Transnational Representations

The State of Taiwan Film in the 1960s and 1970s

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Introduction

There are few more fascinating methods for investigating the ways in which Taiwan's Chinese Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang*, KMT) Government defined itself as the representative government of all of China in the 1960s and 1970s than to consider its state-sanctioned film industry.[1] The films produced by the state represent ideas of national unity and a glorious "homeland" during decades that witnessed intense transformations in multiple arenas: in film with the rise and eventual decline in popularity of Taiwan cinema in Southeast Asia, in literature with the *xiangtu* (nativist) literature debates, in the economy with the emergence of factories and small business to replace the island's agricultural infrastructure, and in politics with the end of the Nationalist government's international status following the loss of its United Nations seat in 1971. In each of these arenas the state propagated its "free China" ideal on the silver screen—an ideal made all the more complicated by competing regional and cultural influences: the People's Republic of China to the west, the legacy of Japanese colonialism to the north, concurrent Western military and economic aid from the east, and a vast capitalist market governed by lines drawn during the Cold War to the south. Thus, situating these multiple discourses involves both a historical analysis, bringing the material and historical moments to light, and a cultural analysis, considering the government's belief that images produced in a pop-medium might bolster the state's political status as its films competed on the open market.

Transnational Representations: The State of Taiwan Film in the 1960s and 1970s both excavates Taiwan's socio-historical context and studies the cinematic form of the era employing a transnational, comparative framework.[2] The term "transnational representations" refers to the text's cross-border comparisons such as those between Taiwan films and films produced in Mainland China in the early 1960s, between Taiwan films and concurrent films from

Germany and Senegal that represented the politics of migration, and between Taiwan New Cinema and global new cinema movements. The "state of Taiwan film in the 1960s and 1970s" refers to both the historical-material conditions in Taiwan during these two pivotal decades and the Chinese Nationalist Party's presentation of itself as the representative government of all of China in terms of: its relationship to the People's Republic of China (Chapter 2), film form and content (Chapter 3), depictions of gender identity (Chapter 4), and filmic adaptations of nativist literature (Conclusion).

Consequently, the text critically challenges academic perspectives within Chinese Studies that present Taiwan's film history as parallel to rather than intertwined with China, or oversimplify the influence of pre-1980s cinema in Taiwan. Second, this study contributes to the field of film studies by analyzing, in close detail, heretofore under-represented films that demonstrate the influence of transnational flows of culture with filmic images, styles, and influences that traversed national boundaries. Third, the text challenges film history narratives that fail to consider the limitations of the category of "nation" as a dominant paradigm. All the while this study remains focused on the primary motivation for this project: a desire to explore and contribute to the emerging body of scholarship concerning Mandarin films (*guoyu pian*) produced in Taiwan.

In fact, apart from June Yip's book *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary* and Guo-Juin Hong's recent *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen*, few monographs have considered in detail the history, aesthetic principles, and framework of pre-1980s film in Taiwan. In the process of elucidating these previously omitted details, this book reveals the oversimplification of summarizing film from the 1960s and 1970s as easily dismissed "propaganda."[3] It also interweaves previous studies of Taiwan cinema with original research into local magazines, newspaper articles, and film studio statistics, and is influenced by the voices of popular contemporary actors such as Ke Junxiong and Li Xiang, film critics Huang Ren and Cai Guorong, and director Li Xing, obtained through onsite interviews in Taiwan.[4] These voices are vital to the argument for continuity between Taiwan's film history and the emergence of Taiwan New Cinema's notable directors such Hou Hsiao-hsien (Hou Xiaoxian), Edward Yang (Yang Dechang), Ang Lee (Li An), and Tsai Ming-liang (Cai Mingliang). Taiwan New Cinema was built on a state industry that was both vivacious and

multifaceted—and for good reason, was all too ready for the serious makeover that would follow.

When the journal *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* released the first book-length work in English devoted to Taiwan cinema in the spring of 2003, the articles reflected a common insistence that studies of Taiwan cinema must consider the local, singular, and unique characteristics of the island nation when evaluating its films. In general, they highlighted Taiwan's distinctive cinematic tradition and cultural productions. However, this groundbreaking volume also left room for future scholars to observe that, at nearly every juncture, Taiwan cinema was also a transnational cinema. For example, at the advent of cinema, Japan occupied Taiwan and managed the production and exhibition of cinema there until 1945. Next, Nationalist films of the 1950s and 1960s, which had inherited an anti-Communist and anti-Japanese tradition from the Mainland, competed with Taiwanese-language films (*taiyu pian*) in Taiwan's film market. At the same time, film production on the island was influenced by Hong Kong and Southeast Asia's commercial system, advance capital, and exhibition market. By the 1970s, adaptations of Qiong Yao novels, Japanese martial arts films, and Hollywood storylines had already made an indelible mark on the narratives of Taiwan's films.

These diverse aspects of Taiwan film history continue to be captured in texts that primarily focus on post-1980 Taiwan film, such as Chris Berry and Feii Lu's (Lu Feiyi) *Island on the Edge: Taiwan New Cinema and After*, which lays claim to being "the first English-language anthology on Taiwan New Cinema." This edited volume introduces its audience to twelve key films released in Taiwan during the last thirty years. Similarly, Tonglin Lu's *Confronting Modernity in the Cinemas of Taiwan and Mainland China*, a monograph that traces the two different and unique historical trajectories of Taiwan and Mainland Chinese film, focuses on each society's recent interaction and confrontation with Western notions of progress as they are reflected on the screen. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis provide a clear schematic of the history of Taiwan film in the first two chapters of *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, then present four essays on Taiwan's most famous and internationally acclaimed contemporary directors: Edward Yang, Hou Hsiao-hsien, Ang Lee, and Tsai Ming-liang. In 2007, Ru-Shou Robert Chen and Darrell William Davis edited *Cinema Taiwan: Politics, Popularity and State of Arts*. While this text is exceptional, the brevity and diversity of the topics addressed in this volume allows leeway for current and future

scholarship to map out the myriad of discussions into a topography that can be grasped by the amateur and expert alike. Perhaps such projects will follow the direction of auteur analyses such as James Udden's *No Man an Island: The Cinema of Hou Hsiao-hsien*, thematic analyses such as Jean Ma's account of Hou Hsiao-hsien in *Melancholy Drift: Marking Time in Chinese Cinema*, or Guo-Juin Hong's *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen*, which questions whether the concept of the nation is the best way to frame Taiwan's film history. Hong considers film in the context of the island's unique colonial experiences, transferences of power, and today's multinational corporations in an age of globalization.

The above are the primary English-language texts that address Taiwan cinema, along with the historical framework and case studies presented in Yingjin Zhang's *Chinese National Cinema* (2004). Exciting recent work has been done on Taiwanese language cinema. Additional key texts that feature chapters on Taiwan cinema include: Sheldon Lu and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh's *Chinese-Language Film: Historiography, Poetics, Politics* (2005) and Nick Browne, Paul G. Pickowicz, Vivian Sobshack, and Esther Yau's *New Chinese Cinemas: Forms, Identities, Politics* (1996). Texts written in traditional Chinese that are important to this study include numerous works by Huang Ren, including his text *Film and Government Propaganda* (1994), and perhaps most importantly, Lu Feiyi's *Taiwan Film: Politics, Economics, and Aesthetics 1949–1994* (1998). These works are complemented by film biographies and histories written in Taiwan, such as Cai Guorong's edited volume *National Film in the 1960s: Famous Directors and Notable Selections* (1982), Du Yunzhi's *Film History in the Republic of China* (1988), Henry Gong's autobiographical *Film Recollections* (2005), and histories of the Central Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC, *Zhongying*) studio.

This analysis relies on and is indebted to the scholarship and discussions outlined above, films released during the time period under scrutiny, and sources including magazines, studio publications, and film reviews published in Taiwan during the 1960s and 1970s. While the primary theoretical contribution to Chinese film studies may lie in the presentation of Taiwan film within a transnational context, the film analyses that follow also rely on postcolonial theory in their examination of film form and film sense.

Transnational Representations

> The most interesting and difficult part of any cultural analysis, in complex societies, is that which seeks to grasp the hegemonic in its active and formative but also in transformational processes. —Raymond Williams[5]

In order to capture the various influences which characterize Taiwan film in the 1960s and 1970s I employ an original theory of transnationalism by combining Raymond William's notion of epochal analysis in his text *Marxism and Literature* (that society contains its dominant, residual, and emergent modes of culture), in conjunction with Wimal Dissanayake's discussion in *Colonialism and Nationalism in Asian Cinema*, which describes how film travels (as image, as commodity, and as cultural product) at the local, national, regional, and global levels. The interstitial spaces between the local, national, regional, and global are also sites of cultural flow, as described by Homi Bhabha in *Nation and Narration*. The intent is to shed light on the way Taiwan's films stage the ideology dominant at various levels of inquiry. This use of transnationalism theory both critiques unequal power relations and takes into account a multi-directional exchange of culture—which I like to think of as "fluid"—between the local, national, regional, and transnational.[6]

This approach is inspired by, and intends to complement, the use of the term transnational in "contradistinction to 'global,' a concept bound up with the philosophical category of totality, and in contrast to 'international,' predicated on political systems in a latent relationship of parity, as signaled by the prefix 'inter.'"[7] On the one hand, the transnational method used here reveals the limitations of the term "national cinema."[8] How are we to classify the work of the director Bai Jingrui (1931–1997)? Bai was born in China, influenced by Mainland, Hong Kong, Hollywood, and Japanese film, studied filmmaking in Italy, and then produced films in Taiwan. Thus, when Bai or other directors of the time are classified as representative of a national film tradition in either Taiwan or in Mainland China, national political interests often appear to be determining. Lee Daw-ming states it best when he writes:

> The history of Taiwan cinema after 1945 was considered by the Nationalist government, and its film historians, to be an extension of, and addition to the history of Chinese cinema (and to the film history of the Republic of China, for that matter) on the Mainland before 1945. Furthermore, in the eyes of the Nationalists, the history of Taiwan cinema certainly has nothing to do with any Mainland China cinema history after 1949 (i.e.,

> the film history of the People's Republic of China, which the KMT never even recognized until the late 1990s).[9]

On the other hand, I follow the lead of Lingzhen Wang in her description of transnational feminism. She writes that the transnational method can be used as a critique of hegemony and hierarchy by "directing our attention to disproportioned movements across borders, and by exposing the underbelly of "the global village": racism, illegal border crossing, forced economic migration, political exile, and xenophobia."[10] Indeed, transnational transactions are also gendered transactions (see Chapter 4).

To summarize Raymond Williams, epochal analyses feature a dominant mode of culture, for example, the feudal system of the European Middle Ages or the bourgeois class of the industrial era. The cultural theorist who studies the cultural dominant should trace the "internal dynamic relations," or the interrelationship of multiple processes, of this dominant mode as it interacts with other features of culture. One of the features of culture that interacts within the cultural dominant is labeled the residual, which Williams defines as a cultural idea or project that can trace its beginning to a historical moment in the past but remains active within a concurrent dominant cultural system. An example of the residual described by Williams is religion. Religions can function either in conjunction with the dominant mode (maintaining the judicial structure in place) or it can work in disjunction with the dominant mode (by advocating such values as selflessness). According to Williams, another feature of culture that interacts with the dominant mode is termed the emergent, which is not necessarily a "new idea" that materializes in a culture so much as an *alternative* or *oppositional force* that challenges the dominant culture in arenas that it "neglects, excludes, represses, or simply fails to recognize."[11] What is particularly exciting about this dominant, residual, emergent approach is that "no mode of production and therefore no dominant social order . . . includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy, and human intention."[12] In other words, there remains hope for the residual or emergent features of culture to change the dominant mode.

In addition to this theoretical foundation, Wimal Dissanayake's categories provide a helpful structure here to take into account cross-border cultural exchange. Dissanayake analyzes film as image, commodity, and cultural product as it travels between the local, the national, the regional, and the transnational. Dissanayake writes in his article "Globalization and the Experience of Culture: The Resilience of Nationhood" that cultural exchange

over many levels is not a smooth confluence of diverse forces into an elegant unity, but a "problematic coexistence of different influences with the evolving matrix of cultural modernity and the space of national imaginary"—this is the nature of the local, national, regional, and transnational model.[13] By using different observational positions enabled by the translational method, films made in Taiwan in the 1960s and 1970s can be seen in new lines of sight.[14]

At the level of the local, the transmissions, interactions, and appropriations of film culture are never static. Arjun Appadurai describes this well: "locality itself is a historical product and that the histories through which localities emerge are eventually subject to the dynamics of the global."[15] In terms of film exhibition and audience attendance, one finds various interpretations and indigenizations of cinema at the local level that at times the director and production companies do not intend. At the national level, film production is inextricably linked to state policies in a number of ways, including taxation, film rating systems, censorship, and distribution policies. Films produced under state auspices might, among other possibilities, reveal the reality of a particular local situation or condition, perpetuate national origin myths, or use a mode of address that prescribes a "correct" way of seeing and interpreting the images on the screen. In these ways, the complex "intentions" of national cinema are important and worth studying. At the national level the dominant, using Williams' term, might be assessed by analyzing the qualities of screenplays and films that the state apparatus accepts or rejects. Further examples of the relationship between film and the nation include governmental, administrative, and legal influences on cinema production. Thus, in debates about globalization, it is important to stress the levels of containment which the nation still enforces on cinema production, in contrast to claims of uninhibited cultural flow.

In the mid-1990s, Appadurai claimed that modernity at large may mean the end of the nation state.[16] But this idea seems less likely today. Chris Berry writes in his article "From National Cinema to Cinema and the National": "However, if the idea of the territorial nation-state as a transcendent and exclusive ideal form is no longer tenable, that does not mean either that the form of issues of the national disappear."[17] Indeed, a careful consideration of the role of global capitalism and its interrelationship with, rather than its subjugation of, the nation is essential for filmic analysis.[18] In *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, Ella Shohat and Robert Stam argue that to "float 'above' petty nationalist concerns" is to ignore the real

structure of power that the nation employs as it "facilitates the making and the dissemination" of films.[19] This observation is as persuasive for the filmmaker, as Shohat and Stam imply, as it is for the cultural theorist.

Overall, the observations on nationalism that Berry and Shohat and Stam address lead to specific questions about the role of the nation in each of the key periods in Taiwan's modern history: Japanese Colonialism, Nationalist Rule, and the Democratic Era. Within the context of this text's focus on the influence of the KMT on Taiwan politics during Nationalist Rule, I follow the view that the films the state created and endorsed are presented as a staging, not a reflection, of national policies. The choice of wording between "staging" and "reflection" is selected from *Theorising National Cinema*. Vitali and Willemen state:

> . . . films may and may not reflect the ideological trajectory dominant within the nation at any one time, . . . films can be seen not to "reflect," but to "stage" the historical conditions that constitute "the national" and, in the process, to "mediate" the socio-economic dynamics that shape cinematic production, along with the other production sectors governed by national industrial regulation and legislation. (7)

This characterization of the nation's involvement in cinema in general is important when considering how the cinematic image is presented in Taiwan's films of the 1960s and 1970s. For example, taking the case study of Bai Jingrui's 1970 film *Home Sweet Home* in Chapter 3, one observes a staging of the "ideal" Taiwan citizen on the big screen, mediated by national and industrial concerns.

An excellent model for this type of approach, situated within Taiwan's national fabric and socio-historical framework, is provided by Fran Martin in her introduction to *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film, and Public Culture*. Martin writes that culture does not remain constant and unchanged; rather, cultures are transformed and modified as cultural products travel between and across cultural landscapes. Her text provides a case study that illustrates how, using Williams' terminology, the cultural dominant might be changed and transformed in the contact zone when differing cultures from various localities intersect. In contact zones in which the emergent (whether engendered locally or produced dialectically due to transnational influences) intersects with the dominant, culture fragments, dislocates, and at times radically initiates new formations of identity. For example, Martin describes an archeology of terms that have been used

to describe homosexuality in Taiwan such as *tongxinglian* and *tongzhi*, terms that lead one to recognize that in an analysis of cultural exchange, local ideas of gender and sexual *specificity* trump *generalizations* if the cultural theorist "attends to the historical specificities of local context and is sensitive to the ways in which locality today is always itself marked by translocal interaction."[20] Moreover, the generalizations one encounters when considering polarizing characterizations such as "Chinese vs. Western" do not withstand careful examination when considering specific gender issues in Taiwan.[21] Similarly, there is not a universal film language that transcends national borders; rather, the filmic "language" of Taiwan's state film industry contains distinct national characteristics.

At the level of the regional, one must factor in the notion that the very idea of a "region" is also a construction particular to time and place. As with the local and the national, regional affiliations such as the "Pacific Rim" are not created only to name geographical locations, but embody geopolitical agendas.[22] Consider the ways Taiwan cinema has been, and continues to be, positioned historically and regionally: during Japanese Colonialism, Taiwan was contained within the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"; in the Nationalist Era, regional demarcations included Taiwan's position within Cold War boundary lines; and during the Democratic Era today the regional includes the fraught issue of whether or not Taiwan's political status is that of an independent Asian nation or a province of Mainland China, the People's Republic of China.

The above provides a schematic presentation of Taiwan's local, national, and regional characteristics following the categories Dissanayake describes in his work. I use another of his categorizations, the transnational, with two qualifications. The transnational is neither postnational nor transhistorical; after all, the intent is not to universalize objects of inquiry. Instead, multiple confluences of culture and power cross national boundaries, and transnational influences constantly change and evolve over time. The transnational category takes into account underlying structures and historical tendencies while recognizing the types of interconnections that shape cinema today, from the transference of voices, images, and text over smart phones and other technologies to the increasing linkages via transportation, consumer culture, and film festivals. Thus, a transnational approach might be broad in theoretical scope since it keeps in mind multiple connections globally, but it focuses on specific objects of inquiry in particular locations when conducting

analyses.[23] A filmic example of the transnational *par excellence* would be Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), funded with international capital and strategically employing a pan-Asian cast. The result was a model for the production of a global hit. In the United States, it remains the second highest grossing foreign-language film after *The Passion of the Christ* (dir. Gibson, 2004). It is no wonder that *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* continues to serve as an example of the ways cinematic images have become de-territorialized and, within Chinese film studios, how film might convey a pan-Chinese identity.[24]

In sum, a continual flow links the local, national, regional, and transnational that affects the production of film.[25] Thus, placing these two models together at each level—the local, the national, the regional, and the transnational (Dissanayake)—one might also locate the dominant, residual, and emergent (Williams). The advantage of such a conceptual model is that it helps one keep in mind global interconnectivity and cultural flow without losing sight of local, particular conditions within specific film productions and representations.[26]

Table 1
Transnational Flow and Exchange

Local	↔	**National**	↔	**Regional**	↔	**Transnational**
Dominant		Dominant		Dominant		Dominant
↕		↕		↕		↕
Residual	⤫	Residual	⤫	Residual	⤫	Residual
↕		↕		↕		↕
Emergent		Emergent		Emergent		Emergent

Consider the following two perspectives. The first is from film director Pratibha Parmar, who states, from the perspective of an Asian lesbian living in England, "I do not speak from a position of marginalization but more crucially from the resistance to that marginalization."[27] Another instance might be the epigraph to the second chapter of Fran Martin's *Situating Sexualities*: one Yuan Zenan writes that, "New Park is Taiwan in miniature."[28] This is in reference to the way that Taipei's New Park, a place for gay males to cruise and make connections, is a microcosm of culture in Taiwan. What is noticeable in these two examples is that the individual, located within a local

community and part of a vibrant social network of relations, does not see him or herself as "marginal"—but rather as the center. Conceptually, the local spokesperson is a "local" center within a community that contains its own dominant, residual, and emergent on the scale of the local. Seen in a wider perspective, it is possible for a local community to share the same dominant as the national and regional and transnational, but more often there are competing dominants at every level, accepting new influences or offering resistance, appropriating what is valued or excluding that which does not seem acceptable.

Rather than use a model which only highlights a center (the hegemonic) to periphery (the marginalized) penetration of culture, in my analysis of films I use transnational theory in order to recognize resistance as cultures interact and intersect at various levels of exchange.[29] I recognize that global capitalism does not function uniformly. Still, in my use of the theory of transnationalism, I intend to maintain a conceptualization of transnational capital in total, in a Frederic Jameson-esque sense—when globalization does, in fact, regard the cultural dominants valued by various regional, national, and local cultures solely as hindrances to discard or overturn.[30] Otherwise, simply stating euphorically that cultural exchange—in this case the inspiration, production, and distribution of cinema—is a two-way street, offers too much latitude for global capitalism to disguise its dominance and maintain the unequal power relations it has produced. Lastly, it is important to consider transactional exchanges in the interstitial spaces between the local, national, regional, and transnational, an in-between notion that must be credited to Homi Bhabha's influential consideration of nation and narration.

In retrospect, it would seem that at the moment when post-structuralism was in favor and national paradigms were being challenged within cultural studies, the "nation" was retained within film studies as the preferred model to describe film traditions. But this is changing. Sheldon Lu and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh write in *Chinese-Language Film: Historiography, Poetics, Politics*: "Ironically, just as film studies is defining its geographic borders and theoretical perimeters, the forces of globalization have forced film scholars to reexamine their assumptions and practices."[31] And Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar have written in *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation* that in the past people may have written about an essential "Chinese culture" but today: "we argue for the abandonment of the national cinemas approach and its replacement with a larger analytic framework of cinema and the national."[32]

The State of Taiwan Film in the 1960s and 1970s

An outline of three distinct phases in Taiwan's history is also necessary to situate the films analyzed in this text. First, the period of Japanese Colonialism affected the island from 1895 to 1945. Cultural historian Ping-hui Liao has divided Japanese colonization in Taiwan into four stages: "Assimilation" (1895–1919), "Integration" (1919–1930), "Incorporation and Coercion" (1930–1937), and "Subjugation" (1937–1945), during the Second Sino-Japanese War.[33] The imprint of these colonial phases on Taiwan culture is evident in both conceptual and concrete ways.[34] For example, while certain Japanese structures were destroyed by the KMT, such as the Taiwan *Jinsha* (Shinto Shrine) built in 1901, in order to build the Grand Hotel in 1961 on the same site, other structures were retained by the incoming KMT government in 1945, such as the Office of the Taiwan Government-General, built in 1919.[35] In addition, the KMT government allowed Japanese film theaters to stand, theaters where audiences watched newsreels of Japan invading the Mainland only a few years earlier. So while the new government replaced the national language, flags, and also the image of leadership with the omnipresent face of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), the buildings where films were previously shown remained intact.

The second phase, Nationalist Rule in Taiwan, can be categorized as lasting from 1945 to 1987. This period included retrocession in 1945 when Taiwan was returned to Chiang Kai-shek's KMT government after the Second Sino-Japanese War, the violent February 28 Incident of 1947 in which 20,000[36] people were killed by KMT troops who were establishing their authority and "weeding out communists," the KMT retreat to Taiwan in 1949, the reception of United States of America military and financial aid from 1951 to 1964, and the eventual decline of Taiwan's international recognition after losing representation in the United Nations in 1971.

Interestingly, the KMT government in many ways functioned in a colonial manner during this phase of history, even as it attempted to differentiate itself from the Japanese colonial regime that preceded it. While the government used cinema in part to appeal to the local populace as members of the Chinese nation, the local populace's struggle for representation on their own terms remained constant. This is especially important in this study when considering the historical trend of films during the 1970s, films in which patriotic and nationalistic stories represent victory over the Japanese during the Second Sino-Japanese War (see Chapter 4 and Conclusion). Fangming

Chen, in his article "Postmodern or Postcolonial? An Inquiry into Postwar Taiwanese Literary History," argues that Taiwan society is indeed postcolonial, not postmodern. For example, he writes that in Taiwan, the margins spoke after martial law in 1987 when feminist, queer, and aboriginal voices emerged in order to express recognition, identity, and subjectivity.[37] Chen emphasizes: "These groups' aspirations for liberation did not have to wait until the introduction of postmodern thought into Taiwan; rather, it was precisely the end of martial law that enabled previously suppressed desires to be unbound."[38] So while the theoretical framework for this text considers transnational cultural flow, it also uses postcolonial theory as a complementary lens to understand Taiwan culture in the 1960s and 1970s.[39]

The third historical phase, the Democratic Era of Taiwan, is delineated by 1987, the year the KMT abolished martial law, and continues to the present. The current time period is characterized in broad terms by globalization alongside a rise in social and political freedoms. Appadurai writes in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* that decolonialization is "a dialogue with the colonial past, and not a simple dismantling of colonial habits and modes of life." [40] The dialogue between the local populace and the established KMT regime in the 1960s and 1970s, leading up to today's more pluralist society in Taiwan, became more vociferous in a persistent effort to achieve political equality and representation. At times this was a dialogue that turned violent, culminating with the Kaohsiung Incident, also known as the Formosa Incident, of 1979.

In order to capture this dialogue, this project focuses on the aesthetic and structural analyses of style and content within narrative film representations in addition to the material conditions in which cinema was constructed. In *Postsocialist Cinema in Post-Mao China: The Cultural Revolution after the Cultural Revolution*, Chris Berry describes how his work is concerned with examining the interrelationship of the history of the Chinese cinematic image and the history of the Chinese cinema institution as a site of social and cultural formation. He states that the two histories entail a process of renegotiation in which society influences the institution of cinema, and cinema influences society. Cinematic discourse, as it is formed in social and cultural processes, affects society—and this is most evident when the discourse of film "precedes or exceeds" political discourse.[41] These "excesses" might be located by noting disjunctions or points of slippage between what is portrayed on the screen and social mandates propagated by the state's film industry.

Accordingly, this text describes how the government in Taiwan intended to use its authority to shape the discourse of film in the 1960s and 1970s. Bruce Cumings, citing Nietzsche, notes that the language we use to describe history is a culmination "molded by a great many distinct regimes." [42] In order to identify how power shapes discursive practice, Cumings claims that in the process of excavating a historical moment one should archeologically observe the "'passing events' *in their proper dispersion* . . . that is, a discernible genealogy."[43] As outlined in the chapter summaries below, this text traces the cultural modes of Taiwan's state film production by providing close readings of representative films from the early 1960s through the late 1970s.

The Structure of This Book

Each chapter in this book is meant to stand alone or be read together depending on the reader's interest. The first chapter, "Framing Taiwan Cinema: Perspectives on History in Hou Hsiao-hsien's *Three Times*," which is intended to be read alongside a screening of Hou Hsiao-hsien's 2005 film *Three Times*, provides an accessible introduction to Taiwan cinema by synthesizing in one location key moments in Taiwan's film history. While the locus of this chapter is Taiwan's Mandarin state films, the chapter includes intersections with other national film traditions, recognizing how Mandarin film gradually replaced the vibrant Taiwanese-dialect film (*taiyu pian*) tradition in the 1970s. In order to do so, it traces the era's prominent figures, movements, and dates. This includes a summary of Taiwan film in the early 1960s, the influence of Hong Kong film, especially in 1963, with director Li Hanxiang's *The Love Eterne* (Liang Shanbo yu Zhu Yingtai), a brief account of Taiwan's so-called "golden age" film in the early 1970s, patriotic war films of the mid-1970s, and adaptations of nativist literature by the state in late 1970s films. Overall, this chapter provides an overview of Taiwan cinema and places in position a scaffolding of historical details and information essential for the analyses presented in the following chapters.

The second chapter, "Two Stage Brothers: Tracing a Common Heritage in Xie Jin and Li Xing's Early 1960s Films," proposes that the most important link between Mainland Chinese director Xie Jin and Taiwan director Li Xing's films during the Cold War was the influence of Shanghai's film tradition of realist aesthetics in the 1930s and 1940s, an aesthetic identifiable less by its accurate replication of reality on the screen than by its fascinating representation of the dominant ideology and distinctive expression of the production

values of the time. This Shanghai tradition was the root of a common cinematic language that flourished on both sides of the Strait after 1949, even though there were unique parameters inherent to each film culture after the Communist victory in the civil war. Despite different political and historical situations, and despite the way these directors are usually framed in the polarizing terms of difference associated with the Cold War, the films of Xie Jin and Li Xing are remarkably similar. In order to make this case, three sets of films are analyzed so that one might recognize narrative similarities, consider the personal experiences which shaped Xie Jin's and Li Xing's craft, and observe the lineage of realist filmic techniques that link the two filmmakers in interesting ways. This seemingly counterintuitive observation, exemplified by additional surprising connections in the articulation of Shanghai's filmic modes and devices by Xie Jin and Li Xing in the 1960s, shows that conceptions of film as a universal language, or conversely as the expression of a specific national film tradition, do not entirely account for the similarities of these two Mandarin-language filmmakers.

Chapter 3, "Projecting a State That Does Not Exist: The Politics of Migration in Bai Jingrui's 1970 Film *Home Sweet Home*," argues that *Home Sweet Home*'s central concern is the politics, both aesthetic and ideological, of depicting migration within a narrative film. More specifically, this film presents the official state position that the Chinese Nationalist Party held regarding students from Taiwan who studied abroad in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This claim is based on the film's release by a state studio, CMPC, under state supervision and censorship, in order to further the state's ideological project through visual media. In order to shed light on the nuances and inflections of *Home Sweet Home*, and frame it within a wider context, this chapter also discusses two contemporary films that represent migration on the global stage: Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul* (Angst essen Seele auf, 1974) and Ousmane Sembène's *Black Girl* (La Noire de . . ., 1966). Common features in these films include exquisite cinematic imagery juxtaposed with complex protagonists who create a space for individuality and expressions of subjectivity. At the same time, *Ali* and *Black Girl* are historical texts that demonstrate the discrepancies between the studio intentions for representing migration, and the actual formal choices that the directors chose to employ. Close readings of these three films help illuminate the ways that Bai Jingrui's aesthetic choices work both in conjunction and disjunction with the intentions of the Taiwan government in 1970.

The next chapter examines the representation of gender identity and negotiation in Song Cunshou's *Story of Mother* (1972) in order to make two primary observations. First, this early 1970s *wenyi*, or "literary art," film released with state approval in Taiwan represents passive males who attempt to earn their right to be worthy patriarchs; women are portrayed as active participants whose actions are acceptable so long as they follow the rule of their fathers. Second, I propose that this model of representing gender changes very little through the middle of the decade, despite numerous social transformations on Taiwan's political stage. This case is clarified by comparisons with Bai Jingrui's *Goodbye Darling* (1970) and Li Xing's mid-1970s film *Land of the Undaunted* (1975). Sequence breakdowns of two of the films are presented in order to consider narrative, structural, and aesthetic qualities. Theoretically, the essay re-evaluates Shu-mei Shih's text *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations Across the Pacific*, which states that all negotiations in highly volatile situations are always gender negotiations; thus, patriarchal national systems might be undermined by disjunctions and contestations in the cultural and political arenas. Taken as a whole, the work of an important and engaging director, Song Cunshou, emerges as a primary reference point for a study of cinema in a complex, intriguing, transitional period in Taiwan's history of the silver screen.

The story of Taiwan cinema in the early 1960s begins in many ways with Li Xing. The following decade also concludes with Li Xing and his dominant films. The concluding chapter of this book analyzes late 1970s filmmaking, drawing three preliminary observations on the state of Taiwan cinema at the end of the decade. In so doing, the chapter comments on the origins of Taiwan New Cinema by outlining: (1) perhaps surprisingly, the strengths and limitations of Frederic Jameson's essay "Remapping Taipei," (2) reflections on the legacy of the Healthy Realist model in Taiwan, and observations on attempts by the state apparatus to depict the local situation in late 1970s cinema, and (3) a brief comparison of the historical situation that saw the birth of Taiwan New Cinema with that of New American Cinema. The purpose of the chapter is to present the antecedents of Taiwan New Cinema, explain the ways in which there is continuity, rather than a total rupture, between Taiwan's filmic heritage and cinema that emerged in the 1980s, and reveal the reasons why Taiwan cinema was well-positioned for a new generation of directors to take the island's cinema to new heights.

Conclusion
Transnationalism and the Structure of Feeling of Taiwan Cinema in the Late 1970s

The story of Taiwan cinema in the early 1960s begins in many ways with Li Xing, and that of the late 1970s concludes with Li Xing and his dominant films. This chapter again focuses on his films as case studies in order to both re-address the main ideas presented in previous chapters and develop three preliminary observations on the state of Taiwan cinema at the end of the 1970s, a pivotal moment in Taiwan film history. In the first of my observations I juxtapose Frederic Jameson's perspective of global capital in his essay "Remapping Taipei" with Yvonne Chang's argument regarding Taiwan's literary scene in her article "*The Terrorizer* and the Great Divide in Contemporary Taiwan's Cultural Development" in order to analyze the intersection of the global and the local in Edward Yang's landmark film. Second, I consider the legacy of the Healthy Realist tradition and classify the variety of films that followed into four categories. Third, I initiate a comparison of new cinema movements by locating similarities and differences between the rise of the auteur director in New American Cinema of the 1970s and Taiwan's New Cinema movement of the 1980s.

It remains a constant that the history of filmmaking in Taiwan during the late 1970s is relatively unexplored, perhaps because the dominant modes of filmmaking during that decade are so straightforward that they do not deserve the close attention that films of the 1980s command. After all, Li Xing and his colleagues were not the masters of mise-en-scène, long takes, narrative, and color that art house *aficionados* and highbrow academics might prefer to study. But such a dismissal neglects two things: First, the popularity of the old films. Members of the "old guard" still believe—often for good reason—that the pre-1980, "golden-age" of cinema trumps post-1980-era international film awards and representations of characters from the margins of society. To the participants of yesteryear, it is the post-1980 era that is easy to overlook

because its films have been unpopular in Taiwan. When I asked actress Li Xiang of *Story of Mother*: "What do you think about Taiwan New Cinema? Many scholars abroad believe that it produced Taiwan's best cinema." She responded: "No, that is not the case. When Li Xing was making his films—when I was acting in films—that was when films were on the rise. The films of Hou Hsiao-hsien and Edward Yang in the early 1980s were produced when Taiwan's films were in decline." While film personnel of that era, such as Li Xiang cited above, might not have the final word in matters of cultural and historical critique, the popularity of films at various junctures in Taiwan's history should be taken into account. Taiwan cinema of the 1960s and 1970s produced a foundation, a structure of feeling, that filmmakers respond to in Taiwan even today.

Second, as with all cultural artifacts, films of the 1970s are connected to a complex array of historical-material events. As Raymond Williams writes, "The most interesting and difficult part of any cultural analysis, in complex societies, is that which seeks to grasp the hegemonic in its active and formative but also in transformational processes." Certainly, all societies are "complex," but more importantly, film traditions in Taiwan were forged within specific historical contexts as emergent, residual, and dominant trends coincided with the fluctuations of transnational cultural exchange.[1]

The transnational method used in this text is most clearly articulated in this text by employing a comparative framework. Chapter 2, "Two Stage Brothers: Tracing a Common Heritage in Xie Jin and Li Xing's Early 1960s Films," presents my transnational theoretical model in a comparative mode. Upon examining filmmaking strategies on both sides of the Taiwan Strait during the Cold War, it is apparent that film aesthetics were used in surprisingly similar ways due to a shared residual heritage. In both locations, described as the "nations" of Taiwan and China, the reach of global film traditions is evident in the discussion of Shanghai realism (a residual tradition), Italian neorealism (an emergent tradition), Hollywood filmmaking (dominant in Taiwan) and socialist realism (dominant on the mainland). Yet regional geopolitical differences during the Cold War did not, and at times due to the apparent solidity of language and historical record, often do not allow us to clearly see similarities where in fact they reside.

The third chapter, "Projecting a State That Does Not Exist: The Politics of Migration in Bai Jingrui's 1970 Film *Home Sweet Home*," compares three films from across the globe. While the dominant, emergent, and residual

trends in Taiwan in 1970 (dir. Bai Jingrui, *Home Sweet Home*), in Germany in 1974 (dir. Fassbinder, *Ali*), and in Africa in 1966 (dir. Sembène, *Black Girl*), are most definitely singular and particular, the three films are linked by their depictions of migration, a primary concern of transnational critiques. While the possibility of tracing all of the cultural variables in each of the three nations is beyond the scope of the essay, the conclusion of Chapter 3 reveals how comparing films brings into sharper focus the emergent trends in each location.[2] There is a sense of hopefulness projected in Sembene's and Fassbinder's films for a new future, for the idea that a new dominant, a new definition of "normal," might emerge. Sembène's film questions the extent to which racism limits the rights of African workers both at home and abroad, and Fassbinder challenges anti-miscegenation in Germany. However, in the case of Taiwan in 1970, Bai Jingrui's authorized depiction of migration reveals that Taiwan's citizens were expected to function as pawns of the state, precisely the identity that the nativist (*xiangtu*) writers would confront during the decade. Thus, transnational theory, grounded by a focus on historical-material processes, affords the freedom to compare films produced within various film traditions from across the globe without privileging one tradition over another, which might occur in hierarchically configured comparative studies programs which might use a "secondary" text to reveal the nuances of a "primary" text.

At the same time, my articulation of transnational theory is also well positioned to take into account the ways in which global forces of capital interact with conditions on the local scale. Within such a framework, a reassessment of "Remapping Taipei" provides a valuable way to understand both Taiwan film in the 1970s and the emergence of Taiwan's new wave of filmmaking in the 1980s. I argue below that Jameson's article reveals why it is necessary to consider both the "positioning of the national entity within the new world system of late capitalism"[3] and the local interrelationship of literature and film cultures in Taiwan in order to understand the film Jameson critiques, namely *The Terrorizers* (Kongbu fenzi, dir. Edward Yang, 1986). In Jameson's article, the "world system of late capitalism" is described with specificity while an understanding of Taiwan's local film and literature cultures is almost entirely, and extremely problematically, omitted. Accordingly, I place Jameson's observations within a discussion of Taiwan's literature and film cultures below.

The Jameson Debate

To begin this discussion, definitions and examples of nativism and modernist literature in Taiwan in the 1970s are in order to fill a void absent in Jameson's familiar article. Taiwan nativist literature initially advocated for the protection of local traditional and agrarian culture in Taiwan as a form of resistance against the assimilation and modernization movements imposed during Japanese occupation.[4] The "revival" of the nativist literature movement reflects the transitional period of the 1970s in Taiwan culturally, geographically, and historically. Nativist literature conveyed the experience of local Taiwanese whose perception of history and society differed from that of the Mainlanders who arrived in 1949. The nativist writers expressed feelings from the perspective of the rural and mountainous regions, representing those who had lived on the periphery of urban centers. And they decried the excesses inherent to rapid industrialization and urbanization in the 1970s.

Historically, the nativist position was characterized by its opposition to foreign governance, be it Japanese Occupation or KMT forces. Angelina Yee, in her article "Constructing a Native Consciousness: Taiwan Literature in the 20th Century," summarizes the nativist point of view as: a) against Western values such as capitalism, materialism, imperialism, b) against the minority KMT Nationalist government that perpetuated the myth of returning to the mainland, repressed the local populace with violence and imprisonment, and disallowed the formation of new political parties, and c) against the Mainland Chinese government which the nativists characterized as regressive, oppressive, and economically backward.[5]

Authors of the nativist movement include Wang Tuo, Yang Qingchu, Chen Yingzhen and Wang Zhenhe.[6] Hwang Chun-ming, while taken as an advocate for the nativist position by nativist supporters, might fit less precisely in this company of nativist authors since he is quite unconcerned with how he is classified. Still, he has written stories that serve as a wonderful example of literature depicting the countryside from a local Taiwanese perspective. His short story, "The Drowning of an Old Cat," published in 1974 by Dalin Publishing Company, takes place in a remote town named Clear Spring Village renowned for a pristine natural spring providing fresh water to its community. However, due to modernization projects (sponsored by the KMT, see Chapter 3) and the expansion of the urban into rural spaces, Clear Spring Village is threatened with development by the town leaders of Jiezai, a

nearby city. When the townspeople of Jiezai arrive in Clear Spring Village to build a swimming pool, four old men try to stop the building project because they want to maintain the rustic charm of their town. This group of elderly patriarchs is led by Ah-sheng who protects the land because, as he states, "I love this piece of land and everything on it."[7] Ah-sheng fails to stop the building of the pool, however, and in an event that is both humorous and tragic, Ah-sheng drowns in the swimming pool in the story's final scene. In a critique of "Drowning of an Old Cat," Howard Goldblatt writes: "The land itself stands in the way of progress and must be sacrificed to the god of modernization."[8] The dualisms in Hwang's story, modernity vs. tradition, and rural vs. urban, are common themes in nativist literature which contrasts with modernist writing in Taiwan.

Modernist literature continued to thrive in Taiwan directly after the postwar years, unlike on the mainland. As Michelle Yeh argues, the modern poetry of Taiwan can be distinguished by its language and form. It was written in the vernacular and focused on language exploration and evocative word combinations These features distinguished it from classical poetry, which maintained the conventional meter and rhythm of its 3000-year tradition as a "sister art" to calligraphy and painting.[9] Modern poetry during the 1920s and 1930s on the Mainland was inspired by sentiments expressed during the May Fourth Movement—which had also motivated Taiwan's nativist writers of the 1920s. However, any direct connections to leftwing elements of the May Fourth movement were thwarted after 1945 in Taiwan by the Nationalist's censorship of texts by writers such as Lu Xun and Lao She.

After the KMT government established its leadership in Taipei in 1945, poetry in Taiwan was often characterized by anti-communist, pro-nationalist themes; however, a collection of poets who employed modernist writing techniques, including obscure language and reflections on metaphysical dilemmas, discovered that abstract verse not only allowed them to express their anxiety and frustration, but in addition these sentiments could be published without detection by KMT government censors. The group of writers that emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s include Wang Wenxing and Pai Hsien-yung (Bai Xianyong). These writers displayed a "double alienation" from the writing tradition on the Mainland and from the physical geography of the Mainland that was their home.[10]

An example of modernist poetry includes Shang Qin's surrealist poem entitled, "Giraffe," Written in two stanzas, the first consisting of four lines and the second of three lines:

> After the young prison guard noticed that at the monthly physical
> check-up all the height increases of the prisoners took place in the
> neck, he reported to the warden: "Sir, the windows are too high!"
> But the reply he received was: "No, they look up at Time."
>
> The kindhearted young guard didn't know what Time looks like,
> nor its origin and whereabouts, so night after night he patrolled the
> zoo hesitantly and waited outside the giraffe pen.[11]

This poem does not follow Hwang Chun-ming's realistic and humanistic portrayal of Clear Spring Village, or its endearing populace that lives in a close relationship with the landscape. In contrast, Shang Qin's poem focuses on existential problems and separation anxiety, evoked by such terms as "prisoner" and "freedom," and feelings of exile particular to modernist poets and writers. The journal *Xiandai wenxue* (Modern Literature, 1960–1973) was founded by Taiwan University students the year after this poem was written. The publication was an important part of the modernist literary movement in Taiwan; it also published translations of Western authors such as Franz Kafka, James Joyce, and Virginia Woolf.

Modernist and nativist literature clashed publicly in the 1970s in a dispute which centered around the extent to which the perspectives held by the respective camps accurately represented the experience of living in Taiwan under the KMT. The nativist literature debates demonstrated the divide between nativist writers who claimed that the modernists were not adequately representing the political and social experience of the local *benshengren* of Taiwan, and the modernists, who argued that the nativist writers were separatists. The debates pitted a local Taiwanese humanist realist tradition against the Mainlanders who displayed aesthetic formalism.[12] In 1972, these differences were at the heart of the "New Poetry" debates, in which nativist criticism was directed towards the modernists for not using traditional Chinese techniques or Taiwan's local dialects in their writings. The debates culminated in 1977–1978, following a government organized conference in 1977 entitled the "Symposium of Literary Workers," during which attacks on nativist literature took center stage.[13] The nativist writers were accused

of being communists due to their anti-KMT stance, an emotionally charged attack bolstered by concurrent reports of atrocities committed by the communists on the mainland during the Cultural Revolution. Moreover, the use of the Taiwanese dialect in nativist literature, a language banned in public schools, appeared to be a break with a Chinese nationalism. Nativist writers, such as Chen Yingzhen who defended both his use of language and his allegiance to a Chinese consciousness, denied this accusation.[14]

The *xiangtu* literary debates, concerned as they were with the relationship between literary expression and politics, became inextricably linked to film production in the 1970s. This is not to say that prior to the 1970s, film and literary worlds remained apart. Indeed, the fiction of novelist Qiong Yao left an indelible mark on Taiwan filmmaking. Between 1965 and 1970, 22 of her films, including some made by the Shaw Brothers in Hong Kong, were adapted to the screen.[15] Li Xing was the first director to adapt her work when he made *Four Loves* (see Chapter 2), and Song Cunshou's film *Story of Mother* was also a Qiong Yao adaptation (see Chapter 4). Yao's escapist narratives, including stories set in the early Republican eras that recount love gained and love lost, were a standard genre in their own right in the sentimental and romantic films of the 1960s and 1970s. The film adaptations of Qiong Yao's work were easily appropriated as part of the "Healthy Realist" tradition and its subsequent modifications.

Although they were not to have the same staying power as Qiong Yao's adaptations, by the late 1970s Taiwan's film industry embraced a new trend: adapting nativist stories to Taiwan's screens. Li Xing was at the forefront of this movement. Not surprisingly, his films presented nativist stories with a distinctly state-endorsed point of view. This point of view can be observed in four of Li Xing's late 1970s and early 1980s films: *He Never Gives up* (Wangyang zhong de yi tiao chuan, 1978), *Good Morning, Taipei* (Zao'an Taibei, 1979), *The Story of a Small Town* (Xiaocheng gushi, 1980), and *My Native Land* (Yuan xiangren, 1980). Li Xing won the Golden Horse Award for best picture in 1978 with *He Never Gives Up*, in 1979 with *The Story of a Small Town*, and in 1980 with *Good Morning, Taipei*.

The Story of a Small Town, classified as *xiangtu pian* (nativist film), was selected as one of the top three pictures of the year in 1979 by the Chinese Film Critics Association (Zhongguo yingpinren xiehui) of Taiwan. The film begins in a prison woodshop, where a wizened patriarchal figure named Lailao, portrayed by the father in both *Beautiful Duckling* and in

the first narrative of *Home Sweet Home*, invites a younger fellow convict, Chen Wenxiong (Kenny Bee), to work with him on the outside once they have served their sentences. Wenxiong agrees, and after some time they work together in Lailao's woodworking shop in Sanyi, a small town north of Taichung known throughout the island for its famous woodcarvings. There Wenxiong falls in love with Lailao's daughter, the deaf Axiu, portrayed by Lin Fengjiao, who won the Golden Horse award for her performance.[16] Lailao, Wenxiong, and Axiu's lives are occasionally disrupted by local ruffians as well as superficial urbanites who seemingly arrive only to disturb the local family's values of discipline, hard work, and unity. The film concludes with a song that, like the theme song in *Home Sweet Home*, conveys the message of the film: "Generation after generation/ Features of the small town remain the same." All the while, panning shots depict a pastoral Sanyi, nestled beside lush mountains and verdant rice fields, while interior shots show a humble dwelling inhabited by kind and trustworthy residents.

Li Xing's film, which avoids the controversial issues often addressed in nativist stories, was among the successful films at the box office before the film production slump of the mid-1980s.[17] Once the decline in the local film market was accurately forecast, the KMT government became willing to provide a greater opportunity for more thought-provoking stories and film strategies from its film personnel, including Chen Kunhou, Wang Tong, and Hou Hsiao-hsien, and to newcomers such as Edward Yang and Wan Ren. Taiwan New Cinema emerged during this moment of transition.[18] In the new climate, screenwriters such as Wu Nianzhen and Chu T'ien-wen advocated for "a return (or 'regression') to daily practices of Taiwanese languages and behaviors, things that audiences for *taiyu pian* had lost, and that had never been seen onscreen by younger people."[19] The example *par excellence* of this desire is represented in *The Sandwich Man* (Erzi de da wan'ou, 1983), a tri-part film adapted from three stories by Hwang Chun-ming, and directed by Hou Hsiao-hsien, Zeng Zhuangxiang, and Wan Ren that has been written about extensively.[20]

Enter Frederick Jameson. His famous essay "Remapping Taipei" focuses on Edward Yang's 1986 Taiwan New Cinema film *The Terrorizers*. The film is a multi-narrative work that includes the intersection of three storylines: a photographer who captures Taipei life, a Eurasian woman known as "White Chick" who attempts to swindle money and is involved in multiple relationships (captured by the photographer), and a professional couple—a doctor

and his wife, a novelist who feels trapped within the closed space of their residence. Taipei, with its geometric cityscape and disco lights within urban clubs, provides the setting. *The Terrorizers* is unlike the nativist-style film tradition of the stories that comprise *The Sandwich Man*, or depictions of rural life in Hou Hsiao-hsien's *A Time to Live, A Time to Die* (1985). However, *Terrorizers* is classified within the body of Taiwan New Cinema films because it marks an aesthetic break with the previous era's films and addresses the negative aspects of living in contemporary urban Taiwan society. In general, the extreme characterizations of nativist literature (as traditional and distinctly local) and modernist (as obscure and concerned with aesthetics alone) are blurred and conflated in Yang's film.

However, Jameson's article reveals that he does not intend to investigate the complexity of the nativist and modernist discussion—or other local cultural factors—as part of his analysis of the film. Thus, he does not fully take into account the cultural, historical, and geographical background of the Taiwan situation. However, Jameson is an expert on the relationship between capital and cultural production, and this is what he focuses on in his essay. On the depiction of Taipei in the 1980s, Jameson writes:

> Indeed, it does seem to be the case that *The Terrorizers* (a peculiar and pointed translation of *Kongbu Fenzi*, 1986) assimilates modernization, and the toll it takes on psychic subjects, more generally to urbanization than to Westernization as such. This lends its "diagnosis" a kind of globality, if not a universality, which is evidently what has made Yang's critics uncomfortable.

According to Jameson, *The Terrorizers* depicts the extent to which the global reach of modernization, urbanization, and Westernization has affected Taiwan. Therefore, *The Terrorizers* fittingly shares many of its characteristics with other "third world films" that similarly use multiple perspectives inherent to a distinctively postmodern approach in their depictions of urban settings and the meaningless routines of its citizens. The characters appear to express feelings of alienation due to their participation in modern modes of labor and production. Jameson asserts:

> . . . [Taipei] is an example of some generally late capitalist urbanization (which one hesitates, except to make the point, to call postmodern) of a now-classic proliferation of the urban fabric that one finds in the First and Third Worlds everywhere alike.[21]

So, how is one to acknowledge the effects of late capitalism in the depiction of life in Taipei, and yet not lose focus on the cultural specificities of the modernist and nativist debates that must be considered in order to analyze the films of Taiwan New Cinema? Yvonne Chang's essay "*The Terrorizer* and the Great Divide in Contemporary Taiwan's Cultural Development," provides an excellent reference point in this discussion. Chang argues that, in contrast to David Harvey's articulation of the divide between modernity and postmodernity that has been used within Western discourse and universally applied to analyses of East Asia, "it is more justifiable to locate the Great Divide within the historical context of contemporary Taiwan at a point when verifiable cultural reorientations can be discerned."[22] Within the context of this discussion, Chang depicts *The Terrorizers* as the film that marks a significant divide between two eras. The previous era was a time when serious modernist and nativist art was created, while the latter era is characterized as a time when a new popular art, regulated by market (low-brow, according to Chang) forces, was emerging.

I concur with Chang's argument because, as with Jameson, an economic perspective is essential to understanding the condition of Taiwan filmmaking. Yet not only does Chang recognize the intersection of global capital and Taiwan's film industry, she also outlines local economic and political factors that influenced the creation of fictional narratives of the era. For example, in terms of the island's economic situation, Edward Yang's film was preceded on the island by the commercialization of the media and publishing industries that Yang's film represents and critiques.[23] In addition, I would argue, the film's position within its historical context has as much if not more to do with the emergence of a postcolonial mentality as it does with the economic system of globalization and postmodern artwork. Fangming Chen writes that the "great divide," using Chang's term, in Taiwan was distinctly postcolonial, not postmodern: "aspirations for liberation did not have to wait until the introduction of postmodern thought into Taiwan; rather, it was precisely the end of martial law that enabled previously suppressed desires to be unbound."[24] So the emergence of Taiwan New Cinema, which I see as a combination of both nativism (local stories) and modernist (existential dilemmas) influences—emerged within a new political environment which preceded, and continued after, martial law as Taiwan's artists seized the opportunity to explore new experiences that could not be represented before.

This discussion highlights the importance of considering a rubric of postcolonialism to understand Taiwan's nativist and modernist debates, as well as Taiwan film production in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[25] The strict binary division between nativism and modernism in the 1970s at its worst polarizes the conversation in a way that ignores the many factors that nativism and modernism actually share. In terms of literature, it is evident that, on the one hand, modernists and nativists represent alternative methods to express the distinct experience of living in Taiwan. On the other hand, when viewed as *responses* to the regimentation of the KMT regime it is evident that the opposing factions *share* the same dilemma: how should one respond to the monolithic colonial regimentation imposed by the KMT? How can one represent the reality of Taiwan's social conditions through fictional narratives in an age when the dominant restricts free speech and oppositional political views? This was a real and pressing issue during the White Terror: director Bai Ke was accused of being a spy in 1962 and sentenced to death in 1964, and author Chen Yingzhen was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment as late as 1968 for "subversive" activities.[26] These are just two instances of widespread political subjugation on the island between the KMT occupation in 1949 and the end of martial law on July 15, 1987. Overall, a "cognitive mapping" of the overarching political situation must be kept in mind; otherwise, the influence of the KMT's colonial system of governance on both literary traditions might be overlooked.

Although the categories I have brought together here—nativism, modernism, and postcolonialism—are admittedly broad, my intention in describing these movements is to provide both a theoretical and historical background to Jameson's discussion of Taiwan New Cinema. Jameson's reference points are global. Yet an understanding of nativism and modernism are essential facets of Taiwan's particular cultural, historical, and geographical experience that deserve close inspection when considering Taiwan's film scene. For example, Hwang Chun-ming's work reveals an attachment to Taiwan's northeastern rural locations, while Shang Qin's poetry reveals different geographical connectivities—to the mainland, or maybe two geographies at the same time, both Taiwan and China.

So, when Yeh and Davis write: "Maybe there are simpler ways to understand and enjoy Yang's film than the Jamesonian system," the answer is really yes and no.[27] In my estimation, in part, Yeh and Davis are having some fun at Jameson's expense—Jameson's essay is indeed nearly impenetrable at multiple

junctures. Yet, when Yeh and Davis argue that Jameson should understand the local situation more carefully, which Yvonne Chang's article more clearly conveys, they make a valid point. Jameson's article nicely outlines the way Yang's film uses postmodern film techniques, such as depicting a photographer in the manner of *Blowup* (dir. Michelangelo Antonioni, 1966), one who takes pictures that in turn question the ontological relationship between image and "reality," so that overall, Jameson captures the aesthetics of the film, but misses the local context. More specifically, when Jameson entered the scene in Taiwan, what he initially thought to be the result of globalization was actually a complex intersection of the global forces of capital, changing local market conditions, and a particular phase of decolonization. A decolonialist dialogue with a colonial past was not yet possible during the late 1970s, when films like those directed by Li Xing initiated a depiction of the local experience, whetting the audience's appetite for the "authentic" Taiwan New Cinema films of the 1980s.[28] Such an observation is not only available with the advantage of historical hindsight, but also through the lens of a transnational theory which allows one to consider both postmodernity in the age of late capitalism and the local cultural forces that propelled Taiwan's literary movements and in turn inflected Taiwan filmmaking. Colonial concerns continued to exact a toll—both the residual aspect of Japanese colonialism, and the dominant characteristics of "Nationalist colonialism"—on Taiwan's state film apparatus. Thus, inquiries into films produced in Taiwan during the 1960s and 1970s necessitate an awareness of both transnational and postcolonial theory.

Reflections on the Legacy of the "Healthy Realist" Model

During an opportunity afforded by director Li Xing in Taipei in the fall of 2008, I asked the director to comment on his influence on Taiwan New Cinema. He responded: "In my film *Our Neighbors*, which started the Healthy Realist tradition, one finds the foundation of Taiwan cinema."[29] Gong Hong, manager of CMPC from 1963 to 1972, concurs in his autobiography that *Our Neighbor* deeply influenced him while considering the tenets of Healthy Realist filmmaking in Taiwan.[30] And Emily Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis accurately observe that the Healthy Realist films "depicted stable, peaceful, and organic Chinese communities in which tensions and conflicts, whether individual, class, or ethnic, are eventually and naturally resolved."[31]

Their description succinctly describes this influential aesthetic approach of filmmaking in the 1960s and 1970s, one that attempted to conjoin filming techniques inherent to Italian neorealism with narratives that suggest that Taiwan's people thrived under KMT rule. So, the first two phrases in Li Xing's statement are reasonable: *Our Neighbor* is a pivotal film in the establishment of Taiwan's aesthetic approach to film production in the 1960s and 1970s.

Yet if Li Xing is correct, and I tend to agree with him, an interesting question arises from his statement taken as a whole: in what ways did *Our Neighbor* function as a foundation of Taiwan cinema? Furthermore, what was the legacy of the Healthy Realism model if indeed any semblance of it survived the complex decade of change that was the 1970s? It was a decade famously transitional on Taiwan's political stage both locally and internationally: in 1970 the Diaoyu Tai islands were returned to Japan; in October of 1971 the ROC was no longer represented in the United Nations; in February of 1972 the Shanghai Communiqué was signed, paving the way for diplomatic relations between the United States and the PRC; in 1975 Chiang Kai-shek passed away to be succeeded by his son Chiang Ching-kuo; in 1976 Taiwan boycotted the Olympic Games; and in 1979 the Mutual Defense Treaty with the United States was terminated. The decade culminated with the *Meilidao* protests, known as the Kaohsiung Incident, which occurred on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1979, and resulted in the arrest of the "Kaohsiung Eight" and other dissidents rallying for democratic rights.

It is common knowledge that the government's film apparatus did not depict these events directly nor represent their corollary concerns. Thus the films approved by the state could not have been more escapist, despite the government's nominal strategy to portray the island "realistically." Yet, from the perspective of KMT ideologues, why should the state allow public screening of films that threatened the status quo? The state had plenty of fires to put out besides the potential conflagration that might result if socio-political events were depicted from the perspective of the marginalized within Taiwan's borders. Moreover, the KMT's methods were quite successful when viewed from the government's perspective of marketing the island as a land of prosperity. A 1966 English-language guidebook entitled *Free China 1966*, published in conjunction with the government in order to promote tourism and trade, states under a section titled "Better Movies for the Chinese People":

> Three years ago, the domestic industry was in the doldrums. Pictures were poor. Taiwan made only a few feature-length films. Even the

> documentary film makers were losing money and had to retrench. Then came the turning point. In April, 1963, a Mandarin-dialect picture made in Hongkong [*sic*], "Love Eterne" broke Taiwan box office records. Its stars became popular idols and its songs were heard everywhere. The moviegoing [*sic*] public realized Chinese pictures could be outstanding. . . . It seems certain that moviegoing will continue to prosper in Taiwan.[32]

The introduction of the glossy, oversized text, which states "*Free China 1966* is dedicated to the proposition that Taiwan is a laboratory for the continental China of tomorrow," praises its cinema industry as a source of national pride, with lucrative potential. So it is little wonder that the state continued to ensure that its idealized narrative formula (Healthy Realism) never approximated the conditions of a messy, uncertain reality.[33] Instead the KMT state endorsed CMPC film manager Gong's expansion of Healthy Realism to encompass a "healthy variety of arts" (*jiankang zongyi*).[34] This *healthy variety* can be classified into the following four genres.

The first included nostalgic films. Such films emote a longing of the *waishengren* (Mainlanders), whether consciously or unconsciously, for their homeland. Films in this vein either take place in Mainland China prior to 1949 but within living memory, or imply the possibility of the concurrent recovery of the mainland by the Nationalist military. These characteristics are present as early as the 1950s in films such as *Opium Poppy* and in the 1960s with Li Xing's *Our Neighbor*. They carry, in part, the lineage of the Shanghai realist mode (see Chapter 2). This filmmaking mode had its literary analogs as well. Taiwanese author Hwang Chun-ming recalls the texts available to

Figure 16

Free China 1966 advertises "Better Movies for the Chinese People."

him as a child growing up in Taiwan under the KMT: "either anti-Communist tracts or nostalgic writing by Mainlanders, sentimental yearning for the good old days back in their hometowns."[35] The cultural artifacts of this style seem to harbor at once both the undeniable heartache of the *waishengren* and the almost palpable absence of the local *benshengren* (local populace) from the picture. In this way the films are incredibly suspenseful. However, the filmmaking techniques themselves rarely generate intrigue or excitement due to poor production values, low budgets, and mediocre plotlines.

While nostalgia was expressed in similar ways throughout the 1970s, new stylistic variations portraying bourgeois families, who at first suffer discord but eventually find harmony, must be appended to this list. Qiong Yao adaptations and films starring the ubiquitous actresses Brigitte Lin and Lin Fengjiao and actors Qin Han and Qin Xianglin might be loosely categorized within this classification. The nostalgic quality retained in such romantic films is a sentiment of longing or homesickness for an "ideal" family that is resolved by the film's conclusion, however melodramatically. Example films in this vein include Li Xing's 1971 film *Life with Mother* (Mu yu nü) which depicts the reconciliation of a mother and daughter after a rocky series of melodramatic events, and Liao Xiangxiong's 1972 film *Love Can Forgive and Forget* (Zhenjia qianjin), which features a father figure who welcomes an orphan girl (portrayed by Golden Horse Best Actress Winner Judy Ongg [Weng Qianyu]) in the film's resolution.

The second state-sanctioned film category, itself a re-articulation of the nostalgic mode, included patriotic war films. During the mid-1970s, depictions of KMT military supremacy on the big screen won a number of Golden Horse film awards: *Land of the Undaunted* (see Chapter 4) in 1975, *The Victory* (Meihua, dir. Liu Jiachang) in 1976, and *Heroes of the Eastern Skies* (Jianqiao yinglie chuan, dir. Zhang Cengze) in 1977. So while the Republic of China was suffering political embarrassment at the hands of the Japanese on the global stage, the KMT government in Taiwan was depicting military victories over the Japanese on local screens across the island. *The Victory* presents local Taiwanese who are loyal to the KMT during the latter stages of Japanese Occupation, while *Heroes of the Eastern Skies* was endorsed by the Ministry of Education since it portrayed a pro-KMT perspective on fighter pilots in the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The third category includes adventure and martial arts films, whether approved for release by the government or produced by CMPC.[36] This mode is

accomplished to near perfection in the films made by Hong Kong "defectors": Li Hanxiang's *Hsih-Shih: Beauty of Beauties* (1965) and King Hu's *Dragon Inn* (1967)—and falls far short in such CMPC imitations as *The Ammunition Hunter* (Luo ying xia, dir. Ding Shanxi, 1971), a film replete with poor editing and its insipid representation of something the KMT would never accomplish: liberation of China. The film even ends with a cliché: the hero rides off into the sunset. Throughout the 1970s film directors in Taiwan would continue to strive for but never reach the artistic sensibility of King Hu's *A Touch of Zen* (Xia nü, 1970) or the captivating action sequences of Bruce Lee's kung fu films from Hong Kong.

Perhaps the culminating film that best integrates these three film genres of the era is Bai Jingrui's *The Coldest Winter in Peking* (Huangtianhoutu, 1981). The story takes place in "the motherland," embodying patriotism indirectly in its depiction of the Chinese experience of the Cultural Revolution, which bypassed Taiwan. It was escapist entertainment with little bearing on local realities. Based on a true story, *The Coldest Winter in Peking* depicts the story of Shen Yifu, a man who was sent to a concentration camp in Mainland China during the Cultural Revolution. During the course of the film, the cataclysmic events of the Cultural Revolution lead to the death of Shen's father; his wife goes insane. The KMT allowed Bai's depiction of once-banned images of Mao Zedong, Red Guards, and life on the mainland, no doubt in hopes that domestic audiences would find Taiwan's modernization and lifestyle far superior to life on the mainland, while horrific events that occurred in Taiwan, such as the February 28 Incident or the White Terror, remained absent from the silver screen.[37] Such topics would have to wait until martial law was abolished in 1987, and then two more years until Hou Hsiao-hsien's release of *A City of Sadness* (Beiqing chengshi) in 1989.

CMPC films were at times spectacular and eye-catching. For example, a scene in *The Coldest Winter in Peking* of sent-down youth (*xiaxiang qingnian*) dispersing to the countryside contains a longshot that impresses due to the numerous extras employed and the portrayal of a vast landscape. Still, the fact remained that CMPC's output was rarely equal to or even competitive with the mesmerizing special effects of Hollywood or Hong Kong films that would capture Taiwan's audiences during the 1980s. In addition, in terms of narrative, the predictable, "healthy" resolution to state-approved narrative conflicts in nostalgic, patriotic, and escapist films rarely created a sensational

Figure 17

The Coldest Winter in Peking portrays the Cultural Revolution on a grand scale.

viewing experience. Li Xing's period-piece *Autumn Execution* (*Qiujie*, 1972) may be a key exception to this summation of 1970s films.

A fourth category of filmmaking emerged that did capture Taiwan's imagination briefly as the decade came to a close: depictions set in Taiwan that were endorsed by the government apparatus. It was an aesthetic style that, in conjunction with a slight decrease in imported Hong Kong films and a brief window before the rise of video rentals, enabled an increase in film production before the downturn of the 1980s. An average of 53 films were produced from 1974 to 1977. From 1978 to 1981, the average increased to 122; 1982 saw the production of 144 films. Then the decrease set in, with an average of only 68 films made annually from 1983 to 1986.[38]

It is in this fourth category, representations of Taiwan's local conditions, that the legacy of Healthy Realism might be most carefully observed. Certainly, depictions of the local setting were not unique in the late 1970s.[39] CMPC's novel images of rural farming conditions in *Oyster Girl* in 1964 were welcomed upon the film's initial release, impressing jury members at the regional Asian Film Festival and interesting filmgoers island-wide. At

the time—fifteen years after the "temporary" retreat from the mainland—it appeared that the government realized that the rural environment within its jurisdiction could be celebrated as a worthy cinematic subject. But the initial sensation caused by ostensible depictions of the local setting on its own terms wore off, and modifications were in order if such portrayals were to remain relevant. So when Li Xing returned to this earlier filmmaking mode—Yingjin Zhang writes, "Li returned to the realist tradition of the 'native soil' (*xiangtu*) that had brought him distinction a decade before"[40]—he was sure to make some changes.

What were these changes in terms of film form and film sense during the 1970s? This question was, in part, the motivation for Chapter 4, "Gender Negotiation in Song Cunshou's *Story of Mother* and Taiwan Cinema of the Early 1970s," as I reflected on Edward Yang's famous statement that Taiwan New Cinema movement could have emerged ten years earlier if not for government restrictions. A review of early to mid-1970s films demonstrates that certain brilliant directors could have challenged the status quo at quite an early stage in Taiwan's filmmaking tradition. A poetic filmmaker such as Song Cunshou would have been more than capable of depicting subjects far more taboo than adultery, but he was making films at a time when national concerns forbade controversial topics represented from a local perspective. Still, a study of representations of gender in films released during the decade reveal clues about what was to come. While gender depictions in the mid-1970s reveal the ways that patriarchal society in Taiwan was socially constructed, it was not until the second wave of Taiwan filmmakers, including Tsai Ming-liang and Ang Lee, that the particularities of the patriarchal, heteronormative construction of gender would be openly addressed.

Li Xing's films of the late 1970s and early 1980 contrast with Song Cunshou's *Story of Mother*. Song's film suggests that there were cracks in the government's façade as it attempted to shore up its image on all fronts (local, national, regional, global), while Li Xing's films presented the fictional construct that the government was as stalwart as ever. It is no wonder that CMPC initially hired Li Xing, a director that Gong Hong once described as conservative embodying the character of a traditional Chinese scholar.[41] Li Xing's perspective on life in Taiwan remained consistent with state policy; throughout his career, he rarely pushed the envelope. Thus even though he was but one participant within a large scale cultural project, Li Xing's work remains an ideal litmus test to determine what Taiwan's government deemed

respectable filmmaking. Consider *The Story of a Small Town*. As described above, the film ends with a song that conveys the message of the film as a whole: "Generation after generation/ Features of the small town remain the same."

The line "features of the small town remain the same" is particularly revealing. The danger of this empirically untenable notion is perhaps best articulated by Raymond Williams in his theory of structures of feeling. Williams criticizes analyses of culture that reduce social processes to fixed forms, which is precisely what the film displays when it portrays small town life as constant and unchanging.[42] Reducing social processes to fixed forms was particularly problematic in Taiwan during the late 1970s because political, economic, and cultural changes were clearly in a perpetual state of flux produced by "particular linkages, particular emphases and suppressions, and, in what are often its most recognizable forms, particular deep starting-points and conclusions."[43]

In the case of *The Story of a Small Town*, rather than presenting a society in a pivotal state of dominant, emergent, and residual cultural transformation determined to a certain extent by restrictive state policies, the film appeals to Confucian ethics: adhering to the five constant relationships, listening to authoritative instruction, and continually striving for societal betterment.[44] In terms of the film's appeal to such timeless values, one is reminded of the modernist writers' appeal to timeless values in the 1960s: "Since the focus of the modernist writers was on the private interior world of individual psyches rather than the public external world of social interaction, their works have more frequently been valued for their timeless or universal attributes than for any historically or culturally specific understanding of Taiwan."[45] While Li Xing's film endorses a generalized view of country life, and modernist writers focused on private interior worlds, they are similar in that editors and censors would consistently approve "appealing to timeless or universal attributes," rather than the depiction of local, particular conflicts affecting the local Taiwan experience.

Li Xing's leading characters in other films from the late 1970s might also be interpreted as representations of those who persist despite hardship, rather than those who experience specific limitations of state policy. An example would be his adaptation of Zheng Fengxi's life in *He Never Gives Up*, which portrays a physically disabled man (played by Chin Han) who successfully enters law school. Other examples of appeals to universal ideals in the

depiction of lone individuals making their way through life in Taiwan's rural settings include Li Xing's *My Native Land* (Yuan xiangren, 1980) and Chen Yaoqi's *The Pioneers* (Yuan, 1980).

Moreover, language is a key facet of this equation. Unlike the native experience, including many residents who, like the old-timers in "The Drowning of an Old Cat," "didn't understand a word of Mandarin," the films endorsed by the state in the late 1970s were presented in *guoyu*. In addition to their use of *guoyu*, two further similarities in production strategies link these four state film categories—nostalgic, patriotic, adventure and martial arts, and depictions of the local condition. The first is that the films of the 1960s and 1970s, with rare exceptions such as in *The Winter* by Li Hanxiang, do not contain the caesura, those moments of pause or interruption that allow for audience reflection. Walter Benjamin describes the caesura by reflecting on epic theater in his essay "The Author as Producer":

> Epic theater, therefore, does not reproduce situations, rather it discovers them. This discovery is accomplished by means of the interruption of sequences. Only interruption does not have here the character of stimulant but of an organizing function. It arrests the action in its course, and thereby compels the listener to adopt an attitude vis-à-vis the process, the actor vis-à-vis his role. . . . What emerges is this: events are alterable not at their climaxes, not by virtue and resolution, but only in their strictly habitual course, by reason and practice.[46]

Benjamin's article details how writers might guide their audiences towards a "functional transformation" of society by understanding how the "interruption of sequences" in stage drama allows for audience participation and reflection. The criteria Benjamin presents as essential for the possibility of "reason and practice" in the habitual course of daily life are moments of pause and reconsideration that might be presented in artistic, narrative works. Such a technique became inherent to Hou Hsiao-hsien's film pacing in the 1980s. Films including *The Boys from Fengkuei* (Fenggui lai de ren, 1983), *A Summer at Grandpas* (Dongdong de jiaqi, 1984), and *A Time to Live, A Time to Die* (Tongnian wangshi, 1985) can be characterized at key junctures as staged interruptions of daily life. This style contrasts with the film sequences of the 1960s and 1970s (see sequence breakdowns of *Story of Mother* and *Goodbye Darling* in Chapter 4) that, with the exception of flashbacks, typically proceed methodically from beginning to end.

This discussion leads one to the second prominent production strategy of films of the 1960s and 1970s in Taiwan, which was generally to tell the story of one protagonist from a certain fictional, yet ostensibly dependable, point of view. Even when parallel narratives are essential to plot, as they are in *Land of the Undaunted*, they are linked in time and space as part of the same chronology. This Healthy Realist unilinear structure was challenged in *The Terrorizers* mentioned above, with its multiple stories and intersecting plotlines that seems to suggest the denial of truth, or that the postmodern world is a world without a center.[47] With this framework in mind, namely the absence of both the caesura and multiple narratives in Taiwan films of the 1960s and 1970s, one can appreciate that the Taiwan New Cinema was indeed a reexamination of the filmmaking tradition that preceded it. Perhaps, as Yvonne Chang writes: ". . . the real objective of New Cinema promoters . . . was simply to overcome all obstacles standing in the way of the filmmakers producing films, political and commercial alike."[48]

As noted in Chapter 1, "Framing Taiwan Cinema: Perspectives on History in Hou Hsiao-hsien's *Three Times*," it is evident that at each stage of the film's representations, though total constraint was impossible, the dominant political power in Taiwan restricted certain aspects of both residual and emergent culture. Hou's film begins with a segment depicting Taiwan life in the 1960s, entitled "A Time for Love." The title seems ironic considering KMT policies and the United States' military presence during the Cold War, except for the fact that Hou Hsiao-hsien's nostalgic representation of the 1960s suggests that Taiwan's youth possessed a psychological resistance that could not be entirely subjugated. This psychological resistance is located in a third space created at the intersection of Taiwan rural life and United States pop culture. The opening track of *Three Times*, "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes," sets the mood and emotional platform for the segment, and indeed the entire film. This song also captures the ways in which sentiment emerges from specific Taiwan localities (consider the shots of old highway signs taken throughout the island as Zhang Zhen's character searches for Shu Qi), yet is conveyed, at least at this particular juncture of the film, via the cultural expressions of a colonizing, foreign influence.

Not only do Hou's filmic representations of the past allow for a reassessment of the historical moment depicted—in this case one locates Hou's nostalgia for *Taiwan* in the 1960s rather than nostalgia for *Mainland China*—but Hou's film also functions as a commentary on the heritage of Taiwan

filmmaking. A reevaluation of Taiwan's filmmaking tradition is most evident in *Three Times* in the most trying of segments for first-time viewers, due to the intensity of its slow pacing, namely the scenes depicting Japanese Occupation. This segment demonstrates the authoritative reach of the Japanese government into the affairs of even the most private of spaces in local Taiwanese life; namely, that of the brothel. But more importantly, the film presents the caesura. It is as if Hou slows down time itself. The pause, the moments between action that allow the opportunity to reflect on the purpose, rationale, and influence of major events (historical and fictional), is inherent to the structure of *Three Times*.

In contrast, the use of the caesura is a technique largely absent from all of the representative 1960s and 1970s films described in this text: Li Xing's *Oyster Girl*, *Beautiful Duckling*, and *Four Loves* in Chapter 2 (Xie Jin's films on the mainland could be included too, for that matter), *Home Sweet Home* in Chapter 3, *Story of Mother* and *Goodbye Darling* in Chapter 4, and *The Story of a Small Town* in this chapter. These films were inextricably linked to the dominant Hollywood continuity-editing mode. Yet like the still-life shots in Fassbinder's *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, described in Chapter 3, which brings the film to nearly a standstill, Hou's segment depicting Japanese occupation in *Three Times* allows for viewer contemplation, as inevitably the suture is broken, allowing the mind to consider the image without being chained to the narrative. Consequently, Hou's techniques might be used to support Bazin's descriptions of an ideal cinematic realism in which long takes both maintain the dramatic unity of a scene while simultaneously allowing for viewers to contemplate the images on their own terms.

In addition to the stylistic technique Hou employs, the narratives in *Three Times* are also separate from normative portrayals of life under the KMT during Martial Law. By depicting queer identity, the "A Time for Youth" segment of the film presents lifestyle choices and conflicts that were unacceptable in Taiwan according to the status quo of the dominant film apparatus before 1987. Just as he represents sexuality in a straightforward way that would have been censured in the 1960s and 1970s, Hou offers a political point of view that would not have been sanctioned previously: all three segments of *Three Times* are linked by the idea that the local residents of Taiwan have rarely been able to define their own identity in global politics. Instead, they are spoken *for*, whether by the Japanese colonial government in 1911, the

KMT Nationalists in 1966, or by world trade organizations in the age of the "global village" in 2005.

Realistic portrayals of political realities during the 1960s and 1970s arguably reach their apotheosis in Wu Nianzhen's 1996 film *Buddha Bless America* (Taiping tianguo). Wu's film presents the richness and diversity of nativism twenty years after the nativist debates, and the previously and tightly held opposition between modernist and nativist aesthetics breaks down in his work.[49] While it may not use a multi-narrative format, it does present a multi-generational perspective in sophisticated ways. In *Buddha Bless America*, set during US military occupation of rural spaces in Taiwan, the main character Lin-wen encourages his townspeople to welcome US military exercises near their village. He hopes that American doctors will be able to surgically re-attach his brother's fingers, cut off while he worked in a Japanese factory. Wu Nianzhen once stated in an interview: "Even though America has never occupied Taiwan, its influence over the Taiwanese people is far greater [than Japan's] . . . Its influence extends beyond the cultural and economic to the most important domain of all, politics."[50] At the end of the film, after the American forces depart, Lin-wen must admit that his strategy to help his family failed. He and his fellow local Taiwanese residents then attempt to resume their lives.

Buddha Bless America functions as a counterpart to *The Coldest Winter in Beijing*, the former, as an ideal representative of the lineage of Taiwan New Cinema, depicts the unequal and disturbing state of rural residents of Taiwan, while the latter, as an ideal representative of Healthy Realism's legacy, depicts a state of affairs that had little bearing on the lives of many people in Taiwan. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was certainly no longer tenable to claim that "the life of small towns is unchanging" as stated in Li Xing's *Story of a Small Town*, since political change throughout the island was apparent. The transnational intersections with the local never allowed for indefinite constancy—but as Williams observes, constant flux itself is not absolute; rather, particular articulations occurred at particular points in time.

Hou Hsiao-hsien, Edward Yang, Wu Nianzhen and others attempted to capture a culture in transition, and it is in this way that "realism" rather than "healthy realism," if it can ever be entirely captured in a Bazinian sense, is presented by these directors on global screens today. The ornaments of the previous dominant aesthetic of the 1960s and 1970s were replaced by an emphasis on ambiguity and/or the focus on particular characters that

represent specific structures of feeling. So after 1987 it was not only directors looking ahead to new filmic potentialities that led to new explorations in Taiwan cinema history. Perhaps just as important, or perhaps more importantly, key filmic changes during the 1980s and 1990s were due to directors looking back to the foundations of their inherited filmic tradition prior to Healthy Realism, employing techniques previously unexploited or avoided as well as filming in Taiwanese.

But a question remains: why did viewers go to the theater in the late 1970s to see escapist portrayals of life in Taiwan, but abandoned the cineplexes when auteurs portrayed the local situation in the 1980s and early 1990s? This question will be addressed in the following segment.

Taiwan Cinema after the 1970s: Auteurs and Blockbusters

Taiwan New Cinema certainly shares similarities with several transnational new cinema movements, including the production of a body of films that might be characterized by their challenge to, or absence of, previous aesthetic and studio determinants.[51] In the closing analysis that follows, I would like to contribute to comparisons of Taiwan Cinema with China's so-called fifth-generation cinema and Hong Kong New Wave cinema by using New American Cinema as a primary point of comparison. Similar to the film directors of New American Cinema, the auteurs of Taiwan cinema in the 1980s and 1990s put their distinctive stamps on their films, perhaps most famously Hou Hsiao-hsien, whose long take has influenced film aesthetics throughout Asia. James Udden's recent book, and his previous article, "This time he moves!": The Deeper Significance of Hou Hsiao-hsien's radical break in *Good Men, Good Women*,"[52] demonstrates this point clearly. Hou's films, as well as those by Taiwan film directors Ang Lee and Tsai Ming-liang, continue to receive production capital from international investors. Film investors benefit from such an arrangement, for audiences return to film festivals in Europe and the US and theaters worldwide to see the idiosyncratic film techniques and innovative stories that they have come to expect from each director.

Certainly, Hollywood recognizes the advantage of producing films for mass audiences with director's names emblazoned on film posters and website banners like brand names. Today's Hollywood auteur films, such as those by Quentin Tarantino and Oliver Stone, also attract return audiences who the anticipate films will be presented in a predictable, identifiable style.

This marketing tradition stems from the 1970s, when auteur directors such as Francis Ford Coppola, Martin Scorsese, and Robert Altman were permitted to make films in their own distinctive styles at a time when Hollywood was ready to transition away from a classical production model that no longer appealed to a broad audience. Between the Paramount Decision of 1948 and the MPAA Voluntary Film Rating System in 1968, Hollywood's profit margins steadily decreased. A number of factors led to Hollywood's downturn, including the rise in the popularity of television, a population shift away from the city (with theaters) to suburbs (without theatres), and the restrictions of a production code that prevented competition in X-rated material.[53] When audiences returned to theaters in droves, Hollywood executives were delighted.

The quintessential Hollywood auteur film *The Godfather Part II* (1974) displays a number of Coppola's signature stylistic moves, including the way he builds tension by using set pieces within the mise-en-scène rather than using multiple camera angles or quick-paced editing. For example, when Tom Hagen (Robert Duvall) talks to Frankie Pentangeli (Michael V. Gazzo) in a prison courtyard in the latter half of the film, the fence is framed so as to bisect the screen, separating Hagan's head from his body. Then, after the characters move into a new position within the same shot, the fence separates Pentangeli's head from his body, a move that foreshadows Pentangeli's eventual death. The artistry of the set piece style is particular to Coppola, one that clearly identifies Coppola as the "author" of the film. The initial enthusiasm for the films, however, was not to last. Financial executives soon realized that they had lost control of the production process when auteurs such as Michael Cimino and Coppola directed highly personal projects that went over-budget and past production deadlines, and failed at the box office. When the blockbuster entered the scene, with films like Spielberg's *Jaws* in 1975, the course of Hollywood film history was altered yet again.

Today, while blockbusters dominate the film landscape in terms of the box office, there remains a substantial market for Hollywood's auteur directors. For example, *Django Unchained* (dir. Quentin Tarantino, 2012) was marketed as a witty, cool, and explicit film "in keeping with the style and mood of the cult status of Tarantino-written and directed hits."[54]

Dana Polan describes how Tarantino's fans identify with Tarantino films as if they are in on an inside joke.[55] They are brought into an unconventional, shockingly violent cinematic experience delivered in a manner singular to the mind of Tarantino. Yet when considering the artistry of a Coppola or

a Tarantino, the commercial element cannot be ignored—in the Hollywood filmmaking tradition it is all about drawing return customers who are satisfied with their purchase.[56] By marketing both the blockbuster and the auteur film, Hollywood has become an even more successful and powerful institution over the last forty years.

In Taiwan, the auteur cinema of the 1980s was not followed by a local blockbuster tradition; instead, big budget "whammy" films from the US and Hong Kong filled this gap in the domestic market. Perhaps the paradigm is changing, for a foundation is emerging today for a vibrant market in Taiwan for blockbusters in the vein of Wei Te-sheng alongside auteur films like those by Zero Chou. Together, these directors' films might provide a return on investment like the films of the 1960s. We can envision such a possibility by noting similarities and differences between the well-known history of filmmaking in Taiwan during the 1980s and New American Cinema, even in brief comparison of these movements such as the one provided here. Especially when it first emerged, the buzz that Taiwan New Cinema created among college students, general audiences, and journalists alike reminds one of the excitement surrounding the "Hollywood Renaissance." In addition, *City of Sadness* (dir. Hou Hsiao-hsien, 1989) captured critical local acclaim upon release and won the Golden Lion overseas at the Venice Film Festival. Yet after initial waves of success in theaters and in the press, audiences steered away from the remaining Taiwan auteur tradition.

However, the decline in film attendance might have been avoided if a new film aesthetic were to emerge, one which deftly combined both a popular appeal to audiences—consider the reception to such films as *The Love Eterne* (Liang Shanbo yu Zhu Yingtai, dir. Li Hanxiang, 1963) in Taiwan's rich film history—and an exacting attention to artistic detail, demonstrated in the work of directors such as Edward Yang. Such an approach would engage local audiences just as the KMT once aspired to during the "golden age," but could focus on the local experience in such a way that audiences would be entertained and moved. This formula has only recently been put into practice, and the exemplary film is none other than 2008's *Cape No. 7* (Haijiao qihao) directed by Wei Te-sheng. In Taiwan's film history, this film, followed by the success of *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* (Saideke balai, 2011), might be termed a "blockbuster."[57]

How did the film industry fare between the focus decades of this text, the 1960s and 1970s, and *Cape No. 7*? In brief, two key trends characterize the

filmmaking institution in Taiwan after the 1970s came to a close. In terms of the industry, Taiwan's distribution and exhibition channels for films like *The Coldest Winter in Peking* (dir. Bai Jingrui, 1981) famously collapsed,[58] while in terms of the film depictions, nearly all previously taboo subjects (see the previous section) became viable topics.. Today, three trends seem to predominate: the continuation of a residual international art house scene stemming from the Taiwan New Cinema tradition (for example: *Goodbye, Dragon Inn*, dir. Tsai Ming-liang, 2003); the impact of multinational co-productions (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, dir. Ang Lee, 2000); and an emergent local revitalization of the film industry (*Formula 17*, dir. Chen Ying-jung, 2005).[59]

Cape No. 7 and *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* might be classified as belonging to this third category. If films are popular as a direct result of mirroring the concurrent collective imagination and experiences of society effectively, this would explain the success of *Cape No. 7*, a film that generated excitement in print, web, and television outlets, and was further advertised by word of mouth.[60] Interestingly, the film harkens back to the glory days of 1960s Taiwan cinema by integrating popular songs within the narrative and presenting its narrative in a linear manner similar to the Hollywood commercial style. *Cape No. 7* even includes the old concerns of artists in the 1970s nativist literature movement in its storyline. Nostalgia for the Japanese occupation is central to the film's story, since the main characters, a Taiwanese rock musician and his love interest, a Japanese model, are woven into a secondary plotline situated during in the colonial era.

Ping-hui Liao has written that films such as *The Puppetmaster* (Xi meng rensheng, dir. Hou Hsiao-hsien, 1993) and *Dou-San: A Borrowed Life* (Duo sang, dir. Wu Nianzhen, 1994) portray "the ambivalent nature of Taiwanese postcoloniality," and certainly this statement might be applied to *Cape No. 7* as well.[61] What links *Cape No. 7* with the films Liao describes is a similar representation of local Taiwanese experience; the difference is that *Cape No. 7* does so in a way that is entertaining, fast-paced, and endearing. The caesura of the Taiwan New Cinema is jettisoned in favor of techniques directors of the 1960s and 1970s would have considered normative. *Cape No. 7*, despite its weaknesses—after all, it is a well-received and feel-good film, not a masterpiece—offers the best of both worlds in the history of Taiwan filmmaking; namely, the film represents the lived experience of a local populace, and like the "golden age" of the 1960s, the film was widely popular in Taiwan.

According to the filmmakers of the late 1960s, however, *Cape No. 7* primarily shares one similarity with the past: its success at the box office. Film critic Huang Ren, when asked about his thoughts on *Cape No. 7*, responded: "No cinema tradition in Taiwan has surpassed the cinema of the 1960s and 1970s. *Cape No. 7* is an entertaining film, but its artistic quality is not equal to Taiwan's previous films." How long the current revitalized scene will last is certainly subject to debate. Director Li Xing reminisced: "*Cape No. 7* reminds me of the popularity of Li Hanxiang's *The Love Eterne* in 1963 because scholars as well as the general populace were interested in the popularity of the film . . . However, Li Hanxiang's film in 1963 started the rise of Taiwan cinema, but *Cape No. 7* is really a question mark." Indeed, we have yet to see if *Cape No. 7* will begin a new golden era, or if the film will be remembered as an isolated incident, albeit a successful one.

The era of filmmaking in Taiwan pre-1980 may be known as a "missing period" in western scholarship, but surely it will not remain so for much longer, for the antecedents of Taiwan New Cinema are as nuanced as those of any film tradition at any time. And they continue to shed light on the current moment of filmmaking in Taiwan. This book provides an entrance point into the stories, both fictional and non-fictional, that together comprise the framework for the narrative that followed. It traces a storyline that, like a well-written movie-script, is complete with humble beginnings in the early 1960s, an incredible rise to prominence in East Asian cinema by the end of the decade, a period of decline, and then a brief moment of local popularity in the late 1970s before the final credits . . . of one epoch, followed, and inextricably linked to, the beginning of a new one.

Notes

Introduction

1. This text uses the international standard *Hanyu pinyin* romanization system, with an exception of well-known political figures such as Chiang Kai-shek, film directors such as Hou Hsiao-hsien, and locations such as Taipei, romanized in the manner in which they most frequently appear in the Wade-Giles system.
2. See Yingjin Zhang, *Cinema, Space, and Polylocality in a Globalizing China*.
3. See Stephen Kramer, "Transcultural Narrations of the Local: Taiwanese Cinema between Utopia and Heterotopia," 53.
4. I am most grateful to director Li Xing, with whom I had an opportunity to meet in Taipei on three separate occasions, but only one of these occasions was a formal interview. The quotations by Li Xing throughout this book are from that interview.
5. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 113.
6. I use the term "fluid" due to its natural, organic connotations from which I draw inspiration, noting that natural phenomena and human systems are inextricably linked.
7. Nataša Ďurovičová's "Preface" in Nataša Ďurovičová and Kathleen Newman, *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives*, ix. Chris Berry writes, "However, we must recognize that the conceptual distinction between the transnational and the international does not enable a simple sorting out of phenomena into two piles of objects neatly labeled 'national cinema' (circulating in an international order) and 'transnational cinema.' Rather it constitutes a problematic that animates the analysis of various practices and objects." See Chris Berry, "Transnational Chinese Cinema Studies," 12.
8. For further discussion see Yingjin Zhang, "Chinese Cinema and Transnational Film Studies."
9. Lee Daw-ming, "A Brief History of Taiwan Cinema," 1.
10. Lingzhen Wang, *Chinese Women's Cinema: Transnational Contexts*, 18. The use of the term "method" is ascribed to Yiman Wang.
11. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 125.
12. Ibid., 125.

13. Wimal Dissanayake, "Globalization and the Experience of Culture: The Resilience of Nationhood," 34.
14. A practical way of thinking these terms through might be to consider a radio station broadcasting in Taitung, a small city in southeast Taiwan. This radio station would be considered "local" in the sense that its frequency and transmission might not reach Hualien, a city approximately two hours north by train on the east coast, or Kaohsiung, the industrial port city over the mountain range two hours to the west, nor the capital of Taipei further north. Is this to say that such a radio station's concerns would not overlap with the national concerns? Certainly not. When a typhoon approaches, the local station would broadcast information received from the Central Weather Bureau. Similarly, political information and discussions would be a part of this "local" Taitung radio station. In addition, when Japanese, Korean, or Hong Kong television shows and pop music is discussed or presented on the air, the geographical Asian regional is certainly an integral part of this local station's identity. Finally, global news, events, and gossip become part of the local discussion. Thus, we find in one radio station the intersection of the local, national, regional, and transnational. Each category is inflected by, overlapping with, and shaped by the other, and yet the station remains culturally distinct. Or, to use the analogy of ocean currents and water temperature: the water within any location is a certain temperature, although it is in a continual process of blending, changing, and shifting. Similarly, the "local" is distinct—it has its own temperature—but it changes and shifts according to the rhythms of various movements.
15. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 18.
16. Ibid., 23.
17. Chris Berry, "From National Cinema to Cinema and the National," 154.
18. Wimal Dissanayake, "Globalization and the Experience of Culture: The Resilience of Nationhood," 39.
19. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, 285.
20. Fran Martin, *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film and Public Culture*, 37.
21. Fran Martin, *Situating Sexualities*, 42.
22. See Arif Dirlik, *What Is in a Rim: Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* and Ming-yan Lai, *Nativism and Modernity: Cultural Contestations in China and Taiwan under Global Capitalism*, 31–37.
23. Discussions of the intersection between the local and global can be found in Chris Berry, Fran Martin, and Audrey Yeh's edited volume *Mobile Cultures*; Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih's edited volume *Minor Transnationalism*; and Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernard's edited volume *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*.
24. See Felicia Chan, "*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*: Cultural Migrancy and Translatability."

25. According to Dissanayake's terms, the exchange between cultures might include: convolution, transformation, localization, rejection, polysemous and asymmetrical changes, confrontation, commodification, reinvention, and resistance. See Wimal Dissanayake, "Globalization and the Experience of Culture: The Resilience of Nationhood," 25–29.
26. Transnational theory as applied here might retain its critical edge because it highlights power structures that maintain unequal living conditions and highlights uneven power exchanges when tracing border crossings and cultural flow. In this way, I hope to offer a critique of power relations in keeping with the writings of Judith Butler whose best work serves to "extend the norms of [what it means to be] 'human'" so that all can be recognized as participants in the public sphere. I remain passionate about this objective, for as Saskia Sassen describes in *Cities in a World Economy* and Mike Davis reveals in *Planet of Slums*, hegemonic global commerce and around the clock transnational connectivity creates and then conceals real inequalities.
27. E. Ann Kaplan, *Feminism and Film*, 377.
28. Fran Martin, *Situating Sexualities*, 47.
29. See Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim's article "Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies."
30. See Frederic Jameson's discussion of this particular articulation of totality in *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*.
31. Sheldon Lu and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, *Chinese-Language Film: Historiography, Poetics, Politics*, 11.
32. Chris Berry and Mary Farquhar, *China on Screen: Cinema and Nation*, 3.
33. See Liao Ping-hui and David Der-Wei Wang, *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory*.
34. See Darrell W. Davis, "Borrowing Postcolonial: Wu Nianzhen's Dou-san and the Memory Mine."
35. Jason C. Kuo, *Art and Cultural Politics in Postwar Taiwan*, 22, 26.
36. Estimates vary.
37. Fangming Chen, "Postmodern or Postcolonial? An Inquiry into Postwar Taiwanese Literary History," 45.
38. Ibid., 45.
39. In the context of the Philippine historical experience, Neferti X. M. Tadiar writes: "The emergent culture of struggle of the colonized would consist of this process of freeing into expressivity the whole range of social life that colonialism impeded, if not obliterated. Culture was this very process of creative restitution and expressive action that Frantz Fanon argued was commensurate with the concrete, practical struggle 'to bring into existence the history of the nation—the history of decolonization,'" *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization*, 4.
40. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 89.

41. Chris Berry, *Postsocialist Cinema in Post-Mao China: The Cultural Revolution after the Cultural Revolution*, 21.
42. Bruce Cumings, *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American–East Asian Relations at the End of the Century*, 21.
43. Ibid., 22.

1. Framing Taiwan Cinema

1. James Udden writes that *Three Times* "affirms that Hou still is the master of historical material, yet it also suggests that present-day Taiwan will always elude him," in *No Man an Island: The Cinema of Hou Hsiao-hsien*, 174. Jean Ma claims that *Three Times* "reworks motifs from the director's earlier films to produce a sort of capsule history of his career, whose various phases are reprised in the film's triplicate structure," *Melancholy Drift: Marking Time in Chinese Cinema*, 91.
2. The introduction to Thomas Faist, Margit Fauser, and Eveline Reisenauer's text *Transnational Migration* describes how "the 'transnational' has three components": "transnationalization," which is the site of transaction/s; "transnational social spaces," which are transnational spaces created and formed in the contact zone/s of transnational exchange; and "transnationality," which includes the various forms of connection and "degree of connectivity" between transnational participants. See *Transnational Migration*, 2.
3. Such an evaluation tends to be the typical response to the film among Western film critics.
4. Christopher Lupke writes: "With the help of Chu T'ien Wen, Hou Hsiao-hsien was able to reconceptualize how he structured film narrative by using perspective as the starting point from which to shape the narrative form," in "Chu T'ien-wen and the *Sotto Voce* of Gendered Expression in the Films of Hou Hsiao-hsien."
5. For a comprehensive, accessible history of Taiwan cinema, see Lee Daw-ming's "A Brief History of Taiwan Cinema."
6. See director Hou Hsiao-hsien's description of the title in James Udden, *No Man is an Island: The Cinema of Hou Hsiao-hsien*, 174.
7. For following dates and details in this section, see the excellent article: Andrew D. Morris, "Taiwan's History: An Introduction," 3–31.
8. Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures 1683–1895*, 45.
9. Ibid., 85.
10. See Guo-Juin Hong for the first screening of Taiwan films during the colonial era: *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen*, 16–21.
11. Andrew D. Morris, "Taiwan's History: An Introduction," 15.
12. See Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*.
13. Andrew D. Morris, "Taiwan's History: An Introduction," 14.

14. For a commentary on the fragments of history and historical representation, see Frederic Jameson, "Marxism and Historicism."
15. Andrew D. Morris, "Taiwan's History: An Introduction," 19–20, 17.
16. See Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang, *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance: Contemporary Chinese Fiction from Taiwan* and *Literary Culture in Taiwan: Martial Law to Market Law*.
17. Andrew D. Morris, "Taiwan's History: An Introduction," 20.
18. For the information in this section, see David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction*.
19. David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction*, 20.
20. "Xiamen-dialect film first came to Taiwan in 1947." See Lee Daw-ming, *Historical Dictionary of Taiwan Cinema*, 354.
21. Wu Nianzhen, "*Buddha Bless America*, Taiwan, Wu Nien-jen."
22. See Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 133–142.
23. Huang Ren, "Wo xie Taiwan dianying lishi de tongku jingyan (shang)" [I discuss the hardships of Taiwan film history (Part 1)].
24. Ibid.
25. Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 125.
26. For a concise history of CMPC, see Lee Daw-ming, *Historical Dictionary of Taiwan Cinema*.
27. The influence of the popular folk melody films such as *The Love Eterne* might be clearly seen in Taiwan throughout the 1960s in terms of the Hong Kong-esque interior set designs.
28. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 44.
29. See James Wicks's ecocinema article "Love in the Time of Industrialization: Representations of Nature in Li Hanxiang's *The Winter* (1969)."
30. Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 120.
31. See Cai Guorong, *Liushi niandai guopian mingdao mingzuoxuan* [National film in the 1960s: Famous directors and notable selections]; Chen Feibao, *Taiwan dianying daoyan yishu* [The art of Taiwan film directors]; Huang Ren, "Bai Jingrui zuopin chuangzuo de xinlu licheng" [The creative process of Bai Jingrui's films]; and Huang Ren, "Bai Jingrui Luoma kuxue ji" [Bai Jingrui's laborious studies in Rome].
32. John Franklin Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?*, 134.
33. Ming-yan Lai, *Nativism and Modernity: Cultural Contestation in China and Taiwan under Global Capitalism*, 42.
34. See Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh, "The Road Home: Stylistic Renovations of Chinese Mandarin Classics," 203.
35. These films are known as *zhanzheng wenyi jupian* (war literary-art films). See Zhongguo Dianying Tushi Bianji Weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo dianying tushi 1905–2005* [Chinese film: An illustrated history 1905–2005].

36. See Lu Feiyi, *Taiwan dianying: Zhengzhi, jingji, meixue, 1949–1994* [Taiwan film: Politics, economics, and aesthetics, 1949–1994].
37. See Yu-shan Huang and Chun-chi Wang, "Post-Taiwan New Cinema Women Directors and Their Films" for an account of "pioneering Taiwanese women directors" and "the birth of women's cinema during the new cinema era."
38. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 56.
39. See Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 240–249 and Chia-chi Wu "Festivals, Criticism and the International Reputation of Taiwan New Cinema."
40. Robert W. Witkin, *Adorno on Popular Culture*, 3.

2. Two Stage Brothers: Tracing a Common Heritage in Xie Jin and Li Xing's Early 1960s Films

1. Anon., "Taiwan dianying xiju gongzuo renyuan zai kunan zhong zhengzha" [Taiwan's film and theater circles are in a distressing struggle].
2. Gary D. Rawnsley, *Taiwan's Informal Diplomacy and Propaganda*, 34.
3. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, 184.
4. Huang Ren, *Xingzhe yingji: Li Xing, dianying, wushi nian* [The passerby's trace: Li Xing, cinema, fifty years], 386.
5. In Hou Jun, "Taiwan dianying jiaofu: Li Xing daoyan fangtan lu" [The godfather of Taiwan films: An interview with Li Xing], 14.
6. Louis Comolli and Jean Narboni write: "what the camera registers in fact is the vague, unformulated, untheorized, unthought-out world of the dominant ideology . . . reproducing things not as they really are but as they appear when refracted through the ideology," in "Cinema/Ideology/Criticism," 46.
7. Note that this essay does not focus on the important and popular Taiwanese-language cinema in the 1960s.
8. Bruce Cumings, *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American–East Asian Relations at the End of the Century*, 21.
9. Ibid., 22.
10. Laikwan Pang, *Building a New China in Cinema: The Chinese Left-wing Cinema Movement, 1932–1937*; and Zhen Zhang, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896–1937*.
11. Xie Jin, "*Wu tai jiemei*" [Stage sisters], 44. Following the Anti-Rightist campaign of 1957, in which some 300,000 people were denounced or imprisoned, the disastrous Great Leap Forward of 1958–1961 led to the deaths of some 20–30 million people. Diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union ruptured, and then news of border clashes with India splashed across headlines. By the early 1960s, people in China were struggling economically to return to the financial, agricultural, and industrial levels achieved before 1958. In order to maintain the support of the intelligentsia, the government initiated plans to reinstate intellectuals in a united front from 1961 to 1963, but from 1964 to 1965 this window of opportunity was closed. The end of this "cultural thaw" was signaled by many state efforts,

including the Socialist Education Movement intended to instill class-consciousness in the masses. See Paul Pickowicz, "The Limits of Cultural Thaw: Chinese Cinema in the Early 1960s."

12. Michael Berry, Speaking in Images: Interviews with Contemporary Chinese Filmmakers, 34.
13. Vivian Shen, *The Origins of Left-Wing Cinema in China, 1932–37*.
14. Xie Jin, *Wo dui daoyan yishu de zhuiqiu* [My pursuit in film directing], 56.
15. Due to successful land reforms that ended "feudal" landownership practices, Taiwan's caloric consumption was second in Asia only to Japan by the 1960s. Taiwan's population experienced poverty in the 1950s, because the Nationalists had stifled economic growth and removed the infrastructure the Japanese had put in place from 1895 to 1945. But after land reforms and the receipt of millions of dollars in aid from the US from 1951 to 1964, a sense of economic hopefulness permeated society. See John Franklin Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?*, 134.
16. John Franklin Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?*, 117. In order to maintain control, the central government massacred dissidents after a riot in 1947, initiated martial law in 1949 (which remained in effect until 1987), and instituted a reign of "white terror." National Assembly members in Taiwan, including all of the Legislative and Control Yuan, were originally from China. This created friction with the local Taiwanese, who were yet again being controlled by a foreign colonizing government.
17. Hollywood films were concurrently banned in China.
18. The Shanghai setting and information about the Nationalist Party was included in part to avoid government censorship of the film. See Gong Hong, *Yingchen huiyilu* [Film recollections], 128. I am grateful to one of the MCLC reviewers for this insight, and to both reviewers for their valuable counsel.
19. Michael Chang, "The Good, the Bad, and the Beautiful."
20. Author interview, Taipei, October 2008.
21. Huang Ren, *Xingzhe yingji: Li Xing, dianying, wushi nian*, 317.
22. In Taiwan, drama was not offered as a program at any of the universities, so after transferring to National Taiwan Normal University, Li Xing decided to study in the Education Department. Even during this time, he remained passionate about drama, participating in extracurricular drama groups and performances, and he often discussed drama and the arts with his friends. After graduating, Li Xing taught at a school affiliated with National Taiwan Normal University. Later he fulfilled his obligation to serve in the military, and then wrote a column on culture and the arts as a journalist.
23. Lu Feiyi, *Taiwan dianying: Zhengzhi, jingji, meixue, 1949–1994* [Taiwan film: Politics, economics, and aesthetics, 1949–1994], 128–130.
24. One thousand and fifty-two Taiwanese-dialect films were made between 1955 and 1969, while only 373 were made in Mandarin. See Zhang Yingjin, *Chinese National Cinema*, 125.

25. His most famous film of the 1950s also fits this criterion. It was a Taiwanese-language comedy entitled *Brothers Wang and Liu Tour Taiwan* (Wang ge Liu ge you Taiwan, 1958), a kind of Laurel and Hardy caricature that could be found in films of the 1930s. The film was produced by Tailian, a local Taiwanese studio that Li Xing made successful almost single handedly. The film portrays the brothers as they discover the scenic sites of Taiwan in a time when travel was difficult and expensive. Building on the success of the initial installment, Li Xing went on to make five sequels. Then, in 1962, Li Xing established his own film studio with financial support from his parents.
26. Li Xing mentioned that this film influenced him in the same interview mentioned in Note 20: Author interview, Taipei, October 2008.
27. Zhang Yingjin asserts: "similar to the humanist tradition of the pre–1950 Mainland cinema, Li's films concentrate on family values, dramatize separation and suffering, and represent women as the embodiment of both traditional virtues and a modern outlook" in *Chinese National Cinema*, 135.
28. Da Huo'er, "An Interview with Xie Jin," 107–109.
29. Xie Jin moved with his family between Hong Kong and Shanghai during the initial stage of those turbulent war years. In 1941, he began his education in drama at the Sichuan Jiang'an National Theater Academy and later he attended the National Nanjing School of Theatre. He studied under famous instructors including Hong Shen and Cao Yu. It is interesting to compare the work of Xie Jin with Li Xing in light of this because both directors used dramatic staging techniques, as if their actors and actresses worked under a proscenium arch rather than within the film frame. In 1948 Xie Jin was invited by Wu Renzhi to make the transition from stage drama to film at the Datong Film Studio in Shanghai. As an assistant director, he learned how to make films in a studio that released an original motion picture every two to three months. See Yun Meng, *Zhongguo dianyingjia liezhuan* [Biographies of Chinese film personalities], 484. After liberation, Xie Jin stayed in Shanghai. He recollects today: "My teachers all stayed behind to build New China, and I decided not to go abroad," even though many people had encouraged him to live in Hong Kong. See Michael Berry, *Speaking in Images: Interviews with Contemporary Chinese Filmmakers*, 26. In 1950, he attended a university in Huabei for eight months to study Marxist philosophy and communist art techniques, although he did not join the communist party.
30. The entire film industry was gradually nationalized in the early 1950s. By the mid-1950s, there were no private studios. By contrast, in Taiwan private Taiwanese studios, which released opera and comedy films, competed on the open market with state films and movies from the US and other countries.
31. During the Hundred Flowers movement of early 1957, Mao Zedong asked intellectuals to voice criticism of the present state of affairs in order to shake up the bureaucracy. Xie Jin took the opportunity to write this film about athletes. By this point, Xie Jin already had three years of directing experience under his belt. And he had good reason to believe that his film would be widely successful. The

future looked bright, and the anxiety inherent in the Taiwan experience was not an issue. Xie Jin has stated in a recent interview: "During the 1950s, we were actually better off than the Nationalist ruled Taiwan—it was only later that things took a turn for the worse." See Michael Berry, *Speaking in Images: Interviews with Contemporary Chinese Filmmakers*, 35. Although *Woman Basketball Player* was altered and Xie Jin's original intentions were revised, the film still bore the director's distinctive stamp when it was released after the Anti-Rightist Campaign.

32. This brings to mind discussions of "suture," the idea that film audiences enjoy the experience of believing that the fantasy on screen is actually occurring in reality. People often take pleasure in *mis*recognition when they watch a movie. Certainly, the suture is broken when the coach and the grandmother speak. Reality might be said to appear on the screen instead of an elegant diversion.
33. Frederic Wakeman Jr., *Policing Shanghai, 1927–1937*, 92.
34. Film historian Xiao Zhiwei's 1994 dissertation on film censorship during the Nanjing Decade, which figures centrally in this part of my discussion, describes the Nanjing government's process as it began to exercise more control of film during the late 1920s. In brief, cinema was self-censored or locally censored until 1927, at which point the Nationalists established the "Film Censorship Regulations." These regulations were enforced by the National Film Censorship Committee (NFCC), under the Departments of the Interior and Education, until 1934 when the Nationalists reorganized the film censorship body under the Central Film Censorship Committee (CFCC), an arm of the Department of Propaganda. The CFCC, which was dissolved in 1938 during the war with Japan, was centralized by the Nationalist Party in order to more effectively enforce a ban on anti-Japanese representations as well as on foreign films that portrayed China or the Chinese people in demeaning or offensive ways. Studies of censorship demonstrate that during the prewar period from 1927 to 1937, while film was squarely within the commercial and capitalist enterprise, it was also expected to oblige the government by projecting and representing the most moral and uplifting aspects of Chinese culture.
35. Julia Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949–1979*, 1–109.
36. Du Yunzhi, *Zhongguo dianying qishi nian* [Seventy years of Chinese film], 138–144.
37. Li Daoxin, *Zhongguo dianying wenhua shi, 1905–2004* [History of Chinese film culture, 1905–2004], 118. Zheng Zhengqiu's article "Ruhe zoushang qianjin zhi lu" was originally published in *Mingxing Studio's Monthly* (Mingxing yuebao).
38. Robert Stam, *Film Theory: An Introduction*, 141.
39. Bonnie S. McDougall, *Mao Zedong's* "Talks at the Yan'an Conference on Literature and Art": *A Translation of the 1943 Text with Commentary*, 82–83.
40. See Xie Jin "Cong daoyan de ganshou dao guanzhong de ganshou—*Hongse niangzi jun* daoyan sanji" [A director's experience and audience experience—random

notes on *Red Detachment of Women*] and Robert Chi, "The Red Detachment of Women: Resenting, Regendering, Remembering."

41. This statement was made by Peng Zhen. The two denounced films were *Zaochun eryue* (Early spring in February) and *Beiguo jiangnan* (North and south of the country).
42. Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution: The Coming of the Cataclysm 1961–1966*, 388.
43. Roderick MacFarquhar, writes: "This meant the negation not merely of classical literature, but also of the works of communist and leftist intellectuals written from the 1920s through the 1940s, many of whom were grandees of the current cultural establishment." *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution: The Coming of the Cataclysm 1961–1966*, 382.
44. Xie Jin, *Wo dui daoyan yishu de zhuiqiu*, 56.
45. Zhang Yingjin, *Chinese National Cinema*, 216.
46. Dong Feng, "'Sanshi niandai' dianying de jieshihuanhun—ping yingpian *Wutai jiemei*" [Revitalizing "1930s" cinema: A critique of *Stage Sisters*].
47. Michael Berry, *Speaking in Images: Interviews with Contemporary Chinese Filmmakers*, 31.
48. Da Huo'er, "An Interview with Xie Jin," 107–109.
49. Zhang Yingjin, *Chinese National Cinema*, 129.
50. Ibid., 120.
51. Li Xing's portrayal of a drama troupe is similar to *Stage Sisters* in extraordinary ways. One observes in both films the stage set-up during a popular festival, behind the scenes shots of actresses putting on their make-up, and the squabbles between established and up-and-coming performers—details both Xie Jin and Li Xing would have been personally familiar with.
52. Zhang Yingjin, *Chinese National Cinema*, 135.
53. Laikwan Pang, *Building a New China in Cinema: The Chinese Left-wing Cinema Movement, 1932–1937*, 81. This is a modification of Pang's translation.
54. Specifically, Xie Jin was denounced for his use of Shanghai's realist tradition, while Li Xing was praised.
55. The same author interview as mentioned in Notes 20 and 26, Taipei, October 2008.
56. Zhang Yingjin, *Chinese National Cinema*, 201.
57. Da Huo'er, "An Interview with Xie Jin," 107–109.
58. Gilles Deleuze, "The Origin of the Crisis: Italian Neo-realism and the French New Wave," 246–247.
59. Ibid., 247.
60. Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh traces the recuperation and reactivation of the old *wenyi* film tradition as it re-emerges in hybrid forms on the contemporary screen. Also, Robert Chi has written an essay that considers how a Mainland Chinese film, *Spirit of the Sea* (Hai hun, 1957, dir. Xu Tao), depicts a *Battleship Potemkin*-type rebellion occurring on a Nationalist controlled warship. Both articles can be

found in Darrell William Davis and Ru-Shou Robert Chen, eds. *Cinema Taiwan: Politics, Popularity and State of Arts*. For additional connections between Xie Jin and Li Xing, see Hou Jun, "Taiwan dianying jiaofu: Li Xing daoyan fangtan lu."

61. Michael Berry, *Speaking in Images: Interviews with Contemporary Chinese Filmmakers*, 31.

3. Projecting a State That Does Not Exist: The Politics of Migration in Bai Jingrui's 1970 Film *Home Sweet Home*

1. I wish to thank the blind reviewers at *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* for their valuable counsel. All errors are my own.
2. Huang Ren, *Dianying "Alang"—Bai Jingrui* [Film "A-lang"—Bai Jingrui], 56.
3. Emily Davis, "The Intimacies of Globalization: Bodies and Borders On-Screen," 66.
4. The literal translation is "Flying-Swallow-Go-Home," *Fei yan qu lai*.
5. Viem Kwok and Hayne Leland, "An Economic Model of the Brain Drain," 91.
6. Ibid., 91.
7. John Franklin Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?*, 134.
8. Gong Hong, *Yingchen huiyilu* [Film recollections], 142. The exact text is "Liuxuesheng wenti dianying: *Jia zai Taibei*."
9. Warren Tozer, "Taiwan's 'Cultural Renaissance': A Preliminary View," 86.
10. See Tun-Jen Cheng and Yun-Han Chu: "the role of state owned enterprises (SOE) shrank relative to the private sector in the 1960s after export-led industrialization (ELI) became the principle development strategy; but SOE's in the 1960s and 1970s upgraded the industrial base and served as a parking space for the economic bureaucracy and received investment especially during the 1970s for the task of 'industrial deepening,'" in "State-Business Relationship in Taiwan: A Political Economy Perspective," 199.
11. Warren Tozer, "Taiwan's 'Cultural Renaissance': A Preliminary View," 97.
12. Zhang Yingjin, *Chinese National Cinema*, 133.
13. See Cai Guorong, *Liushi niandai guopian mingdao mingzuoxuan* [National film in the 1960s: Famous directors and notable selections]; Feibao Chen, *Taiwan dianying daoyan yishu* [The art of Taiwan film directors]; Huang Ren, "Bai Jingrui zuopin chuangzuo de xinlu licheng" [The creative process of Bai Jingrui's films]; and Huang Ren, "Bai Jingrui Luoma kuxue ji" [Bai Jingrui's laborious studies in Rome].
14. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis write: "Bai intended to criticize the stifling lives of youth in the industrialized towns of Taiwan, but CMPC insisted it be a "socially responsible" film and, hence, the happy ending. Bai had to apply a "romantic" treatment to mask his social critique." Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 36.
15. *Home Sweet Home* was part of CMPC's national and transnational film tradition. It was released in the year that is still notable in Taiwan film history in terms of number of film theaters (826), seats (441,000), and number of time films were

viewed. See Lu Feiyi, *Taiwan dianying: Zhengzhi, jingji, meixue, 1949–1994* [Taiwan film: politics, economics, and aesthetics, 1949–1994].

16. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 40.
17. Huang Ren, *Dianying "Alang"—Bai Jingrui*, 69–70.
18. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 41.
19. Susan F. Paterson, "Fassbinder's Ali: Fear Eats the Soul and the Expropriation of a National Heim," 47 and Shailja Sharma, "Fassbinder's Ali and the Politics of Subject-Formation," 112–113.
20. Shailja Sharma, "Fassbinder's Ali and the Politics of Subject-Formation," 107.
21. Alexander Kluge's brief but entirely fascinating and meditative piece "On Film and the Public Sphere" provides an insight into the intentions of this group of directors. He argues that the possibility for social change is expanded when filmgoers and society in general communicate both their fantasies and intellectual desires within the structure of public dialogue and communal exchange. (See Alexander Kluge, "On Film and the Public Sphere," 218.) Kluge's ideas arrive via Habermas's text *The Public Transformation of the Public Sphere*; Habermas argues that a rational public sphere was created during the 18th century, at the beginning of liberal democratism, but mass media and governmental propaganda have since then marginalized and appropriated society's horizons of perception. This chapter notes a connection between Habermas's work and (its potential to comment on) modern Chinese culture. Richard Madsen, in his essay "The Public Sphere, Civil Society and Moral Community: A Research Agenda for Contemporary China Studies," traces Habermas's ideas in order to locate a sound research strategy for studying society in "post-socialist" China on the mainland. Madsen claims that Habermas's conception of the public sphere is helpful in structuring a study of Chinese social history, because it allows one to center on "the moral and cultural dimensions" of modernity, while also recognizing, as Habermas observed, the extent to which these "lifeworlds" are "increasingly colonized by 'systems' of wealth and power." (Richard Madsen, "The Public Sphere, Civil Society and Moral Community: A Research Agenda for Contemporary China Studies," 184.) Madsen concludes that Habermas's model is helpful when studying China because it allows one to avoid ethnocentric biases when identifying the ways rational public discussion is taking place within historically specific conditions. (Ibid., 187.)
22. Susan Paterson, "Fassbinder's Ali: Fear Eats the Soul and the Expropriation of a National Heim," 55.
23. Note a discrepancy here: Barbara is presented in the nude as well. Barbara Mennel, "Masochistic Fantasy and Racialized Fetish in Rainer Werner Fassbinder's Ali: Fear Eats the Soul," 192.
24. Ibid., 193.
25. Susan Paterson, "Fassbinder's Ali: Fear Eats the Soul and the Expropriation of a National Heim," 49.

26. Shailja Sharma, "Fassbinder's Ali and the Politics of Subject-Formation," 109.
27. Arguably, Hou Hsiao-hsien's use of the long-take enables a similar possibility (see Conclusion).
28. Rachael Langford, "Black and White in Black and White: Identity and Cinematography in Ousmane Sembène's *La Noire de . . . | Black Girl*," 17.
29. Ibid., 14.
30. Ibid., 14.
31. Sheila Petty, "Introduction," 2.
32. Ibid., 6.
33. Rachael Langford, "Black and White in Black and White: Identity and Cinematography in Ousmane Sembène's *La Noire de . . . | Black Girl*," 20.
34. Ibid., 19.
35. Michael Chang, "The Good, the Bad, and the Beautiful," 154.
36. Ibid., 156.
37. Ibid., 157.
38. Fran Martin, *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film and Public Culture*, 30.
39. Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 15.
40. Shailja Sharma, "Fassbinder's Ali and the Politics of Subject-Formation," 113.
41. Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 77.
42. On the one hand, the idealistic presentation of nature and the city in Taiwan may have been placed in the film in order to allure the audience, yet the fact that a majority of students stayed abroad actually reinforces the idea that it was preferable to "feel like a machine" in New York, as the character Zhiyun states, than to enjoy Taiwan's scenic spots.
43. Saskia Sassen, "The Repositioning of Citizenship: Emergent Subjects and Spaces for Politics."

4. Gender Negotiation in Song Cunshou's *Story of Mother* and Taiwan Cinema of the Early 1970s

1. Author interview, Taipei, October 2008.
2. Shu-mei Shih, *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific*, 87. This assertion is taken from Shih's chapter entitled "The Geopolitics of Desire," which describes how gender and nationalism are often presented in a binary structure that subjugates women within patriarchal state systems. In this way, women are the "third term" in struggles between a "geopolitical nation-state" and "unwelcome invaders" (ibid., 88). But Shih notes a distinct contrast between this binary system and the phenomenon of gender articulations in Hong Kong and Taiwan at the end of the 1990s, when there was an effort in Taiwan and Hong Kong to "nationalize or territorialize politics and culture" under the threat of transnational migration; namely the influx of incoming *dalumei* ("mainland sister") in Taiwan and the *biutse* (Cantonese) or *biaojie* (Mandarin) in Hong Kong (ibid., 96). This entailed an effort of women disembedding patriarchy from the

nation, so that the nation could be appealed to as an organ unaffiliated from masculinity. Shih writes: "these women deploy their national and transnational allegiances pragmatically and locally to define the meaning of their own politics" (ibid., 116). In this way, the nation is not an oppressor, but strategically appealed to in order to challenge the idea of "transnational Chinese culture" (alternatively, "pan-Chinese culture" or "global Chinese culture") represented in the mid-1990s media.

3. See Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, and Huang Ren, *Dianying yu zhengzhi xuanchuan* [Film and government propaganda].
4. Taiwan's perennial challenges were three: poverty, authoritarian rule, and the perpetual threat of military action from China. See Liao Kuang-sheng, "Experiences and Major Policies in Taiwan's Development," 285.
5. Shu-mei Shih, *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific*, 88. See also Note 2 above.
6. Ibid.
7. See E. Ann Kaplan, *Feminism and Film*.
8. See Chris Berry, *Postsocialist Cinema in Post-Mao China*.
9. Darrell William Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film*, 8.
10. Author interview, July 2008, Taipei. See also Cai Guorong, *Liushi niandai guopian mingdao mingzhuoxuan* [National film in the 1960s: Famous directors and notable selections].
11. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 37.
12. Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 145.
13. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh, "The Road Home: Stylistic Renovations of Chinese Mandarin Classics," 203.
14. See Lu Feiyi, *Taiwan dianying: Zhengzhi, jingji, meixue, 1949–1994* [Taiwan film: Politics, economics, and aesthetics, 1949–1994].
15. Song Cunshou Retrospective, *Dianying wenwu ji zuopin huiguzhan*, Taipei, July 25–30, 2008.
16. Song Cunshou, "Wo de wushi huigu" [My retrospective at fifty years of age], 7.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 8.
19. Mao Qiongying, "Song Cunshou hui gaixianyizhe ma?" [Can Song Cunshou change his course?], 70.
20. Viewers have found the abundance of coincidences in the film difficult to accept, especially the conclusion. See Jin Shihui and Di Zhonghai, "Yunmen Wuji tan *Chuangwai* yu *Muqin sanshisui*" [The Cloudgate Dance Troupe discusses *Outside the Window* and *Story of Mother*], 20–23.
21. Song Cunshou, "Wo de wushi huigu", 8.

22. Zhongguo Dianying Tushi Bianji Weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo dianying tushi 1905–2005* [Chinese film: An illustrated history 1905–2005], 467.
23. Author interview, Taipei, October 2008.
24. See Hector Rodriguez, *The Cinema of Taiwan: National Identity and Political Legitimacy*, 1995.
25. Depictions of spying might be found in sequences 1, 11, 19, and 23; other important motifs include: the use of flashbacks, representations of death: 12, 16, 30, 35/6; trains: 4, 5, 7b, 8, 10, 15, 26, 35/6; letter writing: 7b, 10, 23; and the soundtrack, which varies between somber and intense, warranting an inquiry in and of itself.
26. Linda Williams considers how women speak to each other within film narratives that privilege patriarchy, and she particularly discusses the way women take up their identities within such systems, be it by resistance or struggling within contradictions. See Linda Williams, "'Something Else Besides a Mother': Stella Dallas and the Maternal Melodrama," 413.
27. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 38.
28. This film was mentioned by Ke Junxiong as influential to his acting style in an author interview, Taipei, September 2008.
29. Perhaps this unhappy disclaimer that bookends the film *Goodbye Darling*, can be situated in the tradition of films like *Blackboard Jungle* (dir. Richard Brooks, 1955), one of the first youth films in the United States, which included a similar qualification for its viewers—which probably serves to only heighten interest in the films. Yet, voice-overs and introductory text in film were not unique in the history of Taiwan cinema. In fact, the first Healthy Realist film by Li Xing, *Our Neighbor* (1963) carries a similar voice-over style introduction. Davis and Yeh write, "The feeble attachment of a moral to this story of rich human fallibility is an example of the evolution of healthy realism into something ideologically unruly." Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 39.
30. See Jason C. Kuo, *Art and Cultural Politics in Postwar Taiwan*.
31. See Shuqin Cui, *Women through the Lens: Gender and Nation in a Century of Chinese Cinema*.
32. See Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 143. One should also take note of the fact that after 1977, when Ming Ji was in charge of CMPC, the patriotic film tradition was maintained to an extent, even as the Taiwan New Cinema movement began.
33. When I had an opportunity to ask the actress who plays the role of mother in the film, Li Xiang, if she believed that *Story of Mother* helped advance women's rights in Taiwan, keeping in mind that she voices the line: "I am a wife, but I am a woman too!" Li Xiang responded: "No, I do not think that the film had any influence on society. Besides, that was just one line in the film." Author Interview, November 2008.

34. Ella Shohat, quoted in Wimal Dissanayake, "Globalization and the Experience of Culture: The Resilience of Nationhood," 40.
35. See Song Hwee Lim, *Celluloid Comrades: Representations of Male Homosexuality in Contemporary Chinese Cinemas*.

Conclusion: Transnationalism and the Structure of Feeling of Taiwan Cinema in the Late 1970s

1. See "Introduction" of this volume regarding the transnational method used here, namely to combine Raymond Williams' well-known methods of analyzing transformational processes alongside Wimal Dissanayake's definitions of the local, national, regional, and global.
2. Note that the discussion surrounding authorial intent is fraught with ambiguity and complexity. See Valentina Vitali and Paul Willemen, *Theorising National Cinema*.
3. Frederic Jameson, "Remapping Taipei," 142.
4. See Angelina Yee, "Constructing a Native Consciousness: Taiwan Literature in the 20th Century."
5. Ibid., 101.
6. See June Yip, *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*, 28.
7. Hwang Chun-ming, *The Taste of Apples*, 24.
8. Jeannette L. Faurot, *Chinese Fiction from Taiwan: Critical Perspectives*, 116.
9. Michelle Yeh and N. G. D. Malmqvist, *Frontier Taiwan: An Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*, 2–3.
10. Wai-lim Yip Lecture, University of California, San Diego, April 2009.
11. Michelle Yeh and N. G. D. Malmqvist, *Frontier Taiwan: An Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*, 176. Thanks to Wai-lim Yip for introducing this poem to me and for providing his analysis which influences my interpretation of the poem here.
12. June Yip, *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*, 33.
13. I use June Yip's translation here: *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*, 40. See also Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang, *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance: Contemporary Chinese Fiction from Taiwan* and *Literary Culture in Taiwan: Martial Law to Market Law*. Modernist writers were attacked as well. Noting that Yvonne Chang's representation of literary history in Taiwan demonstrates that modernist literature in Taiwan of the late 1950s and 1960s was not as a-political as it was characterized during the 1970s debates, I would argue that in the historical moment when political topics were taboo, when modernist poetry and fiction in Taiwan tried to address the social situation it was actually a type of intervention using the only method they had available to them—namely, indirect, difficult, experimental language that in the end also pointed to the frustration of living under the KMT regime.

14. In retrospect, the 1970s nativist writers were in some ways the inheritors of the sentiments of the 1930s leftwing filmmakers in Shanghai: influenced by the May Fourth era and the New Culture Movement, they denounced both anti-imperialist (vis-à-vis both Japan and the West) and anti-capitalist infiltration.
15. Zhongguo Dianying Tushi Bianji Weiyuanhui, *Zhongguo dianying tushi 1905–2005* [Chinese film: An illustrated history 1905–2005], 427.
16. Thus, the film continues the tradition of depicting a handicapped woman who requires the guidance of a strong, yet loving, father.
17. In 1979, the low-budget *Good Morning, Taipei* was the eighth highest-grossing Taiwan film screened in Taipei that year. See *Zhongguo dianying tushi 1905–2005*, 543. Notably, a patriotic war film (*Huang Jun Yun Gui*) was the second highest-grossing film that year. Lu Feiyi's consolidation of film data shows that in 1980 more films were sent to the government for censorship approval (133 films) than in 1970 (117 films), an impressive rebound from the low in 1973 (45 films). Film production numbers would increase until 1982 (144 films). See Lu Feiyi, *Taiwan dianying: Zhengzhi, jingji, meixue, 1949–1994* [Taiwan film: politics, economics, and aesthetics, 1949–1994], 433. Cultural trends were set in motion that would undermine state-approved film production. Attending the theater to see Taiwan's films became increasingly less popular due to the rise of TV and the VCR, not to mention Hollywood dominance. Local exhibitors preferred the latter, because they earned a percentage of the profits from imported films. In addition, new forms of leisure entertainment emerged alongside continued economic growth. Interestingly, the rise and fall of Taiwan cinema is in direct inversion to the rise in popularity and number of films produced in Hong Kong and screened in Taiwan. In general, when film production decreased in Hong Kong, film production in Taiwan increased, and when films in Taiwan increased, the films from Hong Kong decreased.
18. The famous films of the Taiwan New Cinema, distributed in the West and the international art house circuit to great acclaim alongside films of Mainland China's "fifth generation" and following on the heels of the Hong Kong New Wave, comprised only 59 of the 762 films made between 1982 and 1989 and did not revive the Taiwan film market as the government had hoped they would.
19. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 63.
20. *In Our Time* (Guangyin de gushi, 1982) is another early landmark Taiwan New Cinema film, with its second episode, "*Zhiwang*," directed by Edward Yang. Note that directors King Hu, Li Xing, and Bai Jingrui directed the portmanteau film *The Wheel of Life* (Da lunhui) in 1983; interestingly, it features love triangles in three separate time periods which reminds one of *Three Times*, yet the film overall is not captivating in the same way as the Taiwan New Cinema portmanteau films.
21. Frederic Jameson, "Remapping Taipei," 120.
22. Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang, "*The Terrorizer* and the Great Divide in Contemporary Taiwan's Cultural Development," 13.

23. Ibid.
24. Chen Fangming, "Postmodern or Postcolonial? An Inquiry into Postwar Taiwanese Literary History," 45.
25. See Introduction in this volume regarding the use of postcolonial theory.
26. Although he was released in 1975 due to the "amnesty honoring the death of Chiang Kai-shek." See Lucien Miller, "Introduction," 3.
27. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 129.
28. In a description of the relationship between literature and film culture, June Yip writes: "What unites the literature of Hwang Chun-ming and the films of Hou Hsiao-hsien and makes their works central to any investigation of Taiwanese nationhood is their common fascination with the socio-historical specificities of the modern Taiwanese experience and their attempts to formulate a sense of Taiwanese cultural identity." See June Yip, *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*, 9.
29. Author interview, Taipei, October 2008.
30. Gong Hong, *Yingchen huiyilu* [Film recollections], 100.
31. Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh and Darrell William Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, 26.
32. Epoch Publicity Agency, *Free China 1966*, 188–189.
33. Note that no film tradition has of yet represented reality "objectively" or "accurately."
34. Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 143.
35. Hwang Chun-ming, *A Taste of Apples*, xiv.
36. In the 1950s and 1960s in Taiwan it was impossible to discuss the left-wing sentiments of the May Fourth era, "Hence, the literature taught in Taiwan's schools was limited primarily to the Confucian classics and traditional Chinese poetry from the dynastic era. Popular literature consisted largely of escapist entertainment—historical romances and swordsmen epic—far removed from the quotidian realities of Taiwan," June Yip, *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*, 23.
37. Note that poor production values persist: in a scene intended to be dramatic, a clumsy second is comically knocked off balance by a swinging door as he storms a private residence.
38. See the film appendix in Lu Feiyi, *Taiwan dianying: Zhengzhi, jingji, meixue, 1949–1994*.
39. In addition, Chapter 4 suggests that even films set in different settings reveal the local Taiwan experience and condition, albeit indirectly.
40. Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 145–146.
41. Gong Hong, *Yingchen huiyilu*, 139.
42. Raymond Williams also writes: "practical consciousness is almost always different from official consciousness"—which one might recognize by locating the difference between dictionaries and actual speech patterns, and clothing

advertisements and styles one sees on the street, among other examples. The error of reducing cultural phenomena to fixed forms is one this study has attempted to avoid by presenting the tenets of "Healthy Realism" as a cultural expression at times incongruent with transforming socio-political conditions. See Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 128–131.

43. Ibid., 134.
44. The critique of Confucianism in Tao Yuanming's poem "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit" comes to mind.
45. June Yip, *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*, 26.
46. Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," 79.
47. Granted, *Home Sweet Home* contains multiple narrative programs, but in another sense it has one point of view, namely that of the state. Another interesting case study is the 1969 film *Four Moods* (Xi nu ai le) directed by Bai Jingrui, King Hu, Li Hanxiang, and Li Xing, yet even in four parts it is far from disorienting. Li Xing perhaps directs his best work in this film; his segment stars Ou Wei.
48. Yvonne Sung-sheng Chang, "*The Terrorizer* and the Great Divide in Contemporary Taiwan's Cultural Development," 21.
49. See the previous section in this chapter.
50. Wu Nianzhen, "*Buddha Bless America*, Taiwan, Wu Nien-jen."
51. Note additional connections. Nouvelle Vague in France during the late 1950s and early 1960s was in part a response to the dominance of films from Hollywood by an eclectic, politically charged collection of up-and-coming auteur filmmakers embraced by a film culture ready for films that broke from the previous local filmmaking tradition. The New German Cinema of the 1960s and 1970s is similar to Taiwan New Cinema in that neither movement necessarily contains a single unifying principle that would allow one to classify all films under a single umbrella, and both movements were initiated by cinema industries desperate to locate new strategies to bring audiences back to the theatre due to competition with television and the influx of Hollywood imports. Moreover, both traditions include film directors who were deeply concerned with representing their respective national histories.
52. James Udden, "'This Time He Moves!': The Deeper Significance of Hou Hsiao-hsien's Radical Break in *Good Men, Good Women*."
53. See Jon Lewis, *Hollywood v. Hard Core: How the Struggle Over Censorship Created the Modern Film Industry*.
54. Dana Polan, *Pulp Fiction*, 36; and Geoff King, *New Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction*, 145.
55. Dana Polan, *Pulp Fiction*, 38.
56. Geoff King, *New Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction*, 156.
57. Thanks to Ru-Shou Robert Chen, I had the opportunity to attend one of the first screenings of this film for journalists in Taipei before it was officially released.

58. By 1990, 76 films had been produced; in 1998, only 12; by 2000 Hollywood commanded 93 percent of the market. See Yingjin Zhang, *Chinese National Cinema*, 2004.
59. See Darrell William Davis and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, *East Asian Screen Industries*.
60. Brian Hu, "7 Reflections on Cape No. 7."
61. Ping-hui Liao, "Preface: Screening Contemporary Taiwan Cinema," xv.

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