other words, it is *the forgotten and yet strong affective feelings* which constitute trauma.

Freud indicated that 'all traumas occur in early childhood up to about the fifth year.' 'Impressions from the time at which a child is beginning to talk' are particularly interesting and the periods between the second and the fourth year are the most important. In general, it is very difficult to determine when the child acquired the impressions.⁴¹² However, sometimes there are 'strong and powerful impressions' which can be identified 'unmistakably' as the determinants of neurosis.⁴¹³ These 'experiences' are 'totally forgotten', 'not accessible to memory' and 'fall within the period of infantile amnesia, which is broken into by a few separate mnemic residues' known as 'screen memories.' These 'experiences' relate to 'impressions of a sexual and aggressive nature,

⁴¹⁰ Sigmund Freud, 'Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays', 323.

⁴¹¹ Ibid, 315.

⁴¹² Ibid, 315-6.

⁴¹³ Ibid, 315.

and no doubt also to injuries to the ego.’⁴¹⁴ These ‘experiences’ and ‘impressions’ are gained either through bodily encounter or through sense perceptions like vision, hearing and so on.⁴¹⁵

To put it another way, trauma occurs much earlier in childhood, or perhaps we could say, much earlier than the outbreak of neurosis. Occasionally, we might be able to trace it back to some ‘strong and powerful’ impressions obtained in childhood through direct bodily encounter, or indirectly through the reception of information and representations. Generally, however, we cannot attribute it to any specific affective feelings simply because we cannot remember the events of which we have impressions. To this end, perhaps we could say these ‘impressions’ and feelings are unbound affects beyond the memory proper.

For Freud, ‘the affects and effects of trauma are of two kinds’: ‘compulsion to repeat’ and ‘defensive reactions.’ The former are ‘attempts to bring trauma into operation once again.’ They are attempts to ‘remember the forgotten experience’ or, to put it in a better way, to ‘make it real’ in order to ‘experience the repetition of it anew.’ Even if the experience was only ‘an early emotional relationship’, there is an attempt to ‘revive it in an analogous relationship with someone else’. The unbound and unremembered affects, namely ‘impressions’, somehow unconsciously and analogously become attached to something or someone else and forge a compulsive repetition of the early traumas. This is totally opposite to the ‘compulsion to repeat’: ‘nothing of the forgotten traumas shall be remembered and nothing repeated’. Both the former and the latter may be integrated, and become permanent and characteristic ways in which the normal ego operates.⁴¹⁶ Both of them are ‘fixations to the trauma’ and of ‘a compulsive quality.’ They are psychically intensive and extremely independent of ‘the organisation of the other mental

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, 316.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, 317.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, 318-9.

processes' that 'are adjusted to the demands of the real external world' and 'obey the laws of logical thinking.'⁴¹⁷

Between 'the first reactions to trauma' and 'the later outbreak of the illness,' there is 'a latency of neurosis.' During the latency period, a defence mechanism takes control, the traumatic experiences are forgotten and 'the alterations of the ego are left behind.'⁴¹⁸ The illness may occur in two sets of circumstances. Firstly, at the irruption of puberty, when 'the instincts' become strong enough to take up again the struggle against defence mechanism. Secondly, when 'the reactions and the alterations of the ego brought about by the defence' become an obstacle in dealing with 'new tasks of life,' and create 'severe conflicts between the demands of the external real world and the ego' and the ego hence seeks to maintain 'the organization which it has painstakingly achieved in its defensive struggle.' Freud argues, the illness should be seen as 'an attempt at cure,' that is, as an effort of the ego to reconcile with and unite the portions split off by the affects and effects of trauma to form a more powerful one in order to deal with the external world. This attempt, nevertheless, usually ends up in 'a complete devastation and fragmentation of the ego' overwhelmed by 'the portions split off and dominated by trauma.'⁴¹⁹

According to Freud, the experiences and impressions that are forgotten do not disappear. They are only 'repressed' and 'retained in unconscious memory traces.' The 'memory-traces' of the experiences are isolated by 'anticathexis', 'the underpinning of numerous defensive activities of the ego which is capable of impeding the access to consciousness and motility of unconscious ideas and wishes.'⁴²⁰ They cannot 'enter into communication with other intellectual processes.' They are at the level of the unconscious and 'inaccessible to consciousness.' Some portions of the repressed have

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, 319.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, 320.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, 320-1.

⁴²⁰ J. Laplanche and J.B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis*, London: Karnac, 1988, 36-37; 62-65.

escaped from the repression process and ‘remain accessible to memory and occasionally emerge into consciousness.’ They are, however, isolated like ‘foreign bodies out of connection with the rest.’⁴²¹

The repressed continues ‘its effort to force its way to consciousness.’ It can achieve this ‘under three conditions’: firstly, when the ‘strength of anticathexis’ is reduced by ‘the pathological processes’ that overtake the ego, or when the ‘cathetic energy’ is distributed differently, usually ‘in the state of sleep’; secondly, when ‘the instinctual elements attaching to the repressed received a special reinforcement,’ for example at the puberty; and thirdly, when recent experiences and impressions that closely resemble the repressed are powerful enough to awaken it.⁴²²

Here, I wish to point out that Freud explained this formula for the structure of trauma by referring to what he called ‘castration trauma’ that the boy child has, arising from the fear of being castrated by the Father during the Oedipal period, which has great impact on the subsequent development of the boy child’s sexual subjectivity. While the Father lives, he obeys the Father and represses himself and his sexuality. When the Father dies, he becomes like the Father.⁴²³ Freud tried very hard to use this formula to understand the force of the historical trauma of the killing of Moses. For Freud, the killing of the tribal Father by his sons is ‘the primal scene’ of ‘castration trauma’ in human history that he theorised about in *Totem and Taboo* (1912-3) and legitimises the use of the formula, based on individual psychology, to explain the historical trauma of the killing of Moses and the group psychology of Jewish people. In sum, the killing of Moses is a repetition of the archaic killing of the tribal Father. The guilt of the sons, the Levites in the case of the killing of Moses, came back forcefully and compulsively after being repressed for a long time and forced the Levites, together

⁴²¹ Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays’, 339.

⁴²² Ibid, 339-340.

⁴²³ Ibid, 314-323.

with other Jewish tribes, to idealise Moses and form Jewish monotheism and the Jewish people.⁴²⁴

According to the editor, *Moses and Monotheism* was written in a fairly peculiar format and at a particularly difficult time for Freud. The three essays are of ‘differing length’ and sometimes overlap with each other. Their historical basis is ‘no doubt a matter for expert dispute.’ However, they are generally persuasive and insightful for readers and show how ‘the successive development’ of the individual may also be evinced in ‘the analysis of a national group’.⁴²⁵ Indeed, *Moses and Monotheism* shows that Freud himself struggled very much to explain clearly the historical trauma of killing Moses and the formation of Jewish monotheism and identity (historical and social) by applying the formula of trauma, based on ‘castration trauma’ in the individual. It has inspired numerous reflections on the impact of historical disasters such as the Holocaust, the Hiroshima bombing, and so forth, and on the post-modern condition, by such acclaimed writers as Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard and so on.⁴²⁶ Its very ambiguity, nevertheless, leads to his ideas being subject to further clarification, explanation, interpretation and debate. Next, I wish to discuss the two opposing interpretations of Freud’s trauma theory, one offered by Cathy Caruth and the other by Ruth Leys.

5.3 Translating Freud: Cathy Caruth v.s. Ruth Leys

Cathy Caruth is one of the key figures who, in introducing Freud’s theorisation of the structure of trauma into ‘trauma studies’, aim to understand the impact of traumas using an interdisciplinary approach. Thinking through the problem of PTSD inflicted by the aftermath of the Holocaust and the Vietnam War, she considers Freud’s trauma theory

⁴²⁴ Ibid, 321-336. Also see Sigmund Freud, ‘Totem and Taboo (1912-1913)’ in Sigmund Freud, *The Origin of Religion: Totem and Taboo, Moses and Monotheism and other works*, 43-224.

⁴²⁵ Sigmund Freud, ‘Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays’, editor’s note, 239-241. For the debate on the historical basis of *Moses and Monotheism*, see Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: the Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts & London: Harvard University Press, 1997; and Richard J. Berstein, *Freud and the Legacy of Moses*.

⁴²⁶ Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, 276.

in order to understand the ‘surprising impact’ of trauma and the human responses to it.

According to Caruth, most descriptions of PTSD agree that,

‘...there is a response, sometimes delayed, to an overwhelming event or events, which takes the form of repeated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviors stemming from the event, along with numbing that may have begun during or after the experience, and possibly also increased arousal to (and avoidance of) stimuli recalling the event’.⁴²⁷

She asserts that patients who suffer from PTSD constantly have dreams and flashbacks of the traumatic scenes against their will, despite their desire to avoid having anything to do with the traumatic event. She suggests that they are indeed ‘possessed by an image or event’. She quotes a passage on such dreams and flashbacks from Freud’s earlier research on war neurosis,

Dreams occurring in traumatic neuroses have the characteristic of repeatedly bringing the patient back into the situation of his accident, a situation from which he wakes up in another fright. This astonishes people far too little...Anyone who accepts it as something self-evident that dreams should put them back at night into the situation that caused them to fall ill has misunderstood the nature of dreams.⁴²⁸

The dreams and flashbacks are not ‘wish-fulfilment’ on the part of the patients, but ‘the literal return of the event against the will of the one it inhabits’. The patients however have no understanding of the event, even though the dreams and flashbacks are vivid in many ways. Caruth argues, it is the ‘literality and non-symbolic nature of traumatic dreams and flashbacks’ that ‘resist cure to the extent that they remain, precisely, literal’. The literality and ‘its insistent return’, namely ‘compulsion to repeat’ in Freud’s words, ‘constitutes trauma’, and indicates ‘the enigmatic core’ of trauma: ‘the delay or incompleteness in knowing, or even seeing, an overwhelming occurrence that then remains, in its insistent return, absolutely *true* to the event’.⁴²⁹ (Italics in the original)

For Caruth, the uncertainty of the trauma survivor is neither ‘a simple amnesia’ nor ‘a matter of indirect access to an event’, since the dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations

⁴²⁷ Cathy Caruth, ‘Introduction’, in Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 4.

⁴²⁸ Sigmund Freud, ‘Beyond the Pleasure Principle [1920]’, in Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 18 (1940-52), translated under the editorship of James Strachey in collaboration with Anne Freud, assisted by Alex Strachey and Alan Tyson, London: Hogarth, 1955, 13 quoted in Cathy Caruth, ‘Introduction’, in Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 5.

⁴²⁹ Cathy Caruth, ‘Introduction’, in Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 5-6.

'are generally of events all too accessible in their horrible truth'. Such 'overwhelming immediacy' and accessibility, paradoxically, produce 'its belated uncertainty' that poses what Shoshana Felman has called 'the crisis of truth', since 'the attempt to understand trauma brings one repeatedly to this peculiar paradox: that in trauma the greatest confrontation with reality may also occur as an absolute numbing to it, that immediacy, paradoxically enough, may take the form of belatedness'.⁴³⁰ In other words, the force of trauma is marked by 'its lack of registration', namely its lack of representation, a notion developed by Dori Laub in his observations on the problem of the 'collapse of witnessing' regarding testifying to the Holocaust.⁴³¹ Caruth quotes Laub,

History was taking place with no witness: it was also the very circumstance of *being inside the event* that made unthinkable the very notion that a witness could exist...The historical imperative to bear witness could essentially *not be met during the actual occurrence*.⁴³²(Italics in the original)

For Caruth, Laub identifies a characteristic that is common to all traumatic experiences: 'the inability fully to witness the event as it occurs, or the ability to witness the event fully only at the cost of witnessing oneself'. Hence, Caruth argues that 'such collapse of witnessing' indicates the very nature of trauma: 'latency' (Freud's term, as elaborated in *Moses and Monotheism*) or 'belatedness' (her word). In other words, the trauma survivor was 'never fully conscious' during the event itself. Freud wrote,

It may happen that someone gets away, apparently unharmed, from the spot where he has suffered a shocking accident, for instance a train collision. In the course of the following weeks, however, he develops a series of grave psychical and motor symptoms, which can be ascribed only to his shock or whatever else happened at the time of the accident. He has developed a 'traumatic neurosis.' This appears quite incomprehensible and is therefore a novel fact. The time that elapsed between the accident and the first appearance of the symptoms is called the 'incubation period,' a transparent allusion to the pathology of infectious disease...It is the feature one might term *latency*.⁴³³ (Italics in the original)

According to Caruth, Freud described the trauma as 'the successive movement from an event to its repression to its return'. That the accident survivor 'gets away, apparently

⁴³⁰ Ibid, 6.

⁴³¹ Ibid, 7.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. Katherine Jones, New York: Vintage, 1939, 84. quoted in Cathy Caruth, 'Introduction', in Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, 7.

unharméd' is not simply 'the forgetting of a reality'. Caruth confirms Freud's case study that there is 'an inherent latency', 'belatedness', in the traumatic experience itself. She writes,

The experience of trauma, the fact of latency, would thus seem to consist, not in the forgetting of a reality that can hence never be fully known, but in an inherent latency within the experience itself. The historical power of the trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all. And it is this inherent latency of the event that paradoxically explains the peculiar, temporal structure, the belatedness, of historical experience: since the traumatic event is not experienced as it occurs, it is fully evident only in connection with another place, and in another time. If repression, in trauma, is replaced by latency, this is significant in so far as its blankness—the space of unconsciousness—is paradoxically what precisely preserves the event in its literality. For history to be a history of trauma means that it is referential precisely to the extent that it is not fully perceived as it occurs; or to put it somewhat differently, that a history can be grasped only in the very inaccessibility of its occurrence.⁴³⁴

For Caruth, it is this 'inherent latency', 'belatedness', that constitutes (the force of) trauma and makes trauma survivors carry with them an impossible history that did not become fully known to them as the event occurred, and that always slips from their knowledge and representation.⁴³⁵ She says,

The trauma is a repeated suffering of the event, but it is also a continual leaving of its site. The traumatic reexperiencing of the event thus *carries with it* what Dori Laub calls the 'collapse of witnessing,' the impossibility of knowing out of the empirical event itself, traumas opens up and challenges us to a new kind of listening, the witnessing, precisely, *of impossibility*.

To listen to the crisis of a trauma, that is, is not only to listen for the event, but to hear in the testimony the survivor's departure from it; the challenge of the therapeutic listener, in other words, is *how to listen to departure*.⁴³⁶ (Italics in the original)

Given this characteristic of 'belatedness', there is hence no simple cure to trauma but a need for not only testifying and speaking but also for listening, 'through the radical disruption and gaps of traumatic experience', to the impossibility of history so that the trauma survivors can pass from 'the isolation imposed by the event'.⁴³⁷ Caruth concludes insightfully that the implication of understanding this 'belatedness' that constitutes (the overwhelming impact of) trauma, for us today 'in a catastrophic age', is

⁴³⁴ Ibid, 7-8.

⁴³⁵ Ibid, 10-11.

⁴³⁶ Ibid, 10.

⁴³⁷ Ibid, 4, 11.

to realise that we cannot only 'rely' on 'what we simply know of each other', but also 'on what we don't yet know of our own traumatic pasts.' Therefore, 'within the traumas of contemporary history', there is a 'link' between us and our cultures based on 'our ability to listen through the departures we have all taken from ourselves.'⁴³⁸

In short, Cathy Caruth regards 'belatedness', 'latency', as the core of trauma, accompanied by 'the literality of dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations and its insistent return', the very symptoms of the 'compulsion to repeat': she does not mention Freud's reference to 'castration trauma' discussed above. Her theory largely comes out of her work with the Holocaust survivors in which, no doubt, many difficulties were confronted by the survivors and by the analysts. Her layout of trauma mechanism as an interpretation of Freud's trauma theory, however, needs to be revised.

As has been mentioned above, Freud indicated that through the 'compulsion to repeat' 'the impressions', the trauma experience, would become attached unconsciously and analogously to something or someone else and compulsively bring the early trauma into operation again. That is, a confrontation with something and someone else offers experiences and impressions that resemble the repressed so closely that they have the power to awaken the repressed early traumas. It is clear that the impressions and experiences one has, while confronting someone or something that triggers the early traumas as a second trauma, are *not* the literal dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations of the first traumatic scenes that some trauma survivors may have. They are experiences that may need to be deciphered and analysed. Based on this reading of *Moses and Monotheism*, I wish to suggest that what Caruth asserts as the absolute truth of the trauma experience (the literality of dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations, based on the case of war neurosis cited in Freud's *Beyond Pleasure Principle*) quoted above cannot always

⁴³⁸ Ibid, 11.

explain how the trauma mechanism of ‘compulsion to repeat’ operates and manifests itself. This requires further elaboration.

Ruth Leys fiercely challenged Caruth’s assertion of the literal registration of the trauma event. For Leys, Caruth advocates that ‘massive trauma precludes all representation because the ordinary mechanisms of consciousness and memory are temporarily destroyed.’ There occurs instead ‘an undistorted material’, what Caruth calls the ‘literal registration of the traumatic event’, that, ‘dissociated from normal mental processes of cognition’, ‘cannot be known or represented but returns belatedly’ through repetitious dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations.⁴³⁹ Leys argues that Caruth’s observation is mainly based on her identification with Paul de Man’s postmodernist theory of ‘performativity’, and with the ‘widely shared assumptions about the constitutive failure of linguistic representation in the post-Holocaust, post-Hiroshima, post-Vietnam era, shown in Felman and Laub’s writings mentioned above and also in Chapter 4. Since the normal language system has temporarily broken down, the trauma survivors cannot but ‘perform’, ‘reenact’ and ‘reexperience’ the dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations of the traumatic scenes. Also, the Holocaust, in particular, is commonly believed to be ‘uniquely terrible’ in that ‘it radically exceeds our capacity to grasp and understand it.’ Hence, Caruth insists that ‘language is capable of bearing witness only by a *failure* of witnessing or representation and looks into ‘a mode of responding to trauma that ensures the transmission of the break or gap in meaning that constitutes history as inherently traumatic.’⁴⁴⁰

Leys indicates that Caruth reads ‘Freud as the theorist of the literal.’⁴⁴¹ According to Leys, Caruth acknowledges in Freud’s theory two models of trauma ‘that are often placed side by side’:

⁴³⁹ Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, 266.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 267-8.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 270.

the model of castration trauma, which is associated with the theory of repression and return of the repressed, as well as with a system of unconscious symbolic meanings (the basis of the dream theory in its usual interpretation); and the model of traumatic neurosis (or, let us say, accident trauma), which is associated with accident victims and war veterans (and, some would argue, with the earlier work on hysteria; see Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*) and emerges within psychoanalytic theory, as it does within human experience, as an interruption of the symbolic system and is linked, not to repression, unconsciousness, and symbolization, but rather to a temporal delay, repetition, and literal return. Freud generally placed his examples of the two kinds of trauma side by side...and admitted...that he was not sure how to integrate the two.⁴⁴²

Leys states that Caruth rejects Freud's model of castration trauma, 'the associated concepts of repression and unconscious symbolic meaning', and its reference to Oedipal sexual experience. For Leys, Caruth privileges 'the notion of the trauma *accident*', 'of a *latency*' and of repetitive literal return that is inherent in the traumatic experience, and regards the model of traumatic neurosis as *the* model of all traumas. For Leys, Caruth uses Freud's concept of *Nachträglichkeit* (deferred action) to substantiate her view. Nevertheless, Leys finds that Caruth takes away the reference of *Nachträglichkeit* to repression, forgetting and 'latency through which the sexual past is determined as traumatic by a retroactive conferral of meaning', and 'emphasizes exclusively on its temporal logic'.⁴⁴³ Besides, Leys finds no 'recourse to the notion of the literal' or 'rejection of the notion of representation as such' after reading Freud's major writing on mass psychology.⁴⁴⁴

Considering this critique of Caruth's interpretation, I suggest Leys questions more strongly whether it is close enough to Freud's trauma theory in general than its applicability in explaining the impact of historical traumas in contemporary life. I agree with Leys that Caruth should not simply reduce the reference of Freud's trauma theory to 'the literal registration of the traumatic event' and 'latency', and exclude the notion of repression, forgetting and sexual experience. In the light of Freud's formula for the structure of trauma, discussed earlier and which will be explored more in relation to the

⁴⁴² Cathy Caruth(ed.), *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and the Possibility of History*, Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1996, 135, n. 18 quoted in *Ibid*.

⁴⁴³ Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*, 270-1.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 274-5.

2-28 historical and political trauma later in this chapter, I suggest that the forms in which the trauma affects of the ‘compulsion to repeat’ are registered are much more complicated than just ‘the literal return of the traumatic event’ in ‘dreams, flashbacks and hallucinations’.

Furthermore, I believe that to emphasise the reference of Freud’s trauma theory to sexual experience in particular seems less compatible with the historical traumas with which Caruth is concerned than with the traumas of sexual abuse that Leys emphasises.⁴⁴⁵ At least, it is still very difficult to consider the historical traumas such as the Holocaust, the Hiroshima bombing, the Vietnam War, and the 2-28 Incident in the light of repetition of any archaic sexual and Oedipal experience. Perhaps we can only see, in the case of the 2-28 commemoration (as shown in Chapters 3 and 4 and discussed in the next chapter) that the rehabilitation of the 2-28 men victims as the national forefathers of the new Taiwan nation, whose power is passed on to their sons/heirs at the expense of the mother, the wife and the daughter’s subjectivity, does indeed exemplify what Freud called the Oedipal family structure and its associated concepts of castration trauma. Regardless of its exclusion, I think Caruth’s trauma theory on belatedness and the limits of representation are still very pertinent for our understanding (or our difficulties in understanding) the overwhelming impact of such historical traumas as the Holocaust, the Hiroshima bombing, the Vietnam War, and the 2-28 Incident whose horror exceeds human ability to grasp and human language to articulate. Also pertinent is her view that the ‘collapse of witnessing’ and the quest to give form to traces of trauma, by listening to the ruptures and gaps of the traumatic experience, indicates an urgent need to register the unbound traumatic affects and to recognise and transform the trauma. This will be specifically explored in Chapter 6 in terms of the 2-28 aesthetic representations. For now, I wish to revisit the 2-28 historical and political

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 1-40.

trauma and its trauma affects and effects with a consideration of Freud, Caruth and Leys' discussions on the structure of trauma, together with a very brief reference to Maurice Halbwachs' social analysis of the formation of collective memory.

5.4 Theorising the Structure of the 2-28 Historical and Political Trauma

Based on the elaboration of Chapter 1 and on section 5.2, I wish to suggest that one of the major problems with the predominant 2-28 commemoration and historicisation is that they take the 2-28 Incident as a traumatic event which ended in the past, rather than as a historical and political trauma which continues to have traumatic effects and trauma affects on Taiwan today. This is why I wish to introduce the concept of the structure of trauma in thinking about Taiwanese social, cultural and art/historical contexts.

The 2-28 Incident happened in 1947. There were almost no 2-28 cultural memories in the public sphere until 1987. Perhaps we could call the period between 1947 and 1987 'a latency period' using Freud's words. The 2-28 Incident was no doubt a catastrophic event whose terror exceeds human ability to comprehend. It was never fully known as it occurred not only because of its extreme horror and inhumanity and lack of surviving witnesses, but also because of its trauma dynamic: 'belatedness' and the 'collapse of witnessing.' However, the 'impressions' of it seem to have gradually re-emerged and continue to be seen today. As shown in Lin Tzung-yi's article, the response of the trauma survivors and their families to the 2-28 Incident is symptomatic of PTSD. There have been complex affective feelings of dissociation, anxiety, numbing, dreams, flashbacks, hallucinations and other psychological and physical affects and effects. As stated in Li Ch'iao's observation, set out above, some of the trauma survivors and their families still show, today, symptoms of their 'fixation to trauma': for example, the feeling of being spied all the time by the KMT secret agents, the inability to trust *waishengren*, the inability to live in Taiwan, and so forth. That is, they have been, and continue to be, locked into their 'impressions' and their pain of loss which could/can

not be represented and compensated but could/can only be registered through physical and psychological symptoms.

Such delayed affects and effects of the 2-28 traumatic experience certainly constitute 'latency'. They seem to justify what Caruth asserts as 'belatedness' that is inherent in and central to all traumatic experiences. The historical complexity of the 2-28 traumatic experience, however, goes beyond the notion of *inherent* belatedness that Caruth emphasises exclusively. I wish to suggest, there is something *outside the psyche* that also contributes to the 'latency': the political interests of the KMT repressive regime which was discussed fully, in Chapter 1, from Halbwachs' presentist viewpoint of making collective memory. Under the KMT repressive reign, the making of the 2-28 memories was 'repressed' and 'forgotten' not only by the KMT regime which wanted to keep everyone from knowing about its state atrocity in order to maintain its rule on Taiwan, but also by the trauma survivors, their families, bystanders and outsiders who did not know what had happened and who did not want to put their own lives in danger again.

However, as Freud remarked, some 2-28 cultural memories, namely 2-28 'counter-memories' using Foucault's words (see Chapter 1), were still kept in some (oral) traditions other than in the History – the KMT History – during this period. For example, 2-28 oral histories, articles published in anti-KMT journals in the domestic and international world, memories quietly hidden in memoirs, biographies, autobiographies and literary novels, which together formed an 'oral tradition' (in Freud's words) had been quietly disseminated and transmitted among a few people, across generations, and were an undercurrent silently denouncing the KMT's defence mechanism that repressed the traces of the 2-28 historical and political trauma.

This undercurrent became more and more powerful after Martial Law was lifted in 1987 as the 2-28 memories and testimonies were gradually published and made known to the people who had not been there when the catastrophic event took place but who

had lived physically and psychically through the aftermath of the traumatic event: the period of KMT oppression and colonisation. In the same period, the external world had also gradually changed, and the KMT could not maintain its lie and its authoritarianism anymore. This undercurrent was finally strong enough to overcome the defence mechanism of KMT's national ego, and that of the trauma victims, survivors, their families and the Taiwanese in general. Thus, in the early 1990s, we saw the KMT, and the trauma victims and the survivors, their families and the Taiwanese in general more actively joining in the making of the 2-28 memories than before. The powerful and irresistible re-emergence of this strong undercurrent, namely 'the partial return of the repressed', was further facilitated by the rise of forceful anti-KMT political and social forces such as the Political Protest Movement, the Social Movement, the Women's Movement, the Student Movement, and by the establishment of the DPP which demanded that the KMT change and face its own authoritarian past. As a result, as was explored in Chapter 2, the 2-28 men victims that died in the most abject ways were redeemed and idealised as national heroes, martyrs, and forefathers, and the tradition of a rather exclusive and essentialist 'Taiwanese-ness' that had been denigrated by the KMT regime became highly privileged and more widely practised. That is, the 'repressed' Taiwanese and their 2-28 historical and political trauma 'partially returned' and forcefully shaped the discursive formation of contemporary Taiwanese national and cultural identities and subjectivities.

Within this 'partial return of the repressed', however, something still remained repressed and unremembered. As has been set out in Chapters 3 and 4, 'the forgotten women' were remembered to be forgotten again. Not enough was done to build the channel to access traces of them and of their traumatic experience. Above all, the 2-28 historical and political trauma, as a trauma, was reduced completely, by 2-28 commemoration and historicisation (let alone by the reluctant KMT perpetrators), to a

historical event that ended in the past. As a result, its overwhelming affects have been totally ignored especially in an age when everybody only wants to embrace happiness and to turn away from the miserable. The 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally created a 'narrative fetishism' and a national fantasy of a post-2-28 harmonious political utopia, a new united and happily-moving-forward Taiwan to replace/forget 'the misery' of the 2-28 memory and the history of the traumatised Taiwan. However, the dispute over the 2004 Presidential election (which happened just less than three weeks after the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally) brought Taiwan face to face with the existing mistrust and division of people in Taiwan, described by Li Ch'iao as the legacy of the 2-28 historical and political trauma in his article mentioned earlier in this chapter. This mechanism of 'compulsion to repeat' strikes again and manifests itself in the dispute over the 2004 Presidential election rather than in the 'dreams, flashbacks, and hallucinations' of the 2-28 traumatic scenes, as Caruth might insist. It also took the form that is more complicated than the divide between 'the Chinese' and 'the Taiwanese' of the post-war period when the 2-28 Incident happened.

Li Ch'iao and Lin Yi-fu both indicate in their writings, that trauma affects still mark the psyche and the behaviour of not only the trauma survivors and their families across generations but also the Taiwanese collectively. Despite the efforts of the KMT's repressive regime to prevent people in Taiwan from remembering the 2-28 Incident, the unbound and belated trauma affects still forcefully leave their mark on the individual and the collective psyche of the Taiwanese. For me, the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally can also be regarded as a collective ritual in which the Taiwanese of different political persuasions 'compulsively' 'performed' and 'repeated' 'the partial return of the repressed' of the 2-28 historical and political trauma: the Taiwanese and 'Taiwanese-ness' showing great power. To some extent, or at least at the level of

political rhetoric, the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally can also be seen as having participated in a 'reenactment' of the Taiwanese and 'Taiwanese-ness' showing their power. The fact that the Pan-Blue Coalition deliberately started its Rally from the site of the 8-23 Artillery Memorial rather than any of the 2-28 historical sites also compellingly shows the persistent and strong 'defense mechanism' of the KMT in producing 'narrative fetishism' and mis-remembering the 2-28 historical and political trauma in the 2-28 commemoration. It also indicates that the KMT underestimated the tremendous haunting power of the 2-28 historical and political trauma that had unconsciously driven the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and falsely interpreted it only as a political issue of different attitudes held by the Pan-Green and Pan-Blue Coalitions towards China: being either for Taiwan's independence or for Taiwan's unification with China. People in Taiwan might consciously believe that the 2-28 Incident ended in the past. Nevertheless, they unconsciously, compulsively and affectively 'perform' and 'acted out' the 2-28 historical and political trauma either in the 2-28 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the 2-28 Heart-Linking-Heart Rally or in the division, worsened by the disputes over the 2004 Presidential election.

Indeed, the loss and the pain once 'repressed' 'returns' to strike and haunt Taiwan again and again. It is clear that no one, nothing and not even 'the master plan' mentioned above by Lin Tzung-yi can ever recover and compensate for the loss and the unbearable pain of the trauma survivors, their families and the Taiwanese in general caused by the 2-28 historical and political trauma. How can the clock ever be turned back?! After the 2-28 Incident, the social and psychic structure and dynamic of the 2-28 victims' families and the Taiwanese society collectively had totally changed. The 2-28 Incident has created a deep wound, a dark hole of trauma, that can never be healed or filled. What we could do is perhaps to listen to and to encounter what the wound, the hole, has to say and cry to us, and to see if we could possibly transform the wound and

move beyond the logic of ‘early trauma--latency—the partial return of the repressed.’ Hence the task of the final chapter of this dissertation is to explore how some artists are working (or have worked) aesthetically to transform the 2-28 historical and political trauma.

Chapter 6 Reading the Aesthetic Transformations of 2-28

Untitled 無題 (1997) by Tsai Hai-ru 蔡海如 (1967-) (Pl. 6.1) is a mixed-media work installed in the hallway that was the entrance to and exit from *Sadness Transformed*. A large black table was placed in the open space in front of the entrance (and exit) of the exhibition. On the table, there is a tiny porcelain vase holding a little green plant. Above it, a relatively large double-sided convex mirror is hung from the ceiling by a thin, flimsy string. The mirror's presence somewhat oppresses the existence of the plant. On both surfaces of the double-sided convex mirror, equally spaced labels with the numbers '12', '6', '9' and '3' have been stuck clockwise around the mirror, suggesting that it is being used by the artist to signify a clock and time. However, the sequence of the numbers on the mirror, '12', '6', '9' and '3', differs from that of a normal clock: '12', '3', '6' and '9'. There is no hour, minute or second hands on the mirror at all.

Untitled obviously does not have an explanatory title or narrative. Neither does it tell me anything directly related to the event of the 2-28 Incident. However, I was deeply touched by the work. I did not know exactly why. I just felt that the work somehow said something unknown to me, or enabled me to feel something about the trauma. It is a piece that had, and continues to have, a strong impact on me and yet I had neither the knowledge nor the tools to help me understand and articulate my vision. It does, however, compel me to seek a way to explain my feelings and ask what it is in this work and in other equally affecting and yet aesthetically different pieces in the exhibitions such as *Road to Destruction* (1983), *Epitaph* (1997), and *Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window* (1997) that make them as affective, and are thus able to aesthetically transform the sadness of 2-28?

After mapping out the discursive field of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions and opening up theoretical discussions on the main cultural issues involved in the exhibitions such as the problem of trauma, nationalism and sexual difference in previous chapters, in this final chapter I will focus on investigating how the aesthetic transformations of the 2-28 political and historical trauma work. Since this issue has not been explored before in Taiwan or elsewhere, I will analyse the works of *Sadness Transformed* specifically mentioned above by negotiating with the theories articulated by two key figures in the discursive field that consider art capable of effecting aesthetic transformation of trauma: Jill Bennett's idea of art as 'empathic vision' of trauma and Bracha Ettinger's theory of 'art as transport-station of trauma'.⁴⁴⁶ Through this process, I seek to construct a viable typology and articulate the mechanism of the aesthetic transformations of the 2-28 political and historical trauma, and hence offer a new and supplementary dimension to the discursive field of the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, and to 2-28 commemoration and historicisation in general.

6.1 The Dynamic of Affect

Walking towards the exhibition entrance, the viewer sees his/her image reflected in the convex mirror of *Untitled*. S/he is gradually drawn into looking at the work and feeling affected by it. A tiny green plant in a tiny white porcelain vase forms a dramatic contrast to the quite large black table underneath it. The green plant seems to symbolise life, while the large black table seems to signify pain and death beneath and behind life. The mirror/'clock' above the plant forms an equally oppressive atmosphere surrounding it. The time structure of the clock is deliberately muddled, and the mirror is

⁴⁴⁶ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*. Jill Bennett and Jackie Dunn (eds.), *Telling Tales*, exhibition catalogue, Sydney: Ivan Dougherty Gallery, College of Fine Arts, University of New South Wales, 1998; Graz: Neue Galerie, 1999. Jill Bennett, 'The Aesthetics of Sense-Memory: Theorising trauma through the visual arts'. Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Art as Transport-Station of Trauma'; Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art'.

made convex, its curve distorting the image of the viewer. This vision of time-disorder-stopping and of the distortion of the human condition in a seemingly common setting and reminds me strongly of verses in *February*, a beautiful poem on the 2-28 Incident written in January 1989 by Chen Li 陳黎 (1954-), an acclaimed man Taiwanese poet.

二 月

槍聲在黃昏的鳥群中消失
 失蹤的父親的鞋子
 失蹤的兒子的鞋子
 在每一碗清晨的粥裡走回來的腳步聲
 在每一盆傍晚的洗臉水裡走回來的腳步聲
 失蹤的母親的黑髮
 失蹤的女兒的黑髮
 在異族的統治下反抗異族
 在祖國的懷抱裡被祖國強暴
 芒草。薊花。曠野。吶喊
 失蹤的秋天的日曆
 失蹤的春天的日曆
 一九八九·一

陳黎

February

Gunshots died away among the dusk flight of birds.
 Missing fathers' shoes.
 Missing sons' shoes.
 Footsteps returning to every morning bowl of porridge.
 Footsteps returning to the water of every evening washbasin.
 Missing black hair of mothers.
 Missing black hair of daughters.
 Rebelling against the foreign regime while ruled by it.
 Raped by the fatherland while embracing it.
 Reeds. Thistles. Wilderness. Outcry.
 Missing calendars of autumn.
 Missing calendars of spring.
 January 1989
 Chen Li⁴⁴⁷

In *February*, Chen Li describes the life after the outbreak of the 2-28 Incident ('Rebelling against the foreign regime while ruled by it. Raped by the fatherland while embracing it.').⁴⁴⁸ 'The dusk flight of birds', 'every morning bowl of porridge', and 'the water of every evening washbasin' seem to take the reader back to the usual daily

⁴⁴⁷ The poem and its English translation are offered by Chen Li in his email dated 4 May 2005. Also see <http://www.hgjh.hlc.edu.tw/~chenli/poetry3.htm#%A4G%20%A4%EB> for Chinese version, and <http://www.hgjh.hlc.edu.tw/~chenli/book%203.htm#February> for English version. For the collection of his poems and reviews, see <http://www.hgjh.hlc.edu.tw/~chenli/index.htm>.

⁴⁴⁸ It needs to note that the author also uses the female body to represent the victimhood of the 2-28 Incident. This issue has been explored in Chapter 3.

routine of nature and life. However, the daily routine of nature and life has already changed its course because of the violence of the 2-28 Incident. Gunshots dying away take away with them the 'father' and 'son' previously part of the daily routine, and alter the web of the social relations sustaining that routine. Hence, cracks and ruptures have been created not only in the temporal and spatial axes of the usual daily routine but also in (the texture of) the grids formulated by the axes. I see these cracks and ruptures as an absence that represents something 'missing' and causes the pain of loss. As time goes by, as suggested in the final lines of the poem – 'missing calendars of autumn' and 'missing calendars of spring' – the new daily routine structured by such absence is formed and lived by the 'mother' and 'daughter'. The subjects of the poem, the 'mother' and 'daughter', are tormented everyday by the pain of loss which has left its mark on their bodies ('missing black hair') and in the details of their daily lives (breakfast), and by the sense of feeling small and helpless ('Reeds. Thistles. Wilderness. Outcry.'). Although the physical time of the world goes on as usual, the subjects' psychological time has already stopped at the moment when the 'father' and 'son' became 'missing'. It stops or disrupts every desire or phantasy and every repeatedly failing attempt to recover and redeem the beloved, but forever lost, 'father' and 'son' ('Footsteps returning to every morning bowl of porridge. Footsteps returning to the water of every evening washbasin.'). In the psychological world of the subjects of the poem, darkened by the 2-28 political and historical trauma, not only are the calendars of spring and autumn missing but all the calendars are missing. The time sequence of the subjects' psychological world has been disrupted and put out of joint. In contrast to the physical time of the rest of the world, it repeats the past compulsively again and again.

Drawing on Chen Li's *February*, I want to argue that the convex mirror/clock in *Untitled* showed similar disruption and suspension of time. Together with the large black table underneath, the convex mirror/clock creates an oppressive atmosphere enveloping

the tiny green plant in the tiny white porcelain vase. It seems not too unreasonable to anthropomorphise the tiny green plant in *Untitled* as the women in the family of the victim represented in Chen Li's poem who could not (cannot but) continue to live with the new course of life shaped by the 2-28 political and historical trauma. Tsai Hai-ru writes about *Untitled*,

History constantly repeats in different forms.
The clock without any pointers...
The present it reflects.
How heavy the black is!
Over the table, under the table,
Life always moves on, no matter what.
People cannot but grow up.⁴⁴⁹

In my interview with her that mainly focused on her work, *Stitching Spaces*, installed at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Taipei in 2001 rather than on *Untitled*, Tsai Hai-ru unexpectedly talked about her family history which is almost unknown in Taiwan's art circle. She revealed in a very reserved way that her father was imprisoned for a long time during the White Terror period. Her family suffered a lot because of the injustice suffered by her father. Since she was a child, she had been forbidden to talk about it at school, and in fact her family did/do not talk about it either in public or at home. She said that she participated in *Sadness Transformed* not because its curators or her fellow artists knew that she is a family member of a White Terror victim. For her, *Sadness Transformed* was an accident. She said, 'to commemorate the 2-28 Incident marks the end of the event for many people, however, it is just the beginning for me.'⁴⁵⁰ Only when she was making *Untitled*, did Tsai Hai-ru start to explore and reflect on this part of her personal history. Hence, *Untitled* is consciously and unconsciously based on her autobiographical experience as a daughter of a White Terror victim. However, she carefully avoids using the first person in her artistic statements and her work. There is a trace of her painful negotiation with her internalised silence, shaped by political violence

⁴⁴⁹ Tsai Hai-ru, 'Artist Statement,' in TFAM(ed.), *Sadness Transformed*, 140.

⁴⁵⁰ Interview with Tsai Hai-ru, 1 February 2001.

and the trauma, in the somewhat reluctant, cautious and perhaps deliberately ambiguous statement.

In summary, I wish to argue that *Untitled* is touching and moving as an aesthetic transformation of the 2-28 political and historical trauma because it stages a dynamic of the trauma affect despite arriving from an angle more specifically related to the White Terror, and because it forcefully leads the viewer to experience an unspecified affective change relating to the structure of traumatic memory. In this sense, for the moment I wish to call *Untitled* as ‘empathic vision’ as elaborated in Jill Bennett’s theory of trauma-related art.⁴⁵¹

In her recently published book *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (2005), Bennett proposes that art can offer aesthetic transformations of trauma because it can be an ‘empathic vision’, through which ‘something of the experience of traumatic memory’ can be registered, witnessed and transformed. In a illuminating manner, she groundbreakingly and concretely identifies what it is in art that constitutes the ‘empathic vision’ that leads the viewer to think and thus offers the aesthetic transformation of trauma: the representation of ‘the dynamic of affect’ that compellingly engages the viewer.⁴⁵²

When she co-curated an art exhibition relating to trauma and memory in 1998, Bennett encountered some contemporary artworks similar to *Untitled*, which ‘emerged from an engagement with traumatic memory but weren’t immediately recognisable as such.’⁴⁵³ She recognised that those works ‘in some way evoked the processes of post-traumatic memory’ and opened up a space for the viewer to engage with the trauma experience without there being any explicit statements. In her view, those works have transgressed the usual ‘classification as trauma works’ that aim to narrativise the

⁴⁵¹ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 21.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 1-21.

⁴⁵³ Jill Bennett and Jackie Dunn (eds.), *Telling Tales*.

traumatic events or convey ‘the meaning’ of trauma. Bennett deduces, particularly from those works, that trauma seems not always shown ‘in the narrative component or in the ostensible meaning, but in a certain affective dynamic internal to the work.’⁴⁵⁴

In *Empathic Vision*, Bennett seeks to further understand what this less legible ‘affective dynamic internal to the work’ is, and how it operates to make the viewer engage with the trauma, the traumatic experience, and processes of post-traumatic memory. Her approach both intersects with and diverges from some of the major theoretical paradigms on trauma and art, which, for her, all base their persuasions on and assert the ‘particular set of programmatic understandings’ of their own disciplines about trauma and art. For example, Hal Foster, a renowned art theorist at Princeton University who wrote about trauma in contemporary visual art in his book *The Return of the Real* (1996), considers ‘the emergence of trauma within the domain of contemporary visual art’ only as an extension of poststructuralist engagement with the issue of identity, subjectivity and postcoloniality. He points out that the poststructuralist critique of the subject contradictorily ‘guarantees identity’ while debasing it. Similarly, for him, trauma discourse in contemporary visual art presents the subject as simultaneously ‘evacuated and elevated’ and as having ‘pure affect and no affect’ at the same time. He recognises that the emergence of trauma discourse in contemporary visual art such as Andres Serrano’s morgue photographs is symptomatic of the poststructuralist obsession with the ‘abjected’/colonised/‘other’ especially when the ‘abjector’/coloniser/‘self’ is ‘vilified.’⁴⁵⁵ For Bennett, Foster is not interested in investigating ‘the ways in which visual artists have dealt with trauma as a means of expanding an understanding of the nature and experience of traumatic memory.’ Trauma, in Foster’s theoretical mapping, is

⁴⁵⁴ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 1.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid, 5-6. See Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real: The Avant Garde at the End of the Century*, Cambridge, Mass. & London: MIT Press, 1996, particularly chapter 5. See also Peter Suchin’s review on Foster’s book in discussion. Peter Suchin, ‘Reeling in the Real,’ in *Variant*, vol. 2, no. 1, winter 1996, 14.

only 'an emblematic of contemporary cultural sensibility' and hence is 'reduced to a set of psychic functions' and becomes 'a chimera of the real.'⁴⁵⁶

On the other hand, Bennett contends in a less specific manner that trauma studies focuses more on the events, the psychoanalysis of trauma and 'the politics of testimony' than on the language and the medium of literature and art. In her opinion, much of its recent work 'draws on psychoanalytic models to interpret trauma within a text, although this application of psychoanalysis has been rather more limited in the visual arts.'⁴⁵⁷ Secondly, she observes that its 'politics of testimony' usually exploit the realist art paradigm which asserts that 'art can capture and transmit real experience' for its own purpose.⁴⁵⁸ Thirdly, she indicates that some of its influential advocates such as Cathy Caruth, Shoshana Felman and Antjie Krog 'have, in fact, been accused of usurping the position of trauma victims.' Using a rhetoric of 'self-reflexivity,' however, they cannot avoid being charged with 'appropriation' because they seem to 'recast the testimony of another in terms of a drama to which a reader or listener is central.'⁴⁵⁹

Instead, Bennett starts from such basic questions as 'what does art tell us about trauma'⁴⁶⁰ and tries to find a means of understanding and encountering that does not reduce art work to 'a singular defining subject and paradigm.'⁴⁶¹ She particularly draws on the thoughts of the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995) and asks (in the specific context of the visual arts) 'what is it that art itself does' 'that gives rise to a way of thinking and feeling' about trauma.⁴⁶² Here, it is necessary to note that the art, with which Bennett is particularly concerned, refers only to certain types of contemporary art. Although Bennett is aware of the warning made by Ernst van Alphen against confining the object of cultural analysis to limited modes of art, art in discussion here 'does not

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid, 6.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid, 2.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid, 3.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, 6.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, 2.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, 3.

⁴⁶² Ibid, 2.

transparently constitute a genre of trauma art.' It is 'not clearly representational,' is 'nonnarrative,' and is formally 'innovative' and 'experimental,' since she still believes that the lived experience of trauma is 'ill-served by a theoretical framework that privileges *meaning*', for example, 'the object of representation.'⁴⁶³

Bennett discusses two ways in which contemporary art operates: art as a 'space' and as a 'lived place'⁴⁶⁴ in and through which a certain 'affect' of trauma is produced and registered, and how that affect 'might be experienced by the audience coming to the work.'⁴⁶⁵ She asks: What is 'the specific nature of the aesthetic experience of affect' and in what ways does art 'open up trauma to an audience?'⁴⁶⁶ How does art enable us to see and feel the mechanism of affect, 'the pain of loss'?

An important thread throughout her book is seeing 'trauma-related art' as a compelling 'affective transaction' that creates situated emotions and sensations that drive us to engage with trauma that is not the content encountered in a substitute (the art work). It is at once a repetition that attracts to itself the unbound traumatic effect and is also creative, giving a form for the entry of that affect into culture, binding it into the structure of the art work. In other words, it offers a 'certain affective dynamic' of trauma, which requires a certain kind of feedback. Hence, Bennett says, 'trauma-related art' is 'transactive' rather than 'communicative.' 'It often touches us, but it does not necessarily communicate the "secret" of personal experience', that is, 'the meaning of trauma', by means of narratives and representations.⁴⁶⁷

Bennett's idea is very much inspired by the findings of such late nineteenth and early twentieth century psychologists in Europe and the United States as Edouard Claparède (1873-1940), William James (1842-1910) and Pierre Janet (1859-1947) whose works are

⁴⁶³ Ibid, 2, 4, 8.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, 12.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid, 7.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid, 11.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, 7.

introduced and discussed in the book by Ruth Leys on trauma theories *Trauma: A Genealogy* (2000).⁴⁶⁸ Claparède, James and Janet all believed that memory operates by cognition and intelligence in the form of ‘ideas and representations.’ They also believed that emotions and affects ‘are experienced in the present’ and cannot be retrieved by cognition, intelligence and thoughts.⁴⁶⁹ As the French psychologist Pierre Janet argued,

...in the normal course of events, experiences are processed through cognitive schemes that enable familiar experiences to be identified, interpreted and assimilated to narrative. Memory is thus constituted as experience transforms itself into representation. Traumatic or extreme affective experience, however, resists such processing. Its unfamiliar or extraordinary nature renders it unintelligible, causing cognitive system to balk; its sensory or affective character renders it inimical to thought—and ultimately to memory itself....⁴⁷⁰

According to Janet, extreme emotions and affects such as trauma experience, conveniently called ‘traumatic memory’ by some, is totally beyond memory and cannot be ‘identified’, ‘assimilated’, and ‘interpreted’ through cognitive systems and their forms of representations.

However, the American philosopher and psychologist William James interestingly asserted that even if emotions are not ‘retrievable’ they are ‘revivable.’ Bennett thus argues that even ‘if we cannot remember grief or ecstasy, by recalling a situation that produces those sensations we can produce a new bout of emotion.’ She asserts, ‘affect, properly conjured’, can produce ‘a real-time somatic experience.’⁴⁷¹ This is perhaps the reason why Bennett asserts that ‘trauma-related art’ offers a compelling ‘affective transaction’ that forces the viewer to bodily encounter the affective dynamic internal to it. Through senses and embodiment, trauma experience and traumatic memory, that is ‘outside the memory proper’, can be revived, re-experienced and witnessed in the present. From this point, we can see why Bennett connects her thought with the

⁴⁶⁸ Ruth Leys, ‘Traumatic Cures: Shell Shock, Janet and the Question of Memory’, in Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (eds.), *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, New York: Routledge, 1996, 103-145, 113-114; discussed in Jill Bennett, ‘The Aesthetics of Sense-Memory: Theorising trauma through the visual arts’, 27-30. See also Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy*.

⁴⁶⁹ Jill Bennett, ‘The Aesthetics of Sense-Memory’, 27-28.

⁴⁷⁰ Rephrased in *Ibid*, 27.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid*.

concept of 'sense memory' developed by the French poet and Holocaust survivor Charlotte Delbo (1913-1985).⁴⁷² Delbo differentiated two kinds of memory that correspond to the two memory categories, 'memory' and 'traumatic memory', elaborated by Janet as quoted above: 'common memory'; and 'sense memory'/'deep memory.' 'Common memory' refers to 'memory'; and 'sense memory'/'deep memory' to 'traumatic memory' in Janet's theoretical mapping. For Delbo, the 'history', 'narratives', and 'words' of the Holocaust events are all 'common memory' of the Holocaust transmitted and understood by the thought and social language system. The experience of the Holocaust, on the other hand, is the 'sense memory' and 'deep memory' of the Holocaust that registers as 'the physical imprint of the event' and is totally missing from the public realm and from her present self.⁴⁷³ She wrote,

Auschwitz is there, fixed and unchangeable but wrapped in the impervious skin of memory that segregates itself from the present 'me'...everything that happened to this other 'self', the one from Auschwitz, doesn't touch me now...so distinct are deep memory and common memory.⁴⁷⁴

However, Delbo also said that occasionally her 'sense memory' would come back to grip her 'for periods of several days, during which time the physical pain of her trauma returns.' From Delbo's experience, Bennett indicates 'the Auschwitz itself, for all that it is discrete, retains a capacity to touch and affect, to trigger emotion in the present.' For Delbo and Bennett, this is when the sense memory of the Holocaust complements the common memory of the Holocaust. In this vein, Bennett considers art to be 'vision operated mainly by senses and sensation [that] offers a different relationship to affective and traumatic experience from thought and cognition and hence can well serve as a register of trauma affect'. Inspired by Delbo's writing, Bennett thus argues that art, by producing an affective situation that requires the sensational embodiment of the viewer, can activate the engagement with sense memory and traumatic memory. At the same

⁴⁷² Ibid, 28-39.

⁴⁷³ Ibid, 28-31.

⁴⁷⁴ Quoted in Ibid, 29.

time, the engagement would lead the viewer to contemplate and reflect on the trauma and hence complement the common memory and history of the trauma. She states,

As the source of a poetic or an art, then, sense memory operates through body to produce a kind of 'seeing truth' rather than 'thinking truth', registering the pain of the memory as it is directly experienced, and communicating a level of bodily affect. The art of sense memory might further be distinguished as a motivated practice. Radically different from timeless or transhistorical expressionism, it aims to constitute a language of subjective process (specifically of affective and emotional process) to complement history and to work in a dialectic relationship with common memory. Its production thus becomes a contingent and cultural situated practice-linked to social histories-that requires framing against a backdrop of cultural knowledge.⁴⁷⁵

Hence, Bennett's idea coincides with the concept of 'encountered sign' developed by Deleuze to which Bennett's theory owes much. According to Deleuze, 'encountered sign' describes 'the sign that is felt rather than recognized or perceived through cognition.' Feeling, affect and emotion, for Deleuze, are all catalysts *par excellence* for critical thinking and profound philosophy because they compel us to 'engage involuntarily' and 'force us to think.' Quoting the concept of 'sensory impression' elaborated by the French novelist Marcel Proust (1871-1922), Deleuze confirms that affect, emotion, and feeling through 'senses' always come before 'intelligence' and can give rise to more profound thought than the latter.⁴⁷⁶

If 'trauma-related art', as Bennett has elaborated well, works as 'encountered sign', 'sensory impression' and 'sense memory' that is based on 'affective transaction', what is 'the grammar' and the dynamic of affect, pain and loss, that it tries to make us to see?⁴⁷⁷

Bennett challenges the common sense that people 'think of pain as something private that emerged from within' the body and 'that must be *worked through* if one is to return to a normal life.' Her challenge is based on the idea articulated by Veena Das, an anthropologist at Johns Hopkins University, who has written much on violent death. In Veena Das's groundbreaking thinking, pain is placed 'within a nexus of social relationship' and seen as a 'gnawing encounter.' Das uses the Vienna philosopher

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid, 29.

⁴⁷⁶ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 7-8.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, 47-48.

Ludwig Wittgenstein's (1889-1951) 'analysis of the statement "I am in pain"' to explain her point. She argues that this statement of experiencing pain appears to be indicative and seems to refer to 'an inner object.' However, she further argues, the 'function' of the speech is 'beseeching.' For her, this statement demands a listener. It marks 'the beginning of a relationship, not its end.' In other words, pain is spoken and 'conceived as a "call" for acknowledgement and bound up with a response, which implies a kind of antiphonic structure.'⁴⁷⁸

From here, Bennett does not come back clearly to the important question that Das poses: how affect, pain and loss, come to inhabit the body and culture? It seems to me that the key link is language although it is sometimes too difficult and elusive to catch. It seems to me that Das considers that the experience of affect is shaped and spoken by language, and also silence, something outside language. Through language and silence, the experience of pain marked on the individual body can compel the individual, the social and the cultural to listen and acknowledge it.⁴⁷⁹

Since the lived experience of pain is 'relational', social and cultural, and bound up with 'responses', Bennett sees that the key that links the affective transactions of different subjects is 'empathy'. Bennett takes up the idea of 'empathic unsettlement' advocated persistently by Dominick LaCapra,⁴⁸⁰ a prominent historian of Holocaust studies at Cornell University. According to LaCapra, 'empathic unsettlement' describes 'the aesthetic experience of simultaneously *feeling for* another and becoming aware of a distinction between one's own perceptions and the experience of the other.' In the intensive debates, among historians, psychologists and cultural theorists, on the historiography of Holocaust studies and on the accuracy of the documented Holocaust

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid, 48.

⁴⁷⁹ See Veena Das, 'Language and Body: Transactions in the Construction of Pain', in Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das and Margaret Lock (eds.), *Social Suffering*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1997, 67-92; and Stanley Cavell, 'Comments on Veena Das's Essay "Language and Body: Transactions in the Construction of Pain"', in *Social Suffering*, 93-98.

⁴⁸⁰ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 8-10.

testimonies, LaCapra tries to find a balance between a positivist objective outsider historiography (that fails to deal with the immense pain and loss that structures the vicissitudes of the Holocaust history and memory), and ‘an uncritical positivist transference’ (that ends up overidentifying with the victims and usurping the victims’s position).⁴⁸¹ It is in this ability of ‘feeling for another’ proposed by LaCapra that Bennett finds the drive, power and energy through which contemporary art as ‘the affective transaction’ happens, and which encapsulates her theory of trauma and art as ‘empathic vision.’ Here, Bennett is well aware of a tension between the self (the viewer) and the other (the victim) accompanying the process of empathy. She asserts there are always distance and differences between the self (the viewer) and the other (the victim). Therefore, for her, empathy is always a ‘heteropathic identification’ using the U.S. film theorist Kaja Silverman’s expression, which is more complicated than transmission of meaning. The experience is always ‘virtual’, as asserted by LaCapra rather than ‘vicarious’, as proposed by James E. Young, a specialist in the cultural analysis of Holocaust memorials at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.⁴⁸² While art as ‘empathic vision’ opens up a channel for empathic engagement with trauma and for further intellectual reflection on the subject, its process also alerts us to ‘the limits of sympathy.’⁴⁸³

Now, I wish to go back to further elaborate my analysis of *Untitled* by negotiating with Bennett’s theory of trauma-related art as ‘empathic vision.’ Installed in the hallway to the entrance and exit of *Sadness Transformed*, the double-sided convex mirror inevitably involves the viewer by reflecting her/him and hence attracting and in a sense compelling

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 8. See also Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994; *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998; *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001; *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004, chapter 3.

⁴⁸² James E. Young, *At Memory’s Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000, 1-11.

⁴⁸³ Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 9.

the viewer into the circuit of the dynamic of trauma affect of *Untitled* discussed before. The dynamic of trauma affect offered by *Untitled* opens up 'the processes of posttraumatic memory' in Bennett's words. The tiny little green plant underneath the awkward and heavy convex mirror/clock and set on the large equally oppressive black table seem to enable us to see a subject inflicted by the trauma telling us how she suffers and how painful her situation is. Simultaneously, the fact that the plant flourishes and stays green despite still being very tiny also seems to make us recognise the same subject's silence, her refusal of pain, and her inability to feel the pain (using Bennett's words). Despite the enormous violence and pain imposed upon her, the subject seems to say: Look how fine and how strong I am! However, if *Untitled* can be taken as an apparatus or as traces of the subject's unconscious, clearly enveloped by pain, then it certainly speaks to us differently. The subject's refusal of pain can perhaps be read as a symptom indicative of the 'defense mechanism' of trauma that has been explored in Chapter 5, arising out of the sense of feeling totally horrified and helpless in the face of having to live under the enormous repressive KMT national machine. Hence I want to suggest, in response to Veena Das's view discussed above, that such silence and such a defence mechanism, along with the articulation of pain, are also very central to the survival of the subject that needs to be understood and understood more benevolently. That is, it is part of the subject's way of dealing with pain and loss caused by the trauma, and it also contains the pain of loss caused by the trauma. As three family members of the 2-28 men victims Liao Te-cheng, Juan Mei-shu and Yang Chao-chih say,

Every 2-28 victim-survivors and their families know best that 'silence is the only way to survival'. Since half-century ago, I have adapted myself to live in limited and repressed space. Yet, art has been taking my mind away from that space. Through music and art, I enjoy more spiritual freedom than any other people. The most precious legacy that my father left in me is the immense energy for becoming an artist.

--Liao Te-cheng, 2000

I often work day and night, in order to study, organise, categorise and edit enormous amount of information about the art of dried flower arrangement. Only immersed in study and work can I temporarily forget the deep shadow in my

mind....My father is just like the dried flower to me. He lives through another form. I am very proud of being his daughter.

---Juan Mei-shu, 2000

I find my refuge in religion. I devote myself to embroidery, which prevents me from thinking confusedly. In these decades, I do not talk about my pain anymore. Neither do I allow other people to know how I am. I depend on my own hands to raise my children and stand on my own feet.

---Yang Chao-chih, 2000⁴⁸⁴

These three statements of Liao Te-cheng, Juan Mei-shu and Yang Chao-chih all seem about art as ‘sublimation.’⁴⁸⁵ However, the silence and silencing that is seen in *Untitled* indeed runs through these three statements.

Liao Te-cheng’s paintings such as *Spring Again (1997)* of *Sadness Transformed* seem almost nothing to do with the 2-28 political and historical trauma. He has been very eager to say so by constantly claiming that ‘the 2-28 Incident is past and there is no need to mention it again.’⁴⁸⁶ Therefore in 1997, it was not surprising that he followed the official claim of *Sadness Transformed* that the 2-28 Incident is past and everything is back to normal again, and painted *Spring Again* (discussed in Chapter 3). Only very briefly did he indicate how a couple of paintings relate to the 2-28 political and historical trauma. For example, he pointed out that the shape of the cloud in *Overlooking the Sea (1992)* looks like the number 228 and that the threes in *Dialogue (1992)* symbolise himself and his siblings standing in front of the Pa-li pier waiting for their father Liao Ching-ping to come back.⁴⁸⁷ I suggest that his dissociation from the 2-28 political and historical trauma is a sign of silence and a defence mechanism against the trauma. I also want to propose that the trauma affect marking Liao’s paintings needs to be addressed at a

⁴⁸⁴ Statements by Liao Te-cheng, Juan Mei-shu and Yang Chao-chih are all quoted, emphasised and translated by me from the inside cover of the following catalogue: Taipei 228 Memorial Museum (ed.), *Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families*.

⁴⁸⁵ Here, I use metaphorically the term ‘sublimation’ introduced by Sigmund Freud. Freud used this term to refer to the activity that transforms the sexual instinct. The activity is governed by a desire that is not ‘visibly directed towards a sexual end’, which in Freud’s writing refers to ‘artistic creation, intellectual pursuit, and in a general way those activities to which a particular society assigns great value.’ See J. Laplanche and J.B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis*, London: Karnac, 1988, 432. In my usage, the example of the term ‘sublimation’ remains the same, that is, artistic practice in all these cases. However, it is ‘trauma affect’ rather than ‘sexual instinct’ that is being transformed.

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Liao Te-cheng, 25 February 2004.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. The latter example is also recorded in Huang Yu-ling, ‘Pushing Away the Barriers, Moving Towards a Brighter Land’, 20.

deeper level in the future rather than at only the very superficial and allegorical level mentioned above. For instance, why does Liao repeatedly paint Mt. Kuan-yin where his father was taken away never to return, and why does he often paint crabs, his father's favourite food? Is it not possible that this is his 'repetition-compulsion' to recover the loss of his father?⁴⁸⁸

In *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude: Looking for my Father Juan Ch'ao-jih*, Juan Mei-shu constantly mentions her own silence before the lifting of Martial Law.⁴⁸⁹ In *Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner: Looking for the Dispersed February 28 Victim's Families*, she also frequently writes about the silence and silencing of the families of the 2-28 victims such as Yang Chao-chih both before and after the lifting of Martial Law, and after the 2-28 Incident has been commemorated.⁴⁹⁰ The silence and silencing shaped by fear is overwhelming.

Yet, the 2-28 political and historical trauma also produces affects like 'repetition-compulsion.' That is, 'the repressed' breaches the shield of the defence mechanism and the silence, and 'returns' from time to time, as discussed in Chapter 5. In *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude*, Juan Mei-shu says that the pain of the loss of her father often comes back to her as unstoppable tears no matter where she is, despite her determination to be silent, in making a dried flower arrangement, in playing the piano (especially the one given to her by her father), in writing, and in almost every moment of her life. This also happens to other women in the families of the 2-28 men victims.⁴⁹¹ Two unusual events, described in her book, particularly strike me as the trauma affect of 'repetition-compulsion' marked on the victim-survivor's body. The first, when Juan Lin Su – Juan Chao-jih's wife and Juan Mei-shu's mother – gave up looking

⁴⁸⁸ See Elsa Hsiang-chun Chen, *Chiyi te piaooh'ing: yishu chung te jen yu wo* 記憶的表情：藝術中的人與我 (Faces of the Memories: Self in Art), Chapter 9, Taipei: Sanmin, 2005.

⁴⁸⁹ Juan Mei-shu, *Forty-five Years in Suffering and Solitude: Looking for my Father Juan Ch'ao-jih*.

⁴⁹⁰ Juan Mei-shu, *Sound of Weeping in a Dim Corner: Looking for the Dispersed February 28 Victim's Families*, 5-8; 23-31.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 255-258; 369-370.

for her husband and, in despair, burnt his diaries and almost every other thing that would remind her of him, and after this never spoke a word about him again. The second, when Juan Lin Su collapsed and was dying, she kept telling Juan Mei-shu again and again that she wanted so much to see her lost husband. At that point, the image of her husband returned compulsively and the pain of her loss struck her heavily once more.⁴⁹² In July 1987, Juan Mei-shu visited Auschwitz and almost collapsed. 'For her fellow tourists', she writes, 'visiting Auschwitz might be just like watching a horror movie.' 'When they went home', she continues to write, 'they might just forget.' For her, however, it triggered the painful loss of her father as a second trauma. Afterwards, she could not help thinking about how her father died and could not sleep for quite a long time.⁴⁹³ Here, I want to suggest that the rocky coast constantly being pounded by the forceful sea waves in the acoustic seascape scene in Wu Mali's *Epitaph of Sadness Transformed* can be seen as a means of realising the repetitive affects of trauma's timelessness and its recurrence, as was discussed in Chapter 4.

In the light of this, *Untitled* and *Epitaph* can be said to produce a transactive trauma affect. The viewers are never simply given a historical message or a narrative of an event. Instead, these affects must be read as the still active traumatic residue, within and beyond, of the discourses and commemoration of the 2-28 Incident and its historicisation in Taiwan. Or, if not merely the residue, they are a traumatic supplement that marks the historical event—the 2-28 Incident—or attempts to commemorate it as a trauma. Trauma is, therefore, not found in the historical event, but is something that is beyond any narration or commemoration. Answering Bennett's question 'What does art tell us about trauma?' leads to another question 'How does art place us, the

⁴⁹² Ibid, 105-110.

⁴⁹³ Ibid, 161-164, particularly 163.

non-participants in neither the event nor its memory, in a transactive traumatic affective relationship to the suffering of others?

6.2 'Empathic Vision' and Different Traffic of Empathy

Both *Untitled* and *Epitaph* lead the viewer to see and feel the trauma affect that has marked the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. With a firm feminist agenda, *Epitaph* particularly and forcefully intervenes into the men-centered discourses of 2-28 commemoration and historicisation and hence expands our understanding of the trauma, the sexual structure of contemporary Taiwan as a nation, and human and state atrocities in general.

In this vein, *Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window of Sadness Transformed* created by Lin Pey-chwen in collaboration with Juan Mei-shu also offers a space for feminist rethinking. *Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window* is a mixed-media installation. It consists of two distinct parts. There is a large black rectangular wall panelled with a marble-like material. On the wall, three white blinds have been installed, which together make up a large white rectangle and look like another layer of wall panelling. Underneath the three white blinds, on the black wall panelling, are fixed reprints – deliberately made to seem fragmented and old – of family photographs, letters and other souvenirs of the 2-28 victims and their families. In front of the black wall panelling on the floor, there is a slightly smaller black area of rhombic tiles with the same marble-like texture. In the middle of the black floor tiles stands a stainless steel vase holding dried flowers designed and arranged by Juan Mei-shu. The whole setting and tone is neat, dim, cold and solemn: orderly black and white geometric shapes made of a cold marble-like, stainless material. It is almost like a scene at a funeral service. The difference is that dried flowers are used here instead of the fresh flowers of a funeral

service. *Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window* hence offers a physical space for public mourning. Perhaps it is also a space for Juan Mei-shu to publicly and aesthetically mourn her father through her handmade dried flower art, which she could not do in the time before the lifting of Martial Law.

There is almost no space between the black wall panelling and the white blinds. In that flattened, extremely confined, in-between and interior space lie the fragmented traces of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. The in-between and interior space forms a repressive and suffocating prison. Together with Juan Mei-shu's dried flower arrangement, this setting produces a trauma affect similar to that experienced by the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims already discussed in detail in terms of *Untitled* and *Epitaph*. There is a hidden silence in the private space underneath the white blinds. There is the trauma affect of repetition-compulsion in the form of unstoppable tears and flashbacks of memories of the lost loved ones. There seem also to be endlessly recurring attempts to recover the lost loved ones. One of the specific aims of dried flower arrangements is to make dead flowers look fresh, neat, and aesthetic as if they were alive eternally. Hence for me, Juan Mei-shu's dried flower arrangement seems to symbolise her continual untiring and endless efforts to bring her father back and to keep her memories of her father fresh and vivid.

In one way, *Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window* goes slightly beyond Jill Bennett's model. It presents a very distinctive post-2-28 feminist perspective at not only an affective level but also at a conceptual level: the problematic of voyeurism. This problem is seldom tackled but happens all the time in the course of 2-28 commemoration. The families of the 2-28 victims have been frequently asked questions about their catastrophic experiences with little sympathetic understanding or sensitive consideration, and, in the worst case, merely for the purpose of consumption. *Black (Crying) Wall, Inside and Outside the Window* makes the viewer confront his/her own

problem of voyeurism. When the viewer stands in front of the three white blinds, the mark of a barrier between self and the other, s/he is immediately placed in a web of ethical questions. Should I roll up the blinds and see what is inside? Does the other on the other side of the boundary like to be watched, questioned, and their stories revealed? Is it possible that I can roll up the blinds and see what is inside not as a voyeur but as a listener? How should I respond to what I am about to see? Should I take what I am about to see as an object or (the traces of) a subject? Am I responsible for what I am about to see? While rolling up the blinds, the viewer is made aware of the fact that s/he is trespassing on the other's privacy and world. Once s/he rolls up the blinds, s/he is confronted with someone enduring the pain of loss, situated in the social relational circuit of pain elaborated by Jill Bennett and Veena Das mentioned above, and is bound by a responsibility to feel for, to listen to, and to think about others with empathy. The problem of ethical listening with empathy is at the forefront. Nevertheless, this empathy, as articulated by Jill Bennett and Kaja Silverman, does not mean a 'homopathic identification' with the victim and survivor, but a 'heteropathic identification.' There is always a difference between the viewer and the victim survivor that underlies the encounter between the two.

Next, I wish to identify something in the circuit of empathy that is briefly mentioned by Jill Bennett but remains unexplored in her critique of Cathy Caruth, Shoshanna Felman and Antjie Krog, about taking the place of the victim. For me, this problem always arises when one represents the experiences of another. In this case, the problem arises when the art maker is not a victim survivor of the 2-28 political and historical trauma. Even if s/he is, there is always a risk that s/he will try to speak for other individual victim survivors. Therefore, the relationship between the victim survivor and the art maker is also a 'heteropathic identification' with situated differences and fissures that require attention.

Untitled, Revival (1996)(Pl. 3.16) and *Road to Destruction (1983) of Sadness Transformed* allow me to reflect on the different relationships between the art maker, and the victim survivor, the family of the victim and the bystander, particularly as they relate to different political and historical traumas. Here, I wish to discuss *Revival* first, and then *Road to Destruction* and come back briefly to *Untitled* later.

Revival is an oil painting by Ouyang Wen. A gruesome grey pillbox occupies almost the whole canvas of *Revival*. Surrounding it, there is green grass growing. At the bottom to the left, a pair of rusty handcuffs has been discarded on the grass. At the bottom to the right, a cluster of Wild Lilies, native to Taiwan and which grow well even under extremely poor conditions, is in blossom. There is a narrative central to *Revival*. The deserted pillbox and the rusty handcuffs together signify inhuman imprisonment in the past. They produce the particular trauma affect, that of the pain of losing time and things related to the self, rather than that of losing a loved one. This dynamic of affect is specific to the case when the victim survivor and the artist happens to be one and the same. Ouyang Wen is perhaps the only well-known victim survivor alive who has been actively participating in 2-28 commemorations. He was born to a wealthy family in Chia-yi who had lived for generations by practising medicine. His mentor in art was a renowned artist and 2-28 victim, Chen Ch'eng-po, who was among the first Taiwanese artists further trained in modern Tokyo and who gained an international reputation during the World War II period. Ouyang and Chen both came from the same town and were very close. During the outbreak of the 2-28 Incident, Ouyang and others from Chia-yi briefly fought with the KMT army in order to protect their hometown. After the public execution of Chen, Ouyang went into hiding.⁴⁹⁴ After the 2-28 Incident, he

⁴⁹⁴ Unlike many 2-28 victims who were either secretly murdered or killed in the turmoil, Chen Ch'eng-po was publicly executed at Chia-yi Railway Station on 25 March 1947. See Lai Tze-han et al., *The Executive Yuan's Report on the '2-28 Incident'*, 261-363; Chang Yian-hsien, Kao Shu-yuan 高淑媛, Wang Yi-shih 王逸石, Wang Chao-wen 王昭文, *Chiayi yich'ien 2-28 嘉義驛前二二八*(The 2-28 Incident in front of Chia-yi Train Station), Taipei: Wu San-lien Foundation, 1995, 156-97.

started again to teach at a primary school in Tainan, a traditional and cultivated city near his hometown. In 1950, at the beginning of the White Terror period, he was arrested, charged with conspiracy with the communists, and imprisoned for 12 years on a remote, isolated and rough island outside Taiwan. Twelve years' imprisonment permanently damaged Ouyang and his family, and resulted in their being deprived economically, socially and culturally. He and his wife could not teach at school anymore. He lost the chance to be with his wife and their two newborn children. He was permanently and severely damaged as were his wife and children.⁴⁹⁵ In *Revival*, the Wild Lily is more or less a self-portrait of him desiring to become a whole subject again.

Road to Destruction of Sadness Transformed is an oil painting by a Taiwanese woman artist Liu Hsiu-mei (1950-) painted in 1983. The background of the painting is covered with rough and swift brushstrokes using a combination of black, grey, and dark green and blue. In the top right hand corner, a dim street lamp dramatically lights up the foreground. A rough night and a chaotic world seem to be suggested. In the centre of the painting, a family of six are sitting very closely together in a three-wheeled cart, with a thin carter driving them somewhere. They seem a very ordinary family of Taiwan in the generally poor post-war period. The woman and four children seem to be wearing their best clothes in delightful colours and with trendy flowery or geometric patterns, perhaps indicating a rare and expensive family outing. Indeed, it is an occasion of family outing and they are about to see some fireworks, rarely seen in the post-war period.⁴⁹⁶ Strangely, none of the family look at all happy or excited about the special outing. Instead, there is a sense of stupefaction and dejection covering their faces and enveloping the world of the family and the carter. Why is it that no one seems able to enjoy him/herself on this occasion that should be festive and exciting? That all the

⁴⁹⁵ Huang Yu-ling, *Waiting For the Sunrise: Stories of the Paintings Concerning the 2-28 Incident*, 42-93.

⁴⁹⁶ Liu Hsiu-mei, 'Artist Statement,' in TFAM, *Sadness Transformed*, 100.

family sit very tightly together seem to indicate they have not had a row. Perhaps something overwhelming has happened and its impact has rendered them unable to feel happy or excited, but brings them closer together. Along with the technical aspects of the painting, mentioned above, this trope seems to suggest that something dreadful and horrific has happened on a massive scale in Taiwanese society that has made most people, like the painted figures here, anxious, frightened, powerless and disorientated, so that they have to stay close together to remain sufficiently strong. Obviously, this work was painted in 1983 and therefore not specifically for *Sadness Transformed*. It does not illustrate or offer any narrative of any particular historical event. Neither is it directly related to the 2-28 Incident. However, re-situated in the 2-28 commemorative art exhibitions, it successfully brings out, through a common family scene to which most people can relate, the overwhelming feeling of the apocalypse engendered by the severe state suppression and oppression during the period after the 2-28 Incident. Liu Hsiu-mei explains this feeling of apocalypse as that of a bystander who has personally witnessed that historical era,

In the 1950s, after a massacre was just taken place during the White Terror period, it was deadly silent on the street. There was no sign of any human being. Dead silence. My father decided to spend all of the money inside his pocket and took the whole family to see the fireworks.

In that bitter rainy night, the emaciated carter put forth all his strength to move the three-wheel cart...

In that darkest night, time passed extremely slowly. As a child, I wanted so much to age immediately and became a person of advanced age.⁴⁹⁷

Liu Hsiu-mei does not pretend that *Road to Destruction* is not specifically about the 2-28 political and historical trauma. As shown in the artist's statement, she sees herself as a bystander surviving the massive White Terror in Taiwan, rather than as a victim survivor as represented in *Revival*, or as a female family member of a victim as shown in *Untitled*. However, it does produce the affect of feeling extremely vulnerable and helpless that might be common to all traumas related to state atrocities. It is this

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

dynamic of affect that touches me very much, as a viewer of post-2-28 and post-high-White Terror generations who did not witness the traumatic historical events in person, every time I see *Road to Destruction* in the exhibition catalogue, even when I do not read Liu's touching statement quoted above. Besides, there is an ambiguity that is common to the expression of *Road to Destruction* and *Untitled* which, despite the differences in media and construction, distinguishes both of them from the other works made especially for *Sadness Transformed*. Perhaps this arises from the fact that the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror are valued very differently by the nation and the society of Taiwan. Particularly given the viciously competing political relationship between (People's Republic of) China and Taiwan, particularly in the past, but also in the present and perhaps the future, the 2-28 victims of the left-wing and communist proper are given relatively less attention. The White Terror in Taiwan was basically a state atrocity against potential political dissidents, most of whom were eradicated or imprisoned having often been falsely convicted of 'being a communist spy' or 'conspiracy with the communist.' Hence, the experiences of the White Terror victims and survivors, and the political and historical trauma of the White Terror and its legacy in Taiwan are largely kept quiet about and suppressed, particularly when contrasted with the relatively enthusiastic national investment in the commemoration of the 2-28 Incident in the late 1980s and the 1990s.⁴⁹⁸ Perhaps it is this silencing effect of the White Terror that particularly marks out *Road to Destruction* and *Untitled* by their ambiguity in failing to clearly identify the specific historical event concerned. Especially in the case of *Untitled*, there is almost no indication of the specific historical event and no direct identification of the artist – the female family member of the victim. In *Untitled*, the artist seems to maintain her position framed by the legacy of the White Terror, and remains largely

⁴⁹⁸ Cheng Fei-wen, *The 'Wounded' Nation: Trauma, Memory and National Identity in Contemporary Taiwanese Identity*, Chapter 1.

unaffected by the high national investment in the commemoration of the 2-28 Incident behind *Sadness Transformed*.

6.3 'Art as Transport-Station of Trauma' and 'Trans-subjectivity in Art'⁴⁹⁹

Through a negotiation with Jill Bennett's theory, I have discussed features that might enable some artworks of *Sadness Transformed* to become potential aesthetic transformations of the 2-28 political and historical trauma, producing the dynamic of trauma affect, and forcefully opening up spaces in which the art viewer can empathise with the traumatic experiences of the trauma survivor. I have yet to explore the human psychic processes of such 'affective transaction.' In other words, why and how is the viewer who was not there when the catastrophic event happened able to engage with the trauma of the victim and survivor and become 'a witness without an event'?⁵⁰⁰ Is there a psychic mechanism other than the 'empathy' proposed by LaCapra and mobilised by Bennett? Might this be rather a trans-subjective process created in or by art?

To address these questions, I wish to revisit the trans-subjective relation, that *Epitaph* proposes and facilitates, between the artist, the viewer and the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims as was discussed in Chapter 4, drawing on Bracha Ettinger's theory of 'art as a transport-station of trauma' and of 'trans-subjectivity in art'. This will enable an understanding of the multi-layered trans-subjective affective transaction and transformation in the act of art viewing that is not elaborated by Bennett.

⁴⁹⁹ Here, I terms and concepts articulated by Bracha Ettinger. See Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Art as Transport-Station of Trauma'; Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art'. I wish to particularly thank Prof. Griselda Pollock for tirelessly working out with me these difficult theoretical concepts elaborated by Bracha Ettinger.

⁵⁰⁰ Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Transgressing With-in-To the Feminine', Penny Florence and Nichola Foster (eds.), *Differential Aesthetics: Art Practices, Philosophies and Feminist Understandings*, London Ashgate 2000, 204; and Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art', 115.

Wu Mali's *Epitaph* places the viewer in an installation space facing an unknown acoustic seascape image with the sound of sea waves constantly pounding against the rocky shore, accompanied by the question of women's absence in Taiwan's 2-28 history and by the text of the traumatic experiences of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. The trauma affect overflows into the space in which different subjects are immersed. I am suggesting that we could read *Epitaph* in terms of what Ettinger would call co-emergence in the space, co-witnessing trauma, co-writing their version of 2-28 cultural memory, and co-making their identities – these are all powerfully created.

How can we explain a mechanism of trans-subjective 'co-emerging', 'co-witnessing', 'co-writing' and 'co-making'? In Bennett's theory, the inter-subjective relationship between the witness survivor and the viewer seems to be guaranteed by means of empathy: 'I feel with another'.⁵⁰¹ Once the dynamic of traumatic affect produced by some contemporary art works becomes 'compelling' enough, it seems to be able to make the viewer feel and act out an empathic relationship with the trauma survivor. The trauma affect of others, the trauma survivors, can trigger a trauma affect similar to that which the viewer has experienced before, and thus can be felt by the viewer. Hence, the contemporary art works which can produce a dynamic of trauma affect that can become 'an encountered sign' and 'empathetic unsettlement' leading the viewer to further knowledge and sublimation. Having perhaps made such presumptions, Bennett's theory does not further elaborate the mechanism of a *trans-subjective* relationship between the trauma survivor and the viewer in contemporary art. In light of this, I wish to draw on Ettinger's theory concerning the aesthetic transformations of trauma in contemporary

⁵⁰¹ By 'inter-subjectivity', I wish to describe the inter-encounter between two discreet subjects such as the trauma survivor, the artist and the viewer by mediation of artwork that creates empathy: feeling with an other.

art in order to articulate a mechanism of *trans-subjective* relationship between the trauma survivor and the viewer of contemporary art.⁵⁰²

Based on complex psychoanalytic and aesthetic theories, Ettinger defines the space of art as ‘the transport-station of trauma’. She writes,

The place of art is for me the transport-station of trauma: a transport-station that more than a place is rather a space, that allows for certain occasions of occurrence and of encounter, which will become the realization of what I call borderlinking and borderspacing in a matrixial trans-subjective space by way of experiencing an object or process of creation. The transport is expected in this station, and it is possible, but the transport-station does not promise that passage of remnants of trauma will actually take place in it; it only supplies the space for this occasion. The passage is expected but uncertain, the transport does not happen in each encounter and for every gazing subject.⁵⁰³ (*Italics in the original*)

By ‘transport-station of trauma’, Ettinger means art is a ‘space’ of beauty in which a trans-subjective encounter between the trauma survivor, the artist, and the viewer can take place. In another essay, Bracha Ettinger writes,

‘Painting realizes an encounter with trauma that is shared in trans-subjectivity between the artist and the world, the artist and the Other, artists and viewers. The artist wit(h)nesses trauma with no direct experience of the event that caused it--trauma of Other and of the world, and engraves its unforgettable memory of oblivion in the tableau.’⁵⁰⁴

Here, Ettinger uses the term ‘painting’ to say that she is ‘thinking of/from her work’, and ‘as a metaphor for an artistic operation’, that is, art in general.⁵⁰⁵ In the space of ‘art as a transport-station of trauma’, the boundaries of discrete individual subjects, the trauma survivor, the artist, and the viewer, may become less rigid and may open partially to allow a sharing of affects that is not empathy. Why? Empathy equals: I feel with another, a discrete individual, with no possibility of elements of myself being transformed. Trans-subjectivity concerns some affects that occur at some (not all) levels of subjectivity when several partial subjective elements are shared across borderspaces that, by means of the response to the art, working on its partners, become thresholds.

⁵⁰² ‘Trans-subjectivity’ is a new concept proposed by Bracha Ettinger to explore processes that come about, for instance, in art experiences when affects are shared and processed between partial aspects of several subjects fragilised at their borderlines by the possibility of transformations in the subject caused by the unknown other. This concept will be explored further in next passages.

⁵⁰³ Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, ‘Art as Transport-Station of Trauma’, 91.

⁵⁰⁴ Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, ‘Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art’, 122.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 126

Transformation can occur in different ways for each partner-in-the-encounter. This process of encounter between different subjects via art is called by Ettinger ‘borderlinking and borderspacing in a matrixial trans-subjective space’. In Ettinger’s theory, this channel and passage by which elements of the trauma survivor, the artist, and the viewer may be co-affected is not the transmission of the narratives of the experiences of the trauma survivor. It is the passage of ‘remnants of trauma’ marked in art, which facilitates the possibility of the trans-subjective encounter between the trauma survivor, the artist, and the viewer. What are ‘remnants of trauma’? As has been discussed in Chapter 5, trauma is not an event whose details and effects can be described and represented, but an overwhelming affective condition that is unknown to the subject, and that is unrepresentable. We can only try to understand it as best as possible through its traces, namely its trauma affect and symptoms, that have left their marks on the subject’s psyche. These traces of trauma, rather than trauma itself, are called in Ettinger’s paragraph quoted above the ‘remnants of trauma’ that need to be processed. This ‘passage of remnants of trauma’ creates the ‘encounter’ between the trauma survivor, the artist, and the viewer, and hence makes the ‘transport’ and ‘transformation’ of trauma possible. Unlike Bennett, Ettinger thinks that there is *no guarantee* that this passage will happen. There is only *potentiality*. She writes,

No content, no form and no image can guarantee that such beauty-inclined-towards-the-Sublime will arise, but an occasion for it is opened. A potentiality to infiltrate into and deface the borderspace together with others becomes such a beauty when the painting vibrates, and the spectator attracts to itself and transmits, back to it and onward to others, in the trajectories of the impulse of the wit(h)nessing touching gaze, an affected openness to borderlinking. The impossibility of not transgressing demands its own price and sprouts its own sublime-beauty. And the working through of an art-work that so supplies with moments of Hesed, of grace and solace, is but the deepening and widening of the threshold of fragility at the transport-station of trauma.⁵⁰⁶ (Italics in the original)

There is no certainty that ‘the passage’ will happen every time, when ‘every gazing subject’ encounters art. It requires an ‘affected openness to borderlinking’, namely the

⁵⁰⁶ Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, ‘Art as Transport-Station of Trauma’, 115.

‘wit(h)nessing touching gaze’. Ettinger explains how this mechanism operates in art. When it ‘vibrates’, art works like a string resonating with something co-affective inside the artist and the viewer. Affected by its impact, the artist and the viewer openly allow the trauma affect marked in it to work on her/him and ‘infiltrate into and deface’ her/his ‘borderspace’, and allows her/himself to work with it, and to develop an open relation with those hidden behind the screen of the ‘remnants of trauma’, the trauma survivor, and others who are outside the circuit of the viewing process.

What is ‘the wit(h)nessing touching gaze’ that is crucial to the passage and how does it work in art? Ettinger defines,

The matrixial gaze conducts imprints from one paradox: events without witnesses, and passes them on to another paradox: witnesses who were not there, witnesses without events’. It is this paradoxical conjunction of impossible witnessing via with-nessing that I have called: wit(h)nessing. Such are both the artist and the viewer, in different ways. The viewer will embrace traces of the almost-missing event while transforming it—and itself—by weaving via the tableau its own metamorphosis to others, present and archaic, cognized and uncognized, future and past. The viewer is challenged by the tableau to join a specific anonymous intimate encounter. Its gaze is carried by an event s/he did not experience, and through the matrixial web and unexpected affective reaction to it arises.⁵⁰⁷

According to Ettinger, wit(h)nessing involves two paradoxical processes: ‘witnessing’ and ‘with-nessing’. ‘Witnessing’ refers to the impossibility of the trauma survivor representing his/her overwhelming affective trauma experience. This has been noted Dori Laub writing as a psychiatrist.⁵⁰⁸ ‘With-nessing’ indicates the possibility of one who did not experience the event witnessing the trauma survivor’s trauma experience by being together with the witness survivor in matrixial terms. What does ‘wit(h)-nessing’ in matrixial terms mean then? For Ettinger, ‘wit(h)-nessing’ activates a repetition of early inter-uterine co-existence and co-relationship that everyone has in the pre-natal period.

⁵⁰⁷ Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, ‘Trauma and Beauty: Trans-subjectivity in Art’, 122-3.

⁵⁰⁸ Laub, Dori, ‘An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony, and Survival’, in Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and Literature*, 75-92.

Here, I wish to draw on one of Ettinger's early essays *Matrix and Metramorphosis* (1992) to further explain this theoretical proposition.⁵⁰⁹

Ettinger proposes a theorisation of the formation of human subjectivity and human symbolic experience, which supplements those offered by Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan that privilege the status of Phallus by adding the concepts of 'Matrix and metramorphosis' which correspond to 'a feminine dimension of the symbolic order'.⁵¹⁰ For Ettinger, Freud reckoned that the formation of human subjectivity goes through two stages: the pre-Oedipal period and the Oedipal period. Ettinger points out that in Freud's theories 'men and women take the same path in the creation of the Ego until the Oedipal Complex'. During the Oedipal period, the little boy finds that the Father has the Phallus, the penis, the sex organ, and power over the Mother, his first loved object, who lacks this sex organ. Afraid of being castrated by the Father and losing his own penis, the little boy chooses to identify with the Father and gives up his first loved object. Under this gender structuring, the mother and the feminine aspect are repressed completely and the heterosexual subject perceived as masculine is formulated. In the meantime, the little girl discovers that she and her mother both lack the sex organ. Freud, however, did not explore the formation of the feminine subject.⁵¹¹ For Freud, the feminine is like 'a dark continent'.⁵¹² Instead of linking Phallus to penis like Freud, Lacan regards the Phallus as 'the Symbol', 'the signifier' of what the Other/Mother wants, 'the one', 'the universal truth'. The little boy finds out that the Mother likes the Father, the first signifier of Phallus, and thus identifies with the Father and with the phantasy that he will become the Phallus that the Mother desires. The little girl also recognises the Mother's desire. Given the patriarchal and heterosexual condition that

⁵⁰⁹ Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Matrix and Metramorphosis', *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 4.3, 1992, 176-208.

⁵¹⁰ Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Matrix and Metramorphosis', 176.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid*, 184.

⁵¹² *Ibid*, 180.

she lives in, she does not identify with the Father like the little boy. Rather, she chooses to become like the Mother, that is, she becomes what the Phallus desires, and goes on to attract men in the future.⁵¹³ For Lacan, the feminine is attached to the pre-Oedipal period which ‘exists’ but ‘can not be thought of’.⁵¹⁴ Like Freud, Lacan also considered the feminine through the Phallus. For Lacan, Phallus is the sole signifier for the Symbolic that structures the Oedipal period.⁵¹⁵ Hence, the Symbolic which makes the subjectivity possible through language, therefore, is always phallic.⁵¹⁶ According to Lacan, the feminine cannot be known or articulated. It is at best ‘a supplementary jouissance’.⁵¹⁷

Ettinger proposes the concepts of Matrix and metramorphosis to intervene these two major psychoanalytic theoretical traditions that privilege the status of Phallus, ‘one-ness, totality, sameness, Oedipal and symbolic castration’, and above all to signify the feminine, ‘multiplicity, plurality, partiality, difference, strangeness, relations to the unknown other, prenatal passages to the Symbolic, with processes of change of *I* and *not-I* emerging in co-existence and of change in their borderlines, limits, and thresholds within and around them’.⁵¹⁸ She writes,

The Matrix is modelled upon certain dimensions of the prenatal state which are culturally foreclosed, occluded, or repressed. It corresponds to a feminine dimension of the symbolic order dealing with asymmetrical, plural, and fragmented subjects composed of the known as well as the not-rejected and not-assimilated unknown, and to unconscious processes of change and transgression in borderline, limits, and thresholds of ‘I’ and ‘not-I’ emerging in co-existence.⁵¹⁹

She thinks the Symbolic is much wider than the order of the Phallus. Therefore, she recognises the necessity of introducing ‘the non-phallic sphere’, the Matrix, alongside ‘the phallic sphere’. Her theory of Matrix and metramorphosis is modelled upon the

⁵¹³ Ibid, 181-195.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, 184.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid, 178; 188-90.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid, 184-7.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid, 192-5.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid, 176; 178.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid, 176.

metaphor of feminine bodily experience that is exemplified by the subject's experience in the pre-natal state which happens prior to the pre-Oedipal period. She states,

To begin with, I would like to present two pictures: first, that of the fetus in its mother's womb with some kind of awareness of I and unknown not-I(s), neither rejected nor assimilated; secondly, that of the mother carrying a baby in her womb with a similar awareness of I and not-I(s).⁵²⁰

I relate the Matrix to the process I call metramorphosis dealing with I and not-I(s) in emergence and in co-existence, with neither symmetrical nor identical nor mirroring relationships. There are processes of change without domination. I and not-I(s) may relate to one another or simply turn their backs on one another, but they neither swallow nor kill one another-symbolically or in reality- while transforming in one another's presence. The borderlines between them are surpassed and transformed to become thresholds. When these transformations relate to transformations in the borderlines and in the shared spaces, metramorphosis may occur, creating redistribution in the shared field and a change in the common subjectivity. The borderlines between I and not-I(s) are surpassed and transformed to become thresholds. This is a shift aside for the phallus, an-other symbolic filter.⁵²¹

According to Ettinger, Matrix and metramorphosis offer a space for multiple subjects to co-exist and co-emerge and for a potential trans-subjective relationship between the elements of various subjectivities. There is already difference and differentiation between *I and not-I(s)* in the shared space of two co-emerging pre-natal subjectivities, in contrast to the undifferentiated condition of the pre-Oedipal period and the differentiated condition of the Oedipal period delineated in Freud and Lacan's theories. *I and not-I(s)* are both fragmented subjects that co-exist and co-develop and change in 'the common subjectivity' within the shared space. There are borderlines and boundaries in and between these differentiated subjects. With the openness to witness and change, these borderlines and boundaries not only become the 'thresholds' for dialogue and transformation, but also are themselves subjected to transformation.

The theory of Matrix and metramorphosis indicates a very much repressed early space for multiple subjects to co-emerge and co-exist and for a trans-subjective

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Ibid, 200-1. Here, Ettinger is aware that her theory runs the risk of falling into essentialism by thinking from the womb. Therefore, she emphasises the feminine experience as a 'metaphor' while thinking from, of and in the feminine physical experience. On the one hand, to think from, of and in the repressed feminine bodily experience is a powerful strategy of resistance against the men-centred psychoanalytic discursive field. On the other hand, the womb as a marker of sexual difference is carefully placed as a metaphor par excellence to explain the matrixial experience which supplements the overall too pervasive phallic experience. For Ettinger's own argument on this point, see *ibid*, 181-198.

relationship to happen, and an equally repressed early possibility for listening to and witnessing something or someone besides oneself and yet unknown. Indeed, it enables us to see a way to acknowledge, witness, work with and transform the unknown otherness (such as trauma), the feminine, and even the art viewing/making process. This is exactly the spirit of the wit(h)nessing touching gaze mentioned above. In order to show the wit(h)nessing touching gaze in a more specific context, I will refer to a passage in the essay 'Art as Transport-Station of Trauma', where Ettinger discusses metramorphosis in relation to art and trauma witnessing,

Metramorphosis is a poetic process of affective-emotive borderswerving: a process of differentiating during borderspacing and borderlinking by affective differentiating, which is from the outset transgressive. It is a process of inscriptive exchange between/within several matrixial entities. Borderswerving dissolves the individual borderlines so that they become thresholds that allow a passage which, for each participant, captivates what I call a surplus of fragility. The knowledge of being-born-together-co-naissance-in a matrixial alliance insinuates a crossed transcription of transcription. It hurts. We are hurt in the subknowledge of which we receive a sense in visual arts by inventing or joining a screen where an originary matrixial repression-a process of repression by fading-in-transformation-is inverted, because it allows the originary matrixial transitive trauma some veiled visibility via a touching gaze that approaches it from within-outside, and make us fragile via wit(h)nessing the trauma of the Other and of the world. We are hurt, but we are also solaced.⁵²² (Italics in the original)

Metramorphosis is an affective-emotive process of 'borderswerving'. Borderswerving opens up the borderlines and boundaries of different matrixial subjects and hence allows the passage of remnants of trauma to occur and work. Borderswerving, allows the viewer to witness the trauma of the trauma survivor, 'the Other and the world', and develop a responsibility for the transforming 'common subjectivity' which becomes possible. In my view, this is exactly what the wit(h)nessing touching gaze means.

At the same time, Ettinger is also aware of the difficulty of the wit(h)nessing touching gaze by indicating a 'surplus of fragility' in the process of metramorphosis because the trauma affect is too overwhelming to contain. This 'surplus of fragility' in the process of metramorphosis discussed by Ettinger seems to coincide with what Dori

⁵²² Bracha Lichtenberg Ettinger, 'Art as Transport-Station of Trauma', 98.

Laub has called ‘the hazard of listening and witnessing’ described in the passages quoted when discussing *Epitaph* by Wu Mali at the end of Chapter 4. In other words, subjects in the process of metamorphosis might get hurt and comforted at the same time, while being listened to or listening to the other through art. Indeed, there is a necessity for us to listen and witness the other’s trauma, whose impact and weight is far beyond our ability to grasp and deal with, and vice versa. Ettinger writes about this necessity,

...We can think of events whose traumatic weight is so heavy that I would not be able to contain its memory traces at all. In the matrixial borderspace ‘my’ trace will transgress my limits and will be inscribed in another so that the other crossed in/by will mentally elaborate them for me. Thus, the ‘uterine’ transgression, in which particular sharing in/of jouissance and trauma takes place, is a model for a particular human transgression, for a wit(h)nessing within the other, that gives birth to phantasms and produces its own trauma and desire. And beauty-affected-by-the Sublime that is folded in such an occasion disables the obstruction of access to the pain of the Other. Thus, the desire to join-in-difference and differentiate-in-joining with the Other doesn’t promise any peace and harmony, because joining is first of all joining within/by the trauma that weakens and bifurcates me, and creates a danger of regression and dispersal in the process of receiving, passing on, and transmitting.⁵²³

According to Ettinger, one’s trauma’s impact and weight is too heavy and too powerful to be contained. Its ‘trace’ will always transgress one’s limits and be inscribed in the other. The other will process the ‘trace’, elaborate the trauma experience and give it back with a difference, and vice versa. This not-always-peaceful processing, namely listening, wit(h)nessing and sharing trauma in the metaphorical inter-uterine space, produces phantasms and the other’s own trauma and desire. With the help of art folded in the Sublime, it thus allows access to the pain of the Other/mine, so that the passage of remnants of trauma can be facilitated and the transport and aesthetic transformation of trauma can happen.

In summary, Ettinger proposes a theory that integrates the aesthetic, trauma witnessing with sexual difference on the basis of a trans-subjective encounter. With a trans-subjective encounter that is a metaphorical repetition of the feminine bodily

⁵²³ Ibid, 113.

experience, art as beauty that transforms death and trauma, and as transport-station of trauma can be achieved. As Ettinger writes,

If the esthetic question then engages both the relations between death and the beautiful, and the relations between co-emergence and co-fading that resonates the linkage between life and non-life, then the artist desires to transform death, non-life, not-yet-life and no-more-life of itself and of the world into art as the theater of the not-One soul, with its jouissance and its trauma. An artist-as-‘woman’, engaged in co-emerging, co-fading, transcription and cross-inscription of traces, is not a celibate subject-hero relating to a limit, but a fragmented and partial interlaced trans-subjectivity, rendered fragile by her wit(h)nessing and transforming, time after time, the limit into a threshold.⁵²⁴

Based on Ettinger’s theory, I wish to go back briefly to the analysis of *Epitaph* by Wu Mali in relation to some other works of *Sadness Transformed*.

6.4 Reading the Aesthetic Transformations of 2-28

Building on the propositions of Ettinger, I would like to suggest that upon the entering *Epitaph*, the viewers are confronted both by texts, in relation to the specific historical trauma of 2-28 as an political event, and, by other aspects of the installation, and encounter what Ettinger calls ‘remnants of trauma’ that they may or may not accept, process and transform at an affective level. As has been explored thoroughly in Chapter 4, the first text, namely the opening question, has summoned the sexually differentiated experience of the trauma men victims and of the trauma women survivors. Instead of staging the death of the 2-28 trauma victims, it poses the question that the trauma of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims has not been addressed or transformed into cultural memories in 2-28 historicisation and commemoration. Here is a residue of history, that being unremembered acts as a trauma still to be processed.

Die Hard, Sweet Potato Planted and other similar works which produce and reproduce the main ideological structure of 2-28 historicisation and commemoration rehabilitate and privilege 2-28 men victims as the national subjects of the new Taiwan nation at the expense of women. These redemptive works present phallic ways of dealing with trauma

⁵²⁴ Ibid, 114-115.

in Freudian and Lacanian terms. In *Die Hard*, the 2-28 man victim has been recovered and redeemed as once more a whole subject of the new Taiwan nation after being castrated by the KMT regime. In *Sweet Potato Planted*, an Oedipal structure of the family is represented: the father, the mother, and the son. On the one hand, the dead father is restored as whole again by resurrecting him in the undamaged son. On the other hand, the son identifies with and replaces the father and becomes the new master of the new nation. The power of the tribe/family, the new Taiwan nation, has been passed from the father to the son. For the mother (and the daughter), 'the lack', is totally repressed.

In contrast, I suggest that we read *Epitaph* as opening what Ettinger would call a matrixial possibility. The second text pays particular tribute to the trauma experience of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims by describing their shock at the outbreak and aftermath of the 2-28 Incident. It is dedicated to the survivorship of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and deliberately produces an overwhelming *she-ness*. It intervenes in the phallic and Oedipal structure of the new Taiwan nation, and makes women in the families of the 2-28 men victims return from the status of being absent. For Ettinger, 'phallic' refers to a symbolic order based on a logic of presence/absence, having/not-having, so either castrated or whole. She interposes 'the matrixial' as a different and supplementary logic that is neither complete absence nor complete presence. It does not contrast life with death, having with not-having. Thus, through the matrixial, we can open passageways to others who cease to be whether complete or not, dead or lost. Their grief and suffering can be gleaned from beyond this matrixial threshold that the phallic phobia about boundaries would keep shut. Unlike the 2-28 men victims represented in the phallic 2-28 commemoration and historicisation, these women in the families of the 2-28 men victims do not return as the whole and undamaged subjects but as fragmented subjects signified by the fragments of poetic text that refer repeatedly to 'she', because they are not redeemed as national heroes and

recovered as the national subjects of the new Taiwan nation. It is also very difficult to read this second text, like the traces of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and their traumatic memories, given the materiality of the panel and the reflection of the light. The viewer is then led to the unknown acoustic seascape image with the sound of sea waves washing the rocky shore, back and forth, forever. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, the acoustic seascape image signifies a screen marked with the traumatic memory of the oblivion of the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. It also finds a form for the absence and silence of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims because their traumatic memories are outside 'the memory proper', beyond social knowledge and beyond nationalist representation, and only known through embodiment, as was discussed above in relation to Bennett's theory and Delbo's case.

In the dim and half-closed installation space, the viewer is forcefully drawn to see these traces of the 'memories' and 'traumatic memories' and is immersed in the affects they produce, that is, repetition-compulsion, not-quite absence and never complete silence. *Epitaph* becomes a potential space for viewers of different sexes to bodily engage with traces of affect that are the current place for the encounter with trauma. During the viewing process, the viewer may (knowingly or unknowingly) be marked by and process the traces of the hitherto unremembered memories of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and their trauma affect that are inscribed in the space, objects and (acoustic) images of *Epitaph*. If the viewer is open to change, s/he is placed in a situation where s/he can witness and be one with the traces of the 'memories' and 'traumatic memories' of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and their trauma affect. S/he might be shocked, challenged or puzzled by the horrific memories, the pain and loss, and the impact of the traumatic memories, and thus experience 'the hazard of witnessing'. During the witnessing, s/he might process in her/his own ways the traces of the 'memories' and 'traumatic memories' of the women in the families of the 2-28

men victims and their trauma affect and through the change develop a common subjectivity with the trauma of women survivors. Under such matrixial circumstances, *Epitaph* becomes the threshold for the passage of remnants of trauma of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. Once the passage happens, *Epitaph* becomes a matrixial borderspace where the viewer and women in the families of the 2-28 men victims meet and borderlink with each other. Unlike *Die Hard* and *Sweet Potato Planted* – that transmit and propagate a heroic narrative of the resurrected 2-28 men victims to the viewer and hence only privilege the 2-28 man victim as *the* subject – *Epitaph*, as a matrixial borderspace, does not offer the narratives of the trauma women survivors as whole subjects for the viewer to worship, identify or empathise with. How the viewer deciphers the traces of the ‘memories’ and ‘traumatic memories’ of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims and engages with the trauma affect depend very much on whether the viewer experiences the wit(h)nessing touching gaze. With the wit(h)nessing touching gaze, the viewer is vulnerable to the trauma impact and trauma affect. At the same time, s/he co-emerges and co-rewrites the 2-28 cultural memories with the women in the families of the 2-28 men victims in the installation space not at the level of narrative, content or icon, but in what Ettinger calls co-affection. During this process, s/he and her/his identities may be affected and transformed. Hence, the specifically aesthetic dimension of this non-figurative installation makes *Epitaph* a potential transport-station of trauma across time and across subjectivities.

Take the first viewer, the artist, as an example to explain further such trans-subjective encounter, co-emergence, co-rewriting and co-transformation. Having met Juan Mei-shu many times and closely read her book, Wu Mali made *Epitaph*. *Epitaph* shows Wu’s persistent feminist intervention in the 2-28 commemoration and historicisation and in Juan Mei-shu’s 2-28 oral histories by dealing with the trauma, and trauma affect of the forgotten women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. By stating ‘Her sorrow

has always been ours. (Sorrow of she has always been sorrow of I-we-us.)', she is employing a wit(h)nessing touching gaze and also inviting the viewer to use a wit(h)nessing touching gaze. The installation deliberately designs a compelling and potential space for the viewer of different backgrounds to contemplate and bodily engage with the trauma and trauma affect of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims. Within such an encounter, the trauma and trauma affect of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims has been or can be processed and transformed. The individual encounters of the artist and the viewer may add new and diverse translations of the trauma and trauma affect of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims, and hence might change the way in which the memories and traumatic memories of women in the families of the 2-28 men victims have been received and processed in the 2-28 historicisation and commemoration, and in the making of the new Taiwan nation.

In creating *Epitaph*, Wu Mali slightly changed the course of her art which had previously emphasised the intervention in art and social institutions rather than in nation-building and the trauma it produces throughout time. Afterwards she started to focus on the history and trauma of repressed social groups, such as women textile labourers, poor Chinese mainlander men veterans, and prostitutes in the new Taiwan nation. She made a series of new works together entitled *Paotao wuyu* 寶島物語 (Treasure Island) comprising *Hsinchuang nuren te kushih* 新莊女人的故事 (Stories of Women from Hsinchuang, 1997), *Tienkung wushih yiouniao feikuo* 天空無事、有鳥飛過 (Birds Slide Over in the Sky, 1998), *Paotao pinkuan* 寶島賓館 (Formosa Club, 1998), and including an earlier and slightly different work *Pimei pinkuan* 比美賓館 (Taipei Fine Arts Motel, 1996).⁵²⁵ In making *Epitaph*, the artistic and national identities of the artist Wu Mali have undergone

⁵²⁵ For an explanation of *Treasure Island* and an introductory essay that maps out Wu Mali's work and artistic development from a feminist perspective, see Elsa Hsiang-chun Chen, 'My Skin is My Home/Nation', in *Wu Mali*, exhibition catalogue, Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, 2002.

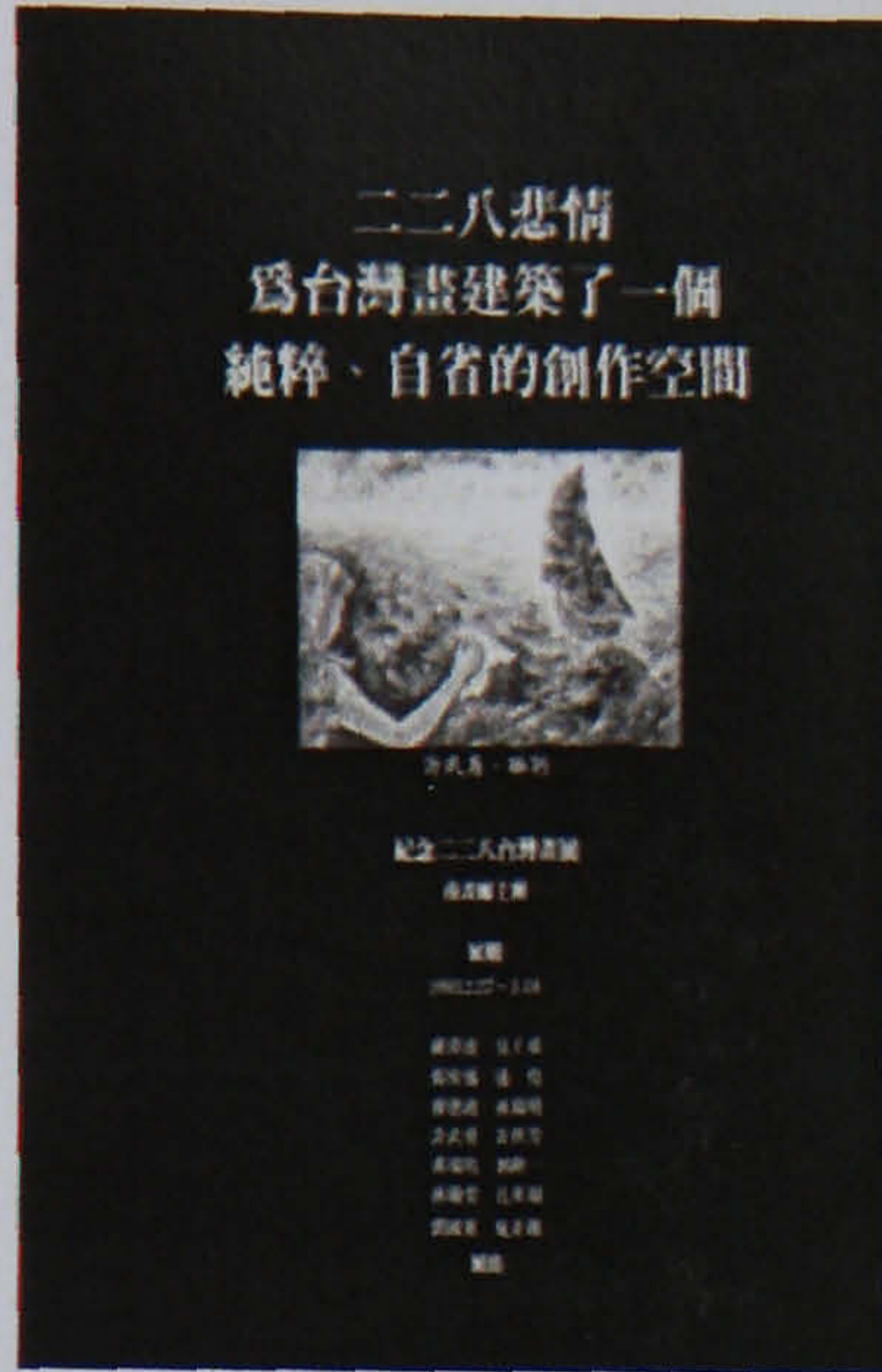
a transformation because of the way in which she explored a form of installation for encountering and transforming the unremembered – hence traumatic – non-memories of those women whose suffering, both immediate and post-KMT, the nationalist commemoration repeatedly obliterated. Thus both the gender and the forgotten and the feminine matrixial mode of aesthetic remembering in *Epitaph* converge to open new directions for her work.

Conclusion

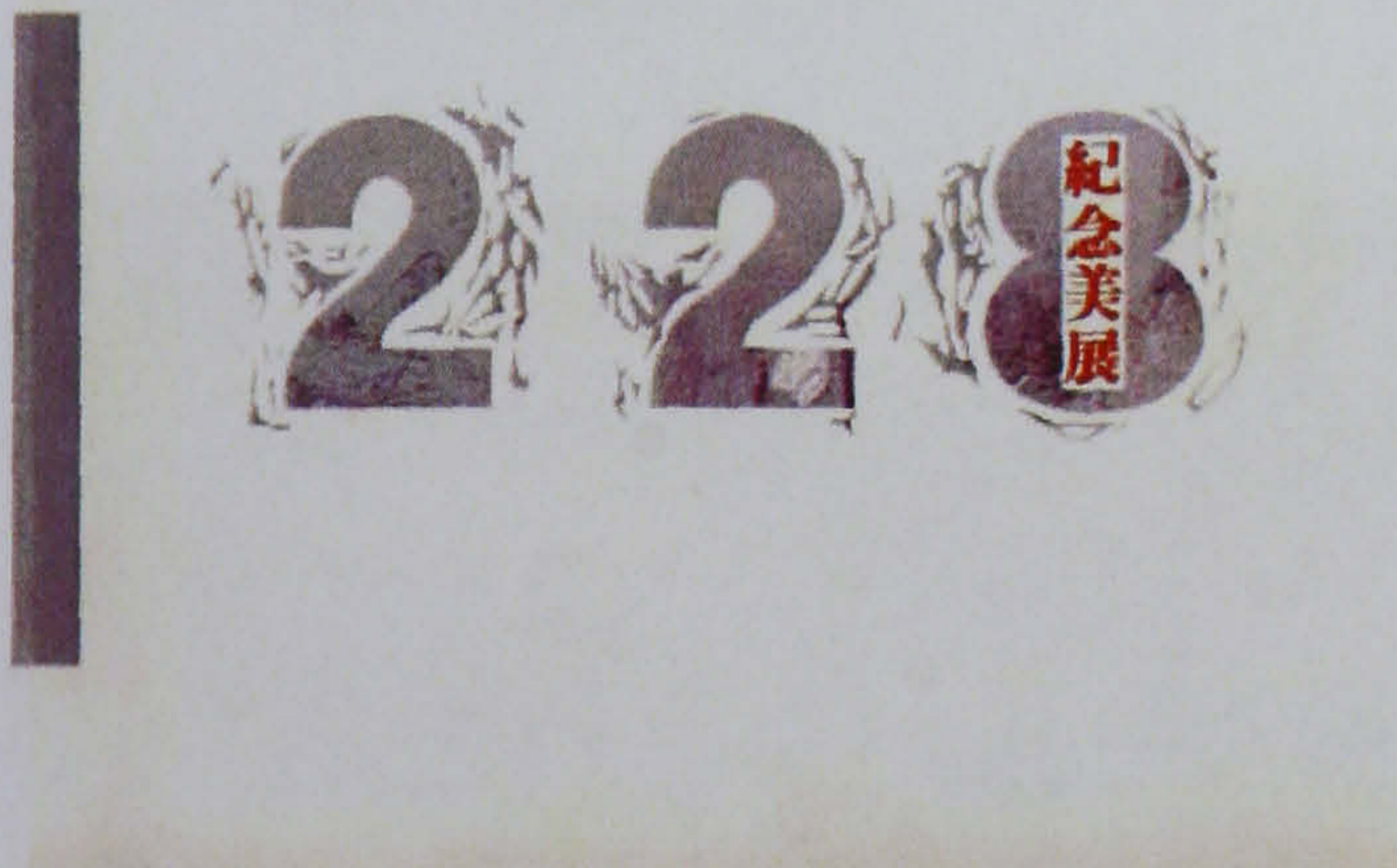
When my review of *Epitaph* was first published in 1999, there were only a few paragraphs. I did not expect I would write on it again and again at such length. I realise I did not only write on and about it, but also to and with it. I had been working and growing with it. For me, the experience was very much like ‘wit(h)nessing trauma’ in Bracha Ettinger’s words. I felt for and with the work and processed it in my writing. At the same time, it continued to reveal something new to me and inside me, and led me to another level of writing, trauma processing.

I believe that writing a contemporary (Taiwanese) art history requires a similar approach and effort. Contemporary (Taiwanese) art contains a fascinating and unknown world that travels with time, space and people. It always challenges what we have known and dismantles what we have established. To write a contemporary (Taiwanese) art history relies not on ‘playing with’ trendy, canonised contemporary cultural theories as ‘simply research methods’, but on keeping up the same openness mobilised by ‘a touching wit(h)nessing gaze.’ Only through such openness, can we start to grasp the very complexity and transitivity of contemporary art. Only through such openness, can we start to engage with pain, loss, and the unknown of the other and rethink and shift the boundaries of the world that subject people to such injustice.

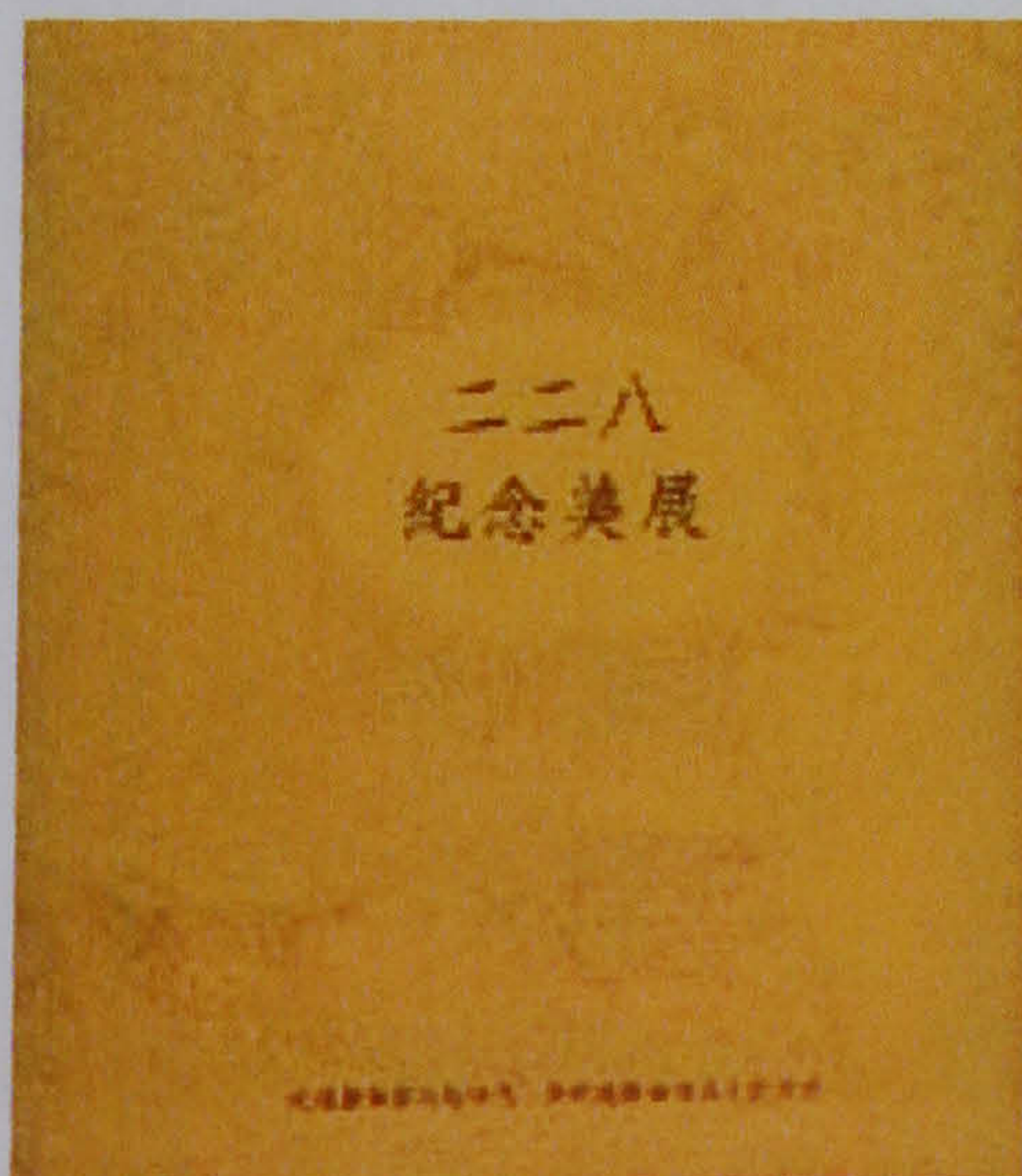
Plates



2.1 Nan Gallery, *Commemorating 2-28*, 1993, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.2 Eslite Gallery, *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*, 1993, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.3 Dimension Art Centre, *The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*, 1995, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.4 Chen Ch'eng-po, *Chang-hua Folklore Museum*, oil on canvas, 27x22cm, collection of the artist's family, 1934.



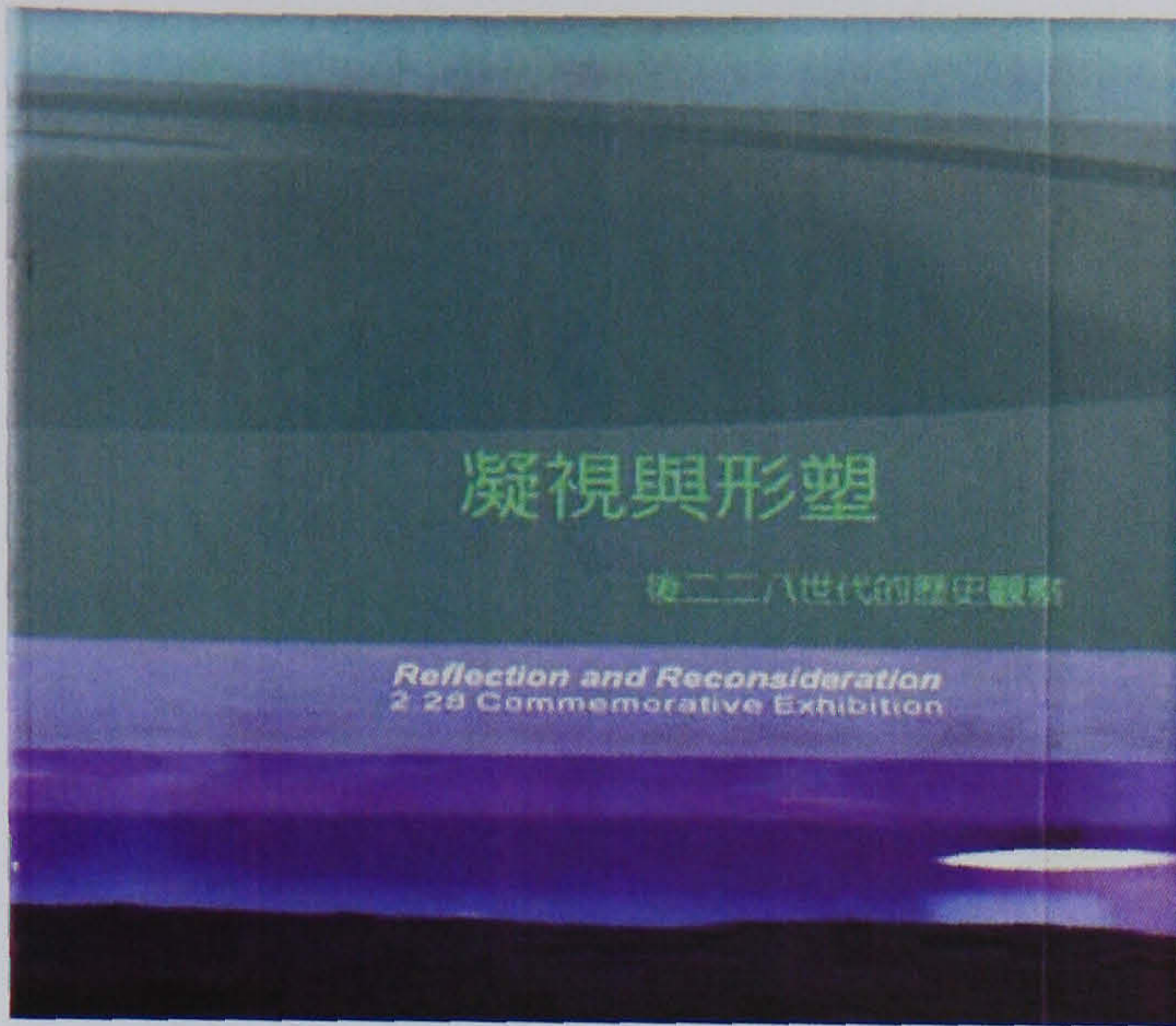
2.5 Liao Te-cheng, *Overlooking the Sea*, oil on canvas, 45.5x33cm, collection of the artist 1992.



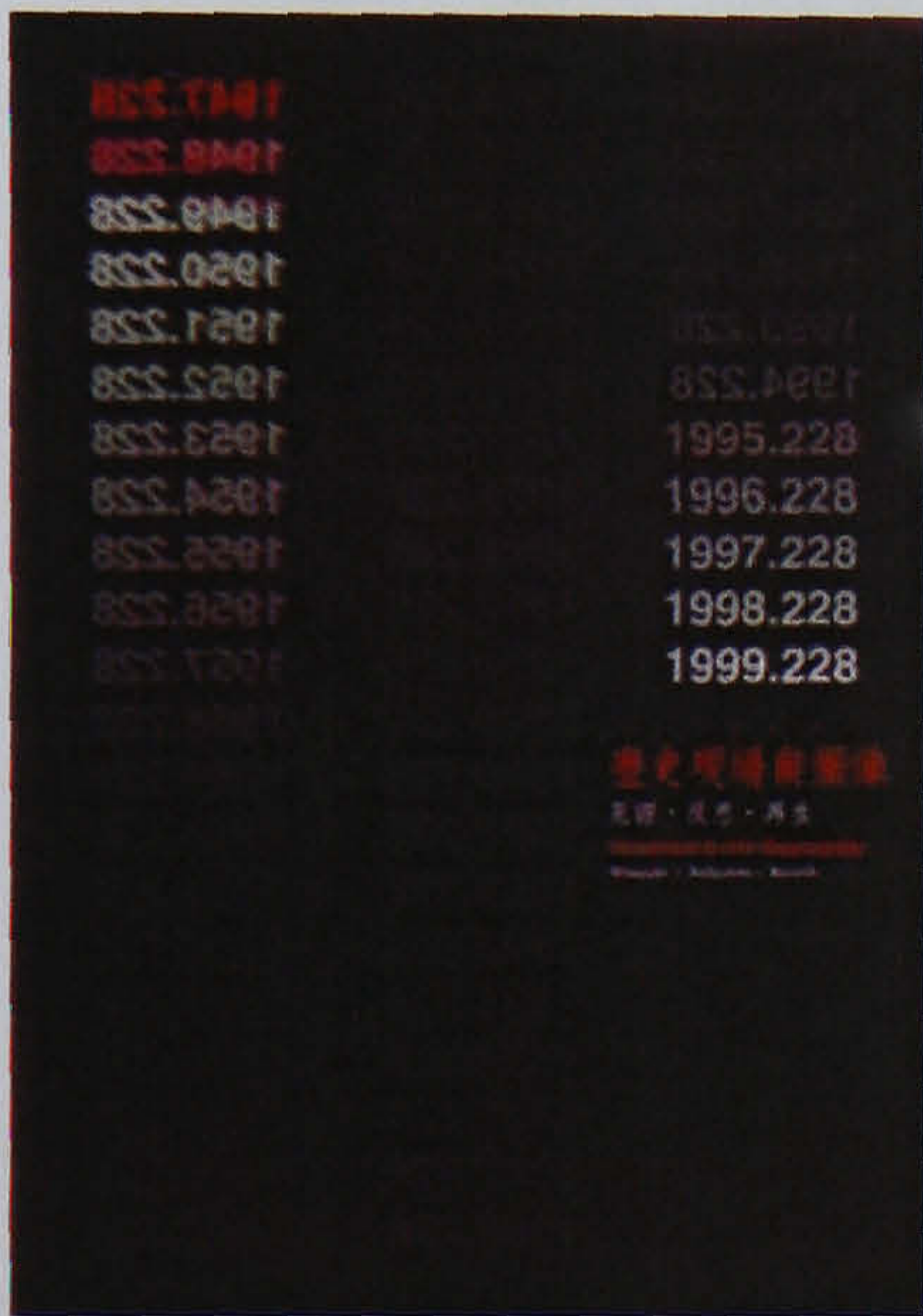
2.6 Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Remembrance and Reflection*, 1996, exhibition catalogue cover.



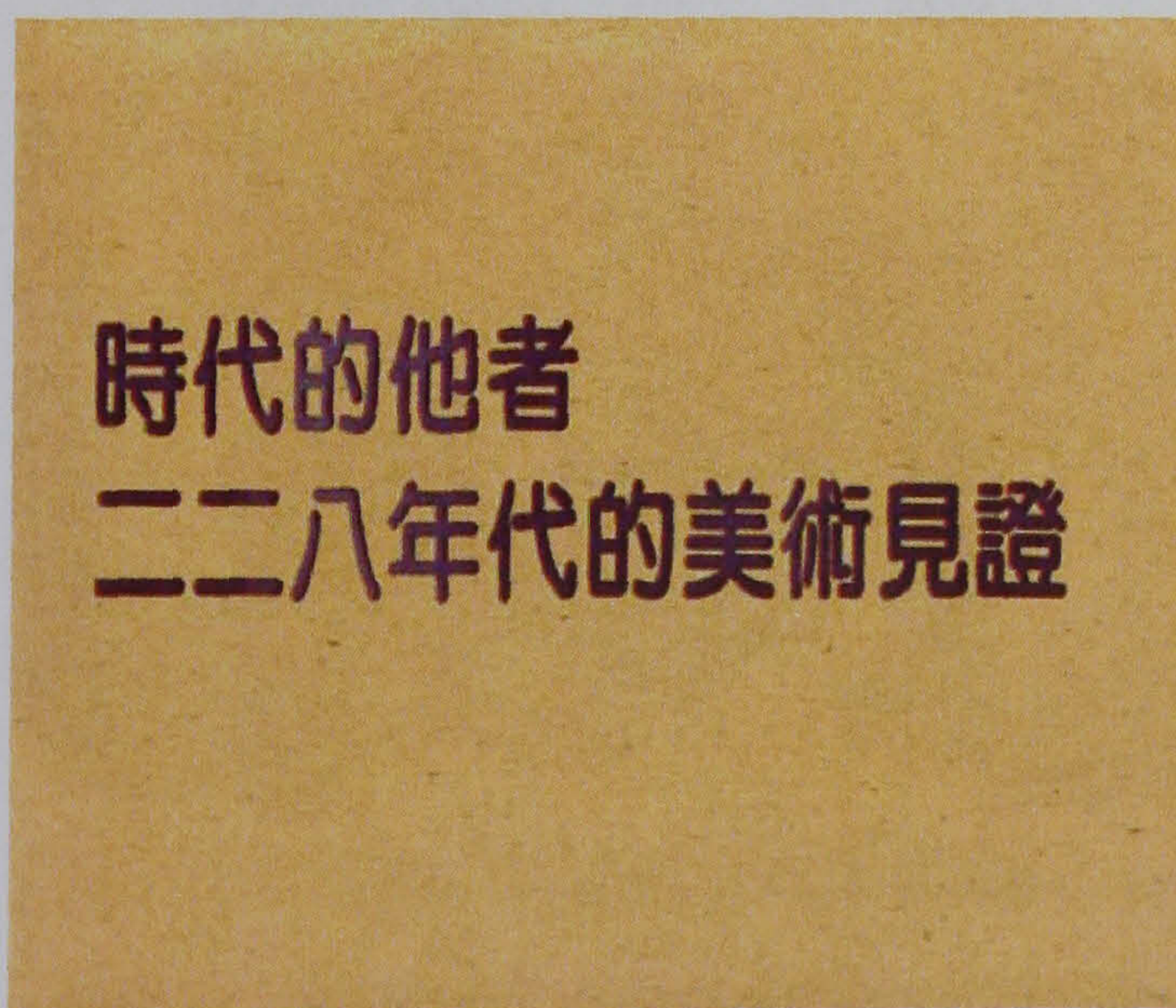
2.7 Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Sadness Transformed*, 1997, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.8 Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Reflection and Reconsideration*, 1998, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.9 Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Historical Event Remapping: Witnesses, Reflections and Revivals*, 1999, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.10 Taiwan Museum of Art, *Time's Other: Witnesses of the Era of the 2-28 Incident in Art*, 1999, exhibition catalogue cover.



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Huang Rong-Tsai (Li Chun), *The Terrifying Inspection--The 1947 Feb.28 Uprising*, Woodblock Print
1947

2.11 Huang Rong-ts'an, *The Horrible Inspection*, woodcut print, unknown details, 1947.



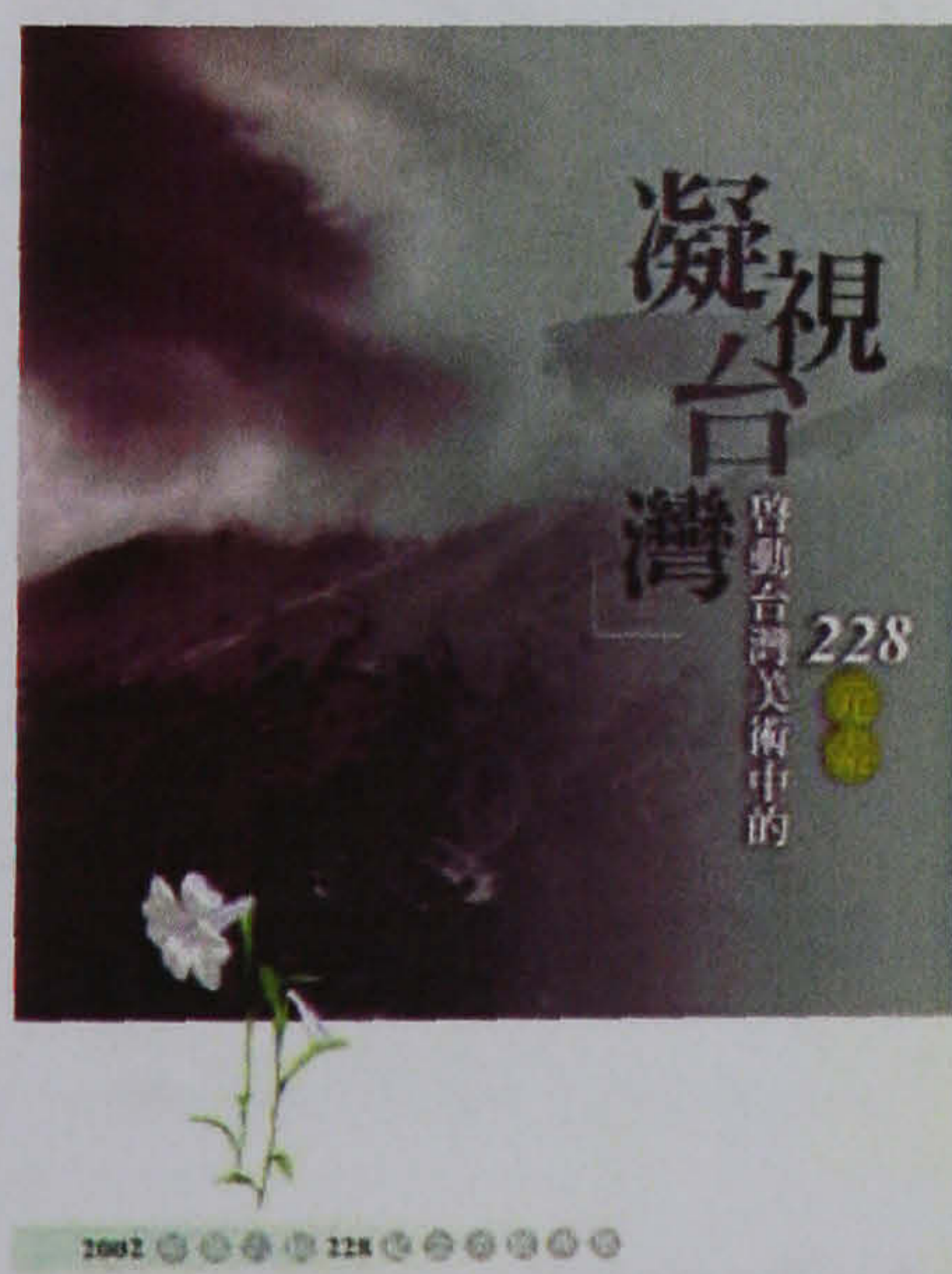
2.12 Chu Ming-kang, *Food Stall*, woodcut print, 19x27.7cm, 1946.



2.13 Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum, *Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families*, 2000, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.14 Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, *Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition*, 2000, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.15 Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, *Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art*, 2002, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.16 Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, *Recovering Memory, Transcending Pain and Restoring Justice: Reflect on History to Build Consciousness for Taiwan*, 2003, exhibition catalogue cover.



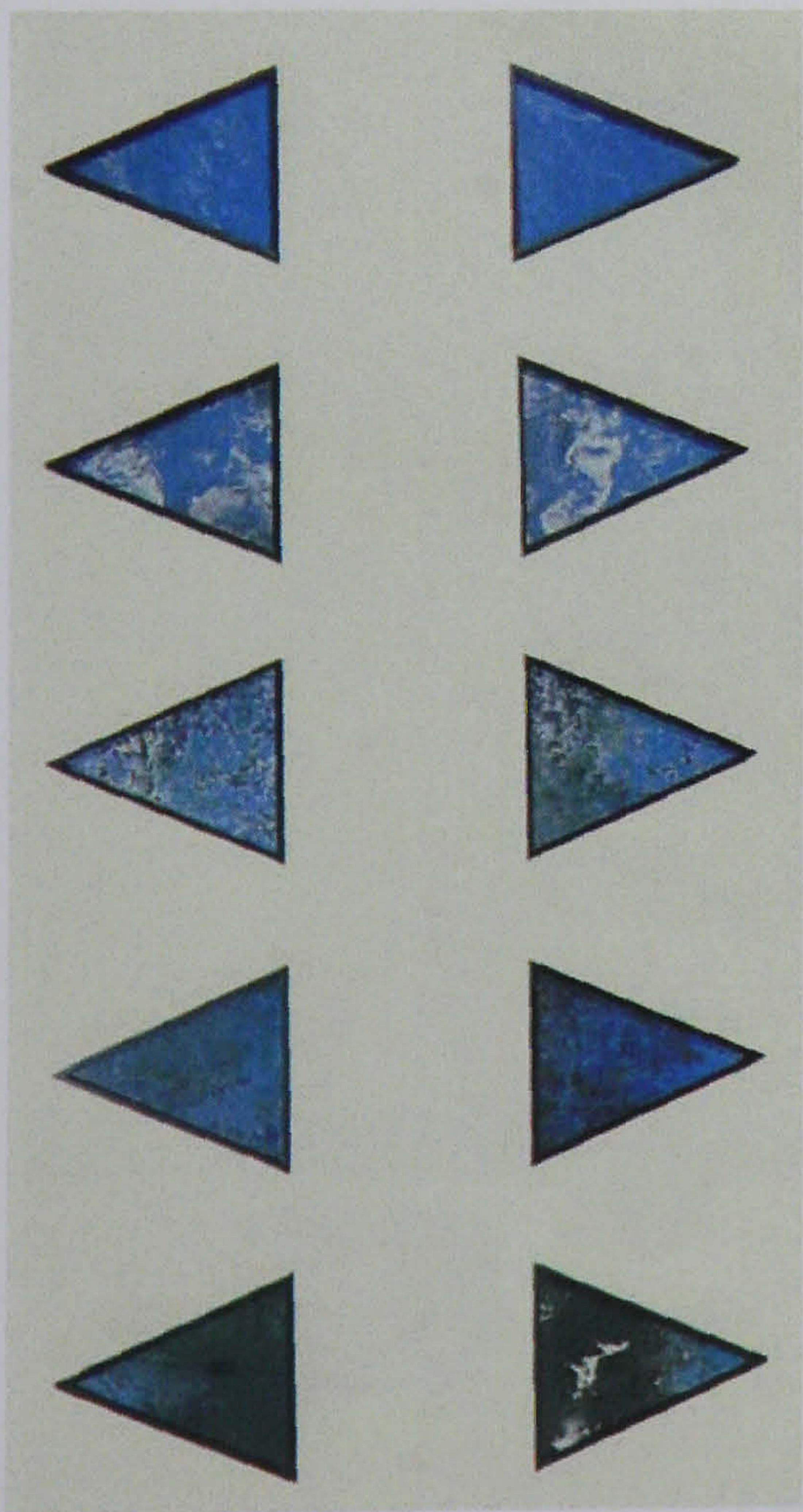
2.17 Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, *Paint My Value, Write My Respect*, 2004, exhibition catalogue cover.



2.18 Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, *Longing, Yearning, Where am I*, 2005, exhibition catalogue cover.



3.1 Chang, Yi-hsiung, *One Century*, oil on canvas, 72.8x53cm, collection of the artist, 1996.



3.2 Liu, Kuo-sung, *Harmony, Not Conflict*, ink and colour on paper, 300x150cm, collection of the artist, 1997.



3.3 Liao, Te-cheng, *Spring Again*, oil on canvas, 91x72.5cm, collection of Mr. Liao Chi-pin, 1997.



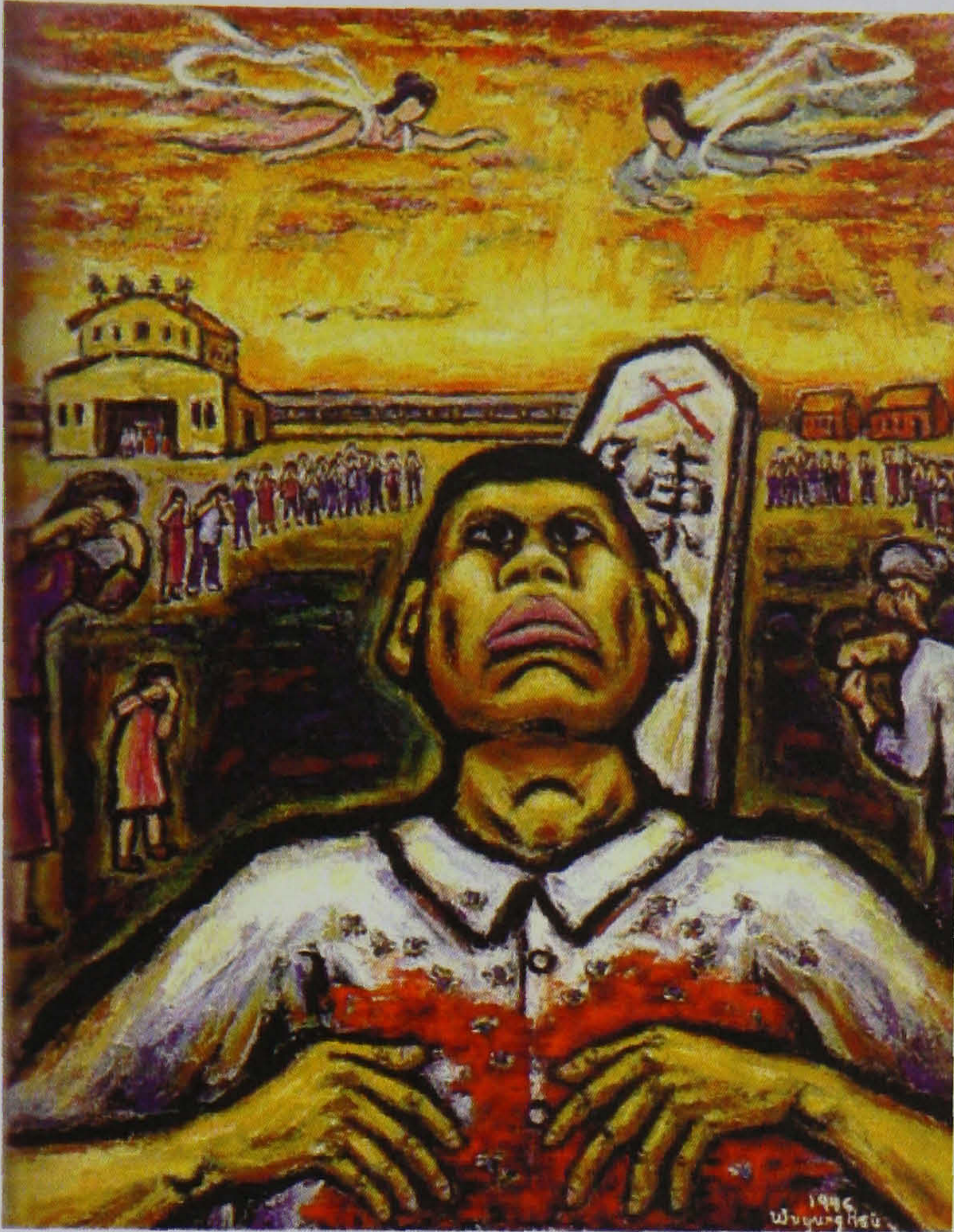
3.4 Su Hsin-tien, *Recreating the Scene*, mixed media installation, 300x300x150cm, collection of the artist, 1997.



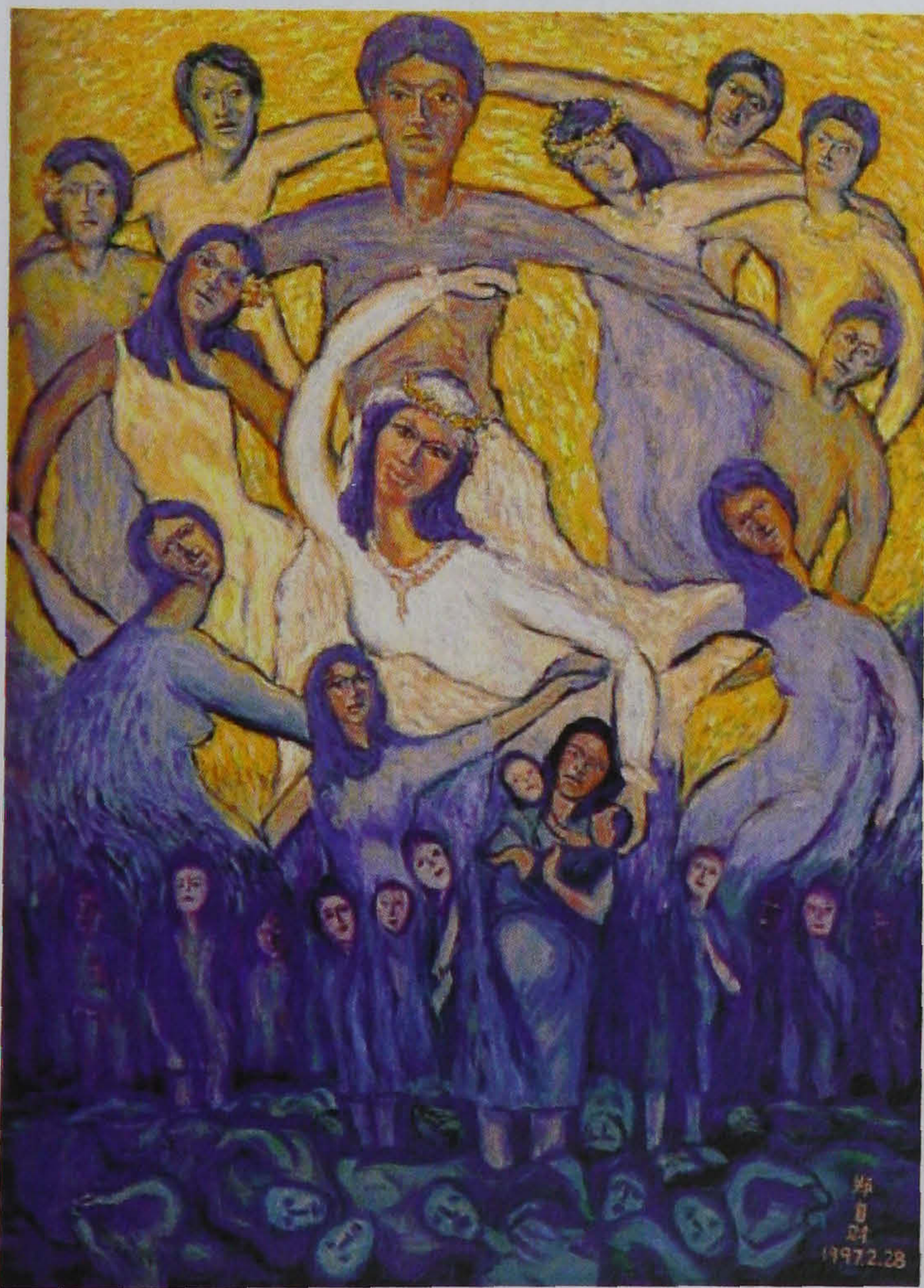
3.5 Lin Sien-mo, *Sadness*, oil on canvas, 122x122cm, collection of the artist, 1996



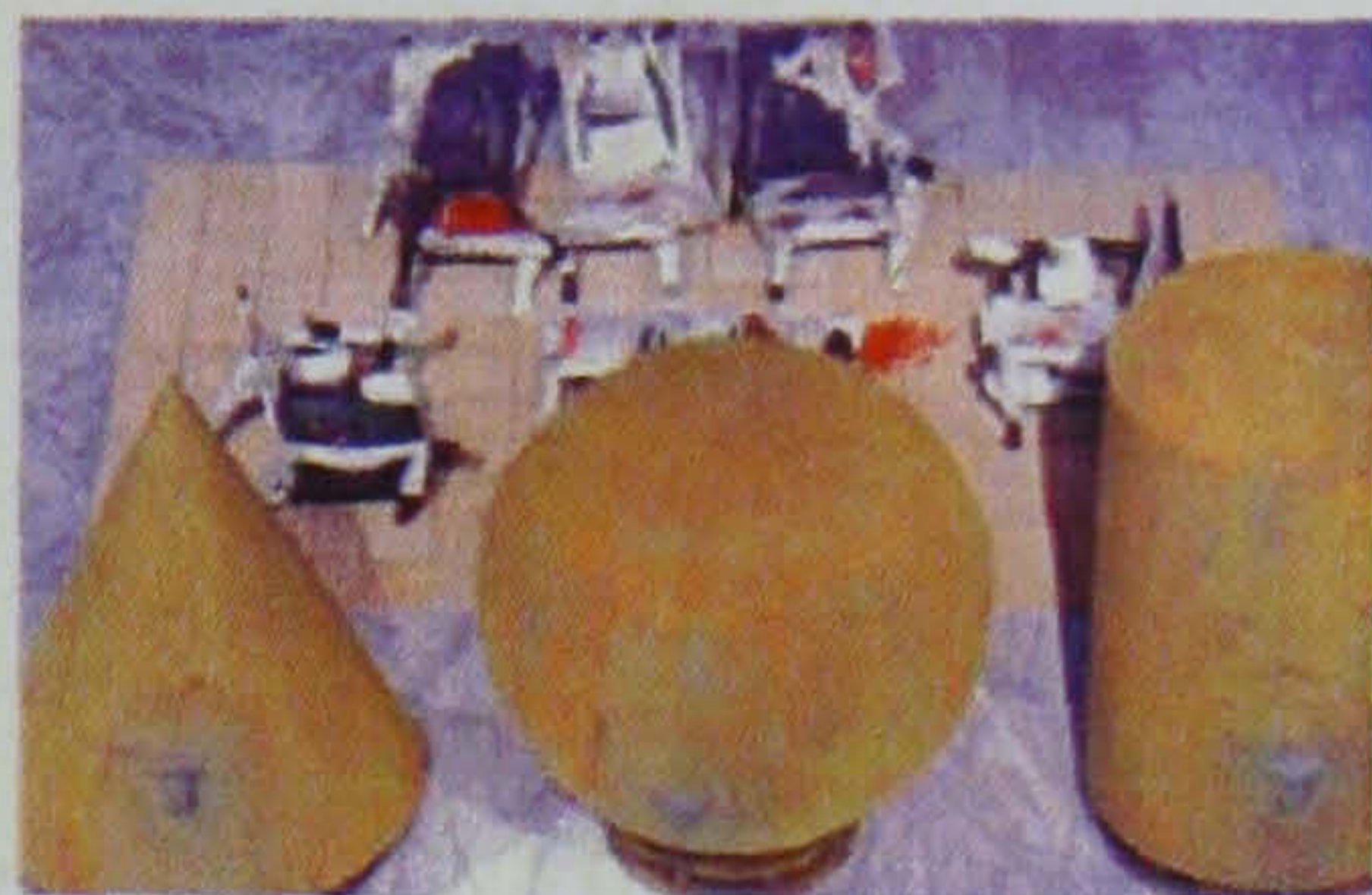
3.6 Shih Ping-hsi, *City of Sadness*, oil on canvas, 194x130cm, collection of the artist, 1994



3.7 Hsu Wu-yung, *Die Hard*, oil on canvas, 91x72.5cm, collection of the artist, 1996.



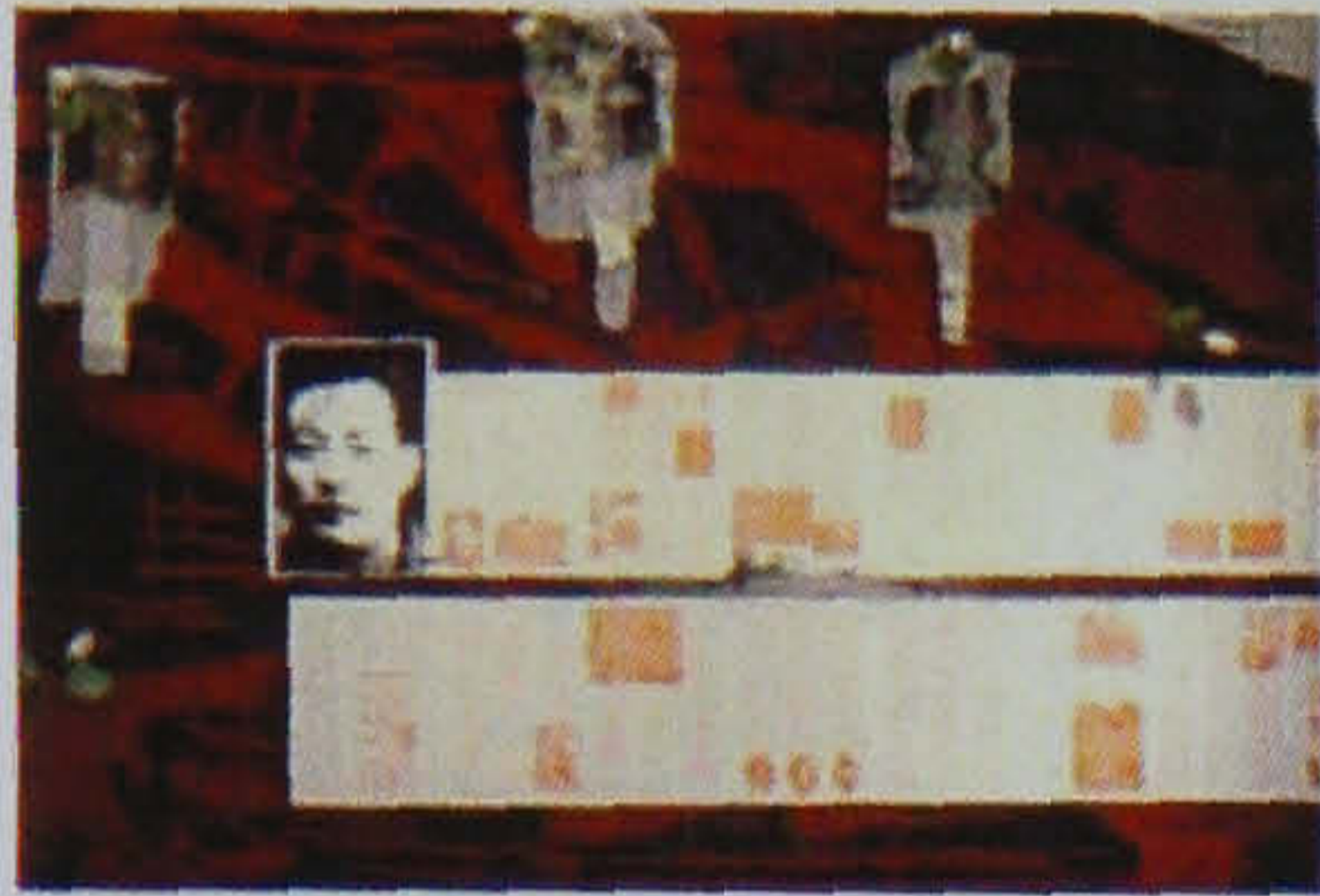
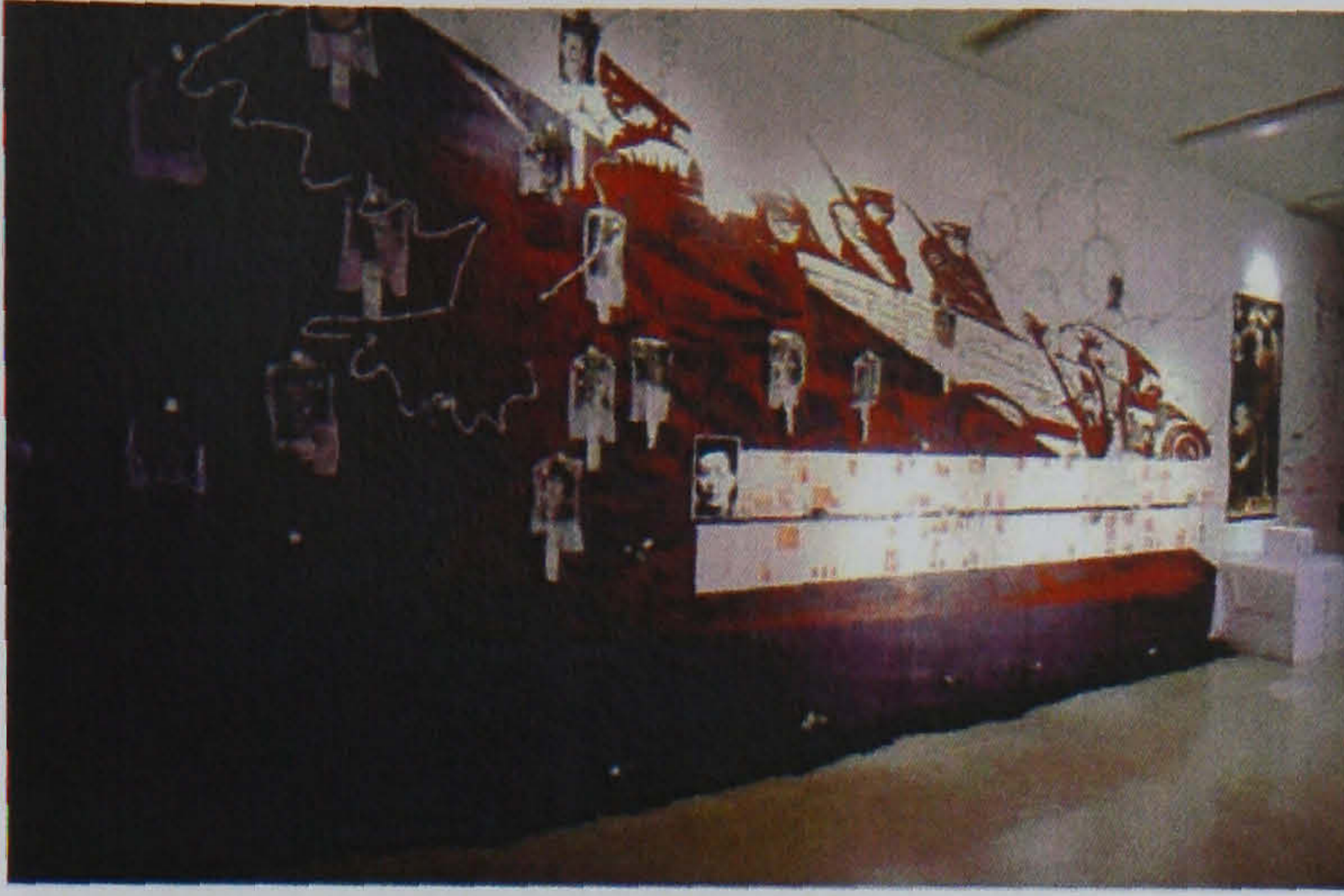
3.8 Cheng Tzu-ts'ai, *Sweet Potato Planted*, oil on canvas, 122x155cm, 91x72.5cm, collection of the artist, 1997.



3.9 Hsieh Li-fa, *Monument to the Victim's Family*, mixed media, 400x300x180cm, collection of the artist, 1997



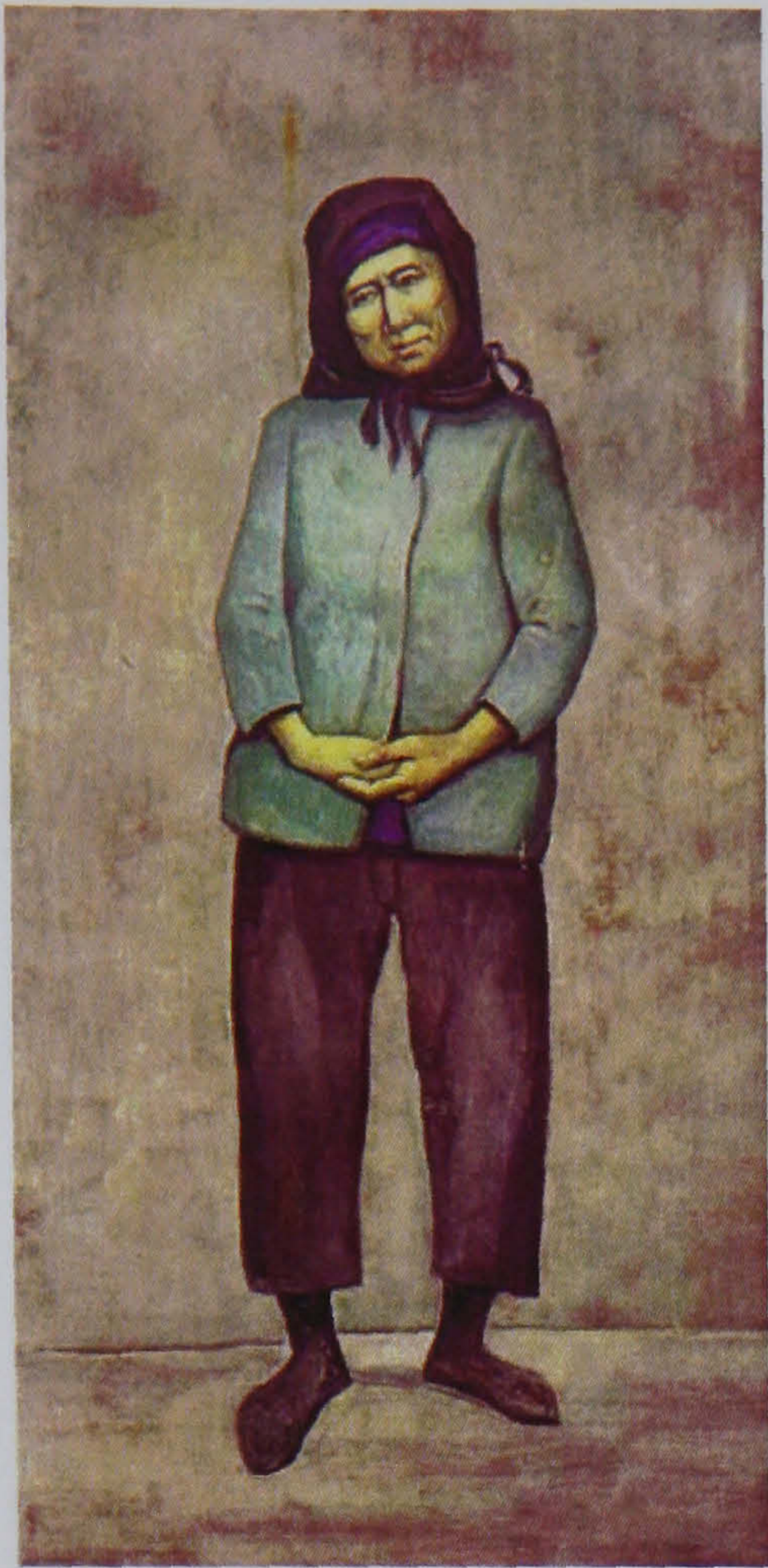
3.10 Hsu Tzu-kui, *Mother*, paper pulp and oil, 190x108cm, collection of the artist, 1986.



3.11 Mei Dean-e, *Salute to Mr. Huang Rong-ts'an*, mixed media installation, collection of the artist, 1996.



3.12 Lai Wu-hsiung, *Days of Emptiness*, oil on canvas, 160x111cm, collection of the artist, 1986.



3.13 Chen Chin-jung, *Old Lady of Penghu, Looking for Your Early Return*, colour pigment on cement, 183x92cm, Collection of the Artist, 1983.



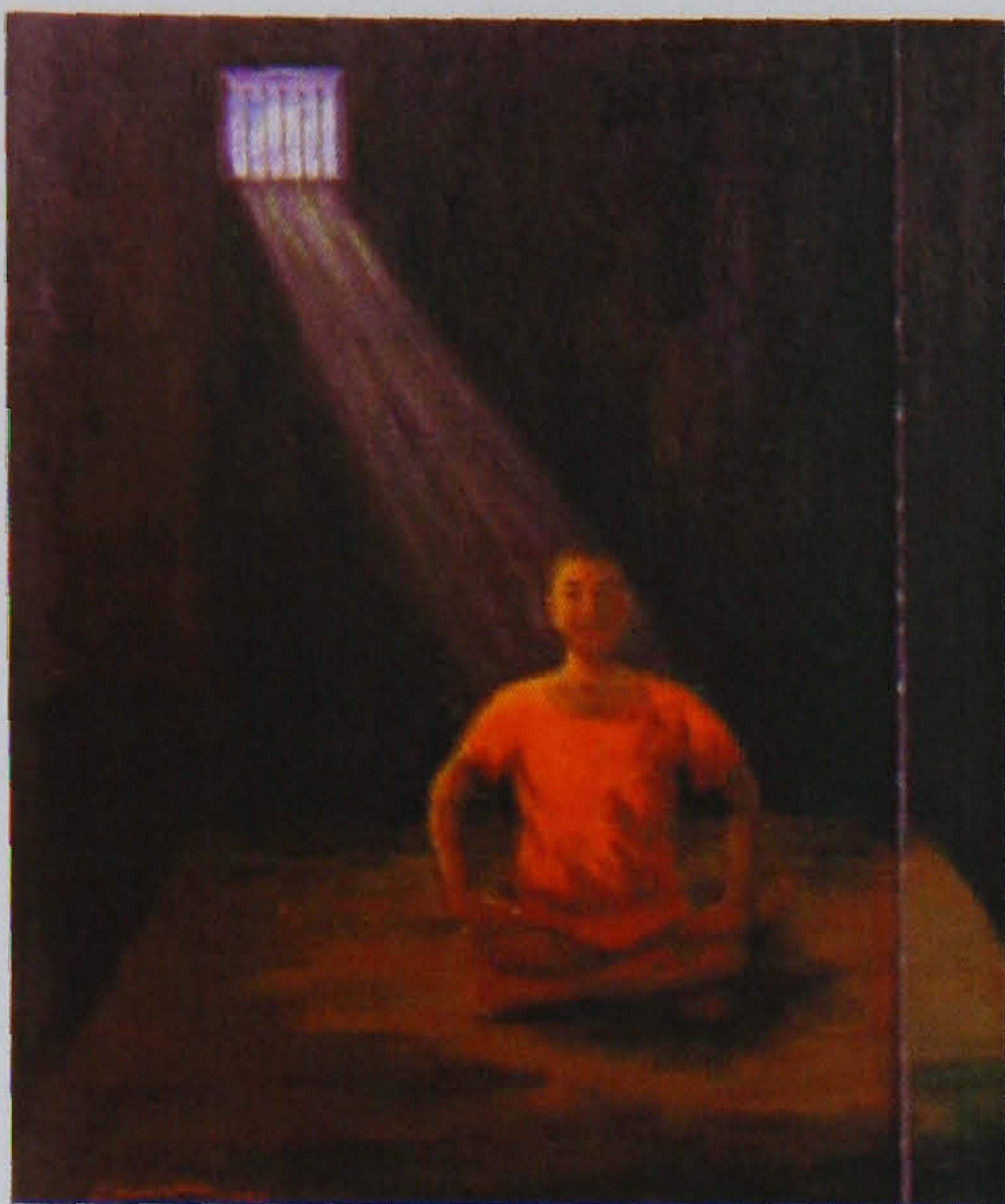
3.14 Lu Hsien-ming, *Realization*, mixed media, 227x190x100cm, collection of the artist, 1996.



3.15 Liu Keng-yi, *Crying Dawn*, oil on canvas, 162.2x130.3cm, collection of the artist, 1996.



3.16 Ouyang Wen, *Revival*, oil on canvas, 53x45cm, collection of Mr. Chen Shih-ti, 1996.



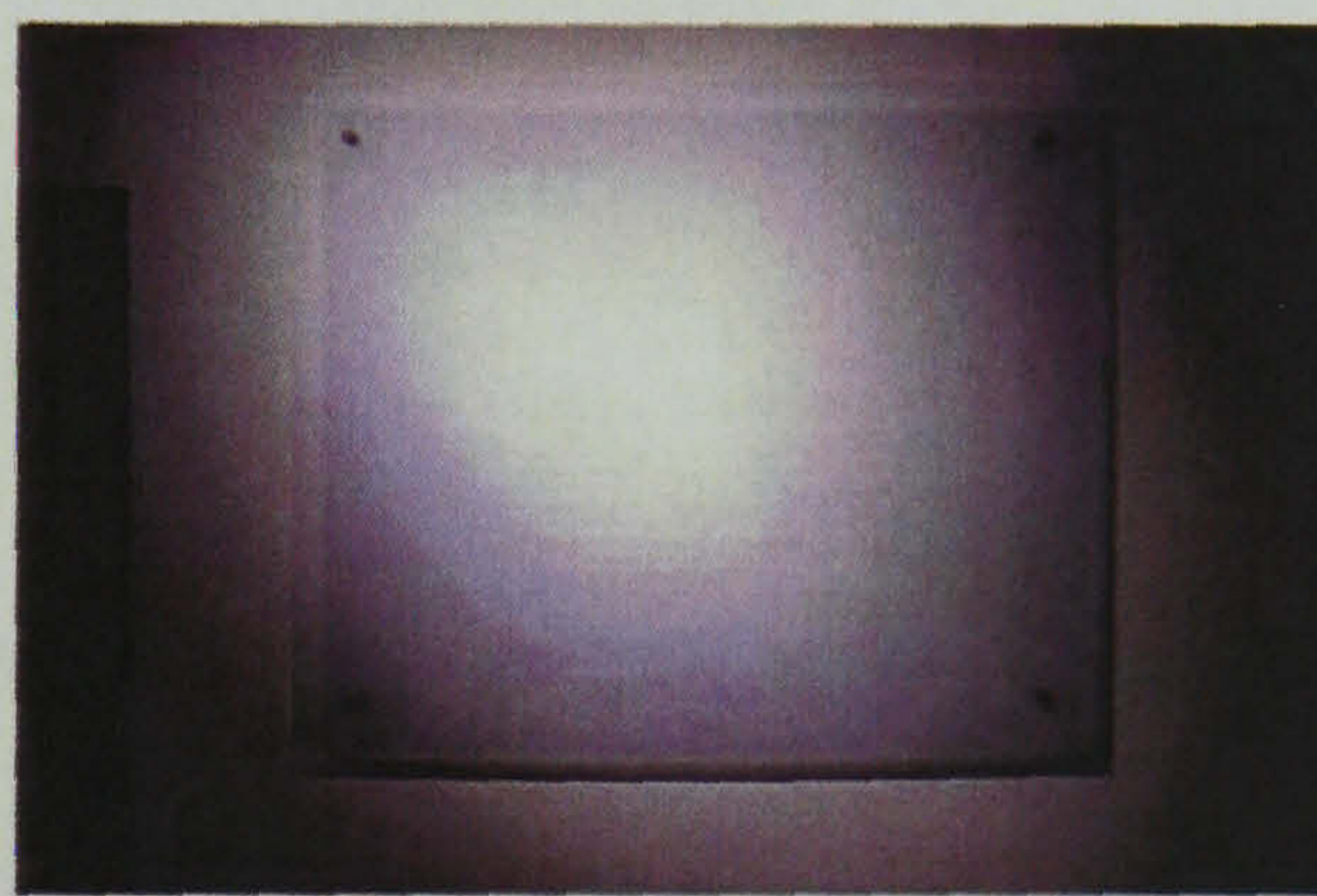
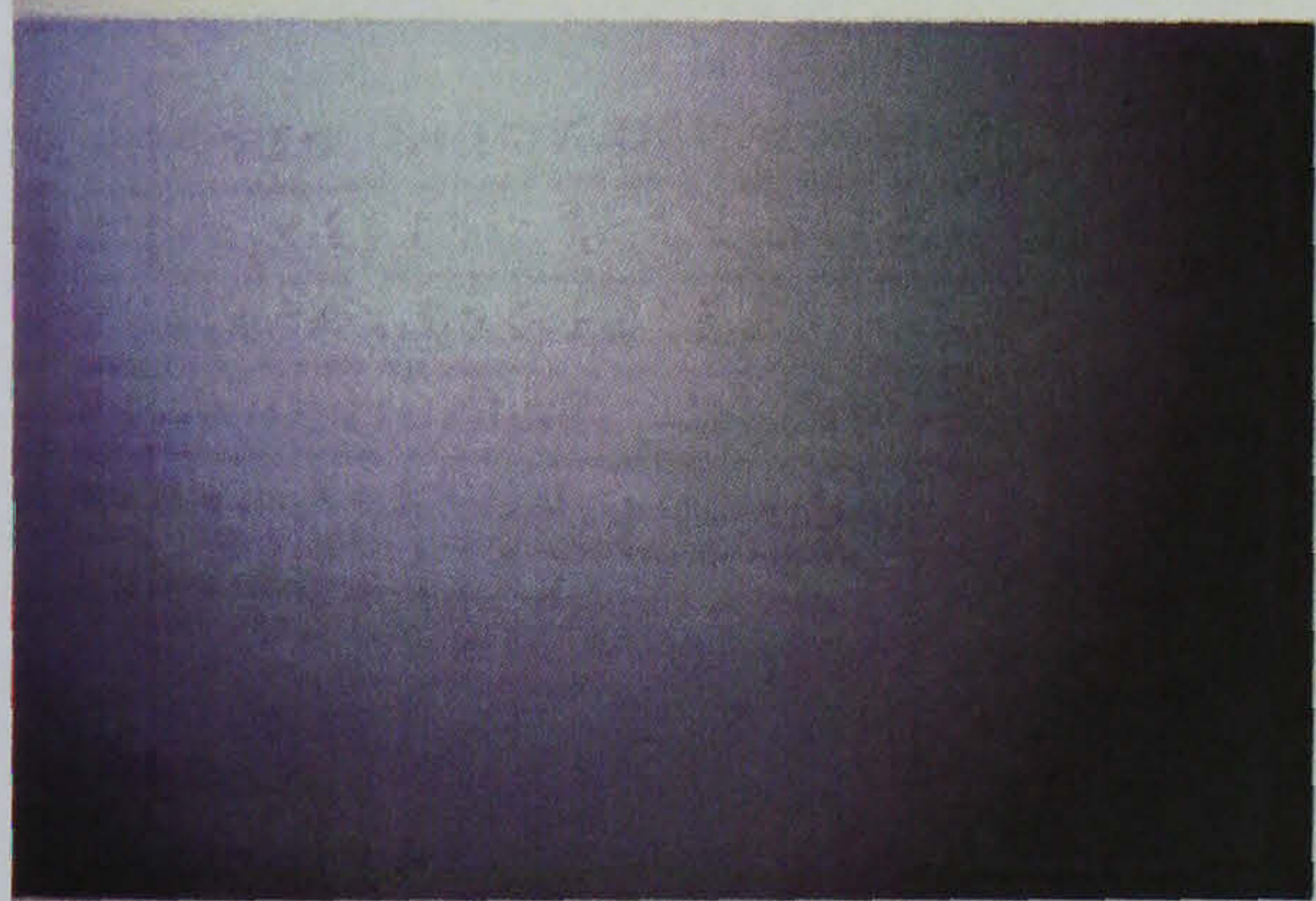
3.17 Ouyang Wen, *Waiting for God's Will*, oil on canvas, 65x53cm, collection of the artist, 1993.



3.18 Ouyang Wen, *Prosperity*, Oil on canvas, 72.5x60.5cm, collection of the artist, 2004.



3.19 Ouyang Wen, *From Dim to Brightness*, Oil on canvas, 72.5x53cm, collection of the artist, 2004.



她以眼淚洗清屍體。待辦完喪事，親友都回去了。終於放聲大哭：父啊——怕！父啊——我怕！男人的歷史改寫了——暴民可以變成英雄。女人的故事呢？她，拋掉所有遺物，從此絕口不再提起，也不再打扮。她，洗髮淨身，坐在家中等待，有一決生死的準備。她，被強姦，自形慚穢，留下孩子六個，跑走了。她，身兼數職維持生計，孩子六個，從剛出生到十歲。她，常常在哭，但只躲在背後哭，恐懼如影隨形。她，在暗啞禁聲中，度過了一生。她，是複數形式的女人。她的憂傷也一直是我們的憂傷。

4.1 Wu Mali, *Epitaph*, mixed media installation, collection of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1997.



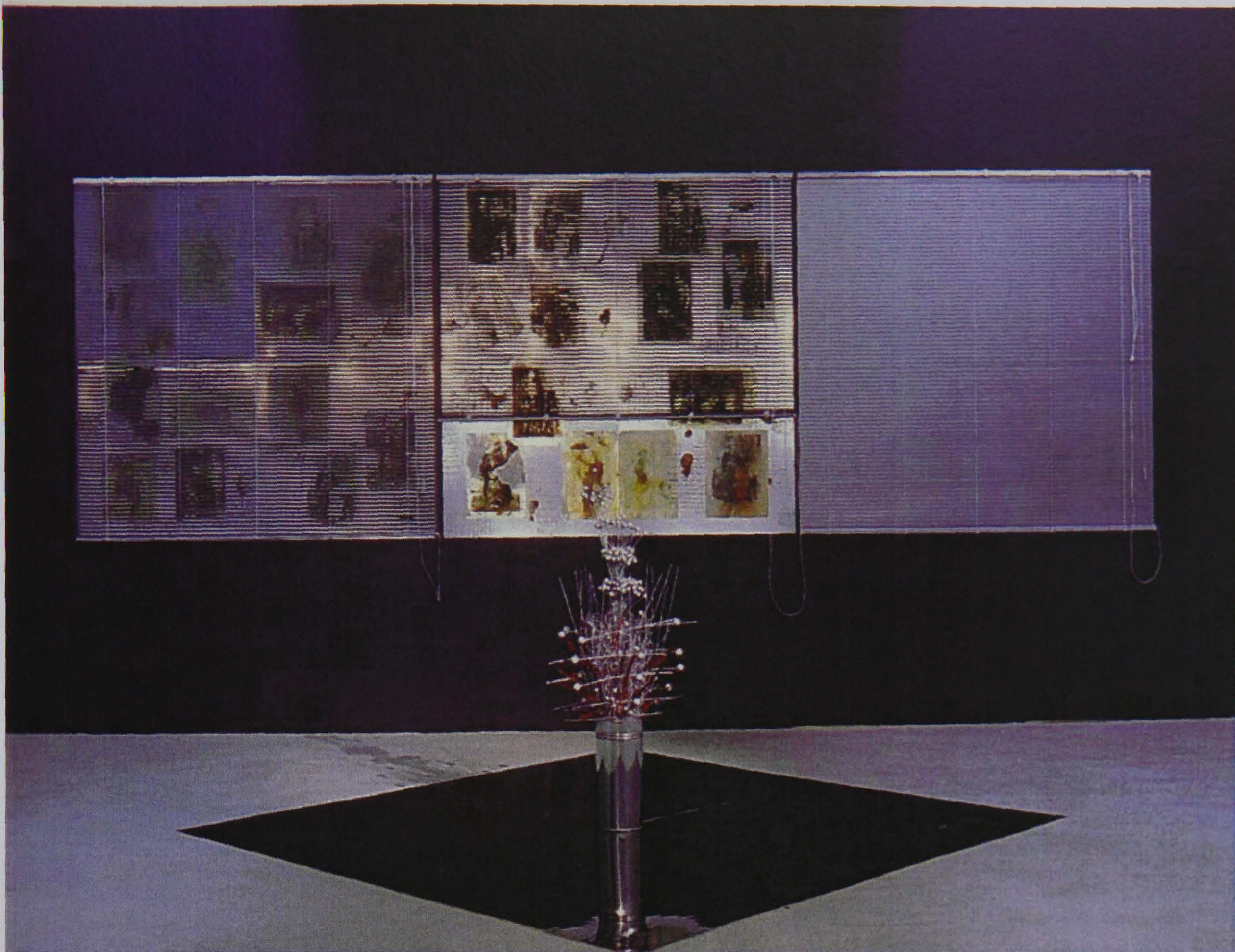
4.2 Lin Wen-ch'iang, *Mother of the Great Earth*, oil on canvas and wood, 227x182cm (painting) and 65cm height (sculpture) , collection of the Artist and Asia Art Centre, 1996.



4.3 Liu Hsiu-mei, *Road to Destruction*, oil on canvas, 162x130cm, collection of Mr. Chang Chien-long.



4.4 Cheng Shih-fan, *The Forgotten Women*, oil on canvas, 50x75cm, collection of the artist, 1997.



4.5 Lin Pey-chwen, *Black (crying) wall, Inside and Outside the Window*, mixed media installation, collection of the artist, 1997.



4.6 Chien Fu-yu, *History of Women History is Beyond History*, mixed media installation, collection of the artist, 1983-96.



6.1 Tsai Hai-ru, *Untitled*, mixed media installation, collection of the artist, 1997.

Appendix 1: A Selected List of 2-28 Historical and Cultural Representations in Taiwan

(1) A Historical and Analytical Overview

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- 1958 Liao Wen-yi 廖文毅, *Taiwan minpen chuyi* 台灣民本主義 (Taiwanese People-orientationism), Tokyo: Taiwan People Press.
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(7) 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibitions

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Appendix 2: A Timeline of the Establishment of 2-28 Memorials, Memorial Parks and Memorial Museums

- 1987.1.23 2-28 Peace Day Association
- 1989.8.19 2-28 Memorial, Chia-yi City
- 1992.2.28 2-28 Memorial, Ping-tung County
- 1993.2.28 2-28 Memorial, Kaohsiung City
2-28 Memorial, Kangshan of Kaohsiung County
2-28 Memorial Park (next to 2-28 Memorial, Kangshan of Kaohsiung County)
2-28 Memorial, Taipei City (no epitaph because of severe disputes over its content)
- 1993.10 2-28 Memorial, Tainan City
- 1994.2.28 2-28 Memorial, Ling-pian of Ping Tung County
- 1994.7.16 2-28 Memorial, Pa-tu Railway Station of Keelung City
- 1995.2.28 Taipei 2-28 Memorial
2-28 Memorial Park, San-chung City of Taipei County
Juan Mei-shu 2-28 Archives
- 1995.6.15 2-28 Memorial, Taichung City
- 1995.10.7 2-28 Memorial Foundation, the Executive Yuan (established according to the *2-28 Compensation and Rehabilitation Act* passed on April 7, 1995)
- 1996.2.28 2-28 Memorial, Tainan County
New Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial, Memorial Park and Memorial Museum (next to the old Chia-yi 2-28 Memorial)
2-28 Memorial, Ali Mountain of Chia-yi County
Taipei New Park was renamed as Taipei 2-28 Peace Park (next to Taipei 2-28 Memorial)
2-28 Memorial, Keelung City
- 1997.2.28 Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum (next to Taipei 2-28 Memorial)
2-28 Memorial, Hualien County
- 1998.2.28 2-28 Memorial, on the site where the 2-28 Incident firstly took place, Taipei City
- 1999.2.28 2-28 Memorial, Taoyuan County
Mingsheng Park was renamed as Tang Te-chang Memorial Park, Tainan City
- 2000.11.14 2-28 Memorial, Kukeng of Yunlin County

- 2001.2-28 2-28 Memorial, Providence University of Taichung County
- 2001.8.1 2-28 Memorial, Taichung County
- 2002.2.28 2-28 Memorial, San-chung City of Taipei County
ASAHIY 2-28 Peace Memorial Museum, Ling-pian of Pingtung County
- 2003.8.9 2-28 Memorial, Taichung City
- 2004.2.28 2-28 Memorial, Hsinchu City
2-28 Memorial, Yilan City
- 2004.4.29 2-28 Memorial, Nantou County

Source:

ASAHIY 2-28 Peace Memorial Museum 阮朝日紀念館(ed.), *Taiwan 2-28 chinienpei t'uchi* 台灣二二八紀念碑圖集(2-28 Memorials in Taiwan), Lin-pian, Ping-tung: ASAHIY 2-28 Peace Memorial Museum, 2004.

全台二二八紀念碑一覽表

建碑日期	紀念碑	座落地點	碑文撰寫者	意義
一九八九·八·十九	嘉義市彌陀路二二八紀念碑	嘉義市彌陀路、忠義路口		事件發生的年代與日期
一九九二·二·二八	屏東縣二二八紀念碑	屏東縣中山公園	台灣大學 鄭欽仁教授	事件猶如冰山一角；竹筍破土而出，論台灣人民歷劫再生，無畏壓迫
一九九三·二·二八	高雄市二二八紀念碑	高雄市壽山公園	高雄市二二八和平紀念碑籌建委員會	相聚、癒合、圓融
一九九三·二·二八	高雄縣二二八紀念碑	高雄岡山鎮和平公園	高雄縣長 余陳月瑛	公義與和平、族群間和睦相處、互相融合
一九九四·二·二八	屏東林邊鄉二二八紀念碑	屏東林邊鄉河濱公園	鄭進明 先生	癒合中的傷口
一九九四·七·十六	八堵站罹難員工紀念碑	八堵火車站	受難者籌建委員會	蒸汽火車頭的雕塑訴說受難時空背景
一九九三·十	台南市二二八紀念碑	台南市五期重劃區	台南市長 施治明	民之傷
一九九五·二·二八	台北二二八紀念碑	台北市二二八和平紀念公園	財團法人二二八事件紀念基金會	悼念、撫慰、和諧、寬容、公義、光明、團結
一九九五·六·十五	台中市二二八紀念碑	台中市東峰公園	林耀呈 先生	二二八事件的過去、現在與未來
一九九六·二·二八	台南縣二二八紀念碑	台南新營市綜合體育場	縣長 陳唐山	愛與尊嚴
一九九六·二·二八	嘉義市新二二八紀念碑	嘉義市大雅路、啟明路口	市長 張文英	撫平歷史的傷口、訴說台灣命運是共同體

一九九六·二·二八	基隆市二二八紀念碑	基隆市中正公園海門天險旁	市長 許財利、基隆市二二八關懷協會	精英鮮血的昇華
一九九六·八	嘉義達邦鄉二二八紀念碑	嘉義達邦鄉公所前	鄉長 石信忠	事件發生的年代與日期
一九九七·二·二八	花蓮縣二二八紀念碑	花蓮市北濱公園	花蓮縣二二八關懷協會	永不磨滅的傷痕記憶
一九九八·二·二八	二二八事件引爆地紀念碑	台北市南京西路一八三號前	台北市文獻委員會	紀念第一聲槍響的歷史現場
一九九九·二·二八	湯德章紀念碑	湯德章紀念公園	台南市文史協會	表彰湯德章先生義行
一九九九·二·二八	桃園縣二二八紀念碑	桃園蘆竹鄉中福村二二八紀念公園	桃園縣縣長 呂秀蓮	雙手合心、光明和諧、滴血省思
二〇〇〇·十一·十四	古坑二二八紀念碑	雲林古坑鄉崁腳村公墓	財團法人二二八事件紀念基金會、雲林縣古坑鄉公所	安息與悼念
二〇〇一·二·二八	台中縣二二八紀念碑	台中大里市國光公園		慈悲、博愛、和平
二〇〇一·五·三十	靜宜大學二二八紀念碑	靜宜大學文學院	張炎憲 教授	浴火鳳凰、重生
二〇〇二·十一·二八	三重市二二八紀念碑	三重市二二八和平公園	財團法人二二八事件紀念基金會	
二〇〇四·二·二八	新竹市二二八紀念碑	新竹市親水公園		
二〇〇四·二·二八	宜蘭二二八紀念碑	宜蘭運動公園		歷史之澄鏡
二〇〇四·四·二九	南投二二八紀念碑	埔里愛蘭橋		圓而不圓

Appendix 3: A List of 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibitions in Taiwan

Time of the Exhibition	Title of the Exhibition	Venue	Participating Artists	Host Institutions and Sponsors
2.20-3.7, 1993	<i>The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition</i> Curator: Liao Te-cheng	Eslite Gallery	A-Sun, Chan Fu-yun, Chang Chin-fa, Chang Hsiang-ming, Chang Jui-feng, Chang Yi-hsiung, Chen Che, Chen Cheng-hung, Chen Ch'eng-po, Chen Chin-fang, Chen Ching-jung, Chen Kuo-chan, Cheng Ming-chin, Cheng Shih-fan, Chen Tzai-nan, Chiang yi-heng, Ho Heng-hsiung, Ho Tzao-ch'u, Ho Wen-ch'i, Hsieh Li-fa, Hsu Shen-cho, Huang Chao-fang, Huang Chih-ting, Huang Kun-sheng, Huang O-po, Huang Yu-ch'eng, Kuo Ching-chih, Kuo Tung-jung, Lai Ch'uan-chien, Lai Wu-hsiung, Li Ch'in-hsien, Li Ke-ch'uan, Liao Te-cheng, Liao Hsiu-p'ing, Lin Chih-hsin, Lin Hsien-tzung, Lin Tien-jui, Lin Wen-ch'iang, Lin Yu-shan, Liu Ch'ang-fu, Liu Keng-yi, Luo Mei-tzan, Lu Yi-pin, Shih Ping-hsi (Vince Shih), Su Mao-sheng, P'an Huang, P'u Hou-ming, P'u Tien-Sheng, Su Chia-nan, Ts'ao Ken, Tzeng Mao-huang, Wang Chin-tang, Wang Sho-ying, Wu Wang-ch'eng, Wang Mei-hsing, Wang Sho-ning, Wen Chang-shun, Wu yung-ch'in	WACCSVF, Eslite Gallery
2.20-3.7, 1993	二二八紀念美展 策展人：廖德政	誠品畫廊	吳炫三、詹浮雲、張金發、張祥銘、張瑞峰、張義雄、陳哲、陳政宏、陳澄波、陳錦芳、陳景容、陳國展、鄭明進、鄭世璠、陳在南、江懿亨、何	二二八關懷聯合會、誠品畫廊

			恒雄、何肇衢、何文杞、謝里法、許深洲、黃照芳、黃植庭、黃琨生、黃鷗波、黃玉成、郭清治、郭東榮、賴傳鑑、賴武雄、李欽賢、李克全、廖德政、廖修平、林智信、林顯宗、林天瑞、林文強、林玉山、劉長富、劉耿一、羅美棧、呂義濱、施並錫、蘇茂生、潘煌、蒲浩明、蒲添生、蘇嘉男、曹根、曾茂煌、王錦堂、王守英、吳王承、王美幸、汪壽寧、溫長順、吳永欽	
2.27-3.14, 1993 #1	<i>Commemorating 2-28: An Exhibition of Taiwan Painting I</i> Curators: Huang Yu-ling, Lin Fu-nan	Nan Gallery	Chen Ch'eng-po, Cheng Shih-fan, Chiang Jui-k'eng, Hsu Wu-yung, Huang Chao-fang, K'ung Lai-fu, Liao Te-cheng, Lin Hsi-t'ang, Lin Jui-ming, Liu Keng-yi, Liu Kuo-tung, P'an Huang, Shih Ping-hsi (Vince Shih), Wu Wang-ch'eng	Nan Gallery
2.27-3.14, 1993 #1	紀念二二八台灣畫展之1 策展人—黃于玲、林復南	南畫廊	陳澄波、鄭世璠、蔣瑞坑、許武勇、黃照芳、孔來福、廖德政、林錫堂、林瑞明、劉耿一、劉國東、潘煌、施並錫、吳王承	南畫廊
2.26-3.14, 1994 #2	<i>Commemorating 2-28: An Exhibition of Taiwan Painting II</i> Curators: Huang Yu-ling, Lin Fu-nan	Nan Gallery	Chang Yi-hsiung, Chen Ch'eng-po, Liao Te-cheng, Lin Jui-ming, Liu Hsin-lu, Hsu Wu-yung, Ouyang Wen	Nan Gallery
2.26-3.14, 1994 #2	紀念二二八台灣畫展之2 策展人： 黃于玲、林復南	南畫廊	張義雄、陳澄波、廖德政、林瑞明、劉新祿、許武勇、歐陽文	南畫廊
2.22-3.12,	<i>Commemorating</i>	Nan Gallery	Chang Yi-hsiung, Chen Ch'eng-po,	Nan Gallery

1995 #3	2-28: <i>An Exhibition of Taiwan Painting III</i> Curators: Huang Yu-ling, Lin Fu-nan		Hsu Wu-yung, Kuo Tung-jung, Li Ch'in-hsien, Liao Te-cheng, Lin Jui-ming, Ouyang Wen	
2.22-3.12, 1995 #3	紀念二二八台灣畫展之3 策展人： 黃于玲、林復南	南畫廊	張義雄、陳澄波、許武勇、郭東榮、李欽賢、廖德政、林瑞明、歐陽文	南畫廊
2.25-3.19, 1995 (Taipei Venue) 3.21-3.31, 1995 (Kaohsiung Venue)	<i>The 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition</i> Curator: Liao Te-cheng	Dimension Art Center, Taipei Dimension Art Center, Kaohsiung	Chang Chin-fa, Chang Jui-feng, Chang Yi-hsiung, Chen Che, Chen Cheng-hung, Chen Ch'eng-po, Chen Chin-fang, Chen Ching-jung, Chen Kuo-chan, Chen Tzai-nan, Cheng Chien-ch'ang, Cheng Shih-fan, Cheng Tzu-tsai, Chiang Yi-heng, Chien Hsi-kui, Chuang Cheng-te, Ho Heng-hsiung, Ho Tzao-ch'u, Ho Wen-ch'i, Hsiao Wen-hui, Huang Chao-fang, Huang Ch'i, Huang Shih-ch'iang, Huang Yu-ch'eng, Hung Ken-shen, Hung Su-li, Kuo Tung-jung, Lai Ch'uan-chien, Lai Wu-hsiung, Li Chien-yi, Li Chun-hsien, Liao Te-cheng, Lin Hsien-tzung, Lin T'ien-jui, Lin Wen-ch'iang, Lu Yi-pin, P'an Huang, P'u Hou-ming, P'u Tien-Sheng, Shih Ping-hsi (Vince Shih), Su Hsin-yi, Sung Ch'ing-tien, Tsao Ken, Wang Kuo-chu, Yang Ying-feng	Taipei City Government (Mayor: Chen Shui-bian) Dimension Art Center
2.25-3.19, 1995 (台北展次) 3.21-3.31, 1995	二二八紀念美展	帝門藝術中心 (台北館/高雄館)	張金發、張瑞峰、張義雄、陳哲、陳政宏、陳澄波、陳錦芳、陳景容、陳國展、陳在南、鄭建昌、鄭世璠、鄭	台北市政府 (市長: 陳水扁)、帝門藝術中心

(高雄展次)	策展人： 廖德政		自財、江懿亨、簡錫圭、莊正德、何恒雄、何肇衢、何文杞、蕭文輝、黃照芳、黃楫、黃世強、黃玉成、洪根深、洪素麗、郭東榮、賴傳鑑、賴武雄、李健儀、李俊賢、廖德政、林顯宗、林天瑞、林文強、呂義濱、潘煌、蒲浩明、蒲添生、施並錫、蘇信義、宋清田、曹根、王國柱、楊英風	
2.4-3.24, 1996	<i>Remembrance and Reflection: 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition</i> Curator: Hsu Wen-ch'in	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Chang Yi-hsiung, Chen Ch'eng-po, Chen Hsia-yu, Cheng Shih-fan, Hsu Wu-yung, Liao Te-cheng, Ouyang Wen, P'u Tien-sheng	Taipei City Government (Mayor: Chen Shui-bian), The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Hsien-chi Foundation, Hsien-chi Chamber Orchestra, Juan Mei-shu 228 Archive, Wu San-lien Foundation
2.4-3.24, 1996	回顧與省思：二二八紀念美展 策展人： 徐文琴	台北市立美術館	張義雄、陳澄波、陳夏雨、鄭世璠、許武勇、廖德政、歐陽文、蒲添生	台北市政府（市長：陳水扁）、二二八事件紀念基金會、台北市立美術館、賢志文教基金會、賢志室內樂、阮美姝二二八文物室、吳三連台灣史料基金會
2-28-6.8, 1997	<i>Sadness Transformed: 2-28</i>	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Chang Yi-hsiung, Chen Chin-fang, Chen Chien-pei, Chen Ching-jung, Chen Shun-chu, Cheng Shih-fan,	Taipei City Government (Mayor: Chen

	<i>Commemorative Art Exhibition</i>		Cheng Tzu-tsai, Chien Fu-ch'uan, Chien Fu-yu, Hsia Yang, Hsiao Chin, Hsieh Li-fa, Hsiao Li-hung (Margaret Hsiao Tan), Hsu Tzu-kui, Hsu Wu-yung, Hung Ken-shen, Kuo Wei-kuo, Lai Wu-hsiung, Li Chun-hsien, Li Hsi-ch'i, Li Ming-sheng, Liao Te-cheng, Lin Hsien-mo, Lin Pey-chwen, Lin Wen-ch'iang, Liu Kuo-sung, Liu Hsiu-mei, Liu Keng-yi, Lo Sen-hou, Lu Hsien-ming, Mei Dean-e, Ouyang Wen, P'ei Ch'i-yu, Shih Ping-shih (Vince Shih), Su Hsin-tien, Su Wang-shen, Tang Tang Fa (Hsu Tang Fa), Tsai Hai-ru, Wang Kuo-chu, Wang Kuo-yi, Wu Mali, Wu Tien-chang, Yang Mao-lin	Shui-bian), The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, Taipei Fine Arts Museum
2-28-6.8, 1997	悲情昇華：二二八美展 策展團隊： 台北市立美術館、黃海鳴	台北市立美術館	張義雄、陳錦芳、陳建北、陳景容、陳順築、鄭世璠、鄭自財、簡福鏗、簡扶育、夏陽、蕭勤、謝里法、蕭麗紅、許自貴、許武勇、洪根深、郭維國、賴武雄、李俊賢、李錫奇、李銘盛、廖德政、林顯模、林珮淳、林文強、劉國松、劉秀美、劉耿一、羅森豪、陸先銘、梅丁衍、歐陽文、裴啟瑜、施並錫、蘇新田、蘇旺伸、唐唐發、蔡海如、王國柱、王國益、吳瑪慄、吳天章、楊茂林	台北市政府（市長：陳水扁）、二二八事件紀念基金會、台北市立美術館
2-28-5.3, 1998	<i>Reflection and Reconsideration: 2-28 Commemorative exhibition</i> Curator: Hsiao Ch'ung-ray	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	Chang Ping-cheng, Chen Chie-jen, Chen Hsin-wan, Chen Lung-pin, Chen Shui-ts'ai, Chen Shun-chu, Chou Meng-te, Chu Yiou-yi, Hsu Jui-hsien, Hsu Tzu-kui, Huang Pu-ch'ing, Hung Keng-shen, Kuo Chuan-ch'iu, Kuo Po-chou, Li Chun-hsien, Li Ming-Tze, Lien Chien-hsing, Lin Pey-chwen, Lin	Taipei City Government (Mayor: Chen Shui-bian) Taipei Fine Arts Museum

			Wen-hsi, Mei Dean-e, Shih Chen-hsiung, Tang tang Fa (Hsu Tang Fa), Tao ya-lun, Wang Kuo-chu, Wu Yu-tang (Wu Cheng-hsiung), Yang Mao-lin	
2-28-5.3, 1998	凝視與形塑 ：後二二八 世代的歷史 觀察 策展人： 蕭瓊瑞	台北市立美術 館	張秉正、陳界仁、陳幸婉、陳龍斌、陳水財、陳順築、周孟德、朱友意、徐瑞憲、許自貴、黃步青、洪根深、郭娟秋、郭博州、李俊賢、李明則、連建興、林珮淳、林文熙、梅丁衍、石振雄、唐唐發、陶亞倫、王國柱、吳正雄、楊茂林	台北市政府（市 長：陳水扁）、台 北市立美術館
2-28-3.15, 1998 #4	<i>An Exhibition of Taiwan Painting IV: Waiting For the Sunrise</i> Curators: Huang Yu-ling, Lin Fu-nan	Nan Gallery	Hsu Wu-yung, Chang Ping-tang, Chang Yi-hsiung, Chin Jun-tzuo, Ouyang Wen, Su Hsin-tien, Yian Shui-lung	Nan Gallery
2-28-3.15, 1998 #4	台灣畫展：等日 頭 策展人： 黃于玲、林復南	南畫廊	許武勇、張炳堂、張義雄、金潤作、歐陽文、蘇新田、顏水龍	南畫廊
2.27-6.27, 1999	<i>Historical Event Remapping: witnesses, reflections, and revivals</i> Curator: Shih Ping-shih (Vince Shih)	Taipei Fine Arts Museum	A-Sun, Chang Tzu-lung, Chen Ching-jung, Cheng Ming-chin, Cheng Shih-fan, Chen Tzu-ts'ai, Chien Chung-wei, Hsieh Li-fa, Hsu Wu-yung, Huang Meng-hsin, Huang Ming-ch'ang, Huang Ming-che, Huang Yi-min, Kao Ts'an-hsin, Lin Ch'in-hsien, Lin Jui-hung, Lin Jui-ming, Lin P'an-sung, Lin Wen-ch'iang, Liu Ling-li, Ouyang Wen, P'u Hou-ming, P'u Tien-sheng, Shih Ping-shih (Vince Shih), Su Chen-ming, Su Hsin-tien, Su hui-yu,	Taipei City Government (Mayor: Chen Shui-bian and Ma Ying-jeou), Taipei Fine Arts Museum

			Sung Hsiao-ming, Teng Jen-ch'uan, Tseng Po-jen, Wang Hsiu-ch'i, Yang Ch'eng-yuan, Yang Po-lin, Yian Ming-hui, Yuan Chin-t'a, Yu Lien-ch'un	
2.27-6.27, 1999	歷史現場與圖像：見證、反思、再生 策展人： 施並錫	台北市立美術館	吳炫三、張子隆、陳景容、鄭明進、鄭世璠、鄭自財、簡忠威、謝里法、許武勇、黃孟新、黃銘昌、黃銘哲、黃逸民、高燦興、林欽賢、林瑞鴻、林瑞明、林磐聳、林文強、劉玲利、歐陽文、蒲浩明、蒲添生、施並錫、蘇振明、蘇新田、蘇匯宇、宋曉明、鄧仁川、曾柏仁、王秀杞、楊成愿、楊柏林、嚴明惠、袁金塔、余連春	台北市政府（市長：陳水扁，馬英九）、台北市立美術館
2.10-3.3, 1999	<i>Time's Other: Witnessing 2-28 in Art</i> Curator: Ni Tzai-ch'in	Taiwan Museum of Art	Chu Ming-kang, Huang Rong-ts'an, Huang Yian	Taiwan Museum of Art
2.10-3.3, 1999	時代的他者：二二八年代的美術見證 策展人： 倪再沁	台灣國立美術館	朱鳴岡、黃榮燦、荒烟	台灣國立美術館
2-28-4.2, 2000	<i>Strength and Catharsis in Sadness: Exhibits by 2-28 Victims and their Families</i> Curatorial Team: Taipei 2-28 Memorial Museum	Taipei 228 Memorial Museum	Chan Fu-yun, Chen Ch'eng-po, Hsu Kuang, Juan Mei-shu, Liao Te-cheng, Lin Hsien-te, Ouyang Wen, P'u Hou-ming, P'u Tien-sheng, Shih Chen Chiao-tung, Wang Ch'un-ch'un, Wang Fen-fang, Yang Chao-chih	Taiwan Peace Foundation, The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, Taipei 228 Memorial Museum, Chen Ch'eng-po Cultural Foundation, Chia-yi 228

				Memorial Foundation
2-28-4.2, 2000	悲慟中的堅毅 與昇華—二二 八受難者及家 屬藝文特展 策展團隊： 台北 2-28 紀念 館	台北二二八紀 念館	詹浮雲、陳澄波、徐光、阮美妹、廖 德政、林憲德、歐陽文、蒲浩明、蒲 添生、施陳焦桐、王純純、王芬芳、 楊毛治	台灣和平基金 會、二二八事件紀 念基金會、台北二 二八紀念館、陳澄 波文化基金會、嘉 義市 228 紀念文教 基金會
2.26-3.26, 2000	<i>Chia-yi 2-28 Commemorative Art Exhibition</i> Curator: Su Chen-ming	Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum	Chan Fu-yun, Chang Huo-yian, Chen Che, Chen Cheng-hung, Chen Ch'eng-po, Chen Li-mei, Chen Ying-wei, Cheng Chien-ch'ang, Chong Chung-hsiung, Cho Wen-hsin, Chou Meng-te, Chou Hsin-hung, Fan Kang-lung, Ho Huang-yue, Ho Wen-ch'i, Hou Chia-fu, Hsu Shun-li, Huang Chao-fang, Huang Chin-ho, Huang Ch'i-wen, Huang Hou-ts'en, Huang Pu-ch'ing, Li Chun-yang, Li Tzung-lin, Li Po-nan, Liu Yi-lin, Lo Sen-hou, Ouyang Wen, P'u Hou-ming, Shih Ping-hsi, Su Cheng-ming, Su Hsin-tien, Su Wang-shen, Tai Ming-te, Tung Hsue-wu, Wang Ching-min, Wang Fu-ching, Wang Te-ho, Wang Wen-chih, Wu Yi-yian, Yang Ch'un-ch'eng	Ministry of Education, Council for Cultural Affairs, Chia-yi City Government, The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, Chia-yi Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Chia-yi 228 Memorial Foundation, Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, Chen Ch'eng-po Cultural Foundation, Taiwan Association of University Professors, Chin-lung Foundation.
2.26-3.26, 2000	嘉義 228 美展	嘉義市二二八	詹浮雲、張火焰、陳哲、陳政宏、陳	教育部、文化建設

	策展人: 蘇振明	紀念館	澄波、陳麗美、陳英偉、鄭建昌、鍾俊雄、卓文星、周孟德、周信宏、范康龍、何晃岳、何文杞、侯加福、許順立、黃照芳、黃進河、黃圻文、黃皓岑、黃步青、李俊陽、李宗霖、李伯男、劉怡麟、羅森豪、歐陽文、蒲浩明、施並錫、蘇振明、蘇新田、蘇旺伸、戴明德、董學武、王景民、王富敬、王德合、王文志、吳宜晏、楊春成	委員會、嘉義市政府、二二八事件紀念基金會、嘉義市文化局、嘉義市二二八紀念文教基金會、嘉義市二二八紀念館、台灣教授協會、陳澄波文化基金會、金龍文教基金會
2-28~4.16, 2002	<i>Reflecting on Taiwan: Motivating the 2-28 Elements in Taiwan's Art</i> Curatorial Team: Liao jen-yi, Chien Tang, Lin Hsiao-yun, Chen Shih-hsien, Chen Chien-ming	Presidential Gallery (at the Presidential Hall), Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, Kaohsiung Museum of History, Kaohsiung Po-erh Art District	Chang Chen-yu, Chan Fu-yun, Chang Li-yie, Chang Nai-wen, Chang Tzu-lung, Chang Yi-hsiung, Chao Kuo-tzung, Chen Che, Chen Cheng-hung, Chen Ch'eng-po, Chen Chin-fang, Chen Ching-hsiu, Chen Hui, Chen Lai-hsin, Chen Shih-hsien, Chen Wu-chen, Chen Ying-wei, Cheng Chien-ch'ang, Cheng Ming-chin, Cheng Shih-fan, Cheng Tzu-ts'ai, Chiang Jung-sen, Chiang Yi-heng, Chou Ch'eng-liang, Chuang Chia-ts'un, Ho Hsin-yi, Ho Wen-ch'i, Hsiao Ch'in, Hsieh Li-fa, Hsu Shun-li, Hsu Wu-yung, Hsu Yi-nan, Hsu Yu-jen, Huang Chao-fang, Huang Ch'i-wen, Huang Ming-ch'ang, Huang Pu-ch'ing, Huang Yu-wen, Li Chen-ming, Li Ch'in-hsien, Li Mao-ch'eng, Li Po-nan, Li Shih-ch'iao, Liao Te-cheng, Lien Chien-hsin, Lin Chen-yang, Lin Chih-hsin, Lin Hsien-te, Lin Shun-lung, Liu Chu-liang, Liu Ling-li, Lo Chen Hui, Lo Sen-hou, Lu Min-shih, Lu Pen-jui, Ouyang Wen, P'an Ta-ch'ien, P'u Hou-ming,	Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, The Presidential Office (President: Chen Shui-bian), Ministry of Education, Council for Cultural Affairs, The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, Academia Historica, National Cultural Foundation, Kaohsiung City Government, Chia-yi City Government, Kaohsiung Museum of History, Taiwan Society North, Hong-gah Museum, Chia-yi 228 Memorial

			Sa Ke-nu, Shih Ling-hung, Shih Ping-shih (Vince Shih), Su Chen-ming, Su Hsin-tien, Tai Ming-te, Tu Wen-hsi, T'u Wei-cheng, Wang Ch'un-ch'un, Wang Hsiu-ch'i, Wang Kuo-chu, Wang Mei-hsing, Wang Te-ho, Wang Wen-chi, Wu Yien-ju, Yang Ch'i-tung, Yang Mao-lin, Yang Po-ling, Yang Hsiang (Yian Ting-sheng), Yu Lien-ch'un	Foundation, Taiwan Historiography Association, Kaohsiung Po-erh Art Association, Keelung Historiography Association
2-28~4.16, 2002	凝視台灣--啟動台灣美術中的228元素 策展團隊： 廖仁義、簡唐、林小雲、陳世憲、陳建明	總統府藝廊、嘉義二二八紀念館、高雄市立歷史博物館、高雄駁二藝術特區	張振宇、詹浮雲、張立曄、張乃文、張子隆、張義雄、趙國宗、陳哲、陳政宏、陳澄波、陳錦芳、陳箐繡、陳惠、陳來興、陳世憲、陳武鎮、陳英偉、鄭建昌、鄭明進、鄭世璠、鄭自財、江榮森、江懿亨、周成樑、莊佳村、何欣怡、何文杞、蕭勤、謝里法、許順立、許武勇、許一男、許雨仁、黃照芳、黃圻文、黃銘昌、黃步青、黃郁文、李振明、李欽賢、李茂成、李伯男、李石樵、廖德政、連建興、林振洋、林智信、林憲德、林舜龍、柳菊良、劉玲利、羅森豪、盧銘世、呂本銳、歐陽文、潘大謙、蒲浩明、薩可努、施令紅、施並錫、蘇振明、蘇新田、戴明德、杜文喜、涂維政、王純純、王秀杞、王國柱、王美幸、王德合、王文志、吳燕如、楊啟東、楊茂林、楊象(柏林)、顏頂生、余連春	海洋台灣文教基金會、總統府(總統：陳水扁)、教育部、文化建設委員會、二二八事件紀念基金會、國史館、中華文化復興總會、高雄市政府、嘉義市政府、高雄市立歷史博物館、台灣北社、鳳甲美術館、嘉義市228紀念文教基金會、台灣歷史學會、駁二藝術發展協會、雞籠文史協進會
2-28~3.23, 2003 at Kaohsiung Museum of History 3.9~3.23at National Dr.	<i>Recovering Memory, Transcending Pain and Restoring Justice: Reflect on History to Build Consciousness for</i>	National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, Kaohsiung	Chan Hsien-k'un, Chang Ho-yian, Chang Fang-ts'u, Chang Ming-feng, Chen Chien-ming, Chen Chih-fen, Chen Chih-ch'eng, Chen Ching-hsiu, Chen Kan, Chen Lai-hsin, Chen Shih-hsien, Chen Wu-chen, Chen Ying-wei, Chen Yu-chu, Cheng	Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, Ministry of Education, Council for Cultural Affairs,

<p>Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall 3.25~4.13 at Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum</p>	<p><i>Taiwan</i> Curatorial Team: Chien Tang, Lin Hsiao-yun, Chen Shih-hsien, Chen Chien-ming, Huang Hung-wen, Lo Sen-hou (Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation)</p>	<p>Museum of History</p>	<p>Chien-ch'ang, Cheng Ming-chin, Chi Chun-ming, Chiang Jung-sen, Chien Hsi-kui, Chien Shang-jen, Hsu Shun-li, Huang Wei-cheng, Huang Wen-yung, Hung Ken-shen, Li Ch'iao, Li Ch'in-hsien, Li K'ui-hsien, Li Min-chung, Li Ming-tao (Akibo Li), Li Su-chen, Lin Chen-yang, Lin Shuang-pu, Lin Shun-lung, Lin Yi-ch'ing, Liu Hsiu-mei, Lo Cheng-chieh, Lo Sen-hou, Lu Ming-shih, Lu Pen-jui, Ouyang Wen, P'u Hou-ming, Shih Ping-hsi (Vince Shih), Su Chen-ming, Tai Pai-hung, Wang Ch'un-hsiang, Wang Kuo-yi, Wang Te-ho, Wang Wu-sen, Wu Ch'ang-ying, Yang Ch'eng-chieh, Yang Jen-ming, Yang Mao-lin, Yian Ting-sheng, Yie Liang-ming, Yie Lin Hsiu-ying</p>	<p>National Cultural Foundation, The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, Taiwan Provincial Government, Kaohsiung City Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Chia-yi City Government, Taiwan 228 Care Association, Chia-yi 228 Incident Research Foundation, National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, Chia-yi 228 Memorial Museum, Kaohsiung Museum of History, National Archives Administration, Academia Historica, Taiwan Society North, Taiwan Association of University Professors</p>
<p>2-28~3.23,2003 高雄歷史博物館 3.9~3.23</p>	<p>記憶的伸張 與跨越 策展團隊：</p>	<p>國父紀念館、 嘉義二二八紀念館、 高雄市立歷史博物館</p>	<p>詹獻坤、張火焰、張芳慈、張明風、 陳建明、陳志芬、陳志誠、陳箐繡、 陳柑、陳來興、陳世憲、陳武鎮、陳英偉、 陳玉珠、鄭建昌、鄭明進、姬</p>	<p>海洋台灣文教基金會、 教育部、文化建設委員會、 中華文化總會、行政</p>

<p>國父紀念館 3.25~4.13 嘉義二二八紀念館</p>	<p>簡唐、林小雲、 陳世憲、陳建 明、黃鴻文、羅 森豪</p>		<p>俊銘、江榮森、簡錫圭、簡上仁、許 順立、黃位政、黃文勇、洪根深、李 喬、李欽賢、李魁賢、李民中、李明 道、李素貞、林振洋、林雙不、林舜 龍、林逸青、劉秀美、羅正傑、羅森 豪、盧銘世、呂本銳、歐陽文、蒲浩 明、施並錫、蘇振明、戴百宏、王春 香、王國益、王德合、王武森、吳長 穎、楊成傑、楊仁明、楊茂林、顏頂 生、葉兩銘、葉林秀英</p>	<p>院 228 事件紀念基 金會、台灣省政 府、高雄市文化基 金會、高雄市文化 局、嘉義市政府、 台灣二二八關懷 協會、嘉義市二二 八事件研究協 會、國父紀念館、 嘉義市二二八紀 念館、高雄市立歷 史博物館、檔案管 理局、國史館、台 灣北社、台灣教授 協會</p>
<p>2-28-3.14, 2004 at Keelung Harbour Gallery and Kaohsiung Museum of History, Kaohsiung Museum of History /3.19-4.5 at Yi-lan Prison</p>	<p><i>Paint My Value,</i> <i>Write My Respect</i> Curatorial Team: Lin Li-ts'ai, Chien Tang, Lin Hsiao-yun, Chen Chien-ming, Chen Shih-hsien, Huang Hung-wen, Lo Sen-hou</p>	<p>Keelung Harbour Gallery, Kaohsiung Museum of History, Yi-lan Prison</p>	<p>Chan Hsien-kun, Chang Fang-ts'u, Chang Ming-feng, Chang Li-yie, Chang Kun-t'ai, Chen Chen-hung, Chen Lai-hsin, Chen Sheng-sung, Chen Shih-hsien, Chen Wu-chen, Chen Yi-chun, Chen Yu-chu, Cheng Ming-chin, Chen Chien-ch'ang, Cheng Kan-jung, Chiang Jung-sen, Chou Ch'eng-liang, Chou Ling-hui, Hsieh Chih-lung, Hsu Shun-li, Hu Chien-hua, Huang Hsun-hsun, Huang Wei-cheng, Huang Wen-yung, Huang Yu-ping, Hung Te-lin, Hung Wen-chuan, K'o Ying-ping, Kung T'ien-fa, Lai Hsin-lung, Li Min-chung, Li Ming-tao (Akibo Li), Li Ming-yian, Li Su-chen, Lin Chen-yang, Lin Hsien-k'ui, Lin Shun-lung, Lin Wu-hsien, Lin Yue-ch'i, Liu Hsin-jung, Liu Hsin-tai, Liu Hung-chi, Liu Hsiu-mei, Lu Ming-shih, Ouyang Wen, P'an Wu-chen, P'u Hou-ming, P'u I-chun,</p>	<p>Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, Ministry of Education, Council for Cultural Affairs, Taiwan Provincial Government, The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, National Cultural Foundation, Kaohsiung City Government, Yi-lan County Government, Kaohsiung City Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Yi-lan County Bureau of</p>

			Su Chen-ming, Sun Chiang-huai, Tai Ming-te, Tai Pai-hung, Tang Su-chen, Tsai Chiang-lung, Tsai Hsien-yiou, Wang Chen-an, Wang Kuo-chu, Wang Kuo-yi, Wang Te-ho, Wang Wu-sen, Wu Ch'ang-ying, Wu Ch'iao-wen, Wu Yiou-wen, Yang Ch'eng-chieh, Yang Jen-ming	Cultural Affairs, National Taichung Library, Keelung Harbour Bureau, Kaohsiung Museum of History, Chen Ch'eng-po Cultural Foundation, Keelung 228 Care Association, Taiwan Association of University Professors, Taiwan Teachers' Union, Taiwan Society North
2-28-3.14, 2004 at 基港藝廊、高雄市立歷史博物館 3.19-4.5 at 宜蘭舊監獄	繪我尊嚴 寫我價值 策展團隊: 林黎彩、簡唐、 林小雲、陳建明、陳世憲、黃鴻文、羅森豪	基港藝廊、高雄市立歷史博物館、宜蘭舊監獄	詹獻坤、張芳慈、張明風、張立擘、張坤泰、陳政宏、陳來興、陳聖頌、陳世憲、陳武鎮、陳宜君、陳玉珠、鄭明進、鄭建昌、鄭贛蓉、江榮森、周成樑、周玲慧、謝智龍、許順立、胡建華、黃薰薰、黃位政、黃文勇、黃鈺萍、洪德麟、洪文娟、柯應平、龔天發、賴新龍、李民中、李明道、李明彥、李素貞、林振洋、林獻癸、林舜龍、林武憲、林悅棋、劉興榮、劉興泰、劉鴻基、劉秀美、盧銘世、歐陽文、潘武楨、蒲浩明、蒲宜君、蘇振明、孫江淮、戴明德、戴百宏、唐素楨、蔡江隆、蔡獻友、王振安、王國柱、王國益、王德合、王武森、吳長穎、吳巧雯、吳尤文、楊成傑、楊仁明	海洋台灣文教基金會、教育部、文化建設委員會、台灣省政府、行政院 228 事件紀念基金會、中華文化總會、高雄市政府、宜蘭縣政府、高雄市文化局、宜蘭縣文化局、國立台中圖書館、基隆港務局、高雄市立歷史博物館、陳澄波文化基金會、基隆市二二八關懷協會、台灣教授協會、台灣教師聯

				盟、台灣北社
2-28-3.14, 2004 #5	<i>Colorful Faces in the Darkness: The Aesthetics of Taiwan Transmitted by the 2-28 Incident</i> Curator: Huang Yu-ling, Lin Fu-nan	Nan Gallery	Chan Fu-yun, Chang Ch'i-hua, Cheng Ming-chin, Hsu Lan-sung, Hsu Wu-yung, Kuo Tung-jung, Liao Chi-ch'un, Lin Hsi-tang, Ouyang Wen, Su Ch'iu-tung, Wu Wang-ch'eng	Nan Gallery
2-28-3.14, 2004 #5	暗鬱彩顏：二二 八傳遞的本島 美學 策展人： 黃于玲、林復南	南畫廊	詹浮雲、張啟華、鄭明進、徐藍松、 許武勇、郭東榮、廖繼春、林錫堂、 歐陽文、蘇秋東、吳王承	南畫廊
2.28-4.17, 2005 Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts 5.1-5.19, 2005 History Museum of Yi-lan County	<i>Longing, Yearning, Where am I?</i> Curatorial Team: Lin Li-ts'ai, Chien Tang, Lin Hsiao-yun, Chen Chien-ming, Hsu Ting-wen	Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, History Museum of Yi-lan County	Chang Fang-ts'u, Chang Li-yie, Chang Hsin-p'i, Chen Ching-hsiu, Chen Chun-hao, Chen Sheng-sung, Chen Shih-hsien, Chen Wu-chen, Chen Yu-chu, Cheng Chien-ch'ang, Hsu Shun-li, Hsu Tzu-kui, Hung Ken-shen, Li Su-chen, Lin Chen-yang, Liu Hsin-tai, Liu Hsiu-mei, Lo Sen-hou, Meng Lang, Ouyang Wen, P'an Ta-ch'ien, P'an Wu-chen, P'u Hou-ming, Tai Pai-hung, Wang Kuo-chu, Wang Te-ho	Marine Taiwan Cultural Foundation, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Council for Cultural Affairs, The 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, National Cultural Association, Kaohsiung City Cultural Foundation, Kaohsiung City Bureau of Education, Kaohsiung City

				Bureau of Civil Affairs, Yi-lan County Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Lan-Yang Cultural Foundation, Taiwan Democratic Foundation, Taiwan Salt Ltd., Chen Ch'eng-po Cultural Foundation, Chia-yi 228 Incident Memorial Foundation, Taiwan 228 Care Association, Taiwan Society South, Taiwan Society North, Taiwan Teachers' Union, Taiwan Association of University Professors, Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, History Museum of Yi-lan County, National Archives Administration, National Taichung Library.
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2.28-4.17, 2005 (高雄市立美術館)	鄉思，鄉愁，家在何方	高雄市立美術館、宜蘭縣史館	張芳慈、張立擘、張新丕、陳箐繡、陳浚豪、陳聖頌、陳世憲、陳武鎮、陳玉珠、鄭建昌、許順立、許自貴、洪根深、李素貞、林振洋、劉興泰、劉秀美、羅森豪、孟浪、歐陽文、潘大謙、潘武楨、蒲浩明、戴百宏、王國柱、王德合	海洋台灣文教基金會、教育部、外交部、文化建設委員會、228 事件紀念基金會、中華文化復興運動總會、高雄市文化基金會、高雄市政府教育局、高雄市政府民政局、宜蘭縣政府文化局、蘭陽文教基金會、台灣民主基金會、台鹽實業、陳澄波文化基金會、嘉義市 228 紀念文教基金會、台灣 228 關懷總會、台灣南社、台灣北社、台灣教師聯盟、台灣教授學會、高雄市立美術館、宜蘭縣史館、檔案管理局、國立台中圖書館
5.1-5.19, 2005 (宜蘭縣史館)	策展團隊： 林黎彩、簡唐、林小雲、陳建明、許丁文			

*1 ~ *8 refers to a lineage of 228 Commemorative Art Exhibitions which are more or less involved Chen Shui-bian and his associates.

#1 ~ #5 refers to a lineage of 228 Commemorative Art Exhibitions curated by Huang Yu-ling and Lin Fu-nan of Nan Gallery, Taipei.

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- TFAM 台北市立美術館 (ed.), *Huiku yu hsingssu: 2-28 chinien meichan* 回顧與省思—二二八紀念美展 (Remembrance and Reflection: 2-28 Commemorative Exhibition), Taipei: TFAM, 1996.
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