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Re-conceptualizing Taiwan: Settler Colonial Criticism and Cultural Production

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Re-conceptualizing Taiwan:

Settler Colonial Criticism and Cultural Production

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by

Lin-chin Tsai

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Re-conceptualizing Taiwan:

Settler Colonial Criticism and Cultural Production

by

Lin-chin Tsai

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Shu-mei Shih, Chair

This dissertation examines a diverse body of postwar cultural production in Taiwan (1945 to the present), including literary, cinematic, and other forms of media texts, through the lens of settler colonial criticism. Taiwan, an island whose indigenous inhabitants are Austronesian, has been a de facto settler colony due to large-scale Han migration from China to Taiwan beginning in the seventeenth century. However, the prevailing discourse in Taiwan, particularly in the field of Taiwan literature studies, has been "postcolonial," articulating Taiwan either in terms of the end of the Japanese colonial rule (1895-1945) or the lifting of the Martial Law (1949-87), neither of which acknowledges the continued colonization of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Taiwan has long been excluded from the global arena of settler colonial studies. Owing to the twofold invisibility of Taiwan as a settler colony in both local and global contexts, I employ the analytical

framework of settler colonialism—a specific colonial formation whereby settlers displace the indigenous residents and take over the land—so as to address the discursive limits and academic blind spots described above. More specifically, this research project mobilizes settler colonial criticism to critically reflect on various media/genres of contemporary cultural production by Han Taiwanese authors as settlers in order to challenge current academic trends and the Han settler structure of Taiwan. In so doing, this dissertation not only fills in the gaps of the postcolonial paradigm in Taiwan but also provides significant insights for global settler colonial studies based on Taiwan's unique experience. As such, it contributes to the redistribution of knowledge production in Taiwan's intellectual sphere, partaking of the recent calls for "indigenous transitional justice" as a means of decolonization. In this sense, to re-conceptualize Taiwan as a settler colony through examining its cultural production is not only to re-situate Taiwan onto the world map of settler colonial studies but also to reimagine a new form of relational ethics between the indigenous and non-indigenous communities in Taiwan.

The dissertation of Lin-chin Tsai is approved.

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Jasmine Nadua Trice

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University of California, Los Angeles

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Introduction

Re-conceptualizing Taiwan as Settler Society

"What? Post-colonialism? Have they left?"

—Bobbi Sykes

Accuse
Of 400-year history of sadness
From
The Netherlands
Spain
Zheng Chenggong
Qing Empire
Japan
To the Chinese Nationalist party
Alas….
Continuous oppression by one invader after another
Owners' lives have gotten worse year after year
….
Alas….
Rise up! Indigenous peoples
Transform sadness into strength
Turn accusation into action
Let us once again
Pick up the dignity of our hunting knives
Honor the spirit of our ancestors
Move beyond accusation
Live with dignity
On our land

—Lyiking Yuma
"Move beyond Accusation, Live with Dignity"

Not Just Belated: Contesting Taiwan's Postcoloniality

This dissertation examines different forms of postwar cultural production, including literature, cinema, and other forms of media, mostly created by Han Taiwanese authors, through the lens of settler colonial criticism. Taiwan, a small island located on the western edge of the Pacific Ocean, has a very complicated history of successive, layered and multiple colonialisms since the seventeenth century. This history began with Dutch colonization in southern Taiwan in 1624, and was followed by a brief occupation by the Spanish in the north in 1626. The Spanish was later conquered by Dutch forces in 1642. In 1661, Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功, also known as Koxinga, a Ming loyalist who pledged allegiance and devotion to the Southern Ming court) ejected the Dutch colonial government from Tainan and established the first Han regime on this island, positioning Taiwan as a military base against the Qing Empire founded by the Manchu Aisin Gioro clan. After the Zheng regime was defeated by the Qing Empire in 1683, the island of Taiwan was then annexed and considered part of the Qing imperial regime for more than two hundred years. It was later ceded to Japan after the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894. The defeat of the Japanese by American forces in 1945 terminated fifty years of Japanese colonization, and caused Taiwan being handed over to the Chinese Nationalist Party (國民黨, Guomindang or Kuomindang, abbreviated the KMT), the polity that represents the Republic of China (ROC).[1]

[1] The Chinese Nationalist Party is the major political party and political regime in early twentieth century China (1912-1949), and was established one year after the founding of the Republic of China (ROC) in 1911. In 1949, the Nationalist government retreated to Taiwan with about two million Chinese people. The Nationalist government continued to call itself the Republic of China, and claimed it was the only legitimate regime of China. This mainland regime the KMT established in 1949 and Han immigrants who moved to Taiwan during this period were known as the so-called "mainlanders," as opposed to early Han immigrants who settled in Taiwan beginning in the seventeenth century,, the so-called "Taiwanese locals." The Nationalist China-centered rule, and the conflict between "mainlanders" and "Taiwanese locals" therefore led to two distinct modes of identities: the China-oriented identity shared by most of mainlanders and the "second-generation mainlanders," and the Taiwan-oriented identity of Han "Taiwanese locals." The two modes of identities also significantly pertain to the formation of two modes of Han settler colonial consciousness to be discussed in this dissertation.

The Nationalist Party turned out to be another authoritarian regime, especially since the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1949 after their losses in the Chinese Civil War, where they clashed with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The KMT declared the Order of Martial Law in 1949, and ruled Taiwan through what came to be known as the White Terror, which intensified the tensions and conflicts between the so-called "mainlanders" (外省人 *waishengren*) and "Taiwanese locals" (本省人 *benshengren*). To many "Taiwanese locals," the Nationalist government was no different from previous colonial powers. This was despite assertions on the part of the KMT that it ruled the island of Taiwan based on Three People's Principles (三民主義 *sanmin zhuyi*, including nationalism, democracy, and the livelihood of the people), the seemingly liberal political philosophy coined by the founding father of the ROC, Sun Yat-sen. In short, Taiwan, to borrow historian Arif Dirlik's words, is a "land colonialisms made,"[2] as its historical formation can be regarded as a succession of layered and multiple colonialisms of both the East and the West in different eras.

At the inception of the Martial Law period, the Nationalist government asserted its territorial claim on China, Taiwan, and other surrounding islands, and contrived to impose a unified Han Chinese national and cultural identity upon every single person on the island. By doing so, it consolidated its ruling power as well as its political legitimacy because it represented the "authentic Chinese polity," as opposed to the People's Republic of China (PRC) the Chinese Communist party established. Alternative voices or dissent against this official Nationalist ideology were either brutally repressed or severely silenced. However, the Nationalist political and cultural hegemony was challenged beginning in the 1970s due to a process of social

[2] Arif Dirlik, "Taiwan: The Land Colonialisms Made," *boundary 2: an international journal of literature and culture* 45.3 (2018), p.p. 5-6.

transformation and intellectual transition. The "nativist literature movement" (鄉土文學運動 *xiangtu wenxue yundong*), a literary movement that took shape in the mid-1960s and further prospered during the 1970s, called for a closer connection of literature with the land and its people on the island of Taiwan via a more realistic mode of literary expression. This movement served as a counter-discourse against the predominant anti-Communist literature (反共文學 *fangong wenxue*) and nostalgic literature (懷鄉文學 *huaixiang wenxue*) that the Nationalist government propagandized. Later, the Formosa Incident (美麗島事件 *Meilidao shijian*, also known as the Kaohsiung Incident)[3] in 1979 not only marked a watershed of democratization movements in Taiwan history, but more importantly, paved the way for the founding of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 1986. The above nativist literature movement, as well as the democratization and localization movements since the 1970s, served as social and historical backdrop to the ideological debate between the "Chinese complex" and "Taiwanese complex" in the early 1980s. The rising of "Taiwanese consciousness" (in contrast to the "Chinese consciousness" that the Nationalist government imposed), as well as a variety of social movements during the 1980s, urged the Nationalist government to lift the Martial Law in 1987, putting an end to the thirty-eight year-long martial law era.

In these circumstances, postcolonial discourse was introduced to Taiwan's academe and became a prevailing theoretical paradigm of Taiwan literature studies beginning in the 1990s.

[3] The Formosa Incident, namely, the "Beautiful Island Incident," also known as the Kaohsiung Incident (高雄事件 *Gaoxiong shijian*), was a consequence of a pro-democracy demonstration initiated by the members of *Formosa Magazine* (美麗島雜誌 *Meilidao zazhi*) in Kaohsiung on December 10, the International Human Rights Day, in 1979. The demonstration was cracked down by the military police and forces under the command of the Nationalist government, and many of the opposition leaders were arrested and charged with the crime of sedition, including Huang Hsin-chieh, Shih Ming-teh, Yao Chia-wen, Lin Yi-hsiung, Chen Chu, Lu Hsiu-lien, and so forth. This incident had drawn international attention to the social and political condition in Taiwan, and has been considered the watershed of democratization movement in Taiwan's history. Most of the members arrested and imprisoned because of this incident later became important politicians of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the first nativist opposition party founded in 1986.

The academic trend of postcolonial theory began with Han Taiwanese literary scholar Chiu Kuei-fen's seminal essay, "Discover Taiwan: Constructing the Postcolonial Discourse of Taiwan," presented at the sixteenth annual Republic of China Comparative Literature conference in 1992. This essay led to a series of debates between Chiu and another Taiwan-based literary scholar Liao Chao-yang centering on whether or not Taiwan is a postcolonial state.[4] Chiu defined Taiwan as a postcolonial society by stressing Taiwan's translingual and cross-cultural condition attributed to its history of multiple colonialisms. Liao questioned Chiu's argument, noting that although Taiwan can be considered a multicultural and multilingual society, the national language (Mandarin Chinese) is still the dominant language promoted by the Nationalist ideological policy after 1945. Therefore, the hybrid and multilingual characteristics of Taiwan, Liao argued, do not constitute a basis for Taiwan's postcoloniality. Between 1995 and 1996, their debate about Taiwan's postcoloniality triggered a more intense wave of debates among other scholars from diverse disciplines. These debates were published in *Chung-wai Literary Monthly* (中外文學 *Chungwai wenxue*, now renamed *Chung-wai Literary Quarterly*), one of the leading journals of literary and cultural studies in Taiwan. Further debates in the late 1990s involved the issues of whether Taiwan is postcolonial or postmodern, of the rise of Taiwanese consciousness and the politics of Taiwanese identity and subjectivity, and of Taiwan's nationhood/ statehood.[5]

[4] Their essays were later compiled in the anthology edited by Chen Tong-jung and Chen Chang-fang. Please see Kuei-fen Chiu, "Discover Taiwan: Constructing the Postcolonial Discourse of Taiwan," *Chung-Wai Literary Monthly* 21.2 (1992), pp. 151-67; Chao-yang Liao, "Comments on Chiu Kuei-fen," *Canons and New Methods of Teaching Literature*, pp. 254-258, and "Errors Plus Confusion Don't Make a Fine Case," *Canons and New Methods of Teaching Literature*, pp. 277-292.

[5] Please see a series of essays published in *Chung-wai Literary Monthly* by many scholars, including Chao-ying Chen, Chao-yang Liao, Hsien-hao Liao, Kuei-fen Chiu, Fang-ming Chen, and so forth. Also see more essays retrospectively reflecting on the debates regarding postcolonialism in Taiwan: Ping-hui Liao, "Taiwan: Postmodern or Postcolonial," *Writing Taiwan: Strategies of Representation* (Rye Field, 2000), pp. 85-99; Ping-hui Liao, "Postcolonial Studies in Taiwan: Issues in Critical Debates," *Postcolonial Studies* 2.2 (1999), pp. 199-211; Fang-ming Chen, "Postmodernism or Postcolonialism: An Explanation on Post-war Taiwan Literary History," *Writing Taiwan: Strategies of Representation*, pp. 41-63; Kuei-fen Chiu, "The Dialectic of Postcolonialism in

In hindsight, it is clear that the advent of postcolonial discourse in Taiwan is significant to the formation of Taiwanese political, national and cultural identity, as it offers critical and theoretical insights to conceptualize Taiwan's colonial past. More importantly, postcolonial criticism has significantly contributed to the study of Taiwan literature as an autonomous discipline. During the Nationalist authoritarian era, Mandarin Chinese was the national language of Taiwan. Speaking other languages, such as Hakka, Minnan or Hoklo, Japanese, or several Austronesian languages spoken by the indigenous peoples, was censored. While the studies of Chinese literature or Sinology were favored by the Nationalist government, Taiwan literature, and other studies associated with or relevant to Taiwan, were considered valueless, if not treated as a taboo, during this period. In this sense, the insights of postcolonial theory and historiography which acknowledge the historical subjectivity and cultural hybridity of Taiwan became a useful and critical lever to foreground the specificity and uniqueness of Taiwan literature as a distinct field of study against the hegemony of Chinese studies or Sinology that the KMT advocated. As Taiwan literature scholar Lee Yu-lin aptly states, postcolonial criticism has been introduced to Taiwan as a theory to supplement the nativist discourse beginning in the 1970s by providing more critical and complicated methodologies and theoretical concepts.[6] The peaceful transition of power from the KMT to the DPP in 2000 and the support of institutionalization of Taiwan literature by the DPP government further consolidated the discursive primacy of postcolonial theory. In short, postcolonial studies in Taiwan and Taiwan literature as a distinct field of study, together with the institutionalization of Taiwan literature, have been intimately intertwined,

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Taiwan," *Rethinking Postcolonial Literary Criticism in Taiwan* (Rye Field, 2003), pp. 259-299; Liang-ya Liou, *Postmodernism and Postcolonialism: Taiwanese Fiction since 1987* (Rye Field, 2006); Yu-lin Lee, *Writing Taiwan: A Study of Taiwan's Nativist Literature* (VDM Publishing Co., 2008).

[6] Yu-lin Lee, *Writing Taiwan: A Study of Taiwan's Nativist Literature* (VDM Publishing Co., 2008).

supplementing and complementing one another.[7]

Even with such theoretical primacy, some scholars have continued to question the applicability of postcolonial theory in Taiwan. Liao Ping-hui has persuasively pointed out that the KMT recolonization after the February 28 Incident in 1947,[8] and the expelling of Taiwan from the United Nations in 1971 led to the "belatedness" of postcoloniality in Taiwan, since the former led to the White Terror of the KMT rule and the Order of Martial Law promulgated by the Governor of Taiwan Province Chen Cheng (陳誠) in 1949, and a series of setbacks in the international arena further delayed Taiwan's entry into the postcolonial condition.[9] As a result, postmodernism, in Liao's view, had been taken by some scholars as a "substitute project" for this "belated postcoloniality" to reconsider multiculturalism and multilingualism of Taiwan's society. By the same token, Liou Liang-ya also argues that Taiwan's history of multiple colonialisms and the lack of transitional justice after lifting the Martial Law in 1987 had further deferred Taiwan's postcolonial project, and thus the postcoloniality of Taiwan, in comparison to several other newly established independent nations around the world, is "belated."[10] Liou then reminds us that we

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[7] For example, Fang-ming Chen, one of the prominent postcolonial critics in Taiwan, has actively engaged in rewriting Taiwan's literary history through the lens of postcolonial theory, and published several books, including *Postcolonial Taiwan: Essays on Taiwanese Literary History and Beyond* (Rye Field, 2002), and *A History of Modern Taiwanese Literature* (Linking Publishing Co., 2011).

[8] The February 28 Incident in 1947, also dubbed as the February 28 Massacre by some scholars, was an anti-government uprising in Taiwan. This incident resulted in violent suppression by the Nationalist government and was often considered the main factor which led to the KMT's White Terror and the Order of Martial Law in Taiwan. This incident has been represented in many different cultural media, including literature, cinema, and so forth. One of the most renowned examples should be the leading Han Taiwanese filmmaker Hou Hsiao-hsien's (侯孝賢) award-winning film, *A City of Sadness* (悲情城市 *Beiqing chengshi*, 1989). Please see Michael Berry's discussion of various forms of representations regarding this historical event, in *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinses Literature and Film* (Columbia UP, 2008), particularly chapter 3, pp. 179-249.

[9] Please see Ping-hui Liao, "Taiwan: Postmodern or Postcolonial," *Writing Taiwan: Strategies of Representation* (Rye Field, 2000), pp. 95-6; "Postcolonial Studies in Taiwan: Issues in Critical Debates," *Postcolonial Studies* 2.2 (1999), pp. 199-211.

[10] Liang-ya Liou, *Belated Postcoloniality: Post-Martial Law Taiwanese Fiction* (National Taiwan UP, 2014), p. 5.

need to more prudently reconsider what has constituted Taiwan's postcoloniality and whether or not Taiwan has entered the postcolonial phase at all. Although Liou maintains this cautious attitude toward postcolonial discourse and its theoretical applicability, she still believes that the insights of postcolonial theory as well as the texts of postcolonial fiction in Taiwan not only critique the Nationalist government's recolonization and authoritarian rule of Taiwan but also address "issues such as gender, race, and class in relation to Taiwanese identity and Taiwan's colonial past" as opposed to the China-centered Nationalist historiography.[11]

As scholars noted, another problematic of postcolonial studies in Taiwan lies in its dualistic construct of the colonizer and the colonized. As Li Cheng-Chi and Lee Yu-lin have argued in their article, "The Problematics of the Postcolonial Project in Taiwan," the dialectic paradigm of postcolonialism (the colonizer vs. the colonized, domination vs. resistance) is an oversimplified paradigm for the study of Taiwan's colonial history. Because of the belatedness of postcoloniality and the marginalized international status of Taiwan under the dual impact of the global neocolonialism and the rising power of China, they contend that Taiwan's postcolonial project should instead understand its own limitation and insufficiency.[12] They thus propose that it is imperative to reexamine the dichotomy of postcolonial dialectics within the formation of knowledge production in Taiwan and reconsider the history of serial and multiple colonialisms of Taiwan at the intersection of different empires, races, ethnicities, classes, gender, and so forth. The postcolonial project in Taiwan, they conclude, will remain "an incomplete project," if we fail to recognize its theoretical inadequacy and incompatibility with Taiwan's reality and its far more complicated colonial history.

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[11] Liang-ya Liou, "Taiwanese Postcolonial Fiction," *PMLA* 126.3 (2011), p. 679.

[12] Cheng-Chi Li and Yu-lin Lee, "The Problematics of the Postcolonial Project in Taiwan," *The Empires on Taiwan* (National Taiwan UP, 2015), p. 9.

Despite their divergent views on Taiwan's postcoloniality, we should note that they are all predominately articulated from a Han-centered perspective and periodization of history. According to the orthodox Nationalist historiography, Taiwan has entered its postcolonial phase right after the Japanese colonial government retreated in 1945. But for most of the Han Taiwanese people who lived through the Japanese colonial period and suffered from KMT's recolonization, it is 1987, the year in which the Martial Law was lifted, that should be regarded as the beginning of the postcolonial era. For the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, postcoloniality is not just "belated" (as described by Liao and Liou), but rather, has "not yet" come into being. If the "post-" in "post-colonialism" can be understood in temporal terms, then the colonial condition, from the perspective of Taiwan indigenous peoples, has not yet come to an end. Sun Ta-chuan (Paelabang Danapan), one of the leading indigenous intellectuals,[13] has protested that there will always be theoretical blind spots if Taiwan's postcolonial studies and Taiwanese nativist discourse fail to take indigenous peoples into consideration.[14] Genetically and linguistically speaking, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan are peoples of the Austronesian language group, and have inhabited Taiwan (and other surrounding islands) for thousands of years, far before the seventeenth century arrival of Han immigrants from China.[15] These Han immigrants from China became the demographic majority of Taiwan's population in the late

[13] Sun is the most influential indigenous intellectual and literary critic in Taiwan. He has published several books about Taiwan indigenous knowledge and literary criticism, founded *Cultures of Mountains and Seas* (山海文化 *Shanhai wenhua*), one of the most significant magazines of indigenous literature and culture, and served as the Minister of the Council of Indigenous Peoples of the Executive Yuan in 2009-2013. He is also the editor of the multi-volume anthology of Taiwan indigenous literature, *Anthology of Taiwan Indigenous Hanyu Literature* (INK Publishing, 2003), covering various types of genre.

[14] Ta-chuan Sun, *The World of Mountains and Seas: Portrayal of Taiwan Indigenous Mentality* (Unitas Publishing Co., 2000), p. 107.

[15] Paul Jen-kuei Li, *Ethnicities and Migration of Austronesian Peoples in Taiwan* (Avanguard Publishing, 2011), p. 17.

seventeenth century attributable to the settlement policies of the Dutch colonial government and the first Han regime that Zheng Chenggong established. These Han immigrants and their descendants have not stopped their exploitation of the indigenous peoples over natural resources and land. On top of the dispossession of land and resources throughout history, Taiwan indigenous peoples have been subject to both racial/ethnic discrimination and structural violence via mainstream Han settler society for hundreds of years. Specifically, indigenous peoples have long been stigmatized as "uncivilized groups" and categorized into "cooked savages" (熟番 *shufan*, an ethnic construct that refers to the indigenous population who occupy the plain areas of Taiwan) and "raw savages" (生番 *shengfan*, generally referring to the aborigines who lived in the mountains) since the Qing period. During the ROC era, the indigenous populations were relegated to the derogatory category of "mountain compatriots" (山胞 *shanbao*), while plains indigenous groups were considered "civilized" and were assimilated into the body of Han settler society via cohabitation and intermarriage with early Han settlers. Not until very recently were some plains indigenous communities recognized as indigenous peoples and renamed as the Pingpu indigenous peoples (平埔族 *pingpuzu*) in order to make a distinction between the two categories of indigenous population. The disavowal of the Pingpu indigenous status by Han settler regimes caused the loss of cultural practice and ethnic identity of the plains indigenous communities. Today, many of the plains indigenous tribes are still struggling for official recognition. Belated official apologies by President Tsai Ing-wen on August 1, 2016, unfortunately, did not bring about forgiveness from the indigenous peoples. Rather this official attempt provoked, even deeper disappointment and indignation from the indigenous activist communities, not to mention the thorny controversy over radioactive waste in Orchid Island (or Lanyu), Taiwan's main nuclear dumpsite where the Tao indigenous people reside. The story of

the dark history of the Han settlers and their continual suppression and exploitation of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan from the seventeenth century to the present is indeed a very long one.

Colonization for indigenous peoples in Taiwan is not a past tense, but rather *the present tense*. The postcolonial discourse, to borrow Liao Ping-hui's words, can "only partially describe what constitutes the 'postcolonial' condition in Taiwan,"[16] given its total neglect of indigenous peoples. Postcolonialism, as New Zealand-based indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith succinctly argues, serves to a large extent as "a strategy for reinscribing or reauthorizing the privileges of non-indigenous academics because the field of 'post-colonial' discourse has been defined in ways which can still leave out indigenous peoples."[17] This type of colonial situation whereby settlers (superordinate migrants) displace the indigenous residents and take over the land is what scholars have termed *settler colonialism*.

Taiwan, as a field of study and a research object, to our disappointment, has long been excluded from mainstream Western academia. Shu-mei Shih has penetratingly pointed out that Taiwan is "always already written out of mainstream Western discourse due to its *insignificance*" and therefore studying Taiwan has become an "*impossible* task" (emphasis on original).[18] Shelley Rigger, a scholar of East Asia Politics, even published a book entitled *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* to make a case for the importance of Taiwan.[19] Taiwan has received even less scholarly attention as a settler colony and a geographical site of

[16] Ping-hui Liao, "Postcolonial Studies in Taiwan: Issues in Critical Debates," *Postcolonial Studies* 2.2 (1999), p. 210.

[17] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Zed Books Ltd., 2012), p. 25.

[18] Shu-mei Shih, "Globalization and the (In)significance of Taiwan," *Postcolonial Studies* 6. 2 (2003), pp. 143-153.

[19] Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2011).

indigenous cultures.[20] Moreover, in the local context, most Han Taiwanese settlers consider themselves the victims of multi-colonial history beginning in the twentieth century—first with the Japanese colonial rule from 1985 to 1945, followed by the KMT recolonization, and the conflict between the so-called "mainlanders" and "Taiwanese locals" as a consequence attributable to the Nationalist authoritarian governance. Most of the early Han people who settled in Taiwan before 1945 primarily identify themselves as colonized subjects and therefore forget, if not completely deny, their exploitation of indigenous peoples. The theoretical primacy of postcolonial discourse in Taiwan further conceals the Han settler colonialism which the indigenous peoples have long been subject to. The twofold disavowal of Taiwan as a settler colony in both global and local contexts has resulted in the academic invisibility of settler colonial criticism as a critical theory and methodological framework to reflect on the history as well as culture of Taiwan.

The critique of colonial domination in Taiwan has been mostly described as "internal colonialism" or "recolonization" of the KMT government as a mainland authoritarian regime during the Martial Law era.[21] However, scholars have compellingly argued that "internal colonialism" is a problematic term to describe the colonization of indigenous peoples because it

[20] Hsin-ya Huang, "Indigenous Taiwan as Location of Native American and Indigenous Studies," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 16. 4 (2014): <http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.2576>; Jolan Hsieh, *Collective Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Identity-based Movement of Plain Indigenous in Taiwan* (Routledge, 2006).

[21] For example, Chen Kuan-Hsing in his article, "Not Yet the Postcolonial Era: The (Super)nation-state and Transnationalism of Cultural Studies: Response to Ang and Stratton," also adopts the notion of "internal colonialism" to describe the oppression of different minority groups, such as aboriginals, local and migrant workers, ethnic minorities, women, gays and lesbians. Although Chen, as one of the pioneers who care about the colonized subjects throughout the world, strongly questions the theoretical trend of postcolonial discourse, and points out that the postcolonial era has not yet come for most of the minority groups, he still conflates the different forms of colonization in different contexts without differentiating them. Please see Kuan-Hsing Chen, "Not Yet the Postcolonial Era: The (Super)nation-state and Transnationalism of Cultural Studies: Response to Ang and Stratton," *Cultural Studies* 10.1, pp. 37-70. Also see Chen's book, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (Duke UP, 2010).

fails to "acknowledge significant class and racial/ethnic divisions and differential class benefits of internal colonialism within the non-colonized population."[22] American Indian scholar Jodi A. Byrd, while tracing the genealogical uses of this term, contends that the notion of internal colonialism, especially in the context of the United States, is applied to refer primarily and originally to "African American oppression that then over the course of time serves to erase indigenous peoples altogether as it is thought to account for the indigenous within the racial paradigms it critiques."[23] Furthermore, the use of the phrase "internal" implies that the indigenous peoples are minority groups "within" the nation-state, and its connotation ironically suggests that the indigenous peoples' rights of self-determination and sovereignty will never be possible.[24] If indigenous peoples are "minoritized" as ethnic minorities, they then lose their status and identity as "Indigenous peoples," which breaks indigenous communities away from their rights to land and sovereignty. Hawaiian activist Haunani-Kay Trask also contends that indigenous peoples are "defined in terms of collective aboriginal occupation prior to colonial settlement. They are not to be confused with minorities or ethnic groups within states. Thus 'indigenous rights' are strictly distinguished from 'minority rights'."[25] In other words, the notion of internal colonialism is critically insufficient to fully examine colonial violence against indigenous peoples, and (in)directly encroaches on indigenous rights for sovereignty and self-determination. The term "recolonization," on the other hand, is an overgeneralized concept for addressing Taiwan's settler colonial history as the formation of Taiwan history is a

[22] Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies – Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class in Settler Societies," *Unsettling Settler Society: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (Sage, 1995), p. 12.

[23] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (U of Minnesota P, 2011), p. 133.

[24] Ibid., p. 135.

[25] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (U of Hawai'i P, 1993), p. 33.

consequence of successive multiple colonialisms, or a continuous process of recolonization. As I see it, the concept of recolonization is not able to describe the far more complicated and entangled power relations between colonizers, settlers, and indigenous peoples on the ground, and thus is inadequate to specifically conceptualize Taiwan as a settler society. Instead, I invoke settler colonialism a much-needed critical methodology to reflect on the framework of postcolonial studies, internal colonialism and recolonization, and critique Han settlers' disavowal of their domination and colonization as well as their denial of the presence of indigenous peoples.

In short, this research project will mobilize the framework of settler colonial criticism to explore how settler colonial consciousness is formed and expressed in various cultural texts by examining literary works, films, and other forms of cultural production by Han Taiwanese settler authors. In the following sections, I will first introduce the concept of settler colonialism as a global historical process and as a field of study, its theoretical genealogy and methodological framework, and then outline settler colonial conditions in some of the typical settler colonies around the world in order to shed insight on the manifestation of settler colonialism in Taiwan.

Settler Colonialism as Methodological Framework

Historically, settler colonialism as a structural mode of domination can be seen as both a consequence and a product of global imperial expansion during the Age of Discovery. The word "settler," according to the definition of *Cambridge Dictionary*, refers to "a person who arrives, especially from another country, in a new place in order to live there and use the land." In *Oxford Dictionary of English*, a settler means "a person who moves with a group of others to live in a new country or area." Hence, the recognition of settler bodies in various settler colonies around

the world is defined through the phenomena of global migration attributable to imperial expeditions as well as colonial expansions in world history.

Theoretically, settler colonialism is a field of study and an analytical concept that also has a history. According to historian Lorenzo Veracini, the ideas of settlers, settlement, and colonization were not yet construed as relevant concepts before the 1960s, and the notion of settler was usually found in the fields like "frontier studies" or "border studies." From the mid-1960s to the late 1970s, an era that was widely known for the wave of global movements trumpeting decolonial and anticolonial revolution, as well as a critical moment for colonial studies to emerge, "settler" and "colonialism" were compounded into a conceptual category to examine different forms of domination and colonization. Because they were interested in highlighting the dualistic opposition between the colonizers and the colonized, the role that settlers played in colonial societies had not yet received much scholarly attention. This scholarly gap can be seen in the most influential works by some of the pioneers of (post)colonial theory, including Amié Césaire, Frantz Fanon, and Albert Memmi.[26] As social theorist and anthropologist Udo Krautwurst states: "differences among the colonizers are minimized in order to express a feature common to them all—that is, to maximize the difference between colonizers and colonized."[27] Although there were a few scholarly attempts to distinguish settler colonialism from colonialism and to further theorize the two modes of colonization separately, the distinction between colonial and settler colonial dominations still remained largely conflated and blurred.

[26] Veracini points out that although Fanon used the term "settler" in his theorization of colonialism, he had not yet "differentiated between colonial and settler colonial phenomena" and the two forms of colonial situations overlapped in Fanon's analysis. The similar phenomenon can also be inferred from the works of (post)colonial thinkers, such as Amié Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism*, Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, and others, as they all concentrate on the dualistic colonial relationship between colonizers and colonized within colonial structures.

[27] Udo Krautwurst, "What is Settler Colonialism? An Anthropological meditation on Frantz Fanon's 'Concerning Violence'," *History and Anthropology* 14. 1 (2003), p. 57.

Ultimately, the historical conjuncture of the paradigmatic shift of area studies in the global South (Australia in particular) during the 1980s, along with the rise of global indigenous movements for self-determination and sovereignty and indigenous studies worldwide, as well as the interventions from other disciplines (such as ethnography, anthropology, history), facilitated the development of settler colonialism as a distinct conceptual category and an autonomous field of study during the 1990s.[28]

Of course, this begs the question, in what ways does settler colonialism differ from classic colonialism? Should the two be understood as distinct modes of colonial domination and two different fields of studies? Although the formation of settler colonialism as a historical process has a lot to do with colonial conquest and control of natural and human resources, as well as emigration due to demographic flows from colonial metropoles to different colonies around the world, settler colonialism distinguishes itself from classic colonialism in terms of its mode of domination, colonial power relations, structures and function. Two keywords in the above dictionary definitions better capture the defining characteristics of settler as well as settler colonialism—"land" and "live." To begin with, unlike the typical form of classic colonialism, the primary objective of settler colonialism is to acquire "land" to "live." When the population of immigrants in a colony increases, the immigrant group requires more space and resource for living and therefore needs more land to settle in. Once the number of immigrants in a society exceeds the indigenous population, there is a demographic replacement and structural oppression of indigenous peoples. It is then that the society can be defined as a settler colony. In other words, settler colonialism differs from classic colonialism which takes economic development and labor

[28] This paragraph is a summary of Veracini's article, "'Settler Colonialism': Career of a Concept," in which he discusses the theoretical formation and historiographical development of settler colonialism as an autonomous field of study in global academe.

exploitation as its main purposes. The primary objective of settler colonialism is to replace the indigenous population and take away the indigenous land.[29] The motive to acquire land for living not only shapes a particular type of colonial mentality, but also determines a distinct route in settler colonial narrative. Settlers take a colony as their legitimate homeland, a place where they stay and live. Thus, the emphasis is placed on the legitimacy of settlers' permanent residency. Veracini notes in the book *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* that the crucial differentiating trait of settlers is their "intention to stay (as opposed to the sojourners' intention to return)."[30] To further put it in terms of distinct routes and movements, while classic colonial narratives evince a "circular form" in which colonizers explore, invade, and interact with colonized "others" in foreign colonies but finally return to where they are from, settler colonialism is characterized by a "linear narrative" as settlers move to new territories without envisioning a return home. Settlers have every intention of staying in their new colonies, and thus they acquire land to settle in, transform new territories into their homeland, and never return to where they are from.

In order to rationalize their permanent residency and transform new territories into their homeland, settlers develop an efficient and strong settler narrative to claim their own legitimacy and localness that is often selective and fictionalized. By denying, or intentionally ignoring, the presence of indigenous populations in this settler history, settlers claim their rights to settle and at the same time disavow the founding violence of their conquest and control over indigenous peoples in the past and the present.[31] As Walter L. Hixson remarks, "in order for the settler

[29] Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (Cassell, 1999), p. 163.

[30] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A theoretical Overview* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 53.

[31] Ibid., p. 95.

colony to establish a collective usable past, legitimating stories must be created and persistently affirmed as a means of naturalizing a new historical narrative…*Becoming the indigene* required not only cleansing of the land, either through killing or removing, but sanitizing the historical record as well" (emphasis in original).[32] The denial or removal of indigenous peoples takes place through various means. In addition to bloody and violent conquest, killing or genocide, Veracini describes several settler colonial strategies by which settlers replace and "transfer" indigenous population. Besides the administrative strategies such as assimilation policies or ethnic transfer (turning indigenous peoples into refugees or confining them to reservations), conceptual or perceptual transfer is more often seen in settler colonial narratives. In these narratives, indigenous peoples are usually defined as coming from somewhere else. Indigenous cultures are described as "nomadic" or "roaming," and thus they can also be viewed as immigrants (or settlers) who merely arrived earlier. By doing so, settlers claim that both groups (settlers and indigenous peoples) "settled and pioneered the land" in order to deny the particular "ontological connection linking indigenous peoples to their land" and meanwhile emphasizing their own indigenization (we are as "native" as indigenes, but just arriving a bit late). These tactics even extend to the appropriation of indigenous cultures or performing (dressing up) as aboriginals. By deploying "the doctrine of discovery" and the racist discourses of "terra nullius" (barren or empty land, which simultaneously implies that the land belongs to no one), indigenous peoples are understood as "part of the landscape," by which settlers rationalize their usurpation of land. Furthermore, as Veracini notes, settlers consider that the "unauthentic" indigenous peoples cannot "occupy the indigenous sector of the population system."[33] This insight best

[32] Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 11.

[33] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A theoretical Overview* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 41.

explains the fact that most of the Pingpu indigenous population in Taiwan are still painstakingly fighting for official recognition. The Han settler government adopts a discourse in which they oversimplify and generalize about different tribes of indigenous peoples in order to disavow the presence of indigenous populations in Taiwan. The various strategies of settler (mass) transfer, according to Veracini, oftentimes operate simultaneously and interweave with one another in different situations; "transfer," in Veracini's use, is therefore a foundational trait in settler colonial formation.

In *The Settler Colonial Present*, Veracini further illustrates other distinct features of settler colonialism through four interconnected arguments articulated in the negative: 1) settler colonialism is not colonialism; 2) settlers are not migrants; 3) settler colonialism is not somewhere else; and 4) settler colonialism is not finished. Drawing on analogies of viruses and bacteria, Veracini defines colonialism as a "viral form." Viruses attach to host cells and penetrate them, but do not have their own metabolism and need host cells to replicate. Accordingly, viruses and host cells form a "typical slave-master relationship," as viruses need host cells in order to reproduce and proliferate. This "slave-master dialectic relationship" resembles the typical dualistic structure of classic colonialism, in which the colonizers need the colonized subjects to define their existence and execute colonial projects.[34] In contrast, he suggests settler colonialism should be viewed as a "bacterial form." Unlike viruses, bacteria attach to the surfaces of host cells but do not need living cells to reproduce because bacteria can grow and proliferate rapidly through "asexual reproduction," the typical form of reproduction for unicellular organisms. Analogously, settler colonizers attach to the land but "do not need indigenous 'Others' for their reproduction and operation." Instead, settlers attempt to remove or transfer the indigenous

[34] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, pp. 16-17.

peoples they encounter in various ways: "by assimilating them, by killing them off, or more often by preventing them from accessing traditional resources and reproduce."[35] In this vein, a triangular relationship between the colonial metropole, settler colony and indigenous population constitutes and defines settler colonialism. Settlers seek to remove/replace/transfer the indigenous population and, "in the process cast aside the authority of the 'mother' country" (the sending country of settlers).[36] To put it differently, as a theoretical framework, the notion of settler colonialism further complicates our understanding of the classic colonial dualistic structure between the colonizer and the colonized by delving into the "triangular relations" between colonizers, settlers, and indigenous peoples in a transnational context that moves between the colonial metropole, settler colony, and indigenous population.

Even though settlers and migrants share similar historical factors (the two groups are both, to a degree, consequences attributable to global imperial expansion and colonization), they should be treated as distinct groups since they each have different social status in settler colonies. Settlers are "beneficiaries" who intend to reproduce the political systems of the metropolises in new settler colonies, so as to transform new colonies into their homeland and thus facilitate their claims of sovereignty. Migrants are usually minorities both in population and in power relations. Marginalized migrants are often "targeted by assimilatory process" in the face of the already built socio-political structure by settler colonizers. To put it another way, not all migrants are settlers, but settlers are a "specific group of unique migrants"—they are "founders of political orders" in settler colonies and attempt to control (or deny) both indigenous peoples and other

[35] Ibid., p. 25.

[36] Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History*, pp. 5.

migrants (exogenous others).[37]

Contrary to the general understanding of settler colonialism, it does not take place on the periphery (as is often treated in the intellectual frameworks such as frontier studies or borderlands traditions), but is instead omnipresent, because settler colonialism is a global and contemporary phenomenon. Spatially speaking, land dispossession, structural violence, ethnic and racial discrimination, assimilation, and the other forms of settler transfer described earlier happen everywhere, in both rural and urban areas, and therefore settler colonialism is not being practiced elsewhere, but "in the metropole's very core."[38] Temporally speaking, settler colonialism is not something that occurred in the past, but a form of domination that happens and operates in the present. This brings us to the last point that Veracini makes: "settler colonialism is not finished." It is a contemporary phenomenon that continues to sustain itself globally. According to Edward Cavanagh and Veracini, there is "no such thing as neo-settler colonialism or post-settler colonialism because settler colonialism is a resilient formation that rarely ends."[39] Also, as Patrick Wolfe's commonly cited statement goes, settler colonial invasion is a "structure" not an "event."[40] An "event," as a temporal conception, will ultimately come to an end, however violent and turbulent the process can be. Nevertheless, "structures" within settler colonies are usually, if not always, too strong to break or overthrow. Settler colonialism operates as what Louis P. Althusser has perfectly characterized as "Ideological State apparatuses," affecting and penetrating the societies in all dimensions through political systems (regimes), policies, religions

[37] Ibid., pp. 32-42.

[38] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, p. 59.

[39] Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, "Editors Statement," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3.1 (2013), p. 1.

[40] Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, p. 163.

(churches), educational systems (schools), legal codes (laws and regulations), communications (press, radio, etc.), social and cultural norms, and so forth.[41] In short, settler colonialism, as a structure, functions and exists in everyday life through various apparatuses to transfer indigenous peoples and transform societies, politically, economically, socially and culturally.

In the following sections, I outline different settler colonial conditions in the United States, Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and Israel (some of the most typical settler colonies), to construct a comparative basis for this dissertation to further investigate the manifestation of settler colonialism in Taiwan. Finally, I draw upon the approach of "relational comparison" to consider how the framework of settler colonialism as "relational comparison" can shed new lights on Taiwan studies by putting Taiwan onto this map of the world.

The United States

In his book entitled *American Settler Colonialism: A History*, Walter L. Hixson argues that the United States is the most significant example of settler colonial society in world history because settler colonizers in the US have caused "millions of deaths and displacements" of indigenous peoples and built up the "richest, most powerful, and ultimately the most militarized nation in the world."[42] To Hixson, the military and political power of the American government over the world is critical to its settler colonial history. In addition to his analysis of "the doctrine of discovery" and "the discourses of terra nullius" that began with Christopher Columbus in the fifteenth century, Hixson examines the ways in which Euro-American settlers legitimized their settler colonial project by fictionalizing "settler colonial narratives." Euro-American settlers

[41] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, translated by Ben Brewster (Monthly Review Press, 1971), pp. 127-86.

[42] Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History*, pp. 1-2.

acted within "a discourse emphasizing Indian terror," labeled Indians "barbarians and savages," and renamed American Indian resistance as "murder" and "massacre" against white "innocent men, women and children" in order to launch their campaigns of extermination over indigenes. Because the American Indians' violence and barbarism was constructed in the settler narrative of the United States, "No savage shall inherit the land."[43] Furthermore, Hixson elaborates on the discursive co-constitution between settler colonialism, the American Revolution, and American national identity: "The American Revolution, framed in historical discourse as a struggle for freedom and self-determination, was simultaneously a campaign to drive Indians out of colonial space."[44] Manifest Destiny, the belief that Euro-Americans were destined to expand the territory of America, along with its "advanced version" of "American exceptionalism," was employed not only to rationalize their pursuit of freedom and self-determination, but also to deny the violence caused by its settler colonial expansion.[45] Jodi A. Byrd, in this regard, penetratingly argues that American exceptionalism "functions within the nation to deny the reality of U.S. imperialism," and the discourse of "postcolonial theory reproduced exceptionalism."[46] In this case, settler colonialism is fundamentally associated with the process of nation building, whereby "a national mythology displaces the indigenous past."[47]

By and large, the United States, as a global power with intimate ties with Taiwan since the

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[43] Ibid., p. 49.

[44] Ibid., pp.57-8.

[45] Hsinya Huang and Hsiu-li Juan discuss the example of Frank Baum in their book, *Native North American Literatures: Reflections on Multiculturalism*. Frank Baum, the American writer chiefly known for his children's book, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, published articles to urge the total extermination of all American indigenous peoples so as to protect their civilization after the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1891. Please see *Native North American Literatures: Reflections on Multiculturalism* (National San Yat-sen University Press, 2009), p. 12.

[46] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, p. 5.

[47] Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History*, p. 11.

Cold War, and as a highly capitalized society in which settler colonial condition and postcolonial discourse coexist, provides a fruitful comparative case for this project to examine the coexistence of settler colonial consciousness, as well as Han Taiwanese people's desire and anxiety for postcoloniality I discussed earlier. Additionally, indigenous Taiwan, as a crucial part of the larger Austronesian culture of the Pacific world, as Taiwanese scholar Huang Hsin-ya points out, can provide "significant impulses" in the fields of American Indian and comparative indigenous studies.[48] This view also applies to the comparative settler colonial studies between Taiwan and the United States.

Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia

The origin of settler colonialism of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia can be traced back to British explorer Captain James Cook's eighteenth-century voyages. His visits to Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia have long been considered "foundational moments, as marking the true beginnings of the histories of each nation."[49] Cook's "discovery" of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769 and Australia in 1770 operated very similar to the discursive construction of Columbus's "discovery of America." This has become part of the legal fiction of "terra nullius" and constituted the settler colonial discourses of the two nations, which very effectively deny the land rights of indigenous peoples and validate the residency of the white settlers in the new settler states. The histories of the two nations are usually taught in terms of "discovery" by the national founder-figure Captain Cook and several other heroic British explorers mapping, adventuring,

[48] Hsin-ya Huang, "Indigenous Taiwan as Location of Native American and Indigenous Studies," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 16. 4 (2014), http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.2576.

[49] Nicholas Thomas, "The Use of Captain Cook: Early Exploration in the Public History of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia," *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa* (Palgrave, 2006), p. 147.

and settling barren and empty land.[50] After the "discovery" of Aotearoa New Zealand, more and more Pakeha (the descendants of European settlers in Maori language, including missionaries, administrators and other migrants) arrived. Later, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 between the British Crown and Maori chiefs. Nevertheless, the confusion between the different versions of the Treaty (in Maori and English) and the contradictory understandings between the two groups caused the major controversies over land in the following years. The Maori chiefs, according to Wendy Larner and Paul Spoonley, did not consider that they were granting "mana whenua" (control of the land in Maori language) to the Pakeha white settlers while signing the Treaty.[51] Due to the massive waves of immigration of Pakeha settlers in the 1860s and 1870s, as well as the disease brought by the immigrants that resulted in a devastating demographic decline of the Maori population, Pakeha settlers exceeded the Maori indigenes by the 1870s. The conflict with the land between the Maori and Pakeha settlers triggered wars between the 1860s and the 1890s, which were not only "about the access of Pakeha settlers to land, but also about whether Maori or Pakeha conceptions of land use and ownership would prevail."[52] Thanks to Maori activism and protest, the nation of Aotearoa New Zealand was ultimately redefined as a "bicultural nation" by the mid-1980s and the concept of "partnership" is now widely taken to describe the relationship between the two peoples. Biculturalism is identified with the issues of "social justice, cultural integrity and the redistribution of resources," which are the basis for "a

[50] Jan Jindy Pettman, "Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Australia," *Unsettling Settler Society: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 1995), p. 70. Also see Nicholas Thomas, "The Use of Captain Cook: Early Exploration in the Public History of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia," pp. 145-9.

[51] Wendy Larner and Paul Spoonley, "Post-Colonial Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Unsettling Settler Society: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, p. 42.

[52] Ibid., p. 43.

powerful and progressive social contract in Aotearoa New Zealand."[53]

Across the Tasman Sea, the British government established a penal colony on the east coast of Australia, in a city we know today as Sydney, in 1788. Following a similar trajectory of settler violence, disease, and indigenous depopulation seen in the settler colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand, the aboriginal population in Australia declined. This led to the strengthening of the settler perception of that Australian indigenous peoples were a dying, vanishing race. To make matters worse, the "child removal policy," the state-sponsored policy of removing Aboriginal children from their own indigenous communities under the rationalization to "protect" their kids, was implemented by the Australian Federal and State government from the 1860s to the 1960s, which led to the cultural and linguistic loss of the younger generation of Australian indigenes. These aboriginal children who were forcefully removed from their families and assimilated by the white Australian communities were known as the so-called "stolen generations,"[54] as their languages and cultures were stolen by the Australian settler regime. Due to this cruel history of Australia, scholars are inclined to agree that the "multiculturalism" the Australian government promoted looks "like assimilation without tears, asserting the positive value of difference while relegating such difference to private and social spheres."[55]

On May 28, the largest political demonstration in Australian history took place on one of the most famous Sydney landmarks. About 250,000 people, both indigenous and non-indigenous, assembled and made their way across the Sydney's Harbour Bridge to show their support for

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[53] Ibid., p. 52.

[54] Gillian Whitlock, "Active Remembrance: Testimony, Memoir and the Work of Reconciliation," *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, pp. 24-44.

[55] Jan Jindy Pettman, "Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Australia," *Unsettling Settler Society: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, p. 82.

reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. While this six-hour long walk for reconciliation has been regarded as a milestone in the process of reconciliation by the public, the actual content of reconciliation, as Veracini notes, "remains unclear."[56] With its genetic, linguistic and cultural affiliations with the Oceania ecozone, indigenous Taiwan is recently regarded as the origin of Austronesian peoples in the recent theories,[57] and therefore, I suggest, it should be included as part of the academic conversation of the aforementioned settler colonies.

Israel as a Settler Colony

The long history of Jewish diaspora constitutes a complex settler colonial situation and plays a critical part in the formation of Israel as a settler society. After their long exile, by the end of the nineteenth century, more and more diasporic Jewish people around the world began to move to Palestine, a place that was inhabited mostly by Arab Palestinian. In 1948, the State of Israel was declared by the head of Jewish Agency. Later Israel annexed about "half of the territories designated to the Palestinian state" and many of Palestinians were forced to escape, or were killed. The Palestinians who remained in the newly established state of Israel, as in many other settler colonial societies, became the demographic minority.[58] After decades of wars, violent confrontation and conflicts, the Israeli-Palestinian struggle still remains unresolved.

Differing from the other cases of settler colonies, Palestinians are not considered "indigenous." They are not "tribal people" in a conventional sense, such as indigenous Maori in

[56] Lorenzo Veracini, *Israel and Settler Society* (Pluto Press, 2006), p. 77.

[57] Jared M. Diamond, "Linguistics: Taiwan's Gift to the World," *Nature* 403. 6771 (2000), p. 709.

[58] Nahla Abdo and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Palestine, Israel and the Zionist Settler Project," *Unsettling Settler Society: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, pp. 294-5.

Aotearoa New Zealand or American Indians in the United States. The frequently appropriated doctrine of "terra nullius" seen in most of the settler colonies does not fit that well in the context of considering Israel a settler society. Instead, Zionism, the Jewish national movement and nationalist orthodoxy to establish a national homeland of Israel, played a pivotal part in proclaiming the essential "indigenous status" for the Jewish people in Palestine so as to reject the presence of Palestinians and their history. The long history of exile and the traumatic collective memories of persecution and extermination shared by many Jewish people around the world further contributed to the formation and consolidation of Zionism as well as the Zionist settler colonial mentality. The doctrine of terra nullius on this ground was revised and rewritten into a particular form of Zionist settler project: "Palestine is a place sparsely populated; it is a land without people for a people without land."[59]

This revised version of terra nullius discourse, in which the existence of Palestinians and the history of Palestine before the Zionist settlement were disavowed, has therefore been deployed by Israeli settlers to repudiate the "founding violence" of the State of Israel as a settler polity.[60] As Nahla Abdo and Nira Yuval-Davis have pointed out, "the old/new place of Palestine as the Land of Israel in Jewish mythology have contributed to the nation-building process of the Israeli people which started to take place during the early part of the twentieth century, and have transformed them into being constructed—by themselves and by many others—as an 'indigenous people'."[61] Although the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is no doubt of a very special

[59] Ibid., p. 291.

[60] Lorenzo Veracini, *Israel and Settler Society*, particularly chapter four, in which Veracini compares the case of Israel to Australia in terms of the shared "silence on the founding violence" within the two settler polities, as well as the recent rewriting of historiographies that challenge the aforementioned notions.

[61] Ibid., p. 317.

one, the logic of the Zionist settler project in fact functions very similar ways to other settler colonial societies. Palestinians were unseen in the eyes of the Israeli Jewish settlers, and the land of Palestine is taken as the eternal "homeland" for the Jews. Thus, justifying the Israeli Jewish people who felt they ought to establish a new Israeli Jewish state. In this vein, the settler colonial condition of Israel is not as unique as normally perceived, and can serve as a productive test case for further comparative studies.[62] More specifically, the sense of victimhood found in the case of Israeli settler colonial mentality, I argue, is especially helpful to reflect on the traumatic cultural memory shared by most Han settlers in Taiwan (both the early and new waves of Han settlers before and after 1945) who merely consider themselves the subjects of multiple colonial history and deny the "founding violence" in the process of nation-building.

Taiwan as a Settler Colony

As noted above, since the late seventeenth century, Han Chinese immigrants from China have become the demographic majority and occupied most of the land of Taiwan, pushing out the indigenous peoples who have inhabited for thousands of years. Due to various colonial policies and the collaboration between multiple colonial powers and Han settlers, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been removed from their land, wiped out by military forces, subject to imposed assimilation policies and education by the Han settler regimes. To borrow Veracini's term, Taiwan indigenous peoples have been "transferred" into becoming "Han" people. Given the fact that the Han population replaced the indigenous inhabitants, and this population stayed permanently on indigenous land, Taiwan has been a de facto settler colony. However, owing to

[62] Lorenzo Veracini, *Israel and Settler Society*, p. 1. Veracini compares Israel settler colonial condition with three areas (South Africa, Algeria and Australia) to show that it does bear resemblance with other typical settler colonial situations.

its international invisibility and the prevailing postcolonial discourse the nativist intellectuals advocated, Taiwan has not yet been seriously treated as a case for settler colonial studies by either local or global academic communities. Shu-mei Shih's article, "The Concept of the Sinophone," published in *PMLA*, is one of the rare exceptions to this scholarly blindness. In the article, Shih further elaborates on the concept of the Sinophone from her previous monograph published in 2007, *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific*, by analyzing three interrelated historical processes of formation of the Sinophone communities and cultures: continental colonialism, settler colonialism, and (im)migration. She writes, "In Taiwan the indigenous Austronesian peoples have lived under serial colonialism (the colonists are the Han Chinese who settled there since the seventeenth century, becoming the present-day Taiwanese and Hakkas; the Dutch; the Japanese; and the Han Chinese again in the second wave of settlement in the late 1940s) continuously for several centuries—they have never been postcolonial."[63] In short, it is extremely problematic to claim the postcolonial for the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, when Han mainstream settler society remains reluctant and unwilling to recognize the existence of the indigenous population, or to acknowledge the continuous domination and dispossession of the indigenous peoples by the Han settler state. Only by reconsidering the colonial relations between the Han settlers and the indigenous peoples in Taiwan and critically reflecting on the settler colonial present can we begin to talk about decolonization practices and imagine a possible (but not yet) postcolonial future, for both the indigenous and non-indigenous communities on Taiwan.

In addition to the framework of settler colonialism, this research project also is inspired by

[63] Shu-mei Shih, "The Concept of the Sinophone," *PMLA* 126. 3 (2011), p. 713.

the method of "relational comparison" Shih articulated in her recent essays.[64] The concept of "relational comparison" allows Shih to challenge and overcome the hierarchical relationship of knowledge and theory production between the West and the non-west (Asia, in her discussion). Shih argues elsewhere that the dominant comparative paradigm, that is, the application of Western theory to the study of non-western realities, has inevitably strengthened already deep-rooted Eurocentrism, implying that the non-west has never been, and cannot become the site of theory production. This paradigm clearly shows the "uneven and hierarchical relationship" between the West and the rest: Western theory is considered universal, and the veil of the non-west can only be lifted through the theoretical tools from the West.[65] Moreover, the dichotomy between Western theory and Asian reality has caused scholars to focus on the non-reciprocal discursive opposition between the two, but ignored the voices of minor and minoritized peoples within Asia.

Nonetheless, Shih does not simply support the idea celebrated by anti-theorists who nihilistically and carelessly repudiate theory. Frankly speaking, we cannot deny that Western theory has always included several different non-western elements, and due to the impact of globalization in world history, theories from the West have already become an inseparable part of not merely Asian, but many other non-western realities. If we can agree with what Edward Said underscored in *Culture and Imperialism* that "cultures are not impermeable" and the history of all cultures is "the history of cultural borrowing,"[66] then what scholars have to do is not to deny

[64] These essays include Shu-mei Shih, "Comparison as Relation," *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2013), pp. 79-98; "World Studies and Relational Comparison," *PMLA* 120.2 (2015), pp. 430-38; "Theory in a Relational World," *Comparative Literature Studies* 53.4 (2016), pp. 722-746; "Forum 2: Linking Taiwan Studies with the World," *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 1 (2018), pp. 209-227.

[65] Shu-mei Shih, "Theory, Asia and the Sinophone" *Postcolonial Studies* 13: 4 (2010), pp. 465-6.

[66] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (Vintage Book, 1993), p. 217.

or passively resist this historical fact, but rather, to question the uneven, asymmetrical opposition between the two, actively scatter any rigid structures of discursive formation (the West, the rest and the oppositional dialectics between the two), and more importantly, pay attention to those minoritized others who have long been neglected or forgotten throughout history.

Drawing upon the recent approach of "integrative world history" proposed by historians including Janet L. Abu-Lughod, John M. Hobson, and André Gunder Frank, along with the "Poetics of Relation" that Martiniquan poet-philosopher Édouard Glissant theorizes, Shih considers literary production an indispensable part of world history in that world literature "happens in world history," and "world history includes and needs world literature."[67] In this vein, world history and world literature are "conjunctural formations intimately connected to each other."[68] Thus the framework of "relational comparison" aims to explore various sets of relationalities and interconnectivities within the relational networks in the integrated world historical context.[69] By extending Glissant's use of the term *Relation*, Shih indicates that Relation can function as a "transitive verb" by which it can act "directly upon objects, terms, languages, texts, peoples, and societies."[70] The concept of "relational comparison" thus not merely enables us to overcome the asymmetrical, binary opposition between the West and the rest, center and periphery, as well as theory and reality. This concept also helps to reconsider the entangled interconnectivities, complicated relationalities, and mobile interaction between literature, history and theory, redefining the current academic domains of comparative studies

[67] Shu-mei Shih, "World Studies and Relational Comparison," *PMLA* 120.2 (2015), p. 436.

[68] Ibid..

[69] Shu-mei Shih, "Comparison as Relation," *Comparison: Theories, Approaches, Uses* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2013), pp. 79-98.

[70] Shu-mei Shih, "World Studies and Relational Comparison," *PMLA* 120.2 (2015), p. 436.

and world literature.

Following Shih's insightful interpretation of the term *Relation* as a transitive verb in English, I conceptualize this term in the context of the Sinitic language in order to excavate its theoretical potential further. Here, I render *Relation* as *guanlian* (關連). In the Sinitic language, the compound phrase *guanlian* can not only be taken as a noun (meaning "relation" literally) but also be understood as a verb, as used in Glissant's theorization. Besides, the two characters—*guan* (關) and *lian* (連)—can also be deciphered independently, both as verbs and nouns: *guan* can signify concern(ing) and care (關於 *guanyu* and 關心 *guanxin*); *lian* refers to corresponding (連繫 *lianxi*), contacting (連絡 *lianluo*), connecting (連結 *lianjie*), implying temporal continuity and spatial conjunctionality within history. The above understanding highlights both conceptual potentiality and ethic positionality of the project.

The framework of settler colonialism, as Shih further elaborates elsewhere, is not simply a useful theoretical framework that can be applied to Taiwan's reality: Taiwan actually played a pivotal role in its direct involvement with the making of international law governing settler colonies during the seventeenth century.[71] Furthermore, this concept provides us a comparative framework to connect Taiwan with other settler colonies, including the United States, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, and others. By connecting different settler colonial conditions and societies worldwide, my project takes the framework of settler colonialism as the major theoretical axis to center on Taiwan as a main site, and further put it onto the map of integrated settler colonial world history through the relational comparative methodology described above. *Relation*, as a verb in Glissant's formulation, is an act to relink, relay and relate, relating and

[71] Shu-mei Shih, "Theorization of Taiwan," *Knowledge Taiwan: The Possibilities of Taiwan Theory* (Rye Field Publishing, 2016), pp. 68-73.

rethinking different entities externally and internally.[72] To revisit the settler colonial history and cultural production of Taiwan in this vein is not only to rearticulate Taiwan's historical specificity within world history, but also to understand different ethnic groups in Taiwan in a new form of relational ethics. Next, I explain how the notion of settler colonialism can help us to reflect on the Han-centered historiography and create alternative ways of knowledge production.

Paradigmatic Shift: Reframing Taiwan's Historiography and Indigenous Knowledge

To unpack and re-conceptualize Taiwan's settler colonial history, I take a genealogical approach to recalibrate and re-historicize the formation, development, and transformation of Taiwan's historiography. The narrative of Taiwan history as an autonomous field of study is belated in that this island has long been treated as a frontier of both continental and maritime imperial powers. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch colonial government under the Dutch East India Company viewed this island as an "entrepôt" which linked its Asian trade with a much larger, worldwide commercial network.[73] Zheng Chenggong, the Ming loyalist who established the first Han regime and brought the Chinese-style administrative system to this island, initially considered Taiwan his military base to resist the Qing Empire after he expelled the Dutch colonizers from the territory of Taiwan. After the Zheng regime surrendered in 1683, the Qing court at the inception of its rule treated Taiwan as a frontier settlement, a remote, dangerous and savage island that they did not take seriously. In the first half of the twentieth century, Taiwan as an overseas Japanese colony was employed as a military and economic front for the Japanese Empire to expand its reach toward Southeast Asia and other Pacific islands, a stepping stone of

[72] Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, translated by Besty Wing (University of Michigan Press, 1997), p. 173.

[73] Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West* (An East Gate Book, 2009), p. 6.

the Japanese government's imperial policy of "southward expansion" (南進 *nanshin*). When the Nationalist government retreated from China and settled the island of Taiwan, this mainland regime imposed a homogeneous China-centric historiography on all individuals and insisted on its reclaiming of China as the origin of those who live in Taiwan.

During the Japanese colonial period, Han intellectual and historian Lien Heng's (連橫) *A General History of Taiwan* (台灣通史 *Taiwan tongshi*), first published in 1920, was widely believed to be one of the earliest accounts that foregrounded Taiwan's distinct historical context and its specificity. The preface to this book began with the striking statement: "Taiwan originally had no history. The Dutch started it, the Zheng family developed it, and the Qing carried it on (臺灣固無史也。荷人啟之、鄭氏作之、清代營之)."[74] Lien concisely expresses the difficulty of writing Taiwan's past and the extremely marginalized role this island had played in its serial and successive colonial history. Despite his recognized contribution to Taiwan history and the formation of Taiwanese cultural identity during the Japanese colonial period, Lien still composed this historical account from a Han-chauvinistic perspective because he continually stressed the historical and cultural ties between Taiwan and China, as well as his family's loyalty to the Ming regime.[75] Besides, Lien's statement, "Taiwan originally had no history," is unfortunately a disavowal of the very existence of Taiwan before the Dutch colonizers "discovered and opened up" the island, which further reveals the Han settler colonial consciousness rooted in Lien's work. More notable is the following passage: "Taiwan was originally a barren and uninhabited island in the sea. Our ascendants rode on bamboo wagons and wore ragged clothing, opening up mountain

[74] Heng Lien, *A General History of Taiwan* (Liming wenhua, 2001), p. 19.

[75] Mi-cha Wu, "The Historical Construction of 'Taiwanese Culture': A Preliminary Analysis," *Taiwan International Studies Quarterly* 10.3 (2014), p. 10.

forests for cultivation. Today we are still relying on what our predecessors have established (夫臺灣固海上之荒島爾，篳路藍縷以啟山林，至於今是賴).”[76] The island of Taiwan in this passage is rendered an insular version of “terra nullius,” an uninhabited virgin land that was ready for Han settlers’ ascendants to open up and cultivate. The existence of the indigenous population is totally invisible, and the “founding violence” of settlers is replaced by the hardship of the early Han settlers, together with their remarkable achievements of opening up and cultivating the land for their descendants. Intriguingly, the above settler historiography has become the typical master narrative of Taiwan, and has been continuously deployed, appropriated, and reproduced not only by the Nationalist government to consolidate its ruling legitimacy as a mainland regime, but also by the nativist camp of intellectuals and activists to (re)construct a Taiwan-oriented historiography and identity. Lien’s historiography has been partially and selectively utilized by two groups of Han settlers (mainlanders and Taiwanese locals) to rationalize two distinct settler colonial narratives.

In contrast to Lien’s account, pro-independent nativist historian and activist Su Bing’s (史明) *The Four-Hundred-Year History of the Taiwanese* (台灣人四百年史 *Taiwan ren sibai nian shi*), first written in Japanese in 1962 and later translated into Mandarin Chinese and English, should be regarded as Taiwan’s first historical account which more explicitly tackles the issue of Taiwanese national consciousness and identity (as opposed to the orthodox China-centric historiography the Nationalist government propagandized during the Martial Law period). But it is not until the 1980s that the studies of Taiwan history began to thrive due to the emergence of a distinct Taiwanese consciousness. The enormous social and political transformation of Taiwan since the lifting of martial law, as Chou Wan-yao highlights, marked a new era, and this new era

[76] Heng Lien, *A General History of Taiwan*, p. 19.

"requires a new history" of Taiwan.[77] Instead of making connections to the continent of China across the Taiwan Strait, historians in Taiwan started to pay attention to the island on which they lived, and as a consequence, more and more studies of Taiwan history have been produced over the past few decades.[78] Tsao Yung-ho (曹永和), one of the pioneers of Taiwan history studies, proposed the concept of "the history of Taiwan island" (臺灣島史 *Taiwan daoshi*) in the 1990s, in which he encouraged scholars to investigate Taiwan's own specificity as an island nation and its maritime connections with the outside world in world history, rather than treating it as a parcel of or an extension to mainland China as a continent that confines.[79] Historian Shih-shan Henry Tsai's *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West* can be seen as a brilliant scholarly work following this paradigmatic shift.[80] These studies of Taiwan history can therefore be re-conceptualized in different networks of world history.

Although the writing of Taiwan history has shifted from a Han China-centered historiography to a more Taiwan-oriented, local-based historiographical reconstruction, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan still occupy very limited space. Indigenous epistemology and cosmology remain unseen in these historical accounts. As Chang Pin-tsun points out, neither

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[77] Wan-yao Chou, *A New Illustrated History of Taiwan*, trans. Carole Plackitt and Tim Casey (SMC Publishing Inc., 2015), pp. 4-5.

[78] Here I just list some of the examples as follows: Yung-ho Tsao, *Research into Early Taiwan History* (Linking Publishing Co., 1979), and *Research into Early Taiwan History: Continued* (Linking Publishing Co., 2000); Wan-yao Chou, *A New Illustrated History of Taiwan*, trans. Carole Plackitt and Tim Casey (SMC Publishing Inc., 2015); Wan-yao Chou, *Going to the Sea: Collected Articles on the History of the Final Period of Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan* (Asian Culture Publishing, 2003); Wei-chung Cheng, *Taiwan Society during the Dutch Colonial Period* (A vanguard Publishing, 2004); Tsui-lien Chen, *Resistance and Identity of Taiwanese People: 1920-1950* (Yuanliu, 2008).

[79] Yung-ho Tsao, "An Alternative Method of Taiwan History Studies: The Concept of 'the history of Taiwan as an island'," *Newsletter of Taiwan History Field Research* 15 (1990), pp. 7-9. This article was later compiled in his book, *Research into Early Taiwan History: Continued* (Linking Publishing Co., 2000), pp. 445-449.

[80] Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West* (New York: An East Gate Book, 2009).

Lien Heng's historiographical assumption that Taiwan had no history (Han-centered) nor Su Bing's framing of Taiwan's 400-year history (Taiwan-oriented) is valid unless we only "understand Taiwan history from the viewpoint of Chinese immigration."[81] Su's periodization of 400-years of Taiwan history merely covers the history of Han immigration from China to Taiwan from the seventeenth century to the present—this approach discloses his total ignorance of the presence and history of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan before the arrival and invasion of both western colonizers and Han settlers. That is why indigenous scholar Sun Ta-chuan (Paelabang Danapan) reminds us that we must "add another 0" to Taiwan's 400-year history in order to include the much longer history of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan and their rich oral tradition and knowledge, and create a more comprehensive historiography of Taiwan.[82] Without the recognition of indigeneity and the history of indigenous Taiwan, Sun further contends, the writing of Taiwan history will remain incomplete and problematic.[83]

The efforts of the indigenous authors offer critical and alternative viewpoints to reinvestigate the historiography and knowledge production of Taiwan. Developing along parallel lines with a series of social and political movements, including localization and democratization movements, as well as the global indigenous rights movements around the world, Taiwan indigenous rights and cultural revitalization movements emerged in the early 1980s. The release of the inaugural issue of *High Mountain Green* magazine (高山青 *Gaoshanqing*), an indigenous magazine published by indigenous students at National Taiwan University in 1983 marked a

[81] Pin-tsun Chang, "Chinese Migration to Taiwan in the Eighteenth Century: A Paradox," *Maritime China in Transition, 1750-1850* (Harrassowitz, 2004), p. 97.

[82] Ta-chuan Sun, "To Add Another 0," *Life in a Wine Bottle* (Teacher Chang Publishing, 1991), p. 148.

[83] Ta-chuan Sun, "Taiwan History and Indigenous Peoples," *The World of Mountains and Seas: Portrayal of Taiwan Indigenous Mentality*, p. 226.

milestone for the subsequent indigenous rights movements. The first indigenous non-governmental organization called the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (台灣原住民族權利促進委員會 *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu quanlicujin weiyuanhui*) was founded by both indigenous and non-indigenous activists and intellectuals in December 1984. The Alliance actively engaged in various demonstrations and protests calling for indigenous land rights, name rectification, self-determination and autonomy, and other rights. In addition to protest rallies in support of indigenous peoples' rights, many indigenous intellectuals and critics, including Sun Ta-chuan, Pasuya Poiconu (Pu Chungchen), Pu Chungyung, Walis Nokan and others, have dedicated themselves to reconstructing indigenous historiography, cosmology and epistemology.[84] As for the literary realm, indigenous writers, including Monaneng, Adaw Palaf, Syaman Rapongan, Badai, Topas Tamapima, Walis Nokan, Lyiking Yuma, Liglave Awu, have painted fascinating pictures of indigenous literary landscapes with their fantastic poetry, prose, fiction, novels, and other genres, that enrich and broaden the spectrum of Taiwan literature. Their achievements have also encouraged other non-indigenous scholars (including Hsieh Shih-chung, Yang Tsui, Wei Yi-chun, Huang Hsin-ya, Shih Cheng-feng, Chiu Kuei-fen, etc.) to participate in the studies of indigenous knowledge, history, literature, and cultures.[85] Wei Yi-chun's *Study on the Formation*

[84] Please see works regarding indigenous historiography, cosmology and epistemology as follows: Chung-chen Pu, *Thinking Aborigines* (A vanguard Publishing, 2002), *A Forgotten Sacred Area: Indigenous Mythology, History, and Literature* (Wunan, 2007) and *Literary History of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples* (LE JIN BOOKS LTD., 2009); Chungchen Pu, Chungyung Pu and Yapasuyongu, *HUPA, HOSA, KUBA: Meditations of Tsou Brothers* (Liming, 2004); Walis Nokan, "Thoughts on Modern Taiwan Indigenous Literature," *Writing Taiwan: Strategies of Representation* (Rye Field, 2000), pp. 101-119; Walis Nokan, *In the Eyes of Barbarians* (Morning Star Publishing Inc., 1999).

[85] Here I name some of their works as follows: Shih-chung Hsieh, *Stigmatized Identity: A Study on Ethnic Change of Taiwan Aborigines* (Yushanshe, 2017); Hsin-ya Huang, "Representing Indigenous Bodies in Epeli Hau'ofa and Syaman Rapongan," *Tamkang Review* 40. 2 (June 2010), pp. 3-19; Hsin-ya Huang, "Sinophone Indigenous Literature of Taiwan: History and Tradition," *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader* (Columbia UP, 2013), pp. 242-254; Kuei-fen Chiu, "Cosmopolitanism and Indigenism: The Use of Cultural Authenticity in an Age of Flows," *New Literary History* 44.1 (2013), pp. 159-178; Kuei-fen Chiu, "The Production of Indigeneity: Contemporary Indigenous Literature in Taiwan and Trans-cultural Inheritance," *The China Quarterly* 200 (2009), pp. 1071-1087;

of Post-war Taiwan Indigenous Literature, for instance, is one of the outstanding academic works focusing on the indigenous literature of Taiwan and its relationship with the indigenous peoples' rights movements. Yang Tsui's monograph, *Minor Voices: Multiple Visions of Taiwan Indigenous Women Literature*, is by far the most comprehensive work which foregrounds the significance of the literary texts and cultural practices by indigenous women writers. Additionally, the College of Indigenous Studies at National Dong Hwa University, the first academic institute of indigenous studies established in 2001, also plays an active role in Taiwan indigenous knowledge production.[86]

In addition to the local scholarly production regarding indigeneity, recently, a few western scholars have also begun to pay attention to Taiwan's indigenous studies and to take Taiwan as a test case of settler colonial studies. John R. Shepherd's book, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* in 1993, not only examines the Qing government's changing attitudes and policies towards the Taiwan frontier but also delves into the interethnic relationship between the Qing Empire, Han settlers, and indigenous groups. Even though Shepherd does not accentuate the framework of settler colonialism when writing his monograph, he pinpoints the three-tiered ethnic structure of Taiwan's society during the Qing era.[87] Emma Teng's monograph,

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Tsui Yang, *Minor Voices: Multiple Visions of Taiwan Indigenous Women Literature* (Yushanshe, 2018); Yi-chun Wei, *Study on the Formation of Post-war Taiwan Indigenous Literature* (INK, 2013).

[86] Located in Hualian, the College of Indigenous Studies at National Dong Hwa University actively recruited scholars studying topics concerning indigenous rights and cultures from diverse disciplines. As the leading academic institute of indigenous knowledge, the College of Indigenous Studies regularly organized conferences and generated publications, including academic journals (*Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies*) and monographs. To name a few: Cheng-feng Shih, *Human Rights and Transitional Justice* (Taiwan International Studies Institute, 2016); Cheng-feng Shih ed., *Indigenous Studies* (College of Indigenous Studies at NDHU, 2010); Cheng-feng Shih and Jolan Hsieh eds., *Land Rights Practice of Indigenous Peoples in Canada* (Taiwan International Studies Institute, 2008); Kuo-pin Hsieh, *Disappearance and Reappearance of Pingpu Indigenous Identity* (College of Indigenous Studies at NDHU, 2009).

[87] John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford U, 1933).

Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895 deals with the Qing government's imagination of Taiwan's geographical transformation through colonial travel writing, pictures and cartography. Teng also probes how Taiwan became a "savage island" in the imperial eyes of the Qing via verbal portrayal and visual representation of the aborigines in Taiwan.[88] More importantly, by recognizing "the colonial nature of the historical Chinese presence on Taiwan" since the Qing era and understanding the Qing regime as an empire, Teng further points out that we are therefore able to critique and reflect on "the treatment of the Taiwan indigenes by Han Chinese" and "call into question the Han-centric construction of the modern 'Taiwanese' identity,"[89] which also echoes the impossible postcoloniality of Taiwan that this dissertation addresses. Melissa J. Brown, by analyzing the transformation of ethnic and national identity of Han Taiwanese and the indigenous peoples, boldly confronts the question of whether or not "Taiwan is Chinese."[90] Among existing scholarship, Darryl Sterk's dissertation, "The Return of the Vanishing Formosan: Disturbing the Discourse of National Domestication as the Literary Fate of the Formosan Aboriginal Maiden in Postwar Taiwanese Film and Fiction," singles itself out as one of the rare scholarly contributions that engages in settler colonial studies by taking Taiwan as a settler society with a specific focus on the interethnic relationship between aboriginal maidens and Han settler men represented in film and fiction from Taiwan.[91] In sum, the above scholarship on the paradigmatic shift of Taiwan's historiography, the emergence of

[88] Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).

[89] Ibid., p. 252.

[90] Melissa J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities* (U of California P, 2004).

[91] Darryl Sterk, *The Return of the Vanishing Formosan: Disturbing the Discourse of National Domestication as the Literary Fate of the Formosan Aboriginal Maiden in Postwar Taiwanese Film and Fiction* (Diss., Department of East Asian Studies, U of Toronto, 2009).

Taiwan's indigenous knowledge and epistemology, as well as the recent indigenous literature studies of Taiwan all together serve as a solid ground for my research to examine Taiwan as a settler colony through its cultural production further.

Creating the Prism: Taiwan's Cultural Production and Settler Colonial Criticism

This dissertation examines different forms of postwar cultural production, including literature, cinema, and other forms of media, mostly created by Han Taiwanese authors, through the lens of settler colonial criticism. My reason of studying Han settler cultural texts is twofold. First, in comparison with the studies on indigenous knowledge and literature, far less attention has been given to the indigenous representations by Han Taiwanese authors. It seems that most of the Han Taiwanese critics, if not all of them, are still reluctant to reflect on settler colonial consciousness embedded in literature, cinema, and other cultural media, and the politics of interethnic representation articulated in these texts. In addition to the cultural texts that explicitly represent indigenous peoples or pertain to indigeneity, I argue that even texts or media that are less relevant to indigeneity or interethnic relations between the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples can allow us to see different degrees or layers of settler colonial consciousness enrooted within them, because settler colonialism as a structural apparatus is ubiquitous and has penetrated in our daily lives through all dimensions. Liu Chih-chun's dissertation stands out as one of the very few scholarly attempts to deal with this scholarly blindness.[92] Liu carefully observes literary works written by Han Taiwanese writers since the 1980s and considers this body of literary production a process of self-consolidation of Han Taiwanese authors through representing the indigenous "Others" of Taiwan. Yet, Liu's focus merely is confined to literary

[92] Chih-chun Liu, *Identity, Writing, and the Other: Han People's Writing on Aborigines Since 1980s*, (National Cheng Kung University, 2011).

texts published since the 1980s, and his study has not gone beyond the politics and ethics of literary representation. And this leads to the second reason of my research project—to examine the "intermedial relationality" of literature, cinema, and other forms of cultural media can allow us to scrutinize different formation and expression of contemporary settler colonial consciousness and discourse more thoroughly, and will in turn enable us to better understand Taiwan as a settler colony.

Following Veracini's argument that the study of settler colonialism "should be framed *beside* the study of migrations, colonialisms, comparative economics, environmental transformation, 'transplanted' European institutional patterns, 'frontier' circumstances, and national formation" (emphasis in original),[93] as it is a transnational approach with interdisciplinary theoretical potentiality, I mobilize settler colonial criticism as my main framework alongside other analytical approaches from diverse fields of study, including cultural geography and cartography, cultural anthropology, ecocriticism and insights of sustainability, media studies, sociology, history studies, and others methodologies germane to the topic in each chapter to further explore and investigate the formation and development of Han settler consciousness in contemporary Taiwan. In addition to different forms of methodological intersection described above, French philosopher Jacques Rancière's insight of "redistribution" and his theories of aesthetics, literature, and politics also serve as an important backbone for this study to examine the politics of representation and the ethics of interethnic relationship articulated in Han settler cultural texts more critically.

The main body of my dissertation is divided into four chapters and organized loosely in chronological order to better investigate the construction and transformation of Han settler

[93] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A theoretical Overview,* p. 13.

consciousness in Taiwan's postwar cultural production. It begins with an exploration of Taiwan cinema in the 1950s to investigate the spatial construction of settler colonial consciousness at the inception of the Nationalist settler regime after 1945. The cinematic representations of indigenous peoples in Taiwan had already existed in the early phase of Taiwan film history. For instance, one of the "national policy films" made during the Japanese colonial period, *Bell of Sayon* (*Sayon no kane* サヨンの鐘, 1943), was a propaganda film produced to celebrate the Japanese colonial government's achievement of modernization and civilization of the indigenes in Taiwan. After the end of Japanese colonialism, films with indigenous elements such as *Hualian Harbor* (花蓮港 *Hualian gang*, 1947, directed by He Fei-guang 何非光) and *The Legend of Ali Mountain* (阿里山風雲 *Alishan fengyun*, 1949, co-directed by Chang Yin 張英 and Chang Cheh 張徹) declared Taiwan's entry into Mandarin feature film production.

In Chapter one, "Mapping Formosa: Settler Colonial Cartography in Taiwan Cinema in the 1950s," I examine two representative but rarely studied propaganda films produced by the state-owned studios at the inception of the Nationalist rule in the 1950s, Bai Ke's (白克) *Descendants of the Yellow Emperor* (黃帝子孫 *Huangdi zisun*, 1955) and Chen Wen-chuan's (陳文泉) *Beautiful Treasure Island* (美麗寶島 *Meili baodao*, 1952), to see how a mode of settler colonial consciousness of space was constructed and conveyed to the audience. I suggest a methodological intersection of cultural geography and settler colonial criticism to critique and reflect on the Han settler colonial structure, particularly through the cinematic maps and mapping in the two films. More specifically, by investigating the discursive function of maps and mechanisms of mapping, it will be demonstrated that how these two films construct a form of "settler colonial cartography" through the cinematic visualization of space and the use of

multimedia, and how the Han settler colonial consciousness is formulated and expressed in cinema. Moreover, I compare these two films with another imperial policy documentary from the Japanese colonial period, *Southward Expansion to Taiwan* (南進台湾 *Nanshin Taiwan*, 1940) to further differentiate the narrative and discourse of settler colonialism from classic colonialism. By studying the Nationalist settler colonial consciousness alongside the classic mode of colonialism represented in cinema during the Japanese colonial era, this chapter offers a comparative analysis between the two forms of settler and colonial cartographies and examines the two types of spatial consciousness through cinematic media. This comparative analysis serves as a conceptual basis for the following chapters.

Chapter two, "Encounters at the Crossroad: Indigeneity and Alternative Media since the 1980s," digs into the intermedial relationality between the indigenous peoples' rights movements and alternative media practices since the 1980s. Due to the influence of a series of localization and democratization movements since the late 1970s and the 1980s, the indigenous peoples' rights movements began to thrive through various indigenous demonstrations, protests, and publications. Existing scholarship generally embraces the fact that Taiwan's social movements of localization and democratization from the late 1970s to the early 1980s paved the way for the emergence of the successive indigenous rights movements. This understanding, although partially true, implies that the wave of Taiwan's indigenous movements since the 1980s was merely a side effect or a byproduct of Han-centric social movements. This attitude reflects a settler consciousness centered on Han-oriented supremacy and historiography. As scholars have argued, the 1980s wave of Taiwan's indigenous rights movements should not be regarded as an isolated case in the local context of social movements in Taiwan. Instead, it must also be understood as a crucial part of the global indigenous rights movements. This chapter suggests these indigenous

movements have not only played a more active role in the process of democratization and localization in Taiwan, but also significantly intervened in the development of Taiwan's alternative media production, which was part and parcel of the democratization and localization process since the 1980s. Rather than simply examining alternative media as vehicles or carriers representing indigenous movements and indigeneity, I argue that it was these indigenous rights movements that stimulated, facilitated, and engaged in the formation and production of various forms of alternative media practices in Taiwan since the 1980s. Taking cues from the theories of media studies and sociology, or more specifically, the insights of alternative media studies and French sociologist Bruno Latour's formulation of "actor-network-theory" (ANT), this chapter probes the ways alternative media interact with and destabilize the mainstream mode of filmmaking, and how indigeneity as a critical lens has provided alternative narrative of the Han-centered democratization and localization movements in the 1980s and 1990s by studying five cases of alternative media. These cases include the small media collective the Green Team (綠色小組 *Lüse xiaozu*), the *Human World* magazine (《人間》雜誌 *Renjian zazhi*), and Huang Mingchuan's (黃明川) independent film *The Man from Island West* (西部來的人 *Xibu lai de ren*, 1989), Wan Jen's (萬仁) *Connection by Fate* (超級公民 *Chaoji gongmin*, 1998) and Cheng Wen-tang's (鄭文堂) *Somewhere over the Dreamland* (夢幻部落 *Menghuan buluo*, 2002).

The following two chapters turn to Han settler literature and discuss how the mechanisms of Han settler colonial consciousness are formulated and embodied through the literary genre of fiction. As revealed in Chapter two, it was not until the 1980s that indigeneity became to play a role in literature, media and history attributable to a series of democratization and localization movements. However, this has not been an entirely smooth process, as the indigenous elements are often depicted in a primitive mode of representation, often "uncivilized" or "barbarous," and

different indigenous cultures are generalized in reductive and exotic ways in many literary works authored by Han settler authors. Chapter three, "'The Peoples without History': Indigenous Representation and Interethnic Relations in Taiwan Fiction," first reads Taiwanese writer Shih Shu-ching's (施叔青) renowned Taiwan Trilogy, *Walking through Lojin* (行過洛津 *Xing guo Lojin*, 2003), *Dust before the Wind* (風前塵埃 *Feng qian chen'ai*, 2008) and *A Man Who Has Been through Three Ages* (三世人 *Sanshi ren*, 2010) through the lens of cultural anthropology formulated by Johannes Fabian, and discusses the politics of representation in Shih's novels with specific focus on their literary articulation of indigeneity and interethnic relations. Next, I will further look at another Han writer Wu Ming-yi's (吳明益) two novels, *The Man with the Compound Eyes* (複眼人 *Fuyan ren*, 2011) and *The Stolen Bicycle* (*Danche shiqie ji*, 單車失竊記 2015), to see how Wu challenges the above anthropological allochronism by his alternative literary engagement and historical imagination in the novels. In addition to the insights of cultural anthropology, I further draw from contemporary theories of ecocriticism in conjunction with French philosopher Jacques Rancière's theorization of "redistribution," and propose two theoretical concepts—"ecological redistribution" and "historical sustainability" —to read Wu's two novels respectively so as to discuss how literary imagination participates and intervenes in the discussion of sustainability, and how it makes Taiwan (studies) sustainable on a global scale.

Chapter Four, "Reconstructing the Founding Legend: The Politics of Settler Literary Representation of Zheng Chenggong," begins with a detour of British explorer and adventurer James Cook's expedition of during the Age of Exploration in world history, and his settler colonial legacy in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia during the eighteenth century. Then I turn to a crucial historical figure in Taiwan's settler colonial history, Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong), to examine how he has been portrayed in various forms of narrative. In most

Han-oriented historiography, Koxinga was conventionally regarded as a founding figure for Han settlement, as the Zheng family was the first Han regime that introduced and established the Han-oriented administrative system and civilization on the island of Taiwan. Moreover, Koxinga is not merely exalted as a national hero in Taiwan, but also celebrated transnationally as a remarkable historical figure in Japan and China. Nevertheless, from the perspective of Taiwan indigenous peoples, Koxinga was the one who invaded the indigenous territory and slaughtered aboriginals, or more precisely, the one who made Taiwan a settler colony. Accordingly, to deconstruct the founding myth of Koxinga is an imperative step for indigenous decolonization. In this vein, this chapter examines an array of historical novels set in the seventeenth century written by Han Taiwanese authors through the lens of settler colonial criticism, with focus on the way in which these novels reimagine and reconstruct the historical icon Koxinga, as well as the settler colonial legacy of the Zheng regime. These texts studied in this chapter include Qin Jiu's (秦就) *Koxinga: Father of Taiwan* (*Taiwan zhi fu Zheng chenggong* 台灣之父鄭成功, 2002), Chen Yao-chang's (陳耀昌) *A Tale of Three Tribes in Dutch Formosa* (福爾摩沙三族記 *Fu'ermosha sanzu ji*, 2012), Lin Keh-ming's (林克明) *Formosa to Zeelandia: Memoir of a Dutch Formosan* (天涯海角熱蘭遮：一個荷裔福爾摩沙人的追憶 *Tianya haijiao Relanzhe: yi ge heyi Fu'ermosha ren de zhuiyi*, 2016), and Ping Lu's (平路) two novels *East of the East* (東方之東 *Dongfang zhi dong*, 2011) and *The Whirling Island* (婆娑之島 *Posuo zhi dao*, 2012). Through the analysis of the politics of representation of Koxinga, this chapter further argues that the Han settler colonial consciousness in contemporary Taiwan unfolds itself as a fragmented, discontinuous, contested, and even self-contradictory consciousness.

In this dissertation, the two different systems of Mandarin Chinese Romanization, Wade-Giles and Hanyu Pinyin, are both used when referring to various names, including authors,

directors, scholars, characters in literary texts and films, places, historical events, and so forth. The Mandarin Chinese Romanization in contemporary Taiwan is generally inconsistent and never standardized. I agree with Darryl Sterk, literary scholar and the translator of Wu Ming-yi's novels, that "diversity, of spelling as of anything, is something we should respect and celebrate, not a problem we should try to solve."[94] In this dissertation, I use Wade-Giles when referring to scholars, authors, directors, and other individuals from Taiwan, and adopt Hanyu Pinyin for characters' names in the texts I study (the section of my reading of Wu's *The Stolen Bicycle* is an exception, as I follow Sterk's translation, in which he chooses to use Wade-Giles throughout, instead of Hanyu Pinyin). I think the inconsistency of Romanization systems is also a manifestation of settler colonial situation in Taiwan.

Parts of the introduction regarding the development of postcolonial discourse in Taiwan and the theoretical framework of settler colonialism were rewritten with material from my previous published articles in Mandarin Chinese, including "1992: Taiwan Postcolonial Event," in *100 Years of Taiwan Literature: 1900-2000*, edited by Su-yon Lee, Linking Publishing (2018), 352-355; and "Settler," anthologized in *Keywords of Taiwan Theory*, edited by Shu-mei Shih, Chia-ling Mei, Chaoyang Liao, and Dung-sheng Chen, Linking Publishing (2019), 113-130. Chapter One first appeared as Lin-chin Tsai, "Mapping Formosa: Settler Colonial Cartography in Taiwan Cinema in the 1950s," in *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, 44.2 (2018), 19-50. Part of Chapter Two (particularly the sections about Tang Yingshen and Wan Jen) is rewritten from the article "1998: Super Citizen," in *100 Years of Taiwan Literature: 1900-2000*, 375-378. I would like to express my deep appreciation to the publishers and editors for their assistance in publishing my works, and for their permission to reprint my articles in this dissertation.

[94] Darryl Sterk, "Translator's Note," *The Stolen Bicycle*, translated by Darryl Sterk (The Text Publishing Company, 2017), p. 375.

Chapter One

Mapping Formosa:

Settler Colonial Cartography in Taiwan Cinema in the 1950s[*]

> Maps appear in most of the movies we see. Even if a film does not display a map as such, by nature it bears an implicit relation with cartography. A map we see in a film may concern locale, if the film is a documentary, or, if it tells a story, an itinerary. It may belong to the places in which a viewer experiences a film. Like an intertitle or a sign that tells us where the film is taking place, what it is doing, or where its characters ae going, a map in a movie provides information; it whets the imagination. It propels narrative but also, dividing our attention, prompts reverie and causes our eyes to look both inward, at our own geographies, and outward, to rove about the frame and to engage, however we wish, the space of the film.
>
> —Tom Conley
> *Cartographic Cinema* (2007)

> Mapping is an interpretive act, not a purely technical one, in which the product—the map—conveys not merely the facts but also and always the author's intention, and all the acknowledged and unacknowledged conditions and values any authors (and his/her profession, time, and culture) brings to a work.
>
> —John Pickles
> "Texts, Hermeneutics and Propaganda Maps" (1991)

[*] The earlier version of this chapter has been previously published in *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies* 44.2 (2018). I would like to express my gratitude to *Concentric* for their permission to reprint the article in order to fulfill the requirements of my degree.

Cartography as Methodology, Taiwan as Settler Colony

In the last few decades, humanities scholarship has witnessed a methodological shift that has been called a "spatial turn." At least two emerging methodologies brought about this turn. The first, as the human geographer Edward W. Soja explains, has to do with the critical reflection on the tendency of social sciences and philosophy to privilege history over geography, stressing the significance of time over space. By reconsidering the hierarchical stratification between temporality and spatiality, recent scholars argue that "spatiality, sociality, and historicality are mutually constitutive," and are interwoven in a "mutually formative and consequential relation."[1] Meanwhile, the study of conventional geography also went through diverse forms of "cultural turns" due to the reconfiguration of Marxism and the impact of British cultural studies which "placed culture in the spotlight and made it a central focus of struggles over identity, belonging, and justice in the contemporary world."[2] Under these circumstances, transdisciplinary fields such as "cultural geography" and "human geography" took shape and developed over the past decades.

The academic transformation and emergence of these new approaches enable us to re-conceptualize a fundamental and commonly used geographical object—the map. The map has long been taken for granted as a graphic representation or diagram which "mirrors" or "imitates" the objective world in a scientific way through its medium specificity. However, as J. B. Harley has expounded, the map should not be regarded as "a mirror of nature," but must be viewed as

[1] Edward W. Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice* (U of Minnesota P, 2010), p. 18.

[2] Clive Barnett, "A Critique of the Cultural Turn," in James S. Duncan, Nuala C. Johnson, Richard H. Schein eds., *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Blackwell, 2004), p. 38-48; Heidi Scott, "Cultural Turns," in *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Blackwell, 2004), p.24.

"an image of the social order as a measurement of the phenomenal world of objects."[3] Although the map is constituted out of nonlinguistic elements, it can be interpreted as a "graphic text" in which the rules of society and the rules of measurement and classification operate through its cartographic representational system. Thus, we have to "read" between the "lines of technical procedures" and the "topographical content" in order to understand the "textuality" of the map, namely, the "narrative qualities" of cartographic representation.[4] The map is not just geographical or directional equipment but a text that must be read and deciphered by map-readers. By the same token, Graham Huggan proposes that the map is "both product and process: it represents both an encoded document of a specific environment and a network of perpetually recoded messages passing between the various mapmakers and map-readers who participate in the event of cartographic communication."[5] The map is thus a medium where the interpretative interplay between the mapmaker and map-reader takes place.

Consequently, the map is not a mirror of nature. Maps are, as Denis Wood describes, "engines" that convert social energy to social work by connecting objects in space. The linkages of objects and territories brought together onto the map, he further explains, "enter the social realm as *discourse functions*. . . . The fact that a map is a discourse function also means that it has a regular role in the discourse, in the talk, that shapes our world" (emphasis in original).[6] This can also be seen in Harley's elaboration that maps "state an argument about the world" and

[3] J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2001), p. 158.

[4] J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," pp. 156-8.

[5] Graham Huggan, *Territorial Disputes: Maps and Mapping Strategies in Contemporary Canadian and Australian Fiction* (University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 4.

[6] Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (The Guilford P, 2010), pp. 1-2.

employ "devices of rhetoric" to express a discourse of world view.[7] Hence, the map is a "nodal site" that interweaves humans, objects, ideas, places, territories, and the world together. The map, rather than an object merely waiting to be deciphered, is a text in which a network of discursive formations is forged.

If the map is a nodal site that brings things together, then the act of mapping, as Denis Cosgrove writes, is "creative, sometimes anxious, moments in coming to knowledge of the world, and the map is both the spatial embodiment of knowledge and a stimulus to further cognitive engagements."[8] John Pickles notes that in the process of mapping, "objects to be represented are transformed and reconstituted as signs and symbols substantially different from the objects they communicate."[9] The act of mapping is a claim to certain sets of knowledge and can produce particular forms of belief or ideologies that are directly related to politics, in which different forms of power relations are engendered, and contrive specific effects that manipulate people and act back onto the material world. Huggan, for instance, considers that maps, especially in genres such as "adventure novel" and "frontier narrative," have directly conspired with the act of colonization and conquest, serving the aims of imperial expedition and territorial dispossession.[10] To investigate how "power works through cartographic discourse" and its effects in the process of mapping and mapmaking—the mechanisms of selection, omission, simplification, symbolization, signification, rhetoricalization, hierarchization, and above all, politicization—is

[7] J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," p. 163.

[8] Denis Cosgrove, "Introduction: Mapping Meaning," *Mappings* (Reaktion Books, 1999), p. 2.

[9] John Pickles, "Texts, Hermeneutics and Propaganda Maps," *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape* (Routledge, 1991), p. 221.

[10] Graham Huggan, *Territorial Disputes: Maps and Mapping Strategies in Contemporary Canadian and Australian Fiction* (U of Toronto P, 1994), pp. 21-33.

especially crucial to understanding socio-political structures in a society.[11]

Drawing upon the above insights of cultural geography and the politics of cartography, this paper probes maps as texts and nodal sites of discourse and examines their function and meanings in cinema and their relation to settler colonial structure in Taiwan. If the occupation of land and strategies of territorialization constitute the characteristics of settler colonialism, the conception of maps and the act of mapping as a semiotic system and political acts that claim and demarcate territories, manipulate and transform the readers' view about the world, then to investigate how maps are represented in cultural productions and to consider cinematic visualization as a process of cartographic communication are both productive ways to understand and critique settler colonial structures. Cinema and cartography, as Tom Conley theorizes, can be sensed and perceived in similar ways in terms of their epistemological functions and sensorial effects upon the spectators because they share "many of the same resources and virtues of the languages that inform their creation" and oftentimes work "in consort with each other."[12] A film, like a "topographic projection," can thus be construed as a map that "locates and patterns the imagination of its spectators."[13] To conjoin the critique of cinematic representation through the lens of "cartographic methodology" via settler colonial criticism is therefore a "deconstructive reading" that begins to decolonize settler colonial mapping.

My deconstructive reading which attempts to decolonize settler colonial mapping is also a practice of seeking what Soja has termed "spatial justice." According to Soja, space that humans live in is "not an empty void," but an imbricated and multidimensional construction which is

[11] J. B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," pp. 163-64.

[12] Tom Conley, *Cartographic Cinema* (U of Minnesota P, 2007), pp. 1-2.

[13] Ibid., p. 1.

"always filled with politics, ideology, and other forces shaping our lives and challenging us to engage in struggles over geography."[14] Moreover, "justice, however it might be defined, has a consequential geography, a spatial expression that is more than just a background reflection or set of physical attributes to be descriptively mapped"; therefore, the spatiality is "an integral and formative component of justice itself, a vital part of how justice and injustice are socially constructed and evolve over time."[15] The theoretical intersection of cultural geography and settler colonial criticism can thus shed light on "spatial justice," which serves as a pivotal part of "transitional justice" [16] in a settler society like Taiwan.

Generally speaking, physical map-making and cartographical development monopolized by the Nationalist authoritarian government during the period of martial law, as Chang Bi-yu investigates, were restricted to those used for military or educational purposes. The quality of maps and cartographical knowledge were relatively stagnant and deficient.[17] Beyond actual maps, I argue that settler cartographical ideology of the Nationalist regime can also be found in other media. Drawing upon Conley's analogy between cartography and cinema, I extend the concept of politics of cartography to cinema, considering films as constructing a form of "cinematic cartography," not only by their representation of maps but also by their visualization of filmic space as an act of mapping, through the lens of settler colonial criticism. This chapter

[14] Edward W. Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice*, p. 19.

[15] Ibid., p. 1.

[16] "Transitional justice" has become a momentous topic recently in Taiwan, especially after President Tsai Ing-wen's formal apology to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan on August 1, 2016. The notion of transitional justice, as defined by Ruti G. Teitel, refers to a conception of justice "associated with periods of political change, characterized by legal response to confront the wrongdoings of repressive predecessor regimes" (69).

[17] Bi-yu Chang, *Place, Identity and National Imagination in Postwar Taiwan* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 67-106.

will look into how Han settler colonial consciousness has been expressed in cinema by examining a propaganda film made at the inception of the Nationalist rule in the 1950s, *Descendants of the Yellow Emperor* (黃帝子孫 *Huangdi zisun*, 1955, hereafter *Descendants*) and *Beautiful Treasure Island* (美麗寶島 *Meili baodao*, 1952, hereafter *Island*). More specifically, the two films demonstrate the "Nationalist settler colonial consciousness" in the construction and formation of settler mentality of the new wave of Han migration in the early postwar era through their spatial and cartographical articulations. To further differentiate the narrative and discourse of settler colonialism from classic colonialism, I compare the two films with another imperial policy documentary from the Japanese colonial period, *Southward Expansion to Taiwan* (南進台湾 *Nanshin Taiwan*, 1940, hereafter *Expansion*).

"Descendants of the Yellow Emperor": Nationalist Settler Pedagogy

The year 1945 marked a climactic moment in world history. In the final year of World War II, atomic bombs dropped by the United States on Hiroshima and Nagasaki terminated the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The Japanese government announced its unconditional surrender to the Allies on August 15, and Taiwan was "returned" to Chinese authority, the Republic of China (ROC), after fifty years of Japanese colonization. On October 25, Chen Yi (陳儀, 1883-1950), the governor of Fujian province, was appointed to Taiwan as the official delegate of the Nationalist government by Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975). Chen signed the instrument of surrender with the last Japanese governor-general of Taiwan, Ando Rikichi (安藤利吉, 1884-1946), in Taipei City Public Auditorium (known currently as Zhongshan Hall in honor of Sun Yat-sen [1866-1925]). October 25 was declared "Retrocession Day of Taiwan" to commemorate the end of Japanese colonialism and the handover of Taiwan to the ROC.

The official ceremony of Taiwan's handover to the ROC was documented by a Japanese and Taiwanese film crew organized under the instruction of Bai Ke (白克, 1914-1964), a film director who arrived in Taiwan on October 17 with the Nationalist delegation. Bai was born in Xiamen (Amoy) in Fujian province, and worked at Nanning Film Studio in Guangxi and later Diantong Film Company in Shanghai. He participated in the production of *Scenes of City Life* (都市風光 *Dushi fengguang*, 1935) and *Sons and Daughters in a Time of Storm* (風雲兒女 *Fengyun ernu*, 1935), directed by Chinese actor-filmmaker Yuan Muzhi (袁牧之, 1909-1978). Serving as one of the propaganda committee members under the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, Bai was authorized to take over the film associations (including the Taiwan News and Photograph Association and the Taiwan Film Association), film facilities and equipment from the Japanese government in 1945. Bai later combined the two Japanese film associations into Taiwan Motion Pictures Studio (台灣電影攝製場 *Taiwan dianyi shezhichang*) and became the manager of this state-owned film studio. With the support of the Nationalist government, in its earliest phase Taiwan Motion Pictures Studio produced newsreels and documentaries for propagandistic purposes. *Today's Taiwan* (今日之台灣 *Jinri zhi Taiwan*, 1946, dir. Bai Ke), for instance, documents Taiwan's landscapes including Sun Moon Lake, Ali Mountain, and the everyday life of aboriginals to map Taiwan in a new settler colonial imagination.[18]

Descendants was not only Bai's first feature film but also considered the first officially produced *Taiyu pian* (台語片 Taiwanese-dialect film), also dubbed into Mandarin, at the direct

[18] For more details about Bai Ke and the development of Taiwan's film industry during this period, please see: Ren Huang ed., *A Memorial Collection of Director Bai Ke* (Yatai Publishing, 2003); Ren Huang and Wei Wang eds., *One Hundred Years of Taiwan Cinema* (Chinese Film Critic Association, 2004); *The Traces of History: Fifty Years of the Taiwan Film Culture Company* (Taipei Film Archive, 1996).

request of Chiang Kai-shek.[19] Set in 1950s Taiwan, this film revolves around a group of elementary schoolteachers who hail from different provinces of China and Taiwan. The theme of the film is present from the opening, as it begins with the lecture of the protagonist narrating the history of the mythological founder of Chinese civilization, the Yellow Emperor. By doing so, this film announces that everyone who lives in Taiwan, even with different backgrounds, is the "descendant of the Yellow Emperor." The second half of *Descendants* depicts the schoolteachers' trip from the north to the south, featuring various historic sites in Taiwan. During this trip, the teachers pair up and fall in love. In the finale of the film, they organize a group wedding ceremony at Zhongshan Hall. In what follows, I scrutinize the visualization of space and the use of multimedia, as cinematic devices, that are deployed to construct the settler colonial cartography in *Descendants*.

The opening scene presents a group of students singing with their teachers in school playground in front of an instructional building. The image of Chiang Kai-shek occupies the center of the building, along with a typical Nationalist propagandistic slogan lining both sides of the portrait that reads, "Reclaim the mainland; Restore the nation" (反攻大陸；復興民族 *fanggong dalu; fuxing minzu*). The female protagonist Lin Xiyun's (林錫雲) classroom and her lecture on the Grand History of Chinese civilization together define the tenor of this film. Asking the students, "Whose descendants are we?", Xiyun opens her lesson with the mythological figure of the Yellow Emperor, and then introduces a chronology of Chinese history with a series of illustrations. Chen Leng (陳稜), a general from the Sui period in Chinese history who landed in Taiwan, is mentioned to emphasize the historical connection between China and Taiwan. The

[19] Another famous film *Xue pinggui and Wang baochuan* (薛平貴與王寶釧 *Xue pinggui yu Wang baochuan*, 1956), directed by Chi-ming Ho (何基明) and released months earlier than *Descendants*, is generally believed to be the first "self-produced" Taiwanese-dialect film.

story of how Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong, a Ming loyalist who defeated the Dutch colonizers and reclaimed Taiwan as his anti-Manchu military base) expelled the Dutch colonizers in 1662 is amplified in Xiyun's lecture. She reminds students of the cession of Taiwan to Japan after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 and the founding of the Republic of Formosa (台灣民主國 *Taiwan minzhuguo*) during the same year. Then Xiyun turns to another medium, a film projector, to proceed with her lecture on the second Sino-Japanese War, punctuating her narrative with a reminder of the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek's contribution to the anti-Japanese resistance.

In addition to Xiyun's lecture, the spatial layout of the classroom affects how this history is understood. The portrait of Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the ROC, is placed on the wall in the very front of the classroom. Both sides of the classroom are decorated with the images of Chinese loyalists and patriots from different periods, including Su Wu (蘇武, a Han diplomat who remained loyal to the Han imperial government in his captivity), Yue Fei (岳飛, a Chinese general who defended the Song court against the Jurchen in northern China), Wen Tianxiang (文天祥, a Southern Song official who determinedly refused to yield himself to the Yuan, a non-Han regime founded by Mongols in the thirteenth century), and so forth. In the back, the portrait of Chiang Kai-shek anchors the classroom. The layout reminds us of what Michel Foucault has termed "panopticism," a space in which disciplinary dynamics operate through different forces of power relations in conjunction with knowledge formation and spatial formulation.[20] Although the spatial layout of the classroom seems different from the original design of panopticon as theorized by Foucault, the "disciplinary gazes" of these historical figures on the walls represent the Nationalist discursive formation of knowledge, ideology, and historiography. They function

[20] Michel Foucault, "Panopticism," *The Foucault Reader* (Pantheon Books, 1984), pp. 206-213.

as the apparatus of ubiquitous surveillance, especially the images of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, the political icons standing for the Nationalist authoritarian rule.[21]

Additionally, the domestic spaces presented in the film, such as the living room, the dining hall, and the family worship shrine, also operate as pedagogical apparatuses. In order to solve the quarrel between two students regarding their different "provincial origins" (籍貫 *jiguan*),[22] Xiyun visits one of the students' families and discovers that the student's grandfather, whose surname is also Lin, happens to be her distant relative. The living room of the Lin family then becomes another "lecture room," where the grandfather narrates his story of migration from China to Taiwan. In a flashback sequence the hardship of the grandfather's journey is underscored by images of barren land and sterile trees in China, as well as navigation of the terrifying waves of the Taiwan Strait. These are contrasted to the fecund rice fields after they

[21] After the end of World War II, Taiwan, an island colonized for fifty years by the Japanese Empire, was "returned" to the ROC. Resolving the cultural, linguistic, social, and political gaps between China and Taiwan was a difficult task for the Nationalist government. To borrow Huang Ying-che's words, how to de-Japanize the Taiwanese and make them "Chinese" and how to integrate Taiwan into China through the education system became the top priority. Chang Bi-yu points out that the standardization of the spatial arrangement of school spaces and the layout of classrooms manipulated by the KMT played a crucial role in shaping students' minds to fulfil the end goal of establishing national identity and patriotism (186-89). According to Chang, leaders' photos, the map, national flag of the ROC, quotes or slogans from political leaders' writing or speeches, the daily routine of raising and lowering the national flag, and so forth, were employed to regulate the behavior of students and indoctrinate patriotic sentiments, as can be seen in *Descendants*.

[22] *Jiguan* is a social construct used in Taiwan to classify a person by "province of registration," relating an individual's ethnic identity to the origin of his or her father. After the "handover" of Taiwan to the ROC, a new ethnic category, "mainlanders" (外省人 *waishengren*), was coined to refer to people who moved to Taiwan from China during the early postwar years (1945-1949), as opposed to the so-called "Taiwanese locals" (本省人 *benshengren*), the descendants of early Han settlers since the seventeenth century. The population of Han settlers in Taiwan can therefore be roughly divided into two waves of migration: the early Han settlers since the seventeenth century and their descendants, and later the majority of "mainlanders" who arrived in Taiwan from 1945 to 1949, which constituted at least *two* different modes of settler mentality, respectively. The 228 Incident in 1947 intensified the tension between "mainlanders" and "Taiwanese locals" and resulted in the so-called "provincial complex" (省籍情結 *shengji qingjie*) which deeply influenced Taiwan's society. In the 1990s, the discourse of the "four main ethnic groups" (四大族群 *sida zuqun*) was formulated, further categorizing the inhabitants of contemporary Taiwan into Holo, Hakka, mainlanders, and indigenous peoples. Currently, due to more "new immigrants" (新移民 *xin yimin*) from China, Southeast Asia, and other places to Taiwan, this discourse is no longer efficient to describe the multiethnic and multicultural reality of Taiwan. Please see scholarship by Hsu Chien-jung, Hsiau A-chin, Chou Wan-yao, Stéphane Corcuff, and Robert Marsh.

arrived in Taiwan. The student soon joins them, siting between Xiyun and his grandfather to listen to the story. Grandpa Lin's lecture and their familial kinship connect the three characters across generations, expanding on the core tenet of the film: all people in Taiwan today were originally from China and they share the same cultural and ancestral root—they are all "descendants of the Yellow Emperor." Later, a ritual at the ancestral shrine of the Lin family is organized to reunite all of the Lin families in Taiwan. In a sense, this ritual reunion effectively expands the Lin family unit to a much larger social network, by which this film iteratively thematizes the ideology that all people in Taiwan share the same consanguineous and cultural root and thus Taiwan is undoubtedly Chinese territory.

Descendants utilizes different narrative modes of visualization to accentuate the historical continuity and unbreakable tie between Taiwan and China. While domestic spaces facilitate deepening interpersonal relationships, the film presents public spaces as spaces of art, which play a pivotal role in pedagogical spatialization. Theatre is the most prominent public space in the film. Two historical figures—Koxinga and Wu Feng (吳鳳)—are presented on the stage. The story of Koxinga is performed as "shadow puppet theatre," one type of traditional theater originating from China. Despite its relatively small scale, the shadow puppet theater accentuates the heroic image of Koxinga through the dramatic lightning and stylistic mise-en-scène, especially in a scene of the naval battle between the Dutch forces and Zheng's troops. The play of Wu Feng is staged in the local Han theatrical form called "Gezai Opera" at Grand China Theatre. Wu Feng was a Han merchant from the Qing period who, according to popular tradition, sacrificed himself in order for the indigenous people to abandon their tribal practice of headhunting. Predictably, the contrast between the benevolent and self-sacrificing Wu Feng and the uncivilized and wild indigenous "raw savages" (青番 *qingfan*) is overtly dramatized through

the design of costume and make-up in the performance. The play even sanctifies Wu in the last scene. The dying Wu Feng stands still at the center of the stage, surrounded by a crowd of regretful aboriginal characters kneeling down and mourning for him, as Wu is transformed into a sacred martyr. More notably, this sequence intercuts back and forth between the "play within the film" and the diegetic audience who are watching the performance, consciously suturing the non-diegetic audience, the spectators outside of the filmic text, into this pedagogical world of cinema.

By deploying two types of theatrical performances, one from China and another from the local context of Taiwan, *Descendants* not only hybridizes the two generic modes of performing arts but also rearticulates the artistic territories of China and Taiwan through cinematic remediation. As Hong Guo-juin points out, by means of the cinematographic design of the frontal and plastic representation in "still images and illustrations that offers an eye-level visual field,"[23] this film seeks to emulate an effect of "operatic viewing experience" through cinematic representation. In Irina O. Rajewsky's terminology, the film creates the cinematic device of "intermedial reference" to the operatic mode of visualization in that it not only makes use of another medium but also generates "an *illusion* of another medium's specific practices" through its own media qualities, relating a given media product to another (emphasis in original).[24] In addition to visual and theatrical devices, the soundtrack is equally crucial to *Descendants* as it further complicates the inter/trans-media construction of the film. Toward the end of the film, *Descendants* "airs" the linear and orthodox narrative of Chinese civilization again, highlighting

[23] Guo-juin Hong, *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 44.

[24] Irina O. Rajewsky, "Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality." *Intermédialités* 6 (2005), pp. 54-55.

the rigid connection between China and Taiwan, by broadcasting a performance of "singing and telling arts," a traditional form of storytelling synchronized with singing and instrument-playing, from "Taiwan Radio." This radio scene is followed by a shot of a man listening to the radio, and later a scene of the Lin family members dining together, implying the accessibility and popularity of the broadcast program. This sophisticated inter/trans-media interplay between the videoscape and the audioscape effectively underpins the pedagogical spatialization in *Descendants*.

The journey of the schoolteachers to southern Taiwan in the second half of the film not only extends its instructional route from the capital Taipei to the south of Taiwan but also brings the cinematic settler colonial cartography of *Descendants* to the forefront. The trip begins with a train scene where the teachers cheerfully view the fascinating landscapes of Taiwan. Before getting to the south, they stop by Changhua and visit the Babao irrigation system, the oldest irrigation system established by a Han settler Shi Shibang (施世榜) in the eighteenth century. Then they spend time in Chiayi, where the story of Wu Feng's sacrifice took place, and visit the Wu Feng Temple. Finally they reach Tainan, the oldest city in the south with the longest history of settlement, where they pay a visit to the Temple of Zheng Chenggong and the Chihkan Tower (also known as Fort Provintia, a Dutch outpost built in the seventeenth century and later used as the administrative center by Zheng). These physical monuments not only correspond to Xiyun's lecture in the first half of the film but also embody and actualize the settler colonial ideology with material fragments of history.

Specifically, the film employs the cinematic device of spatiotemporally linear "continuity editing" to exhibit the historic sites: from panoramic establishing shots of the architecture to close-up shots of tablets inscribed with the names of the sites, and then to sequences of the

interior spaces as well as architectural details within the buildings. The tablet of Wu Feng Temple, inscribed with the characters "laying down life for righteousness" (捨生取義 *shesheng quyi*) in Chinese calligraphy, is spotlighted with a close-up, with the signature of Chiang Kai-shek on the left side. In the scenes of the Temple of Zheng Chenggong and Chihkan Tower, the statue of Zheng, calligraphy on the tablets, scrolls, walls and columns of the temple, the illustrations and oil paintings visualizing the sea battle between Zheng's army and the Dutch forces, as well as other historical documents exhibited inside the buildings act multimedia interventions into the film. The architecture in these sequences, together with the historical fragments and details as represented in close-up, manifests how knowledge is spatialized in ideologically manipulated and discursively constructed locations for specific political purposes, just as Foucault described.[25]

A meta-cinematic moment in the film can help us unpack how the spatialization of knowledge as seen in architecture further involves spectators in the milieu of power relations. In addition to the schoolteachers, the student who previously quarrelled with his schoolmate over the issue regarding "provincial origins" also participates in this tour, and paints pictures of what he experiences during the trip. His artwork, not surprisingly, impresses the teachers. In his art, the student re-visualizes, or "remediates" what he has learned and perceived while (re)visiting the historic sites, through multiple forms of media (architecture, illustrations, calligraphy, and so forth), by creating another medium (his painting), and this act of remediation is further (re-)remediated in a larger framing—the cinematic frame of *Descendants*. Accordingly, this

[25] Foucault theorized the political importance and disciplinary function of architecture in many of his works and interviews. To Foucault, there is no distinction between "discursive formations" and "architectural construction," and it is important to examine how "discourses enter into construction" and how "building or planned environments become statements" (Hirst 53). See Paul Hirst, "Foucault and Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 26 (Autumn 1993), pp. 52-60.

intricate sequence articulates a multilayered process of transmission: Xiyun's verbal history lesson is materialized through physical monuments and conveyed first to the young student, and then through his painting transmitted to his teachers, the diegetic spectators within the cinematic frame, and finally, further delivered to the non-diegetic audiences outside of the silver screen. The diegetic and non-diegetic worlds are therefore sutured through the film's layered remediation. History, along with the settler colonial ideology engraved in the materiality of those historic sites, therefore becomes tangible, perceivable, and transmittable to the audiences.

Their journey to the south is not merely an intensive multimedia exploration, but more importantly, a territorial extension/expedition from the north to the south—a political claim of the Nationalist post-1945 settler project. After a brief stop at the Caogong irrigation system in Kaohsiung, the tourists end their journey by taking a train back to the north. By linking the history of Han settlement with the train as a symbol of modernity (both a symbol of modernization in the industrial revolution since the eighteenth century and a metaphor of visual modernity in film history), *Descendants* further develops its settler colonial cartography with spatial and temporal continuity, mapping the trip from the north to the south while traveling back and forth between the past and the present. Thus, the use of multimedia and the cinematic remediation in *Descendants* is a claim of "reterritorialization," an authoritative force that solidifies the Han settler spatial consciousness, revealing settlers' intention to control land. As Veracini notes, settler colonialism "turns someone else's place into space and then into place again,"[26] or to put it in a Deleuzian context, it deterritorializes indigenous land and reterritorializes it as the settlers' own. The multiple forms of media—architecture, illustrations,

[26] Lorenzo Veacini, "Introduction: Settler Colonialism as a Distinct Mode of Domination," *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (Routledge, 2016), p. 5.

oil paintings, calligraphy, audioscape, technologies of modernization and industrialization—are remediated as supplements to accomplish the film's settler colonial cartography. As formulated by Foucault, the "project of docility," or "the mechanism of discipline," is a "multiplicity of often minor processes, of different origin and scattered location, which overlap, repeat, or imitate one another, support one another, distinguish themselves from one another according to their domain of application, converge, and gradually produce the blueprint of a general method."[27] In this vein, remediation and reterritorialization in *Descendants*, as mechanisms of mapping, support one another and serve the similar political and pedagogical purposes, namely, the territorial expropriation in the realm of media and of the island of Taiwan.

Descendants ends with a stately group wedding of the schoolteachers at Zhongshan Hall on October 25, the Retrocession Day of Taiwan of the ROC. This spatiotemporal setting of the ceremony unquestionably symbolizes a new page for the four couples and the rebirth of the ROC in Taiwan after fifty years of Japanese colonization. All people in Taiwan, be they "mainlanders" from China after 1945 or descendants of earlier Han people since the seventeenth century (as explicated in the film the so-called "Taiwanese locals"), will be welded together and brought into harmony under the Nationalist rule. This view is coupled with Grandpa Lin's lines: "under the Nationalist regime, Taiwanese locals can also serve as officials in the government the same way mainlanders can. That is because everybody in Taiwan is the descendant of the Yellow Emperor." The issue regarding the "provincial origins" between "Chinese mainlanders" and "Taiwanese locals" among students at the beginning of the film has been successfully solved. The artistic student takes the initiative to create a collective painting with other schoolmates—an image of a smiling Maitreya Buddha, the Buddhist deity regarded as the Buddha of the future, surrounded

[27] Michel Foucault, "Docile Bodies," *The Foucault Reader*, p. 182.

by a group of children, representing the traditional Chinese value of lineage continuity. More importantly, this painting crystalizes a typical settler mentality termed "animus manendi," the intention to "stay" in the new territory, and the settler strategy to displace the indigenous population by demographic proliferation.[28] While the settlement of the past that was revisited during their journey to the south buttresses the ideological settler narrative to justify the settlers' presence, the demographic reproduction, one of the typical strategies of settler colonial population economy, will then guarantee permanent residency for settlers in the future.

A seeming contradiction to the ideological aims of the film, there is no intermarriage between Han and indigenous characters in the wedding. This remarkable detail, I argue, reveals the Nationalist strategy to resolve, or to smooth over the "provincial conflict" between "mainlanders" and "locals" after the February 28 Incident in 1947. Indigenous peoples during this phase were regarded as "excluded insiders," if not entirely outsiders, in the Nationalist settler colonial blueprint—they were part of the "people" who lived within the geographical boundary of Taiwan, but were neglected by the cinematic cartography formulated mainly from the perspective of Han settlers' ideology.[29] Examining the mechanisms of selection, omission, symbolization, and hierarchization in the making of the settler colonial cartography of *Descendants* is therefore a critical step for us to historicize the formation and complexity of Han settler colonial consciousness in Taiwan.

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[28] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A theoretical Overview*, p. 53.

[29] I would like to clarify that what I argue here does not mean there is no interethnic marriage between Han and indigenous characters in postwar films and novels of Taiwan. In fact, this seemingly self-contradictory phenomenon (the denial of the existence of indigenes and the promotion of interethnic marriage between settlers and indigenous peoples) is a crucial component in the formation of Taiwan's settler colonial structure. What I want to emphasize here, as can be inferred in *Descendants*, is in the early phase of Nationalist rule, the provincial dispute was a more urgent issue for the KMT to tackle while indigenous affairs were temporarily put aside. Darryl Sterk's work provides a comprehensive analysis centering on the narratives of interethnic romance between Han and indigenous characters in filmic and literary texts from the 1950s to the present.

The harmonious ceremony and the message conveyed through the finale in *Descendants*, in hindsight, seems more like the prelude to a cacophony. The Martial Law declared in 1949 and later the White Terror of the Nationalist party intensified the tensions and conflicts between different ethnic communities (mainlanders, locals, indigenous peoples, and so on) in Taiwan. After finishing *Descendants*, Bai became a faculty member of National Academy of Arts (known currently as National Taiwan University of Arts) and continued to make well-received films, such as *Mad Woman* (瘋女十八年 *Fengnu shiba nian*, 1957) and *Romance of Longshan Temple* (龍山寺之戀 *Longshan si zhi lian*, 1962). Yet, Bai's success as a filmmaker and his early record of being associated with the Chinese Communists caused him to be a victim of the White Terror—he was arrested by the Taiwan Garrison Command in 1962, brutally tortured, and executed in 1964.

"Formosa," My Eternal Homeland

Island, directed by Chen Wen-chuan (陳文泉) and produced by Taiwan Agricultural Education Studio (台灣農教製片廠 *Taiwan nongjiao zhipianchang*), is another example of Han settler colonial cartography in the 1950s. *If Descendants* sketches its settler colonial *cartography* by binding the island of Taiwan to China, then *Island* foregrounds Taiwan to be the eternal "homeland" for "overseas Chinese communities" not only in Southeast Asia but also around the world. After the KMT's retreat to Taiwan, the main priority for the Nationalist government was to present itself as the only legitimate and authentic "Chinese regime" domestically and internationally, opposed to the Communist China during the period of Cold War. Equating the island of Taiwan with the notion of "homeland" became a convenient and efficient discourse to consolidate its own political status, especially for the overseas Chinese communities. In this vein,

the “beautiful treasure island Taiwan” is treated as the equivalent of the entire territory officially claimed by the ROC in this film. The story of *Island* is about an overseas Chinese journalist Ke Xingrong (柯興榮) from the Philippines who comes “back” to his “homeland Taiwan” with his newly married wife Ai Zhen (艾珍) for their honeymoon. After returning to the Philippines, the couple organizes a screening in an auditorium of an overseas Chinese association, showing the audiences the development, modernization, and industrialization of Taiwan as well as the landscapes they shot during their trip.

The curtain of the screening segment is unveiled with a close-up shot of the national flag of the ROC. Commonly called “Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth,” these colors of the flag signify the Nationalist state ideology, “Three People’s Principles” (nationalism, democracy, and people’s livelihood), coined by Sun Yat-sen. The national flag is further accessorized with an exquisite golden frame engraved with plum blossoms, the national flower of the ROC. This work placed in the front of the auditorium draws attention with both its political implication and its eye-catching embellishment. Before the screening, the young couple, dressed in elegant Western-style outfits, warm up the audiences with two songs, “Love for My Homeland” (祖國之戀 *zuguo zhi lian*) and “An Ode to the Treasure Island” (寶島頌 *baodao song*) accompanied by piano. A dragon-headed pedestal with a Chinese-style lantern, signifying the illumination of Chinese civilization, imperial power, and heritage, stands behind the piano. The spatial and audio setting—the national flag adorned with golden plum blossoms, the dragon head reflecting the light from the fluorescent lantern in the auditorium permeated with the music—serves as the prelude and the motif for the screening segment that follows.

The film within *Island* opens with a splendid map of Taiwan and with a voiceover indicating that Taiwan is a mighty and radiant island located in the western Pacific Ocean,

concurring with the message of the two previously performed songs. Structurally, the film includes two parts. The first part, entitled "Treasure Island Industry" (寶島工業 *baodao gongye*), introduces the audience to an industrialized Taiwan with various kinds of manufacturing and corporations, including the sugar factory, salt evaporation pond, coal mining field, timber land, paper mill, oil refinery, as well as corporations for textiles, cement, and ships. Rather than merely glancing over Taiwan's industrialization, the film details the machinery and equipment of each factory, as well as the scale and process of production. Furthermore, it emphasizes at length how prolific and productive the land of this island is, how excellent the quality and quantity of the products are, and above all, how modernized and improved Taiwan is under the Nationalist rule. By articulating improvement in terms of technology, production, and export distribution, Taiwan is portrayed as an industrial and commercial center of Asia—a highly developed and advanced "homeland" that overseas Chinese communities around the world should be proud of.

The second part, "Treasure Island Scenery" (寶島風光 *baodao fengguang*), turns to another facet of Taiwan, the picturesque landscapes of the island. Just as we have seen in *Descendants*, *Island* displays the scenery of Taiwan from the north to the south, which allows us to investigate the construction of the settler colonial cartography of the film in depth. Most prominently, this film explicitly shows the audiences animated road maps before the segments of actual scenery. In other words, it directs the audiences with cinematic maps and invites them to participate in the process of settler colonial mapping. The film sets out from Keelung, a major port city in the northeast of Taiwan where the Nationalist troops firstly landed in 1945, mirroring the progress of the Nationalist control of this island. After skimming through tourist spots in northern Taiwan, such as Bitan, Wulai, and Taipei city, it zooms in to the central part of Taiwan, presenting us with fruit farms and a park in Taichung, the Sun Moon Lake, and Musha (霧社

Wushe) in Nantou County. This sequence features images of indigenous people narrated with an undisguised discriminatory tone: the indigenous people are called "mountain compatriots" (山胞 *shanbao*) and represented like exhibits, "performing" their daily lives and culture for the audiences as the two protagonists can be found in these shots watching the "performance." Special attention is paid to the historic site of Musha, an aboriginal village where the Musha Rebellion took place in 1930. The Musha Incident Memorial Park and the stele in memory of the leader, Mona Rudo, are constructed in Chinese architectural style. The Chinese idiomatic phrases used to italicize patriotism and loyalism—such as "royal blood; heroic wind" (碧血英風 *bixie yingfeng*) and "loyal liver; righteous guts" (忠肝義膽 *zhonggan yidan*)—can be seen everywhere in the memorial park. The KMT government utilizes the image of Mona Rudo as a propagandistic model and rewrites the indigenous rebellion into an anti-Japanese uprising that fits in with the Nationalist orthodox historiography.[30] What is more, indigenous "performers" are called "dancing girls" who are to "present dance" to the tourists by the voiceover. The voiceover even kindly clarifies that these indigenous "performers" are no longer "savages," but are being "educated" by the Nationalist government and have become "civilized." This again points to this film's settler consciousness of Han-oriented supremacy and the Nationalist assimilation project towards the indigenous people. The aboriginals here are not treated like humans, but instead are made into exhibits and commodities, or a "spectacle" functioning as scenery for the tourists to appreciate and gaze at. Indigenous people represented in this film, to

[30] The Musha Uprising has been rewritten to serve different political agendas in both modes of Han settler narratives mentioned earlier. In the period of the Nationalist authoritarian rule, this incident was rendered as an anti-colonial rebellion. Yet, after the localization movements beginning in the 1970s and the lifting of martial law in 1987, it has become a source of "a new Taiwanese identity" promoted by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The rewriting and revisiting of the Musha Uprising therefore provides a good example to investigate the transformation of Han settler consciousness in Taiwan that I cannot fully address here. Also see Michael Berry, *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinses Literature and Film*, especially Chapter One.

borrow Veracini's formulation, are regarded as "part of the landscape"—one of the settler colonial discourses used to undergird the notion of "terra nullius" and disavow the "ontological connection linking indigenous peoples to their land."[31] Indigenous images, as well as their history, are deployed to serve the interest of the Nationalist settler government to create particular historical narrative and support official ideology.

Island proceeds with its settler colonial mapping toward the south via Changhua, Xiluo (with special focus on the Xiluo Bridge, a bridge that connects Changhua and Yunlin, established during the Japanese colonial period and reconstructed by the Nationalist government in the 1950s with financial aid from the US), Chiayi, and Tainan. Although the second part of *Island* seemingly centers on the *fengguang* (風光, literally sights and scenes) of Taiwan, in fact it complements the first half of the film, placing emphasis on the magnificent scale of the Xiluo Bridge, "the longest highway bridge in the Far East." A shot of the US and ROC national flags suspended on the beam of the bridge underscore the cooperation between the US and the ROC in building this structure. Further, the Chianan Irrigation System is shot to illustrate technological and industrial improvement in Taiwan, although it was actually designed by Hatta Yoichi (八田與一), a Japanese engineer from the colonial government.

Island also presents historic sites including the Temple of Wu Feng in Chiayi, the Temple of Koxinga, the Chihkan Tower, and Fort Zeelandia. As in *Descendants*, the film spotlights Koxinga and his contribution to Taiwan. The camera also zooms in a specific plant called "seven-string bamboo," which is believed to have been grown by Zheng's consort Madam Dong in the Kaiyuan Temple. The instruction shows that seven string bamboo originated in Henan

[31] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A theoretical Overview*, pp. 37-43.

province and was transplanted to Tainan hundreds of years earlier, and that it continues to flourish. The province Henan is considered the "birthplace" of Chinese civilization and served as the cultural, political, and economical center of China for centuries. Bamboo is usually taken as a trope to represent good virtues of a person, such as integrity, indomitability, and loyalty. String, in classical Chinese music and poetry, is a common metaphor to express feelings or sentiments of love, sorrow, or nostalgia. Hence, the seven-string bamboo not only alludes to Zheng's loyalty for the Ming court but also suggests that the regime in exile established by Zheng would continue to flourish in Taiwan.

Next, the film-within-a-film and our tourists arrive in the Fongshan district, an administrative and military center located in Kaohsiung. By inserting a series of military parades at which Chiang Kai-shek is inspecting the troops, cavalry, and tanks marching into this sequence, *Island* integrates the Nationalist military attempt with its highly politicized representation of Taiwan's *fengguang*, characterizing Taiwan as the military base from which China will be re-taken and the country revived. The segment ends with the scene of the lighthouse located on Cape Eluanbi, the southernmost point of Taiwan island. An animated map of Taiwan with brilliant rays of light in the background, accompanied by the voiceover, "Taiwan exists as the cast-iron guarantee to reclaim China," echoes the motif of the film at the beginning of this segment—Taiwan, a beautiful treasure island with rich natural resources and advanced industrialization, has always been and will continue to be the "lighthouse" and eternal "homeland" for all Chinese people, be they domestic or overseas communities around the world, and the one and only legitimate regime representing the political entity called "China." In sum, the settler colonial cartography constructed in *Island* invokes the audience's national and cultural identity by positioning Taiwan at the center of the world map so as to hail all "Chinese communities"

worldwide in the name of nationalism.

Settler Colonial and Colonial Cartographies: A Comparative Analysis

To differentiate the narrative and discourse of settler colonialism from classic colonialism, it is useful to compare *Descendants* and *Island* to a more conventional colonialist film, *Southward Expansion to Taiwan*, made during the Japanese colonial period. *Expansion* is one of the Japanese imperial documentary films rediscovered and digitalized by the National Museum of Taiwan History in collaboration with National Tainan University of the Arts as part of the film preservation project, released in 2008 and available online for wider circulation. To briefly explain the historical background, the making of *Expansion* was one of the consequences of colonial discourse—specifically of the *nanshinron* (南進論) or the "southward advance concept"—the Japanese imperial policy which advocated advancing economic influence and expanding territories toward the *Nan'yō*, the "South Seas," so as to supply raw materials for Japan's domestic industrialization and compete with other world powers during World War II.[32] In 1936, the seventeenth governor-general of Taiwan, Kobayashi Seizō (小林躋造, 1877-1962), launched three conceptions as his main principles for presiding over Taiwan: industrialization (工業化 *kōgyōka*), southward expansion (南進化 *nanshinka*), and Japanization (皇民化 *kōminka*, the assimilation policy which aims to "transform its colonized people into imperial

[32] The "southward advance concept," according to Mark R. Peattie, was initially an ideology or public trend advocated by navy enthusiasts, civilian publicists and other Japanese expansionists in prewar Japan, promoting the concept that Japan had "a destiny to advance its influence toward the *Nan'yō*" ("Nanshin" 189-90). This concept was adopted as an official policy by the Japanese imperial government during the mid-1930s and further evolved into the political and military penetration of Southeast Asia and other Pacific islands in 1940. For more detailed discussion of "southward advance concept" and the Japanese Empire's southward expansion, please see Mark R. Peattie's work.

subjects,"[33] officially implemented from 1937 to 1945). As the first colony of Japan which occupied a pivotal geopolitical position between Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, Taiwan thus became a critical military base and economic front for the Japanese government to stretch its imperial impact and invasion toward Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands, so as to establish the so-called "Southern Co-prosperity Sphere" (南方共榮圈 *Nampō kyōeiken*).[34]

As an imperial policy film or "national policy film" (*kokusaku eiga*),[35] *Expansion* portrays Taiwan as a "model colony" after the Meiji Restoration (the Japanese Empire's reform of modernization and westernization during the nineteenth century). This singular status propagates the ideology that Taiwan is the most valuable and indispensable colony for Japan to complete its "Southward Expansion Project." At the inception of its colonial rule, the Japanese government launched a series of "colonial engineering" to integrate "the local into the bureaucratic structure" and foster "the development of a modern economy," including the land survey, the unification of currency, the standardization of measurement units, the establishment of schools, railroads, banks, public health organizations, and so forth.[36] Most notably, a very thorough, "island-wide" land

[33] Leo T. S Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (U of California P, 2001), p. 92.

[34] Hui-yu Caroline Tsai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (Routledge, 2009), p. 170.

[35] The term "national policy film" (*kokusaku eiga*), firstly coined in the mid-1930s, was derived from a proposal by a Japanese parliament member, Iwase Ryō, in which he urged the state to steer film production and regulate film industry in wartime Japan with "national policies of film," aiming at producing "appropriate national representations" of Japan (Hori 6). This term is used by scholars to categorize a large body of wartime Japanese films that were deployed as propagandistic tools to mobilize Japanese people and evoke national identity by exhibiting "an idealized, official picture of Japanese life and behavior" of the time, as well as to reinforce an idea of traditional Japan through the "historical period drama" film genre (Davis 4). Here, I adopt a more inclusive phrase, "imperial policy film," to address *Expansion*, as issues of production, distribution and reception of this film expand beyond the concept of the national.

[36] Please see: Hui-yu Caroline Tsai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (Routledge, 2009), pp. 119-25; Wan-yao Chou, *A New Illustrated History of Taiwan*, trans. Carole Plackitt and Tim Casey (SMC Publishing, 2015), p. 210.

survey of Taiwan was accomplished in 1903 by the colonial government, and this colonial achievement can be clearly seen in *Expansion.*

Expansion undertakes a colonial mapping from the north to the south, offering a panoramic view of western Taiwan while also turning its "colonial gaze" to eastern Taiwan. Taiwan's bounteous natural resources, agricultural production, and colonial infrastructure including railways, harbors, modernized transportation, electricity, administrative buildings and systems, are all exhaustively displayed with particular attention to details and data. As an economic and military battlefront with its geopolitical potential for the Japanese Empire to expand southward, the Taiwan that is rendered in *Expansion*, as Chiu Kuei-fen astutely points out, is an entity that can be objectified, anatomized and quantified through concrete and scientific survey.[37] Moreover, the film provides the audience a series of frontal snapshots of prefectural governors in each city and district, establishing the penetrating and omnipresent colonial control and authoritative power of Japan in its colony. The film ends with an ambitious slogan: "Expand southward! Move toward the reservoir of infinite treasury, with Taiwan as the only foothold and path to expand the Empire. . . . In order to maintain Japan's right to life and its peaceful developmental strategy, there is no other way but the southward expansion." By circling around the entire island in the cinematic medium, *Expansion* potently demonstrates the Japanese Empire's accomplishment in government of its colony, and substantiates the notion that Japan is fully modernized and able to keep pace with western powers.

At first glance, it is clear that *Expansion* has something in common with *Island* and *Descendants.* A train scene that symbolizes modernization and expresses a visual effect of movement and speed occurs at the beginning of *Expansion*. Through this the fundamental

[37] Kuei-fen Chiu, *Regarding Taiwan: The New Taiwan Documentary* (National Taiwan University P, 2016), p. 13.

ideology of the film—the urgent need for Japan's southward expansion and the active role Taiwan plays in attaining this imperial policy—is effectively articulated. More tellingly, a map of Taiwan, as well as the well-designed directional route from the north to the south and then to the east that links all of the places together as seen in *Island*, is also visualized in *Expansion* as an instructional device for the audience to have a better spatial sense of the geography of Taiwan. Famous tourist spots and historical figures also appear in many of the sequences. For instance, the lighthouse of Cape Eluanbi in *Expansion*, as the voiceover points out, serves as a "landmark" for the Empire of Japan to expand southward for its economic purpose, shining majestically alongside "Nisshōki," the formal name of the national flag of Japan (literally, "sun-mark flag"). Mapping, governing, and filmmaking are all equivalent to one another and function for the same ideological and political purpose of colonial control.

Despite these similarities, the colonial geopolitical diagram formulated in *Expansion* differs from the settler colonial cartography in *Island* and *Descendants* in a number of ways. First, while the Nationalist settler colonial cartography attempts to strengthen a kind of *a priori* (yet in fact discursively constructed) "ancestral affinity" between the metropole (China) and the settler colony (Taiwan) in terms of cultural, ethnical, and historical continuities, the classic colonialism of *Expansion* draws attention to the successful transformation of the previously undeveloped, less civilized colony into a modernized and progressive place under the Japanese colonial rule and their colonial administration. Compared with settler colonial discourse that emphasizes the "inherent continuity" between the metropole and the settler colony, classic colonial narrative exaggerates the historical "discontinuity." *Expansion* suggests Taiwan was treated merely as "terra incognita" ("unknown land" that is beyond authorized control) by the Qing Empire, but has been elevated and cultivated under Japanese governance. The film notes that in Taipei most

of the Chinese-style buildings were destroyed due to a disastrous typhoon in 1911, and that it was the Japanese colonial government who took the opportunity to renew the cityscape through urban planning. In contrast, Japanese-style buildings, including both the traditional and westernized ones, such as the Shinto shrines, the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan (known as the Presidential Office Building currently), and several others are totally invisible in *Island* or *Descendants*, and are instead accentuated in *Expansion*. In short, *Island* and *Descendants* promote the message that everything in Taiwan is the same as it "was" (not "is") in China, whereas *Expansion* asserts that many things have changed for the better under Japanese colonialism.

Second, in this Japanese colonial cartography, Taiwan is represented as a colonized "other" and can only be a periphery of mainland Japan, a front for the imperial power to expand southward. In both *Descendants* and *Island*, the island of Taiwan under the ROC is depicted as the political, cultural, and economic "center," the "eternal homeland" for all Chinese communities worldwide, and the only legitimate and authentic polity representing "China," always tightly bound to mainland China in a cultural sense. Toward the end of *Expansion*, a more extensive map encompassing Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands emerges on the screen, together with a voiceover indicating the size of land in *Nan'yō* (Southeast Asia) is a dozen times larger than Japan, and that this area possesses numerous kinds of natural resources that Japan needs. This broader geographical mapping reveals the ultimate goal of Imperial Japan. Although it seems to be given "a central position in economic, military, and ideological terms," as Lee Yu-lin writes in his article centering on the digital archivization of *Expansion*,[38] by positioning

[38] Yu-lin Lee, "The Digital Emergence of a New History: The Archiving of Colonial Japanese Documentaries on Taiwan," *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies* 39.1 (2013), p. 125.

Taiwan in this way in Japanese colonial cartography, Taiwan merely serves as a "steppingstone" for Japan to achieve southward expansion. This Japanese colonial cartography in *Expansion*, as pointed out by Tsai Hui-yu in her discussion on the imperial discourse of the "Co-prosperity Sphere of Greater East Asia," is hierarchically constructed in a concentric diagram, in which "Japan proper" is placed at the center, surrounded by "overseas territories and colonies," and other "outer territories" under direct or indirect control or influence of the Japanese Empire.[39] Taiwan, in this colonial cartography, was never the central focus of Japan's imperial project.

Furthermore, the dichotomy between the colonizer (Japanese mainlanders, 内地人 *naichijin*) and the colonized (Taiwanese islanders, 本島人 *hontōjin*) in *Expansion* is absolute and unbreakable, which confirms Veracini's argument about the "dualistic relationship" in the classic colonial discourse. Unlike the scenes of Japanese-style architecture, the sequences regarding the lifestyle of Han people and other indigenous peoples in Taiwan are often shot in an exotic mode: the representation of indigenous peoples; the scenes which document the local customs like "Dragon dance" and the "Black and White Impermanence"; a series of snapshots of Han females in "cheongsam" which remind us of those amorous portraits in pictorials or monthly calendars, implying that these local women are reified objects in the colonial gaze.[40] As Tsai further notes, the dualism of "Japan proper" versus "overseas territories" (*naichi* [内地] versus *gaichi* [外地]) divulged the "overt or assumed superiority of the colonizer over the colonized,"

[39] Hui-yu Caroline Tsai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering*, pp. 170-71.

[40] Kuo Li-hsin also discusses how *Expansion* manifests its "colonial gaze" by creating a contrast with the colonial "other," the colonized Taiwanese islanders.

which constituted a fundamental part in the process of Japan's empire-building.[41] In brief, settler colonialism and classic colonialism as modes of mapping exercise very different spatial distributions and express distinct spatial consciousness in terms of geopolitical positions and power relations between the colonial metropole, colony, settler colony, and indigenous peoples vis-à-vis the larger world.

The distinction between settler colonialism and classic colonialism also lies in their strategies of rationalization. The settler colonial discourse justifies settlers' permanent residency, either by revisiting the history of settlement in the past as seen in *Descendants* or by evoking the national identity of the "overseas Chinese communities" in *Island*. However, in the colonial discourse, Japanese colonizers attempt to defend their imperial invasion and colonization in the colonies. *Expansion*, on the one hand, advises the domestic audience in mainland Japan that the act of colonizing Taiwan (and other areas) is imperative for the empire to become the most competitive world power during World War II. On the other hand, by foregrounding Taiwan's development and advancement, it advances the position that what the colonial government is working on should not be considered an immoral violence of exploitation, but a benevolent action improving an undeveloped place and civilizing its people. According to this logic, Taiwan should bear the responsibility of the imperial task of expansion and serve the Empire. Hence, the audiences that *Expansion* is targeting include not only domestic Japanese but also colonized Taiwanese peoples as part of the Japanization campaign. In other words, settler colonial justification in the Nationalist orthodox narrative declares the settlers' ownership of the territory by claiming the historical continuity and territorial integrity between China and Taiwan, whereas

[41] Hui-yu Caroline Tsai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering*, p. 173.

colonial rationalization asserts that the colonizers should possess the colony because they make it a better place and its residents civilized and modernized.

Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that settler colonialism and classic colonialism, as Veracini alerted us in *The Settler Colonial Present*, can never be neatly separated in reality, but are instead "frequently co-present in normal environments," as the two forms of colonial phenomena "often coexist and mutually support each other, even though at times they can inhabit their respective operations," because all the settler colonies were "established and flourished within a globalizing context fundamentally shaped by colonial relations."[42] The Japanese immigrant villages in *Expansion*, for instance, exemplify the Japanese government's aspiration to further develop its colonial project into the structure of settler colonial governance by encouraging more domestic Japanese to migrate and settle in the colony. The Taiwan Settlement Corporation (台湾拓殖会社 *Taiwan takushoku kaisha*) glimpsed in *Expansion* was founded to recruit migrants to discover and open up new frontiers that have not yet been cultivated in Taiwan, which is, needless to say, a typical settler colonial project aiming to displace the indigenous population (toward the end, the film boldly states that Taiwan has far more uncultivated land waiting to be "settled," especially in eastern Taiwan).[43] It is fair to say that the Japanese colonizers could have been the potential settler colonizers of Taiwan, if Japan had not surrendered and returned Taiwan to the ROC after World War II. On the other hand, although settler colonialism, as in Veracini's theorization, characterizes a "linear move" without envisioning a return, the Nationalist settler narrative at this phase intriguingly wavers between

[42] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, pp. 26-29.

[43] Veracini also takes Japanese colonialisms in Taiwan and Korea as examples to reason that "settler projects can also operate as *a function* of enabling colonial regimes" (*Settler Colonialism* 69; emphasis in original). Also see Chang Su-bing's monograph about the Japanese immigrant villages in Taiwan.

"two Chinas" (mainland and Taiwan) with its insistence on "reclaiming the mainland." Veracini has termed the "conflicting tendencies" of settler mentality as "settler colonialism's inherent ambiguity," an ambivalent sentiment between the old metropole and the new settler colony.[44] It is also obvious that the Nationalist narrative has converted this ambiguity into a form of justification for settler colonialism: we should settle here since one day we will reclaim China and once again integrate Taiwan into the greater territory of the ROC.

Some of the resemblances among the three films deserve further analysis. For example, *Expansion* also mentions the historical figure Koxinga, but rewrites his story from a different perspective: it underscores Zheng's birthplace in Japan (Hirado in Nagasaki Prefecture) and his Japanese mother. Moreover, the conflict between the Dutch and the Japanese merchant Hamada Yahyōe in the seventeenth century is brought up while introducing Anping. Neither *Descendants* nor *Island* mentions these details because those advocating the Nationalist settler narrative seek to construct a linear and continuous Han-centric historiography. More intriguingly, a "bamboo scene" is shot in a sugar factory located in Pingtung in *Expansion*. The voiceover notes that bamboo flourished during the reign of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito, implying a connection to the thriving regime of the imperial government. These examples show the same/similar figures, images, and fragments of history in both classic and settler colonial narratives. Yet the way these elements are selected, deployed, and adapted are based on different political purposes and ideologies of settlers and colonizers. Settlers may also appropriate elements of colonial discourse or narrative devices to consolidate their own discursive formation or enrich certain settler

[44] This "settler colonialism's inherent ambiguity," as Veracini indicates, usually operates "at the same time on the settler collective" when he discusses the cases of European settler societies: "one striving for indigenization and national autonomy, the other aiming at new European replication and the establishment of a 'civilized' pattern of life." (*Settler Colonialism* 21) This ambivalent settler mentality very much resembles the two types of settler colonial consciousness between the early Han settlers (Taiwanese locals) and the new wave of Han settlers (mainlanders), as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

colonial metaphors. Several cinematic languages and metaphors seen in *Expansion* including the map and the directional route of Taiwan, Koxinga, the bamboo scene, the image of the lighthouse of Cape Eluanbi, and the indigenous peoples, are adopted in *Island* to construct a distinct settler colonial cartography. Similarly, the Nationalist government seen in *Island* usurps the industrialization achievements of the Japanese government in Taiwan, reformulating the Chianan Irrigation System and the Xiluo Bridge as if these are the contribution of the settler regime. Only through a comparative analysis between the two modes of colonial domination can we fully examine how settler colonialism distinguishes itself from classic colonialism, and how colonial and settler colonial discourses at times overlap, intertwine, or supplement one another according to different historical and social contexts.

Conclusion: Toward a Redistribution of Cinematic Cartography

The methodological intersection of cultural geography and settler colonial criticism sheds insightful light on the way in which we can read cinema as cartography and allows us to theoretically reflect on the settler colonial structure of Taiwan in more critical and productive terms. The Han settlers in Taiwan on the one hand stress their cultural legacy and genetic connection with China, and firmly claim their legitimate ownership of the territory. On the other, Han settlers distinguish themselves from the metropole by disavowing the regime established by the Chinese Communist party of the time, the People's Republic of China (PRC), and by presenting the ROC as the only legitimate and "authentic" Chinese polity. Unlike the Japanese colonial spatial distribution in which the dualism between the metropole ("Japan proper" as the center) and the colony (Taiwan, as an economic front located on the margin of the Japanese Empire) is reinforced, Han settler cartography centralizes Taiwan as the eternal homeland to

justify the legitimacy of the Nationalist rule and Han settlers' permanent residency.

Nevertheless, the similarities between settler colonialism and classic colonialism, as well as the way by which they are co-constituted in reality, are equally important. Most significantly, the distributional inequality and imbalanced spatialization of indigeneity is apparent in both Japanese colonial and Han settler colonial cartographies, echoing Huggan's argument that maps are "insidious mechanisms that justify the dispossession of minority peoples,"[45] even in metaphorical and fictional manners. In *Expansion*, indigenous people appear at the beginning of the film to represent the primitive past of Taiwan, with their custom of headhunting and "barbarism" overstated by the voiceover, in contrast to the "civilized" colony under Japan's colonization that resembles what we see in *Descendants* and *Island*. However, *Expansion* distinctly asserts that these people are no longer interested in practicing their tribal customs (neither headhunting nor dancing), and are instead eager to move toward a more economy-oriented and capitalistic lifestyle. This emphasis on economic development underscores the different features of the two modes of domination: classic colonialism gives priority to the economic exploitation of native labor, rather than the territorial dispossession as stressed in settler colonialism. Compared with Han settlers, although both oppress indigenous peoples, the Japanese colonizers "needed" the indigenous population (as well as other colonized Han people) as labor to define themselves as colonizers and accomplish the imperial project of expansion.

If they usually coexist and sometimes appropriate one another in reality, why does the differentiation between settler colonialism and classic colonialism matter? In *The Settler*

[45] Graham Huggan, *Territorial Disputes: Maps and Mapping Strategies in Contemporary Canadian and Australian Fiction*, p. 29.

Colonial Present, Veracini argues that the analytical distinction between colonial and settler colonial domination is required in that it will help us imagine "more effective ways of theorising and practising the decolonisation of settler colonial formations."[46] In light of this, investigating the settler colonial distribution of cinematic cartography is a prerequisite for challenging and unsettling unjust spatial practices, and thus necessary for a move toward what French philosopher Jacques Rancière called "spatial redistribution." Politics, as Rancière states, "is the construction of a specific sphere of experience in which certain objects are posited as shared and certain subjects regarded as capable of designating these objects and of arguing about them."[47] The moment of politics begins, Rancière proclaims, when "impossibility is challenged" and new possibilities of "objects and subjects" are introduced. The "politics of literature" means that "literature intervenes as literature in this carving up of space and time, the visible and the invisible, speech and noise," and most importantly, intervenes in "the relationship between practices and forms of visibility and modes of saying that carves up one or more common worlds."[48] We must extend Rancière's insights of "politics of literature" and "redistribution" in approaching the "politics of cinema." To critique and interfere in the domination of settler colonial mapping and unjust spatial distribution as represented in cinema in any given settler society will bring forth new possibilities for the redistribution of cinematic cartography, a milestone for spatial justice, and a point of departure toward transitional justice.

[46] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, p. 29.

[47] Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Literature*, trans. Julie Rose (Polity Press, 2011), p. 3.

[48] Ibid., p. 4.

Chapter Two

Encounters at the Crossroad:

Indigeneity and Alternative Media since the 1980s

Shaped like a cradle, the flowery island
is Mother's
eternal loving bosom
Proud-boned ancestors
scrutinize our steps
nursery rhymes are
their oft-repeated caution
rice straw
banyan trees
bananas
waft the scent of Mother's inexhaustible milk in the air

however high the waves of the straits
however fierce the whirling typhoons
we won't forget their earnest words
as long as we march in step
as long as the cradle is sturdy
the cradle is eternal
who doesn't love the cradle Mother has left for us?

—Chen Hsiu-hsi
"Taiwan" (1974, translated by Wendy Larson)

In the contemporary world, media are part of political problems and part of the solutions, essential elements of repressive political structures as well as vehicles for their overthrow. Media can be used by states to establish their definitions of the political, their versions of history; they are part of the ideological state apparatus, the forces of repression. At the same time, media can be the tools of popular mobilization, they can maintain alternative histories and promote oppositional culture—in short, they constitute the resources and forms of expression of popular movements. Especially within repressive regimes, when there appears to be no public space for "political" activity, media foster the politicization of the "culture."

—Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ali Mohammadi
Small Media, Big Revolution

Prologue: Reconsidering Indigenous Rights Movements and Alternative Media

In the 1980s Taiwan's society transitioned from authoritarianism to democracy. In part due to the social and cultural impact of the nativist discourses of the 1970s, and influenced by the ripples of effect of the Formosa Incident (美麗島事件 *Meilidao shijian*) in 1979, during the 1980s a series of democratization and localization movements were launched by activists of the "Dangwai movement" (黨外運動 *Dangwai yundong*)—the political opposition movements against the Nationalist authoritarian party-state. These movements accordingly brought about the founding of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) on September 28, 1986, and later paved the way for the lifting of the Martial Law in 1987. Generally speaking, the wave of democratization and localization movements from the late 1970s to the 1980s facilitated the rise of Taiwanese consciousness and helped solidify Taiwan's subjectivity. Moreover, they fertilized a collective national and cultural identity among the so-called Han Taiwanese locals, the early wave of Han settlers who had migrated to the island of Taiwan beginning in the seventeenth century.

It was also during this transitional phase that the indigenous peoples' rights movements appeared on the stage in Taiwan. The inaugural issue of *High Mountain Green* magazine (高山青 *Gaoshan qing*) published by the indigenous students at National Taiwan University in May 1983 has been regarded as the prelude of the indigenous peoples' rights movements in Taiwan. With its calls for political democratization, equality of socioeconomic status and education between the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, as well as critiques of the mainstream Han-centric settler society of Taiwan, *High Mountain Green* played a pivotal part in arousing a collective indigenous identitarian awareness and cultural consciousness. The provocative statement in the handwritten foreword to the first issue of the *High Mountain Green*: "If we don't rise up and carry the cross of the mountain area, who will do this for us?....It is time to wake up after a long

sleep of three or four hundred years,"[1] sets the tone for successive indigenous rights movements. In December 1984, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (台灣原住民族權利促進委員會 *Taiwan yuanzhuminzu quanlicujin weiyuanhui*, ATA), one of the first non-governmental organizations initiated by the indigenous and non-indigenous activists and intellectuals, was founded. The Alliance actively engaged in a series of street protests centering on the issues regarding "indigenous name rectification" (原住民族正名 *yuanzhuminzu zhengming*), "indigenous autonomy" (原住民族自治 *yuanzhuminzu zizhi*), "land claims" (還我土地 *huanwo tudi*), and so forth. Thanks to their efforts, in 1994, President Lee Teng-hui (李登輝) first adopted the term *yuanzhumin* (原住民, literally meaning the "original inhabitants" of the land) to address Taiwan's indigenous peoples. Later the National Assembly passed a series of Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China to amend the discriminatory and assimilative designation *shanbao* (山胞, namely, "mountain compatriots") into *yuanzhumin*. The Council of Indigenous Peoples (原住民族委員會 *Yuanzhuminzu weiyuanhui*), a ministry-level rank under the Executive Yuan, which attempts to deal with indigenous issues and serves as an intermediary between indigenous communities and the government, was established in December 1996. In July 1997, the term "yuanzhuminzu" (原住民族, meaning indigenous peoples) was further written into the Constitution of the Republic of China to acknowledge Taiwan aboriginals' status and their collective human rights as "indigenous peoples" on the island of Taiwan.

Existing scholarship generally embraces the fact that Taiwan's social movements of localization and democratization from the late 1970s to the early 1980s paved the way for the

[1] Icyang Parod, el al., eds., *Collection of Historical Documents on the Indigenous Peoples' Movement in Taiwan* (Academia Historica, 2008), p. 27.

emergence of successive indigenous rights movements. This understanding, although partially true, implies that the wave of Taiwan's indigenous movements since the 1980s was merely a side effect or a byproduct of Han-centric social movements. This attitude reflects a settler consciousness centered on Han-oriented supremacy and historiography.

The background of these indigenous rights movements in Taiwan since the 1980s is in fact far more complicated than what has been normally conceived. As scholars have already argued, the 1980s' wave of Taiwan's indigenous rights movements should not be regarded as an isolated case in the local context of social movements in Taiwan. Instead, it must also be understood as a crucial part of global indigenous rights movements.[2] Even the interaction between indigenous and non-indigenous social movements in the local context of Taiwan is multidimensional and manifold, rather than a one-dimensional model where which one movement is simply influenced by another. This unilateral and hierarchical perspective that the 1980s wave of Taiwan's indigenous rights movements was merely a consequence of Han-oriented social movements not only underestimates the significance and contribution of these indigenous movements to the social, cultural, and political realms in Taiwan, but also arbitrarily incorporates them into the mainstream narrative of Han settler centered social movements without acknowledging the agency and subjectivity of indigenous activism. Critically, this scholarly underestimation of these indigenous rights movements serves as a typical example of the discursive violence of the Han settler society, because it conflates Taiwan indigenous rights movements with settler democratic and liberal movements, and simultaneously denies their political and social specificity, particularly those movements concerned with indigenous self-determination and autonomy.

[2] Please see scholarship as follows: Pasuya Poiconu (Pu Chung-cheng), "Taiwan Indigenous People's Movement and Literary Enlightenment," *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies* 1. 1 (2008), p. 40; Jolan Hsieh, *Collective Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Identity-Based Movement of Plain Indigenous in Taiwan*, p. 4.

Although they are both inspired by the emergence of liberal discourses, these indigenous movements for autonomy and settler social movements for democracy are not the same, and should neither be conflated nor treated in the same way.

These indigenous movements, I contend, have not only played a more active role in the process of democratization and localization in Taiwan, but also significantly intervened in the development of Taiwan's alternative media production, which was part and parcel of the democratization and localization process since the 1980s. I contextualize these indigenous rights movements and indigeneity from a cultural perspective, through closely investigating their relationship with the emergence and growth of alternative media practices, including the small media movement, documentary movement, independent filmmaking, and different forms of cinematic experimentation by individual film directors. Rather than simply examining alternative media as vehicles or carriers representing indigenous movements and indigeneity, I argue that it was these indigenous rights movements that stimulated, facilitated, and engaged in the formation and production of various forms of alternative media practices in Taiwan since the 1980s.

Alternative media, as a field of study and as an analytical category, is an under-researched topic in the realms of media studies and social sciences, because alternative media are usually considered small-scale and limited to local, grassroots practices. Generally speaking, the term "alternative media" refers to non-mainstream modes of media production that are deeply relevant to social struggle and political movements. Alternative media have the potential to challenge dominant social structures, hegemonic ideologies and values; to reveal realities that were previously silenced and oppressed by authorities; to give voices to those invisible, voiceless, and marginalized groups of people and to involve their participation in collective processes of media production. Most importantly, alternative media often explicitly aim to bring social change and

imagine possibilities of a more liberal, democratic, participatory and cooperative world.[3] Unlike mainstream modes of distribution and reception, alternative media in most cases reject commercialized, market-oriented strategies of distribution and advertisement, and show little interest in catering to the masses' taste for pure entertainment. Instead, alternative media are distributed through non-standard methods and networks, as they are created to communicate with their audience in alternative ways by encouraging them to actively participate in social movements or community building. Moreover, these media attempt to enable their audience to critically question the heteronomous media monopoly within the dominant social, political, and cultural structures. In brief, in alternative media, audiences can become "actors" who play an active role in processes of media production and reception, rather than being passive recipients.

Nevertheless, the notion of alternative media is very difficult to define, as the formation and communication of alternative media is an ongoing and ever-changing process, an interpretative interaction between different forms of media practices and the audience. Alternative media as an analytical concept is usually associated with, and used interchangeably with other similar (but not quite the same) terminologies by scholars in different contexts for distinct theoretical or methodological purposes, including radical media, independent media, community media, citizens' media, small media, critical media, the Third Media, and so forth. All of these terms are mobilized to either describe different facets of non-mainstream media in a general sense and their relationship with the audience; to investigate different aspects of alternative media in terms of their social function and political impacts on the public sphere; or to further explain the

[3] Please see: Chris Atton, *Alternative Media* (Sage, 2002), pp. 18-9; "Introduction: Problems and Positions in Alternative and Community Media," *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 1-6; Christian Fuchs, "Alternative Media as Critical Media," *European Journal of Social Theory* 13.2 (2010), pp. 178-83; Alfonso Gumucio Dagron, "The Long and Winding Road of Alternative Media," *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies* (Sage, 2004), pp. 41-63.

singular or plural dimension(s) of one another depending on distinct discursive needs. For example, Christian Fuchs, by deploying Marxist critique, defines alternative media as critical media which "challenge the dominant capitalist forms of media production, media structures, content, distribution, and reception."[4] Fuchs further expounds that while critical media product content shows "suppressed possibilities of existence, describes antagonisms of reality and potentials for change, questions domination, expresses the standpoints of oppressed and dominated groups and individuals, and argues for the advancement of a co-operative society," critical media product form aims to advance imagination, involving "dynamics, non-identity, rupture, and the unexpected" in a dialectical manner.[5] Alternative media mostly operate as radical media or community media. This is especially true when they are used to document sociopolitical events or protest movements as a means to assemble a group of people or even connect different communities or organizations to participate in collective processes of social movements or media production. Chris Atton defines the term "citizens' media" as "a radical form of community media" when "citizens media" involve specific "members of a community as reflexive media producers" participating in everyday political action or decision-making.[6]

In this chapter, I use "alternative media" in a more general and flexible way, because the term "alternative media," in accordance with Chris Atton's notion, is not restricted to "radical media" that are related to direct involvement in social movements as John D. H. Downing

[4] Christian Fuchs, "Alternative Media as Critical Media," *European Journal of Social Theory* 13.2 (2010), p. 178.

[5] Ibid., p. 189.

[6] Chris Atton, "Introduction: problems and Positions in Alternative and Community Media," *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 6-7.

defines.[7] Instead, this term includes a much wider range of media practices, such as visual and performing arts, street theatre and music, different modes and genres of writings and publications, and several newer forms of media (zines, fanzines, digital media, personal websites, blogs, or vlogs, etc.) that have been more frequently seen and used in more recent protests, demonstrations, or other forms of political action.[8] On the other hand, there is a mode of media practice that might seem not very radical in its content as it is not directly relevant to any social movements, but it can be critical in its creative use of visual language and aesthetic form or radical in terms of its alternative distribution networks and social relationships it establishes with the public sphere. As many scholars have pointed out, although it is necessary to distinguish alternative media from hegemonic and mainstream media, there is no rigorous and absolute distinction between the mainstream and the alternative, because the interactions between alternative media and mainstream media, as well as the relationships and means they bridge and communicate with the public, can never be a fixed and stable process. They are instead always in motion and full of variables and dialectical tensions. And last but not least, alternative media, as Alfonso Gumucio Dagron cautions, are not always radical or critical in liberal ways, particularly when they are used to "convey racist and violent messages" by hate groups, political or religious extremists.[9]

To study alternative media, in Atton's view, is to "consider how the world might be represented differently" and "examine different ways of generating, structuring and presenting

[7] For more details, please see John D. H. Downing's formulation of "radical media" in his book, *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements* (Sage, 2001).

[8] Chris Atton, "Introduction: Problems and Positions in Alternative and Community Media," *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 6-7.

[9] Alfonso Gumucio Dagron, "The Long and Winding Road of Alternative Media," *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies*, p. 60.

those representations"; the significance of alternative media lies in their revelation of "the structuredness of media discourse and show how the world might be represented differently by different media actors," as they offer "multiple versions of the world."[10] Grounded on the above insights of "alternative media" as an analytical and critical term, this chapter first considers three scenes, or more precisely, three case studies of alternative media practices in Taiwan—the Green Team (綠色小組 *Lüse xiaozu*), the *Human World* magazine (《人間》雜誌 *Renjian zazhi*), and Huang Mingchuan's (黃明川) independent film *The Man from Island West* (西部來的人 *Xibu lai de ren*, 1989). I explore the relationship between the indigenous rights movements and alternative media practices in Taiwan since the 1980s, and scrutinize how the indigenous movements in Taiwan have culturally intervened in and transformed the Han settler society. Next, I probe how alternative media interact with and destabilize the mainstream mode of filmmaking, and how indigeneity as a critical lens has provided alternative narrative of the Han-centered democratization and localization movements in the 1980s and 1990s in Taiwan in two films made by Han Taiwanese directors, Wan Jen's (萬仁) *Connection by Fate* (超級公民 *Chaoji gongmin*, 1998) and Cheng Wen-tang's (鄭文堂) *Somewhere over the Dreamland* (夢幻部落 *Menghuan buluo*, 2002).

This chapter does not attempt to articulate a narrative to replace the former Han-centered hierarchical narrative as mentioned earlier since I am not interested in constructing another "master narrative" (the examples to be discussed in this chapter are obviously not sufficient enough to construct such a genealogy). Instead, by following the "traces" of the above cases, or to borrow sociologist Bruno Latour's words in his articulation of "actor-network-theory" (ANT),

[10] Chris Atton, "Introduction: Problems and Positions in Alternative and Community Media," *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*, p. 2.

by traveling with the connectedness and relationality of the "actors" that co-constitute a network with other actors who perform and reassemble the society all together, I wish to make the previously neglected intermedial relationality between the indigenous movements and alternative media practices visible. Thus I articulate a different story of "a new topographic relationship" of the "actor-network" I formulate via the above cases. The two stories are not necessarily contradictory to one another, but coexist and constitute the complexity and heterogeneity of Taiwan's society. In Latour's model of ANT, the distinction between the global and local, as well as the macro and micro, has blurred. The global has already been localized since local sites play an indispensable part in the formation of the global; the relationship between the global and local is thus neither defined by their scales nor hierarchical statuses, but is rather determined by their interconnectedness and relationality. In the same vein, the macro is no longer a wider or a larger site, neither "above" nor "below" the interaction its builds with the micro, "but added to them as another of their connections," as the micro and macro are already linked in the "actor-network" theorized by Latour.[11] I mobilize the notion of "actor-network-theory" not only to provide critical insights to reflect on the hierarchical, Han-centered narrative of social movements since the 1980s, but also to shed new lights on the understanding of indigenous rights movements at both global and local levels. Local indigenous rights movements and the associated alternative media practices in Taiwan are indispensable "actors" to global indigenous and alternative media movements, and should be construed through the lens of the shared, co-constituted "actor-network." In doing so, we are able to explore the horizontal interconnectedness and relationality among various cases, sites, and "actors" within the network they co-constitute, rather than constructing another vertical, hierarchical, and homogenous narrative that conceals

[11] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford UP, 2005), p. 177.

these interrelations and the multidimensional interactions among these actors.

Scene One: The Green Team and The Small Media Movement

On June 20, 1984, a disastrous mining accident occurred in Tucheng, a district in the southeast of New Taipei City today. Seventy-two miners died in this accident, and many of the victims were Amis indigenous people. After a few days, on June 24, Hu Defu (胡德夫), an indigenous musician and activist who is also known as Parangalan in his indigenous language, initiated a charity concert called "Singing for Mountains" (為山地而歌 *Wei shandi er ge*) at Taipei New Park (currently known as the 228 Peace Memorial Park) with other indigenous activists to gain support and raise funds for the bereaved families of the accident. On December 29, 1984, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA), the first non-governmental indigenous organization, was founded by both indigenous and non-indigenous activists and intellectuals at Mackay Memorial Hospital in Taipei with support from the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, aiming to "protect and advance Taiwan indigenous rights by service, words, speech, and peaceful actions."[12] Hu Defu, as one of the founding members of the ATA, was elected as the first president. After the founding ceremony, members of the ATA arranged a forum later the same evening. In the forum, indigenous and non-indigenous activists exchanged their thoughts on the predicaments and unequal treatments that the indigenous peoples in Taiwan had faced throughout history, as well as the prospects of the ATA and indigenous rights movements. They also held a benefit concert called "the Feast of Millet" (小米之宴 *Shiaomi zhi yan*) to raise funds for the

[12] This statement is from the articles of the ATA. Please see Icyang Parod, el al., eds., *Collection of Historical Documents on the Indigenous Peoples' Movement in Taiwan*, p. 99.

organization, and they gathered about three hundred thousand New Taiwan dollars for the ATA.[13] At the benefit concert, Hu Defu presented two songs, "Beautiful Grains of Rice" and "The Most Distant Course," singing the former in his indigenous language, and the later in Mandarin Chinese. Scholars have generally considered the founding of the ATA a crucial landmark in the development of indigenous rights movements in Taiwan.

The above events were all recorded by Wang Zhizhang (王智章), a Han cinematographer who worked as an art editor for many "Dangwai" magazines. Born in Guangfu Township in Hualien, Wang was surrounded by people of different ethnicities and backgrounds, and had many chances to make contact with the indigenous community in Hualien. In 1983, he joined the Society of Editors and Authors Outside the Party (黨外編輯作家聯誼會 *Dangwai bianji zuojia lianyihui*, SEAOP) and became acquainted with some indigenous writers and activists from the Council of Minority Ethnicity (少數民族委員會 *Shaoshu minzu weiyuanhui*), a sub-organization under the SEAOP. Wang volunteered to record the images of the mining accident in Tucheng. The accident deeply affected him, making him to focus on how to transmit and disseminate messages and facts for invisible and voiceless groups of people, including laborers, indigenes, and other minorities, to the public through the power of media during the period of the Martial Law.

The mining accident in 1984 and contemporary indigenous plight thus stimulated Wang to take part in social and political movements in the 1980s. Wang was also one of the founding members of the ATA, and later worked as an art editor for the ATA's newsletter *Indigenous*

[13] The data is from the financial reports of the ATA published in the ATA'S newsletter *Yuanzhumin* (原住民). Please see Icyang Parod, el al., eds., *Collection of Historical Documents on the Indigenous Peoples' Movement in Taiwan*, p. 118.

people (原住民, *Yuanzhumin*). In October 1986, Wang, along with other independent documentary filmmakers, including Fu Dao and Li Sanchong, founded "the Green Team," a small media collective that has been regarded as "the father of the New Taiwan Documentary" by scholars.[14] The Green Team aimed to document alternative images and voices of different minority groups, and convey them to the public through their direct involvement in various social movements, as an act of resistance against the media monopoly dominated by the three broadcast television stations (including Taiwan Television [TTV, 台灣電視公司 *Taiwan dianshi gongsi*], China Television [CTV, 中國電視公司 *Zhongguo dianshi gongsi*], and Chinese Television System [CTS, 中華電視公司 *Zhonghua dianshi gongsi*]) and three major daily newspapers (including China Times [中國時報 *Zhongguo shibao*], Central Daily News [中央日報 *Zhongyang ribao*], and United Daily News [聯合報 *Lianhe bao*]), as well as censorship by the Nationalist government during the Martial Law era. By using the technology of electronic news-gathering (ENG), the Green Team documented most of the social movements and worked very closely with protestors, recording these events that were not broadcast via mainstream media of the time. The Green Team produced videotapes and distributed them through underground, "independent outlets," including night markets, street vendors, election headquarters, regional chapters or offices of the DPP, and campaign events.[15] Additionally, the Green Team also screened their footages for audience at the regional chapters or offices of the DPP, and sold videotapes through the membership system they established in 1987.

[14] Kuei-fen Chiu, "Mapping Taiwanese Ecodocumentary Landscape: Politics of Aesthetics and Environmental Ethics in Taiwanese Ecodocumentaries," *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 11. 1 (2017), p. 16.

[15] Shihong Chen ed., *Collision and Assemblage: Interviews with the Green Team* (Vista Publishing, 2016), pp. 37-40; Robert Chi, "The New Taiwanese Documentary," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 15.1 (2003), p. 157.

The Green Team was not only one of the most significant pioneers of small media practices in 1980s Taiwan, this small media collective has also been considered "the father of the New Taiwan Documentary." The production of documentary film in Taiwan in fact began much earlier than the founding of the Green Team. For instance, the imperial policy documentary *Southward Expansion to Taiwan* was made during the Japanese colonial period (as I discussed in the previous chapter), or the newsreels produced by the Taiwan Motion Pictures Studio. Yet, the notion of "New Taiwan Documentary," according to Chiu Kuei-fen, is a genre particularly defined by its direct involvement in Taiwan's social movements during the 1980s, both because of its intervention in the reality of Taiwan's society, as well as its alternative ways of distribution and circulation.[16] Chiu writes, New Taiwan Documentary movement "was self-consciously and conspicuously 'grassroots' in character. It was characterized by what the Russian activist-writer and photographer Sergei Tret'iakov defines as 'operativism'—an interventional representational practice that abandons detached observation for active participation 'in the life of the material'."[17] This mode stands in contrast to the dominant mode of documentary filmmaking during the Japanese colonial period and the Martial Law era, in which documentary films were produced mostly as a genre for propagandistic purposes of the authorities. More specifically, the "newness" of New Taiwan Documentary rests in its interventional and oppositional qualities as alternative media, or in Chiu's words, its potential to "turn the film viewers into the subjects of agency to intervene in the shaping of history" and in "the development of the civil society of

[16] Kuei-fen Chiu, *Regarding Taiwan: The New Taiwan Documentary*, pp. 2-11; "The Vision of Taiwan New Documentary," *Cinema Taiwan: Politics, Popularity and State of the Arts* (Routledge, 2007), pp. 35-50; "The Vision and Voice of New Taiwan Documentary," *New Chinese-Language Documentaries: Ethics, Subject and Place* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 41-57.

[17] Kuei-fen Chiu, "Afterword: Documentary Filmmaking as Ethical Production of Truth," *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies* 39.1 (2013), p. 204.

Taiwan."[18] In this sense, the practice and engagement of the Green Team in changing Taiwan's society as a small media collective played an indispensable part in shaping and developing the mode of New Taiwan Documentary since the 1980s.

As Wang notes, the founding of the ATA in 1984 was not only a crucial event for indigenous rights movements in Taiwan, it was also an important moment that triggered the establishment of the Green Team (Wang himself was also one of the founding members of the ATA). The significance of indigenous rights movements in the establishment and development of the Green Team, as well as the following New Taiwan Documentary movement, can also been seen via other historical details that have long been underestimated by scholars. The mining accident in Tucheng documented by Wang in 1984, as documentary filmmaker and scholar Lee Daw-ming points out, should be treated as the first work of New Taiwan Documentary in Taiwan film history.[19] The footage and videotapes produced by the Green Team were preserved by National Tainan University of the Arts in 1998. Beginning in 2006, with the financial support of the Ministry of Education in Taiwan, the National Tainan University of the Arts embarked on a project of digitalization and archivization of the works by the Green Team, led by film scholar Jiing Yng-ruey. The project was completed in 2012, and all the videos were made available on the official website since 2013. It is worth noting that the first numbered videotape in the archive of the Green Team is the footage of the founding ceremony of the ATA.[20] In a recent conference

[18] Kuei-fen Chiu, "The Vision and Voice of New Taiwan Documentary," p. 43.

[19] Daw-ming Lee, "The Filmmaker Speaking on the Terrace: On My Documentary Filmmaking Experience of Social Movements" *Documenting Taiwan: Bibliography and Archives for Taiwan Documentary Film Studies, II* (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2000), p. 354.

[20] Shihong Chen ed., *Collision and Assemblage: Interviews with the Green Team*, p. 30. Also see the catalogue of the Green Team via the website built by the National Tainan University of the Arts, web.archive.org/web/20140718231333/http://greenteam.tnnua.edu.tw/releaseRedirect.do?unitID=241.

centering on “indigenous transitional justice” held on July 30, 2016, indigenous scholar and activist Jolan Hsieh also pointed out that the indigenous rights movements in Taiwan were an indispensable part of the Green Team’s documentary filmmaking in both quality and quantity. Both of these pieces of evidence show how intertwined the Green Team’s foundation is with indigenous movements in Taiwan, and thus also with subsequent small media and documentary movements in the same decade. This critical historical detail has however been obscured in the settler-focused history of Taiwan.

Indigenous rights movements in Taiwan did not just play a decisive role in the Green Team’s rise as one of the most representative and influential small media collectives and precursors of the New Taiwan Documentary. They also served as important actors that created horizontal connections linking and reassembling different activist communities and various alternative media. This network generated a shared platform for public debates and conversations across indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the late 1980s in Taiwan, one that can be best understood by examining an alternative magazine called the *Human World*.

Scene Two: the *Human World* Magazine

The *Human World* magazine (人間 *Renjian*, hereafter *Human*) is one of the most prototypical magazines for “reportage literature” (報導文學 *baodao wenxue*) in Taiwan. In November 1985, Chen Ying-zhen (陳映真), a Han Taiwanese author imprisoned from 1968 to 1975 on the charge of organizing “pro-Communist activities,” founded the magazine. Informed by the leftist political ideology and the conceptual theories of “Third-Worldism,” *Human* strove to foreground the voices of subaltern populations, as well as other alternative social, economic,

political, cultural, and environmental realities in Taiwan and around the world.[21] Central to the publication of *Human* were indigenous movements and other related indigenous issues, and members of these movements were also directly involved in the development of the guiding principles of the magazine. To name just a few of the issues raised or covered in the pages: the protest against adolescent indigenous prostitution and sexual exploitation on Huaxi Street,[22] the critique of the Han legendary figure Wu Feng that was undertaken as a project of civilization and assimilation by the settler government,[23] the vanishing culture and identity of the so-called Pingpu indigenous peoples,[24] and the antinuclear movement in Lanyu (also known as Orchid Island, an island off the southeastern coast of Taiwan inhabited by the Tao indigenous people).[25] The reports in *Human* complicated and broadened the public conversation by featuring indigeneity and adding racial/ethnical aspects to their articles and characteristics. Most importantly, through its dissemination of indigenous issues to the public, as well as engagement and participation in Taiwan indigenous movements, *Human* and the members of its editorial board played pivotal roles in Taiwan indigenous movement.

Particularly important were Han Taiwanese photographer Guan Xiaorong's (關曉榮)

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[21] For more detailed discussion on Chen Ying-zhen and his thoughts on the Third World, please see Kuan-Hsing Chen, "Chen Yingzhen's Third World: A Chapter on Madmen, Lunatics, and the Mentally Ill," *Situations: Cultural Studies in the Asian Context* 10.2 (2017), pp. 91-144.

[22] Shu-mei Tseng, "An Account of Underage Prostitutes' Lives, " *Human World*, No. 17 (March 1987), pp. 8-23.

[23] Hung-Chih Guan, "The Deconstruction of a Statue: On the Disocurse of Wu Feng," *Human World*, No. 22 (August 1987), pp. 62-83.

[24] Jiazhan Liao, "Our Homes, Our Tribes, and Our Fates…,"*Human World*, No. 27 (January 1988), pp. 72-85.

[25] Xiaorong Guan, "How Many State Secrets were Buried in Lanyu?," *Human World*, No. 26 (December 1987), pp. 90-111.

accounts of Bachimen in Keelung[26] and his experience in Lanyu.[27] Guan began his career as a photojournalist in the inaugural issue of *Human* with a series centering on a group of urban indigenous laborers who moved to Bachimen. His photograph of an Amis indigenous man (with the Han name Gao Changlong) was used as the cover of this issue of *Haman* and has been viewed as an iconic image of the magazine. In 1987, Guan spent a year on the island of Lanyu to carry out fieldwork. A radioactive waste storage facility was built on the island in 1982, without obtaining the consensus of the main inhabitants, the Tao indigenous population. Through the close relationship he forged with the indigenous community, and especially his friendship with Tao indigenous author Syaman Rapongan, Guan was able to capture intimate images of the Tao indigenous traditional lifestyle and everyday practices, while also detailing the social changes under the governance of the Han settler regime. These include documenting the effects of commercial tourism, the Han-centered educational system, the lack of modern medical treatment and healthcare, relocation to the urban areas in Taiwan due to the insufficiency of employment opportunities in Lanyu, and most importantly, the notorious nuclear dumpsite and the successive anti-nuclear movement. Guan's accounts of Lanyu, along with his photography, on the one hand, present a picture of the Tao indigenes that are subject to both ethnical discrimination and

[26] Please see the following reports in *Human* magazine: "Two Percent of Hope and Struggle," *Human World*, No. 1 (November 1985), pp. 16-25; "Documenting A Large-Scale, Ongoing, and Unheard Ethnic Relocation," *Human World*, No. 1 (November 1985), pp. 26-31; "Ship Owner, Sea Cockroach, and Fishermen in Bachimen," *Human World*, No. 2 (December 1985), pp. 86-93; "When Old Chiu Feels Like Crying," *Human*, No. 3 (January 1986), pp. 70-79; "Ah Chun Lost His Middle Finger," *Human*, No. 4 (February 1986), pp. 52-59; "All the Faces of the Human Condition," *Human*, No. 5 (March 1986), pp. 108-115.

[27] Articles are listed as follows: "Solitude, Magnificent Reef Rocks," *Human*, No. 18 (April 1987), pp. 8-23; "The Solemn and Stirring Elegy of Flying Fish Festival," *Human*, No. 19 (May 1987), pp. 48-65; "Civilization Collapsed in a Confined Prison," *Human*, No. 20 (June 1987), pp. 86-101; "Brutal Exploitation in this Miserable World," *Human*, No. 23 (September 1987), pp. 150-164; "How Many State Secrets were Buried in Lanyu?," *Human*, No. 26 (December 1987), pp. 90-111; "Education in Lanyu under the Sinicization," *Human*, No. 28 (February 1988), pp. 126-140; "Lanyu, an Island Abandoned by Modern Medical Treatment and Healthcare, " *Human*, No. 30 (April 1988), pp. 18-39; "The Yami (Tao) Laborers Wandering in Cities," *Human*, No. 33 (July 1988), pp. 143-146; "The Launching Ceremony of Ten-men Canoe," *Human*, No. 36 (October 1988), pp. 78-91.

environmental injustice under the domination of Han settler colonial structure. On the other, his photographs were distinctly different from stereotypical, exotic representations of indigeneity (in which indigenous peoples and cultures are treated merely as ethnographical objects through the lens of colonial gaze). They also provided the audience an alternative vision to reconsider and to reimagine what indigeneity is. In his article "When Facing the Photographers," Atayal indigenous poet Walis Norgan writes that Guan not only changed the way in which people (Han settlers) see the indigenous peoples in Taiwan through his photography but also revealed "how people from the island of Taiwan have ignored, disregarded, and trampled on the human rights and living environment of Lanyu" through his writings based on his own experience and practices during his time on the island.[28] Guan's works (both the visual and verbal) not only criticize the ethnic discrimination and violence of Han settler colonialism, but also reveal the asymmetrical geopolitical relationship between Taiwan and its surrounding islands.

The most well-known and influential reporting series regarding the indigenous peoples of Taiwan in *Human* is the case of Tang Yingshen (湯英伸). Tang Yingshen was an indigenous young man from the Tsou tribe. He left his hometown Tfuya in Chiayi and worked as a laundryman in Taipei via an intermediary employment agency service. On January 25, 1986, Tang murdered the laundry employers. He confessed his crimes and gave himself to the police the next day. This news shocked Taiwan's society, both indigenous and non-indigenous communities. In July, the ninth issue of *Human* published meticulous follow-up reports of this case entitled "Behind the Tragedy,"[29] through which the juridical process of Tang's case, the

[28] Walis Norgan, "When Facing the Photographers," *In the Eyes of Aboriginals* (Chenxing, 2012), pp. 214-215.

[29] Articles in this issue include: Hongzhi Guan, "Tang Yingshen, an Unfilial Son," *Human*, No. 9 (July 1986), pp. 92-113; "The Hidden Traps," *Human*, No. 9 (July 1986), pp. 114-119; "The Frozen Spring," *Human*, No. 9 (July 1986), pp. 120-125.

interviews of both Tang and the victims' families, and the exploitation of employment agencies were thoroughly unveiled to the public. On May 9 of the following year, the Supreme Court reached a guilty verdict; Tang was sentenced to death. The members of *Human*, as well as other human rights activists, expressed their support for Tang, and immediately took action to suspend the execution. On May 12, they put an announcement in the *Independence Evening Post* (自立晚報 *Zili wanbao*) to call attention to the complexity of the ethnical discrimination and structural violence experienced by indigenous populations under the Han-centric settler society. Many intellectuals and writers also made statements through various media, hoping to rescue Tang's life by invoking public empathy for Tang by reflecting on both historical and social injustices long inflicted on indigenous peoples.

Unfortunately these efforts failed. Tang was executed on May 15, 1987 at the age of nineteen, which makes him the youngest convict sentenced to death in Taiwan's history. The Green Team documented the execution and aftermath, including capturing the sound of gunshots they heard outside of the execution chamber and Tang's funeral in his hometown Tfuya a few days later. Although Tang's spirit eternally returned to his hometown Tfuya, his case drew the attention of mainstream Han society to the contemporary situation and plight of the indigenous peoples. It also stimulated various discussions and debates of other relevant social issues, including the controversy of death penalty, labor rights and policies, indigenous and other ethnic minority rights. Liglave A-wu, a renowned Paiwan indigenous feminist and author, pointed out that Tang's case evoked the collective cultural and ethnic consciousness of the younger indigenous generation, which poured energy into the following waves of indigenous rights movement.[30] Moreover, at the initiative of Chen Yingzhen, *Human* and the *Independence*

[30] Wen-wei Shiu, "The Interaction between Reportage and the Social Movement Frames in Taiwan Aboriginal

Evening Post co-organized a forum to discuss what the public sphere of Taiwan should have learned from the tragic case of Tang, and to consider the ways mainstream Han society can improve the living conditions of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. The conversation generated in this forum was also recorded by the Green Team. Tang's case had engendered a trans-ethnical coalition between indigenous and non-indigenous intellectuals across different activist communities and alternative media collectives, including various alternative presses (*Human* and *Independence Evening Post* in this case), the ATA, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, the Green Team, intellectuals from the Academia Sinica and other institutes, and the like.[31]

Tang's case demonstrates the power of alternative media (more specifically, small media in this case). As well as demonstrating the social impact alternative media can have on the public sphere, particularly through its potential to connect and reassemble different activist communities to create a shared forum for deepening public dialogues and debates. Small media, as Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ali Mohammadi persuasively point out, "created a political 'public sphere'; they were channels of participation, extended preexisting cultural networks and communicative patterns, and became the vehicles of an oppositional discourse that was able to mobilize a mass movement. They must be seen as technologies or channels of communication, but also as the web of political solidarity and as the carriers of oppositional discourse."[32] To elaborate on the above insight through Fuchs's formulation further, small media as alternative media which directly engage in protest movements constitute "an alternative public

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Movements for Example," *Taiwan Studies in Literature and History* 6 (2013), p. 12.

[31] Hongzhi Guan, "I Dedicate Pain to You……," *Human*, 20 (June 1987), pp. 18-43.

[32] Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ali Mohammadi, *Small Media, Big Revolution: Communication, Culture, and the Iranian Revolution* (U of Minnesota P, 1994), p. xx.

sphere, a sphere of protest and political discussion that has an oppositional role" to "stimulate public debate," and thus enhance "the vividness of democracy."[33] As Chen Yingzhen stated in the forum the Green Team documented, "Tang Yingshen is gone, but our work has just begun."

Most significantly, Tang, as well as his story, became an inspirational figure for various forms of cultural production in Taiwan since the initial reportage of *Human*, including Chiu Chen's music album *Tfuya* (特富野 *Tefuyie*, 1987), Wu Yi-feng's *Barefoot Angel* (赤腳天使 *Chijiao tianshi*, 1987), Wang Shuai's *Rite of Winter* (冬之祭 *Dong zhi ji*, 1991), Wan Ren's *Connection by Fate*, and more recently, Sinophone Malaysian director Samuel Quah's short film *The Free Man* (自由人 *Ziyou ren*, 2014). In short, Tang Yingshen's case is not only a significant historical event in the history and formation of indigenous rights movements in Taiwan, it is also an influential "cultural event." Its impact went beyond the indigenous movement affiliated with the case itself, and has affected the wider sociopolitical, literary, media, academic, religious, intellectual, and cultural spheres of Taiwan.

Scene Three: Huang Ming-chuan and Independent Filmmaking

On September 7, 1989, Han Taiwanese filmmaker Huang Mingchuan and his crew arrived at Aohua village in Yilan and launched a new project, *The Man from Island West* (西部來的人 *Xibu lai de ren*, hereafter *The Man*). This film has been widely credited as the first independent fiction-feature film in Taiwan film history. Although the development of independent filmmaking in Taiwan has a much longer history that can be dated back to Chen Yaoqi's (陳耀圻) documentary *Liu Bijia* (劉必稼) in 1966, film scholars tend to acknowledge Huang as the

[33] Christian Fuchs, "Alternative Media as Critical Media," *European Journal of Social Theory* 13.2 (2010), pp. 183-4.

forerunner of independent filmmaking, at least in a relatively narrow sense of this term.[34] The story of *The Man* revolves around the desperate protagonist Ah Ming, an urbanized (and simultaneously sinicized) Atayal indigenous man who returns to his home village Aohua to commit suicide by driving his car off a cliff. He is saved by an Atayal senior miner (played by Tao indigenous writer Syaman Rapongan), and then goes on a journey to seek out his roots. Ah Jiang is born into a family of an Atayal miner (his father is the indigenous senior character who saves Ah Ming's life). He is weary of the tedious rural lifestyle in Aohua village, and wants to break away from his indigenous community in order to live a new life in Taipei city. Xiumei, an indigenous woman who previously worked as a juvenile prostitute in Taipei, returns to her village to escape from the city. The first of its kind, by following these three characters, this film illustrates and explores the loss of cultural and ethnic identities experienced by many aboriginals in contemporary Taiwan, and critically reflects on the dominant structures of Han settler society. This is all achieved with an extremely limited budget and dependence on resources gathered primarily from outside the mainstream film industry system. However, according to Huang himself, those very elements—small budget, limited human and financial resources, as well as non-industry distribution networks—allowed Huang to steer away from the restrictions of the studio system. He was able to create his own cinematic aesthetics and alternative way of storytelling outside of the commercial straitjacket of mainstream film industry in Taiwan.[35]

The Man is not only the first independent fiction-feature film; as many film critics have pointed out, it is also the first fiction-feature film which foregrounds indigeneity in a less

[34] Robert Chi, "The New Taiwanese Documentary," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 15. 1 (2003), p. 169.

[35] "An Exploration of the Visual and Cultural Predicaments in Taiwan: An Interview with Director of *The Man from Island West* Huang Mingchuan," *Independent Filmmaking in Taiwan* (Qianwei, Avanguardbook, 1990), pp. 77-80.

stereotypical and experimental way that is rarely seen in Taiwan cinema history. Its use of Atayal indigenous language, and its interaction and relationship with other audiovisual devices in the film, make it a unique work.[36] The film begins with a medium long shot of the seaside scenery, coupled with natural sounds and the non-diegetic sound of "lubuw" (mouth harp), a kind of Atayal indigenous musical instrument made of bamboo, traditionally used for entertainment or expression of feelings within the indigenous community. We see a car on fire, then Ah Ming staggering in dark tunnel, synchronized with background music and the non-diegetic voiceover narrating an old Atayal folk tale in indigenous language. At first glance, the non-diegetic folk-tale voiceover that weaves throughout the entire film seems irrelevant to the plot as this audiovisual device to an extent confuses and hinders the audience's understanding of the film. [37] It is not until the end of the film that we realize the male narrator is actually Ah Ming's father who died alone many years ago in Aohua village. Once this is established, the voiceover can be understood as one of the stories embedded in Ah Ming's memory, and thus the entire story of the film is told mainly from the perspective of the protagonist Ah Ming. This is a counterpoint to the image of Ah Ming: throughout most of the film he is usually observed and described through the point of view of other indigenous characters in Aohua village, especially through the gaze of Ah Jiang and Xiumei. In this way, Huang creates a mode of dialectic tension between the audio and the visual. The sophisticated and multi-layered sound design in the beginning sequence (and

[36] Please see: Ping-hung Cheng, "A Letter for the 1990s: Huang Mingchuan's Mythological Trilogy," *Like a Dream, Like a Drama: Huang Mingchuan's Films and Mythology* (Art & Collection Group Publishing Ltd., 2013), p. 12; Tony Rayns, "Tropical Islands and Maladies," in *Like a Dream, Like a Drama: Huang Mingchuan's Films and Mythology*, p. 59; Chin-fa Wu, "Ah! Finally We Have a Film as Such," *Independent Filmmaking in Taiwan* (Qianwei, Avanguardbook, 1990), pp. 32-33; Hung-ya Yen, "The First Non-mainstream Indigenous Film," *Independent Filmmaking in Taiwan*, p. 22.

[37] For more discussion about the relationship and interaction between the non-diegetic voiceover and the visual presentation in the film, please see Jow-jiun Gong, "Beheaded Landscape, Perception-Image: from 'Mythology Trilogy' to *God Man Dog*," *Like a Dream, Like a Drama: Huang Mingchuan's Films and Mythology*, pp. 129-153.

throughout the entire film) not only challenges the audience's viewing experience via its framing narrative and viewpoint of gaze, it also foregrounds the multilingual, creolized use of different languages in the film (including Mandarin Chinese, Hoklo, Japanese, and the Atayal indigenous language).

The identity crises of the three main characters in the settler society of contemporary Taiwan are further embodied through portraying the three main figures as "people out of place," not only in the urban areas but also in their hometown Aohua village. The protagonist Ah Ming had grown up experiencing the ethnic discrimination as an indigenous person. However, after Ah Ming returned to his indigenous village, he was treated as a "plainsman from the west"—an "outsider" who was no different from other Han settlers living in the cities, and was not accepted by his indigenous community. Ah Jiang was particularly hostile to him. The sense of "double alienation" is also found in Xiumei's story. In order to escape from her devastating life as a prostitute in Taipei, Xiumei returns to Aohua village, but finds no sense of belonging. She is repudiated by her childhood sweetheart Ah Jiang for the job she did in Taipei. At first, Xiumei also regards Ah Ming as "an outsider from the west" too, and thus shows him no trust. This changes when Xiumei hides in Ah Ming's shelter, a chicken coop, in order to get away from the ruffians from Taipei. Xiumei reveals her thoughts about Han people in the cities, and what it was like as an indigenous woman working in Taipei—an indigenous subject who suffers from the intersection of racism and sexism linked to settler structural violence: "You know what I've been calling you men? I called you plain pigs (平地豬 *pingdi zhu*). You look down on us women but still want to screw us. That's why I ran away. Now Atayal men look down on me too. They're pigs too, aren't they?" Ah Ming answers: "There is no difference between this and Taipei. Coldness, loneliness, dreams of faraway places. One always wakes to harsh realities." Xiumei

and Ah Ming, an indigenous prostitute and an urbanized indigenous man, feel out of place in both the city and their own indigenous community. Their shared experience of double alienation forms a ground for further understanding:

Xiumei: “Look at me. After all I've been through in Taipei! I don't fit in anywhere now.”

Ah Ming: “People always figure me wrong, too.”

Xiumei: “I had you figured for a typical jerk from Taipei. You look kind of odd, but you are okay.”

The sense of double alienation is also embodied as a form of identitarian conflict via Ah Jiang. On the one hand, Ah Jiang attempts to break away from his indigenous community and dreams of starting a new life in western Taiwan. On the other, he explicitly expresses his suspicion and unfriendliness toward Ah Ming, by maliciously telling him: "Clear out! We tribesmen don't want plainsmen like you.” Ironically, Ah Jiang’s hostility toward Ah Ming here is premised on his tribal identity as indigenous, and he invokes that authority in his condemnation. The following conversation between Ah Jiang and Ah Ming further dramatizes the issue of Ah Jiang’s identitarian conflict:

Ah Ming: “I live in this abandoned tunnel, minding my own business. You are the one who should go. I thought you were going to Taipei?”

Ah Jiang: “You're just a no-good bum. Got in trouble in the city and ran away here.”

Ah Ming: “Weren't you planning to run away too?”

Ah Jiang: “This is a place for aborigines. You plainsmen have no business here.”

Ah Ming: “Are you so sure that I'm a plainsman?”

Ah Ming is undoubtedly not a plainsman in the narrative, but he is treated as an outsider by his indigenous fellows. Here, Ah Ming’s questions to Ah Jiang can be construed as a question about

Ah Jiang's tribal identity: Ah Ming seems to be truly asking "are you so sure that you are indigenous, a person who feels ashamed of his indigenous identity and dreams of going to Taipei?" Ah Jiang's identitarian conflict here is mirrored in another scene in the film—Ah Jiang is sitting on the red scooter from Xiumei, next to a green guideboard with the opposite directions pointing to Taipei and Aohua respectively. In this shot, Ah Jiang can only perplexedly see cars and trucks passing by, but cannot go anywhere, as he fits neither in Taipei nor Aohua. Toward the end of the film, Ah Jiang throws this scooter down a cliff, destroying the only vehicle representing his mobility, if he still possesses any.

The only solution of the identity crisis raised in *The Man* lies in the ceremonious self-exploration of Ah Ming in the second half of the film. After Xiumei goes back to Taipei (because she doesn't think that she belongs to her hometown Aohua anymore), Ah Ming moves from the chicken coop to a cave in the mountains. He anxiously attempts to tackle his identity troubles by confining himself to the cave, searching for answers in various classics, including Buddhist sutras, Confucian teachings, western philosophical thought. However, he is just as frustrated by this search as he was in the church (in the previous scene). This attempt results in nothing but depression and disappointment. Finding no answers from the external world, Ah Ming tears and burns all of the above volumes. At the last he turns to an inner dimension—he looks inwards and mines his own memory, and in these moments, faces his own personal act of forgetting. In a metaphorical and ritualistic scene, Ah Ming sees the image of his father. Ah Ming's father, according to the Atayal elder (who saved Ah Ming's life) became mad and died in the cave near the place where Ah Ming confines himself to. Ah Ming confesses to the elder that the old man is actually his own father. Through the process of self-exploration, he ultimately faces and acknowledges his past. This past is accessible through his memories and his own

indigenous identity, which makes the resolution of his identity crisis possible.

However, even though Ah Ming eventually finds his inner peace through this ritualistic salvation and rebirth, it is still unclear what's in store for him and how to proceed with his life. The very last scene of the film is an image of the ocean overlaid with a non-diegetic conversation between a father and a son. As can be inferred, it is a conversation between Ah Ming and his father. The son asks: "Dad, what happened after that?" The father simply replies: "That's the end of the story. Your Dad didn't make up the story. It's an old folk tale of our tribe. Folk tales aren't just made up." Perhaps, as the father's voiceover suggests, further solutions rest in the efforts of future generations of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, by telling and creating more stories about their tribes and exploring different forms of cultural practice. The search for roots via return to tribal community and subsequent recognition of one's own indigenous identity is only the first step. Although *The Man* does not provide a clear solution to all of the problems it tackles, the breakthrough of the film consists in its alternative media practice of independent filmmaking. Through its storytelling combined with cinematic experimentation, *The Man* as the first independent film in Taiwan's film history not only foregrounds indigeneity through the use of Atayal language and indigenous cultural elements, but also broadens the possibilities of Taiwan cinema, providing an alternative way of looking at different realities of marginalized indigenous peoples in the Han mainstream society (issues of inequality of employment opportunities, indigenous juvenile prostitution, and racist discrimination), and more critically, listening to different "voices" of Taiwan (particularly via the multilingual audioscape the film creates).

Let's move on to another two directors and see how they challenge the mainstream mode of film production via their alternative cinematic practices since the 1990s.

Scene Four: Wan Jen's *Connection by Fate*

After his 1983 debut film *The Taste of Apples* (蘋果的滋味 *Pingguo de ziwei*, 1983), Han Taiwanese director Wan Jen became famous since then. *The Taste of Apples* is one of the short films in the groundbreaking trio *The Sandwich Man* (兒子的大玩偶 *Erzi de da wanou*, 1983), produced by the state-owned studio Central Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC, 中央電影公司 *Zhongyang dianying gongsi*).[38] It has generally been considered one of the most important and influential works of Taiwan New Cinema. Adapted from Han nativist author Huang Chun-ming's (黃春明) short story of the same title, *The Taste of Apples* explicitly criticizes neocolonialism and Americanism in Taiwan by telling a story about a poor, lower-class Taiwanese man who is accidentally hit by the car of an American military officer. Due to this accident, the injured man recovers in an extremely elegant and comfortable (if not luxurious) American hospital in Taiwan, eating apples that he can never afford with his visiting family members. The short film's exploration of Taiwan's poverty as well as its satirization of the economic and sociopolitical influence of the United States in Taiwan touched a nerve with the CMPC, which let to the notorious incident of CMPC's act of censorship called "apple-peeling incident" in Taiwan film history.[39] Thanks to the efforts of many intellectuals, filmmakers, critics, and journalists allying against the CMPC's censorship, Wan's short film was able to be shown to the audience in full. This incident demonstrates how filmmakers still negotiate censorship within the mainstream studio system of film production, and push the boundaries of cinema by expressing something

[38] The other two short films anthologized in the trio are Hou Hsiao-hsien's (侯孝賢) *Son's Big Doll* (兒子的大玩偶 *Erzi de da wanou*) and Tseng Chuang-hsiang's (曾壯祥) *Vicki's Hat* (小琪的那頂帽子 *Xiaoqi de na ding maozi*).

[39] For more detailed description of the "apple-peeling incident" and the development of Taiwan New Cinema, please see: Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island* (Columbia UP, 2005), pp. 60-62; Hsiung-ping Chiao ed., *Taiwan New Cinema* (Shibao, 1990).

alternative and sensitive through their movies.

Unlike his contemporaries (known as the Taiwan New Cinema generation, including Hou Hsiao-hsien, Edward Yang, Wang Tong, and others who stayed in CMPC and became famous through international film festival circuits), Wan chose to distance himself from the studio system of film production and founded his own film production company instead. *Connection by Fate* (hereafter *Connection*) is the last film of Wan's renowned "Super Trilogy" (超級三部曲 *Chaoji sanbuqu*). The first film of the trilogy, *Super Citizen* (超級市民 *Chaoji shimin*, 1985), tells a story of a young man who goes from the countryside to Taipei, looking for his missing sister. During his journey, the dark side of Taipei is fully unveiled via the eyes of socially marginalized figures, including a prostitute, a lunatic vagrant, a swindler, and so forth. The second film of the trilogy, *Super Citizen Ko* (超級大國民 *Chaoji da guomin*, 1995), is one of the most ambitious and courageous films in Taiwan film history. Wan boldly addresses traumatic memory and historical violence under the Nationalist authoritarian government during the White Terror era. He even did so with financial support from the Government Information Office (GIO, 行政院新聞局 *Xingzhengyuan xinwenju*). Wan has successfully proved that it is still possible to express something oppositional and radical through mainstream film production via his experimental cinematic language and exploration of sensitive subject matter. Through a close investigation of *Connection*, we can see how a filmmaker who was previously associated with the mainstream mode of film production under the Nationalist authority challenges and negotiates with the state apparatus, and further creates something alternative to communicate with the audience through more conventional means of distribution and circulation.

The story of *Connection* revolves around a Han Taiwanese and a Paiwan indigene, Ah De and Ma Le. Ah De, the protagonist and narrator, once an enthusiastic activist who dedicated

himself to various social and political movements in Taiwan during the 1980s and early 1990s, is now working as a taxi driver after the disillusion of his political ideal and the accidental death of his son (which caused the collapse of his marriage). Like those small media filmmakers (such as the members of the Green Team), Ah De used to record video footage of social movements in Taiwan when he was still actively involved in political demonstrations. Now he sets his camera in his taxicab to document the transient view of the cityscape when he is aimlessly driving the taxi around in Taipei. Ma Le works as a construction worker in Taipei. He kills his foreman for long-standing exploitative abuse and discriminatory treatment, and is soon arrested and executed. After Ma Le died, he becomes a wandering apparition, lingering in the concrete forest of Taipei city. The two characters encounter on the night when Ma Le commits the crime, which connects them to each other, as Ah De's voiceover notes: "That night became Ma Le's last journey of his life, but also the beginning of our encounter because of our fate."

What kind of "fate" is it that connects these two strangers in contemporary Taiwan? To begin with, both Ah De and Ma Le can be categorized as people from different subaltern groups in Taiwan. After the disillusion of his political ideals, Ah De can only work as a low-income taxi driver. As an indigenous man from the Paiwan tribe, Ma Le makes a living as a construction worker but only if he is willing to endure the exploitative abuse and discriminatory treatment by his foreman. As I noted earlier, Ma Le's character is based on the story of Tang Ying-sheng, the indigenous youth who becomes a murderer in part because of the structural violence of Han settler colonialism. Moreover, *Connection* intentionally situates Ma Le and Ah De as counterparts. Ma Le becomes a wandering apparition lingering in Taipei city after his execution. Ah De, even though he is alive, lives in much the same way as a walking corpse driving his taxicab with no agency, as he can only follow the demands of his passengers. Living like a ghost,

he tries committing suicide several times. In this sense, both Ah De and Ma Le are ghosts wandering in the city.

The city of Taipei represented in the film is not a city for those flâneurs as French poet Charles Baudelaire depicted, but a jail composed of various barricades (of skyscrapers and construction sites), ruins, debris, emptiness and darkness. Ah De is often shown confined to either his tiny apartment or the taxicab. His camera is his only method to observe and interact with the outside world. Ma Le's spirit is usually locked in a train of Taipei Mass Rapid Transit, blowing his tribal instrument "nose flute" alone. Thus, transit in the film represents neither mobility nor agency, but bondage and captivity in the process of modernization and urbanization in Taipei. In addition to the physical spaces that confine the two figures, they are both traumatized, or haunted, by the memories of earlier generations. Ma Le's father was once the chief of their tribe, an extraordinary hunter. Yet he accidentally fell from a scaffold when he was working at a construction site in Taipei, and thereafter survived in a persistent vegetative state for years. In Ma Le's words, his father "became an eagle with broken wings," and can "never fly again." Ah De grew up in the shadow of victimhood of his family, because Ah De's father passed away during the White Terror era (for unknown reasons), and this made him a fanatic activist during the 1980s. The traumatic memories of their families' past continue to haunt the two characters in death or life-in-death.

More importantly (and somehow contradictorily), the similarity between Ma Le and Ah De also lies in the way the film presents their loss of individual and collective histories associated with Taiwan. Although they are both tormented by their elders' memories, Ma Le and Ah De are also simultaneously victims who have lost something. The theme is first brought to the forefront through the melodic motif of *Connection,* specifically in the scene in which Ma Le is about to be

executed. The motif unfolds with an indigenous song sung by a female voice, with lyrics: “I am old. I don't have many chances to kiss the land of my home. Last night, I dreamed of my ancestor spirits again, calling me, and asking me to leave the stone-slab houses where I used to live. But I asked them, please let me have a talk with my descendants who live in the cities again. Otherwise, they will forget my stories.” Thus the execution is overlaid with a female indigenous voice that serves as a critique of Han settler colonialism in Taiwan. The audiovisual juxtaposition of the execution (killing) and the melodic motif longing for indigenous history to be preserved (forgotten stories) signifies the indigenous cultural genocide, or ethnocide, a typical act of settler colonial violence. Moreover, Ah De tries to bury his own memories of the days when he was still enthusiastically engaged in social movements, in part because of his disillusionment of political ideals and in part because of his son’s death. As Ah De’s voiceover notes, “never open up the box of memories, because memories always make people sentimental.” Ah De’s inner is further unpacked through his documentary footage of Taiwan’s social movements. These include the sequences featuring Han Taiwanese opponents who were against the Nationalist authoritarian government, such as Shih Ming-teh, Lin Yi-hsiung (both political prisoners due to the Kaohsiung Incident in 1979, and later served as chairmen of the DPP in 1993 and 1998 respectively); footage of the self-immolation of Cheng Nan-jung (a pro-independent activist-martyr who committed suicide by self-immolation in his office as an act in pursuit of the freedom of speech on April 7, 1989), as well as the self-immolation of another activist Chan I-hua (who laid down his life in front of the Presidential Office Building on the day of Cheng’s funeral on May 19, 1989, is also presented in the sequence); scenes of various social movements in the 1980s, such as the anti-nuclear movement, the late-1980s indigenous land rights movement, the protests by the Alliance for Abolishing Article 100 of the Penal Law in 1991, and several others. The

sequencing of these reveals that even though Ah De tries painstakingly to forget the days when he was an idealistic activist, these memories still haunt and even torture him, like ghosts unceasingly lingering around him.

However Ah De contrives to bury his past (and political idealism along with it), the memories that he attempts to conceal are further uncovered when he encounters Ma Le. The two wandering spirits rediscover their lost memories by exchanging stories and visiting ruined and demolished spaces in the city. One of these critical spaces is the former office building of the Taipei City Government established originally during the Japanese colonial era. This abandoned office building which crystalizes the multilayered nature of Taiwan's colonial history, visited by Ah De and Ma Le, a Han and an indigenous, the living and the dead. They are able to witness the ruin of the lost and forgotten history of Taiwan from their distinct perspectives, reconsider and reconstruct the history of Taiwan from the debris and fragments of the colonial architecture, the remnants of history, by telling their individual memories and exchanging their different worldviews and values. Because of their bridge of interethnic friendship, Ah De confronts the past he once wanted to erase. He decides to inscribe the names of people who devoted their lives to Taiwan on a brick to commemorate their dedication to the process of Taiwan's democracy. After the re-inscription of history, Ah De kills himself by jumping from the top of his building, so he can accompany Ma Le to his hometown to stay with the spirits of his ancestors.

This pessimistic, anticlimactic, or even nihilistic ending of *Connection* may perplex and trouble the audience. It certainly raises a number of questions: What does *Connection* try to convey by closing this film with the death of the two protagonists, rather than showing the audience even a glimmer of hope? Does Ah De's death imply that, notwithstanding his encounter with Ma Le, he finally gave up on any political idealism? The last transitional scene set in a train

station sheds some light on the answers to the above questions. In an old, Japanese-style wooden train station (a space again recalls Taiwan's colonial history), the two "ghosts" sit next to each other and have their last conversation. They both define their encounter as a form of "fate" (緣分 *yuanfen*) in both Han and indigenous cultures. The rain creates a sense of instability both audibly and visually. This is further coupled with a whistle sound of a train arriving at the station, signifying that the two ghosts are going to start off on a new journey. In this way, the seemingly motionless transit scene of the train station germane to Taiwan's colonial past is no longer a space of limitation and confinement, but a liminal space, a dynamic transitional space which leads to the future. The death of the two protagonists is therefore not the end of their lives. Rather, this is a new beginning, a new journey, a new page of their story, and Taiwan's history. As Ah De's voiceover points out after he throws the brick inscribed with the names of Taiwan's history into a reservoir toward the end of the film, he "no longer lives in disillusion, because he has already found true reality [of life]."

By telling a story of the two ghostly figures based on Tang Ying-sheng's case, *Connection* serves not only as a self-criticism of the mainstream Han society of Taiwan but also as a critical reflection on the democratization and localization movements since the 1980s. Ah De's disillusion of his political ideals reveals the insufficiency and blind spots of 1980s Han oriented social movements. The indigenous peoples in Taiwan are still suffering from ongoing structural exploitation and ethnic discrimination, as we see over and over in Tang's case and Wan's cinematic articulation. The identitarian discourse of the so-called "Taiwanese people" (台灣人 *Taiwan ren*) the nativist intellectuals formulated (particularly those who are affiliated with the DDP) in the 1980s has been criticized for being an exclusive term, as it oftentimes refers only to Taiwanese locals, namely, the early wave of Han settlers who moved to Taiwan beginning in the

seventeenth century and their descendants, as opposed to the group of "mainlanders" who settled after 1945. Although the indigenous peoples have played an indispensable part in the process of democratization and localization in Taiwan, their existence and contribution to Taiwan's social and political movements have long been ignored in the mainstream narrative of Han-centric historiography. Most critically, democratization of Taiwan since the late 1980s did not, nor has it yet established the sovereignty of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Yet, in the film, Ah De's ultimate spiritual relief is made possible with the company of Ma Le, which suggests that the participation of indigenous peoples is imperative for any type of true, successful political reform. It is certainly an essential part of the pursuit of democracy in Taiwan.

In addition to this political criticism, Wan also boldly experiments with various modes of film genres in *Connection*, including the ghostly figures that might be better found in horror film; the cityscape of Taipei, its crime, and even high-contrast lighting and minimalist visual style that recalls film noir; segments documented by Ah De's camera in the taxicab that recalls other kinds of road movies; and documentary supplemented by even more footage of the social movements in Taiwan (which are very likely derived from the archive of the Green Team). All these characteristics in *Connection*, as well as the film's intermedial relationship with other alternative media (small media and documentary) and the indigenous rights movement (the image of Tang and its intertextual relationship with *Human* magazine) in Taiwan, make it a unique film that is very different from the body of mainstream media practice.

Scene Five: Cheng Wen-tang's *Somewhere over the Dreamland*

After working with the members of the Green Team for a short time during the 1980s, Han Taiwanese director Cheng Wen-tang created his own studio called Cultural Taiwan Audiovisual

Workshop (文化台灣影像工作室 *Wenhua Taiwan yingxiang gongzuoshi*). Once established, Cheng made various film and video projects as an independent filmmaker and producer, including documentary, fiction-feature films, and other film genres. Like many small media filmmakers and documentary directors, Cheng was also deeply involved in social movements during the 1980s, and actively engaged in supporting the indigenous rights movements in Taiwan. The screenplay of Wan's *Connection* is actually co-authored by Wan, Cheng, and a senior literature scholar-activist Chen Fang-ming, with the original title called *The Poet and Ah Te* (詩人與阿德 *Shiren yu A De*). In the late 1990s, Cheng began to make television films for the program "Life Story" (人生劇展 *Rensheng juzhang*) of Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation (PTS, 公共電視 *Gonggong dianshi*), Taiwan's first public broadcasting institution (formally established in 1998). Unsurprisingly, the earliest phase of the public broadcasting system beginning in the 1980s fell under total control of the Nationalist government. Yet by the 1990s, the platform that the Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation provided became a crucial forum for promoting democratic and liberal values, issues centering on ethnic minorities and indigenous cultures, marginalized and subaltern voices, and more importantly, a major arena for independent films, documentaries, and other forms of alternative media in Taiwan.

Cheng's "Indigenous Trilogy," including *Maya's Rainbow* (瑪雅的彩虹 *Maya de caihong*, 2001), *Abas, the Youth* (少年阿霸士 *Shaonian abashi*, 2001), and *Watan's Bottles* (瓦旦的酒瓶 *Wadan de jiuping*, 2002), represented his long-term concerns about the issues facing the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. In 2002, Cheng re-edited the television film version of *Watan's Bottles* and remade a new version entitled *Somewhere over the Dreamland* (夢幻部落 *Menghuan buluo*, 2002, hereafter *Dreamland*) for theatrical distribution and international

circulation. The theatrical version of the film had not only received positive reviews from local critics but also earned international acclaim on the film festival circuit. *Dreamland* won the thirty-ninth Golden Horse Award for Outstanding Taiwan Film of the Year and the Best Original Film Score in Taiwan, and the International Critics' Week Award at the fifty-ninth Venice International Film Festival. It was also nominated for the Best Narrative Feature Film at the Hawai'i International Film Festival in 2002, and selected by several other international film festivals. The case of *Dreamland* provides an example of alternative media intervening and transforming the mode of mainstream media, obtaining access to mass media, and gaining international visibility through film festival circuit.

The story of *Dreamland* includes three parallel plots that revolve around three main characters in contemporary Taiwan. Watan, an Atayal indigenous man who broke his leg in a construction site accident ten years ago, indulges himself in alcohol after he returns to his own tribal village. One day, waking up from a daydream, he receives a postcard from an angel-like indigenous messenger with wings. The postcard leads Watan to the city to look for his ex-lover Rimon. Little Mo, an alienated and gloomy Han youth who works in a Japanese restaurant during the daytime, frequently lingers in adult telephone dating centers and sleeps with different women as a means to both fill up his empty and lonely heart and to earn money. Besides living a decadent lifestyle, he dreams of going to Japan to find his mother who left him when he was a child. Xuanxuan is a quiet, unsociable girl working as a ticket seller at a dull and sluggish amusement park. She was born into a Han-indigenous family, with a Han Taiwanese father and an Atayal indigenous mother. Xuanxuan's mother left the family after her older brother drowned himself due to a fruitless love. Yearning to be heard, Xuanxuan constantly makes phone calls to different strangers, asking them if they would like to listen to a story about a millet field. One

day, Little Mo fortuitously picks up Xuanxuan's call. He is deeply engrossed in her story about a millet field in the mountains, which provides a chance for these two young and lonely orphans (at least in a spiritual sense) to connect with each other.

Dreamland addresses the issues of contemporary Taiwan through the predicaments and dilemmas that three characters confront. Watan is portrayed as a victim who suffers from the intersection of Han dominant settler colonialism and transnational capitalism. Following the postcard's instruction, Watan goes to a construction site to retrieve a wallet embedded in a block of concrete that he lost when he worked as a construction laborer ten years ago. In his wallet, he rediscovers a lost ID and an old photograph of him and his lover. This sequence powerfully underscores the exploitation of indigenous laborers and the loss of indigenous cultural and ethnic identity in contemporary Taiwan. The indigenous people in Taiwan have long been relegated to low-skilled jobs, including construction laborers, movers, miners (as can be seen in *The Man*), or laundrymen (as the case of Tang Yingshen), due to the structural discrimination of Han-dominant settler society. However, after Taiwan's government began to import low-cost migrant workers from Southeast Asia (from the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, and so forth) in the early 1990s, many indigenous people who previously worked as construction workers lost their jobs owing to the changing economic structure in Taiwan. This socioeconomic transformation is presented in *Dreamland* during Wtan's narrative: Watan visits the construction site to see the manager for his lost wallet, but he has a difficult time communicating with people because most of the construction workers he meets speak Thai. A similar scene can also be found in Cheng's previous medium-length film *Postcard* (明信片 *Mingxinpian*, 1999): Ahmaka is a Paiwan indigenous young man who works in a construction site in Taipei. His foreman likes to make fun of him by calling him "migrant worker," taunting him that he is "the most expensive migrant

worker" at the construction site. Ahmaka notes that his grandfather, father, and he all work as construction laborers in Taipei (his father unfortunately lost his life when he was building the Hyatt Hotel in Taipei), but his family cannot afford a house in the city: "Now they want to use even cheaper migrant workers, and don't want to use aborigines. What can we do?" Ahmaka ultimately quits his job and rejects the foreman: "Stop calling me migrant worker. To me, you are the foreigner."

In addition to economic exploitation and inequality of opportunities in labor market that the indigenous peoples have long been subject to, the dominant settler society and Han-centered cultural structures have caused many indigenous peoples in Taiwan lose their cultures and languages due to different assimilation policies and educational systems. As Watan's mother murmurs in *Dreamland*: "Where is my Watan? Where is the little Watan who played in the millet field?" The ethnic and cultural identities of indigenous peoples, like Watan's ID, have been embedded in the crevice of a concrete block, metaphorically buried by Han-dominant settler society that builds over them. Yet the recovery of Watan's ID also gestures towards a new chance for indigenous identitarain reconstruction and cultural revitalization. As revealed by Watan himself, the wallet that he recovers reminds him of "many things that he has lost," instilling in him the urge to find and get his old lover back, so as to keep his promise to grow a millet field with Rimon together in the mountains. Thus, Watan's journey to search for Rimon can also be interpreted as a journey to seek his lost indigenous identity and culture. Yet Watan's journey to identity and love is unfortunately a frustrated one. In Taipei, Watan finds not Rimon, but Rimon's husband—a Han man who simmers with resentment and bitterness after Rimon left him. He confesses that he never understood what Rimon was thinking, particularly her dream of growing a millet field in the mountains. Watan is similarly insufficient, as he cannot remember what a

millet field looks like. What he remembers is the sound that a millet field "sings" when the wind blows and caresses it. He cannot find his lover Rimon, and ends up drinking with an Atayal woman who works as a barmaid in Taipei.

The film then shifts to Little Mo's journey as a typical model of the group known as the "second-generation mainlander." Little Mo's father is a veteran who had arrived in Taiwan with the Nationalist government after 1949, and married a Han Taiwanese local woman. Another phrase used to describe this population is "descendants of taros and sweet potatoes," as the geographical shapes of China and Taiwan resemble a taro and a sweet potato respectively.[40] Besides apprenticing in a Japanese Restaurant, Little Mo uses "Hana Sushi," a type of Japanese dish, as his pseudonym when he is staying in the adult telephone dating centers. Both obsessed and enchanted with Japan and Japanese culture, Little Mo not only represents the wave of "Japanophiles" in Taiwan's youth subculture during the late 1990s and early 2000s, he also epitomizes an aspect of the psychic development and transformation of postwar Taiwan. There is a scene which features Little Mo at Ximenting (西門町), a famous shopping district in Taipei known for its imports of Japanese culture, fashion and commodities (the name of Ximenting was also derived from Japanese "Seimon-chō" during the Japanese colonial period), holding a small model of Tokyo Tower he purchased from a store in his hand, and soliloquizing in Japanese: "I would like to go to Tokyo Tower. Which bus should I take?" The blinking model of Tokyo Tower in his hand stands against the mantle of the night, making it look as if the stars twinkle in the sky. The shimmering but cheesy replica of Tokyo Tower and Little Mo's murmur to himself imply that his "Japanese dream" is just like the stars in the sky—it is an object that can only be

[40] Please see Tai-li Hu, "Taros and Sweet Potatoes: Ethnic Relations and Identity of 'Glorious Citizens' (Veteran Mainlanders) in Taiwan," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academic Sinica* 69 (1990), pp. 107-31.

gestured to, but can never be reached or fulfilled. Another sequence that appears minutes later in the film conveys a similar message: Little Mo looks at his hand and says "dream" in Japanese, followed by a close-up of the model of Tokyo Tower with a wisp of cigarette smoke floating around it. The audiovisual juxtaposition in this sequence (verbal "dream" in Japanese, as well as the model of Tokyo Tower surrounded by misty and intangible smoke) implies that Little Mo's Japanese dream is nothing but a dream.

The characterization of Little Mo epitomizes the identitarian transformation of a group of Han Taiwanese, locals and mainlanders alike, in the process of localization since the 1980s. During the Martial Law era, the Nationalist authoritarian government not only introduced China-centric historiography to the Taiwanese local people (including the earlier wave of Han settlers who lived through the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan and the indigenous peoples) but also imposed Chinese nationalism and cultural identity upon them to consolidate its political legitimacy and ruling powers after 1949. One of the most influential and far-reaching educational policies the Nationalist party launched was the promotion of Mandarin Chinese as the national language of the ROC, that simultaneously forbade the speaking of Japanese (the national language used during the Japanese colonial period) and other languages used in Taiwan (such as Hoklo, Kakka, and many indigenous languages). School textbooks under total control of the Nationalist government only centered on Chinese civilization, whereas any content regarding Taiwan's past (particularly Taiwan's history during the Japanese colonial period) was either entirely erased or adapted into a version that served the Nationalist political ideology and the official narrative of history.

Nevertheless, a series of democratization and localization movements beginning in the 1970s caused a huge social and cultural transformation. Focusing on the Japanese past and its

colonial legacy in Taiwan thus became a useful political and cultural rhetoric for the Taiwanese people who advocated nativist discourses, creating distance from China and constructing a sense of a distinct Taiwanese cultural and national subjectivity, as well as a unique Taiwanese identity that is different from Chinese identity. Although the ROC and the Japanese government were once enemies during the Sino-Japanese War, the Nationalist government still maintained diplomatic relations with Japan based on the 1952 Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty signed in Taipei (until it was abrogated by the Japanese government in 1972). In addition to official diplomatic relations between the Taiwanese and Japanese governments, Japanese popular culture, including animation, comic books, television drama, film, and pop music, has all had a great impact on Taiwan's culture, especially during the 1990s. It was once very popular and trendy for the Taiwanese people to learn Japanese in the 1990s and early 2000s. Although this trend has recently been more or less replaced by what is called the Korean wave due to the global popularity of South Korean culture since the 2000s, Japan's colonial legacy and its current influence on Taiwan as a whole still play a major role in shaping Taiwan's culture. In this light, the persona of Little Mo not only mirrors the current cultural landscape of contemporary Taiwan (especially Taiwan's youth culture), but also clinically articulates a specific form of collective psychic transformation shared by many of the Han Taiwanese population. Little Mo reflects a mode of collective consciousness of Han Taiwanese locals and the second-generation mainlanders who define themselves by recognizing the former colonial regime Japan, and celebrating the Japanese colonial legacy and its current cultural impact on Taiwan. More intriguingly, this collective consciousness in *Dreamland* is mainly articulated through a form of "Oedipal complex," as Little Mo turns his back on his old and feeble mainlander father, and dreams of his mother in Japan. Here, the Oedipal complex of a child (the libidinal desire for the

mother and hatred for the father) represented by Little Mo is intertwined with his national and cultural identification (China as a symbolic father, and Japan as an imagined but absent mother).

The above "Japanese complex" of Little Mo's character is further complicated by the third plotline, particularly through Little Mo's connection with Xuanxuan. Xuanxuan's story about the millet field profoundly touches Little Mo's heart, and more importantly, gives him a chance to reflect on his complex identity and obsession with Japan. Listening to Xuanxuan's story about her mother's memories in the indigenous village allows him to rediscover his forgotten past and the present of the island he lives, and makes him realize that his desire for Japan is nothing but a dream. Xuanxuan, on the other hand, is tired of the unilateral adoration from a repairman who also works at the same amusement park. He continuously gives presents to Xuanxuan and expects he will win her heart that way. However, this kind of pursuit without mutual affective interaction turns into a nightmare for Xuanxuan. The repairman even stalks Xuanxuan and tries to intrude into her apartment. She finally refuses this one-sided love and returns all of his gifts to him. Toward the end of the film, Xuanxuan and Little Mo decide to go to the mountains and listen to the millet field singing together.

Dreamland serves not only as a critique of Han settler colonial structure but also as a profound investigation of Han settler identitarian and cultural symptom in postwar Taiwan. Through the characterization and identitarian transformation of Little Mo, the film suggests that it is insufficient and impossible to reconstruct a unique and distinct Taiwanese identity and subjectivity either by simply rejecting the Chinese national identity that the Nationalist government imposed or by merely recognizing the island's Japanese colonial past and its legacy. Instead, as *Dreamland* suggests through the connection and communication between Xuanxuan and Little Mo, only by sincerely listening to voices and stories of different groups of people on

the island, particularly the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, can one truly understand Taiwan's past and present, and create a more promising future. In the television version *Watan's Bottles*, there is a sequence toward the end of the film (which is deleted from the theatrical version of *Dreamland*), in which Little Mo drops the model of Tokyo Tower when he is running on a rainy day. The model is crushed by a passing car, implying that Little Mo has moved on from a sense of nostalgic, imagined Japanese identity to a new identity. In this way, *Dreamland* seems to bestow the island's destiny on the younger generation, through the potential of mutual and reciprocal understanding between Little Mo and Xuanxuan, two creolized characters that crystalize Taiwan's past, present, and hope for the future.

Epilogue: Possibilities and Limitations of Settler Self-Redemption

The indigenous rights movements were part and parcel of democratization and localization movements in Taiwan. They were neither a byproduct of nor a consequence derived from Han settler-centered social movements in the 1980s. Instead, the indigenous rights movements themselves stimulated the formation and development of various forms of alternative media practices in Taiwan, including the small media and documentary movement (the Green Team), the alternative press (the *Human*), independent filmmaking (Huang Mingchuan's works), and have further challenged mainstream methods of cultural production (as the cases of Wan Jen and Cheng Wen-tang). Running through all the cases discussed in this chapter, one can clearly see an intimate intermedial relationality and interconnectedness among these actors, which taken altogether establish an alternative network of communication or mobilization that makes the reassembling of the social possible. This kind of relational analysis between the social movements and alternative media in Taiwan can therefore fill in the gaps in both history and

sociology scholarship on the 1980s by tracing the interaction and interconnectedness between these actors.

It is obvious that most of the alternative media discussed in this chapter are produced by Han settler authors (although with the participation of indigenous actors and elements of indigeneity). There were certainly indigenous alternative media in Taiwan. For instance, the ATA's newsletter *Indigenous people*, *Aboriginal News* (原報 *Yuanbao*, founded by Rukai indigenous author and scholar Taban Sasala in 1989), *Hunters' Culture* (獵人文化 *Lieren wenhua*, founded by Walis Norgan and Liglave A-wuin in 1990), *Taiwan Indigenous Voice Bimonthly* (山海文化 *Shanhai wenhua*, founded by Pa'lanbang from the Puyuma tribe in 1993), to name just a few. I confine my case studies mainly to the alternative media practices by Han settler authors in order to show the ways in which the indigenous rights movements have challenged and intervened in Han cultural production. Furthermore, by examining alternative media practices of Han creators, we can also see the transformation of Han settler mentality in the process of democratization and localization in 1980s Taiwan.

Undoubtedly, although the cases of alternative media practices discussed in this chapter have demonstrated different kinds of settler self-reflection, and articulated a more reciprocal interethnic relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous people, these attempts are more or less based on the intention to construct a distinct sense of Taiwanese consciousness and subjectivity, in opposition to either the previous colonizers or the current neocolonial superpower, be they Japan, the Nationalist authoritarian government, the PRC, or others. According to Veracini, the attempt to localize settlers themselves by acknowledging the existence of the indigenous peoples and imagining a new interethnic relationship based on principles of liberal discourse (democracy, freedom, equality, and so forth) is also a form of "settler indigenization."

Veracini cautions that "the process of settler indigenization" can very likely "underpin settler domination."[41] He reminds us that settler apologies of self-reflection are a "symptom of the settler colonial present" (for instance, Ah De's death toward the end of *Connection* can be regarded as a form of settler self-redemption).[42] This complex mentality of settler self-redemption as a symptom of the settler colonial present, as Yu-ting Huang and Rebecca Weaver-Hightower point out, reveals that settler colonialism is "always imagined amidst anxiety, guilt, self-doubt, and the immanent possibility of moral or actual collapse" while it looks for "completion and comfortable settled-ness."[43]

The mechanism of "symptom of the settler colonial present" undoubtedly requires further analysis. I am neither arguing the efforts and participation of Han intellectuals and activists in the indigenous rights movements and their alternative media practices were pointless, nor suggesting reciprocal interethnic relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous was or is impossible. I am not proposing the clichéd idea of essentialism that has been challenged and deconstructed by various scholars from different disciplines. Instead, what I would like to point out is the necessity to consider both the possibilities and limitations of settler self- redemption as can be seen in the cases studied here, and go a step further based on the efforts that have been done since the 1980s. The efforts of Han settler authors and their alternative media practices, as well as their intervention in and social impact on the settler society of Taiwan, are undeniably crucial steps in the process of indigenous decolonization in Taiwan. They have shown possible forms of

[41] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, p.38.

[42] Ibid., p.51.

[43] Yu-ting Huang and Rebecca Weaver-Hightower, "Introduction: Settler Colonialism and Its Cultural Archives—Ways of Reading," *Archiving Settler Colonialism: Culture, Space and Race* (Routledge, 2019), p. 6.

coalition between the indigenous and non-indigenous in social movements and cultural production. But one can never stop at this. Only by a more radical reflection and critical re-historicization of these efforts can we take one step ahead and move toward a possible "post-settler passage" in the future.

Chapter Three

"The Peoples without History":

Indigenous Representation and Interethnic Relations in Taiwan Fiction

From "the raw savage" to "mountain compatriots"
Our names
Have been left out little by little at the corners of Taiwan's history
From mountains to plains
Our fate, alas, our fate
Was seriously treated and cared about
Merely in the anthropological survey
….
If one day
We refuse to wander in the history
Please first remember our mythology and tradition
If one day
We are to stop wandering on our land
Please first return our names and dignity

—Monaneng
"Return Our Names"

Such rethinking must transcend the customary ways of depicting Western history, and must take account of the conjoint participation of Western and non-Western peoples in this worldwide process. Most of the groups studied by anthropologist have long been caught up in the changes wrought by European expansion, and they have contributed to these changes. We can no longer be content with writing only the history of victorious elites, or with detailing the subjugation of dominated ethnic groups. Social historians and historical sociologists have shown that the common people were as much agents in the historical process as they were its victims and silent witnesses. We thus need to uncover the history of "the people without history"—the active histories of "primitives," peasantries, laborers, immigrants, and besieged minorities.

—Eric R. Wolf
Europe and the People without History

This chapter examines literary works written by Han Taiwanese settler authors and discusses the way the literary genre of fiction formulates and expresses the mechanisms of Han settler colonial consciousness. As mentioned in the introduction, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been marginalized for centuries in the settler-centric historiography and other forms of cultural productions. To borrow Eric R. Wolf's phrase, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan are the "peoples without history," as their voices long have been excluded from Han-oriented writing, or in Paiwan indigenous poet Monaneng's poetic expression, their names long have been forgotten and left out by mainstream settler society. As the previous chapter has revealed, it was not until the 1980s that indigeneity began to play a more active role both in literature and history thanks to a series of democratization and localization movements. Nonetheless, this has not been an entirely smooth process, as Huang Hsinya contends that indigeneity often has been "appropriated and incorporated by Han Taiwanese writers in their hope to establish a distinct body of national literature and in constructing a narrative of Taiwanese national identity as native."[1] In many literary works representing indigeneity authored by Han settler authors, the indigenous elements are often depicted in a primitive mode of representation, often "uncivilized" or "barbarous," and different indigenous cultures are generalized in reductive and exotic ways.

Cultural anthropologist Johannes Fabian has termed this phenomenon the "anthropological allochronism,"[2] a typical colonial consciousness which consigns indigenous subjects to the past to deny the "coevalness" of the researchers and the ethnographical subjects, turning these subjects into objects as a way to solidify the hierarchical power relations between anthropology

[1] Hsinya Huang, "Sinophone Indigenous Literature of Taiwan: History and Tradition," *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader,* edited by Shu-mei Shih, Chieh-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernards (Columbia UP, 2013), p. 243.

[2] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (Columbia UP, 2002), pp. 32-33.

and those objects of study—a phenomenon that is seen commonly in various imperial expansions and settler societies. Using Fabian's theorization of "anthropological allochronism" as its foundation, this chapter first reads Taiwanese writer Shih Shu-ching's (施叔青) renowned Taiwan Trilogy, *Walking through Lojin* (行過洛津 *Xing guo Lojin*, 2003), *Dust before the Wind* (風前塵埃 *Feng qian chen'ai*, 2008) and *A Man Who Has Been through Three Ages* (三世人 *Sanshi ren*, 2010), and discusses the politics of representation in Shih's novels with a specific focus on their literary articulation of indigeneity and interethnic relations. Next, I will further look at another writer Wu Ming-yi's (吳明益) two novels, *The Man with the Compound Eyes* (複眼人 *Fuyan ren*, 2011) and *The Stolen Bicycle* (單車失竊記 *Danche shiqie ji*, 2015), to examine the way Wu challenges the anthropological allochronism by his alternative literary engagement and historical imagination in the novels. In addition to insights of cultural anthropology discoursed by Fabian, James Clifford, and others, I further draw upon contemporary theories of ecocriticism in conjunction with French philosopher Jacques Rancière's theorization of "redistribution" to see how Wu envisions a more sustainable interethnic ethics through the encounter between the indigenous and non-indigenous characters, and copes with the issues of sustainability of Taiwan as a site of cultural productions and an object of study by participating and engaging in the global production of environmental literature.

Rewriting History: Shih Shu-ching's Taiwan Trilogy

Set in Lojin (the ancient toponym of present-day Lu-kang), one of the oldest cities of Han settlement and an important trading port in Taiwan during the Qing period, Shih's *Walking through Lojin* (hereafter *Lojin*) portrays Taiwan's history during the early wave of Han settlers

from the eighteenth to nineteenth century by centering on the character Xu Qing, a male *Dan* (旦, a man who plays female role in traditional Chinese opera) of the Pear-Garden opera (梨園戲 *Liyuanxi*), a type of Chinese musical theatres popular in Fujian province. By depicting Xu Qing's three trips to Taiwan with the Pear-Garden opera troupe, Shih attempts to portray the colonial relationship between the Qing Empire and the frontier settlement island Taiwan, encounters between Qing officials, Han settlers, and indigenous peoples, as well as the cultural, sociopolitical transformation of Taiwan through Lojin's specific regional history during the period. As a performer who plays female roles, Xu Qing is troubled by his gender identity throughout the novel. He was trained to project his femininity on the stage through eye contact and erogenous facial expressions by *fangmujian* (放目箭, literally, to shoot arrows at the audience with the eyes), attractive behavior and seductive postures, as well as his euphonic, feminine voice when he was still young. He is always haunted terribly by castration threats on the part of his master in the Pear-Garden troupe.

Xu Qing's troubled gender identity is further complicated by his sexual experiences with different characters in the novel. Wu Qiu, a merchant who ran a business in Lojin, is fascinated with Xu Qing's appearance on the stage and wishes to "dress him up as a real woman," which makes Xu Qing even more confused about his gender identity. He feels like "clothes wear him, not that he is wearing the clothes" (78). Xu Qing even tries to bind his feet as many young girls did in the Qing period to cater to Wu Qiu's taste. In addition to establishing a "pederastic relationship" with Wu Qiu, Xu Qing is even forced to have sexual intercourse with a Qing administrative official Zhu Shiguang. However, when Xu Qing meets the young courtesan, Ah Guan, in a brothel, he realizes that compared to Ah Guan, a physically and sexually "authentic woman," he can only be a "fake woman," projecting his femininity in the Pear-Garden opera on

the stage. Through his interaction with Ah Guan, he also discovers his amorous desire for her, but at the same time considers himself "incomplete" as he is neither a true man nor woman. Rather than taking off his female clothing and dressing like a man, Xu Qing can only show Ah Guan his "onstage look" after she learns that he is actually a man. Even when he becomes a drum master after his voice matures and finally dresses like a normal man many years later, he still views himself as a disabled, incomplete person, although he was never castrated physically.

Through the lively and detailed depiction of various characters from different classes, genders, and ethnic groups, together with her erudite knowledge of history, the southern pipe music (南管 *Nanguan*), and traditional Chinese opera, including *the Romance of Litchi Nuts and Mirror* (荔鏡記 *Lijing ji*), Shih provides us a kaleidoscopic narrative of Taiwan's history of multiple colonialisms through her allegorical articulation. As literature scholar Chen Fang-ming points out, the feminized, psychically castrated opera performer Xu Qing symbolizes Taiwan's marginalized geopolitical position not merely during the Qing period, but throughout its entire colonial history, and illustrates the confusion and ambiguity of Taiwan's national and cultural identity through Xu Qing's unstable gender identity.[3] Nanfang Shuo also indicates that the significance of *Lojin* rests in its groundbreaking articulation of Taiwan as an "immigrant society" from alternative perspectives of marginalized figures—a historical aspect of Taiwan that Taiwanese writers rarely touched upon. Therefore, he declares that Shih has set a milestone in Taiwan's (im)migrant literature.[4] In a similar vein, Liou Liang-ya also argues that through its juxtaposition of the two perspectives of visitors (the short-stay Qing officials and the new Han

[3] Fang-ming Chen, "The Performer of Desire and the Phantom of History: Preface to Shih Shu-ching's *Walking through Lojin*," *Walking through Lojin* , p. 14.

[4] Nanfang Shuo, "The Point of Departure of 'Migrant Literature,'" *Walking through Lojin* , p. 10.

immigrants from China during the Qing period) and Taiwanese locals (the earlier Han settlers who moved to Taiwan beginning in the seventeenth century), to a degree, *Lojin* echoes and responds to the contestation and negotiation between Taiwan's two historiographical paradigms (China-centric and Taiwan-centric) after the Martial Law lifted in 1987, which provides readers an alternative imagination of nativist literature (鄉土文學 *xiangtu wenxue*) and a new vision of historical fiction.[5]

Unlike *Lojin* which portrays the author's hometown during the Qing era, the second volume of the Taiwan Trilogy *Dust before the Wind* (hereafter *Dust*) tells a story of a place known and written about rarely, the Yoshino immigrant village (吉野移民村 *Jiye yimin cun*) located on the east coast of Taiwan in Hualien, during the Japanese colonial period, from the perspective of a Taiwan-born Japanese, Mugen Kotoko (無絃琴子), the main narrator of the story. The Japanese immigrant village was one of the colonial projects that the Japanese imperial government employed to solve the problem of limited farming areas attributable to Japan's overpopulation. Accordingly, Hualien, as well as its neighbor Taitung located on the east coast of Taiwan, were "empty and spacious land" in the eyes of the Japanese colonizers, and they became the primary places in which the Japanese immigrants settled. As a colonial project, these immigrant villages attempted to integrate the Taiwanese people and Taiwan's territories into the body of the Empire of Japan by transforming Taiwan's geographical landscape and demographic composition strategically. This Japanese colonial project also included other ancillary policies, such as land allotment, the allowance for transportation and construction, agricultural settlement, intermarriage between Japanese colonizers and the Taiwanese people (both Han settlers and

[5] Liang-ya Liou, "Historiography and Hsiang-tu Imagination in Shih Shu-ching's *Walking through Lo-chin*," *Belated Postcoloniality: Post-Martial Law Taiwanese Fiction* (National Taiwan University Press, 2014), p. 12.

indigenous population), and so forth. As stated in the novel, to the Japanese imperial government, "It is not until the peasants from mainland Japan can live off the land that Japan really possesses Taiwan" (13). Here, the settler colonial mentality can be seen through the Japanese colonizers' intention to stay in the colony permanently and their desire to possess and occupy the territories of Taiwan everlastingly via the establishment of Japanese immigrant villages. In this sense, it is fair to state that this colonial policy can be regarded as a type of settler colonial project, by which the Japanese colonial government intended to displace the previous Taiwanese residents (Han settlers and the indigenes) or incorporate them into the body of the Japanese empire. As I have pointed out earlier in the first chapter via the case of the Taiwan Settlement Corporation seen in the Japanese imperial documentary, *Southward Expansion to Taiwan*, if the Japanese people had stayed long enough and had not been repatriated back to Japan after the failure of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1945, the Japanese colonizers might have become potential settlers of Taiwan,[6] as the settler project of the Japanese immigrant village in Taiwan was employed to further facilitate the colonial governance.

The story of *Dust* is about the protagonist Kotoko's journey to Taiwan to search for her Taiwanese roots. Kotoko "returns" to Japan with her mother, Yokoyama Tsukihime (橫山月姬), after Japan's unconditional surrender in 1945. Tsukihime, a Taiwan-born Japanese who spent most of her golden years in Taiwan but raised Kotoko in Japan, could not help but immerse herself in her memories and nostalgic feelings of Taiwan by telling the story of her friend, Mako

[6] The colonial project of Japanese immigrant villages can serve here as a very interesting parallel to Manchukuo (滿州國), the Japanese puppet state in Northeast China from 1932 to 1945. As Prasenjit Duara argues, even though Manchukuo is not usually seen, and cannot be seen primarily as a settler colony by scholars in the strict sense of its definition, "it was in significant ways a response to the reality and projected future of a settler colonial society" (59). For more discussion about settler colonialism in Manchukuo, please see Prasenjit Duara, "Between Empire and Nation: Settler Colonialism in Manchukuo," *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (Routledge, 2005), pp. 59-78.

(真子), who fell in love with an indigenous young man, Haluk Payen. Because "her friend Mako's story" is extraordinarily vivid, Kotoko ultimately realizes that Mako actually is her own mother, as Tsukihime can tell her own story only from a fictional third-person point of view due to the unblessed love between Haluk and her—the interethnic romance between the "civilized Japanese colonizer" and the "barbarian Formosan aboriginal." The cursed, abortive love ended with Haluk's arrest and execution by Tsukihime's father, Yokoyama Shinzō (横山新藏), a superior who worked at a Japanese police-station-cum-post-office. Therefore, Kotoko's search for her Taiwanese roots is not merely a search for her own father, the enigmatic member of her family, but also a journey of identification across generations.

The contributions of this novel can be exemplified in many ways. First, it is one of the rare literary works taking place in the Japanese immigrant village in Hualien and depicting the story of *wuansheng* (灣生), Taiwan-born Japanese during the Japanese colonial period, a group of people that has been long forgotten and omitted in both Taiwan and Japanese histories. Generally speaking, post-war Taiwan literature that centers on the Japanese colonial period pays attention to the colonized subjects and elaborates on the collective trauma of the Taiwanese people as the colonized. The interethnic relationship articulated in this body of literary works is usually reduced to the binary colonial opposition between the colonizer and the colonized. However, Kotoko, as a Taiwan-born Japanese, was alienated by mainstream Japanese society because her background was associated with Taiwan, an overseas colony that was considered inferior to Japan proper (despite the fact that it was a significant military base and economic front for the southward expansion of the Japanese imperial government). Her identity crisis lies in her identification of Taiwan as her home, but simultaneously she tries to deny this fact because it causes her to feel inferior in Japan. She believes that she would not have had this complex of

self-abasement if she had been born in Japan. This novel excavates the complex process of identification and the colonist psyche of this particular group of Taiwan-born Japanese people in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial era, which provides unique angles to approach Japanese colonialism in Taiwan from the perspective of a non-mainstream community.

Second, as Liou Liang-ya has pointed out, the novel creates an alternative historical imagination by unveiling historical fragments that have received scant attention in Taiwan literature, including the Japanese colonial government's indigenous policies, the battle between the Japanese forces and the Taroko tribe in 1914.[7] As I discussed in the previous chapters, the settler project of de-Japanization and re-Sinification the Nationalist government launched after the Second Sino-Japanese War served as a lever to eradicate the Japanese colonial memory that most of the local Taiwanese people shared to consolidate the Nationalist authoritarian rule. On the side of Japan as a defeated nation after World War II, the wartime memory of Japan's imperial invasion and its colonial violence became taboo, and is a period the Japanese government has tried to suppress or even deny. This historical disavowal on the part of both the Nationalist and Japanese governments conjoined ironically to eliminate Taiwan's colonial past for distinct purposes. *Dust* fills the gaps in both Taiwan's colonial past and Japan's imperial history, and the interethnic relationship between the Japanese, Han Taiwanese (particularly the Hakka people, another marginalized community in the body of Han population), and indigenous peoples in Hualien through its alternative perspective of historiography and literary imagination.

As can be inferred from its title, the last volume of Shih's Taiwan Trilogy, *A Man Who Has Been through Three Ages* (hereafter *Three Ages*), addresses the issue of the Taiwanese identity in

[7] Liang-ya Liou, "The Alternative Historical Imagination in Shih Shu-ching's *Dust before the Wind*," *Belated Postcoloniality: Post-Martial Law Taiwanese Fiction* (National Taiwan University Press, 2014), pp. 63-64.

the historical context of its three colonial phases—from the late Qing period to Japanese colonialism and then to the beginning of the Nationalist authoritarian regime. This book opens its curtain with the violent scene of "Countryside Clean-up" (清鄉 *qingxiang*), the far-reaching and massive slaughter the Nationalist government launched after the February 28 Incident in 1947, and then flashes back to the transitional moment in 1985 when the Qing Empire ceded Taiwan to Japan as a consequence of the Treaty of Shimonoseki at the end of the first Sino-Japanese War. Rather than telling the story merely from a specific point of view, Shih adopts an alternative narrative strategy to stage diverse characters with various backgrounds, genders, and ethnicities, to highlight the complexity and fluidity of the ambiguous and conflicting Taiwanese identity. The novel embodies this dimension particularly through the transformation in the identities of three generations of characters in the Shi family. Shi Jisheng (施寄生), a member of the eldest generation who considers himself a Qing loyalist, resists being assimilated by the Japanese colonial government by insisting on preserving Chinese traditional culture and composing classical Chinese poetry as anti-colonial strategies to "be himself" (54, 201). He names his son Hanren (漢仁), a homophonic phrase meaning a "Han person" (漢人, the character "ren" 仁 here also is a core Confucian philosophical concept signifying "humanness," "kindness," or "benevolence"), which expresses his loyalty to the Qing Empire explicitly. Shi Hanren, who serves as an officer at the Japanese Monopoly Bureau, attempts to adjust to the Japanese culture and lifestyle to make his living on the one hand, but on the other hand cannot abandon his Han Chinese heritage and identity entirely. Shi Chaozong (施朝宗), a member of the youngest generation, best crystalizes the underlying theme of the novel, as follows: "From Japanese surrender to the occurrence of the February 28 Incident, Shi Chaozong seems to be a man who has been through three ages within eighteen short months. From a Taiwanese imperial Japan

Military serviceman (台籍日本兵 *Taiji Ribenbing*), a 'loyal son of the Emperor of Japan' during the Japanization movement (皇民化 *kominka*), to a local Taiwanese man, and then a Chinese again after the Nationalist government's takeover of Taiwan. Which one of him is the real self?" (248). In the novel, Shi Chaozong had once dreamed of waving the "Blue Sky, White Sun, and a Wholly Red Earth," the ROC's national flag, but spoke "Long may he reign, the Emperor of Japan!," "the loyal child of the Emperor of Japan" in Japanese in his nightmare (257). The hilarious and discordant description of Chaozong foregrounds the difficulty and complexity of the Taiwanese identity within the historical and sociopolitical context of multiple colonialisms.

In addition to Shih's depiction of generational disparity in identification seen in the Shi family members, the author also adds the gender aspect to this novel, which further complicates the intricate and ever-changing process of the characters' identification, particularly through the transformation of Wang Zhangzhu, a poor and illiterate adopted daughter from a Han family. She first learns how to read the Sinitic characters from Zhu, a scholar in Taichung. Thereafter, She meets a Taiwanese maid with a Japanese name, Etsuko, who serves in a Japanese official's family, and is enthralled with the "elegant, superior" Japanese language, culture and lifestyle. Therefore, Zhangzhu moves her Han-style long-sleeved clothing that represents her miserable past as an adopted daughter, and is eager to wear Japanese style "kimonos" and clogs—dress and accessories that rekindle her desire to live. The novel describes, "Putting on her kimono, Zhangzhu breaks from the past and turns into a new person, a new person created by kimono, a new person completely different from who she was. In kimonos, Zhangzhu feels that she is blessed and complete, breaking from the past" (182). After she moves to the highly modernized and urbanized capital Taipei, where she works in a bookstore, she changes further and adopts a Western style one-piece, the most popular style in Taipei city during the Japanese colonial period.

In Taipei, she is enlightened by the intelligentsia's new ideas, particularly the feminist thoughts and movements advocated by the Taiwan Cultural Association (臺灣文化協會 *Taiwan wenhua xiehui,* a significant organization founded by Han Taiwanese intellectual Chiang Wei-shui [蔣渭水] during the Japanese colonial era) and *Taiwan People's News* (臺灣民報 *Taiwan minbao,* the most influential newspaper that promoted liberal thoughts and literary production on the part of the Taiwanese people during the Japanese colonial period). She imitates other Japanese women's dress, learns to speak the most standardized Tokyo-accented Japanese, and watches Japanese films with Japanese audiences, thinking that thereby, she can become and be recognized as a Japanese woman by the Japanese people, rather than a Taiwanese.

However, despite her efforts, Zhangzhu fails to be recognized as a Japanese woman because of her "not-yet-standard" Japanese and the unbridgeable cultural and ethnic barrier between the Japanese colonizers and the Taiwanese people. Frustrated by her failure to mimic the colonizers, Zhangzhu turns to the image of the legendary Chinese movie star, Ruan Lingyu (阮玲玉). Fascinated by her slim, exquisite cheongsams on the silver screen, Wang proceeds to dress like Ruan Lingyu, and imagines herself the first female "benshi" (辯士), a performer who provided live narration for silent films during the Japanese colonial period, hoping that she can speak for the oppressed, voiceless women like her as emotionally and provocatively as Ruan did in her films, not in Japanese, but in *Taiyu* (台語, refers to Minnan or Hoklo in Taiwan in this novel). Unfortunately, it appears to be extremely untimely and incompatible for Zhangzhu to dress in cheongsam and walk on the streets during the peak of the Japanization movement, and later, the period of social and political upheaval attributable to the February 28 Incident. In contrast to her goal, the Taiwanese local people treat her as a "mainlander woman," and drag her off a tricycle, with her cherished cheongsam torn and slashed. Accordingly, she has no choice but to return to

her initial Han-style long-sleeved clothing, and realize her last dream—to become a writer and compose an autobiographical novel with various languages/scripts that she has learned, including classical Chinese, Japanese, vernacular, to describe the four types of clothing that she has worn in her lifetime—the Han-style long-sleeved clothes, Japanese kimono, Western style one-piece, and cheongsam (29). Nanfang Shuo correctly states that through the growth and transformation of Zhangzhu, *Three Ages* sketches a psychical "roadmap" of the complex, entangled and ever-changing process of the Taiwanese people's identification in the history of successive and multilayered colonialisms.[8]

As a whole, Shih's Taiwan Trilogy boldly employs the narrative strategy of multiple perspectives—to tell the stories from her characters' different viewpoints, rather than focusing merely on a single viewpoint, that of the narrator—to display what Mikhail M. Bakhtin refers to as "the heteroglossic strata of language."[9] In this way, Shih represents various ethnic communities of Taiwan, diverse cultural encounters, interactions among different groups, and their interethnic relationships in different historical periods. Rather than offering a linear narrative in her storytelling, Shih complicates the narratives of her Taiwan Trilogy further through the literary devices of flashback, fragmentation, and use of diverse modes and sources of literary forms and genres, including classical Chinese poetry and traditional opera, historical records, local knowledge from gazetteers or chorography, Japanese *haiku*, and folk songs. Moreover, by juxtaposing the past and present, Shih's Taiwan Trilogy manifests the complexity and diversity of Taiwan's multiple colonial history and culture, and at the same time, challenges

[8] Nanfang Shuo, "Salvation of Memories: A Masterpiece of Taiwan's Psychical History is Born," *A Man Who Has Been through Three Ages*, p. 5.

[9] Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," *The Dialogic Imagination* (U of Texas P, 1981), p. 272

the linear, unbroken continuity of historiography the Nationalist government imposed during the period of martial law. As Liou Liang-ya succinctly describes, the historical fiction in Taiwan after the Martial Law was lifted excavated "multiethnic, transnational experiences in relation to colonialisms," explored "ethnic experiences beyond stereotypes" and debunked "monolithic national imagination," and as a result, carved out a space of new "possibilities for an alternative historical imagination."[10]

Silenced Peoples in History: Politics of Indigenous Representation in Taiwan Trilogy

After the introduction of Shih's Taiwan Trilogy and its significance in Taiwan literary history, this section concentrates on the way Shih addresses indigeneity in her novels. Specifically, the section asks the following questions: What roles do the indigenous peoples in Taiwan play in Shih's historical novels? What kinds of positions do they hold in Shih's literary imagination of Taiwan's history? Does the "inclusion" and "recognition" of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan literature really mean that the indigenous peoples are no longer, to borrow Eric R. Wolf's words again, "the people without history"? Through a close reading of Shih's Taiwan Trilogy via the lens of settler colonial criticism, I would like to argue that although Han settler authors have "(re)discovered" and "recognized" the presence of the indigenous peoples, and "included" them in their literary imagination of Taiwan's history, the issues with respect to their position and the politics of indigenous representation in the narratives are not as promising as they appear to be, but rather, remain problematic.

To begin with, it is quite obvious that most of the indigenous figures in Shih's novels play

[10] Liang-ya Liou, "The Alternative Historical Imagination in Shih Shu-ching's *Dust before the Wind*," *Belated Postcoloniality: Post-Martial Law Taiwanese Fiction* (National Taiwan University Press, 2014), pp. 65-69.

minor roles, while the main characters still are Han people, even though these characters are from non-mainstream social strata. As I discussed earlier, *Lojin* highlights Xu Qing and his confused gender identity, as well as the development of the Pear-Garden opera and the southern pipes music in the city of Lojin, the oldest port city the early wave of Han settlers dominated. The chief indigenous character in the novel is a Pingpu indigenous woman, Pan Ji. According to the description of the novel, the Pingpu indigenous peoples are one of the earliest populations in Lojin who came from other islands in Southeast Asia, such as Luzon, Borneo, Java, and Sumatra. Unlike the characterization of the protagonist Xu Qing, Shih depicts neither Pan Ji's thoughts nor her emotions often, but merely spotlights her physical appearance: her dark skin and strong body, her black teeth dyed with basjoo banana flower, and her large bare feet. The novel stresses that the plains indigenes are fond of wearing the old costumes of the Pear-Garden opera during festivals to "show off" in front of their relatives, which implies that these plains indigenous peoples in Lojin are already sinicized to a degree. Further detail about Pan Ji is provided largely by her Han husband, Shi Hui, who marries Pan Ji in the wake of a natural disaster—a typhoon, during which he saves Pan Ji from drowning in a pond. Unfortunately, the typhoon destroys both of their houses, so Shi Hui has no other choice but to live with Pan Ji in a temporary accommodation she built. *Lojin* dramatizes the intermarriage between the two figures in a ludicrous and comedic tone: Shi Hui suffers from epilepsy, and turns to Taoist priests to "cure" Pan Ji's smallpox. Unfortunately, these Taoist priests believe that Pan Ji is an enchantress who eats her own sons. These above details show that the indigenous characters in the novel are allowed to play only comedic roles, the function of which are to add witty flavor to its narrative.

To some extent, *Lojin* does try to demonstrate its potential to reflect the violence the indigenous peoples suffered at the Han settler colonialists' hands through Shi Hui's journey to

the Zhuoshui River, the purpose of which is to trace his own family tree, as he believes he is a descendant of Shi Shibang (施世榜), a philanthropist who contributed to the extension of the Temple of Mazu (a Chinese sea goddess people from the coastal regions of China and Taiwan worshipped) in Lojin. Instead, during his journey he bumps into a naked indigenous man with tattoos on his face and body, an encounter that reminds him of the indigenous peoples' land the Dutch colonizers and then the Han settlers stole since the seventeenth century. He considers that the plains indigenous tradition of "night worship" and its ritual of "howling at the sea" is not designed merely to comfort the souls of their ancestors sailing from Southeast Asia to Taiwan, but also to "mourn for their lost land" (198). Ultimately, he discovers that the land used to establish the Mazu Temple was, in fact, taken from plains indigenous peoples. Shi Hui's journey to the Zhuoshui River, according to Liou Liang-ya's interpretation, implies a form of Han settlers' self-reflection on the colonial violence perpetrated against the plains indigenous peoples, in which Shih criticizes the unilateral representation of indigeneity.[11] Nevertheless, I would like to argue that this self-reflection that *Lojin* tries to articulate is still problematic because of the arrangement of plots and narrative strategies that Shih adopts in the novel. After encountering the indigenous man, Shi Hui's companion, Ah Qin, a street vendor who sells "Ox-tongue-shaped pastry" (a type of traditional snack in Taiwan) in the plaza in front of the Mazu Temple, faints from fright and contracts a fever subsequently. He keeps muttering in his coma, which annoys Shi Hui greatly. As a result, when Shi Hui sees his own reflection in the river, he thinks that he must have encountered demons or evil spirits that took away his soul. Thus, he takes off his clothing, waves it in the air and shouts, "Come back, Shi Hui of the city Lojin! Come back!"

[11] Liang-ya Liou, "Historiography and Hsiang-tu Imagination in Shih Shu-ching's *Walking through Lo-chin*," *Belated Postcoloniality: Post-Martial Law Taiwanese Fiction* (National Taiwan University Press, 2014), p. 45.

(199). Shi Hui then loses consciousness and is washed away in the flood. Unable to find the source of the Zhuoshui River as he wishes to do, he wakes up and realizes he is lying in the Zhuoshui River's estuary. Facing the vast and boundless sea, Shi Hui can only kneel down and cry "as the plains indigenous people howling at the sea" (200). At the same time, a Christian missionary saves his companion, Ah Qin, miraculously, converts him to Christianity and gives him a Christian name, Joshua.

In the scene above, in Shi Hui and Ah Qin's encounter with him, the indigenous stranger not only is depicted as a racialized other, but also as a demonized figure who brings disease and disaster. Moreover, the Western religion, Christianity exorcizes the demonized indigenous other in Ah Qin's case. To put it differently, this plot ironically replicates the orthodox colonial dichotomy between the civilized West and the uncivilized indigenes, in which the colonized Han people are "cured" and "saved" by missionaries from the West who eliminate the racialized indigenous others. As for Shu Hui, although he confesses to the Han settlers' violence towards the indigenous peoples, this kind of self-confession is more of a ritual to "call his own soul back," as implied by the chapter's title of the novel, a self-confession for self-salvation, rather than a self-criticism derived from introspection. Therefore, the racialized colonial encounter between the Han and indigenous figures in the novel brings neither understanding nor mutual respect, but fear (if not phobia) of the indigenous other. Particularly, in this plotline, the indigenous characters' (Pan Ji, as well as the unnamed and demonized indigenous man) viewpoint is unknown. Because of their lack of communication in the novel, we know neither the way Shi Hui and Pan Ji's intermarriage changed Shi's attitude towards his own family history, nor why the indigenous stranger leads Shi to confess suddenly. In *Lojin,* Shih's narrative usually becomes either excessively dramatized or abruptly supernatural with respect to indigenous representations

and characters, which greatly reduces its reliability and distracts readers' attention from the themes that the novel attempts to address. Furthermore, most of the dialogue is given to Shi Hui, while Pan Ji, the only indigenous character in *Lojin* (if the nameless indigenous stranger does not count), is nearly "silenced" throughout the story—she remains quiet, mysterious and voiceless.

Unlike the silent Pan Ji in *Lojin*, Shih spends several pages amplifying the interethnic romance between Haluk and Mako/Tsukihime in *Dust*. By narrating the story from the perspective of a Taiwan-born Japanese narrator, the novel elaborates on the way they meet for the first time, how Mako is attracted to this young Truku hunter in a sports competition, their first date at a hot spring, intercourse in the cellar of the Yoshino mission, and so forth. However, the aporia of the novel also rests in its articulation of Taiwan-born Japanese as the main characters and narrator. More specifically, although *wansheng*, as noted earlier in this chapter, is a somewhat marginalized group in mainstream Japanese society, it still belongs to the colonizers' social stratum. As the story, which is told mainly from Kotoko's point of view, unfolds, readers are inclined to identify with this female protagonist, particularly because of her complicated, hybrid cultural and ethnic identity and her mother's nostalgic sentiments toward Taiwan. Although readers are allowed to enter Haluk's consciousness and come to understand what he is thinking and feeling, Kotoko represents this consciousness first, and then it is conveyed to the readers. Thus, as the focalizer, Kotoko displaces the narrative space that Haluk occupies in the novel psychologically and metaphorically, given that Kotoko, as a Japanese narrator, mediates everything we know about the indigenous figure. As Tseng Hsiu-ping has argued, although the significance of Shih's writing about the Taiwan-born Japanese community must be acknowledged, it does not mean that their privileges as colonizers and the act of colonialization

can be ignored or neutralized.[12] In fact, the establishment of the Yoshino immigrant village was built upon the dispossession of the land at Cikasuan village, an indigenous community that belonged originally to the Amis indigenous population. Renaming Cikasuan as the Yoshino immigrant village per se should also be regarded as an act of colonial violence, by which the Japanese colonial government intended to erase the Amis indigenous people's memory and their cultural connection to the land. *Dust,* however, touches very lightly on the Japanese colonial government's violence in its displacement of the indigenous population and dispossession of Cikasuan village's land, and instead, accentuates the harsh establishment of the Yoshino immigrant village and the struggle the Japanese immigrant community experienced in settling in the immigrant village (12-15). As a consequence, Shih's attempt to tell a story from the perspective of the Japanese colonizers, although a non-mainstream and somewhat marginalized group, ironically becomes a disavowal of the Japanese government's colonial violence towards the indigenous peoples.

In addition, the somewhat reductive and primitive mode of indigenous representation in Shih's Taiwan Trilogy deserves further analysis. *Lojin* rarely gives attention to the thoughts and emotions of the plains indigenous woman Pan Ji, but instead, focuses on her distinct physical appearance and racialized characteristics, even though the novel also emphasizes that she has been "sinicized" already. The indigenous stranger that Shi Hui encounters in his journey to the Zhuoshui River is also portrayed in a stereotypical, exotic, and even demonized way: His ferocious tattooed face, the bird-shaped totemic tattoo on his back, and patterns of a skeleton on his arms, and the shamanistic accessories that he wears (197). This racialized depiction of

[12] Hsiu-ping Tseng, "A Paradoxical Taiwan Allegory: *Wansei*'s Writing, Narrative Strategy, and Japanese Complex in *Dust in the Wind*," *Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature* 26 (2015), pp. 153-190.

indigeneity also can be found in the characterization of Haluk in *Dust*. His strong and well-developed muscles and "unique odor of mountain people" attract Mako/Tsukihime deeply, and this racialized masculinity makes Haluk a desired object to the colonial gaze. The romance between Mako/Tsukihime and Haluk further demonstrates the hierarchical colonial power relations between the Japanese colonizer and the racialized indigenous other. The novel delineates the way Haluk's clumsy, inexperienced behavior ignites Mako/Tsukihime's passion for him. In her memory, Haluk is like an "ignored, coldly treated child" who "needs her help" (182), while to Haluk, she is an elegant, learned elder sister who makes him feel embarrassed by his dark skin and indigenous tribal traditions and customs.

This highly racialized and exotic representation of the indigenous other in Shih's narrative reminds us of what Johannes Fabian has referred to as the "denial of coevalness" in the formation of the Western anthropological discourse. According to Fabian, the concept of "Time" is a key epistemological category "with which we conceptualize relationships between us (or our theoretical constructs) and our objects (the Other)."[13] Typically, however, the mechanism of Time serves the purpose of "distancing those who are observed from the Time of the observer" in contemporary anthropology.[14] Fabian criticizes the anthropological discourse in the Western context (particularly Anglo-American cultural relativism and French Lévi-Straussian structuralism) that has emerged and established itself as an "allochronic discourse," one that denies the anthropologist and the ethnographic object's simultaneous existence, although anthropologists know clearly that their experience of coevalness with the Other (people, objects, societies, or cultures that they study) inevitably constitutes the precondition in the practice of

[13] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, p. 28.

[14] Ibid., p. 25.

anthropological field research. Fabian states:

> If coevalness, sharing of present Time, is a condition of communication, and anthropological knowledge has its sources in ethnography, clearly a kind of communication, then the anthropologist *qua* ethnographer is not free to "grant" or "deny" coevalness to his interlocutors. Either he submits to the condition of coevalness and produces ethnographic knowledge, or he deludes himself into temporal distance and misses the object of his research.[15]

In this sense, "the anthropology of Time becomes the politics of Time,"[16] as the knowledge anthropology produces is undeniably political, particularly in terms of its disciplinary development and historical formation. Hence, the denial of coevalness is a "political act," rather than a neutral ethnographical fact.[17] This point becomes even more obvious when we think of the genealogical relations between anthropological theory and colonial powers that Patrick Wolfe has formulated—the "convergence of ethnography and imperialism" in the context of world history.[18] For example, in Fabian's analysis, the anthropological terminology, savagery, is a "marker of the past, and if ethnographic evidence compels the anthropologist to state that savagery exists in contemporary societies then it will be located, by dint of some sort of horizontal stratigraphy, in their Time, not ours."[19] Therefore, as an anthropological discourse

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[15] Ibid., p. 32.

[16] Ibid., p. 51.

[17] Ibid., p. 153.

[18] Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, p. 10.

[19] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, p. 75.

and a political act, different colonizers have employed and manipulated the denial of coevalness commonly to facilitate various colonial projects, so as to consolidate their power and control the colonized subjects more effectively at the same time.

In light of the above, the colonial power relations articulated in the interethnic romance between Mako/Tsukihime and Haluk in *Dust* can also be seen as a narrative discourse that facilitates the anthropological notion of the denial of coevalness as Fabian formulated. In the interethnic romance, Mako/Tsukihime always takes an active part, while the physically vigorous and masculine Haluk is submissive and passive, attending to whatever his lover wants him to do. To take the sex scene in *Dust* as an example, Mako/Tsukihime wishes to "extract his soul from his body, suck his Truku's soul into her mouth, swallow him, and make him become part of her" (207). Haluk, a stalwart indigenous man full of libidinal drives and strength yet at the same time an uncivilized, primitive, and child-like colonial subject who is cast in the temporality of the past in the eyes of the colonizer, serves merely as a metaphor of "virgin land" waiting to be conquered and cultivated by his Japanese lover-colonizer. To borrow Fabian's words, the hierarchical colonial structure and asymmetrical interethnic relationship between the colonizer and the colonized denies Mako/Tsukihime and Haluk's coexistence in the narrative space. Furthermore, the indigenous subject in the novel is never granted a chance to challenge or overthrow this hierarchical colonial structure, but finally is eliminated by the colonizer (as Haluk is executed by Tsukihime's father, Yokoyama Shinzō). If Haluk's primitivization and execution depicted in *Dust* can be understood as a form of double disavowal of the indigenous peoples (the denial of coevalness and existence), then the absence of indigenous peoples in *Three Ages* signifies that the indigenous peoples in Taiwan play no part in the formation of Taiwanese identity. If we agree with Nanfang Shou's interpretation that Shih's *Three Ages* is a "masterpiece

of Taiwan's psychical history" then the indigenous peoples are excluded entirely, as the psychical history is articulated only in the Han settler historiography.

Through the analysis of Shih's Taiwan Trilogy above, we can conclude that, although the Han Taiwanese writers have "(re-)discovered" the indigenous peoples' presence and "included" them in Taiwan's historical fiction, the indigeneity represented in these literary works nonetheless is somehow reduced to a primitive mode, as if the indigenous peoples are cast invariably in a different timeframe of the past, and are foreclosed from participating in the construction Taiwan's contemporary society, and play little part in the process of identification in Taiwan's history of multiple colonialisms as well as the creation of modernity, according to the settler order of temporality.

Toward an Intersubjective Time: Wu Ming-yi's Engagement in Ecology and Sustainability

In the following sections, I will read Han Taiwanese writer Wu Ming-yi's works to investigate the way Wu challenges the anthropological discursive hierarchy between the colonizer and the indigenous other by his alternative literary articulation of indigeneity, and how he envisions a more sustainable interethnic relational ethics via the historical reconstruction of his literary imagination. Starting his writing career around the 1990s, Wu has become well known as the most prominent writer-scholar of Taiwan's contemporary nature writing and served as a literature professor at National Dong Hwa University in Taiwan.[20] In the preface to the 2003 anthology of Taiwan nature writing that he edited, Wu expounds that the emergence of Taiwan

[20] In addition to his literary works, Wu has been devoted to the study and theoretical construction of Taiwanese nature writing, and published research essays and books centering on this genre, including *The Search for Modern Taiwanese Nature Writing, 1980-2002: Liberating Nature through Writing, vol. 1* (2011), *Essays by Taiwanese Nature Writers, 1980-2002: Liberating Nature through Writing, vol. 2* (2011), *The Heart of Nature—From Nature Writing to Ecological Criticism: Liberating Nature through Writing, vol. 3* (2011), and so forth.

nature writing pertained to the environmental and sociopolitical conditions and transformation of Taiwan since the 1980s. These include the environmental degradation due to urbanization and industrialization of the highly capitalistic society of Taiwan, as well as the setbacks of Taiwan's diplomatic relations and its marginalized international position since the late 1970s. The above resulted in a "local turn" of Taiwanese writers to engage in literary production regarding environmental concerns, local situations, and historical memories that are tied to the land of Taiwan.[21] Furthermore, informed by the ecological discourses embedded in Euro-American classics of nature writing, Taiwan nature writing, although it has still been inspired by the cultural and aesthetic sources from classical Chinese literature to an extent, not only distinguishes itself from classical pastoral literature (in which human activities and feelings play the most significant part whereas nature serves merely as the backdrop), it also posits "nature" per se in the forefront by incorporating intellectual quality (scientific knowledge, to be more precise) into literary expression and stressing authors' in-person experience and nonfictional engagement. More importantly, Taiwanese nature writers have to go beyond anthropocentric blind spots and move towards a new environmental ethics based on their alternative understanding of Taiwan's geography and history.[22]

As a multitalented artist, photographer, and environmental activist with great knowledge of biology and ecology, Wu has experimented on incorporating knowledge of nature and science with his poetic expression of writing in many of his works. His works with specific focus on

[21] Ming-yi Wu, "Preface: Writing on Mysterious Revelation of Nature," *An Anthology of Taiwan Nature Writing* (2-Fishes Publishing, 2003), pp. 14-15.

[22] Ibid, pp. 12-13. For more detailed discussion of Wu's theorization and his practice of Taiwan nature writing, as well as the development of Taiwan nature writing as a literary genre and discourse, please also see scholarship by Shiuhhuah Serena Chou (2013), I-ling Hsiao, Hui-Feng Shin, and Liang-ya Liou.

butterflies, such as *The Book of Lost Butterflies* (迷蝶誌 *Midie zhi*, 2000) and *The Tao (Way) of Butterflies* (蝶道 *Die dao*, 2003), have brought innovative visions to Taiwan's nature writing and drawn significant attention from critics.[23] Recently, Wu further extended his spectrum to writing fiction about Taiwan's history in transnational perspectives and has completed remarkable full-length novels, including *Routes in the Dream* (睡眠的航線 *Shuimian de hangxian*, 2007) and *The Stolen Bicycle* (the later work was nominated for the Man Booker International Prize in 2018). Through his novels, we can clearly see that Wu has broadened the spectrum of Taiwan nature writing by integrating environmental concerns and ecological ethics into fictional genre, considering ecology in relation to spatiality and temporality, as well as geography and history. In brief, Wu's literary articulation and ecological activism provide fruitful insights to reconsider the concept of sustainability and its relationship with literature and culture, as well as the dialectic dynamics between the local and the global.

In order to better understand Wu's literary engagement in Taiwan's nature writing, environmental ethics and ecology, as well as the notion of sustainability, I will first take a detour to review and discuss some relevant literature on the notion of sustainability and ecological discourses before delving into Wu's literary texts. The concept of "sustainability," according to Lawrence Buell's analysis in *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*, is used in "applied ecology and economics to denote a mode of subsistence and more specifically a rate of agricultural or other crop-yield that can be maintained without

[23] For instance, Yu-lin Lee also utilizes the framework of ecocriticism along with French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's theoretical concept of "becoming" to read Wu's nature writing on butterflies. Please see Yu-lin Lee's *The Fabulaion of a New Earth: Contemporary Taiwanese Nature Writing*, especially Chapter One. Also see: Hui-Feng Shin, "The Aesthetic Thinking of Wu Ming-yi's Nature Writing," *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies* 10 (2010), pp. 81-115; Shiuhhuah Serena Chou, "Sense of Wilderness, Sense of Time: Mingyi Wu's Nature Writing and the Aesthetics of Change," *East Asian Ecocriticisms: A Critical Reader* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 145-163.

detriment to the ecosystem."[24] And the phrase of "sustainable development" conceptually encapsulates the notion that humanity "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[25] However, in his essay "How Sustainable is the Idea of Sustainability?" John P. O'Grady argues that "the notion of sustainability is riddled with uncertainty and very difficult to pin down…in its privileging of *duration* or *permanence* as a value, sustainability runs counter to a fundamental principle in nature" (emphasis in original).[26] He questions that if the nature of reality and the essence of the world, as described in literature or in philosophy, are floating, transient and vulnerable, and all things and entities within the world are always subject to change and decay, then how can our environment and all forms of entities within this world stay the same as they are? If we further look at the theoretical insights of French poststructuralists, at least in Derridean deconstruction, that both the signifier and the signified are traces in the realm of language and that the mechanisms of signification are chains of supplements, then the process of meaning-making should be seen as a wobbling and unstable network which unceasingly links signifying elements together. If the concept of "sustainability" is also a temporal idea since it considers the needs of the future generations in the *longue durée*, then how can one really predict what future will be like and what future generations will need in order to meet their requirement of sustainability? In other words, if we concur with O'Grady's argument that "nothing stays the same is the very basis

[24] Lawrence Buell, *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination* (Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 148.

[25] Ibid., p. 148.

[26] John P. O'Grady, "How Sustainable is the Idea of Sustainability?" *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 10.1(Winter 2003), p. 3.

of history itself," [27] then the notion of "sustainability" is not as sustainable as it asserts to be. The notion is, instead, somewhat indefensible, abstract, and even dogmatic, if not entirely impotent.

If "sustainability," as O'Grady has revealed, is self-contradictory and skeptical, especially in the field of the humanities (such as literature, philosophy, religion, and so forth), then how can this notion be useful for us to rethink and reimagine the future of the humanities? O'Grady's deconstructive analysis of "sustainability" does not suggest that we discard the very idea of sustainability, but instead encourages us to re-conceptualize this term from a different perspective. The calls for sustainable development and the pursuit of sustainability are not to preserve or maintain an everlasting essence of things and eternal nature of the world, but to establish a "proper and sustainable relationship" between human and non-human, as well as the world. In this sense, the notion of "sustainability," I argue, must be interpreted as a form of "relationality," instead of any ontological and epistemological invariability. If "sustainability," in the linguistic register of Derridean theorization, is itself a "signifier" whose signification can only be captured and deciphered in relation to other signifiers, or more precisely, in the network of signifying system, then this notion is undoubtedly subject to change and open to different possibilities in the world of uncertainty, ambiguity, transiency and complexity.

I will then ponder over and further deepen O'Grady's insight of sustainability by examining Wu's two novels, *The Man with the Compound Eyes* (複眼人 *Fuyan ren*, 2011, hereafter *Compound Eyes*) and *The Stolen Bicycle* (單車失竊記 *Danche shiqie ji*, 2015, *Bicycle*).[28]

[27] Ibid., p. 3.

[28] The two texts of Wu Ming-yi studied in this paper have been translated into English by Darryl Sterk. I will consistently use Sterk's translation in this paper and provide the paginations for both the translation and original texts (the pagination of the translation appears first, and the second one refers to the original text).

Methodologically and theoretically, I mobilize contemporary theories of ecocriticism in conjunction with French philosopher Jacques Rancière's formulation of "redistribution" to analyze Wu's two works. The notion of redistribution, in Marxist view, refers to a means of social mechanism in which wealth and resources are distributed according to more ethical, socially just and fair principles. Rancière has further developed and translated this concept into a theoretical terminology for exploring the politics of aesthetics and literature. He notes that politics "makes visible what had no business being seen, and makes heard a discourse where once there was only place for noise."[29] The politics of literature and aesthetics is to intervene in the predominant relationship between "space and time, the visible and the invisible, speech and noise."[30] To put it differently, the way in which literature and art manifest their power of politics and potentiality of democracy is to destabilize and interrupt any dominant, determined orders of relationship between ways of doing, making, being, seeing, and saying, and re-imagine new forms of relationality between the sayable and the unsayable, the visible and the invisible, the audible and the inaudible, through verbal, visual, and other modes of art.[31] From the perspective of social science and ecological economics, theorists have revealed that the issues of "ecological distribution conflicts" play a pivotal part in environmental justice and can "take an active role in shaping transitions toward sustainability," [32] which I think offers helpful insights to re-conceptualize the humanities, or more specifically, the realms of literature and art, through the

[29] Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (U of Minnesota P, 1999), p. 30.

[30] Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Literature*, trans. Julie Rose (Polity P, 2011), p. 4.

[31] Please see: Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Literature*, p. 11; Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (Continum P, 2004), p. 45.

[32] Arnim Scheidel, Leah Temper, Federico Demaria, and Joan Martínez-Alier, "Ecological Distribution Conflicts as Forces for Sustainability: An Overview and Conceptual Framework." *Sustainability Science* 13.3 (2018): 585-598.

lens of Rancière's notion of "redistribution."

By conjoining Rancière's thoughts of aesthetic politics, as well as the insights of "ecological distribution" and ecocriticism, I further propose two theoretical concepts—"ecological redistribution" and "historical sustainability" —to read Wu's two novels respectively so as to discuss how literary imagination participates and intervenes in the discussion of sustainability, and how it makes Taiwan (studies) sustainable on a global scale. *The Man with the Compound Eyes* has been translated into several different languages and well-reviewed by scholars through the lens of ecocriticism with different analytical focal points and theoretical approaches.[33] Inspired by the insights of existing scholarship, I attempt to deepen the ecocritical discussions with its particular focus on the novel's ecological articulation of interethnic relations between the indigenous and non-indigenous by bringing Rancière's theorization of redistribution. Moreover, through a comparative analysis of *The Man with the Compound Eyes* and *The Stolen Bicycle,* this chapter scrutinizes the way in which Wu embodies his ecological thoughts in his historical reconstruction of the Asia-Pacific War, and how he envisions a new ecological ethics in both

[33] To briefly outline these analyses germane to ecocriticism: Shiuhhuah Serena Chou places *The Man with the Compound Eyes* in the context of what US-based eco-theorist Ursula K. Heise has termed the "transnational turn" in ecocriticism and discusses the novel's articulation of "ecocosmopolitanism," which may partially explain the international reach and reception of the novel. Rose Hsiu-li Juan, taking cues from Timothy Morton's concept of "hyperobject" and Rob Nixon's critique of "slow violence," analyzes how Wu manifests a kind of "garbology of living" through the colossal spectacle of the PTV, and how the novelist takes an ethical action against "slow violence of environmental degradation" through his literary intervention and engagement. In a similar vein, Kathryn Yalan Chang offers a "material-oriented environmental reading" of the novel, and discusses how *The Man with the Compound Eyes* explores the "material agency" and "subjectivity" of nonhuman nature or matters by inviting readers to "listen to the voice of nature" (106-107). Darryl Sterk, the literature scholar and translator who introduced Wu's novels to the English-speaking world, pays attention to the "demigod-like" image of "the man with the compound eyes" and analyzes the "videomosaic gaze" of this figure from the perspective of "postmodern ecological sublime," by which he reminds us that the holistic, kaleidoscopic and multidimensional vision is also a "product of techno-capitalism" (188). Justin Prystash explores the theoretical and philosophical affinities between speculative realism and Daoism, contending that Wu's novel articulates a form of "reciprocal aesthetic entanglements between humans, nonhuman species, and inorganic objects" (512) by bringing both Eastern and Western philosophical traditions into "creative tension" (524). Robin Chen-Hsing Tsai suggests an interdisciplinary approach of "new materialism of the brain" based on the concept of "solastalgia" (a form of mental distress caused by environmental distress) theorized by Australian philosopher Glenn Albrecht to enrich the discussions of the Anthropocene hypothesis as well as ecological discourses.

geographical and historical aspects. I argue that *The Man with the Compound Eyes* performs an act of "ecological redistribution" through which it not only actively engages in global production of environmental literature but also critiques the Han centered historiography and settler multiculturalism in the local context of Taiwan. Furthermore, by re-conceptualizing interethnic representation in *Bicycle* and placing this novel into integrated world history, I contend that Wu's novel challenges the colonial hierarchy structuring the relationship between the anthropologist and the ethnographic object by depicting an interethnic encounter between a Han novelist and an indigenous photographer. By acknowledging the coevalness of the two characters, the novel manifests a form of "communicative interaction" and "truly dialectical confrontation" between the anthropologist and the indigenous Other through their intersubjective experience, which creates new possibilities for "intersubjective knowledge" based on their "shared intersubjective Time and intersocietal contemporaneity,"[34] or in Rancière's expression, a new "poetics of knowledge." In so doing, *The Stolen Bicycle* demonstrates the potentiality of "historical sustainability" by revisiting the period of World War II in order to show the complexity of Taiwan's history and its multiple connections with world history, or more precisely, Taiwan's "sustainable relations" to the world.

Ecological Redistribution: *The Man with the Compound Eyes*

Compound Eyes tells a story of a local town, Haven, located on the east coast of Taiwan (which alludes to the actual locale Hualien) with a global sense of place by characters with multicultural backgrounds. Taiwan in this novel is featured as the stage on which people from around the world encounter each other: the Han literature Professor Alice and her Danish

[34] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, pp. 31, 92, 148, 154.

husband Thom Jakobsen; Hafay, an indigenous Pangcah woman and the owner of the Seventh Sisid Café in Haven; Dahu, an indigenous Bunun who works as a taxi driver, mountaineer, amateur sculptor, forest conservationist and volunteer for some east-coast non-governmental organizations, and his daughter Umav; the Norwegian marine biologist Sara and her German partner, Detlef Boldt, an mechanical engineer who participates in the project of the tunnel boring machine (TBM) design; Detlef's old colleague engineer Li Jung-hsiang. Additionally, Wu conjures up a Pacific Trash Vortex (PTV) floating around in the midst of the Pacific Ocean that collides with Taiwan, through which the two protagonists who drive the central plot—Alice and Atile'i (an indigene who drifts from the fictionalized Pacific island named Wayo Wayo to Haven via the PTV due to the collision)—are able to meet each other. By doing so, Taiwan is further connected with the Pacific world through the fabulation of Wayo Wayo.

The commentary on sustainability of *Compound Eyes* functions on both global and local scales. On the global scale, this novel consciously engages with the western tradition of nature writing and environmental criticism. In Buell's analysis of environmentalism as a series of waves, the first wave of environmental writing and ecocriticism is centered around region-oriented and place-based interest that emphasizes "scientific literacy" to describe natural laws through the scientific method as a means to rectify human subjectivism and cultural relativism. However, the dualistic assumption of a division between culture and science that needs to be bridged advocated by this first wave has been challenged by the second wave of ecocriticism. These next wave environmental critics argue that the "borderline between science and culture is less clear-cut" as the natural and built environments in this world are historically and socially intertwined and all mixed up.[35] As a result, the study of nature writing and discourses of science

[35] Lawrence Buell, *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*, pp. 19-22.

and literature "must be read both with and against each other."[36] More importantly, the dichotomy between the local and the global was also interrogated as the second wave environmental critics purported to envision placed-based imagination on a global scale. The "nested quality of place," Buell notes, often widens the "circles of place" and bridges dialectic relations to a larger community because any experience of place and the structure of feeling, rather than restricting to regional boundaries, has always been in process and in motion, linking multiple locales and places together. In this way, re-conceptualizing place as a node within the global network means that globalism will not always suppress or reduce the specificity of place-ness, but can reshape new platial identities and imagination by creating new forms of eco-literature with a global sense of place.

Compound Eyes participates and intervenes in the so-called "global turn" of environmental criticism and ecological discourses through various spaces and forms of encounter. Haven, or "H" city in the original text, is portrayed as a forefront of transnational encounters between Taiwan's aboriginals, Han settlers, foreign intellectuals, ecologists and technologists. In other words, it is a microcosm of the global eco-community. The PTV functions as a metaphorical device that breaks the boundary between the real and the fictional worlds because it facilitates the encounter between Alice and Atile'i, one from the actual location of Taiwan and another from the fabulated Wayo Wayo. Furthermore, Rose Hsiu-li Juan notes that the PTV can find its real-life counterpart in the aftermath of the 2011 Japan northeast earthquake and the following Fukushima nuclear disaster which terribly astonished the world. Drawing from Timothy Morton's concept of "hyperobject" and Rob Nixon's critique of "slow violence," Juan analyzes how Wu manifests a kind of "garbology of living" through the colossal spectacle of the PTV, and how the novelist

[36] Ibid., p. 19.

takes an ethical action against "slow violence of environmental degradation" through his literary intervention and engagement.[37] In a similar vein, Shiuhhuah Serena Chou points out that "the globalized local or the localized global in Wu's novel reveals a cosmopolitan sense of the world and the readership of *The Man with the Compound Eyes* reveals the worlding of ecocriticism as a process of cultural adaptation and translation,"[38] which may partially explain the international reach and reception of the novel. It is not too much to say that this novel timely latches onto the recent trend of the increasing attention to "non-Western literature's engagement with both local concerns and global environmental issues."[39] Wu's literary articulation is indeed a response to the actual global event and current environmental phenomenon, which attempts to engage in the global turn of ecocriticism in both literary and practical manners, and creates critical spaces for readers to think globally via its place-based imagination as a local practice.

On the local scale, the recent recognition of indigenous peoples in Taiwan's society and the inclusion of indigeneity in Taiwan literature in the name of multiculturalism, even though Han settlers do so with a sense of moral commitment and self-reflection, still remains problematic for both political and ethical reasons, as I have tried to expound via the case study of Shih's Taiwan Trilogy in this chapter. Furthermore, scholars have argued that when multiculturalism is formulated by settlers it can function as an assimilation project to incorporate indigenous subjects into mainstream settler narratives, serving as a colonial discourse to consolidate settlers'

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[37] Rose Hsiu-li Juan, "Imagining the Pacific Trash Vortex and the Spectacle of Environmental Disaster: Environmental Entanglement and Literary Engagement in Wu Ming-yi's *Fuyanren*," *Ecocriticism in Taiwan: Identity, Environment, and the Arts* (Lexington Books, 2016), p. 85.

[38] Shiuhhuah Serena Chou, "Wu's *The Man with the Compound Eyes* and the Worlding of Environmental Literature." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 16.4 (2014), https://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.2554.

[39] Lawrence Buell, Ursula K. Heise, and Karen Thornber, "Literature and Environment," *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 36 (2011), p. 427.

nationalism. According to Native American feminist Sandy Grande, settler multiculturalism has "operated in a homogenizing way, centered on unifying all peoples in the nation-state," and the discourse of cultural diversity, within the liberal model as defined by settlers, "could be expressed only within the preexisting, hegemonic frames of the nation-state, reading democracy as 'inclusion'."[40] While the logic of inclusion, or the "cunning of recognition" as termed by Elizabeth A. Povinelli in her case of Australian multiculturalism, is taken merely as a basis of national unity, and multiculturalism appropriated as grounds for "a new transcendental national monoculturalism" in various settler colonies worldwide,[41] the indigenous claim of sovereignty and their rights of self-determination are therefore undermined and disavowed by settler nation-states. As Ella Shohat and Robert Stam argue, multiculturalism is a "situated utterance, inserted in the social and shaped by history," existing in "shifting relation to various institutions, discourses, disciplines, communities, and nation-states."[42] Put it another way, multiculturalism can be "top-down or bottom-up, hegemonic or resistant, or both at the same time,"[43] depending on who is speaking it, from whose perspective and for whose interest one is deploying it as a discourse.

Wu's novel astutely contests and negotiates with the above settler-centric representation of indigeneity and the discourses of settler multiculturalism in many ways. Rather than treating

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[40] Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), p. 47.

[41] Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism* (Duke UP, 2002), p. 29.

[42] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, "Introduction," *Multiculturalism, Postcoloniality, and Transnational Media* (Rutgers University Press, 2003), p. 6.

[43] Ibid, p. 6.

Taiwan indigenous characters as backward and exotic others in settlers' romanticization, Wu delineates several social issues that indigenous peoples confront in contemporary Taiwan, including ethnic discrimination and structural violence, drug abuse, prostitution, forceful eviction and relocation due to the "urban renewal project," and so forth. While Wu portrays the above social issues that many indigenes face in contemporary Taiwan in a realistic mode, he does not stereotype the indigenous figures into insipid and flat characters (the multifaceted characterization of the indigenous intellectual-activist-artist Dahu serves as a good example in the novel). Through this nuanced representation, Wu critiques the Han-centered stereotypical imagination of indigeneity represented through bodies that can sing and dance (abilities developed as the consequences of settler capitalist economy and commercial tourism in Taiwan). Most importantly, indigenous figures in this novel play active roles in local knowledge production by spotlighting their holistic ecological wisdom, which reflects on and critiques both the mainstream Han-centric and Anthropocentric worldview. The eco-cultural tour at the Forest Church managed by Dahu's uncle Anu provides an alternative, sensorial and ecological experience to tourists and the readers—the visitors are asked to "close their eyes and touch a tree root, lean on the tree and smell a wild mushroom, taste prickly ash leaves, and listen to a certain birdcall to judge how far away it was" (261/ 310). Anu believes that by doing so he (and a few of the visitors) can "smell, touch, hear or sense" the spirit of his son Lian who was accidentally crushed by a tree branch, as if Lian is still alive (261/ 310). For Hafay, she appreciates the way "the weeping figs survived by growing aerial roots that went down, down, down until they reunited with the earth and helped prop up the parent tree" (262/ 312). This tour not only shows indigenous appreciation and respect of nature's subjectivity, but also evinces the holistic cosmology ingrained in indigenous knowledge. Rather than taking indigenous tribal wisdom as

something purely spiritual, esoteric, or entirely irrational (which would recommit the same mistake of primitivization and romanticization of indigeneity as other Han settler works), Wu remarks in one of his research essays that indigenous peoples' traditional wisdom and understanding of the world have the potential to converse with global ecological discourses based on contemporary scientific knowledge and technology.[44] In James Clifford's words, indigenous tradition should be reckoned as "interactive, creative and adaptive processes," and the past is where one "looks for the future."[45] The indigenous cultural resurgence is thus not an atavistic action to restore the tradition of the past, but a contemporary everyday practice toward the future.

Wu not only challenges the problematic logic of inclusion and settler recognition, he also elevates his work to another aesthetic and ethic level, which I would like to call the literary engagement of "ecological redistribution" derived from French philosopher Jacques Rancière's theories. Rancière contends that the politics of recognition can establish one-dimensional and "asymmetric relations" between the active side who possesses the authority to recognize and the passive side waiting to be recognized, adding that in this model a reciprocal relationship and radical equality can never be fulfilled. As an alternative, Rancière rearticulates the notion of recognition through his theorization of "redistribution": "if recognition is not merely a response

[44] Ming-yi Wu, "Innocent Wisdom, or Rational Taboo? A Deliberation Concerning Environmental Ethics Presented in Native Taiwanese Han Language Literature," *Chung Wai Literary Quarterly* 37.4 (2008), pp. 111-147. Wu's standpoint also echoes the current academic trend to "bridge" indigenous knowledge and Western science, trying to create possible "interfaces" between different knowledge systems. Please see scholarship as follows: Martin Nakata, "Indigenous Knowledge and the Cultural Interface: Underlying issues at the intersection of Knowledge and Information Systems," *IFLA Journal* 28.5/6 (2002), pp. 281-291; Mason Durie, "Indigenous Knowledge within a Global Knowledge System," *Higher Education Policy* 18. 3 (2005), pp. 301-312; Pei-Lun Chen Chang (Tunkan Tansikian), "Some Reflections on the Study of Indigenous Knowledge," *Taiwan Indigenous Studies Review* 5 (2009), pp. 25-53; Jayalaxshmi Mistry and Andrea Berardi, "Bridging Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge." *Science* 352.6291 (2016), pp. 1274-1275; Fikret Berkes and Mina Kislalioglu Berkes, "Ecological Complexity, Fuzzy Logic, and Holism in Indigenous Knowledge," *Futures* 41.1 (2009), pp. 6-12.

[45] James Clifford, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century* (Harvard UP, 2013), pp. 29, 57.

to something already existing, if it is an original configuration of the common world, this means that individuals and groups are always, in some way, recognized with a place and a competence so that the struggle is not 'for recognition,' but for *another form* of recognition: a redistribution of the places, the identities, and the parts" (emphasis in original).[46] From recognition to redistribution, Rancière not only proffers an alternative political philosophy to examine equality and freedom, but also guides us to a new direction in approaching literature and aesthetics. The "politics of literature," in Rancière's formulation, means that "literature intervenes as literature in this carving up of space and time, the visible and the invisible, speech and noise," and most importantly, explores "the relationship between practices and forms of visibility and modes of saying that carves up one or more common worlds."[47] The notion of redistribution thus avoids reproducing existing hierarchies or asymmetries hidden in the logic of recognition and opens possibilities of radical alterity of power relations and new forms of reciprocity.

By foregrounding indigenous values and knowledge via an act of ecological redistribution, Wu's novel interrupts the prevailing power structure between Han settlers and indigenous peoples and the way in which knowledge is produced. This move can be understood as a response to "a new third wave of ecocriticism" that Joni Adamson and Scott Slovic have termed following Buell's ecocritical paradigm, which "recognizes ethnic and national particularities and yet transcends ethnic and national boundaries," contriving to encompass diverse ethnic dimensions in conversation with global environmental criticism.[48] Wu's depiction of the

[46] Axel Honneth and Jacques Rancière, *Recognition or Disagreement: A Critical Encounter on the Politics of Freedom, Equality, and Identity*, edited by Katia Genel and Jean-Philippe Deranty (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), p. 90.

[47] Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Literature*, trans. Julie Rose (Polity Press, 2011), p. 4.

[48] Joni Adamson and Scott Slovic. "Guest Editors' Introduction: The Shoulders We Stand On: An Introduction to Ethnicity and Ecocriticism." *MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the U.S.* 34.2 (2009), pp. 6.

indigenous communities in Taiwan, as well as their encounters with Han settlers and other foreign characters in the novel, brings the issues of social injustice attributable to Han settler colonialism in Taiwan and global environmental concerns into dynamic conversations, which also embodies the more recently emerging and ongoing "cross-pollination" of ecocriticism with other disciplines and fields, such as (post)colonialism, studies of marginalized communities, ethnic minorities, and indigenous knowledge ("Literature and Environment"; Buell, "Ecocriticism").[49] Furthermore, by creating a local story with a global sense of place, Wu's literary engagement in global environmental criticism and ecological discourse not only formulates dialectic relations between the local and the global but also presents new ethical relationships between the human and nonhuman, the corporeal and non-corporeal, the living and nonliving, as well as culture and nature. This is best actualized through the "demigod-like" image of "the man with the compound eyes" in this novel. The aphorism of "the man with the compound eyes" is finally heard towards the end of the book, revealing the environmental ethics in conjunction with the politics of memory and writing, critically reflecting on the anthropocentric view of human being. Let me quote this highly metaphorical and metafictional passage at length as follows:

> …humans are usually completely unconcerned with the memories of other creatures. Human existence involves the willful destruction of the existential memories of other creatures and of your own memories as well. No life can survive without other lives, without the ecological memories other living creatures have, memories of the environments

[49] Joni Adamson and Scott Slovic. "Guest Editors' Introduction: The Shoulders We Stand On: An Introduction to Ethnicity and Ecocriticism." *MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the U.S.* 34.2 (2009), 5-24; Lawrence Buell, "Ecocriticism: Some Emerging Trends," *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 19.2 (2011), pp. 87-115; Lawrence Buell, Ursula K. Heise, and Karen Thornber. "Literature and Environment," *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 36 (2011), pp. 417-40.

in which they live. People don't realize they need to rely on the memories of other organisms to survive. You think that flowers bloom in colorful profusion just to please your eyes. That a wild boar exists just to provide meat for your table. That a fish takes the bait just for your sake. That only you can mourn. That a stone falling into a gorge is of no significance. That a sambar deer, its head bent low to sip at a creek, is not a revelation…When in fact the finest movement of any organism represents a change in an ecosystem (281/ 334).

By challenging the anthropocentrism of human memories and underestimation of the memories of other creatures or nonhuman beings, Wu not only foregrounds the significance of coexistence and interdependence between the human and nonhuman but also reflects on the politics and ethics of writing—the very medium by which humans use to document and preserve memories. Furthermore, the figuration of "the man with the compound eyes," according to Darryl Sterk's observation, symbolizes not only a total view of nature but also a "technological mediated vision of nature," a consequence of postmodern techno-capitalism, serving as a device to reconcile mechanical advancement with the environment.[50] By juxtaposing the ecological and scientific knowledge with the poetic literary expression, as well as interweaving the real and the fictional worlds, Wu deftly demonstrates how science and literature are mutually constitutive and intersected in his ecoliterature. The above multidirectional and multilayered literary redistribution hence constitutes what I call the "ecological redistribution" as the ecosystem is not confined to the biosphere, but includes the integrated environment as a whole. This integrated ecosystem Wu conjures up also crystalizes what Ursula K. Heise has called

[50] For more discussion please see Darryl Sterk, "The Apotheosis of Montage: The Videomosaic Gaze of *The Man with the Compound Eyes* as Postmodern Ecological Sublime." *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 28.2 (Fall 2016), pp. 183-222.

"eco-cosmopolitanism"—an attempt to "envision individuals and groups as part of planetary 'imagined communities' of both human and nonhuman kinds," and an ideal towards a "more-than-human world" that connects "both animate and inanimate networks of influence and exchange."[51] Through the act of "ecological redistribution," the prevailing structure between settlers and indigenous peoples, as well as the aforementioned dichotomies and relationalities can be redefined in more ethical and ecological ways.

Nevertheless, Wu's local intervention in global environmental literature still has its blind spots. Although *The Man with the Compound Eyes* successfully questions the hierarchical "anthropological allochronism" by underscoring the contemporaneity and coexistence of Han settler and indigenous characters in the local context of Taiwan, this novel still characterizes the fictional indigenous figure Atile'i and the Wayo Wayo Island in a somewhat exotic and primordial mode, particularly in its emphasis on the island's second-son sacrificial ritual, Atile'i's libidinal energy, and the secluded insularity of Wayo Wayo from the outside world. If we turn to indigenous anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa's theorization of Oceania in which the Pacific Ocean is a vast and expanding body of water that connects all Pacific Islands, Islanders and Oceanian cultures together instead of a barrier isolating them from one another, then Wu's fabrication of Wayo Wayo seems to reproduce what Hau'ofa calls the "colonial confinement" that cut off the interrelatedness and mobility among these islands.[52] Even though Atile'i is given certain forms of agency to challenge the Han settler centric ideology and worldview by his indigenous traditional knowledge, the interethnic encounter between Alice and Atile'i that

[51] Ursula K. Heise, *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The Environmental Imagination of the Global* (Oxford UP, 2008), p. 61.

[52] Epeli Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (U of Hawai'i P, 2008), pp. 32-9.

bridges Taiwan with the Pacific world remains largely asymmetric—it is an interethnic relationship between a traumatized culturally elite settler and an outcast Pacific islander. What concerns me the most is that throughout the entire novel Atile'i is never given a chance to meet or have a dialogue with Taiwan's indigenous characters, which further constrains its interethnic encounter to a settler-to-indigenous relationality.

It seems that in order to redefine the contemporary Han-indigenous relationship of Taiwan and add colors to his literary imagining in this novel, Wu relies on another "primordial other" from a fictionalized Pacific island that happens to be, very ironically, indigenous. The fabulation of another Pacific indigenous people then paradoxically forecloses the possibility of deeper understandings of the actual Pacific world. Hau'ofa's "utopian hope of indigenous-cosmopolitan visions" (to borrow Clifford's phrase)—an expansive regionalism which goes beyond the geopolitical boundaries and forges transnational alliances among the Pacific Islands—has not yet come into existence in this novel. Yet, despite having the above limitations, Wu's literary engagement and effort should be acknowledged and taken seriously. The "ecological redistribution" expressed in this novel enables readers to reconsider our shared world and re-modulate human/nonhuman, culture/nature, literature/science, tradition/modernity, locality/globality, reality/fiction, by encouraging us to grow "the compound eyes" necessary to go beyond both the anthropocentric and Han settler centered worldview. Through this "ecological redistribution," Wu has offered us a chance to cultivate a new kind of "eco-cosmopolitan environmentalism" that Heise powerfully explicates, and to reconsider the responsibility of being a member within our eco-community.

Historical Sustainability: *The Stolen Bicycle*

If *Compound Eyes* performs an act of "ecological redistribution" through literary creativity, then *The Stolen Bicycle* further illustrates how a "dialectic confrontation" between different ethnicities, societies, and cultures can come into being based on a co-temporal condition by its reconstruction of "intersubjective time and history" as theorized by Fabian. Inspired by Italian neorealist director Vittorio De Sica's classic film *The Bicycle Thief* (1947), the story of *Bicycle* revolves around the interethnic encounter between the narrator Ch'eng and the Tsou indigenous photographer Abbas, and their journey to trace the history of the "stolen bicycles"—the "iron horses" that have influenced their fate. Their encounter at the inception of the story resembles a typical anthropological relationship between the anthropologist and the ethnographical object. However, the ethnographical fieldwork conducted by Ch'eng does not proceed smoothly as the storyline keeps being suspended, interrupted, and distracted due to the novel's narrative detour. In order to understand the connection between the two lost bicycles in both Ch'eng's and Abbas's family histories, Ch'eng visits Abbas's hometown, the Tsou tribal village in Nan-t'ou County, where more historical fragments and details are unpacked through audiotapes left by Abbas's father Pasuya. Pasuya was an indigenous volunteer who enlisted for the Takasago Volunteer Army and later joined the special operations force, the Silverwheel Squad, when the Japanese colonial government launched the colonial policy of "imperialization" (*kōminka*) in preparation for the Asia-Pacific War. Following the traces of Pasuya's story, the two protagonists travel from Taiwan to the port of San'a on Kainan (or Hai-nan) Island and finally land at the Malay Peninsula during the period of the Asia-Pacific War. Pasuya was assigned to the southern expeditionary force and stationed in the jungle of Northern Burma, where the troops relied on animals such as horses, mules, and elephants as vehicles to transport supplies and weapons. In his time in the forest of Burma, Pasuya became acquainted with a Karen elephant tamer, a

mahout, named K'nyaw. The story of the Silverwheel Squad, the Japanese bicycle military units sent to Southeast Asia during of World War II, then unfolds through the dialogue between the two protagonists during their journey.

Through the unfolding of the novel, the colonial hierarchy that structures the relationship between the anthropologist and the ethnographic object—the former the authority who documents the history and the later the informant who can merely be observed and researched—is challenged and overturned in the historical reconstruction by the two protagonists. As described in this novel, piecing together the historical fragments and narrative segments is like "rebuilding one of the old police-station-cum-post-offices the Japanese had built in the mountains during the colonial period" (140/142). Also, the journey to excavate and reconstruct history is as if one has to use part of the lifetime to "delay the decline" of a bike in order to "salvage" it (319/332). The salvation of history lies in the interethnic coexistence and collaboration as the threads of the forgotten history of the Silverwheel Squad can only be unraveled through the co-reconstruction of Ch'eng and Abbas with multiple means of "mediation," including audiotapes, photographs, translation, electronic document transmission, and so forth. In this sense, the coevally grounded reconstruction of history between the Han and indigenous characters shows readers the possibility of an alternative anthropological epistemology. The colonial binarism between the anthropologist and the ethnographic object is blurred as they are both active participants, both the constitutive elements of history and simultaneously the creators in the process of knowledge production "on the basis of shared intersubjective Time and intersocietal contemporaneity." [53] This form of intersubjective knowledge based on the alternative anthropological epistemology created by the two

[53] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, p. 148.

protagonists articulates what Stephen A. Tyler calls the "postmodern ethnography"—which "foregrounds dialogue as opposed to monologue, and emphasizes the cooperative and collaborative nature of the ethnographic situation in contrast to the ideology of the transcendental observer."[54] Tyler further elaborates that the purpose of postmodern ethnographic discourse is neither "an object to be represented nor a representation of an object," nor a project which aims at creating "universal knowledge," but rather, a reconstructive and mutual interaction, a "meditative vehicle," a starting point of "a different kind of journey."[55] These insights help explain the interethnic coexistence and collaboration between the two protagonists as well as their historical reconstruction.

The initial journey diverges and then leads readers to various successive journeys. If the interethnic encounter in *Compound Eyes* is still limited to a kind of asymmetric relationship between a Han settler elite and an indigenous Pacific islander (as we particularly see through the settler-to-indigenous encounter between Alice and Atile'i), then *Bicycle* explores a more reciprocal interethnic relationship and the possibility of transnational minor alliance. This revisionist interethnic relationality is most clearly articulated by the two indigenous characters—Pasuya and the Karen elephant tamer K'nyaw. Their similar, though not exactly the same, experiences of colonization and the shared indigenous holistic worldview become the common ground of their interethnic friendship: they both believe that everything has a spirit and humans and animals can understand each other (Pasuya even tried to learn the language of the Karen in order to communicate with elephants), but at the same time remain aware of the

[54] Stephen A. Tyler, "Post-Modern Ethnography: From Document of the Occult to Occult Document," *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (U of California P, 1986), p. 126.

[55] Ibid., pp. 131, 140.

limitation of anthropocentric experience as "elephants can make and hear sounds people can't" (214/ 220); they learned the "secret techniques of mountain survival" and "knowledge of mountain forest" from each other in the jungle (217/ 224); together they tried to find way out of the battle and witnessed the cruelty of the war—rivers with floating corpses and aflame roads; they prayed for the spirits of the dead in their "ancestral tongues" (218/ 225). Pasuya tried to "mimic the silent language" that K'nyaw spoke, "summoning the herd to send him on his way" after K'nyaw was struck by bullets and died. Pasuya can still hear "the elephant herd tramping through the jungle" and remember "the stars arrayed around the silver wheel of the moon" after returning home for years with his left ear that is almost deaf. A part of Pasuya had been buried along with K'nyaw in the forests of Northern Burma and a part of K'nyaw's souls survives in Pasuya's memory. Their encounter therefore establishes a form of transnational minor relationality (to borrow Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih's formulation of "minor transnationalism")[56] through which minority groups from different geopolitical margins are able to laterally connect with and understand one another, and more importantly, constitute a pivotal part in the reconstruction of history based on indigenous-to-indigenous coalition.

Bicycle provides a new vision to understand the history of Taiwan and its relation to the world. The writing of Taiwan's history has usually been confined to China-centric historiography, whereas Taiwan's position in world history and its connections with other regions and areas have long been neglected and underestimated, particularly the historical ties between Taiwan and Southeast Asia. Chen Chih-fan has noted, the historical accounts and memories of the Takasago Volunteer Army (as Pasuya's memory in Northern Burma unveils in the novel) had also been

[56] Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally," *Minor Transnationalism* (Duke UP, 2005), pp. 1-23.

intentionally forgotten and silenced for more than a half-century in both the Japanese and Nationalist official historiographies; the two governments, although they were on the opposite sites of the war, both treated these memories as taboo for distinct reasons and remained reluctant to confront this intricate history.[57] Wu adeptly copes with this double invisibility in both the Japanese and Nationalist official narratives of history via his literary imagination. If *Compound Eyes* connects the island of Taiwan to the larger Pacific world mainly through its platial and geographical imagination, then *Bicycle*, by tracing the story of the Silverwheel Squad, highlights Taiwan's linkages with Japan and Southeast Asia through its historical specificity. If we further draw on the methodology of "relational comparison" proposed by Shu-mei Shih, then this historical connection is not only central to Taiwan's history or Asian history more broadly, but also crucial to integrated world history. These connections seen in the novel echo Shih's argument that we "have always lived in an interconnected world" coproduced by all parts and members of the world with specific relationalities.[58] Shih further notes that Taiwan in this relational world "is more than a node in a network, but also the place from which one theorizes about the world, as it is a crucial place that is a co-producer or even initiator of global processes," and the study of Taiwan must be treated "as part and parcel of the global formation as well as global processes."[59] In light of Shih's proposal, *The Stolen Bicycle* not only evokes events that have long been invisible in dominant retellings of Taiwan's history but also provides a different viewpoint to approach world history by revealing a rarely known story of the Silverwheel Squad.

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[57] Chih-Fan Chen, "The War and Collective Violence: The Reproduction and Construction of the Image of the Tasaka Pioneer Force in Literature," *Journal of Taiwan Literary Studies* 26 (2018), p. 161.

[58] Please see Shu-mei Shih's two articles as follows: "Theory in a Relational World," *Comparative Literature Studies* 53.4 (2016): 722-746; "World Studies and Relational Comparison," *PMLA: Publications of Modern Language Association of America* 130.2 (2015): 430-438.

[59] Shu-mei Shih, "Forum 2: Linking Taiwan Studies with the World," *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 1 (2018), pp. 211, 214.

The politics of literature demonstrated in this novel is thus to make the forgotten history visible and heard, so as to actively participate in the formation of the integrated and interconnected world. In *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy,* Rancière points out that politics "breaks with the tangible configuration whereby parties and parts or lack of them are defined by a presupposition that, by definition, has no place in that configuration—that of the part of those who have no part."[60] And the political activity, according to Rancière's formulation, "makes visible what had no business being seen, and makes heard a discourse where once there was only place for noise; it makes understood as discourse what was once only heard as noise."[61] If the idea of "sustainability" in the realm of the humanities, as O'Grady suggests, is to rediscover and re-envisage "the lost faces of the world"—be they artifacts, objects, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, marginalized communities and societies, animals, nonhuman beings, geographical peripheries, the ecological environment, or the lost histories—then *Bicycle* accomplishes this by unearthing the historical bond between Taiwan, Japan, and Southeast Asia that was previously been forgotten (or "stolen," as the title implies), which exhibits a literary embodiment of what I would call "historical sustainability." Most importantly, to rediscover history is not to restore the once lost history as it was, but to create "something new in the present that has recourse to the past,"[62] as seen in Wu's literary articulation and historical re-imagination.

Markedly, this historical sustainability is largely based on Wu's literary articulation of redistribution as can been seen in *Compound Eyes*, an act of ecological redistribution between

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[60] Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, pp. 29-30.

[61] Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, p. 30.

[62] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (U of California P, 1998), p. 149.

diverse forms of relationality—the indigenous and non-indigenous, the human and non-human, the corporeal and non-corporeal, the living and nonliving, and so forth. In addition to the cardinal plotline, Wu complicates this novel by structurally juxtaposing emails delineating Taiwan's industrial history of butterfly handicraft in a semi-fictional form (A-hûn's story composed by Sabina based on her mother), chapters of the bike notes (in which Wu interweaves the narrator's story pertaining to the histories of the "iron horses" with their use in commercial activities and in different wars in history, the rise and decline of the narrator's old home the Chung-hwa Market, etc), with the story of the Asian elephant Lin Wang (Ah Mei) in Taipei Zoo that the Squad Leader Mu told Shizuko, as well as Mu's story of the Chinese expeditionary force that participated in the Sino-British counteroffensive in India. The lost faces of history that O'Grady elucidates are rediscovered not merely through the novel's historical reconstruction via characters' interethnic encounters (as this paper has discussed earlier), they are also re-envisaged through diverse forms of relational encounters among objects and artifacts (bicycles, butterfly handicraft), animals (Asian elephants), the technological mediation and communication, the transcorporeal experiences between the human and non-human (Pasuya and K'nyaw's experience with elephants, as well as Squad Leader Mu's battle at the "Fort Li," a massive banyan tree that Mu's company used as their garrison against the Japanese in Northern Burma), and most tellingly, the growth and transmutation between the living and nonliving (as the "bicycle-embracing tree" that Abbas found in the Shan village symbolizes toward the end of the story). Through these acts of redistribution, Wu reminds us that a more sustained form of interethnic relationality and intersubjective temporality of history necessitates not only human activities, but also involves all kinds of non-human participation and their interconnectivities, by which he once again interrogates and challenges anthropocentric value systems from the perspective of history. The

lost faces of history therefore are able to be "unearthed" through Wu's ecological redistribution (just as the tree unceasingly lifts the bike up toward the sky), which makes *The Stolen Bicycle*'s articulation of historical sustainability possible.

Many details in *Bicycle* reference Wu's own literary works: the novel insinuates that it can be somehow read as a continuation of Wu's previous novel *Routes in the Dream* as the characterization of Ch'eng resembles the protagonist in *Routes in the Dream* who suffers from sleeping disorder as well as the missing father in both novels; the depiction of the butterfly handicraft industry reminds those loyal readers of Wu of his nature writings focusing on butterflies in *The Book of Lost Butterflies* or *The Tao (Way) of Butterflies*; the spatiotemporal setting of the Chung-hwa Market alludes and supplements several pieces in the short story collection, *The Illusionist on the Skywalk* (天橋上的魔術師 *Tianqiao shang de moshu shi*, 2011). The multi-stranded, multilingual, intertextual, and metafictional narrative structure of *Bicycle* adeptly manifests the historical complexity and interconnectivity that run through Wu's literary imagination and aesthetic creativity, or as David Der-wei Wang terms "the aesthetics of the compound eyes"[63] by which Wu approaches and pushes the boundaries of history (including the collective, integrated world history as well as his personal history as a writer) through multiple visions and dimensions.

Most importantly, the above details—fragments, nonhuman beings, materials, nonliving objects, places and locations—not only relate the characters in *Bicycle* and many of Wu's literary works together through different methods but also function as different entries which invite readers to access world history via diverse paths. "History," as a field of study, in this vein, can

[63] David Der-wei Wang, "Fictional 'Objectivity': Wu Ming-yi's *The Stolen Bicycle* and Others," *The Stolen Bicycle* (Ryefield Publications, 2016), pp. II-XVI.

be considered what Rancière calls "the poetics of knowledge," a discipline which does not belong to any specific group of people, but a "capacity of thinking" that can be attributed to anybody, a way of "looking at all forms of discourse from the point of view of that capacity."[64] In *The Names of History*, Rancière further expounds that "the poetics of knowledge" is not confined to the realm of history, but a study of "the set of literary procedures by which a discourse escapes literature, gives itself the status of a science, and signifies this status. The poetics of knowledge has an interest in the rules according to which knowledge is written and read, is constituted as a specific genre of discourse."[65] Every entry into world history functions as a monad (to borrow the term formulated by Gottfried W. Leibniz and Gilles Deleuze) which provides a specific viewpoint of thinking and looking at the world by mirroring other monads existing within it, constituting a unique expression of the entire universe.[66] All passengers can begin their intellectual adventures from any entry as there are "multiple paths that can be constructed to get to another point and still another one that is not predictable."[67] In the last chapter entitled "The Tree," Ch'eng gets on his father's bike, and all memories and histories of the past as well as the images of the characters and places in this novel are recalled again while riding. Wu describes that Ch'eng rides "onto the underside of a river, to a place where all the rivers in the world are connected, and see[s] in the underside of every river innumerable

[64] Axel Honneth and Jacques Rancière, *Recognition or Disagreement: A Critical Encounter on the Politics of Freedom, Equality, and Identity*, p. 150.

[65] Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge* (U of Minnesota P, 1994), p. 8.

[66] For Deleuze's theorization of Leibniz's concept of monad, please see Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (U of Minnesota P, 1993). Also see Pauline Phemister, *Leibniz and the Environment* (Routledge, 2016), for the theoretical connection between the concept of monad and environmental ecology.

[67] Axel Honneth and Jacques Rancière, *Recognition or Disagreement: A Critical Encounter on the Politics of Freedom, Equality, and Identity*, p. 139.

fish-men swimming, sculling and blowing tiny bubbles with the sum of all the breath they ever breathed when they were alive" (364/380). The metaphor of the rivers here serves as the "interconnected multiple paths" which constitute history and allow us to re-envisage "the lost faces of the world." Although literature is not history, and fiction is different from reality, both literature and history participate in the formation of the human world as they share the same mode of signifying system. Most importantly, literature, like monads, proffers unique viewpoints to look at the world and at history, and these views will ultimately become an indispensable part of world history. Thus, literature also enables us to imagine new possibilities of the future. In so doing, Wu shows how literature can reconstruct history and make it sustainable.

The interlocking relationality between history and literature is also underscored through the multilingualism in the novel: "In the world I grew up, the word a person used for 'bicycle' told you a lot about them. *Jiten-sha* ('self-turn vehicle') indicated a person had received a Japanese education. Thih-bé ('iron horse') meant he was a native speaker of Taiwanese, as did *Khóng-bn̂g-tshia* ('Kung-ming vehicle'), named for an ancient Chinese inventor, *Tan-ch'e* ('solo vehicle'), *chiao-t'a-ch'e* ('foot-pedalled vehicle') or *tsu-hsing-ch'e* ('auto-mobile vehicle') told you they were from the south of China" (8/11). Each designation for "bicycle" serves as an entry of a unique history belonging to a specific geographical context, and these "histories" are all connected through the trajectory and materiality of bicycle, and further re-materialized and embodied through the vehicle of literature. To further elaborate on this point from the perspective of "the poetics of knowledge," Taiwan, a seemingly small and isolated island located on the periphery of the Pacific Ocean, is not only an entry which can offer a specific view of the world, but also a path or route which connects itself to multiple entries within the world, sketching out infinite trajectories and itineraries with its inexhaustible energy and epistemological potentiality.

In a nutshell, *Compound Eyes* offers readers an opportunity to contemplate the responsibility of being a global citizen in this ecological community, and performs an act of "ecological redistribution" through its literary creativity. *Bicycle*, on the other hand, not only challenges the colonial hierarchy structuring relationship between the anthropologist and the ethnographic object by its revisionist interethnic representation; it also demonstrates the potentiality of "historical sustainability" by revisiting and re-historicizing the period of World War II to show the complexity of Taiwan's history and its multiple connections with world history, or more precisely, Taiwan's "sustainable relations" to the world. The ecological redistribution and historical sustainability I discuss respectively through my readings of Wu's two novels are actually two sides of the same coin as they serve as the prerequisite for one another. As the "bicycle-embracing tree" symbolizes, the growth of the banyan tree (nature) pushes up the bicycle (culture) Pasuya buried and unearths the forgotten history of the Silverwheel Squad and makes its historical connectedness with Taiwan visible. The entanglement of branches and leaves that wrap around the bike represents the transmutation and mutualistic interaction between nature and culture, the living and nonliving in an ecosystem, which also emblematizes the complexity and interconnected relationality of history. The ecological environment is imperative for history to go on, and in order for history to continue, all members (human and non-human, as well as living and nonliving) within this eco-community must take part in the action of redistribution toward a promising and sustainable future. In Wu's literary imagination and intervention, the relationship between Taiwan and the world is always in the process of becoming, always resilient and renewable, and that is how Taiwan, as a geopolitical nodal site in this relational world, as a multiethnic island with its diverse cultural landscapes, as literature, as history, and most importantly, as a field of studies, can be sustainable.

Chapter Four

Reconstructing the Founding Legend:

The Politics of Settler Literary Representation of Zheng Chenggong

Where is the painter who shall paint for you,
My Austral brothers, with a pencil steeped
In hues of Truth, the weather-smitten crew
Who gazed on unknown shores—a thoughtful few—
What time the heart of their great Leader leaped
Till he was faint with pain of longing? New
And wondrous sights on each and every hand,
Like strange supernal visions, grew and grew
Until the rocks and trees, and sea and sand,
Danced madly in the tear-bewildered view!
And from the surf a fierce, fantastic band
Of startled wild men to the hills withdrew
With yells of fear! Who'll paint thy face, O Cook!
Turned seaward, "after many a wistful look!"

—Henry Kendall
"Sonnets on the Discovery of Botany Bay by Captain Cook"

The isolated force in the East fought against the ferocious tiger-and-wolf-like Qin;
With his family on a high chopping board, heartbreakingly he abandoned his old parent.
People praised that there were many righteous men in the Min state;
The Heaven remained the impoverished island to make the ideal man famed.
The sun and moon in the Central Plains preserved lonely tears;
Gowns and caps beyond the wilderness created an unprecedented prospect.
Passing by the ancestral temple of Yanping Prince of thousands of years;
Ancient plum blossoms are still signaling the spring of the Han.

—Lin Jingren, "Zheng Chenggong"

單軍東抗虎狼秦，高俎傷心棄老親。世許閩州多義士，天留窮島著完人。
中原日月存孤淚，荒外衣冠創局身。千載延平祠下過，古梅猶吐漢家春。

—林景仁，〈鄭成功〉

In 1768, during the era known as the Age of Exploration in world history, a British Royal Navy ship named HMS *Endeavour* (hereafter *Endeavour*) sailed across the Atlantic, along the coastline of South America, and then toward the south Pacific. The *Endeavour* sought to observe the passage of the planet Venus in order to calculate the distance between the earth and the sun, and more ambitiously, to explore the postulated mythical *terra australis incognita*, or "the unknown land of the south." In 1769, the ship landed at Poverty Bay on the east coast of what is now called Aotearoa New Zealand. One year later in 1770, this ship became the first vessel that reached the southeastern coast of present-day Australia. After navigating northward to Batavia and later rounding the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, *Endeavour* finally completed its voyage by anchoring off the port of Dover in South East England.

This expedition was commanded by the British explorer and adventurer James Cook under the support and commission of the Royal Society. Cook's voyage on *Endeavour* in the eighteenth century and the "discovery" of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769 and Australia in 1770, functions very similarly to Christopher Columbus's "discovery of America" in many ways. It has become part of the legal fiction of "terra nullius" and served as the foundation for the settler colonial discourses of the two nations, effectively denying the land rights of the indigenous peoples and validating the residency of white settlers in the "new" settler states. Cook's image as an adventurer and discoverer, along with his voyages in search of the unknown southern continent, have been documented and celebrated in various forms of cultural productions and media, including poems, plays, paintings, feature films, documentaries, history textbooks, and so forth. The histories of both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand were usually taught in terms of "discovery" by the national founder-figure Captain Cook and several other heroic British

explorers mapping, adventuring, and settling the barren and empty lands.[1] As Australian anthropologist-historian Nicholas Thomas points out, Cook's circumnavigation of the islands down under has long been celebrated by politicians, historians, scholars, and others in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand who often felt "the need to regularly restate Cook's greatness."[2] Traces of Cook's colonial legacy can be easily found in the two nations and other Pacific islands: coins, street names, national parks, monuments, landscapes, waterscapes, tourist spots, administration buildings, and institutes, were either named by, after, or in commemoration of Captain James Cook. Besides his heroic image as a founding figure of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, Cook has also been "deified" by some people based on his mysterious experiences, and later his legendary yet controversial death in Hawai'i. In spite of a few dissenting voices, Cook is still regarded as a national founding figure by many people, a "presiding spirit with an ambivalent legacy" for constructing settler histories.[3]

The most critical voices and radical reflections on Cook's voyages, as well as his colonial legacy in the South Pacific world, were chiefly articulated by indigenous intellectuals. Cook's expeditions, to borrow Jodi A. Byrd's words, "inaugurated a wave of Pacific invasions that would sweep missionaries, merchants, convicts, and military occupations into the lives and lands of the Pacific peoples."[4] Native Hawaiian scholar-activist Haunani-Kay Trask also notes as part

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[1] Jan Jindy Pettman, "Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Australia," *Unsettling Settler Society: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (Sage, 1995), p. 70. Also see Nicholas Thomas, "The Use of Captain Cook: Early Exploration in the Public History of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia," *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, pp. 145-9.

[2] Nicholas Thomas, "The Use of Captain Cook: Early Exploration in the Public History of Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia," *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, p. 147.

[3] Ibid., p. 149.

[4] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, p. 2.

of their critique that Cook's arrival in Hawai'i "brought capitalism, Western political ideas (such as predatory individualism), and Christianity," and most destructively, "diseases," "from syphilis and gonorrhea to tuberculosis, small pox, measles, leprosy, and typhoid fever," that killed numerous Hawaiians and significantly reduced the Native population.[5] Oceanian indigenous anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa suggests that scholars must "rest once and for all the ghost of Captain Cook" in order to "reconstruct the past" and "open up new and exciting vistas" for the Oceanian islanders, as new knowledge and insights, he contends, derive from the "reversal of historical roles."[6] However, as Patrick Wolfe has famously noted, as settler colonialism is a "structure" rather than an "event," we can expect that Cook's voyages, along with his "story of discovery" of the South Pacific nations, may continue to be told in settler societies.

On the other side of the Pacific Ocean across the Equator, the island of Taiwan in the Northern Hemisphere has its own "story of discovery." The most widely-spread version of "discovery story" has to do with Taiwan's encounter with the first Europeans during the sixteenth century, the Portuguese sailors, from whom this island gained its earliest name recorded by Europeans—*Ilha Formosa*, meaning "beautiful island." But, it was not until the arrival of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) on the shores of southwestern Taiwan (the area that is called Tainan today) in 1624 that this island became one of the pivotal players in the global network during the Age of Exploration. The Dutch East India Company realized that Taiwan was an ideal site for merchants to exchange goods because of this island's geopolitical and economic location linking the sea routes between East Asia and Southeast Asia. The Dutch East India Company then established a fortress called Fort Zeelandia

[5] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, pp. 5-6.

[6] Epeli Hau'ofa, "Pasts to Remember," *We Are the ocean: Selected Works*, p. 65.

(also known as Anping Fort today) in present-day Anping in 1624. Taiwan henceforth became "one of the most profitable branches" of the Dutch East India Company in the Far East in the seventeenth century.[7] It was also during the Dutch colonial period that the indigenous peoples in Taiwan first encountered and interacted with foreigners from Europe. The Dutch East India Company soon embarked on missionary education of the indigenous inhabitants there. The indigenous peoples living in the southwestern coastal area in Taiwan, primarily the Siraya people, began to learn the "Sinckan manuscripts" (新港文書 *Xingang wensh*u), the Romanization system invented by the missionaries, and some even converted to Christianity.

The Dutch colonial government primarily viewed Taiwan as an *entrepôt*, a port of transshipment area where merchandise and products can be imported, stocked, and exported in order to establish a much larger trading network between Asia and Europe. Despite viewing commercial expansion and economic development as their top priority, the Dutch East India Company attempted to turn Taiwan into an agricultural colony by recruiting Han Chinese peasants and laborers from Guangdong and Fujian, as well as a few number of Japanese people, to settle and establish sugarcane and rice plantations—a typical settler colonial project that was commonly seen and deployed in many settler colonies. These Han immigrants from China, scholars have argued, were "key to the success of the Dutch colonial enterprise on this island," and produced a "settler-colonial triangular system of relations among colonial authorities, settlers, and Indigenous peoples."[8] As Chou Wan-yao accurately points out, the establishment of the Han

[7] Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West*, pp. 19-23.

[8] Katsuya Hirano, Lorenzo Veracini and Toulouse-Antonin Roy, "Vanishing Natives and Taiwan's Settler-colonial Unconsciousness," *Critical Asian Studies* 50.2 (2018), p. 198.

settler society "owes much to the recruiting carried out by the Dutch East India Company."[9] Even though the Dutch Formosa was not yet a typical settler colony in the strict sense, as neither the Dutch colonizers nor Han Chinese immigrants were the demographic majority of Taiwan's population, this island possessed the potential to become a settler society since a triangular structure between colonizer, settler, and indigenous population had already formed during the Dutch colonial period.[10]

The arrival of the historical figure Zheng Chenggong to this island in 1661 marked the crucial moment for Taiwan in its process of becoming a de facto settler colony. Like Captain Cook, Zheng Chenggong, also documented as Koxinga (namely, "the lord of the imperial surname," and hereafter Koxinga) in most European accounts, is one of the most significant yet controversial figures in Taiwan's settler colonial history. Koxinga has been commemorated as a Ming loyalist who fought against the Manchu regime before expelling the Dutch colonizers and taking Taiwan as his military base during the seventeenth century. After the Dutch colonial governor Frederick Coyett (1615-1687) surrendered in 1662, Koxinga established the first Han regime in Taiwan and set the administration center in Chihkan. However, Koxinga died just a few months later the same year at the age of thirty-seven. His eldest son Zheng Jing (鄭經, 1642-1681), enthroned as "the King of Tungning," assumed power and imported a Han-style administration system to Taiwan. On the one hand, the new Han regime founded by the Zheng

[9] Wan-yao Chou, *A New Illustrated History of Taiwan*, p. 65.

[10] American historian Tonio Andrade coins the term "co-colonization" to describe the close cooperation between the Dutch East India Company and Han settler entrepreneurs in Dutch Formosa, which also echoes my argument about the potential of Taiwan to become a settler colony during the Dutch colonial era. Yet, he also reminds us that within this structure of Dutch-Han "co-colonization," the Dutch colonizers and Han settlers were not equal in their partnership in the colony, as the structure of "co-colonization" was "based on coercion as well as on mutual interest." (118) For more details please see Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (Columbia University Press, 2008), particularly chapter 6.

family continued some of the Dutch colonial policies of recruiting more Han Chinese immigrants to claim farmlands, selling monopoly rights to Han merchants, and applying the Dutch taxation system to Han settlers and indigenous peoples.[11] One the other hand, the Zheng regime actively promoted Han-oriented paradigms of civilization in Taiwan, including the establishment of the first Confucian temple in Tainan and other Confucian institutes to cultivate scholars for official positions, which effectively popularized Confucianism and Han-oriented culture in Taiwan. The Zheng regime ended up being defeated by the Qing, whose invasion of Taiwan was led by Admiral Shi Lang (施琅) under the commission of the Kangxi Emperor in 1683. The island of Taiwan was then annexed to the territory of the Qing China for the first time in history.

Even though he had lived in Taiwan for less than a year, Koxinga had made his mark. He, like Cook in the South Pacific, has been praised for his great influence on this island and significance in Taiwan's history by many Han settlers. He is extolled as a legendary national hero for his triumph over the Dutch and the establishment of the first Han regime in Taiwan. This includes his several honorific titles and continued deferential forms of address, such as "the Sage King who opened up Taiwan" (開台聖王 *Kai Tai shengwan*g), "the Sage King who opened up the mountains" (開山聖王 *Kai shan shengwang*), "the Prince of Yanping" (延平郡王 *Yanping junwang*), and so on. Even today, the legacy of the Zheng regime is ubiquitous in Taiwan, particularly in Tainan, where Koxinga first landed and set up his administrative center. In the city and surrounding areas, one finds numerous statues, sculptures, monuments, paintings, and other cultural symbols of Koxinga, together with his legendary stories in various historical sites, such

[11] Please see Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*, p. 33; Melissa J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, pp. 41-2; Wan-yao Chou, *A New Illustrated History of Taiwan*, p. 68; John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 1600-1800, pp. 95-103.

as the Chihkan Tower, the Angping Fort, the Temple of the Prince of Yanping, the Koxinga Memorial Park, the Koxinga Ancestral Temple, and the Koxinga Museum. These spaces attract considerable tourist attention, drawing visitors from every part of the island and all over the world. Koxinga's various honorific titles have also been used to name different streets, places, districts, bridges, or even schools in Taiwan, including Taipei Municipal Cheng Kung Senior High School, Taipei Private Yanping High School, and my *alma mater* National Cheng Kung University in Tainan, were all named after Koxinga. It was also believed that the tourist spot Jiantan (劍潭) gained its name because of some legends about Koxinga's miracles, in spite of the fact that Koxinga had never been there. Koxinga has been not only celebrated and memorized as a historical figure, but also deified and worshiped by different Han settler communities.[12] The symbolic cultural objects and landscapes of or regarding Koxinga have also potently involved in constructing a particular sense of place, a collective memory and consciousness in Taiwan's settler society. In a sense, it is not an exaggeration to say that Koxinga is the counterpart of Christopher Columbus or James Cook in the East.

Moreover, Koxinga is not merely exalted as a national hero in Taiwan, but also celebrated transnationally as a remarkable historical figure in Japan and China. Koxinga's image, according to Jung Ran-jian's study, has been utilized as a propagandistic tool for mobilizing different modes of nationalisms in Japan, China, and Taiwan. One of the earliest and most eminent accounts of Koxinga in Japanese popular culture was Chikamatsu Monzaemon's (近松門左衛門)

[12] According to Jung Ran-jian, there were about forty eight temples of Koxinga during the Japanese colonial period, based on a survey conducted by the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan in 1919. Please see Ran-jian Jung, *Deconstructing Koxinga: History of a Hero, Legend, and Image*, p. 97. A more recent statistic provided by Yang Rur-bin shows that the number of the temples dedicated to Koxinga in Taiwan has increased up to one hundred and sixty three. Please see Rur-bin Yang, *Salutation to 1949*, p. 255. For the analysis of the formation and development of Koxinga temples in Taiwan, please see Kaim Ang, "Relinquishment of the Gods: the Reason for the Formation of Koxinga Temples," *Historical Monthly* 179 (2002), pp. 108-113.

The Battles of Coxinga (国性爺合戦 *Kokusenya Kassen*), a Japanese puppet play that was firstly staged and thereafter popularized in Osaka in 1715. By spotlighting Koxinga's tie with Japan since his birth mother Tagawa Matsu is Japanese, this play characterizes Koxinga (with a Japanese name "Watōnai" 和藤内, literally meaning "between Japan and China") as a heroic Japanese *samurai*, a model for Japanese spirits and moral values based on his loyalty and patriotism to the Ming court. During the period of Japanese colonial rule over Taiwan, Koxinga's claim to and settlement of Taiwan became one of the narratives mobilized by the Japanese government to justify their occupation of the island, and further reinforce and expand the institution of Japanese imperialism through such discourses as the "Southward Advance Concept" and the "Southern Co-prosperity Sphere."[13]

In China, Koxinga has been used as an evidence of the historical kinship between Taiwan and China, a stimulus to evoke Chinses nationalisms across the Taiwan Strait as well as xenophobic sentiments toward previous Western imperial powers since the late nineteenth century. Although initially regarded as a rebel by the Qing Empire, Koxinga's image as a loyalist to the Ming and as a nationalist for expelling the Dutch colonizers from Taiwan were both appropriated and deployed by the Qing court to facilitate their governance in Taiwan. Furthermore, these images were incorporated into anti-imperial discourses against Western powers in the Empire's later phase of rule. The anti-imperial and patriotic facets of Koxinga continued to be employed by both the Chinese Nationalist party and the Chinese Communist party respectively to establish a unified national consciousness in the twentieth century. By using Koxinga as a symbol of the unbreakable historical bond between Taiwan and China, the Republic

[13] Ran-jian Jung, *Deconstructing Koxinga: History of a Hero, Legend, and Image*, pp. 43-88.

of China (ROC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) both asserted their ownership of the entire territory of "China" that includes China, Taiwan, and other surrounding islands from both sides of the Taiwan Strait, and underscored their legitimacy to "reclaim" one another after the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949. Furthermore, the fact of Koxinga's settlement and the Han-centric administration system the Zheng regime established in Taiwan has been employed by the PRC to deny the increasingly strong sense of a separate Taiwanese consciousness with distinct national and cultural identity that emerged attributable to a series of social movements calling for localization and democratization since the 1980s. In this process, the PRC threatens Taiwan's government with the use of military force so as to prevent Taiwan from officially claiming independence from the PRC.

One of the most representative cultural examples that displays this political ideology of the PRC is the screenplay *Koxinga* (or *Zheng Chenggong* 鄭成功), written by Chinese author and historian Guo Moruo (郭沫若) in 1962 to commemorate the 300-year anniversary of Koxinga's death. The screenplay begins with an ode to Koxinga, with the following lyrics: "Devils with red hair, the evil creatures! Killed our people and dug out our eyes. Beat our brothers, and burned our parents…*Taiwan, a Province of China, became a fiery hell!* Koxinga, our great emancipator! Came and saved us. Expelled those devils with red hairs, and reclaimed the Chikan Tower…*Taiwan, a Province of China, is now replete with the sound of singing*…." (emphasis added).[14] This song glorifies Koxinga as a "great emancipator" (which recalls the expression used to refer to the leader of the Communist Party, Mao Zedong) based on his elimination of the Dutch colonizers from Taiwan. Through the use of the reiterated line "Taiwan, a Province of

[14] Moruo Guo, *Koxinga* (*Zheng Chenggong*) (Shanghai wenyi shuban she [Shanghai Arts and Literature Publishing House], 1979), pp. 1-2.

China" throughout the ode within the screenplay, Guo Moruo, an intellectual who served as an official for the Chinese Communist Party, explicitly propagates the patriotic ideology that Taiwan is part of China and should be "returned" to the authority of the PRC.

A more recent example is the film co-produced by China and Japan, *Hero Zheng Chenggong* (英雄鄭成功 *Yingxiong Zheng Chenggong*, 2001), also known as *The Sino-Dutch War 1661*, directed by Chinese director Wu Ziniu (吳子牛). Koxinga's image in this film is also used to justify the idea that Taiwan is part of China's territories and it is imperative for the Qing Empire to reclaim the island of Taiwan from the Dutch colonial power. In addition to the cinematic visualization of Koxinga's historical story, the film features a fictionalized character Xue Liang, a young woman who escapes from Taiwan to Fuzhou after an abortive local uprising against the Dutch colonizers in Dutch Formosa. Once in Fuzhou, Xue Liang, together with other commoners in exile (who are also from Taiwan), presents a scroll, on which a petition requesting Koxinga to reclaim Taiwan is inscribed: "Since ancient times the treasure island of Taiwan has been part of China's inherent territories. However, today the Dutch devils with red hairs have occupied our treasure island with their powerful battleships and violent firearms, exploited our homeland, slaughtered our people and treated them as mole crickets and ants… With this petition, we the commoners in exile beseech Koxinga, with great earnestness, to eliminate all devils with red hairs from Taiwan and reclaim our treasure island, so as to reunite all Chinese lands under the Celestial Empire." This scene presents the "return" of Taiwan to its "mother land" China as not merely a top-down propagandistic ideology directed by the authorities, but also a bottom-up initiative of local desire. This scroll then serves as a motif that appears several times throughout the film, continuously conveying the idea that it is the top priority for Koxinga to reclaim Taiwan. This core tenet is coupled with the Qing Emperor Kangxi's line in the film, which provides a

perfect rationalization by explicitly equating Koxinga's invasion of Taiwan with the imperial national power of the Qing government: "Koxinga's reclaiming of Taiwan is the same as the Qing reclaiming Taiwan." In other words, the take-over of Taiwan by the Ming loyalist Koxinga, even though he was considered a rebel by the Qing regime, was supposedly made possible with the official approval of the Qing Empire, the "legitimate and authentic polity" representing "China." In this way, Koxinga, the Ming loyalist whose image has been recognized and used to formulate distinct modes of nationalisms and patriotisms in Taiwan, Japan, and China in different historical contexts, has enjoyed a long-lasting transnational reputation and served specific political ideologies across these three countries.

However, the story of Koxinga and his settlement in Taiwan might be told very differently if we consider the history of this island from the perspectives of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. A short film on Youtube entitled "The Zheng Regime in the Eyes of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples" (從台灣原住民的角度來看鄭氏政權 *Cong Taiwan yuanzhumin de jiaodu lai kan Zheng shi zhengquan*), produced by the nonprofit organization "Central Taiwan Pingpu Indigenous Groups Youth Alliance" (中部平埔族群青年聯盟 *Zhongbu Pingpu zuqun qingnian lianmeng*), represents the criticisms of and reflections on Koxinga and his colonial legacy from the indigenous perspectives. According to the indigenous interviewees in this short film, Koxinga is regarded by indigenous peoples as a "rascal, invader, colonist, foreign slayer, and murderer," rather than a national hero glorified in most mainstream Han settler cultural production. This short film points out the indigenous peoples, especially those who lived in central Taiwan during Zheng's rule, were either removed from their traditional territories or exterminated by the Zheng army. Those who survived or surrendered to the Zheng regime were treated like slaves, with their lands and cultures taken away from them. The short film concludes that the idolization and

worship of Koxinga today, as well as the prevailing settler historical discourse of the Zheng regime, is neither an expression of national identity nor justice in the eyes of indigenous peoples, but rather, "the violence of the country" against the indigenous peoples.

In his article, "Koxinga and Indigenes: Distortion, Sanitization and Erasure in the Historical Construction," Tsou indigenous scholar Pasuya Poiconu (Pu Chung-cheng) suggests that the land distribution policy launched by the Zheng regime and its usurpation of indigenous territories reveals an alternative and critical narrative of Koxinga's settlement in Taiwan. After Koxinga expelled the Dutch and settled in Taiwan, the large influx of immigrant soldiers brought over by the Zheng regime led to a much greater demand for food; the requirement for agricultural land and agrarian population thus increased exponentially. Partially maintaining the Dutch colonial land policy by converting the Dutch "king's land" (王田 *wangtian*) to state ownership, the Zheng regime re-categorized land and landownership into state fields (官田 *guantian*, land owned by the state authority), private fields (私田 *sitian*, uncultivated land owned by Zheng's officials, but opened up by refugees and settlers recruited by them), and military fields (營盤田 *yingpan tian*, the greatest in area, distributed to the great amount of soldiers of the Zheng regime).[15] Needless to say, indigenous land dispossession since the Dutch colonial period intensified with the further usurpation due to the aforementioned land distribution policy of the Zheng regime during this period, with the Pingpu indigenous peoples living in plain areas of southwestern Taiwan particularly affected. The total cultivated area during the Zheng period

[15] John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*, pp. 97-9. For the comparison and historical continuity of land policies between the Dutch colonial government and the Zheng regime, please also see Kaim Ang, "Western Legacy: the Landdag, the Leasehold System and the King's Land," *The Continuity of Taiwan History during the Dutch Period* (Daw Shiang Publishing, 2008), PP. 77-105.

"was two to three times the greatest cultivated area under the Dutch."[16] The large-scale of farmland expansion by Han settlers, or more precisely, the settler homesteading bolstered by Zheng's state power, as Pasuya Poiconu explains, not only had a huge impact on indigenous peoples' living space and livelihood, but also changed their conventional socioeconomic systems, turning the island of Taiwan into an agriculture-based, de facto settler colony.[17] Notably, the Han settler homestead in Taiwan during this period, as portrayed in the short film mentioned above, was made possible and further consolidated by the Zheng regime's violent encounters with, and military suppression of the indigenous peoples. Indigenous land dispossession, heavy taxation and labor exploitation gave rise to a number of armed conflicts between the Zheng regime and indigenous communities. To name just a few: the uprising in 1670 led by the Kingdom of Middag (大肚王國 *Datu wangguo*), a trans-tribal indigenous polity established by different tribes, including Papora, Babuza, Pazeh, and others, that occupied the area of present-day Taichung, was violently suppressed by the Zheng general Liu Guoxuan (劉國軒), which resulted in a large-scale depopulation of the indigenous community.[18] The military power of the Zheng forces even reached the east coast of Taiwan. In the last year of the Zheng's rule of 1683, an expedition was sent to the Puyuma village in search of gold due to a revenue shortfall of the Zheng government. This expedition ruthlessly slaughtered of indigenous people in the Puyuma

[16] Melissa J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, p. 42; John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*, p. 99.

[17] Pasuya Poiconu (Pu Chung-cheng), "Koxinga and Indigenes: Distortion, Sanitization and Erasion in the Historical Construction," *HUPA, HOSA, KUBA: Meditations of Tsou Brothers*, p. 158.

[18] For more details about the massacre of indigenous peoples of the Kingdom of Middag and other indigenous communities, please see: John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*, p. 102; Ying Pan, *The History of Taiwan Pingpu Indigenous Peoples*, pp. 95-98.

village.[19] The above historical records of suppression and massacre, or of out and out genocide, have long been sanitized and disavowed in mainstream Han-centric historiographies, and still remain largely unacknowledged in Taiwan today.[20]

Building upon the above historical overview of the discovery stories of the South Pacific and Taiwan during the Age of Exploration in a comparative vein, I turn now to an array of historical novels set in the seventeenth century written by Han Taiwanese authors through the lens of settler colonial criticism in the following sections to focus on the ways these novels reimagine and reconstruct the historical icon Koxinga, as well as the settler colonial legacy of the Zheng regime. This approach is long overdue, especially since there has been a flurry of historical fiction centering on Zheng in Taiwan where settler colonial literary criticism is yet to take root. This chapter asks the following questions: How this historical figure is represented by individual authors through the prism of literature? What rhetorical and metaphorical devices each text deploys to reconstruct and reconfigure Koxinga and history? And what form of settler colonial consciousness is formulated and conveyed to readers by these historical novels? Although literature should not be simply taken as a mirror that objectively reflects history, literary works provide significant insights to access and reflect on history and historiography, through which, in a Lukácian sense, we can further approach and examine the "totality" of sociohistorical transformation and political configuration within a given society as a whole.[21]

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[19] John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*, pp. 103-4; Pasuya Poiconu (Pu Chung-cheng), "Koxinga and Indigenes: Distortion, Sanitization and Erasure in the Historical Construction," pp. 166-7.

[20] Cheng-feng Shih, *Human Rights and Transitional Justice* (Taiwan International Studies Association, 2016), p. 268.

[21] Fredric Jameson, "Introduction," *The Historical Novel* (U of Nebraska P, 1962), p. 7.

Xenophobic Settler Sentiment: Qin Jiu's *Koxinga: Father of Taiwan*

One of the many literary representations of Koxinga, Qin Jiu's (秦就) novel *Koxinga: Father of Taiwan* (台灣之父鄭成功 *Taiwan zhi fu Zheng chenggong*, 2002), as can be inferred from its title, stands as a typical settler narrative of this historical figure and his legacy in Taiwan. He is characterized as the "founding father" of this island, and celebrated as an anti-Manchu hero in the mainstream, Han-centric historiography. The story begins with the famous scene recorded in many accounts, in which Koxinga burns his Confucian-style clothes in the Confucius Temple at the Zheng family's hometown Nan'ang in Fujian, as a ritual to demonstrate his uncompromising determination to resist the Qing Empire. Koxinga's father Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍), a former commander who once served in the Southern Ming court, submitted to the Manchu regime in1646. Immediately after, the Qing forces attacked the Zheng family hometown. Koxinga's mother Tagawa Matsu lost her life in the ensuing battle. In the ritual scene of this novel, Koxinga first holds a solemn funeral for his mother and for the Prince of Tang, the Longwu Emperor of the Southern Ming regime who set his court in Fuzhou in 1645 yet was captured and executed by the Qing forces in the following year. He removes his Confucian-style clothes and burns it as a gesture of farewell to his past as a Confucian scholar, and then puts on his martial attire and casque as a declaration of war against the Qing Empire. Finally, he makes a speech to his underlings, declaring that their hometown was trampled by the "barbarian Manchus" who forced them to shave off the hair their parents gave them. It is worth noting that Koxinga's farewell gesture to his past as a Confucian scholar is still based on the traditional moral teachings of Confucianism. Here, the juxtaposition of the funeral and the ritual of "burning clothes" in the Confucius temple serves as a symbolic self-transcendence for Koxinga from his individual filial

piety towards his parents to a collective fidelity and becomes an act of patriotism to the Ming court. In this way, Koxinga overcomes his moral dilemma between filial obedience to his father Zheng Zhilong (the traitor who failed his family and the Ming court) and fidelity to the Ming by identifying his "greater Father" the Longwu Emperor, who granted him the imperial surname "Zhu" and his more well-known given name "Chenggong," meaning "success," which made him be deferentially addressed as "Koxinga," the Lord of the imperial surname. He thus elevates his individual filial piety to a more sublime and collective level—filiality to the Southern Ming ruler.

Moreover, the Manchu hairstyle for men imposed on Han people under the Qing rule was also deployed to provoke the anti-Manchu sentiment among Koxinga's subordinates in that the Queue Order regulated by the Qing government violated the moral doctrine of Confucianism. In the Manchu conventional style, men were required to shave the front portion of their heads and tie the rest of hair in queues. According to the Confucian classic, the *Classic of Filial Piety* (孝經 *Xiaojing*): "Our body, skin, and hair are all received from our parents; we dare not injure them. This is the first priority in filial duty."[22] The filial piety to parents and the fidelity to the Ming regime are once again interwoven in Koxinga's speech in order to further articulate Koxinga's image as a sincere disciple of Confucianism and a legitimate representative of the Ming court, the authentic Han Chinese regime in contrast to the "alien polity" founded by Manchu people, and rationalize his rebellion against the Qing Empire as well.

The anti-Manchu sentiment and Confucian moral values discussed above were all employed to facilitate the Zheng regime's settlement in Taiwan, articulating a specific view of Han settler colonial consciousness. After delineating Koxinga's expansion of the maritime trade network in

[22] The English translation I use here is from the volume edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600, Vol. 1* (Columia UP, 1999), p. 326.

East Asia that solidified his maritime overlordship, and describing a series of battles between the Qing and Zheng's forces, the novel proceeds to amplify the reason why Koxinga made the decision to invade Taiwan and how he conquered Dutch Formosa with the help of the Han middleman He Bin (何斌). The novel suggests, one of the most noticeable reasons lies in the geographical advantage and agricultural productivity of Taiwan. Koxinga was convinced by He Bin's persuasion that the geographical location of Taiwan is not only beneficial for further expanding the maritime trade network and building up relationship with other countries, but also a suitable military base for his resistance against the Qing. More importantly, the island of Formosa was a rich, fertile land with abundant natural resources. This discourse in turn appears in Koxinga's speech to boost morale of his army, coupled with hostile sentiments toward the Dutch to incite military zeal: "Taiwan…is a wonderful land for you to settle down and get on with your pursuits…Now, a wonderful land as such as this has been occupied by the red-haired people who take pleasure in bullying our compatriots. Now, let's enforce justice on behalf of Heaven—expel all the red-haired people and make [Formosa] a new land without any red hairs or barbarians…Bring your family members to settle here and build Taiwan into a beautiful cape paradise " (135). Xenophobic sentiment about the Dutch colonizers was effectively mobilized here by drawing an analogy between the Dutch and Manchu since neither of them are Han people. To put it differently, the sentiment of xenophobia as well as the inherent legitimacy of being Han Chinese played a pivotal part in formulating the settler rationalization of settlement here. This is the rationalization through which Koxinga and his army justified themselves to claim and settle on the island of Taiwan.

More intriguingly, this novel attempts to consolidate the heroic image of Koxinga as the "founding father" of Taiwan by putting him in a larger context of East Asian history through its

literary imagination of Koxinga's official Chen Yonghua (陳永華), as well as through the underground anti-Manchu organization called the Society of Heaven and Earth (天地會 *Tian di hui*, hereafter the Society). Chen Yonghua is a high official of the Zheng regime who assisted Koxinga's son Zheng Jing in establishing the Han-based administration and Confucian educational systems in Taiwan. In this novel, Chen was assigned a secret mission by Koxinga to found the underground anti-Manchu organization in China under the name of Chen Jinnan (陳近南)[23] after Koxinga decided to invade and take over Taiwan. Thanks to the founding of the Society, Koxinga's influence and the Zheng's anti-Manchu activities were able to continue, which then drives the plot and underscores Koxinga's essential actions to the larger picture of Chinese history through the novel's literary imagination. The story then follows a descendent of the Zheng family Zheng Yongning's (鄭永寧) narration of the Society after the downfall of the Zheng regime in 1683. Zheng Yongning, the novel portrays, was the descendent of Koxinga's younger brother Tagawa Shichizaemon (田川七左衛門) who lived in Nagasaki in Japan. The Tagawa family later retook their Han surname Zheng, and the descendants of the Zheng family in Japan continuously worked as envoys taking charge of diplomatic affairs between Japan and China, all the while furtively operated a branch of the anti-Manchu Society in Nagasaki. According to Zheng Yongning's narration, several anti-Manchu uprisings in Taiwan during the period of the Qing rule, including the rebellions led by Zhu Yigui (朱一貴) in mid-1721 and Lin Shuangwen (林爽文) in 1787, were both associated with the Society. Zheng Yongning, as an

[23] The legendary connection between the historical figure Chen Yonghua and the anti-Manchu organization the Society of Heaven and Earth has been incorporated into different forms of popular culture, such as Jin Yong's (金庸) martial art fiction, *The Deer and the Cauldron* (鹿鼎記 *Lu ding ji*), and many of its film and television adaptations. Moreover, just like the case of Koxinga, Chen has also been deified and worshiped in Taiwan, for instance, the Yonghua Temple in Taiwan.

envoy and interpreter who worked for Japan, even played a decisive role in diplomatic relations between Japan and China, particularly his involvement in the Japanese punitive expedition to Taiwan in 1874, also known as "the Mudanshe Incident" (牡丹社事件 *Mudanshe shijian*) in Taiwan's history.[24] He intentionally drew Japan's attention to the "incident" on the southeastern coast of Taiwan and served as a delegate with the Japanese foreign minister Soejima Taneomi (副島種臣) to negotiate with the Qing Empire for compensation. Actually, Zheng Yongning's direct participation in the diplomatic dispute between Japan and China created the chances for the Society to embark on another uprising against the Qing Empire in Taiwan. This dispute between Japan and China was ultimately settled by the imperial high commissioner of the Qing court Shen Baozhen (沈葆楨), who later engaged in the development of administrative reconstruction as well as military and national defense, and more importantly, launched a new policy called "Opening the Mountains and Pacifying the Savages" (開山撫番 *kaishan fufan*) in Taiwan after the Mudanshe Incident. This was a watershed moment that made the Qing Empire realize the economic and political significance of Taiwan. It was also a "turning point" for the Qing Empire from "passive governance" to "active control" over the entire territory and inhabitants of Taiwan.

[24] The Japanese punitive expedition to Taiwan in 1874 was a consequence of an "incident" that occurred on the southeastern coast of Taiwan in 1871. A trading vessel from the Ryukyu Kingdom (present-day Okinawa) was shipwrecked near the southeastern coast of Taiwan by a storm. Fifty-four of the sixty-nine Ryukyuan fishermen on this vessel were killed by indigenous people of a nearby Mudan village. This incident was later used by the Japanese government as a chance to dispatch a punitive expedition to the "savage territory" in Southern Taiwan in 1874, in order for Japan to officially annex the Ryukyu Kingdom into its territory and extend its influence to Taiwan. This historical event, as Emma Jinhua Teng describes, "thrust Taiwan into the international spotlight," because not only were Japan, China, and the Ryukyu Kingdom involved in the Mudanshe Incident; other western powers including the British, French, and Americans (American Consul Charles W. Le Gendre [1830-1899] also participated in the diplomatic affair with Soejima Taneomi in Beijing in1872, and assisted Japan to plan out the scheme for Taiwan) also showed their interests in this incident. For more details regarding the Mudanshe Incident and its impact on the Qing Empire's governance in Taiwan, please see scholarship as follows: Edward Howard House, *The Japanese Expedition to Formosa* (sl, 1875); Wan-yao Chou, *A New Illustrated History of Taiwan*, pp. 126-138; Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*, especially chapter nine; Robert Eskildsen ed., *Foreign Adventurers and the Aborigines of Southern Taiwan, 1867-1874: Western Sources Related to Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan* (Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 2005).

Although the Society was not successful in toppling the Qing Empire during the Japanese punitive expedition to Taiwan, the anti-Manchu spirit of the Zheng family embodied by the Society lasted through the encounter between Zheng Yongning's son Zheng Yongqing (鄭永慶) and Sun Yat-sen. As is well known, Sun Yat-sen was an anti-Manchu revolutionary who overthrew the Qing Empire and later was called the "founding father" of the ROC. These two anti-Manchu activists became sworn brothers when they met in Honolulu. After their meeting in Honolulu, in 1894 Sun founded a new revolutionary organization, the Revive China Society (興中會 *Xingzhonghui*), under the support of Zheng Yongqing and other members of the Society, with the famous oath, "expel barbarians, revive China" (驅除韃虜，恢復中華 *quchu dalu, huifu zhonghua*), which became a well-known slogan in the subsequent anti-Manchu revolution. In 1911, an uprising took place in Wuchang, which caused the Qing Empire to meet its doom. Sun was elected the "provisional president" and became the "founding father" of the Republic of China. By articulating this historical imagination, this novel establishes a genealogy of anti-Manchu activism through its literary reconstruction which traces and creates connections among different anti-Manchu revolutionary and rebellions from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century. In this way, Qin's novel constructs Koxinga's heroic image as a pioneer of anti-Manchuism in Taiwan's history, and more significantly, his legacy and contribution to the island of Taiwan as a "founding father of Taiwan" in the Han settler centric historiography. The racialized rejection of the Dutch and Manchu regimes as non-Han exogenous others, the promotion of national loyalty and patriotisms based on traditional Confucian teaching and orthodoxy, as well as the obsession with the Han regime intertwined in this novel are all mobilized to construct the founding legend of Koxinga (and meanwhile deny the founding violence against the indigenous peoples), by which the novel effectively formulates and further

strengthens the Han-centered settler consciousness.

From Resentment to Acknowledgement: Dutch Formosa of Chen Yao-chang and Lin Keh-ming

Unlike the predominately Han-centric perspective of Qin Jiu's *Koxinga*, Chen Yao-chang's (陳耀昌) *A Tale of Three Tribes in Dutch Formosa* (福爾摩沙三族記 *Fu'ermosha sanzu ji*, 2012, hereafter *A Tale*) demonstrates what Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin termed the "heteroglossic feature" of the novel by telling a story of seventeenth century Taiwan from multiple ethnic and cultural perspectives through a multi-stranded narrative strategy. This novel consistently switches its points of view from one ethnic group to another, from character to character, tangling together various voices, utterances, ideologies, cultural and ethnic memories and discourses. Before going further to consider form and content of this novel, the title of the book itself explicitly articulates this work as one of multiple perspectives. *A Tale* attempts to provide a panoramic view of Dutch Formosa with its the third-person omniscient point of view, unfolding the interethnic relationship and transcultural interaction among the Dutch colonizers, Han settlers, and indigenous peoples in Taiwan during the Dutch colonial period. The "three tribes" refer to the Dutch, the Han, and the indigenous peoples who lived, migrated to, or settled on the island of Taiwan in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, as the official report from Taiwan's government and relevant anthropology research has illustrated, the population of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan cannot be simply categorized as one single "tribe" because there are at least sixteen officially recognized indigenous tribes on the island, with still far more different indigenous communities demanding official recognition. Even the ethnic construct of the so-called Pingpu indigenous peoples, the indigenous population that mainly confronted and

interacted with the Dutch colonizers in the seventeenth century, is an umbrella term applied to multiple distinct indigenous communities. The modern phrase "the Pingpu indigenes" is problematic in that it is a legacy of the colonial period. According to Emma Jinhua Teng, it is derived from the phrase "cooked savages" (熟番 *shufan*), in contrast to "raw savages" (生番 *shengfan*, generally referring to the aborigines who lived in the mountains), coined during the Qing period. Teng further argues that the above categorization of the "raw" and "cooked" as distinct ethnic groups should also be considered a "gradual, historical process" of "territorialization," which "demonstrates the intimate connection between frontier land and native peoples in Qing colonial discourse." [25] Thus, this oversimplified title of the book reduces tribal and cultural multiplicity and complexity of the indigenous peoples into one category. While there is an attempt to include multiple viewpoints in the text itself, the title is still undeniably a typical expression of Han settler colonial consciousness.

A Tale opens with a scene set in contemporary Taiwan in 2004. The former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, together with other delegates from the Netherlands Trade and Investment Office as well as the Tainan City Government, visited the Sicao Dazhong Temple and the Dutch Burial Mound near the temple in Tainan. The historical monuments in Tainan connect to the momentous battles between the Dutch colonial government and the Zheng forces in 1661, which put the island of Taiwan on the global map of world history as a nodal site connecting Europe and Asia. The story then flashes back to the seventeenth century and revolves around the interethnic interaction between various characters in Dutch Formosa, including the Dutch missionary Antonius Hambroek (1607-1661) and his daughters Maria and Christina, Koxinga

[25] Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*, pp. 122-3.

and his subordinate Chen Ze (陳澤), the Siraya indigenous girl Uma from the Madou village and other indigenous communities. Several historical events and conflicts that occurred during the Dutch colonial period are woven into this novel, including the Madou Incident in 1629 and its aftermath the Madou Battles in 1635,[26] the Guo Huaiyi rebellion (郭懷一事件 *Guo Huaiyi shijian*) in 1652,[27] and so on. The religious conflict between the indigenous traditional belief system called "Alizu worship" of the Siraya aboriginals and Christianity introduced by the Dutch missionaries is also addressed in the novel. As a whole, rather than confine itself to a Han-centered viewpoint and historiography, *A Tale* endeavors to sketch a more inclusive and polyphonic imagery of Dutch Formosa via its juxtaposition of multiple memories and cultural perspectives.

More specifically, different from the Han-centered, xenophobic sentiment toward the Dutch and Manchu Others as expressed in *Koxinga*, *A Tale* proffers a more multifaceted and slightly less stereotypical representation of the Dutch colonizers. This aspect is first articulated through the characterization of the last colonial governor of Dutch Formosa Frederick Coyett, as well as the Dutch missionary Antonius Hambroek and his family members. Unlike the typical and

[26] In 1629, the third governor of Dutch Formosa Pieter Nuyts (1598-1655) sent a force to chase off "Han Chinese pirates" in the Madou village. The Dutch force was ambushed and killed by the indigenous warriors from the Madou village. The Dutch colonial government took revenge on the indigenes from the Madou village in 1635, by forming the allied forces of Dutch soldiers and other indigenous people from Sinckan village to attack the Madou village. For the description of these events please see chapter three of the novel. Also see John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*, pp. 52-3.

[27] The Guo Huaiyi rebellion was considered one of the most significant anti-colonial uprisings during the Dutch colonial period in Taiwan's history, led by Guo Huaiyi (1603-1652), a Han peasant from Quanzhou in Fujian Province. This uprising was triggered by dissatisfaction of the Dutch colonial rule among Han settlers in Taiwan, including dissatisfaction with heavy taxation and government coercion (the leasehold system, capitation, and so forth). When this revolt was finally pacified by the Dutch colonial government, more than three thousand Han people were slaughtered in this crackdown (Guo died in one of the battles too). After pacifying the rebellion, the Dutch colonial government decided to establish a new Fortress called Fort Provintia (present-day Chihkan Tower) to strengthen their governance over the island of Taiwan. The description of Guo Huaiyi (or Fayet, as he is called in the novel) and his rebellion in1652 can be found in chapter twelve, eighteen, and nineteen of the novel. Also see Yanjie Yang, *Taiwan History during the period of Dutch Occupation*, pp. 247-55.

one-dimensional representations of colonizers found in most colonial literatures, *A Tale* highlights the benevolent and considerate side of Coyett through his attitude toward the heavy taxation and labor exploitation in the colony. Additionally, he is marooned and helpless during the Siege of Fort Zeelandia in 1661 due to the Dutch East India Company's underestimation of the seriousness of its battles with the Zheng force. More intriguingly, this novel compares Coyett to the legendary king of Troy during the Trojan War: Coyett faced the Zheng's magnificent army with only a few thousand soldiers. In this way, Coyett is portrayed as a "tragic hero" battling valiantly against uneven odds, just like in the Homeric Hymns, rather than a colonist villain.[28] In addition to the benevolent and heroic image of Coyett as a colonizer, *A Tale* lays emphasis on the Dutch missionary Hambroek's dedication to the island of Formosa. He establishes the Formosa Theological Seminary; he is tolerant toward the Siraya traditional "Alizu worship" while doing missionary work; most importantly, he volunteers to serve as a messenger between the Dutch colonial government and Koxinga, and makes an ultimate sacrifice as a Christian martyr. His change attitudes are portrayed as a model in the novel: "When Hambroek first arrived in Formosa, he viewed indigenes as a flock of sheep that God entrusts to them to shepherd. In time, he gradually treats them as his family or friends" (192). Hambroek's character in *A Tale* stands in for the transformation of the Dutch colonizers over the course of their time in the colony.

The redemptive representation of the colonial Other can also be seen through the female Dutch characters, particularly Hambroek's second daughter Maria, and the Han-Dutch interethnic marriages. After the Siege of Fort Zeelandia (where the Dutch missionary Antonius Hambroek was executed by Koxinga because he failed to persuade Coyett to yield himself to the

[28] For more detailed discussion of Chen's heroic representation of Coyett, please see Ya-ru Yang's essay, "Tragic Hero? A Scapegoat? A Challenging Opponent?: The Frederick Coyett Image in Chen Yaochang's, Ping Lu's and Lin Keming's Novels," *Tamkang Journal of Chinese Literature* 36 (2017), pp. 259-64.

Zheng's army), Koxinga takes Hambroek's youngest daughter Christina as one of his concubines and betroths Hambroek's second daughter Maria to his subordinate Chen Ze as a consort. The characterization of Maria can be understood, to a certain degree, as a process of identification and localization of the Dutch colonizer in the colony: beginning with her reluctance to move to the "uncivilized island of Formosa" with her father (because of which she had to be parted from her young Dutch lover Jan), to the friendship she establishes with the indigenous girl Uma from the Madou village, and then to the marriage with Koxinga's underling Chen Ze as well as her final decision to stay on the island of Formosa as her permanent home. As Lin Pei-yin aptly points out, this novel can be partially interpreted as a "bildungsroman," a coming-of-age story of Maria, in which the psychological transformation and mental growth of Maria as a heroine from her youth to adulthood can be clearly followed.[29] Her forgiveness for Koxinga's killing of her father and acceptance of Chen Ze as her husband symbolizes an overcoming of her identitarian struggle as well as her embrace of multiple identities. She tells her sister Christina: "I am a Dutch, but I am a Formosan too….I hope that I can be the Maria of the Madou village forever, the Maria of Formosa, the Maria of Taiwan" (366). Maria's pregnancy toward the end of the story also promotes the racial/ethnic and cultural creolization of the future generation on the island of Taiwan. In the epilogue of *A Tale*, the author mentions that he would like to dedicate this book to "the Dutch matriarchal ancestors of Hoklo Taiwanese people." Thus, this novel positively acknowledges ethnic and cultural hybridity, and the creolization of Taiwan. In so doing, *A Tale* not only challenges the dualistic presumption between the colonizer and the colonized, but also complicates our understanding of colonial encounters via its acknowledgement of the Dutch

[29] Pei-yin Lin, "Multiple, Popular, Matriarchal: Historical Representation in Chen Yaochang's *A Tale of Three Tribes in Dutch Formosa*," *Bulletin of Taiwan Literature* 28 (2016), p. 52.

ancestral roots and the ethnic and cultural creolization of Taiwan. In this sense, this novel provides an alternative approach to reconsider the history of Dutch Formosa.

If *A Tale* breaks away from the Han-centered historiography and xenophobic sentiment toward the Dutch colonial Other by integrating multiethnic memories and multicultural perspectives into its literary expression, then Lin Keh-ming's (林克明) *Formosa to Zeelandia: Memoir of a Dutch Formosan* (天涯海角熱蘭遮：一個荷裔福爾摩沙人的追憶 *Tianya haijiao Relanzhe: yi ge heyi Fu'ermosha ren de zhuiyi*, 2016, hereafter *Memoir*) further latches onto the trend of multiculturalism by telling a story of Dutch Formosa from the viewpoint of the fictional figure Pieter Nowen. The story opens with the first person narrator, an unnamed Taiwanese graduate student studying the history of Dutch Formosa at Leiden University in the Netherlands. He has a chance encounter with a Dutch transfer student Marina. They soon fall in love. When the young couple first pay a visit to Marina's hometown, Middelburg, during the Christmas season, they discover an antique memoir possibly written by Marina's ancestor named Pieter Nowen. Enthralled by the fascinating story unfolding in the memoir, they decide to translate the volume into modern Dutch, English, and Mandarin Chinese. The story of *Memoir* then switches its narrator from the Taiwanese graduate student to Marina's ancestor Pieter Nowen, and leads us to the world of Pieter's memoir by going back to seventeenth century Formosa.

As a "creole son" born to a Dutch father and a Formosan indigenous mother in the Sinckan village during the Dutch colonial period, Pieter became well acquainted with Koxinga in childhood. So much so that Pieter calls him Fuzai (福仔), a name derived from Koxinga's Japanese name Tagawa Fukumatsu (田川福松). He works with Koxinga assisting the Longwu Emperor to govern the Southern Ming regime. In addition to Koxinga, various historical personages, including the members of the Zheng family, Koxinga's mentor Qian Qianyi (錢謙益)

and Qian's courtesan wife Liu Rushi (柳如是), Dutch missionaries Georgius Candidius, Daniel Gravius and Antonius Hambroek, the last governor of Dutch Formosa Frederick Coyett, the Dutch geographer and geomorphologist Philippus Daniel Meij van Meijensteen, are all introduced to readers through the eyes of Pieter. If *A Tale* can be read as a "coming-of-age story" of Maria in a certain sense, then *Memoir* should be construed as an autobiography of Pieter. This novel amplifies Pieter's background and his identity: he is a Taiwan-born Dutchman who lived on the island of Formosa during Dutch colonial period. Early in his life, Pieter's father left the Netherlands and worked as a mariner on a merchant vessel, and then served as an assistant for a surgeon. He later drifted to the island of Formosa and became a doctor. Pieter's indigenous mother unfortunately passed away because of the difficult delivery; Pieter was raised by his nanny in the Sinckan village. She is a *wangyi* (尪姨), an indigenous female spiritualist who mediates between the spiritual and human worlds and takes charge of traditional rituals and ceremonies for indigenous communities. Pieter's unusual appearance, particularly his red hair and dark skin color, singles him out among others and wins him a discriminatory nickname—"the red-haired little boy" (紅毛小鬼 *hongmao xiaogui*). Pieter is even bullied by some of his allies from the Zheng family and treated as an "uncivilized bastard" when he studies with Koxinga in Fujian. However, Koxinga and Pieter share similar background as mixed-bloods and this forms the grounding of their friendship. The battles between the Dutch colonial government and the Zheng forces yet bring Pieter's identitarian struggle to the forefront as he chooses to work for the Zheng's side to fight against his "Dutch compatriots." Pieter is caught between his fidelity to his friend or his allegiance to his fatherland. Even though he was an intimate friend of Koxinga, he still occasionally felt offended by Koxinga's underlings when they addressed his Dutch compatriots as "red-haired barbarians." Unlike Maria in *A Tale,* who finally

decided to permanently stay on the island of Formosa, Pieter leaves for Changshu in the Jiangsu province in order to meet with Qian Qianyi again and get reunited with his Han wife Suyin and his daughter Marina. Suyin is a friend of Liu Rushi from a Hakka village in Fujian province who later converted to Christianity and gets a new European name Susanna. After the death of Qian, Liu, and his wife Susanna, Pieter "returned" to his fatherland the Netherlands with his daughter Marina. In the end he lives near their neighbor the geomorphologist Meijensteen in Middelburg, oftentimes casting his mind back to the time when he was in Formosa and immersing himself in his memories with Koxinga. In a sense, the fictional character of Pieter in this novel provides a rare and peculiar angle which further complicates the dualistic colonial relationship usually articulated in official histories, and through this the novel reconsiders the complexity of colonial structure in Dutch Formosa.

Besides the alternative representation of the Dutch colonial Others as seen in *A Tale* and *Memoir*, the most remarkable resemblance between the two novels rests in their innovative and bold portrayal of Koxinga. Rather than simply characterizing Koxinga as an anti-Manchu loyalist and the founding father of Taiwan, *A Tale* and *Memoir* rivet our attention to the dark side of this figure by showing Koxinga's short-tempered and irascible personality. Koxinga as a moody and emotional person is rarely touched upon in prevailing narrative and discourse of Koxinga. *A Tale* reveals Koxinga's callousness and suspicious nature when he orders the execution of the members of the Zheng family. Koxinga even attempted to kill his eldest son Zheng Jing and his wife Lady Dong because of Zheng Jing's incestuous relationship with his younger brother's wet nurse. It depicts him killing his underlings (especially Shi Lang, Koxinga's admiral who was later recruited by the Qing court after Koxinga executed his family members) and other Dutch missionaries. Notably, Chen also presents Koxinga's death in a particularly gruesome

manner—he committed suicide by stabbing his face and neck with a dagger after discovering his son's incestuous behavior and the death of the Yongli Emperor, the last ruler of the Southern Ming regime. In the postscript of *A Tale*, Chen mentions that he hopes to portray a complete and multifaceted picture of Koxinga by "showing both his bright and dark sides" (389). Additionally, Chen attempts to convince his readers that Koxinga died of self-mutilation by providing a psychoanalytical account that examines his "Oedipal complex"—this includes Koxinga's desire for his Japanese mother, his competition with and ultimate renouncement of his father Zheng Zhilong. Chen argues that just as Oedipus blinded himself in Sophocles' tragedy, Koxinga put an end to his own life due to the "shadow of his personality" wounded by the absence of his mother in his childhood and the increasing tension with his father during the anti-Manchu resistance.

The "Oedipal complex" of Koxinga is further explored by Lin in *Memoir* through his depiction of Koxinga's affection toward his mentor Qian Qianyi's wife Liu Rushi. In addition to Koxinga's "Oedipal complex," *Memoir* delineates a more intricate and nuanced depiction of Koxinga's mental landscape through the narrator Pieter's clinical observations of his friend. Koxinga, in the eyes of Pieter, had been troubled by a series of dualistic values and ideologies his entire life, including the dual cultural identities that made him feel as if he was caught between China and Japan, between the goals of either being a refined and cultivated Confucian scholar or a materialistic merchant (or pirate) via his paternal lineage, and most strikingly, between his loyalty to the Southern Ming regime and fidelity to his father (139-40). The above identitarian and ideological struggles resulted in Koxinga's suspicious, melancholic, manic and choleric character and his alcoholism.

The medical background of both authors (Chen is a hematologist and a pioneer of stem cell research in Taiwan, and Lin is a psychiatrist and a former clinical psychology professor at UCLA)

informs their use of psychoanalytic theory to dissect previously hidden and rarely known facets of this historical figure through their literary imaginations. More significantly, their literary imaginations to a degree allow us to see certain possibilities in the de-heroization and de-deification of Koxinga as a national hero and an object of worship. If Coyett can be viewed as a tragic hero from Greek tragedy in *A Tale*, then Koxinga in both *A Tale* and *Memoir* can also be understood in a similar way. He is more of a protagonist who lacks conventional idealized qualities or moral virtues with conspicuous human weakness or ethical flaw than a typical hero in a story. Nevertheless, these alternative portrayals of Koxinga as a tragic hero in *A Tale* and *Memoir* should not be overemphasized. The insights of psychoanalytic theory applied by the two authors do enable us to see an alternative representation of Koxinga that is far different from the clichéd heroic image of this figure in mainstream popular culture. Yet, their psychoanalytic accounts of Koxinga can actually function as a double-edged sword—while challenging the idealized and divinized characterization of Koxinga, they ironically offer a form of clinical testimony to exonerate Koxinga by seeking possible medicalized explanations (if not excuses) for his behavior. This exoneration of Koxinga's dark side via his representation as a tragic hero, I contend, is also an attempt to exculpate him as a settler invader since his killing and execution of his family members, underlings, Dutch missionaries and soldiers, and most critically, his slaughter of indigenous population, can all be explained (or excused) via his psychological disorder and alcoholism.

Most ironically, although both authors characterize Koxinga as a tragic hero, they fail to fully deconstruct the heroic and lofty image of Koxinga as a founding figure of Taiwan. *A Tale* still reinforces the mainstream impression of Koxinga toward the end of the story in the following commentary: "He could never imagine how much he has been admired and

commemorated by later generations. He has become one of the few people who are admired by all groups of people. He is deferentially addressed as 'the Sage King who opened up Taiwan' by common people, or 'the faultless man who created an unprecedented prospect' (創格完人 *chuangge wanren*) by intellectuals" (378). Koxinga, Chen adds, "had fundamentally changed the world of Taiwan which had been composed of three groups of people, and made a new nationality called 'Taiwanese' (台灣人 *Taiwan ren*) come into being, and thereafter changed the histories of Taiwan and East Asia" (378). *Memoir*, on the other hand, expresses its sympathy with Koxinga's inner anxieties and his addiction to alcohol through the voice of the narrator Pieter, Koxinga's most intimate friend. *Memoir* even notes that when Koxinga died, Pieter saw a "giant whale" jumping out of water, majestically flying toward the end of the sky. This detail echoes the myth that Koxinga was the incarnation of a "holy whale from the Eastern Sea" mentioned earlier in the novel, which once again glorifies (if not re-deifies) Koxinga as a sublime figure. In other words, although both Chen and Lin made efforts to present an alternative representation of Koxinga and a different historical imagination of Dutch Formosa from the perspective of colonial others, their literary expressions do not articulate a self-reflexive critique of Han settler colonial history.

The acknowledgement of Taiwan's colonial past and their adoption of colonial others as central characters and narrators seen in *A Tale* and *Memoir* necessitates further investigation through a more critical lens. While *A Tale* acknowledges that Taiwan's ethnic and cultural heritage includes the Dutch colonial Other by foregrounding the Dutch legacy through Maria's permanent stay in Taiwan and her pregnancy, *Memoir* underscores the more entangled cultural creolization and ethnic hybridity of both Taiwan and the Netherlands through the first-person narrator of this novel (the descendent of Hambroek's daughter and a Siraya indigenous young

man Takaran) and Marina (the descendent of Pieter's daughter Marina Nowen and the geomorphologist Meijensteen's son), as well as the narrator of the memoir within this novel, Pieter. In addition to their embrace and celebration of a multicultural discourse about Taiwan, we can also clearly see an attempt to reconcile with the Dutch colonizers. More specifically, they both try to move beyond a colonial dichotomy and seek the possible forms of reconciliation between the colonizer and the colonized through their literary imaginations.

Unfortunately, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan are not taken into consideration in the process of reconciliation and are entirely left out in their narratives. This type of reconciliation, I contend, is therefore merely confined to the reconciliation between the Dutch colonizers and Han settlers. In this vein, I agree with Lin Pei-yin's astute observation that the narrative distribution of the three ethnic groups (or "three tribes" as used in this novel) in *A Tale* is uneven and imbalanced.[30] What is more, the elements of indigeneity in *Memoir* merely function as "background information" about the narrator Pieter's ethnic hybridity in order to support its claim to representing the multicultural and multiethnic heritages of Taiwan, whereas the other indigenous characters are never positioned in the foreground in the novel. The seeming reconciliation between the Dutch colonizer and the Han settler elides the fact that many Dutch women who stayed on the island of Taiwan after the Siege of Fort Zeelandia were either turned into slaves or distributed to the Han commanders or soldiers as concubines. More critically, it also effectively obscures (if not completely conceals) the brutal truth of the genocide of indigenous peoples by the Zheng regime. In other words, the settler-to-colonizer reconciliation formulated in both *A Tale* and *Memoir* represents Han settler's exclusion of indigenous

[30] Pei-yin Lin, "Multiple, Popular, Matriarchal: Historical Representation in Chen Yaochang's *A Tale of Three Tribes in Dutch Formosa*," *Bulletin of Taiwan Literature* 28 (2016), p. 56.

communities from participating in the process of reconciliation. Settler reconciliation with the Dutch colonizers therefore functions as a "self-reconciliation" of settlers—it reconciles with the colonizer by recognizing the colonial past and its legacy, and simultaneously "moves settlers to innocence," if we borrow the insights of Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Young.[31] Or in the words of Anishinaabe intellectual and activist Andrea Landry, this settler-to-colonizer reconciliation is "for the [settler] colonizer."[32] To sum up, from the above textual analysis, we can see that there are two modes of Han settler consciousness that are embedded in the literary texts regarding Dutch Formosa and their distinct representations of Koxinga, from the xenophobic sentiments toward the colonial others (be they Dutch or Manchu) to the attempt of reconciliation with the colonizers.

Caught between Empires: Ping Lu's Literary Intervention in History

To further unpack different forms of settler colonial consciousness and narrative, I will then turn to two literary works written by Han Taiwanese female writer Ping Lu (平路)—*East of the East* (東方之東 *Dongfang zhi dong*, 2011) and *The Whirling Island* (婆娑之島 *Posuo zhi dao*, 2012). Ping Lu is one of the very few female authors who ambitiously engage and intervene in the writing of history and explore its relationship with politics that have long been dominated by male writers in Taiwan. She is especially interested in confronting the Grand Narrative of History by portraying unique and alternative representations of historical figures through her bold, sometimes controversial literary imagination. In her most eminent novel *Love and Revolution: A*

[31] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Young, "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1. 1 (2012), p. 3.

[32] Andrea Landry, "This Reconciliation is for the Colonizer," *Indigenous Motherhood*, 13 June 2017, indigenousmotherhood.wordpress.com/2017/06/13/this-reconciliation-is-for-the-colonizer/.

Novel about Song Qingling and Sun Yat-sen (行道天涯 *Xingdao tianya*, 1995), Ping Lu explicitly challenges the Grand Narrative of the history of the ROC by offering a very different representation of the founding figure Sun Yat-sen, as well as his romance and marriage with Song Qingling (宋慶齡). Her story of mysterious death of the legendary Taiwanese singer Teresa Teng (鄧麗君 *Deng Lijun*) and Teng's tangled and complicated relationship with the ROC government in her novel named after one of Teng's famous songs, *When Will You Come Back Again?* (何日君再來 *Heri jun zai lai*, 2002), explores how the State apparatus operates and displays its political force and influence on people's everyday life through the entertainment industry. Recently, Ping Lu further expanded her scope to delve into the history of Dutch Formosa. Through her two novels on the Dutch Formosa to be discussed in this chapter, Ping Lu considers the possible implication and significance of the history during the seventeenth century to contemporary Taiwan. Despite the fact that Koxinga is neither the protagonist nor the main focus in either text, Ping Lu's two novels provide different angles and perspectives to approach the history of the seventeenth century in which the historical figure lived, and therefore allow us to further investigate how Taiwan's early phase of settler colonial history has affected and facilitated the construction of Taiwan's contemporary settler colonial consciousness.

Ping Lu's *East of the East* (hereafter *East*) tells a contemporary story of Taiwan which revolves around three main characters from both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The heroine Minhui (敏惠) travels to Beijing to find her missing husband Qianyi (謙一), a *Taishang* (台商, a term referring to Taiwanese merchants who do business and invest capital in China) who worked in Beijing for a Taiwanese enterprise for a number of years. It turned out that Qianyi eloped with a Chinese woman who worked in a casino. During her stay in Beijing, she meets Shangjun (尚軍),

a wanted Chinese human rights activist who had participated in the 1989 Tiananmen Squire protests (also known as the June Fourth Incident). She then provides him a hideout at her accommodation. Besides being an overqualified and dedicated wife, Minhui writes stories for television series and is working on a story related to the Qing period and its relationship with Taiwan during the seventeenth century. The historical narrative of the seventeenth century then unfolds via the encounters and dialogues between the two strangers, Minhui and Shangjun. Unlike the previously discussed literary texts in which Koxinga is squarely in the narrative spotlight, Minhui's story pays most of its attention to Koxinga's father Zheng Zhilong, and the way in which Zheng Zhilong persuaded the Shunzhi Emperor of the significance of sea power and overseas expeditions. Zheng Zhilong, also known as Nicholas Iquan to the seventeenth century maritime world, initially worked as a comprador among various maritime powers and later became one of the most powerful pirates who controlled the sea trade routes between Japan and China. He served as a navy commander for the Ming court for a short time. When he was promoted to be the Fujian General in 1640, Zheng Zhilong swore an oath of loyalty to the Prince of Tang, the Longwu Emperor of the Southern Ming regime. The Longwu Emperor set his court in Fuzhou in 1645, after the Manchus occupied Beijing and established the Qing Empire. Yet, Zheng Zhilong soon yielded to the Qing regime in Beijing after the invasion of the Manchu forces in Fujian in 1646. Still, he was placed under house arrest for several years in Beijing and finally executed in 1661 by the Kangxi Emperor.

The passages of the story-within-a-story in *East* begin with the dialogues between Zheng Zhilong and the Shunzhi Emperor. Although he was placed under house arrest, Zheng Zhilong was once entitled the Marquis of Tong An (同安侯 *Tong'an hou*) by the Shunzhi Emperor in order to summon Koxinga to surrender to the Qing regime. Just like the narrator Scheherazade in

One Thousand and One nights utilizes storytelling as a strategy to postpone her death, Zheng Zhilong in *East* intends to rescue himself from his predicament and earn the trust of the Shunzhi Emperor by his torrent of eloquence and narrative technique of the new world outside China.[33] To make the Shunzhi Emperor aware of the larger maritime world far beyond the territory of the Qing China, Zheng Zhilong amplified his experiences of his maritime days—describing the wide and vast seas dotted with unknown isles, magnificent merchant ships carrying flags of all colors anchored in harbors, foreign merchants and mariners from various places around the world with a miscellaneous kinds of exotic commodities and goods, promising prospects of maritime trade, business opportunities and countless profit, and most importantly, the significance for the Qing court to extend its imperial power and further develop its continental regime into a much greater maritime empire. To further visualize this maritime dream in a more concrete way, Zheng Zhilong analogized the above oceanic spectacle to the image of steppe: "the sea is like the steppe,"comparing the interaction between waves and a ship to the rise and fall when one is riding a horse (130); "When the wind blows, steering a ship is like riding a horse. A horse gallops through steppe and splashes mud on the horse's naked neck; spray splashed on the deck evaporates and sea salt crystalizes" (131).In Zheng's view, the sea can teach people modesty, and provides the lessons that there are diverse types of lifestyles outside of Qing territory.

Nevertheless, even the best storyteller cannot change Zheng's destiny. The analogy of the steppe to the sea makes no sense to the Qing Emperor. In part because the similarity seems inadequate and far-fetched to the Manchu conquerors; people who have lived in Northeast Asia for hundreds of years and expanded imperial territory on horseback. The promising blueprint of a

[33] The analogy between Scheherazade and Zheng Zhilong is drawn by Ming-ju Fan in her foreword of Ping Lu's *East of the East.*

maritime empire envisioned by Zheng Zhilong only made a tiny ripple on the surface of the Emperor's mind. This one-way traffic between Zheng Zhilong and the Shunzhi Emperor metaphorically mirrors the miscommunication between Minhui and Shangjun. The *pas de deux* between Minhui and Shangjun in this novel is articulated through a series of dualisms between the female and male, the sea and the continent, and most importantly, Taiwan and China. While telling the history of the seventeenth century, Minhui endeavors to articulate an oceanic portrayal of the island of Taiwan and to explain the different historical, geopolitical, social and cultural contexts between Taiwan and China to Shangjun. However, while Minhui recalls her childhood memories and hometown at the seaside, her insipid daily life with Qianyi, her historical imagination of the maritime world in the seventeenth century as well as its political and cultural connotation for the island of Taiwan, Shangjun remains unapproachable and enigmatic to Minhui. Shangjun's words were often uncertain and obscure, and sometimes self-contradictory, continuously creating illusions (if not always lies) to Minhui's confusion. This mysterious Chinese man suddenly disappears without leaving a message, and steals money that Minhui obtained from her father in law. Resembling the one-way traffic between Zheng Zhilong and the Shunzhi Emperor, the (mis)communication between Minhui and Shangjun, which is explicitly used to describe the cross-strait relationship between Taiwan and China, is highly asymmetrical and nonreciprocal, if not entirely impossible.

Another dualism embedded in the narrative are the generational issues among different characters: Qianyi's alienated relationship with his father (that can be attributed to his childhood memory); Shangjun's interpretation of the 1989 Tiananmen Squire protests as a conflict between fathers and sons; the one-dimensional communication between the Shunzhi Emperor and Zheng Zhilong (in part because in imperial China, the ruler-subject relationship is frequently used to

describe the relationship between fathers and sons); the breakup between Zheng Zhilong and Koxinga. As for Minhui, the generational issue is embodied via a form of absence—the alcoholic mother that she would rather forget, and her father's death that makes Minhui constantly live with anxiety and uncertainty as if floating on a lonely sea, hoping to find driftwood to cling to. The characterization of Minhui reminds us of the iconic image of an orphan in Wu Chuo-liu's (吳濁流) classic novel, *The Orphan of Asia* (亞細亞的孤兒 *Yaxiya de gu'er*, 1945), as well as the disabled writer Cheng Fung-hsih's (鄭豐喜) autobiography, *The Floating Boat in the Midst of Boundless Seas* (汪洋中的一條船 *Wangyang zhong de yitiao chuan*, 1973), which are both considered typical metaphors to describe the predicaments and the international setback of wartime and postwar Taiwan. This combined figure of the orphan and the floating boat in a vast sea serves as a symbol for Taiwan. The generational dualism, along with the other binary oppositions discussed earlier, is deployed to emblematize the tension between Taiwan and China. Thus, the novel implies that the relationship between Minhui and Shangjun turns out to be only based on materialistic value, and just as Taiwan's economic bond with China, it can never be reciprocal or sustainable.

East, through these two pairs of characters, insinuates the impossibility of mutual understanding between Taiwan and China as well as the nonreciprocal Cross-Strait relationship via its juxtaposition of two different historical periods (the seventeenth century and the contemporary moment). In turn, *The Whirling Island* (hereafter *Whirling*) shifts its attention toward another imperial power, the United States, and the transformation of its diplomatic relations with Taiwan. The story of *Whirling* is told from the perspectives of two "outsiders" from two different historical moments—the last colonial governor of the Dutch Formosa Coyett from the seventeenth century, and a former American official who works for the United States

Department of State (DOS) in contemporary Taiwan. After the Dutch colonial government surrendered to Koxinga's forces, Coyett returned to Batavia. He was arrested and tried for high treason due to his failure to defend the Dutch colony. He was initially sentenced to death by beheading, fortunately that was mitigated to banishment to Rozengain (the easternmost isle of the Banda islands). It is generally believed that after returning to Amsterdam in 1675, Coyett wrote a book entitled *Neglected Formosa*, in which he blamed the Dutch East India Company in Batavia for their irresponsibility in the Siege of Fort Zeelandia, and suggested that it led to the Dutch colonial government's loss of its colony Formosa. The novel begins with the self-defense of the last governor of Dutch Formosa, coupled with the confession of an anonymous former American state department official as a second narrator of the story. The state department official is also suspected of treason for divulging confidential information to a Taiwanese woman, Lorelei, who was considered an undercover agent for Taiwan's government by the United States. The sentence for his betrayal of state secrets is a prison term of one year and a day. Toward the end of the novel, this state department official identifies himself with the last governor of Dutch Formosa Coyett depicted in the book *Neglected Formosa*, based on their shared experiences of imprisonment due to their "passion" or "sympathy" for the island of Formosa as "outsiders."

Ping Lu's literary intervention in Taiwan's history and the triangular relationship between Taiwan, America, and China as articulated in *East* and *Whirling* has to do with the role that Taiwan played in the Cold War structure and its legacy after WWII. For a better understanding of Ping Lu's texts, it is necessary to briefly outline the history of the Cold War, as well as Taiwan's position and participation in the global structure during the period. The KMT's retreat from China to Taiwan after their failure in the Chinese Civil War in 1949 and the participation of the United States in the Korean War in 1950 resulted in Taiwan's positioning at the forefront of the

Western Pacific region in the global Cold War structure. This marked a new phase of the Taiwan-US relationship. Taiwan under the rule of the Nationalist party became one of the most critical geopolitical sites. Moreover, Taiwan stood as an ally of America; attempting to contain Communist expansion based on a new policy of "anti-Communist containment." According to Shih-shan Henry Tsai, the military, economic, and technical assistance that the Nationalist government received from the United States (including the United States Seventh Fleet patrolling the Taiwan Strait ordered by President Harry S. Truman, the U.S. Aid Mission, and so forth) not only solved "Taiwan's postwar problems of food shortage, trade imbalance, and inflation's vicious cycles," but also helped creating the "economic miracle" in the second half of the twentieth century.[34] The signing of the Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of China in 1954 in Washington, D.C. provided legal ground to further consolidate diplomatic relations and mutual cooperation for the following twenty-six years. However, a series of international setbacks since the 1970s brought uncertainty to the Taiwan-US alliance. These included the recognition of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representative of China to the United Nations in 1971; and the subsequent removal of the Republic of China from the United Nations; the signing of the Shanghai Communiqué by President Richard Nixon and Chinese Premiere Zhou Enlai (周恩來) in 1972 (which acknowledged that Taiwan is part of China); the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China in 1979, and later the end of America's recognition of the ROC government as well as the abrogation of the Mutual Defense Treaty between Taiwan and America in the same year. The 1979 Taiwan Relations Act signed by President Jimmy Carter was a consequence of these changes and an attempt to patch up the diplomatic damage after the

[34] Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West*, pp. 182-6.

United States severed diplomatic ties with the ROC. It allowed the United States to maintain "non-diplomatic relations" between the American and Taiwanese people, and continued to extend the US's political, economic, military and cultural influence on Taiwan while establishing official diplomatic relations with the PRC.

On the other hand, the hostility between the ROC and the PRC due to the military stalemate during the Cold War also went through a change in the late 1980s, which also significantly affected Taiwan's (non-)diplomatic relations with the United States. The economic reform led by Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平) in China since 1978, and the lifting of the Martial Law by the Nationalist government in Taiwan in 1987 provided the basis for Cross-Strait interaction and communication between the two polities that previously had no dealings with each other. Additionally, the Nationalist government allowed visits to China in 1987, which resulted in more frequent interaction and communication between the two sides, and marked a turning point of Cross-Strait relations between Taiwan and China. In fact, Cross-Strait trade had already existed. The capital of Taiwan had invested in some of the coastal cities of southern China (such as Shenzhen and Xiamen) before receiving official approval from the Nationalist government. This move contributed to the rapid economic growth of China in the late 1980s and the 1990s. Yet, this economic supremacy of Taiwan dwindled as China rose as an economic superpower. Taiwan's increasing economic dependence on China has jeopardized Taiwan's claims to autonomy and democracy, and has recently affected both national and local elections in Taiwan. Furthermore, seemingly promising business opportunities in China have attracted more and more Taiwanese merchants to settle in the coastal cities there, and speeded up the cultural and economic integration of Taiwan into China. In these circumstances, the Taiwan-US alliance since the Cold War seemed to have been replaced by these recent Cross-Strait relations between

Taiwan and China in terms of economic and cultural interaction and communication.

Nevertheless, both the emergence of a sense of distinct Taiwanese consciousness and identity within the society of Taiwan due to the social movements of democratization and localization since the 1980s, as well as the rise of multicultural consciousness further complicates the above triangular relationship between Taiwan, the United States, and China. In fact, the genealogy of this sense of Taiwanese consciousness and identity has a much longer and more complicated history than is generally recognized. This genealogy can be dated back at least to the early phase of the Japanese colonial period. The advent of the so-called "nativist literature," a literary movement that emerged in the mid-1960s, further developed and prospered during the 1970s, called for a closer and more intimate connection between literature, the land, and its people on the island of Taiwan. This literary movement was a direct result of, and response to, the Nationalist authoritarian governance during the era of Martial Law as well as diplomatic setbacks in the international arena. Yet, it was not until the 1980s that a drastic and more influential awakening of Taiwanese consciousness and identity within Taiwan's society occurred due to a series of social movements of promoting democratization and localization. In contrast to the China-centered political, cultural, and historical ideology promoted by the Nationalist government, nativist intellectuals in Taiwan during the 1980s endeavored to define Taiwan as a distinct and independent geopolitical entity that is far different from China, in part because of its unique history of multiple colonialisms since the seventeenth century, and in part they argued that the Taiwanese people are a distinct group of people with a unique national identity due to the ethnic and cultural hybridity in Taiwan's history. These nativist intellectuals and scholars were informed by several theories on the rise in global scholarship and discourses. For instance, the concept of multiculturalism, a discourse that foregrounds and celebrates the co-existence of

plural ethnic communities and cultural diversity due to various forms of historical encounter and exchange, coupled with the insights of postcolonial studies introduced chiefly by Han Taiwanese literary scholars such as Chiu Kuei-fen, Liao Chaoyang, and others in the early 1990s, was therefore appropriated by nativist intellectuals as a decolonial theoretical lever to further develop and enrich their voices.

The anti-Nationalist campaign as well as the rise of Taiwanese consciousness and identity against China-centrism since the 1980s in the domestic context of Taiwan further complicated and shaped the somehow discontinuous, entangled, and fragmented mentality of Taiwanese people within the triangular relationship between Taiwan, the United States and China. Although Cross-Strait relations between Taiwan and China have recently changed due to the frequent economic and cultural communication, it does not mean that Taiwan's society and Taiwanese people are ready to integrate into China. For example, scholars have discussed the split opinions on the *Taishang* issue in Taiwan's society and academia: "Those who take a positive view of globalization normally regard *Taishang* as pioneers of globalization who bring more opportunities to Taiwan. Those who are concerned about the risks and uncertainties that come with globalization, on the other hand, tend to treat *Taishang* as potentially dangerous for Taiwan's economy and political future."[35] In the eyes of some "nativist Taiwanese people," Taiwanese merchants in China are even considered "close to traitors" and are viewed as people who have betrayed their own country for profit and opportunities in China.[36] In fact, some Taiwanese merchants in China may no longer identify as Taiwanese after living and working in

[35] Shu Keng, Gunter Schubert, and Emmy Rui-hua Lin, "Taiwan and Globalization: Reflections on the Trajectory of *Taishang* Studies," *Migration to and from Taiwan* (Routledge, 2014), p.25.

[36] Ibid, p. 30.

China as long as they have. Their identities, according to Lee Chun-yi's research, are "involved in a dynamic, changing process which has been influenced by cross-Strait relationships and domestic changes in social and economic conditions in China."[37] The domestic dissension regarding the *Taishang* issue in Taiwan's society serves as another crucial variable that should be taken into account when conceptualizing the ongoing and shifting triangular relationship between Taiwan, the United States, and China.

The above historical outline of Taiwan's position within the Cold War structure and the shifting triangular relation between Taiwan, the United States, and China provides a better ground for us to delve into Ping Lu's two novels. More specifically, the history of the seventeenth century depicted in both *East* and *Whirling* is deployed by the novelist to reflect on and critique the contemporary situation of Taiwan. To put it differently, Ping Lu's works depict and explore the predicament that Taiwan was subject to an overlapping and layered form of neocolonialism from multiple imperial powers, or more precisely, the United States and China in her novels. In addition to articulating impossibility of mutual understanding between China and Taiwan through the two pairs of characters as mentioned earlier, the disappearance of the two male figures (Qianyi and Shangjun) in *East* mirrors the reality of Taiwanese merchants in China (as the reasons why Taiwanese merchants are willing to integrate into Chinese society include not only economic opportunities in China but also Chinese women).[38] More importantly, Ping Lu warns against Taiwan's economic dependence on China via character's relationship in her novel. Minhui, the female protagonist who serves as a symbol of Taiwan, will end up losing

[37] Chun-yi Lee, "From Being Privileged to Being Localized? Taiwanese Businessmen in China," *Migration to and from Taiwan*, p. 68.

[38] For more details, please see Shu-mei Shih's study of the "mainland Chinese sister" (大陸妹 *dalumei*) in her book *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific* (U of California P, 2007), especially chapter three.

everything if she is not cautious with her Chinese lover, especially as he tries to fool with her feelings. The dialectic between Taiwan and China illustrated through the binary opposition in *East* also reveals the recent inclination of Taiwan to differentiate itself from China due to the awakening of Taiwanese consciousness and identity. *Whirling*, on the other hand, by characterizing the Dutch colonial governor Coyett and the American state department official as Taiwan's sympathizers, critically reflects on the fact that Taiwan has long been coveted by different imperial powers throughout history; the island of Taiwan has always been marginalized and is discarded by these colonial powers anytime they find it valueless. Coyett and the American state department official are outsiders from the colonial metropoles who ended in prison, but they both claim that they truly understand Taiwan and accuse their compatriots of not being aware of the significance and difficult situation of this island. By revisiting Taiwan's colonial past during the seventeenth century from the perspective of Coyett, *Whirling* expresses the idea that the "island of Taiwan has always been caught in the crevices" of world history dominated by imperial powers. This notion of Taiwan's difficult position caught between empires is best articulated by Taiwanese political theorist Wu Rwei-ren:

> Caught between empires, the weak have tried to resist. Those with a state ally with each other to find their way out, and those without an ally, or without one recognized by the sovereign state system, are left isolated and humiliated. Caught between empires, the nationalism of different types of the weak is growing and strengthening. The slaves are still rebelling, but the rulers of empires are busy declaring the end of history—this is the historical origin of the contemporary Taiwanese tragedy.[39]

[39] Rwei-ren Wu, "Pariah Manifesto: The Moral Significance of the Taiwanese Tragedy," *Taiwan's Struggle: Voices of the Taiwanese* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), p. 130.

As a small island nation with a layered and successive history of multiple colonialisms yet without the status of sovereign state recognized by the international community, Taiwan can never escape from the imperial powers. The island always lives under the shadow of neocolonialism formulated by different empires, striving to strategically and deftly create its own space for survival.

Nevertheless, the above discourse that Taiwan has always been caught between empires requires further reflection and examination in a more critical way. The "between empires narrative" of Taiwan, as Shu-mei Shih aptly argues, is "a construction that is itself also settler colonial," since it "makes invisible the reality of settler colonialism" and "displaces the claims of the indigenous peoples."[40] In her essay, Shih further examines the Taiwanese American writer Chang His-kuo's (張系國) work to explain how indigeneity is made absent and neglected within the "between empires narrative" because once again this notion arises mainly from Han settlers' perspective. This phenomenon can also be seen clearly in Ping Lu's *East* and *Whirling.* While *East* contrives to highlight the differences between Taiwan and China through its dualistic articulation via the dialogue between Zheng Zhilong and the Shunzhi Emperor, it fails to consider the historical fact of the Zheng regime's invasion of indigenous lands and killing of indigenous peoples. Ping Lu's literary reconstruction of Zheng Zhilong's maritime vision does not critically reflect on Zheng's relationship with the imperial powers (as is well known, Zheng Zhilong's reputation was very much built on his earlier career as a successful comprador among various European and Asian colonial powers, including the Dutch, the Japanese, the Chinese, and so on). Ironically, Ping Lu's enunciated history echoes European imperial expansion during the Age of Exploration and reinforces the settler colonial structure within Taiwan. While the

[40] Shu-mei Shih, "Theory in a Relational World," *Comparative Literature Studies* 53.4 (2016), p. 737.

maritime image of Taiwan is accentuated, or even exaggerated in *East* through Zheng Zhilong's narrative, the indigenous Formosa, along with its oceanic connection to the larger Austronesian world, is totally omitted and invisible in *East*. And although *Whirling* contains some traces of indigeneity via the indigenous female character Nana and her romance with Coyett, this character is portrayed merely from the viewpoint of the Dutch colonial governor. Nana, according to the interpretation of some critics, appears to demonstrate her agency by taking the initiative in her intercourse with Coyett.[41] Yet this initiative is mediated entirely through the memory of Coyett, the "unreliable narrator" of this novel. His sympathy and affection for Taiwan is mostly derived from his romanticization and primitivization of the indigenous colonial subject. Nana in Coyett's memory was characterized as a wild, exotic, and erotic object, which very much epitomizes the typical colonial relations between the masculine colonizers and the feminine colonial subjects (as can be seen in many colonial literatures). The energetic and vital representation of Nana is also used to symbolize the prolific and fertile land of the island of Taiwan, which again reifies the indigenous peoples, particularly indigenous women, within the colonial gaze.

In brief, Ping Lu's literary intervention in the history of the seventeenth century and her critique of the neocolonial condition that contemporary Taiwan is facing provide us a ground to reconsider the complicated and tense relationship between settler colonialism and neocolonialism in Taiwan as a settler society. In her collection, *Revolutions on Banned Books* (禁書啟示錄 *Jinshu qishilu*, 1997), Ping Lu discloses her thoughts on the writing of history:

[41] Please see: Ying-ying Chien and Evelyn K. C. Wu, "Sinophone Women Historical Writings and Cross-cultural Presentation: from *Taiwan Trilogy* to *Island Formosa*," *Monumenta Taiwanica* 12 (2015), pp. 1-15; Ya-ru Yang, "Tragic Hero? A Scapegoat? A Challenging Opponent?: The Frederick Coyett Image in Chen Yaochang's, Ping Lu's and Lin Keming's Novels," *Tamkang Journal of Chinese Literature* 36 (2017), pp. 251-84.

> The truth is the part that is never written down. Therefore, history is destined to always be a canon that is never passed down. And the history people read about is filled with inaccurate records. The point of this is to make people believe that they belong to a place they do not belong to, and that they possess an autonomy that they do not really possess.[42]

The above passage, according to Michael Berry's interpretation, suggests that fiction serves as "a tool to re-create history by reinstating personal narrative and reinserting a multiplicity of perspectives denied by conventional historical narratives."[43] Nevertheless, the "unwritten truth" of Ping Lu's re-creation of history, as well as her critique of and reflection on contemporary neocolonial condition of Taiwan, lies exactly in its omission and reduction of the presence of indigenous peoples. This is, if not a case of intentional ignorance, one of outright denial. By underscoring Taiwan as a geopolitical location caught between empires, Ping Lu's critique of Taiwan's neocolonial condition, very ironically, also serves as a disavowal of the Han settler colonial structure in contemporary Taiwan that the indigenous peoples have long been subject to.

Interestingly, the metaphorical expression "being caught in crevice" is also used by indigenous intellectual Sun Ta-chuan (Paelabang Danapan) from the Puyuma tribe to discuss the difficulties and predicaments of indigenous identity reconstruction and cultural revitalization. According to Sun, indigenous peoples in Taiwan have not only been caught between multiple external empires throughout history due to Taiwan's history of multiple colonialisms and absence of international recognition; they have also been caught in the fissures caused by ethnic conflicts among different groups, assimilation policies and racial discrimination against the indigenous

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[42] The English translation of the passage cited here is by Michael Berry in his monograph, *A History of Pain: Trauma in Modern Chinese Literature and Film*, pp. 212-3.

[43] Ibid., p. 213.

population in the society of Taiwan.[44] It is therefore imperative to take indigenous perspectives into consideration so as to further develop the critique of neocolonialism formed by multiple imperial powers into a more thorough and reflexive decolonial discourse, instead of using it to buttress settler colonial structure in Taiwan. In short, Ping Lu's literary critique of neocolonialism in her two novels, although it can be regarded as a form of liberal or anti-colonial discourse, still contains certain kinds of blind spots when it comes to the Han dominant settler colonial structure in Taiwan's society.

Coda: Settler Colonialism, a Self-contradictory Consciousness

On July 28, 2016, a few days before President Tsai Ing-wen's official apology to Taiwan's indigenous peoples on August 1 (the Indigenous Peoples' Day officially declared by Taiwan's government), a group of indigenous rights activists and intellectuals gathered together in front of the Tainan Railway Station. They poured red ink on the foundation of Koxinga's statue located in Tainan's North District as a political gesture to demand transitional justice and autonomy for the indigenous peoples in Taiwan. The red ink on the foundation of Koxinga's statue, the indigenous activists claimed, symbolizes the historical fact that Koxinga had "trampled on the blood of indigenous peoples of Taiwan" when he arrived and settled on this island of Taiwan. Koxinga, these protestors contended, should not be revered as a heroic historical figure by the public because he was the murderer who massacred the ancestors of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. In their protest in front of the Tainan Railway Station, these indigenous activists expressed their shared discontent about the discussion of transitional justice led by the DPP that had not taken

[44] For more detailed discussion, please see Ta-chuan Sun, "Caught in Crevice of Ethnic Construction," *Caught in Crevice of Ethnic Construction*, pp. 126-160.

the indigenous historical and cultural perspectives into consideration. This protest very powerfully demonstrates what Lorenzo Veracini has argued that "settler colonialism is not somewhere else" (not as formulated by the conventional research fields such as frontier or borderlands studies that focus on the periphery). Settler colonialism is "everywhere," as it takes place in every space and its function and influence is omnipresent[45]—at railway stations, temples, national monuments, museums, and all types of educational institutes, libraries, administration buildings, and so forth. As a "present tense" mode of domination, Veracini adds, "settler colonialism is not finished"; it exists and penetrates our daily life through innumerable ways and methods[46]—via news, text books, artifacts, commodities,[47] visual and audio products, cultural media, all forms of literature, rituals and ceremonies, national and regional cultural events, to name just a few examples here. Koxinga, a legendary founder in the Han centered settler history of Taiwan, crystalizes how a historical figure can serve the propagandistic needs for distinct political ideologies in the transnational context among Taiwan, Japan, and China, and how steadfast and resilient the Han settler colonial consciousness is.

The texts studied in this chapter create a space to reexamine the intricate and entangled relationship between settler colonialism and other forms of the so-called anti-colonial and liberal discourses, including multiculturalism, postcolonial, and anti-neocolonial discourses. The acknowledgement of Taiwan's colonial past and the attempt of reconciliation with colonial others

[45] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, pp. 51-6.

[46] Ibid., especially chapter four.

[47] A more recent example of Koxinga's image as being used for commodity promotion is the "Chenggong beer" (literally, success beer) produced by Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL) and Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the Tainan City Government, with a slogan "Must Succeed" (一定要成功 *yiding yao chenggong*) on the can. In this case, Koxinga is still treated as a positive icon for commercial promotion.

in the novels by Chen Yao-chang, Lin Keh-ming, and Ping Lu demonstrate the discursive blind spots of multiculturalism and postcolonial theory that are primarily articulated by settler intellectuals and serve the interests of the Han settlers in Taiwan. These works also show how problematic it can be when the above settler-oriented liberal discourses, to borrow America-based historian and theorist Arif Dirlik's insights, function and operate as another form of "coloniality within the process of nation-building,"[48] and further facilitate the consolidation of settler colonialism. My purpose here is neither to disavow the ethnic hybridity and cultural creolization of Taiwan's society as a historical fact nor to entirely repudiate the idea of multiculturalism as a liberal discourse. Instead, this chapter aims to emphasize the necessity of a more critical and radical reflection on the mode of settler multiculturalism and a more prudent use of multicultural discourse in order not to overly celebrate this concept as an umbrella term. Furthermore, it is equally important that the anti-neocolonial resistance against imperial powers, be they China, the United States, or other emerging superpowers, should not be taken as another excuse to deny the omnipresent settler colonial domination within the society of Taiwan or to disregard the presence of indigenous population.

To add my analysis of the novels centering on the history of the seventeenth century and Koxinga, as well as different modes of settler colonial consciousness expressed in these literary texts, I would like to further contend that the Han settler colonial consciousness in contemporary Taiwan unfolds itself as a fragmented, discontinuous, contested, and even self-contradictory consciousness. This fragmented, discontinuous, and self-contradictory consciousness embedded in Han settler colonial structure has a lot to do with Taiwan's specific history of multiple

[48] Arif Dirlik, "Taiwan: The Land Colonialisms Made," *boundary 2: an international journal of literature and culture* 45.3 (2018), pp. 5-6.

colonialisms and interethnic encounter. In the China-centric settler colonial narrative, Koxinga is used to stress the cultural connection and historical continuity between the settler colony Taiwan and its colonial metropole China (as can be seen in *Koxinga*). In contrast, *East* describes Koxinga and the maritime vision associated with the Zheng regime can also serve to create an oceanic image of Taiwan that is different from the continental domain of China by spotlighting the maritime trade network established by the Zheng family and their spirit of pirates. On the other hand, while *Koxinga* constantly emphasizes the legitimacy of an authentic Han regime by condemning both the Qing court and the Dutch colonial government as "alien regimes," it takes a firm stance on Koxinga's cultural and ethnic ties to Japan by amplifying the stories of his descendants in Nagasaki and the subsequent development of the underground anti-Manchu organization the Society of Heaven and Earth. In contrast to the xenophobic settler sentiment toward the Dutch and Manchu in *Koxinga*, the acknowledgement of Taiwan's colonial past and the attempt of reconciliation with the colonizers in *A Tale* and *Memoir* are central to the construction of Taiwan's distinct cultural and national identity by their celebration of cultural creolization and ethnic hybridization as a means to justify the current existence of settlers themselves. As for Ping Lu, the historical revisiting of Dutch Formosa during the seventeenth century is an anti-neocolonial gesture against two contemporary imperial Others—China and the United States. This somehow inconsistent or even self-contradictory mentality can be construed as what Veracini has termed the "selective inclusion for exogenous Others"—a psychological mechanism of categorization that "allows particular people to be considered for inclusion within the structures of settler body politics."[49] Different groups of settlers can possess different modes of selective mechanisms to include or exclude different groups of exogenous Others for their

[49] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview*, p. 26.

different interests and purposes as settlers, as can be seen in the texts this chapter discusses.

More interestingly, the mechanism of "selective inclusion" can also apply to the technologies of settler recognition of the indigenous peoples. In the case of Taiwan, the integration of indigenous peoples into the Han settler body effectively challenges the ideology that "Taiwan has been part of China since ancient times" as it defines Taiwan away from China. More specifically, the "selective recognition" of the indigenous peoples oftentimes expresses itself in (at least) two opposite ways—either the overemphasis of indigeneity (as Nana in *Whirling*), or the claim of settler indigenization (as can be seen through the cultural creolization and ethnic hybridization between the Han settlers and indigenous peoples depicted in *A Tale* and *Memoir*). The settler consciousness of inclusion and eradication of indigeneity, to borrow Veracini's words again, can coexist without the need for internal consistency or logic,[50] and that is why and how Han settler colonial consciousness in Taiwan as a whole is particularly inconsistent, discontinuous, unstable, and as I noted earlier, self-contradictory. To further sum up by using Lukác's phrase, the "totality" of the settler society in contemporary Taiwan (if there is a kind of totality at all) is very much composed of mosaic-like fragmentations of political ideologies, contested national and cultural identities, discontinuous historiographies, diverse interethnic relationalities, and several other unstable and inconsistent elements. All of the above thereby constitute what I call here the self-contradictory consciousness of the Han settler colonialism in contemporary Taiwan.

[50] Ibid., p. 32.

Coda

Toward a Redistribution of Knowledge Production

Can a fish fly?
Can a bird swim?
Can a person be free?
Can an insensitive soul feel again?

—Panai Kusui
"Freedom"

Research is important because it is the process for knowledge production; it is the way we constantly expand knowledge. Research for social justice expands and improves the conditions for justice; it is an intellectual, cognitive and moral project, often fraught, never complete, but worthwhile.

—Linda Tuhiwai Smith
Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples

Whatever breaks with the tangible configuration whereby parties and parts or lack of them are defined by a presupposition that, by definition, has no place in that configuration—that of the part of those who have no part. This break is manifest in a series of actions that reconfigure the space where parties, parts, or lack of parts have been defined. Political activity is whatever shifts a body from the place assigned to it or changes a place's designation. It makes visible what had no business being seen, and makes heard a discourse where once there was only place for noise; it makes understood as discourse what was once only heard as noise.

—Jacques Rancière
Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy

This dissertation examines the formation, development and transformation of Han settler consciousness in Taiwan from 1945 to the present by investigating diverse forms of postwar cultural production. More specifically, it analyzes two different modes of Han settler mentality that can be seen roughly in two groups of the Han population—the early wave of Han settlers who moved to Taiwan beginning in the seventeenth century as well as their descendants (also known as the "Taiwanese locals"), and the later wave of the majority of "mainlanders" who arrived in Taiwan after 1945—and the ways in which these two modes of settler consciousness transform, interact, contest and negotiate with one another. To summarize briefly here, the Han settler colonial consciousness at the inception of the Nationalist rule sought to construct a linear and continuous narrative of China-centered historiography by stressing the ancestral affinity, cultural legacy and territorial integrity between China and Taiwan in order to consolidate the rule of the Nationalist government as a new settler regime after the end of Japanese colonialization.

However, this mode of mentality was gradually superseded by another form of the earlier Han settler consciousness that the Nationalist authoritarian regime once suppressed during the Martial Law era. The social movements of localization and democratization beginning in the late 1970s and 1980s facilitated the resurgence of this early mode of Han settler mentality that brought Taiwan's national and cultural subjectivity and Taiwanese consciousness to the forefront, in contrast to the Nationalist settler ideology and historiography. Informed further by liberal discourses, such as multiculturalism and postcolonial theories, these Han settler authors attempted to construct a Taiwan-centric historiography, either by acknowledging Taiwan's colonial past and different colonial legacies, whether Dutch, Japanese, or other former colonizers, or by recognizing indigenous peoples' presence in Taiwan. The similarity between the two modes of settler consciousness is that they both claim that Taiwan is "postcolonial." In the Nationalist

historical narrative, Japan's unconditional surrender marked Taiwan's entry into the postcolonial era. In contrast, for those who advocate Taiwanese national and cultural subjectivity, rearticulating Taiwan as a multiethnic and culturally hybridized country can help constitute its postcolonial present, by which Han settlers are able to deny the colonial relationship with indigenous peoples. In so doing, Taiwan's postcolonial condition Han settlers articulated becomes a discursive lever to ignore the founding violence against indigenous peoples and disavow their continuous settler colonial domination. In this sense, settler colonial criticism as a critical framework debunks different versions of postcolonial myth that Han settlers have forged.

The contestation and tension between the two modes of Han settler consciousness, or the conflicts between the so-called Taiwanese locals and mainlanders, define and complicate Taiwan's settler colonial condition and present further. The two modes of Han settler consciousness resemble largely what Veracini has referred to as "settler colonialism's inherent ambiguity"—two trends of settler mentality that move in opposite directions, two distinct tendencies that seek connections with "old" and "new" homes (the old metropole and the new settler colony), respectively.[1] Although these two modes of settler consciousness differ with respect to their etiologies and tendencies, they are mutually formative and constitutive in their development in postwar Taiwan. The Nationalist settler pedagogy as *Descendants* conducts was to harmonize the two groups of Han settlers, so as to reinforce the Nationalist government's legitimacy to rule. On the other hand, the resurgence of the early mode of Han settler mentality that thrived during the 1980s not only was a consequence of "settler indigenization" as Veracini elucidates; it also was a direct reaction to the later wave of the Nationalist settler consciousness.

In a similar vein, it is also worth noting that the two modes of Han settler consciousness

[1] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, p. 21.

neither constitute a fixed, clear opposition between the Taiwanese locals and mainlanders, nor a simplified ideological polarization between Taiwan-centrism and China-centrism, as the formation of the settler consciousness at the individual level is constructive rather than predetermined. While a mainlander (and his/her descendants) may become localized and strive for national autonomy and the cultural subjectivity of the new settler colony, a descendant of the early wave of Han settlers also is likely to possess a type of diasporic mentality and be more inclined to identify the old metropole. The two seemingly opposite forms of settler mentality can also coexist in one individual, depending on the kind of social, political, economic, and cultural situation that the settler is experiencing. Moreover, the development and transformation of settler consciousness is not a linear, evolutionary process. It does not necessarily progress from one mode to another, say, from the Nationalist, China-centric settler consciousness to the Taiwan-centric settler consciousness, as this dissertation seems to suggest through its chronological investigation from 1945 to the present. As noted earlier, the construction of Han settler colonialism in Taiwan has always been involved, and interacted with various forces of colonization and domination, both internal and external, including colonial legacies from different former colonizers (the Dutch, Japanese, the Qing Empire), internal colonialism (the Nationalist authoritarianism toward the Han people), neocolonialism (China, the US, and others), and so forth, vis-à-vis indigenous peoples. This phenomenon of the conflicting tendencies embedded in the two modes of Han settler mentality in contemporary Taiwan also echo the point I made earlier that the Han settler consciousness is a type of inconsistent, self-contradictory consciousness.

Given the fact that settler colonialism is a contemporary and global phenomenon, a structure that is not yet finished, settler colonial criticism as a critical framework is never thorough, but

always is an ongoing project. Settler colonial criticism thus is always limited in an ethical sense, as I am well aware that this dissertation, which contemplates Han settler colonialism, also is a consequence of the settler colonial mentality, an outcome attributable to a form of self-redemption and self-reflection on the part of a Han settler author. To borrow Leo T. S. Ching's words in his reflection on Robert Young's postcolonial discourse, this self-critical positionality used to reflect on the Han settler colonial history and present, is "already a privileged one,"[2] as it grants itself the authority to apologize to the indigenous others for the mistakes that Han settlers committed throughout history and continue to commit at present, and more importantly, to decide when and to what extent a settler can criticize, or challenge settler hegemony. Given such an ethical aporia with respect to settler self-redemption, settler colonial criticism formulated by settlers themselves is always insufficient and never complete, as, in reality, it never can truly overturn or deconstruct the settler colonial regime fully.

Having said that, I would rather approach this ethical aporia I indicated above in a more fruitful and productive way, as this aporetic positionality does not free settlers from their ethical responsibility. Here, I would like to respond to Veraini's call that what settlers can and should do is "unlearn" settlers' epistemic privileges, and, with great vigilance, learn genuinely from the indigenous others, without making the process an appropriative action.[3] If colonization should be understood as a multilayered and multidimensional relationality, then to decolonize settler colonial relationships requires not only indigenous peoples' efforts, but participation of all of society's members. To assume responsibility for indigenous others is to assume responsibility for ourselves, as this ethical act is an imperative and indispensable part in decolonizing the entire

[2] Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, p. 41.

[3] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 103.

society. Decolonizing this world, in Vericini's words, entails "reshaping metaphors as well as reconstituting relations."[4] Settler colonial criticism therefore is one of decolonization practices that offer alternative theoretical vocabularies and metaphors to imagine a different world, in which more ethical and reciprocal relations will take place. In this vein, settler colonial criticism is also, in Jacques Rancière's words, an attempt to challenge prevailing regimes of discursive formation, a move toward "redistribution of knowledge production." This redistribution of knowledge production as a decolonization practice also can never be finished, and always remains incomplete, but as Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes, is always "worthwhile."[5] Recognition of and reflection on the past wrongdoings, I believe, can be a new starting point of promises for the future, which, to borrow Hannah Arendt's words in *The Human Condition*, serves to set up "islands of security" in the "ocean of uncertainty."[6] The potential for healing and reconciliation will not arise from non-action, but rather, sincere promises for the future.

On February 14, 2017, several months after President Tsai Ing-wen issued her formal apology to Taiwan's indigenous peoples on August 1, 2016, the Council of Indigenous Peoples organized a press conference on the "Regulations for Demarcating Indigenous Traditional Territories," and proclaimed these new regulations officially on February 18. This policy disappointed many indigenous communities in Taiwan, as the new regulations for their land rights confined the notion of indigenous traditional territories only to government-owned public land, and excluded private property. In the eyes of indigenous activists, the exclusion of private land from indigenous traditional territories was, in fact, a justification of settlers' land

[4] Lorenzo Veracini, *The Settler Colonial Present*, p. 103.

[5] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed., p. 215.

[6] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (U of Chicago P, 1958), p. 237.

dispossession because a great portion of indigenous land has been designated as private property. On February 23, 2017, indigenous activists, including documentarian Mayaw Biho, musician Panai Kusui, and several others, set up a campsite in front of the Presidential Office Building on Ketagalan Boulevard to protest against these new regulations, where they held informal concerts and forums to popularize the issues related to indigenous traditional territories and land rights in the public sphere and communicate persistently with Taiwan society. Furthermore, they painted stones, and invited people to paint with them, and placed their artworks on Ketagalan Boulevard, which made their protest camp a creative gallery of activism. Unfortunately, on June 2, the campsite and their artworks were demolished by the government ruthlessly, and these indigenous activists were evicted from the campsite on Ketagalan Boulevard by police. Thereafter, they moved to the Taipei Metro Taiwan University Hospital Station and reconstructed their protest site near Exit One, where they continue to fight for indigenous peoples' land rights and their traditional territories. The demolition of the indigenous protest campsite on Ketagalan Boulevard, a street name derived from the Ketagalan indigenous tribe, epitomized ironically various forms of forceful eviction and relocation that continue to take place and harm indigenous peoples' rights to land and sovereignty in contemporary Taiwan. Settler colonialism is not yet finished, and Taiwan indigenous peoples' efforts in decolonization continue.

Although the indigenous protest did not stop the implementation of the regulations on Taiwan indigenous traditional territories successfully, it can be considered fruitfully as a case that demonstrates the potential of the politics of redistribution that Rancière has elucidated (at least in an epistemic and discursive sense). To put it in Rancière's words, the moment of politics took place through this indigenous protest, during which the existing spatial order of Han settler domination was challenged, interrupted, and destabilized by an intervention of the "part of those

who have no part" (the indigenous activist community),[7] via their alternative way of occupation (the presence of the indigenous activists and their collective artwork project of painted stones assembled in front of the governmental landmark, the Presidential Office Building). More importantly, this alternative occupation by these indigenous activists "makes visible what had no business being seen" by creating a "specific form of connection,"[8] the connection between the indigenous peoples and their land (represented by those painted stones), which symbolizes a political gesture on Taiwan indigenous peoples' part to reclaim their territories and sovereignty. The politics of recognition, as many of the cultural texts by the Han settler authors that I studied in this dissertation have manifested by including indigenous elements and indigeneity, is neither sufficient for a more reciprocal interethnic relationship nor a true reconciliation between the indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Instead, the politics of redistribution—a political action that reconfigures and alters "the landscape of what can be seen and what can be thought, along with the field of the possible and the distribution of capacities and incapacities"[9]—is what Taiwan's society needs at this moment in its history and on its path towards transitional justice. Settler colonial criticism thus serves as a methodological framework to facilitate this model of the politics of redistribution, by which we are able to reconsider the distribution of space, territory, resources, aesthetics, knowledge, and discourse more critically and reflexively.

[7] Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, p. 11.

[8] Ibid., p. 30; 11-12.

[9] Axel Honneth and Jacques Rancière, *Recognition or Disagreement: A Critical Encounter on the Politics of Freedom, Equality, and Identity*, p. 155.

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