Unsilencing and Silences

Topography and Memory of the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan through a Gender Lens

By

Liao, Ya-Nan

Central European University
Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Erasmus Mundus Master Degree in Women's and Gender Studies

Main supervisor: Dr. habil. Andrea Pető, Central European University
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Abstract

This thesis disentangles the memory politics of the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan through a gender lens. I draw on concepts of gender studies and memory studies in political violence. Specifically, my focus is the process of silencing on experiences of the 1950s leftist female political prisoners in the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum (PONHRM), Taiwan's official memorial institution. The aim of this thesis is twofold: to problematize this official silencing and to analyze the un-official unsilencing on it. I ask the questions: in Taiwan's National Human Rights Museum (PONHRM), what role does gender play in official silencing on the 1950s leftist women, and how can un-official private testimonies of these women challenge it? My analysis focuses on two official published anthologies of the 1950s White Terror, two memorial installations in Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park – a PONHRM's memorial site – and two un-official testimonies of the 1950s female leftists. In my analysis, I observe three representational frameworks in official memory – (1) innocence and non-insurgency, (2) normalizing experiences of male political ex-prisoners and (3) familial relationality. My argument is that official memory of the 1950s White Terror depoliticizes women's political activism and mobilization through an image of a victimized mother in these frameworks. Further, I argue that as counter-memories against PONHRM's official memory, the two un-official testimonies of the 1950s female leftists show a conceptual visibility of the 1950s women as politicized and mobilized subjects.

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And finally, I would like to thanks Ms Chang-Mei Chang. Without you and your continuous struggle for voices of the 1950s leftist women, I would not be able to write this thesis.

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List of Abbreviation

CDSA	the Central Department of Social Affairs
CPC	the Communist Party of China
FPPA	The Formosan Political Prisoners Association
GIHRMP	Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park
KMT	Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party)
PONHRM:	the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum
ROC	the Republic of China
PRC	the People's Republic of China
TPSC	the Taiwan Provincial Security Command
TWC	the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC
TWSCPS	the Taiwan Working Station of the Central Department of Social Affairs

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Introduction

In Taiwan, the end of the Second World War soon followed another phase of political turbulence. Starting from 1949, Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) initiated thirty-eight years of martial law (1949-1987) under its authoritarian regime. Commonly known as the White Terror, this period saw zillions of human rights violation. Especially in the 1950s, the regime targeted thousands of leftist political dissidents as "bandit spies", which means spies working underground for the Communist Party of China (CPC), imprisoned them or executed them as such. For the past two decades, the termination of KMT's martial law has opened a venue where various parties – former political dissidents, their family members, NGOs and official memorial institutions – come to tackle with memories of the White Terror. As a member of the post-White Terror generation, from my encounter with a 1950s female political prisoner Ms Chang-Mei Chang, I notice that experiences of the 1950s leftist women are by a large margin invisible in The Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum (PONHRM), the official memorial institution in Taiwan.

In this thesis, I investigate the memory politics of the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan. By saying memory politics, I am referring to cultural and political forces which influence and shape the process in which historical events are remembered. As part of a larger academic research which deals with Taiwan's White Terror, this thesis in particular uses gender as a category of analysis. I examine how memory politics of the 1950s White Terror is gendered in terms of omission of the 1950s leftist women in Taiwan's official memory. The aim of this thesis is thus twofold. Firstly, I explore the process of silencing of the 1950s leftist female dissidents in the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum (PONHRM). Secondly, I explore the process of unsilencing of these 1950s leftist women in non-official testimonies. Looking into this phenomenon – the official silencing and non-official unsilencing – I try to point out why there is a such an official omission and the wider political implications for Taiwan's transitional progress.

My Encounter with Ms Chang-Mei Chang

In the summer of 2013, I participated in Road of Human Rights: Youth Experience Camp organized by the Dr Chen Wen-Chen Memorial Foundation[1] in Taiwan. Each year, members of Taiwanese young generation are with the White Terror survivors – mainly former political prisoners – in this camp on Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park (GIHRMP). The memorial park is once a location for two White Terror political prisons, and has been under the jurisdiction of the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum since 2011. During the camp, as unofficial guides, these White Terror survivors walked young people around the memorial park, where they spent years or decades in captivation. They testified for their lived experiences under authoritarian state violence.

Literarily and geographically, it was Ms Chang-Mei Chang who led me to the leftist women invisible in PONHRM's museum installations. Ms Chang walked us around the artistic exhibition *Torture* in the memorial park. *Torture* was a series of illustrations hung on the wall at the atrium of Bakua building[2]. It illustrated methods of torture suffered by male political prisoners in interrogation. While the specific experiences of men were visible in official memorial site, experiences of their female counterparts were non-visible. As Ms Chang was guiding us through *Torture*, she pulled out two laminated illustrations. These illustrations depicted tortures inflicted on female sexual organs and testified the particularity of female inmates' experience.

Many visitors to the memorial site would not necessarily be aware that there were women as well as men in former political prison. As a result, the fact that only illustrations of men's torture are visible to the public speaks of an official memory which is deeply gendered. Experiences of male inmates are used as examples of experiences of all the political inmates. I will elaborate

[1] This memorial foundation was founded in memory of Dr Chen Wen-Chen, a Taiwanese intellectual who fell victim to the 1980s White Terror because of his stance against Kuomintang's authoritarian ruling and advocacy of Taiwan's democratic system. Since its establishment, the foundation has been engaged in events which promote human rights and the White Terror memorialization ("Dr Chen Wen-Chen Memorial Foundation" 2016).

[2] Bakua building was officially named as the Ministry of National Defence's Green Island Probation Training Prison from 1972 to 1987. It is a two-storey political prison with four radiating wings and an atrium at the wings' intersection point. Such design allows the prison guard to keep every cell at each separate wing under constant surveillance.

and discuss this part in Chapter 3, where I deal with the official White Terror memory in PONHRM.

Research Question

My encounter with Ms Chang-Mei Chang and the silenced leftist women behind PONHRM's exhibition motivates the writing of this thesis. As Aleida Assmann suggests that, "the problem with national narrative is not so much 'false memory' but extremely selective and exclusive memory frames" (Assmann 2014). In Taiwan, memory politics of the 1950s White Terror is as well selective and gendered. The question thus to ask is: how is it gendered? Broadly speaking, this thesis takes gender as a category of analysis and poses the following research question:

What role does gender play in the memory politics of the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan?

I will answer this research question by posing the following sub-questions:

1. In the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum (PONHRM), how are the 1950s leftist women remembered?
2. If the 1950s leftist women are silenced by official memory, how are they silenced?
3. How is unsilencing of the 1950s leftist women in non-official testimonies attempted?

I will explore these questions in the two analysis chapters, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. In this thesis, my discussion on the White Terror focuses on the first decade of it, which is the 1950s. The reason is that the purge against left-wingers by Kuomintang's regime reached its peak in this decade. After the 1960s, instead of pro-China communist underground, antigovernment movement became ideologically pro-democratic and pro-Taiwanese independence.

There are several terms which I will use in the following chapters that need to be pinpointed here. The first is the concept of memory. Drawing on Oren Baruch Stier's perspective, I am referring to this concept as "representation of past events, not the events themselves" (Stier

2003, 2). The second is the concept of omission. I am using this term to suggest that the process of silencing, whether initiated by the White Terror survivors or by Taiwan's memorial institution, is with purposes and consequences. The third term is unsilencing. I am using this term as a feminist project to struggle against the "silencing (from history and memory) and ongoing marginalization" (Altınay and Pető 2016, 9) of women; further, the unsilencing efforts in this thesis take intersectionality into account and refuse to universalize experiences of women (ibid., 10-11).

Theoretical Contribution

The overall contribution of my thesis is related to the fact that existing scholarship of the White Terror (J. Wu 2014; N.-T. Wu 2004; N.-T. Wu 2005; Hsu 2007; Hsueh 2011; Yen 2006) does not extensively focus on women's experiences of this period . In academic discussion in Taiwan, different forms of the White Terror memorialization (creation of memorial museums, public apology from the president, or collection of survivors' testimonies etc.) are generally acknowledged as a necessary step.

However, the White Terror memorialization, namely how the White Terror should and can be remembered, is rarely tackled from a feminist perspective which devices gender as a category of analysis. On the one side, the role of the 1950s leftist women and their experiences rarely enter into the discussion of Taiwan's academia; on the other, while in 2015, for the first time The Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum published three volumes of oral history records about women living through the White Terror (Syu 2015), in these three volumes women are often identified as "not in the political prison".

Thus, this thesis is an attempt to fill up the gap in Taiwan's academic discussion because of two reasons. The first is a continual understatement of experiences of the 1950s female political prisoners. The second is a tendency to overgeneralize women of the 1950s White Terror as wives, daughters or sisters of political dissidents. I conduct "a feminist analysis of gender" (Cockburn 2004, 24) in memory politics of the White Terror. By saying a feminist analysis of gender, I am referring to an approach which is against overgeneralized division of gender roles in memory politics: "men were the perpetrators (in defence of the nation and of their wives and

children), while women were victims, particularly of sexual abuse and forced abduction" (Moser and Clark 2001, 3).

Chapter Overview

This thesis is divided into four main chapters. In Chapter 1, I provide a literature review of the major themes such as sexual violence, women in (armed) conflicts, testimony and artefactual memorial installations. Concepts in different themes will be useful to theorize and analyze my finding in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. Because my focus in this thesis is the authoritarian political violence which occurred in Taiwan, in particular I center on literature which combines gender studies and memory studies in different contexts of political turbulence.

Chapter 2 goes on to contextualize the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan and demonstrates the memory politics of it. Here firstly, I comb through the anti-communist ideology of Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) and discuss its mechanism of control. Secondly, I demonstrate a connection between the enactment of the "Redress Regulation" in 1998 and a framework of innocence and non-insurgency in the 1950s left-wingers' testimonies.

In Chapter 3, I analyze two official anthologies of the White Terror testimony – *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* and *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas* – published by PONHRM and memorial installations – *Shedding Tears Plaque* and a series of illustrations *Torture* – in the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park. This chapter points out the omission of the 1950s female political prisoners in PONHRM. It discusses the representational frameworks in PONHRM which enable this omission. I explore what sorts of experiences are "appropriated" as "proper" exemplification of the 1950s White Terror memory (Stier 2003, 18) and the consequence of omitting the 1950s leftist women in official memory.

In Chapter 4, I analyze non-official oral testimonies of two 1950s female leftist women Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao. These two testimonies are provided by Chuan-Kai Lin, a Taiwanese historian dedicated to research of the 1950s White Terror and the underground resistance work. This chapter analyzes the unsilencing of the 1950s female political prisoners

and makes differently the gendered experiences in it. This chapter makes use of intersectional analysis. It explores a different conceptual visibility of the White Terror women which acknowledges them as politicized subjects.

At the end of this thesis, I will briefly conclude my discussion in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. In addition, I will provide a few suggestions for the White Terror memorialization in Taiwan. These suggestions may contribute to inclusion of experiences of the 1950s leftist women in official memory and change the memory politics of the White Terror.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

In this chapter, I will review and highlight the literature in the field of gender and memory studies. To achieve this, I will point out the major concepts, which are important and helpful to understand my analysis in this thesis. While a violent past is always gendered, how it is remembered is equally gendered. Accordingly, my literature review is divided into two parts. In the first part, it starts with discussing how gender as a category of analysis can renew the ways we think about violence and conflicts. After this, in the second part, bringing forward concepts of memory studies, I will continue to discuss the question: how can political violence be remembered in a gendered way?

Because my focus in this thesis is the White Terror, thirty-eight years (1949-1987) of authoritarian ruling by Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) in Taiwan, I consider previous literature which deals with contexts of political violence and conflicts connected with and helpful to my topic.

In particular, my focus is to explore how the combination of gender studies and memory studies comes to tackle with a violent past. According to Andrea Pető and Ayşe Gül Altınay, lately feminist scholarship has reconceptualized the way in which traces of violence in history are unfolded and told. Thus, aligning gender studies with memory studies in the discussion of violence is important in two dimensions. Firstly, it reminds us how the past may be remembered differently if we take gender into consideration. Furthermore, this combination as well calls attention to how the present can be lived by us "in multiple and deeply gendered ways" (Altınay and Pető 2016, 5).

1.1 Gender, Violence and Conflicts

A wide range of feminist scholarship has contributed in a gendered analysis during and after political violence and armed conflicts (Cockburn 2004; Moser 2001; Scheper-Hughes 1996; Schmoll 2014; Abiral 2016; Stefatos 2016). While literature on political violence is in abundance, earlier engagement with this issue is "largely gender-blind, with women's

participation simply not identified" (Moser and Clark 2001, 3); elsewhere, most of the time representations of women in political conflicts conjure up "a picture of passivity, of those who are injured, abused, and displaced" (Cockburn 2004, 24). The earlier literature also fails to problematize a stereotypical distinction of gender roles. In this distinction, women are widely seen as victims of violence, especially of sexual abuse, whereas men are viewed as perpetrators and defenders of household and nation (Yuval-Davis 1997; Kelly 2000, 46; Moser and Clark 2001; Scheper-Hughes 1996).

To challenge this previous assumption, feminist scholarship has been dedicated to reclaim women's roles as 'actors' during and after period of conflicts and to go beyond a use of gender as an essentialist marker to explain experiences. In the words of Cynthia Cockburn, a feminist analysis of gender is never "just to add women and stir" (Cockburn 2004, 24). Instead, a feminist analysis of gender should pay close attention to two aspects – power relations and intersectionality (Moser and Clark 2001, 6; Cockburn 2004, 25; Altınay and Pető 2016, 9–11).

Firstly, in terms of intersectionality, the relative position of men and women should be explored in a broader intersection with other social factors, say it gender, class, nationality or ethnicity, and further be contextualized. In Chapter 4, my analysis will suggest that in non-official testimonies of the 1950s leftist women, self-identification is not only connected to gender, but also to class. Secondly, in terms of power relations, the theorization of gender by Joan W. Scott is particularly relevant. In Scott's perspective,

> Gender is a constitutive element of social relationship based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationship of power. (Scott 1986, 1067)

In addition, Scott also stresses that instead of viewing power as "unified, coherent, and centralized" (Scott 1986, 1067), the notion of power is more connected to Foucault's formulation: power as "discursively constituted in social 'fields of force'" (cited in Scott 1986, 1067). Proceeding from this conception of gender, scholars who study political violence and conflicts have come to view various experiences of men and women as relational and

inextricably linked to and shaped by a patriarchal social structure and cultural discourse (Moser and Clark 2001; Cockburn 2001; Schmoll 2014; Scheper-Hughes 1996; Stefatos 2016; Abiral 2016).

For example, both Abiral and Stefatos connect methods of sexual torture inflicted on leftist women to paternalistic discourse of a proper woman (Stefatos 2016; Abiral 2016). In addition, Brett Schmoll observes that during the Spanish Civil War, hegemonic masculinity was challenged, whilst the concept of motherhood was also altered by the political circumstances (Schmoll 2014). Schmoll discovers that due to fear and a widely spread inhibition of male's political activism, a dominant father figure in a household had changed; on the other side, political turbulence had enabled women to obtain more control over family decision-making. Women seized "the newly silent men as momentary emancipation" (Schmoll 2014, 484) and offset if not entirely the hierarchical relationship between wives and husbands in the household (ibid., 483–84).

Likewise, Nancy Scheper-Hughes reminds us to be aware of "the too-comfortable view of women – and especially mothers – as embedded in particular ways of being-in-the-world that presumably make them resistant to wars and receptive to peacekeeping" (Scheper-Hughes 1996). She argues that especially under political turbulence, when men's participation in conflict is "rendered 'socially acceptable'" (ibid.), being a woman could mean standing on the opposite side of peace and "surrender[ing] their sons (and their husbands) to war, violence, and death" (ibid.).

Accordingly, in this thesis I will conduct "a feminist analysis of gender" (Cockburn 2004, 24) to discuss the official and non-official memory of the 1950s White Terror. My aim is to go beyond an overgeneralization of gender roles in political violence: men as perpetrators and defenders, while women – often mothers – as "passive victims in need of protection" (Bjorkdahl and Selimovic 2015, 165) and supportive of peace.

Institutionally, memories of the 1950s White Terror are either included or omitted by Taiwan's official memorial institution PONHRM. Individually, the White Terror survivors selectively

remember the memories by themselves. To explore the causes behind this institutional omission and individual self-silencing, I will focus on the "relational positioning of men and women" (Cockburn 2004, 28) in survivors' official and non-official testimonies. I will point out the intersection of gender with class and the influences of gender conventions. Overall, a focus on intersectionality and gender conventions provides clues to the system of power embodied by them. In the following two sub-sections, I will proceed to two themes – (1) women as political actors and (2) sexual violence and abuse – during (armed) conflicts which are related to my analysis.

Women as Political Actors in (Armed) Conflicts

As I have mentioned above in this section, earlier literature on gender, violence and conflicts fails to problematize a sedimented notion of gender roles: often, women are too easily depicted as passive victims of violence, especially of sexual abuse (Yuval-Davis 1997; Kelly 2000, 46; Moser and Clark 2001; Scheper-Hughes 1996). In fact, later research proves that women do not necessarily take on role of victims. Instead, they can be actively engaged in conflicts. Whether supportive to violence or in pursuit of peace, women have different voices, and their identities do not solely rely on gender, but also on class, ethnicity and nationality for instance (Kaufman and Williams 2010; Cockburn 2004, 34; Moser and Clark 2001; Bunk 2003; Mangini 1991; O'Leary 2012; Herrmann 2003).

In my thesis, I analyze non-official testimonies from two women Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao, both of whom chose to become politically active in the communist underground during the 1950s White Terror. Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao were subsequently persecuted by Kuomintang and faced imprisonment up to ten years. In either of their testimonies, the experiences in the family, the communist underground and Kuomintang's detention centers form a life story which hardly speaks of them as only passive victims because of their self-identification as a political active woman and their remembering of what had been achieved in this identity. In what follows, I focus on literature which discusses gender and women's participation in (armed) conflicts and point out concepts useful to my analysis.

One important conceptualization I rely on is the continuum of violence, which is to look at conflicts and political violence as a continuous process. According to Kaufman and Williams (Kaufman and Williams 2010), if we critically ask the questions: what methods do women take in their political activism? What choices do they have and what can they achieve? Beforehand, we need to look at different parameters that push them to opt for political actions. As Kaufman and Williams precisely put,

> Societies do not erupt into internal conflicts – ethnic, civil, and/or religious wars – without some prior warning or notice. Often the changes that take place within the society have greatest impact on women who are most sensitive to those changes. (Kaufman and Williams 2010, 58)

Moser and Clark also maintain that if viewing conflict as a continuous process, it is thus hard to neglect "the uneven distribution of power and resources in society" (Moser and Clark 2001, 7) that indirectly leads to conflict's outbreak. Accordingly, instead of focusing on what women have done, I also ask the question in my analysis: why did the 1950s leftist women choose to politicize and mobilize themselves? To look at the 1950s White Terror as a process, I will show how gender inequality prior to, during and after the White Terror continues to influence these women's choice and omission of their experiences in PONHRM.

Sexual Violence and Abuse

The practice of sexual violence and the silencing or unsilencing on it are closely linked to politics of identity and a set of cultural and social norms which pre-exists and continues to discipline women's lives after conflicts end. As Moser and Clark point out:

> Reasons for the concealment of this victimization are identified in terms of the politics of identity. This [sexual violence] not only operates during war, but also in the construction of new nation states, and ultimately designates who can, or cannot, be named victims of sexual abuse. (Moser and Clark 2001, 8)

In Katerina Stefatos's article "The Female and Political Body in Pain", she examines the sexual torture of female political dissidents, who primarily belonged to the forbidden anti-junta leftist organizations, during the Greek military dictatorship (1967-1974). Stefatos argues that sexual abuse and humiliation[3] not only became an instrument to attain intelligence during interrogation, but also it was operated upon the Greek paternalistic understanding of women which consigned them to the role of an appropriate mother (Stefatos 2016, 80). Her argument could also confirm Abiral's discussion on female leftist prisoners during the Turkish military junta (1980-1983). According to Abiral, these women were regarded as threatening by the right-wingers in power not only due to their dissidence, but also because they failed to perform "their roles as dutiful wives and mothers" (Abiral 2016, 98). That is to say, a woman could only be in her proper position when she remained in the private domain. In this way, sexualized torture, especially which targeted women's productivity, imposed patriarchal control on a leftist woman. It was intended to break gender conventions and to punish her because of her unfitting identity as a political activist (Stefatos 2016, 79–82).

How does gender have to do with the ways sexual violence is remembered? While the practice of sexual violence during conflicts can be traced back to the breaking of social norms, how it is remembered or non-remembered is as well connected to it. When scholars examine what happened to the victims after the conflicts – how the society remembers them and how they come to reconcile with traumatic memories – they raise the issue of self-silencing (Reading 2002b; Baldwin 2015; Stefatos 2016). Self-silencing/self-censorship is the silence on experienced sexual violence by survivors themselves. On the other hand, silence on sexual violence can be facilitated by surroundings in which the survivors continue to live with it. This context could mean their family members, the community or "social institutions"(Stier 2003, 2), as previous scholarship has investigated in many cases, a memorial museum (Reading 2002a; Ringelheim 1998; J. L. Jacobs 2010b).

Previous studies also underscore that self-silencing and silencing facilitated by social surroundings are interwoven with each other. Commenting on remembering female survivors'

[3] According to Stefatos, methods of sexual torture and humiliation could involve "rape or attempted rape and genital penetration with objects and water" (Stefatos 2016, 74). Other methods include being naked or bathing in front of prison authorities (Stefatos 2016, 77).

experiences in the Holocaust, Anna Reading (Reading 2002b) finds that survivors are unable to talk about rape in their autobiographies. Reading accentuates that the self-silencing by survivors themselves is co-existing with family members' inability to hear it. Because memory of rape can unsettle "a particular set of gendered cultural values" (ibid., 58), it risks demolishing the social relationships which are developed upon these values, for instance relationship between a husband and a wife, or a mother and a children in a family. Baldwin also points out that as husbands, men often found hard to accept and support their wives when their wives attempted to talk about experienced sexual assault (Baldwin 2015, 118). Further, Stefatos also discovers that female political prisoners avoided their sexual trauma out of fear of rejection from their children and local communities (Stefatos 2016, 83).

Survivors' self-censorship is never independent from a broader memory culture that has been sustained and supported by the authority of social institutions; rather it is influenced by it. In terms of silencing facilitated particularly by "the authority of social institutions" (Stier 2003, 2), Joan Ringelheim's evaluation (Ringelheim 1998) will be useful for me when I point out the omission of sexualized torture on the 1950s female political prisoners in Taiwan's PONHRM. Ringelheim brings up the notion of women as "conceptually invisible" (ibid., 347) in exhibition design in the Holocaust Museum. By saying "conceptually invisible", she argues that there was a split between women's experience and the Holocaust Jewish experience. Victimization of Jewish women because of their sexual vulnerability was omitted in museum's exhibition. Because a set of cultural values attached to women, they were missing in exhibition design. Gender was not a category of remembering when the Holocaust memory is approached (ibid., 347-348). In my analysis, I will specifically draw on this notion "conceptually invisible" to discuss installations in PONHRM's memorial site and point out a split between the official 1950s White Terror memory and women's experiences as leftist political prisoners in this period.

In sum, when approaching political violence and (armed) conflicts, feminist scholarship pays attention to power relations and intersectionality. This attention allows me not to overgeneralize women living in political violence as victims, but to view violence as a continual process in my analysis. In the next section, I will look into the concept "memory" and introduce a feminist rethinking of this concept. Following this introduction, I will move on to talk about two modes

of memorialization, which mean two particular ways of memorializing a violent past. These are (1) artefactual memorial installations and (2) testimony. Before going into the analysis of my material, it is important to go through some scholarly discussion on testimony and memorial installations because each of them conceptualizes memory, gender and political violence in a different way.

1.2 Gender and Remembering Political Violence

What is memory? How is memory related to the past we lived, the present we are living, and the future we will live? Furthermore, how can this concept be problematized when we take gender into consideration? In this thesis, I am using the term "memory" as conceptualized by Oren Baruch Stier (Stier 2003). In his conceptualization of memory, he accentuates "the constructed nature of memory" (ibid., 2). Not irrelevant to the present we are living, memory is the pieces of experiences which are chosen to represent the past in different forms for the present purpose; it is "the presentation and representation of past events, not the events themselves" (ibid.). I use two PONHRM-published anthologies, two official memorial installations and two unofficial testimonies as my analytical materials. All of them are representations of the 1950s White Terror, not the 1950s White Terror itself.

Acknowledging that memory is representation brings up issues of propriety and selectivity. In Stier's perspective, propriety of memory is double-edged. As he suggests,

> Propriety is taken in a dual sense: as the notion of what is "proper" (what is *appropriate* [italic original] in the realm of representation) and what it "property" (what is *appropriated* [italic original] in the course of representation). (Stier 2003, 18)

In this regard, the first layer of propriety, regarding what is considered appropriate, inevitably is connected to a process of selection – to select what should be remembered, whereas what should be omitted and silenced. In Halbwach's perspective, construction of a collective memory, to make meaning of the past, is influenced by the constraints of the present, meaning its available social frames and social milieu (Halbwachs 1992). In a similar way, Aleida Assmann

further points out process of selective forgetting as an essential part of memory creation (Assmann 2014). She points out that when a social frame is used by a group to create memory, it as well "excludes a whole spectrum of memories which either considered not relevant or not acceptable from the point of view of the group" (ibid.). In my thesis, I thus pay attention to the social frames which were developed prior to and sustained after the establishment of the PONHRM in 2011. In Chapter 2, I will explain that the official memory culture in PONHRM does not pop up in vacuum, it is influenced by the enactment of the "Redress Regulation" in 1998.

How can feminist scholarship provide a rethinking of the concept "memory"? In particular, how can this rethinking be helpful for us to re-examine and re-conceptualize political violence and (armed) conflicts? According to Altınay and Pető, feminist scholarship has been working "to 'unsilence' women as historical subjects" (Altınay and Pető 2016, 9). Kate Chedgzoy also indicates that by "retriev[ing] many women from oblivion" (Chedgyoz 2007, 216), feminist scholarship itself "bears witness to the gendered and power-laden dynamics of remembering and forgetting" (ibid.). However, as Anna Reading also recognizes, in memory studies, gender is seldom regarded as important than other issues such as national identity (Reading 2014). Altınay and Pető also point out that memory studies seldom include gender, or its intersection with war (Altınay and Pető 2016, 7).

In this regard, a feminist rethinking of memory means to challenge this "patriarchal politics of memory" (ibid., 2) which leaves out aspects of gender and specificities of memory production based on these aspects. Altınay and Pető further accentuate that this rethinking requires us not only to make efforts to unsilence women's experiences, but also to critically engage with silence itself (Altınay and Pető 2016), because

> [s]ilences – especially silences in the histories and memories of wars that shape contemporary lives – are deeply gendered and deeply political, and unsilencing can be a form of radical, transformative political intervention. (ibid., 11)

Emphasis on silence and unsilencing avoids viewing "woman/women" as a universal category. Rather, it is important to take intersectionality into account and examine how women's experiences differ from each other when gender is considered with other categories of social formation, class and ethnicity for example (ibid., 10). It is as well important to note, according to Anna Reading, "that silence has a function" (Reading 2002c, 37). She asks: what are the purposes of these silences? And what does it suggest when the silenced voices are heard (ibid.)?

Thus, in my thesis I will develop my analytical chapters – Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 – on these two dimensions. That is to say, I will first ask what is silenced in the official White Terror memory in the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum. After this, I will conduct a project of unsilencing of the 1950s leftist female dissidents. These two chapters will be developed interrelated to each other, because I am cognizant of the fat that the process of silencing on certain memories functions alongside with the process of speaking out other memories. In the following, I discuss critical scholarship about two modes of memorialization that I will analyze, which are (1) artefactual memorial installations and (2) testimony, the limitations as well as characters of them.

Artefactual Memorial Installations

In this thesis, one of my foci within the official White Terror memory are two artefactual installations in the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park (GIHRMP), which is under jurisdiction of the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum. In particular, I will look into a monument named *Shedding Tears Plaque* and a series of artistic creation *Torture* in this memorial site. To investigate these two installations in a memorial site, here I rely on three concepts, which are "material memory" (Otto 2009, 329), topography and "gender as an idiom of memorialization" (Hirsch 2002, 100).

In terms of the first concept, Lene Otto conceptualizes "material memory" (Otto 2009, 329) as memories which are constructed by "the materiality and physicality of museum" (Otto 2009, 335). In her article "Post-Communist Museums: Terrorspaces and Traumas capes", Otto explains this concept as an important character of museum:

> In the course of history, museums have become familiar public spaces in which the material relics of identity are collected and exhibited. Museums have the opportunity to produce artefactual symbols, that is to endow otherwise ordinary objects with sacred qualities and through the exhibition of these objects to remember and to forget. (ibid.)

Otto continues to argue that these artefactual symbols are manifestations of official ideology of remembrance (ibid.). In my thesis, I thus read *Shedding Tears Plaque* and the illustrations *Torture* as indicative of Taiwan's official ideology of remembrance.

Nonetheless, concept of "material memory" (Otto 2009, 329) is not enough if we want to look into the White Terror, as it does not take into consideration that GIHRMP is a museum specifically dedicated to memorialize political violence and human rights violation (The Preparatory Office of the Human Rights Museum, n.d.). Thus, the second concept topography refers to the specificity of memorial sites connected to a violent past. According to Conte, these memorial sites are places where crimes were formerly committed and are presently used as "spaces of recognition and remembrance" (Conte 2015, 86).

It is also not enough if we are taking gender into consideration. Bringing in gender as a category of analysis, feminist scholarship is interested in how artefactual installations in museum shed light on a gendered memory. Scholars have asked the questions such as: how discourses of femininity and masculinity enter into the installations? To what extent the installations take on gender conventions and stereotypes? And above all, in terms of gender, what remains unarticulated (J. L. Jacobs 2010a; Reading 2002a; Ringelheim 1998; Young 2009)? For instance, in Reading' observation on the US Holocaust Museum, she observes a lack of female uniforms in exhibition and contends that male objects come to embody the experiences of female and male prisoners (Reading 2002a, 117). In another example, Jacob discovers that in the Holocaust memorial sites, a particular gendered memory is based on stereotypical image of women as mothers and her bonding with her children (J. L. Jacobs 2010b; J. L. Jacobs 2010c).

Specifically, I refer to the third concept "gender as an idiom of memorialization" theorized by Marianne Hirsch (2002). Hirsch discusses gender and artistic representation of atrocities. She argues that gender is a medium through which "certain images have been able to circulate in the visual culture of the postmemorial generation" (ibid., 104). For instance, she investigates visual memorialization of Holocaust, and contends that there is a cultural obsession with images of an infantilized and feminized victim concomitant with hyper-masculinized perpetrators (ibid., 103). In addition, Hirsch also problematizes this idiom. She argues that when an image of an infantilized and feminized victim becomes widely disseminated and culturally acceptable, we thus fail to recognize "the particularities of identity" (ibid., 111) of each victims and "their historical specificity" (ibid.). In my discussion on the exhibited illustrations *Torture* in Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park, I rely on Hirsch's theorization to look into artistic representation of sexual torture inflicted on the 1950s leftist female political prisoners.

Testimony

Another mode of memorialization I analyze in this thesis is testimony. I discuss written testimonies by the White Terror survivors in two PONHRM-published anthologies and two un-official testimonies by the 1950s leftist women.

According to Aleida Assmann, testimony is "a genre for registering and archiving individual incidents of the traumatic experience" (Assmann 2006, 264). This could contain a variety of texts such as survivors' memoirs, oral history records or autobiographies. Otto also stresses that testimony bears particular legitimacy in terms of speaking out the past, because it "is a specific kind of memory, told by witnesses" (Otto 2009, 354). However, scholars suggest that testimonies of survivors can be easily viewed as sources to provide an authentic truth; they problematize the widely-taken assumption that production of testimony can recover a missing historical truth and heal survivors of violence and turbulence (Bos 2003; Pető 2002; Otto 2009). In my analysis, my aim is to go beyond authenticity and the "true/false" framing of testimony, and, drawing on Bos' argument, to read testimony "as a (re)construction of confusing, multifaceted experienced reality" (Bos 2003, 30). This constructionist perspective on testimony allows me to discuss the production of my materials as a process of selection, and to inquire the broader political and cultural milieu in which they are produced.

1.3 Conclusion

In sum, my literature review focuses on two parts. The first part is how feminist scholarship uses gender as a category to renew discussion on political violence and (armed) conflicts. "A feminist analysis of gender" (Cockburn 2004, 24) should pay attention to power relations and intersectionality. Further, conflicts and political violence is a continuous process, as theorized by Kaufman and Williams (2010). To view violence as a continuum allows us to investigate "the uneven distribution of power and resources in society" (Moser and Clark 2001, 7), and to link the self-silencing by survivors themselves or the silencing by social surroundings after violence to a set of gender norms which pre-exist the outbreak of violence.

The second part is to ask: how is political violence remembered in a gendered way? Theorized by Oren Baruch Stier, memory is the representation of past events (Stier 2003, 2). Bringing up issues of propriety and selectivity, the construction of memory is a selection process. It is a process which, according to Stier, appropriates what is appropriate (Stier 2003, 18) and, according to Aleida Assmann, "excludes a whole spectrum of memories" (Assmann 2014) when a group uses a social frame. Combining gender studies with memory studies in political violence, feminist scholarship has been struggling to unsilence the marginalized women, and to engage with silence itself because, according to Anna Reading, "silence has a function" (Reading 2002c, 37) and, in Altınay and Pető's perspective, silence in memories of war can "shape contemporary lives" (Altınay and Pető 2016, 11).

Lastly, I review previous research on two particular ways of memorializing a violent past. The first is artefactual memorial installations. Scholarly research on memorial installations stresses the role of a memorial place and artifacts installed in it. In Conte's view, as former locations of atrocities, memorial sites in the present are "spaces of recognition and remembrance" (Conte 2015, 86). Otto stresses that artifacts in memorial sites are endowed with symbolical meanings and are manifestations of official ideology (Otto 2009, 335). Taking gender into consideration, Hirsch points out that gender is an idiom of memorialization in artistic representation of atrocities. The second is testimony. As a genre to document traumatic experiences, testimony is memory "told by witnesses" (Otto 2009, 354). It is a medium through which witnesses of violence can reconstruct their "confusing, multifaceted experienced reality" (Bos 2003, 30).

Chapter 2

Contextualizing the 1950s White Terror and Its Memory Politics

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan and the memory politics of this period. Firstly, this chapter will address the historical background of the 1950s White Terror and connects the authoritarian regime of Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) with two Acts, "Rebellion Act" and "Banditry Act". I will show how these two Acts functioned as Kuomintang's mechanism of control in the 1950s.

Next, this chapter examines the memory politics of the 1950s White Terror in relation to "Redress Regulation". "Redress Regulation" is a regulation passed by the Legislative Yuan (the state legislature of Taiwan) in 1998 with the aim to compensate survivors of the White Terror's political violence. I will show how this regulation has resulted in a framework of innocence and non-insurgency in testimonies of the 1950s political dissidents. This part will delineate a process of silencing on leftist insurgency in Taiwan's official memory.

2.1 Authoritarian State-Building and Anti-Communist Ideology

In the first section, I will give a general background of the 1950s White Terror, identify its importance and point out Kuomintang's mechanism of control, which is gendered. The historical importance of the 1950s White Terror lies in two parts. Firstly, it is a regional side of the global Cold War, because Kuomintang's large-scale purge of the communist underground soon began after the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953). Secondly, it is a period of mass human rights violation. After the implementation of martial law in 1949, in the ensuing decade thousands of political dissidents (primarily leftists) were charged in the name of "banditry", which means working for the Communist Party of China (CPC).

One character of Kuomintang's authoritarian ruling is its anti-communist ideology, which can trace back to the background of the Chinese Civil War. In 1949, the military forces of Kuomintang faced a heavy defeat in the Chinese Civil War against the Communist Party of China (CPC). As a consequence, the leader of CPC Mao Ze-Dong declared the party's

legitimacy of a new state, the People's Republic of China (PRC), on Mainland China. On the other side, wit its defeated forces Kuomintang's single-party government, officially known as the Government of the Republic of China (ROC), fled to Taiwan and established a regime in exile. In spite of the great defeat, Chiang Kai-Shek, the political and military head of Kuomintang, still regarded ROC's retreat to Taiwan as a provisional status. Against the communist power on the other side of Taiwan Strait, Chiang Kai-Shek continued to claim legitimacy of ROC government over Mainland China and placed eventual recovery of the Mainland's territory as ROC's ultimate goal. Because of Kuomintang's recapture ambition, it was urgent for ROC government to repress communist underground movement and to hinder its affiliation with the Communist Party of China. This on-going antagonism between the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) and the Communist Party of China (CPC) after the end of Chinese Civil War became a crucial argument for the enactment of martial law (1949) in Taiwan and Kuomintang's state-party authoritarianism.

Another character of Kuomintang's authoritarian regime is its suppression of Taiwanese independence. As a minority from Mainland China, Kuomintang held political and military superiority over the majority of native Taiwanese. Hence, for Kuomintang, it was urgent to establish and consolidate ROC government as the legitimate ruler of Taiwan after its settlement as bit made concerted efforts to inculcate Chinese nationalism and to suppress the Taiwanese independence movement.

In his article "Living in the Exception: On the Social Exception of the Political Offenders in 1950s Taiwan", Chao-Ching Ko (Department of Humanities and Social Science, National Chia Tung University, Taiwan) states that the White Terror did not only pertain to a continual exertion of state violence. Rather, is was an attempt to rebuild Taiwanese society towards a newly-claimed territory (Ko, n.d., 11). In this respect, Ko further suggests that the operation of the White Terror was well-planned, organized and with a concrete objective. The aim was to transform Taiwan into a society befitting survival and governance of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). Especially during the 1950s, the first decade after Kuomintang's Mainland evacuation, as the Kuomintang's regime was in imminent danger of communist infiltration and in a precarious position to establish its legitimacy of Taiwan, the implementation of martial law was a measure of self-protection (Ko, n.d., 11). The two above-mentioned characters –

inhibition of communist ideology and suppression of Taiwanese independence – formed the core of Kuomintang's mechanism of control. To further understand how this mechanism was implemented and how it was gendered, I will in the next section discuss the enactment of "Rebellion Act" and "Banditry Act".

"Rebellion Act" and "Banditry Act"

In May 24, 1949, the first Legislative Yuan passed the Act for the Control and Punishment of Rebellion (hereafter "Rebellion Act") in which the existent Sedition Laws were further conditioned. As originally stated in Sedition Laws:

> Any person who committed an overt act with the intent to destroy the organization of the state, seize state territory, change the constitution by illegal means, or overthrow the government, should be punished with imprisonment for not less than seven years. Moreover, any person who prepares or conspires to commit an offense specified above should be punished with imprisonment for no less than six months and not more than five years. (K. W. Chen 2008, 194)

Nevertheless, because ROC government considered Taiwan being during the period of communist rebellion, rather than imprisonment, "Rebellion Act" imposed a severer punishment upon lawbreakers: any individual who broke Sedition Laws was subject to death penalty. Under these circumstances, during the martial law (1949-197), as long as the government deemed a civilian an intentional or potential actor of insurrection, this civilian could be under arrest and easily sentenced to death in court.

In 1950, one year after the launch of "Rebellion Act", another Act for the Control and Punishment of Banditry (hereafter "Banditry Act") came to monitor and regulate Taiwanese society in a more systematic manner. "Banditry Act" required any civilian who obtained the whereabouts of a "bandit spy"[4] report to local police or public security; otherwise, anyone

[4] A spy working for the Communist Party of China

could be under arrest because of holding information about a "bandit spy" without reporting to the authority. Furthermore, the introduction of collective punishment in this Act stipulated that if a person was suspected of implication in communist underground, this person's family members, colleagues or even acquaintances could become guilty of complicity and be punished harshly by ROC's Investigation Bureau.

To sum up, the strength and scale of both "Rebellion Act" and "Banditry Act" intended to build an inescapable net of surveillance which overspread the island of Taiwan. They were mechanisms which aimed to take comprehensive control over the social and cultural aspects of civilian life (Hou 2007, 144). Psychologically, these two Acts were designed to create a pervasive silence and fear in the society. As accentuated by Chao-Ching Ko, it was a "chilling effect of political apathy (Ko, n.d., 19). Family members of a political dissident were subject to be alienated in a community, because even a trivial giving-a-hand could trigger troubles with security agents; for the sake of safety, people were inclined to become politically apathetic because even a person one trusted most could be a government informant.

According to Kun-Hung Hou (Academia, Historica, Taiwan), from 1950 to 1954, at least 3,000 civilians were executed and 8,000 imprisoned under the effectiveness of these two Acts (cited in Hou 2007, 143). In particular, during 1950s at least 236 women were hold captive as political prisoners (K.-Y. Chiu 2014, 35). Particularly when political persecution in the name of "bandit spy" reached its peak in the early phase of 1950s, there were approximately a hundred women held captive on Green Island New Life Correction Center, composed of 5% of the prison population ("The New Life Correction Center: 1951-1965" 2011).

However, the implementation of martial law and the two Acts did not guarantee that in society, there was no resistant forces against KMT's authoritarianism. Notably from the very first decade, while zillions of native Taiwanese and Waisheng ren[5] were arrested, imprisoned and executed in the name of "bandit spy", these convicted civilians did not rest squarely on the same side of ideological spectrum as the government charged them with. In his article "State-building,

[5] In Chinese, Waisheng ren refers to people who moved from China to Taiwan together with Kuomintang's military forces after 1945 until the early 1950s. After KMT's retreat from China, the number of Waisheng ren in Taiwan increased tremendously.

Internal Colonialism and Cold War", Rwei-Ren Wu (Academia Sinica, Taiwan) categorizes people subject to KMT's large-scale purge of left wingers into three groups. In his perspective, the first group of people were those who carried an ideology for Chinese Communism. Members of this group were recruited by the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) and engaged in the left-wing underground; secondly, people were committed to underground work because of pure anti-KMT sentiments. Nonetheless, in the meantime, there were also civilians who were innocent victims (R.-R. Wu 2008, 169). People of this group may be forced to confess under extortion of torture and were wrongfully accused of "banditry" because of alleged report or collective punishment.

2.2 Memory Politics of the 1950s White Terror after 1998

Having established the contextualization of the 1950s White Terror, this section will now consider the memory politics of this period. In my discussion, I will demonstrate that innocence and non-insurgency has become a widely used framework in testimonies of the 1950s political dissidents. The use of this framework among former political dissidents is connected to "Redress Regulation" in 1998. The use of this framework results in forms of silencing. From drafting "Redress Regulation" in 1997, its enactment in 1998 to the establishment of the official human rights museum PONHRM in 2011, the experiences of leftist underground insurgency have been silenced.

The Enactment of "Redress Regulation"

After the end of martial law in 1987, Taiwan was undergoing a transition process in the 1990s. For the victims of Kuomintang's political violence, the enactment of "Redress Regulation on Rebellion and 'Banditry' during the Martial Law" (hereafter "Redress Regulation") was a noteworthy step because it was the first official compensation. "Redress Regulation" not only became an opportunity to reduce economic burdens of victims' family, but also impacted greatly on how the 1950s communist left-wingers told their experiences.

There were two actors which played important roles in the promotion and facilitation of "Redress Regulation". These actors were two survivors' organizations, *Mutual Assistance Association for Former Political Prisoners in the Taiwan Area* (hereafter "Mutual Assistance

Association") and *The Formosan Political Prisoners Association* (hereafter FPPA). It is important to note that these two actors did not squarely share the same political ideology. Established right after the lifting of martial law in November 22, 1987, "Mutual Assistance Association" chiefly consisted of the 1950s left-wing political dissidents and their family members. These left-wing dissidents were formerly engaged in the communist underground of the CPC and were charged as such. The political ideology of "Mutual Assistance Association" was thus pro-unification with a communist China (Hsueh, Yang, and Su 2013, 13). This ideology was in stark contrast to FPPA. Founded in the same year as "Mutual Assistance Association", FPPA was comprised of political dissidents mainly after the 1960s and is pro-democracy and in favour of Taiwanese independence (Hsueh, Yang, and Su 2013, 16; C.-H. Li 2008). This difference in political ideology – pro-communism and pro-democracy – had a direct consequence in the drafting of "Redress Regulation".

In 1997, when the draft of "Redress Regulation" was brought into the Legislative Yuan, legislators such as Tsung-Min Hsieh and Ming-Teh Shi proposed this regulation. Both Tsung-Min Hsieh and Ming-Teh Shi were political prisoners of the 1960s. Hsieh was charged of rebellion in 1964 because of drafting "A Declaration of Formosan Self-Salvation" which advocated Taiwan's independence; Shi was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1962 because of establishing an organization named "Taiwan Independence League". In 1997, Hsieh and Shi were then members of FPPA and ideologically supported an independent and democratic Taiwan. According to Chen-Hsiang Li, from 1997 to 1998, members of FPPA, especially those elected as legislators after the end of martial law (1987), to a great extent influenced the discussion of "Redress Regulation" in the Legislative Yuan (C.-H. Li 2008).

The discussion in the Legislative Yuan set up a clear distinction between two groups of the White Terror victims. The first group was individuals who were involved in insurgent violence. They were recruited by intelligence sectors of the Communist Party of China and worked in the underground. On the contrary, the second group was individuals who did not participate in rebellious actions. These people may have been imprisoned because of socialist study group, speaking ill or writing against the government. When the "Redress Regulation" was passed in 1998, it accentuated that only victims of the second group can be qualified for state compensation. It stated, "For civilians whose cases involve unjust, false and wrong charges, it

["Redress Regulation"] recognizes their unforgettable pain" (cited in C.-K. Lin 2015, 102); in other words, the "Redress Regulation" did not acknowledge people of the communist underground as legitimate candidates because of their rebellion. This interpretation had a great consequence for the 1950s political dissidents to decide which kind of stories were more "tell-able" to the public.

At that time, archives of previous political cases were scattered around different branches of Ministry of National Defence and hardly accessible to the public. Public understanding of the White Terror was heavily relied on production of survivors' testimonies. In this way, testimony became a key evidence to delineate "what happened in the past" when state redress was considered. The public believed that testimonies of the White Terror victims were a source of authenticity. It was hailed, as Pető's discussion on testimonies of Hungarian communist women, a solution "to find out or to recover entirely how actually and authentically events happened" (Pető 2002, 952).

According to Chuan-Kai Lin, a Taiwanese historian dedicated to the 1950s White Terror oral history, when the 1950s left-wing dissidents were approached and encouraged to tell their stories, the stories were collectively and consciously oriented towards a innocence and non-insurgency framework (C.-K. Lin 2015). Collectively, the 1950s left-wingers presented themselves as innocent victims and did not speak about previous underground engagement. Remembering process of this kind, which was collective, very cautious and selective can be found in Mr Ying-Tai Chen's personal memoir online.

Mr Ying-Tai Chen was arrested for his involvement in underground movement in 1951 and was well known for his prolific writing online to record his experiences of the White Terror. In one of his article, Mr Chen remembers a gathering of "Mutual Assistance Association", which he himself participated in. Mr Chen recalls how the spokesperson of "Mutual Assistance Association" provided a lengthy guideline for members to follow in oral history interview:

> In terms of seeking legal redress, we thought providing oral history may be helpful, so we should cooperate with them [Provincial Documents Committee of Taiwan[6]]. We spoke cautiously and were well preserved. We did not say everything. . . . Shu-Pei Wu [the spokesperson and a former 1950s political prisoner] said that there were three things that we should pay attention to: (1) do not speak of others (2) do not speak of the underground organization (3) do not speak of the details of the case. (Y.-T. Chen 2009)

Mr Chen's words show how the "Redress Regulation" had influenced and resulted in a collective silence on the communist underground. To obey collectively the three principles, testimonies of members of "Mutual Assistance Association" were framed in accordance with the imagined need of the "Redress Regulation", which prioritized a non-insurgent individual over a communist revolutionary.

In addition, for many victims' family, a redress up to six million Taiwanese dollars (approximately 163,000 EUR) could bring a tremendous relief from financial burden. This confirms Kimberly Theidon's observation on the memory politics in reconciliation process. Kimberly Theidon emphasizes the instrumental aspect of victim's oral record by stating "while the giving of testimony can be prompted by various factors, the hope of some economic relief was a very important incentive. Memories were narrated with new possibilities and aspirations in mind" (Theidon 2007, 460). In this regard, testimonies of the 1950s political dissidents are instrumental. They are far from experiential truths but constructed stories with present purpose.

2.3 Conclusion

In sum, KMT's mechanism of control carried a strong anti-communist ideology. Especially in the first decade (the 1950s) after ROC's retreat to Taiwan, the on-going exertion of state violence did not happen at random. On the contrary, it was a state-building process well-planned and with a concrete objective (Ko, n.d., 11; R.-R. Wu 2008, 168). The aims were to consolidate ROC's legitimate status of Taiwan and to prevent communist forces from penetration to this

[6] Established in July 1949, the Provincial Documents Committee of Taiwan is responsible to carry out research on archives and is in "charge of acquiring, arranging, preserving, compiling and publishing historical materials of Taiwan" ("The History of Taiwan Historica of Academia Historica" 2016).

island. When this objective was put into practice, “Rebellion Act” and “Banditry Act” together formed an inescapable net of surveillance over the island of Taiwan. Under the effectiveness of these two acts, people became vulnerable within this judicial system. Further, the society was suffused with an atmosphere of distrust and tension because any person could be a “bandit spy” or a government informant.

In 2.2, I have traced the construction of a non-insurgency and innocence framework back to the enactment of the “Redress Regulation” in 1998. The details of “Redress Regulation” have set a precedent for the form in which experiences of the 1950s White Terror have been subsequently constructed and legitimized in Taiwan’s official memory. Because victims who were formerly engaged in communist insurgency are not qualified as candidates for redress, the “Redress Regulation” has influenced survivors’ story telling in their testimonies. The story of the communist underground movement becomes less tell-able because it could lead to a failure when applying state redress.

In Chapter 3, I will continue to discuss the memory politics of the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan’s official memorial institution, PONHRM, and present my findings about the stories and memories of the 1950s White Terror survivors in particular with respect to the leftist female dissidents.

Chapter 3

Gendering the National Human Rights Museum

Having contextualized the 1950s White Terror and the memory politics of it, this chapter seeks to explore the impact of this memory politics in relation to omission of the 1950s leftist female dissidents in PONHRM. Specifically, I ask the question, in official memory of the 1950s White Terror, what kinds of representational frameworks does PONHRM's officials and the White Terror survivors cooperating with this museum use to omit experiences of the 1950s leftist women?

My finding in this chapter points out two major frameworks. The first framework is to normalize experiences of the male political dissidents. The second is a framework of familial relationality. By saying familial relationality, I suggest that remembering of the 1950s White Terror is connected to survivors' family life. In the following paragraphs, I first contextualize the materials I choose for analysis. After this, I turn to my analysis and elaborate on the two frameworks. Finally, I explain the consequence of these frameworks in Taiwan's official memory.

3.1 Analytical materials

Before my analysis, in this section I introduce and contextualize my materials of analysis in this chapter. The materials I choose belong respectively to two modes of memorialization in PONHRM. The first mode is testimonies of the White Terror survivors. These testimonies are included in two PONHRM-published anthologies, *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas* (2012) and *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* (2014). The second mode is the museological installation. These are a series of exhibited illustrations, namely *Torture* and a monument, entitled *Shedding Tears Plaque*. Both installations can be seen in Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park.

Testimonies in Museum Published Anthologies

For the first mode of memorialization, I center on official testimonies of the White Terror survivors. By using the term testimony, I am referring to a specific genre which speaks of memories told by or written by witnesses of traumatic experiences (Assmann 2006; Otto 2009,

354). I use two anthologies, which are officially published by PONHRM, to explore the omission of the 1950s leftist female dissidents. The anthologies are (1) *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas* published in 2012 and (2) *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* published in 2014.

In total there are 30 testimonies written by 30 survivors of the 1950s White Terror in these two books. Each survivor gives their own testimonies a title. Although authors of 30 testimonies vary substantially in terms of age, class and gender, overall the editor of both books Ming-Cheng Chen divides them into two categories. The first category is testimony of the 1950s political prisoners themselves, which are 9 stories out of 30. The second category is testimony of the family members of the 1950s political prisoners, which consists of the majority of 21.

Before my analysis of these testimonies, there are three observations about the publication of these two books. First of all, because these two books are not only published, but also selected and freely accessible on PONHRM's website. Compared to testimonies which are private, their availability means that they are more connected to the official memory of the 1950s White Terror.

Another observation is a lack of testimonies provided by former leftist female dissidents. This suggests that experiences of male prisoners are normalized in PONHRM. As I have shown in Chapter 2, in the 1950s there were at least up to 250 women held captive as political prisoners (K.-Y. Chiu 2014, 35). Nevertheless, in the first category – stories written by former political prisoners and published by state – all of the 9 authors are male. Their experiences are publicly and officially acknowledged as the appropriate memory of the 1950s White Terror.

The last observation is the positioning of these two anthologies as family-centered, which speaks of a framework of familial relationality. In the preface "Faith, Love and Uncertainty" of *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas*, PONHRM's director Yi-Chun Wang emphasizes the anthology as "family vignette which expresses trust, caring, separation and death among family members" (Wang 2012). In the same way, director Yi-Chun Wang also positions the other anthology *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* as a collection of "the moving stories behind every victim and their families" (Wang 2014). Furthermore, according to the editor of both books

Ming-Cheng Chen, who is himself a journalist devoted to the 1950s White Terror documentation, the purpose of each book is to show "the painful memory they [survivors] are suffered from" (M.-C. Chen 2012). This positioning frames the authors' memory in terms of victimhood. Together, these statements drop a broad hint on the purpose of PONHRM's publication. It is to provide an evidence of the White Terror family stories. Especially, it aims to foreground the particularities of these family stories in terms of suffering and pain.

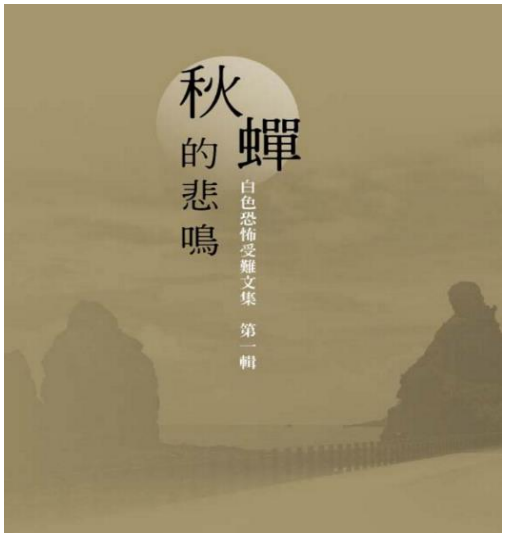

Figure 1. *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas* cover. Source: http://www.nhrm.gov.tw/

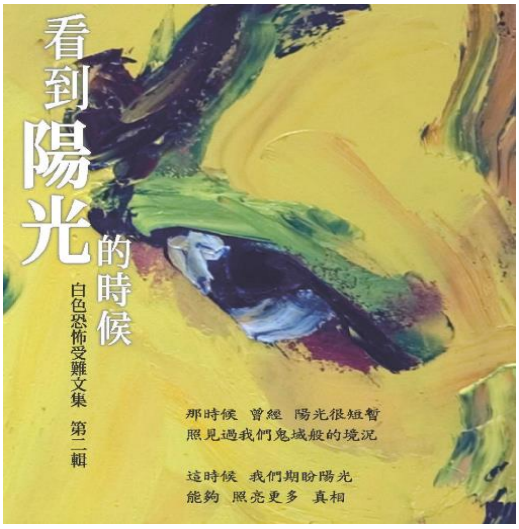

Figure 2. *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* cover. Source: http://www.nhrm.gov.tw/

My three observations before analysis indicate an absence of the 1950s female dissidents and a purport of both books to be a reminiscence of a victim-centered family trauma. I will elaborate on these two points – a victim-centered and a family-centered story – in my analysis in this chapter.

The Installations in Memorial Park

The second mode of memorialization focuses on museological installations in Green Island Human Rights Memorial Parks (GIHRMP). These installations are a serial illustrations *Torture* and a monument, entitled *Shedding Tears Plaque*. *Torture* is drawn by a political detainee Jian-Hua Ou-Yang, who was famous for his capacity to illustrate life in political prisons and detention centers. In the serial illustrations, Mr Ou-Yang visualized the physical violence which

was inflicted on the 1950s political dissidents in multiple locations. The second installation *Shedding Tears Plaque* is a combination of a spiral-shaped marble monument, which symbolizes tear drops, and an erected tablet with an excerpt by Bo-Yang – a male writer imprisoned in the 1960s – inscribed on it.

Regarding these two installations, three are two aspects which need to be considered as part of my gender analysis. The first aspect is the role of Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park (GIHRMP), which is the installations' exhibition location. I read GIHRMP as a piece of topography of terror of Taiwan's authoritarian history. By saying topography of terror, I am suggesting that GIHRMP was used as a site where crime against human rights was committed during the White Terror. From 1951-1965, this memorial site served as Taiwan Provincial Security Command's Re-Education Department, commonly known as New Life Correction Center. During its fifteen years of operation, GIHRMP was a Kuomintang's labour camp, where "prisoners were sent into the mountains to cut wood, or to the shore to break up reef rock" ("The New Life Correction Center: 1951-1965" 2011). The prison population reached 2000 at the peak of its operation with approximately 100 female prisoners (ibid.).

Presently, this place is under the jurisdiction of PONHRM and becomes a site of official remembrance. Artefacts and objects of the 1950s prisoners are selected and exhibited by PONHRM in GIHRMP and become "the materialization of memory"(Otto 2009, 333). Otto accentuates, the use of certain artefactual installations in the memorial is part of memory strategy and can "be read as representations of the ideology of official history" (Otto 2009, 335). In this regard, I read the serial illustrations *Torture* and *Shedding Tears Plaque* as objects that manifest Taiwan's official ideology of remembrance. I read them to cast light on the gendered aspect of this ideology, which I will elaborate on in this chapter's analysis.

The second aspect is the purpose of *Torture*'s production. The series of illustration function as an evidence of the veracity of tortures on political dissidents. Because in Taiwan, military archives of the White Terror were either destroyed, or hardly accessible to the public, illustrations by survivors (in this case Mr Jian-Hua Ou-Yang) thus "provide a visual link to a 'missing' archive" (Gómez-Barris 2010, 414) and bear witness to political violence.

Nonetheless, because Mr Ou-Yang painted these serial illustrations purposefully – to bear witness to Kuomintang's acts of violence – *Torture* is reconstructions of experiences instead of truth. When displayed in the public eye in an official memorial, GIHRMP, what consequences does *Torture* have on the official White Terror memory when PONHRM's officials selected and reappropriated it in memorial exhibition? How does gender mediate with the selection and reappropriation? I will discuss these two questions in this chapter's analysis.

3.2 Official Testimonies of the 1950s White Terror Survivors

Moving on to my analysis of the two PONHRM-published anthologies, I first look into the 9 stories written by former political prisoners. After this, I shift to the rest 21 stories written by the prisoners' family members. I will discuss family members' testimonies in terms of two themes – (1) the death notice and (2) the household raid by secret agents – because these two themes recurrently emerge in different authors' emplotment. I pay attention to the relational positioning of men and women in survivors' testimonies and rely upon literature of memory studies and political violence to explain my findings in this chapter.

The Omission of Leftist Female Political Prisoners

A feature of testimonies written by the 1950' male ex-prisoners is the othering and omission of their female counterparts. I will elaborate on this feature with a focus on two testimonies: Mr Da-Lu Wu's "The First Time Seeing Sunshine" in *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* and Mr Kun-Lin Tsai's "The Imprisonment of a Young Naïve Student" in *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas*. As we will see, while experiences of male prisoners are normalized, female ex-prisoners are omitted or represented as others.

In Mr Da-Lu Wu's narrative of prison life, male prisoners are active participators who struggled for adjustment and survival in austere environment. When Da-Lu Wu recalls the poor sanitary conditions in the prison, he describes in details the problems male prisoners encountered when clear water was not provided by the prison authorities. The male prisoners cooperated together to collect dirty water from a diversion water channel in a farmland:

> Every squadron was provided with a metal bucket. [We] fetched water from the water channel, put alum to settle turbid water, and waited until tomorrow morning so that it was useable. . . . When it came to showering, we managed to go there [water channel] and boiled water up. The sanitary conditions were beyond description. **There was also a women squadron. We were allowed to shower outside, but as for them, it was forbidden** [Emphasis mine]. (D.-L. Wu 2014, 99)

After this passage, without further reference to the imprisoned women in his story, Da-Lu Wu shifts his narrative to a focus on the mosquito bites from which every male prisoner was suffered at nighttime.

Mr Wu foregrounds and normalizes experience of male prisoners in above emplotment. Although he does not name the male cellmates, this passage speaks of their collective experience ("we"). Furthermore, Mr Wu represents male prisoners as individuals who are capable of ameliorating the hardship (there was no clear water) in the face of Kuomintang's prison system. Narrative of cooperation between men demonstrates male prisoners' coping strategy in severe environment – to fetch water, bowl water up and use alum as a means of cleaning bodies. In addition, Mr Wu uses this narrative as a strategy of normalization. Because showering, washing face and hands are habitual acts and cultural attributes of normal life, when Da-Lu Wu recalls his past imprisonment, this habitual practice is a reminder of normalcy – the world he lived after imprisonment was not entirely split off from the world he used to live before arrest. This brings to mind Pascale Rachel Bos' reflection on remembering Holocaust by survivors. Bos stresses that in survivors' memory, their narrative emplotment relies on a set of "'normalizing' strategies" (Bos 2003, 35) as a way "to hold on to the last vestiges of decency and normalcy" (Bos 2003, 36) after traumatic event happened.

In contrast to normalizing experiences of men, personal experience of female prisoners is omitted. Firstly, by only suggesting "there were also a women squadron", Mr Wu makes no reference to women's coping strategy, nor does he elaborate on details in different conditions women prisoners were subject to. These include aspects such as: who were included in the women squadron? How did these women interact with each other in a more confined space

(prohibited from going outside)? What strategies did imprisoned women develop to deal with severer conditions (no access to water)? In what ways did women hinge on to maintain a sense of normal life? Omission of these aspects makes experience of male prisoners appear "as normative and exemplary" (Pető, Hecht, and Krasuska 2015, 14). Secondly, remembered as "them" without additional denotation, women prisoners are othered.

Normalization of male prisoners' experience is also a framework in Mr Kun-Lin Tsai's testimony. As Mr Tsai recalls the misfortune on his cellmate Bing-Hung Tsai, he makes reference to an accident on Green Island New Life Correction Center. In his testimony, his cellmate Bing-Hung was an "industrious, love-singing and executed companion" (K.-L. Tsai 2012, 254) and a person known for his tact among prisoners and the prison authorities: "He was handsome, spirited and responsible for his duty. Not only the prisoners but also the commanding officers had a favourable impression on him" (ibid.).

After this claim, Mr Tsai others the woman in prison as "a girl", and remembers his cellmate Bing-Hung in accordance with conventional gender roles. As he continues to mention an accident in prison:

> Bing-Hung was captured in the pillbox on the side of a hill that night. This made me toss and turn in bed all night. **On the second day, it was said that my dear companion [Bing-Hung] had written a letter to a girl who also came from his hometown Tainan. Bing-Hung encouraged this girl in his letter, and told her to be brave and patient** [Emphasis mine]**.** During a spot check, the letter was discovered in the girl's luggage. This was the reason for his punishment. (K.-L. Tsai 2012, 254)

In the above passage, Mr Tsai represents Bing-Hung as a courageous and compassionate heroic figure. Tsai narrativizes his prison fellow through culturally accepted masculinity (bravery and intelligence). Representation of Bing-Hung Tsai conforms to the expected gender roles in Taiwanese society: a man is considered appropriate and respectable when he behaves in a way that can protect women. In addition, this passage illustrates a "relational construction of gendered identity" (Reading 2002b, 65) between a male and female prisoner. The construction

of a masculinized male prisoner as 'a protector' is relied on the othering of his female counterpart. Again, we notice an omission on female prisoners' personal experience. It is a story of a heroic man who rises above all difficulty and gives advice to and comforts a woman. At the same time, the woman is silenced. She is not represented as an actor who is capable of reacting upon this accident.

Following this section, I will turn to testimonies written by family members of the 1950s political prisoners. I will continue to discuss the two major themes – (1) the death notice and (2) the household raid by secret agents. In these two themes, the representational framework – familial relationality – is widely used by these authors. As I will demonstrate, in this framework, the "relative position of women and men" (Cockburn 2004, 28) is based on conventional gender roles with women represented as passive and victimized mothers.

The Death Notice

About the first theme, the death notice, I will focus on two survivors' life writings: Ms Shu-Tuan Tsai's "The Butterfly in the Mountain of Azalea" and Mr Kun-Lung Li's "Searching for Father's Whereabouts". Both testimonies are in *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine*. For many survivors of the White Terror, facing death is a particular trauma. This trauma is closely connected to Kuomintang's mechanism of control in the 1950s. During this period, when a political prisoner was executed, Kuomintang's military required family members to follow a series of institutionalized procedures in order to 'search' for their beloved one.

In the first place, family members shall find a name list of executed prisoners pronounced in newspaper or train station's bulletin board. Following this proclamation, each household should receive an official death notice. After this, each family was required by the military to pay a heavy fine in order to 'redeem' the body of their beloved one. The last step was even more brutal because this payment varied in accordance with the number of bullet holes shot on a body. In the 1950s, an amount of one bullet hole was nearly equal to one-month salary of a public servant. In this way, for households of workers and peasants, to redeem a body became almost impossible owing to their financial disadvantage ("Records of 'Liuzhangli, the Past, the Present and "Our" Future' Symposium" 2013).

This particular encounter with death reveals two aspects in terms of the 1950s White Terror. The first aspect is the intersection of political violence and class. To a poverty-stricken household, a heavy fine was a devastating blow for family livelihood. This confirms Ling-Yu Hsiao's investigation of the 1950s White Terror families. Hsiao explores the influences of Kuomintang's political violence on families of different socioeconomic status (L.-Y. Hsiao 2009). She argues that for 1950s working class families, material life was more devastatingly influenced by state violence than those of upper class (ibid., 4). In most cases, if families of this kind were unable to raise enough large sums, the body would be disposed in mass grave[7].

This brings to the second aspect, the impossibility of mourning. For lower class families, an adequate and respectful mourning was hard to practise because of the heavy fine. In Karin Mlodoch's perspective, the incapability of mourning is "as 'congealment in the past'" (Mlodoch 2012, 72). Survivors of disappeared beloved ones are "congealed" – stuck in the past – with years of confusion and questioning (ibid.). The impossibility of mourning therefore is transformed into endless quest for answers in the "whole discursive field of memory creation" (Matsuki 2000, 535). In this respect, when family members of the 1950s dissidents remember this encounter with death, their testimonies serve purpose related to the present. Testimony becomes a locus where they can mourn the deceased and the survivors can heal through a discursive construction of a past.

Following this, I move on to Ms Tsai and Mr Li's testimonies. I will point out that in a framework of familial relationality, a "relative position of women and men" (Cockburn 2004, 28) based on conventional gender roles is reinforced in both narrators' plotting. They frame the experience of facing death as a tragedy of a lost child within a family. Consequently, this experience centers on the melodramatic depiction of a suffering mother.

[7] One of the mass graves *Liuzhangli*, which is literally translated into "290 square meters of land", was renamed as *Memorial Park of Political Victims during Martial Law* by Taipei City Government and is currently under its jurisdiction.

In Ms Tsai's story, she identifies herself as a little sister of her executed brother. She constructs her story as a family tragedy, in which the family experienced a rapid change from "a happy life" (S.-T. Tsai 2014, 76) to "five-year of terror, pain and grief in my family" (S.-T. Tsai 2014, 82). The embodiment of these emotions – "terror, pain and grief" – are salient when her family received an official death notice. Ms Tsai calls up how her family managed to tackle with the brother's death:

> When Father received the notice, asking him to redeem the body, uncle accompanied him to Taipei. . . . Because all the executed bodies were bathed in a pool of medicine, they had to identify the bodies one by one. After confirmation. . . Father removed his jacket and wrapped up brother. He figured eleven bullet holes on brother's body. After this, [they] went to crematorium nearby, and brought the cinerary urn home." (S.-T. Tsai 2014, 81–82)

The above passages show a conventional gender role taken on by men. Ms Tsai represents her father and uncle as active to cope with family tragedy outside domestic sphere (to redeem the body in execution ground). These two males embody a conventional masculinity which requires each man to behave sober and calm in face of trauma. Mr Kun-Lung Li represents a male figure in a similar manner. He remembers "after uncle knew [the death of Father on newspaper], rapidly he went to Ma Chang Ting[8] in Taipei and hoped to find Father's body" (K.-L. Li 2014, 279). In these passages, readers find it hard to identify emotional expression of men. It is as if for men, encounter with death is facilitated by a sequence of actions (identify the body, wrap it, calculate bullet hold, cremate the body, and bring bone ash home).

While the remembering of men hardly shows emotional intensity, the remembering of women centers on a maternal figure, upon whom an intense moment of child loss is inflicted. In Ms Tai's narrative emplotment, she stresses the moment when the men were coming back home from crematorium:

[8] In the period of the 1950s White Terror, Ma Chang Ting is the major location of execution in the capital Taipei.

> When Father arrived at home, he cried out loudly, "Your son has come back!" At the moment of seeing the pouch of bone ash Father brought back, Mother held the pouch and cried her heart out. **She could not stop yelling, "My son! My son!" Mother said she would rather die with my brother** [Emphasis mine]. (S.-T. Tsai 2014, 82)

In the above quotation, Ms Tsai depicts the woman's action (crying and yelling) as an emotional response to a sudden rupture of mother-child bond. She represents the woman as a despondent, grief-stricken and emotional maternal figure. The death of a son entirely destructs the woman's world almost catastrophically. This image brings to mind a victimhood, which is based on maternal idea of sacrifice for children.

Similarly, Mr Kun-Lung Li represents a woman as a suffering mother in his memory. To recall the day when his family received Father's death notice, Mr Li's narrative centers on the mother's reaction: "When the message of Father's death on National Evening News had come down to her, Mother fainted away" (K.-L. Li 2014, 279). Commenting on representation of women in a official memorial site, Jacob stresses that "a specific kind of gendered memory" (J. L. Jacobs 2010c, 34) is promulgated. This gendered memory focuses on familial relationship and is "framed within an exclusively women's narrative of tragedy, loss, and victimization" (J. L. Jacobs 2010b, 53). In Mr Li's and Ms Tsai's testimonies, both narrators frame the encounter with a political dissident's death as a family story. In contrast to omission on female prisoners, in official anthologies, a predominant image of an incapacitated and victimized mother is central to the survivors' stories. In the second theme – the household raid by secret agents – I also observe a framework of familial relationality characterized by a victimized mother.

The Household Raid by Secret Agents

In this section, I focus on the second theme – household raid by secret agents – as a traumatic event for the White Terror survivors. I will show how survivors remember this event in terms of familial relationality that centers on a dominant image of a victimized mother as well.

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, the introduction of collective punishment in "Banditry Act" aimed to form a net of surveillance overspreading the island of Taiwan. Especially, when Kuomintang's military imprisoned a civilian because of his/her (alleged) involvement in the communist underground, his or her family members bore the brunt of Kuomintang's control. Family of this kind was the target of state surveillance and was isolated by the community owning to a fear of implication.

Reflecting upon KMT's pervasive state surveillance, Ms Chun-Lan Huang metaphorically defines her family life during this period, "Father was dead because of the White Terror and **the rest of the family was incarcerated in a bigger prison** [Emphasis mine]. We were racked by long-term surveillance and unreasonable treatment" (Huang 2012, 45). The sense of being trapped was also intertwined with fear and incomprehension. As Mr Wen-Fu Chiu recalls, after his uncle's arrest, "[n]o body knew what happened . . .**[N]o one dared to mention a word** [Emphasis mine]. We were afraid of stirring up further trouble, and caused unimaginable consequence" (W.-F. Chiu 2014, 300). Ms Shu-Tuan Tsai also remembers, "It was as if everyone was suffered from an outbreak of epidemic. **We did not have a single friend, nor did anyone dare to visit us** [Emphasis mine]" (S.-T. Tsai 2014, 76).

In both PONHRM's anthologies, family members of the 1950s political dissidents narrate the pressure under state violence as a single event. Most of them recall frequent and unexpected household raid by secret agents and police. They broke in to check the residence card in order to insure no one in the family was conspiring against the government.

In Mr Chang-Mao Lin's story "I Have Two Fathers", memory of this event again draws on images of conventional gender roles. Chang-Mao Lin represents men as protectors, who defended his family, whilst women as passive, fragile and dependent on their spouse. Mr Lin remembers a night when a typhoon blustered over the village and his uncle stayed overnight at the family's place for shelter. In his memory, it was a whole night during which "the whole family was under continuous questioning" (C.-M. Lin 2014, 232). Chang-Mao Lin associates the conventional manhood with the men in family,

> [W]hen they [secret agents] roared 'why are another person here', 'who are you', 'why do you live here', **father and uncles hastened to give answers** [Emphasis mine], but they cared little for hearing." (C.-M. Lin 2014, 232)

In this quote, men were active to confront with authority and willing to fight for family's safety. Commenting on gender and political violence, Kelly and Yuval-Davis argue that so often men and women are straightforwardly portrayed as taking on divisive roles: men are pictured as in defence of women and children, whereas women evoke an image of victim (qtd. Moser and Clark 2001, 3). This brings back to Mr Lin's successive narration on his mother,

> When it was beginning to get light, Mother barely had time to make breakfast. . . . **I saw her keep shedding tears and my little sister crying for food** [Emphasis mine]. I asked her why, but **she always responded with her eyes brimmed with tears** [Emphasis mine], "You shall never talk too much but only listen. You will know until growing up. Do not ask." (C.-M. Lin 2014, 232)

In this quote, Mr Lin positions motherhood as a site of resignation and denial of future activism. This confirms Scheper-Hughes's observation about gender and war. She accentuates that when life-threatening events happen all too frequently "under conditions of scarcity, political disruption, and violence" (Scheper-Hughes 1996), maternity can become a position of "letting go" (ibid.).

Another observation of this passage is the woman's self-silencing. In contrast to men who "hastened to give answers" (Lin 2014, 232), as a mother the woman refused any attempted quest for change and answer. Commenting on self-silencing, Reading argues that because particular events "question, challenge or disrupt present gendered structures and roles" (Reading 2002b, 58), they are more likely "to be marginalized, left unarticulated" (ibid.). I would argue that the representation of a woman as a self-silencing mother could be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, the self-silencing could have been a result of fear. On the other, because the self-silencing prevented a woman' future activism, it was less likely to unsettle the present gendered structures.

3.3 Gender in the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park

In my previous analysis in this chapter, I have discussed how two frameworks – (1) normalizing male prisoners' experience and (2) familial relationality – result in omission of the 1950s leftist women in official testimonies. To deepen and broaden my gender analysis of the memory politics of the 1950s White Terror, this section explores the way official museum installations – *Shedding Tears Plaque* and the serial illustrations *Torture* – in the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park (GIHRMP).

As I have argued before, because this memorial park is currently under the jurisdiction of PONHRM, these two installations are representations of the official White Terror memory. Again, it is not my intention here to discuss whether the installations speak of true or false historical facts, because a focus on authenticity would neglect the fact that every memory production is a representation.

I will conclude that, the experience of the 1950s female political prisoners are as well omitted in the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park. Just as I found in the two museum-published anthologies, I will argue that, this omission is because of (1) normalizing male prisoners' experience and (2) a familial relationality framework. This argument will be elaborated in the following two sections, which I discuss *Shedding Tears Plaque* and the illustrations *Torture*.

Shedding Tears Plaque

Located near the coastal area of the Green Island, *Shedding Tears Plaque* stands nears the entrance of the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park, which was previously used as political prisons from 1951-1965. Since the foundation of this memorial park, Taiwan's national human rights museum, PONHRM, has positioned this memorial park as part of the White Terror dark tourism. As suggested in the official website of PONHRM,

> Today, the park aims to preserve the original buildings and facilities from the White Terror era, promote the region as a negative heritage site, [and] develop regional tourism

> based on the island's human rights history and unique environment. (The Preparatory Office of the Human Rights Museum, n.d.)

Elaborating on the idea of "dark tourism", Otto suggests that the rationale behind dark tourist site seems to be that by inviting visitors to personally identify with the terror and trauma that victims of violence have been gone through, they will be able to realize how terrible what happened in the past, and thus not to let it occur again in the future (Otto 2009, 357–58). This "emotional, almost religious, way of dealing with the past" (ibid.) points to the role of the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park not only as a site of memory, but also a site of national recognition and consciousness.

In terms of *Shedding Tears Plaque*, familiar relationality is used as a framework. The design of this monument represents suffering and horror of the White Terror as a family tragedy. This family story is facilitated by two symbolic images. The first is an icon of a victimized mother; the second is an infantilized political dissident.

As I have introduced before in this chapter, *Shedding Tears Plaque* consists of two parts. Outwardly, it is an enormous spiral-shaped marble monument which simulates tear drops (Figure 3). As visitors walk inward towards the center of this spiral, they should find themselves standing in front of an erected stone tablet (Figure 4). A text written by Taiwanese writer Bo-Yang is inscribed on the tablet. This inscription says,

> During the White Terror, how many mother had wept overnight for their imprisoned child on this island? (Bo 1998, 39)

The huge spiral-shaped monument symbolizes tears dropping down from a mother's face. As visitors take a stroll along the edge of this monument, it is as if they would as well personally identify with her pain of child loss. The design of this official monument expects visitors to emotionally react upon grief and horror of a broken family. Standing as a leading feature of the

memorial site, *Shedding Tears Plaque* thematically grabs experiences of child loss during the White Terror.

Shedding Tears Plaque has established an emblem of women of the 1950s White Terror in official memory. Commenting on the images of an idealized woman in Holocaust museological production, James E. Young criticizes that as we so hastily transform women's experiences into "objects around which we tell our own stories, find large meanings, fixed and full of symbolic portent", different experiences of women will "remain unexpressed, unregarded, and even negated" (Young 2009, 1778). *Shedding Tears Plaque* idealizes an image of a passive mother in Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park. In this way, women of the 1950s White Terror can only be acknowledged and visible when they are bonded with their family as mothers.

The important question to ask is: what remains unarticulated in this familial relationality framework? What is the function of this un-articulation? I argue, *Shedding Tears Plaque* depoliticizes women's political activism and mobilization through an icon of a victimized mother that embodies the 1950s White Terror. Such depoliticization omits the subject of the 1950s leftist women and their decisions on their activism. In this way, familial relationality becomes the only frame which is "selective and exclusive" (Assmann 2014) in official remembering of the 1950s women.

Figure 3. *Shedding Tears Plaque* (01).

Source: http://goo.gl/DJWvSy

Figure 4. *Shedding Tears Plaque* (02).

Inscription: During the White Terror, how many mother had wept overnight for their imprisoned child on this island? Source: http://goo.gl/a68Ijn

In the next section, I turn to the serial illustrations *Torture* and discuss gender bias in another representational framework – normalizing male prisoners' experiences – in GIHRMP.

The Series of Illustrations *Torture*

In the Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park, artistic representation of torture normalizes experiences of male political prisoners. While pain and terror experienced by male prisoners is visible in the exhibition, tortures inflicted on their female counterparts are invisible. The exhibited illustrations *Torture* not only speak of a framework of normalizing men's experience, but also illustrate an idiom, which is feminization of victims.

In the following paragraphs, I will first discuss omission of female political prisoners and Ms Chang-Mei Chang's act of unsilencing them. After this, I discuss the gendered idiom which is mobilized to memorialize tortured victims.

In terms of the illustrations *Torture*, the role of Ms Chang-Mei Chang, a 1950s female political dissident, is important. Chang-Mei Chang is not officially hired by PONHRM in the memorial site. However, almost every year, she serves as an un-official guide in Road of Human Rights: Youth Experience Camp organized by a Taiwanese NGO, Dr Chen Wen-Chen Memorial Foundation. I encountered Ms Chang in this Youth Experience Camp in 2013. At that time, Ms Chang guided me to the exhibited *Torture* in the atrium of Bakua building.

None of these illustrations concerned tortures suffered by female political prisoners. Nevertheless, in the early phase of 1950s, there were more or less a hundred women imprisoned on the Green Island ("The New Life Correction Center: 1951-1965" 2011). It was Ms Chang who unsilenced voices of female political prisoners. She pulled out from her bag two laminated illustrations which were not hung up on the wall and showed them to me (Figure 5). These excluded illustrations depicted tortures experienced by women in prison. I consider Ms Chang's act of unsilencing also a process of witnessing. Drawing on Laub's discussion of being a witness, here Ms Chang is "a witness to the testimonies of others" (Laub 1992, 75). Moreover, Ms Chang was inspired by her consciousness of collectivity. Her specific attempt to become a witness and

to invite me to be a witness was driven by an imperative to defy PONHRM's official omission as a member of female political prisoners. How does gender mediate with *Torture* as a serial artistic representation? How can we further interpret the visible tortured men and the omitted tortured women?

Figure 5. Ms Chang-Mei Chang holding the illustrations *Torture*.
Source: Chen-Hui Liao

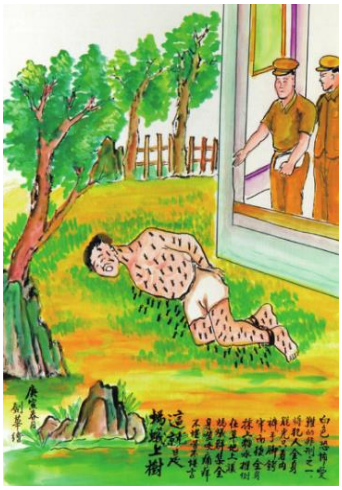

Figure 6. the illustration *Torture* (1).
Source: http://www.nhrm.gov.tw/home

Another key aspect of *Torture*'s exhibition is the silence on gendered violence because the two excluded illustrations represent sexual abuse suffered by the 1950s female political prisoners. One of the illustration depicted a female prisoner who was stripped naked and held by two men dressed in regimental uniforms. Dragged onto a hemp rope, the lower half of her body was rubbed backwards and forwards against the rough surface of the rope. The other illustration depicted a half-naked pregnant female prisoner whose hair was tied up against the ceiling. Beaten by a man in military uniform from her back, the woman delivered of her baby during interrogation.

I do not include these two excluded illustrations in this chapter's figure list, because in my opinion, the reappropriation of these images would replace the historical specificity of the 1950s leftist women with too-easy and overgeneralized identification of them as victims of sexual violence. Further, as Hirsch stresses in her discussion on Nazi perpetrator images, I believe

when we look at these illustrations, we are inevitably "revictimizing the victims, however miniaturized they are" (Hirsch 2002, 115).

Gender becomes an idiom of memorialization in these two excluded artistic works because presentation of female political prisoners here is facilitated by feminization of them. In these two illustrations, female victims demonstrate their vulnerability because of their nakedness and harmed sexual organs. This representation of sexual abuse is based on cultural norms which place maternity as a woman's highest aspiration. As Hirsch argues, if images of perpetrators and victims can successfully influence the visual knowledge of the spectators, it is because "their contemporary productions mobilize some very powerful idioms" (Hirsch 2002, 103) which can be appropriable. For the spectator, methods of torture not only target female prisoners' reproductive ability, but also aim to deprive them of "a whole set of cultural privileges, including marriage and respect" (Quinan 2014, 116) which are expected from a woman. The sexual abuse is a means to shame and humiliate the communist women because their political activism transcends a normative gender role.

Illustrations of the 1950s female prisoners were invisible. On the other side, hung up on the wall were illustrations of their male counterparts. In the words of Anna Reading, experiences "belong[ing] to men are used as signifiers of the experiences of both male and female prisoners" (Reading 2002a, 117). This phenomenon attests to a framework of normalizing male prisoners' experience in PONHRM's museological arrangement. When we turn to the visible tortured men, an idiom of feminization of victims can also be observed. In these works, male prisoners are either depicted as naked or half-naked. These illustrations included in official installations demonstrate various methods of torture, which are being bitten by ants (Figure 6), tied up on a wooden bench and drinking chili pepper water (Figure 7), or beaten by a stout wooden stick. (Figure 8).

Figure 7. the illustration Torture (3).
Source: http://www.nhrm.gov.tw/home

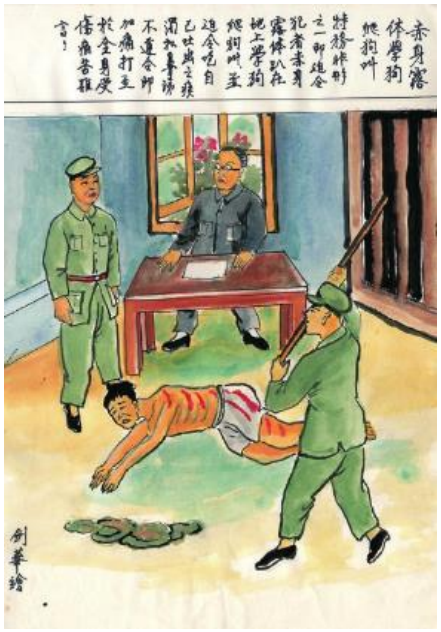

Figure 8. the illustration Torture (4).
Source: http://www.nhrm.gov.tw/home

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I problematize the official memory politics in Taiwan's Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum. I have pointed out omission of the 1950s female political prisoners in Taiwan's official memory and explored the cause behind this omission. My finding in this chapter indicates two representational frameworks which are used by PONHRM to silence these women's experiences.

The two frameworks are those of familial relationality and of normalizing male prisoners' experiences. I have shown that in PONHRM-published anthologies – *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* and *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas* – and two museum installations – *Shedding Tears Plaque* and a serial illustrations *Torture* – in GIHRMP, experiences of male political prisoners become a signifier of women and men's imprisonment experiences. Further, while self-identification of male prisoners conforms to the conventional gender roles, I argue that in Taiwan's official memory, an image of a victimized mother becomes the emblem of the 1950s women.

Chapter 4

Unsilencing the 1950s Leftist Female Political Prisoners

In Chapter 3, I base my analysis on the two official anthologies – *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* and *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas* – and memorial installations – *Shedding Tears Plaque* and a series of illustrations *Torture* – in PONHRM. My main finding is that in PONHRM, experiences of the 1950s female political prisoners are omitted because of three representational strategies – (1) a framework of innocence and non-insurgency, (2) a framework of normalizing male prisoners' experience, and (3) a framework of familial relationality. While in Chapter 3 my aim is to problematize the memory politics in PONHRM's official memory, the aim of this chapter is to unsilence voices of these officially omitted women and to use gender as a category of analysis to engage with their memory production.

In order to achieve this, I draw on oral testimonies of two women Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao. Both women were once involved in the 1950s communist underground movement and were convicted of "banditry", which means serving as a spy of the Communist Party of China. The testimonies of Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao were unofficially collected by Chuan-Kai Lin, a Taiwanese historian, and till now, these two testimonies remain unpublished and private. Because the testimonies are non-accessible in PONHRM, I contend that representation of their experiences in the two texts are counter-memories against a monolithic remembering of women as victimized mothers in official memory.

In what follows, first I would briefly discuss the role of these two oral testimonies. I would provide a brief biography of Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao. In particular, I would situate the production of these two texts as interwoven with the official 1950s White Terror memory which has been promoted and sustained by PONHRM. After this part, I turn to my analysis of the testimonial accounts in terms of three themes – (1) the construction of a rebellious self, (2) gendering the underground communist movement and (3) the understatement of interrogation and torture.

My hypothesis for this chapter's analysis is that, for women living through the 1950s White Terror, victimhood based on maternity is not the only category of identity formation. As I have discussed in Chapter 3, a woman can only be conceptually visible as a victimized mother in official memory. In contrast, my discussion on Ms Chiang's and Ms Hsiao's testimonies attests to a different sort of conceptual visibility of the 1950s women. By saying conceptual visibility, I am referring to the acknowledgement of these women as politicized subjects. Rather than represented as passive, these women are capable of reacting upon, and "devis[ing] ways of coping with life, even under the most extreme forms of coercion"(Moser and Clark 2001, 4–5).

4.1 Materials of Analysis

In this part, I will begin with how I gained the oral testimonies of Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao. Following the explanation is my argument on the significance of their testimonies, and with a brief biography of Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao at the end.

These two oral testimonies were provided by Chuan-Kai Lin, a Taiwanese historian who is devoted to the 1950s White Terror history and the communist underground during the same period. Starting from 2008, Lin has been collecting oral history of the White Terror, which specifically centers on the period of 1950s, and he has been archiving these unofficial records by himself. I paid a visit to Chuan-Kai Lin during a short stay in Taiwan in April, 2016. At that time, my preliminary finding about the two anthologies – *The Moment of Seeing Sunshine* and *The Sorrowful Chirping of Cicadas* – led me to discover an omission of the 1950s female political prisoners in The Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum. This finding had brought a question to my mind: why are these women invisible in PONHRM? Eventually, this visit provided a clue to this question and my further analysis in this chapter.

The production of the two oral testimonies is doubly significant. Firstly, it can be viewed as a form of resistance which defies the official White Terror remembering. During my visit to Mr Chuan-Kai Lin, he explained that many of his interviewees, most of whom were once engaged in the communist underground, found it hard to have confidence or to trust the Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum. The reason is that former left-wingers of the 1950s do not believe PONHRM is able to speak on behalf of them and tells "what happened

truly". This distrust is expressed in Ms Chiang's testimony. As she explains, "None of the things I have accomplished is written down. None of them. So I did not accept any interview before" (Chiang 2009, 11).

In this sense, we can see that the production of Ms Chiang's and Ms Hsiao's testimonies is never entirely separated from the official White Terror memory promulgated in PONHRM; rather, for both women, what is tell-able and what is worthy of telling is influenced by a clear consciousness that they want to tell a different story from those sustained in PONHRM. As Gina Herrmann comments on the female activists during the Spanish Civil War, because voices of these women are not readily accessible in official memory, the production of their stories thus poses "a challenge to the authority of experience" (Herrmann 2003, 11). Likewise, the production of Ms Chiang's and Ms Hsiao's testimonies carries the same significance. It is a conscious resistance "to juxtapose the official version of historical events" (O' Leary 2012, 159) and "to ensure the endurance of voices that were silenced by the regime" (ibid.).

The second significance of these testimonies is connected to witnessing. I contend that it is an act of the White Terror witnessing. Commenting on the relationship between witnessing and testimonies, Dori Laub views testimony as "the process by which the narrator (the survivor) reclaims his [or her] position as a witness" (Laub 1992, 85). Laub further argues that an act of providing testimonies "is itself a form of action, of change" (ibid.). Via the chance to repossess a sense of self in a testimonial story-telling, a survivor of violence is able to reconcile herself or himself with a world which has vanished or is annihilated with unfulfilled ambitions (Laub 1992, 91). In their testimonies, Min-Chuan Chiang and Su-Mei Hsiao take the chance to be witnesses to their 1950s experiences. Further, as I will discuss in this chapter's analysis, for them to reclaim a voice of their past is pivotal to their present survival. Because the communist underground movement was eventually wiped out by Kuomintang's thorough purge in the 1950s, for Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao, the repossession of a rebellious self becomes a means to perform and go through the ultimate unrealized political ambitions in the present.

Lastly, it is important to notice that in survivors' view, the role of testimony here is connected to the concept of authenticity. Oral testimony, whether by survivors themselves or by

PONHRM, is believed as a solution "to find out or to recover entirely how actually and authentically events happened" (Pető 2002, 952). As Otto suggests, survivors of violence are often regarded as a source in which we can find the "authentic experiential truth about traumatic events in the past" (Otto 2009, 332). Nonetheless, because any memory is "representation of past, not the events themselves" (Stier 2003, 2), the testimonies of Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao would inevitably entail inclusion of particular events, whilst exclude others which are deemed irrelevant in the narrators' view (cited in Assmann 2014; Yoshimizu 2009, 114).

Biographies of Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao

Before moving on to my analysis of the two testimonies, here I provide brief biographies of Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao based on their testimonies. Noticeably, both women share a few commonalities in their life trajectories. Both of them were recruited into the communist underground during their school life – Ms Min-Chuan Chiang as a student in physics at National Taiwan University and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao as a student in Lan Yang Girls' Senior High School[9]. Secondly, both women had been transferred among different local detention centers and eventually sent to the Military Judicial Division Detention Center (here after "Military Judicial Division") (Hsiao 2009; Chiang 2009). In the 1950s, "Military Judicial Division" was under the jurisdiction of the Taiwan Provincial Security Command (TPSC), which served as a secret police organization and was actively involved in the purge against suspected communist underground members. After arrested by local police or agents, political prisoners were first interrogated in local detention centers. They were later transferred to "Military Judicial Division" to wait for their final verdict.

Born in 1929 in Sunan, a southern part of the province Jiangsu in China, Ms Min-Chuan Chiang was a daughter of the local landlord, and thus was once a member belonging to the upper class in the community. However, because traditional patrilineal system only qualified a man in a family to inherit the estate, she had no right to inherit any property or fortune. After her parents perished at her early age, without any son born in the family, the estate was given away to relatives' in her clan. This financial vulnerability led to Ms Chiang's degradational status within her clan and her displacement. After graduating from Nanking Second Girls' Senior High

[9] Lan Yang Girls' Senior High School is the first secondary school established in Yilan County, a county in Northeastern Taiwan.

School, Ms Chiang was accompanied to Taiwan by two of her teachers in 1948 and was later accepted by National Taiwan University as a student in physics. During her college life, she was recruited into one communist underground organization – the Taiwan Working Station of the Central Department of Social Affairs (hereafter "Taiwan Working Station") and was later persecuted because of her participation (Chiang 2009).

In the early 1950s, "Taiwan Working Station" is a Taiwanese branch of the Central Department of Social Affairs (CDSA) in China, which was itself the major intelligence organ of the Communist Party of China (CPC) (Duthel 2014, 495). At that time, the major task of "Taiwan Working Station" was to provide useful intelligence to CPC in order to assist its future invasion of Taiwan. For example, Ms Chiang was involved in missions such as producing military maps, developing military intelligence in a photo studio, and taking care of confidential message. She did not manage to obtain her undergraduate diploma. In one night of her sophomore life, she was arrested by four men in her dorm, transferred among different local detention centers and eventually sentenced to fifteen years in prison (Chiang 2009; C.-P. Chiu 2015).

As for Ms Su-Mei Hsiao, born in 1932 in Yilan, a Northeastern county in Taiwan, she participated in a study group during her study in Lan Yang Girls' Senior High School. In this period, she became gradually familiar with socialist thought and could not bear the sight of inequalities between rich and poor as well as Kuomintang's corruption in Taiwanese society (S.-M. Hsiao 2009, 5–7). In 1949, the first year of the White Terror, Su-Mei Hsiao took an oath and became a member of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and began to participate in its underground organization named the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (hereafter "Taiwan Work Committee") (S.-M. Hsiao 2009, 9).

Similar to "Taiwan Working Station", the aim of "Taiwan Work Committee" was to overthrow Kuomintang's regime in Taiwan and to pursue the unification of a communist China. In the early 1950s, members of "Taiwan Work Committee" amounted to thousands of people. These members were separated in different local sub-committees, in which members were again assigned in small sub-groups (C.-K. Lin 2011, 11–13). Such hierarchical structure was to prevent the entire committee from being exposed. In 1952, the same year in which the whole

committee in Taiwan was annihilated by Kuomintang's purge, Su-Mei Hsiao was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison. During her interrogation, she witnessed and may as well experienced torture such as pricking nails (S.-M. Hsiao 2009, 10–12).

4.2 The Construction of a Rebellious Self

In this section, I investigate self-identification in Ms Min-Chuan Chiang's oral testimony. The passages discussed below demonstrate the intersection of gender and class in Ms Chiang's story. Ms Chiang identifies herself as rebellious and capable of defying against gender and class injustice. This identification is distinct from the regulatory notions of gender which "reinforces the essentialist nature of women as nurturers, caretakers and peacemakers" (Kaufman and Williams 2010, 66). It can be treated as a challenge to the authority of the official White Terror memory. As I will show, analysis of this intersection – gender inequality and class mobility – casts light on a representation of women that is in contradiction to an iconic victimized mother in PONHRM's museological discourse.

Commenting on civil (armed) conflicts and the role of women, Kaufman and Williams explain in the book *Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict* that any conflict does not throw up in a society "without some prior warning or notice" (Kaufman and Williams 2010, 58). In most of the circumstances, a sense of threat, lack of safety or tensions among different group in daily life has already foreseen and made possible that violence will break up at any moment (Kaufman and Williams 2010, 75). Kaufman and Williams' argument is illustrated when we turn to Ms Chiang's oral testimony in this chapter. Salient in her narrativized accounts is the tension between gender and class previous to the outbreak of the White Terror which indirectly led to her later communist activism.

In Ms Min-Chuan Chiang's oral testimony, she spends almost one-third of her storytelling to perform a rebellious version of her younger self prior to the outbreak of the White Terror. Two types of self-rebelliousness are thematized in her story. The first type is a rebellious self in family. The second is a rebellious self in her school life. Ms Chiang remembers herself as a woman who was fully aware of the long-entrenched gender and class inequality which existed

in Chinese patrilineal society. To protest against this social structure, she took actions to struggle for education in order to grab a chance of upward social mobility.

As I will show later, the construction of this image tells a story which is different from the sort of female story "present[ing] its female protagonist as passive, devoid of agency or power, dependent on men" (Kwapisz Williams 2014, 437). Rather, the story is told through exploration of step-by-step accomplishments which Ms Chiang had managed to achieve as she exerted efforts to fight against the gender and class structural violence and successfully received education to raise herself.

The very beginning of Ms Chiang's testimony represents the structural violence of gender inequality in the pre-White Terror society. Reflecting upon this "uneasy peace" (Cockburn 2001, 17) before the White Terror, Ms Chiang opens her story with a brief introduction about her family background and immediately points to the unfairness a woman like her was doomed to face within a patrilineal family system:

> I am Min-Chuan Chiang. I turned to my eighty this year. My homeplace was located in a town, a town in Sunan[10]. My family used to be the landlord of this small town. [My parents] only had my older sister and me, their two daughters. **Exactly because there was no son born in this family, all of our estate was taken by others**. [Emphasis mine] (Chiang 2009, 1)

This quote is used by Ms Chiang to introduce herself. As I have pointed out in Chapter 3, familial relationality is a representational framework that is institutionally sanctioned by Taiwan's Preparatory Office of the National Human Rights Museum (PONHRM); on the contrary, here Ms Chiang makes no reference to the detailed description of her family members.

[10] In Chinese, Sunan is directly translated as the southern part of Jiangsu, which is nowadays an eastern-central province near the coast of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Her remembering of family life leads poignantly to an exclusive reflection: her dissatisfaction about the patrilineal inheritance system which could find its roots in traditional Chinese culture.

This brings to mind the concept of structural violence originally introduced by Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung. According to Galtung, structural violence is a process in which unequal control over resources and power by one group results in conditions such as exploitation, marginalization, or expulsion of another group in a society (Galtung 1990, 292–294; cited in Cockburn 2001, 17). Elaborating on this concept, Cynthia Cockburn emphasizes the gendered dimension of structural violence and alerts us "to look at male-dominant gender relations" (Cockburn 2001, 17) which are indicative of the uneven power relations between men and women prior to the oncoming of open violence. In this respect, the implementation of patrilineal inheritance system is a form of structural violence. It results in uneven distribution of economic resources between men and women. In Chinese kinship system, the men are considered the legitimate candidates to inherit family membership and familial estate. Being a woman comes to be a sufficient reason for being ineligible to claim property. Remembering of this family misfortune illustrates the gendered aspect of structural violence. It speaks of a patriarchal society that is structurally disadvantageous to women in miniature.

It is important to note that patrilineal inheritance system not only renders a woman financially insufficient, but a woman is also marginalized within a kinship family because of her sex. Ms Chiang continues to point out disenfranchisement of her status in family after her parents' death. When her sister and she were deprived of any property in her clan, both of them were displaced and forced to board in different relatives' houses intermittently. As she explains:

> Sometimes I lived in uncle's house. Sometimes I stayed with my aunties or other relatives, but my sister and I usually did not stay in the same house. . . . I just did not understand. At the time when I got used to the life in one house, and suddenly when the time came, I was told to clear away my stuff, and later picked up by another auntie. (Chiang 2009, 1)

For Ms Chiang, experience of displacement owing to her sex brings to mind bewilderment – as she articulates, "I just did not understand." However, the economic vulnerability does not lead to her self-identification as a victim when she briefly summarizes her life in transit, "Against all odds, I was contented and happy" (Chiang 2009, 1). Ms Chiang's claim captures a confident voice and stresses her ability to tackle with hardship. The narrativized accounts above confirm Kwapisz Williams' observation on the diversity of self-representation of displaced Polish women after the end of the Second World War. Kwapisz Williams contends that "victimhood is not an obvious category" (Kwapisz Williams 2014, 452) which female narrators took on to frame their story. In his perspectives, a variety of gender behaviors and expressions which do not always conform to normative stereotypes of gender roles can be discovered in stories of displacement. Experiences of dislocation, displacement and transit are not recaptured solely as trauma. Apart from "mus[ing] on helplessness or retreat[ing] into passivity" (Kwapisz Williams 2014, 451), women expressed a sense of autonomy and empowerment as they managed to move beyond domestic sphere and take on tasks conventionally assigned to men – such as to become economic independent (Kwapisz Williams 2014, 445–458).

Turning now to Ms Min-Chuan Chiang's storytelling, patrilineal structural violence against her does not prompt a sense of hopelessness; on the contrary, she goes on to make sense of her early family life – this time with a determined tone:

> In my hometown, [people] living there favoured sons over daughters. In addition, my family is a very traditional one. My family was robbed of our whole estate just because there was no son born. This was the reason I made up my mind to study hard. In the future I must make a career by myself. I must be better than men! I had thought about this since I was little. (Chiang 2009, 2)

Ms Chiang reemphasizes her economic vulnerability in family again, while gets into more details in this passage. Ms Chiang remembers herself as unwilling to succumb to the gender-biased inheritance system. Her episode moves on to conclude with a denouncement of gender inequality ("favoured sons over daughters"); furthermore, she constructs a rebellious self-image

by expressing an ambition to alter the status quo – "study hard", "make a career by myself" and "be better than men".

As I have indicated, the first type of rebelliousness is thematized in family. The other type of rebelliousness springs up from accounts of school life. As Ms Chiang goes further to tell her story from junior high to her college time, her emplotment centers on moments of "contradicting an elder or superior figure". She puts these moments into dialogical conversation between Ms Chiang and another authoritative figure in different settings in which she successfully persuaded or challenged her interlocutors to obtain a chance for education.

For instance, Ms Min-Chuan Chiang recalls her conversation with an elderly man Tung Huang, who was the general secretary of the Three People's Principles Youth League[11] (hereafter "Youth League") located in Nanjing. Here it is the interplay between two voices – the voice of a man who held a senior position (general secretary of "Youth League") and the voice of a young female student – that her rebellious self-image is brought to the fore. Ms Chiang participated in the summer camp held by "Youth League". In her memory, after scoring high at the camp's graduation examination and later accepted by Nanjing Second Girls' Senior High School, she was summoned by Mr Tung Huang for a short talk. In the following quote, "He" refers to Mr Tung Huang and "I" is Ms Min-Chuan Chiang:

> He said, "We ["Youth League"] want to offer you a scholarship because you got high marks in the exam." **I replied, "No!"** [Emphasis mine] He then went on to ask me why and I told him, "I can only accept one scholarship. The second one should be given away to others." **He answered back, "But we have rules here!" I said, "I do not need a scholarship."** [Emphasis mine] After this, he continued to ask again what I need. (Chiang 2009, 3)

[11] According to James Z. Gao (Department of History at the University of Maryland), the Three People's Principles Youth League was an ephemeral national youth organization established by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) during the period of the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945). The aim of "Youth League" is "to mobilize more Chinese youngsters to join the War against Japanese Aggression and to develop their loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek" (Gao 2009, 362).

In the above passage Ms Chiang represents the general secretary as a person who is superior to herself in terms of both gender and class hierarchy. Mr Tung Huang becomes an emblem of the father figure in traditional Chinese family, who holds the authority to command, make decisions and ask for obedience. On the other hand, he as well symbolizes a member of upper class, who is capable of condescending to offer financial support. In this way, to refuse an offer of scholarship becomes an act of self-rebellion against both gender and class inequality.

4.3 Gender in the Underground Communist Movement

Another important aspects of Ms Min-Chuan Chiang's testimony attests to the gender division of labor in the communist underground. This section elaborates on the gender power relations sustained in the 1950s underground organization. Whereas male communist members were assigned to carry out major tasks, which were of much danger and risk, female participants did not assume important political positions. These women were relegated to perform certain "'feminine' duties" (Grzebalska 2016, 128) such as couriers, lookout and administrative works.

One of the key topic political violence and armed conflicts rests on is the relative positions of men and women in mobilization process. Research has indicated that although women are recruited in uprising due to gradual demands on their roles equal to men, women do not obtain substantive equality through which their political ambition can be realized (Cockburn 2004, 34; Grzebalska 2016). As voices calling for change sprung up among different parties in a society, mobilization is though influenced by the "dominant gender ideologies" (Moser 2001, 31) which pre-exist political turbulence. In this way, although inclusion of women into the military underground provides them a venue to move beyond domestic sphere as a female combat, the idea that men are to protect, whilst women should be looked after is still upheld and continues to prolong throughout upheaval times (Grzebalska 2016, 128). Min-Chuan Chiang remembers this gendered dimension of the underground movement markedly in her testimony. Her memory reveals an ambiguous conflict between her self-perception as a promising intellectual and the auxiliary role she played in the underground.

The revolutionary character of Min-Chuan Chiang does not rest with her female identity, but her self-identification as an intellectual. At the end of her recall of college life, Ms Chiang

introduces a male character Kai Yu[12] who turned to her for underground recruitment. Here she provides a rationale for her own recruitment,

> I thought the organization ["Taiwan Working Station"] was in need of people like me. I was the best candidate . . . without burden, performed well in university and favoured by teachers. . . . **I could be better than anyone. I could carry out any task with utmost perfection.** [Emphasis mine] (Chiang 2009, 10)

In the above passage, Ms Chiang affirms her willingness and capacity to embark upon a political course. Furthermore, an important facet lies in her use of intellectual discourse. Min-Chuan Chiang provides a very precise expression of her self-esteem ("better than anyone") and attributes this pride to her education ("performed well in university"). She further confirms the connection between her self-esteem and education in the latter passage,

> **Especially students in National Taiwan University**[13] **like us, we had been the privileged and chosen one.** [Emphasis mine] We should not care only for our own interests! . . . I was not absent from the path of revolution . . . I did not think of myself not even once. Not even once. (Chiang 2009, 10)

As we can tell, she politicizes herself as an outstanding intellectual ("the privileged and chosen one") instead of as a woman. On the contrary, she mitigates this strong self-perception as a promising intellectual and transforms it into confusion and a sense of Otherness as she gives a brief summary of her underground life:

> Before I came to Taiwan, I was not familiar with the idea of communism. After I participated [in "Taiwan Working Station"], **I was not given any training, not even once!** [Emphasis mine] This is a mistake! For instance, **I was requested to carry out a task, but I wouldn't be able to understand what I was doing.** [Emphasis mine] (Chiang 2009, 11)

[12] According to the online archive of Academia Sinica, in 1950 Kai Yu was a second-year male student at the Department of History in National Taiwan University. Kai Yu was engaged in the illegal underground organization "Taiwan Working Station" and was a main figure responsible for recruiting communist members and scheming for rebellion in the campus. He was arrested in 1950 and sentenced to death in 1952 ("The Grave of Kai Yu" 2016).
[13] National Taiwan University (NTU) is generally considered the top-ranking university in Taiwan.

Ms Chiang's words clearly reveals the marginalized position of women in "Taiwan Working Station". Regardless of the recruitment of female as contributors of the communist political course, gender is a crucial factor in its labor division and hierarchy of ranks. Women in "Taiwan Working Station" were given no training and were somehow external to the organization's decision-making circles ("wouldn't be able to understand what I was doing"). Scholars writing about other military activities have also pointed out the exclusion of women. In Brian D. Bunk's discussion on women's military participation during the Spanish Civil War. Although the Civil War opened a chance for women's new possibilities beyond home, Bunk points out that women were denied combat positions and "relegated to traditionally feminine roles of support and encouragement" (Bunk 2003, 102) such as nurses.

Turning back to Ms Chiang's story, the fact that she was "relegated to support roles" (Sasson-Levy 2016, 114) is remembered in two underground tasks. Min-Chuan Chiang remembers an incident in which an order was sent to her without notice in advance:

> Back then, there was an order from headquarter. This order was delivered to me by Kai Yu. He told me to take good care of it. . . . I remembered the order. It was a small piece of paper. **I read the words written on it. I could not understand, so I dared not read it [again]** [Emphasis mine]. . . . Maybe iodine can rinse the message out. Probably. . . .Anyway it was important. (Chiang 2009, 13)

Again, in this passage Ms Chiang perceives herself as in an ambiguous position, in which her role was somehow necessary in the mission (to keep the confidential message), whereas she was edged out by circles of her male teammates. Similar ambiguity is shown in another event which she recalls a mission carried out in February, 1950. At that time, Ms Chiang was called by two men, the major student leader Kai Yu and Ching Chang[14], to accompany them. The mission was to develop photos on which confidential military information was printed. Nonetheless, it was not until the end of this mission that Ms Min-Chuan Chiang grasped sight of the mission's big picture:

[14] Ching Chang was recruited by Kai Yu, the major student figure of "Taiwan Working Station" in campus. He was arrested in 1950 and executed in 1951. ("The Grave of Ching Chang" 2016)

> At that time, I did not need to do anything. It was as if I went there [the photo studio] to be a supporting role. I guessed they [Ms Chiang's male teammates] were probably on a mission. I was only summoned there to stand guard. . . . When Kai Yu entered in the photo studio, I knew slightly what he was about to do. Somewhat I began to take the hint about the nature of this mission. (Chiang 2009, 13)

In this passage, Ms Chiang interprets her role as needed but external to the circle of her male teammates, which can be told in two expressions. The first is a sense of being othered. To describe her recruitment previously, she perceives herself as "better than anyone" and "the best candidate" of the underground; nonetheless, she then experienced the "demarcation between the 'masculine' battle front [men's right to military knowledge] and the 'feminine' rear [women as ignorant lookouts]" (Grzebalska 2016, 129). The second expression is a sense of confusion as indicated in her word choice. "I guessed", "probably", "I knew slightly", "somewhat" and "hint about" all suggest her uncertainty about what her male teammates were carrying out.

4.4 The Understatement of Interrogation and Torture

Sarah Horowitz stresses that "we are more able to narrate and accept memories that we feel comfortable with" (cited in Reading 2002b, 59). Thus, despite a focus on what is chosen to remember by Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao, my discussion on their testimonies also pays attention to what is implicitly put aside. An important aspect of both testimonies is a tendency to downplay victimization during interrogation and torture. In this section, I elaborate on this tendency in terms of two strategies – a self-imposed silence and dissociation of oneself from events of victimization.

According to the article "Women and the Political Cases of the White Terror" written by Tsui Yang (Department of Sinophone Literature, National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan), during the 1950s, secret detention and torture had become the most effective way for agents to obtain information on illegal underground movement. Back then, techniques of torture included forced irrigation of water, burying alive, beating, sitting on an ice cake, hunger, suspending in the air, which were generally inflicted on male and female political prisoners (Yang 2016, 17). Sexual

abuses were as well exerted in prisons and detention centers. In the case of women, these could entail rubbing genitalia with tooth brush and pricking nipples with piano wire (Yang 2016, 18).

Feminist scholars writing about political violence have shown how sexualized torture in interrogation is gendered. Reflecting upon female dissidents' imprisonment, Bürge Abiral contends that politically active women are considered dangerous to social stability not only owing to their rebellious character, but also because they stand as a defiance against an image of a proper woman (dutiful wives and committed mothers) (Abiral 2016, 98). Stefatos also argues that sexualized torture targets leftist women's "sense of vulnerability, fear and humiliation" (Stefatos 2016, 77) and is intended to diminish their selves as both women and communist rebels. Thus, in this section, when I discuss Ms Chiang's and Ms Hsiao's silence on or understatement of torture experience, I will connect my analysis with a broader cultural discourse about gender.

As previous discussion in this chapter shows, storytelling of Ms Min-Chuan Chiang speaks of two themes – (1) her rebellion in family and school and (2) the othering experienced as a woman in the underground. On her experience after her arrestment, the narrative lacks in details and is very succinct. For example, she talks about her detention at the very end of her story as an endless transfer among different sites: "I went to many places all the way. Many. I had no idea where I was. My eyes were covered" (Chiang 2009, 21). To explain further, Ms Chiang condenses her life after arrestment into a slippery process,

> At the very beginning when I was held in custody, I was imprisoned at the Investigation Bureau. I was questioned by people there. After this, I was required by other place, and temporarily transferred for a few days. Sometimes I forgot, then one or two months slipped by. When I was wanted by the Investigation Bureau again, I would be transferred back. This was how it happened. . . . After the questioning was almost finished, I was also sent to juvenile prisons. After this there was another transfer. [I was] temporarily transferred to many places. When the case almost came to an end, I was sent to "Military Judicial Division" [15]. Arriving there meant nothing would be going further. No

[15] In 1950s the Military Judicial Division Detention Center (here after "Military Judicial Division") is the major detention center in charge of political prisoners. After arrested by local police or agents, political prisoners were firstly questioned in local detention centers and transferred to here awaiting their verdict.

> interrogation. It was all decided. To live, to die, or to go to prison. (Chiang 2009, 20-21)

Evidently, there is one level of silencing operating here: the self-imposed silence. By only stating "then one or two months slipped by" or "I was questioned by people there", Ms Chiang avoids reference to what happened inside different detention centers.

In the case of Ms Su-Mei Hsiao, memory of interrogation and torture are not as completely omitted, but dissociation is a strategy used when she elaborates on her times in detention center,

> Should you confess inside? This was a very tough question to answer. The information you should not disclose . . . They [agents] would do everything to make you talk. The way they tortured you. They used needles to prick nails of your ten fingers. How could anyone stand that? You wouldn't talk a word. Well. They kept pricking. To be honest, it was no less than living in hell. . . . Then he would torture you again. Your two hands were bent behind your back. You were hung up in the air with the two feet suspended. You didn't have anything for support. . . . At that time, having experienced such pain, it was rarely people did not confess. (S.-M. Hsiao 2009, 11)

In the above passage, Su-Mei Hsiao dissociates herself from the torture event by her recurrent usage of the pronoun "you" (translated from Chinese 妳 and pronounced as *NI*). *NI* (妳) in Chinese is a second-person pronoun used to suggest "another woman". This strategy – to talk about torture as happening on another female – is in contrast with her narratives of the underground participation, in which she reaffirms her subjectivity by usage of the pronoun "I" (in Chinese 我 and pronounced as *WO*). For example, when she refers to her oath to join the communist party:

> When I was young, I read lots of books. I pondered over different ideologies thriving in different countries. Then I thought the communist party is right, so I was willing to participate in it. I would not go against it for all my life. (S.-M. Hsiao 2009, 9)

Furthermore, though Ms Hsiao's retention of torture experience provides an alternative than omission promulgated by PONHRM, it is not clear whether a torture of sexual nature is involved. Narratives of this kind might either suggest sexual violence did not happen or the concealment of this act in testimony (Mühlhäuser 2016, 36). Nevertheless, what is important here is to go beyond "a 'true/false' framework of remembering" (Pető 2002, 949), but to view testimony as a conscious construction of past. In this way, a lack of sexual violence in Ms Hsiao's narratives indicates that as a female survivor, she considers her story culturally appropriate if she does not bring sexual violence to the fore.

The purpose behind these two strategies – self-silencing and dissociation of oneself from the event – can be interpreted in two dimensions. Firstly, silence and dissociation can be viewed as a way of continual resistance. For Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao, they are strategies which enable them to cling on a previous revolutionary self.

Commenting on life narratives by Holocaust survivors, Anna Reading explains that because the demolishment of self and personal relationships is a pivotal part experienced by survivors, to tell one's own story in post-Holocaust times thus becomes a process to reconstruct the dismantled self and to restore it into the present life (Reading 2002b, 54–55). For Ms Hsiao, the transition from I (*WO,我*) to you (*NI,* 妳) is as well a way to negotiate her identity as a revolutionary woman with her moments of vulnerability. It helps to sustain a sense of survival and to retain resistance. For Ms Chiang, the humiliated and violated self in interrogation is in stark conflict with her self-affirmed rebelliousness. She again represents this rebelliousness at the end of her transfer experience, "They [KMT's agents] thought I was trained cadres in the communist party, because I was the most intrepid one they had ever seen. I did not care a straw" (Chiang 2009, 21). Her Silence on painful moments in interrogation makes the story more acceptable to her. As Baldwin suggests, silence is a "strategy to allow them [survivors] time to think about and interpret their experiences, before giving them voice" (Baldwin 2015, 114). Further, silence is a resistance to an official memory frame in PONHRM that promulgates a victimized and depoliticized woman.

Secondly, experiences of interrogation become hard to articulate as "my memory" because they may threaten to destabilize familial cohesion in the post-White Terror times. Reflecting upon his previous interviews with members of the1950s underground, Chuan-Kai Lin comments that after released from decades of imprisonment, members can be re-traumatized because of the

loss of intimacy and guilt. The process of restituting their selves into a post-White Terror family usually means these 1950s leftist dissidents have to take on a new identity, as an unfilial son/daughter, an absent father/mother or an encumbrance to a family (C.-K. Lin 2014, 67).

In this regard, to recover their White Terror experiences, women engaged in the 1950s underground not only have to negotiate with their previous self, but also have to reconcile with others, especially those whom they share a close relationship with in family. In the 1950s Taiwan, traditional norms still required a woman to take on roles of a docile wife, a sacrificed mother and a filial daughter-in-law. These "appropriate roles" (wife/mother/daughter) women should assume is grounded on gender conventions which, as Bunk argues for Spanish Civil War, stressed "domesticity while establishing matrimony and motherhood as the highest aspirations" (Bunk 2003, 101). It was thus not widely appreciated in the 1950s if a Taiwanese woman outweighed her individual rewards and career over maintenance of her family, not to mention if this woman plunged herself into a revolutionary career. In this way, interrogation experiences, especially those with sexual nature, can be unbearable because they endanger, in Reading's words, "the established gender conventions and roles" (Reading 2002b, 59). To the family members, such experiences could become a proof of a punishment on their ill-behaved mothers/wives.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I analyze the unsilencing of the 1950s leftist women in two of their testimonies. In my analysis, I demonstrate that how differently they are conceptually visible as politicized subjects and how gender plays an important role in their remembering. Both Ms Chiang and Ms Hsiao describe themselves as rebellious and as politically ambitious in their testimonies.

I trace this particular self-representation to their experiences of the communist underground and interrogation. One important aspect is the marginalization of female members as auxiliary roles in the underground. Ms Chiang's testimony indicates that although the underground movement provided a venue for women's participation, female members were expected to conform to gender conventions in Taiwan. Another important aspect is self-silencing or downplaying on tortures, especially those of sexual nature. The understatement on interrogation is a form of

resistance. It is also a way to maintain the familial cohesion because disclosure of torture threatens to destabilize the established gender conventions.

The production of the two oral testimonies of Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao is a process of the White Terror witnessing. In narrating their experiences, both women reconcile themselves with two worlds – their past rebelliousness with political ambition and their present survival after the underground movement that failed. Further, these testimonies are part of counter-memories against a monolithic representation of women as victimized mothers in PONHRM. They are challenges to the officially authorized White Terror memory discussed in Chapter 3.

Conclusion

In the beginning of this thesis, I have set my research goal to explore the memory politics of the 1950s White Terror in Taiwan in particular with respect to the memories of the 1950s leftist women. To achieve this goal, I have examined, first, the process of silencing on these women's experience in official memory, and second, the process of unsilencing on these women in their non-official testimonies. My examination of these two processes – silencing in official memory and unsilencing in non-official memory – is based on "a feminist analysis of gender", as theorized by Cockburn. I use gender as a category of analysis and take into account its intersection with class. By doing this, I refuse an overgeneralized notion of women as mothers, sisters or daughters of political dissidents and as "not in political prisons" in Taiwan's official memory.

In Taiwan, experiences of the 1950s leftist women are omitted in official memory. This omission is facilitated by three representational frameworks. The first is a non-insurgency and innocence framework. Because "Redress Regulation" in 1998 stipulated that only former political dissidents who were not involved in insurgent underground could apply for redress, former members of the 1950s communist underground consciously and collectively silenced on their underground experiences in official testimonies. My discussion focuses on the two PONHRM-published anthologies and installations in PONHRM's Green Island Human Rights Memorial Park. The second framework is familial relationality. My finding is that stories of the 1950s White Terror are framed as a family tragedy. In these stories, men and women are remembered in accordance with conventional gender roles. Especially, an icon of a victimized mother has become an emblem of the 1950s White Terror. The last strategy is to normalize experiences of male political prisoners. I argue, in the two official anthologies, the 1950s leftist women are othered by the narrativization of their male counterparts. Similarly, in GIHRMP artistic installations that attest to torture experiences use men's experienced violence as a signifier of experiences of all the prisoners.

In terms of the process of unsilencing, I argue that non-official testimonies of the 1950s leftist women, Ms Min-Chuan Chiang and Ms Su-Mei Hsiao, are counter-memories which defy against the omission of the 1950s leftist women in PONHRM's official memory. The production of their testimonies is with consciousness that stories different from those included

in PONHRM must be told. In my finding, I suggest that self-identification as a rebellious woman plays an important role in both women's remembering. Both women represent themselves as politicized and mobilized subjects. Testimonies of them include how they became aware of gender and class injustice prior to the White Terror, how they voluntarily joined the communist underground, carried out missions and experienced interrogation in detention centers. The communist underground itself is remembered as gendered. Another finding is that, the testimonies attest to the marginalization of female members as auxiliary roles in communist missions. Lastly, both women self-silence or downplay experiences of torture in their testimonies. This understatement is a form of resistance and a way to maintain the familial cohesion in the post-White Terror times.

In this thesis, I have investigated the official memory of the 1950s White Terror and the non-official memory of the same period. I consider my investigation as a contribution to the 1950s leftist women in Taiwan's academic discussion on the White Terror memorialization. I have explored how official memory omits these women and how these women remember themselves differently as a refusal to be forgotten and be continuously victimized. By exploring the official omission and non-official unsilencing, I hope to broaden up a field of possible research on experiences of the 1950s leftist women. Because the way a past is remembered is deeply influenced by the present constraints, I believe how we remember a past will in turn determine how we can imagine and live a future. In this respect, efforts to broaden discussion on the 1950s leftist women and attempts to acknowledge their voices and stories in official memory are both politically and socially important: the fight against omission and forgetting is as well a struggle against a continual definition of women as depoliticized and victimized others in post-White Terror Taiwanese society.

Appendix

Brief Biography of the White Terror Survivors

- **Chang-Mao Lin**

  Chang-Mao Lin was born in Taoyuan, Taiwan in 1956. Mr Lin was the son of the political prisoner Ting-Hsing Lin, who was accused of participating in the underground organization the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) Taoyuan District in 1950. When Chang-Mao Lin's father was in escape, the police was tipped off about his whereabouts. Ting-Hsing Lin was arrested and executed in October 8, 1951. (C.-M. Lin 2014, 224)

- **Chang-Mei Chang**

  Chang-Mei Chang was born in Nantou, Taiwan in 1931. Ms Chang was implicated in the case "the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) Taichung District" and was arrested in November 4, 1950. After being charged of "participating insurgent organization", Ms Chang was sentenced to twelve years of imprisonment and ten years of civil rights suspension. She was released on July 18, 1962 and was later married to another political prisoner Jian-Hua Ou-Yang ("Chang-Mei Chang" 2016; *Oral History of Chang-Mei Chang* 2016).

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- **Chun-Lan Huang**

  Chun-Lan Huang is the daughter of the political prisoner Wen-Gung Huang. Ms Huang's father was implicated in the case "the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) Yanchao District" and executed in May 20, 1953 (Huang 2012, 55).

- **Da-Lu Wu**

  Da-Lu Wu was born in Taichung, Taiwan in 1933. Mr Wu was implicated in the case "Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League Tzu-Kuei Wang's Case" in 1951 and was sentenced to five years in prison. When Da-Lu Wu was held captive on Green Island New Life Correction Center, he was beat severely because of his late return to his squad. After

the end of martial law in 1987, Mr Wu was actively involved in the White Terror redress movement and was once a supervisor in *the Association for the Promotion of the 1950s White Terror Redress* (D.-L. Wu 2014, 86).

- **Kun-Lin Tsai**

Kun-Lin Tsai was born in Taichung, Taiwan in 1930. During Mr Tsai's high school life, he joined in a study group in Taichung First Senior High School and was arrested in 1950 because of disseminating communist leaflets with his study fellows. During detention period, Mr Tsai was tortured in interrogation. In 1951, he was transferred to New Life Correction Center on the Green Island for ten year's imprisonment and was released in 1960 (K.-L. Tsai 2012, 275).

- **Kun-Lung Li**

Kun-Lung Li was born in Yunlin, Taiwan in 1951. Soon after his birth, his father Jih-Fu Li was arrested in June of the same year and executed in April 1, 1952. Mr Li's father was implicated in the case "the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) Ching Guo's Case" when he was a teacher in Yulin's Tai-Si Elementary School. After the end of martial law in 1987, Kun-Lung Li was involved in activities in "Mutual Assistance Association" and assisted other family members of the 1950s White Terror to retrieve lost documents and official archives (K.-L. Li 2014, 274).

- **Min-Chuan Chiang**

Min-Chuan Chiang was born in Sunan, China in 1929. She was born as a daughter of the local landlord, but was forced to displace because of no rights to inherit family property. After graduating from Nanking Second Girls' Senior High, Ms Chiang went to Taiwan in 1948 to continue her study in university. During her college life, she was recruited in the Taiwan Working Station of Central Department of Social Affairs ("Taiwan Working Station"). Ms Chiang was implicated in the case "Taiwan Working Station Yi-Lin Su, Kai Yu and Yu-Lin Sun's Case" and sentenced to fifteen years in prison (Chiang 2009).

- **Shu-Tuan Tsai**

  Shu-Tuan Tsai was born in Tainan, Taiwan in 1935. Ms Tsai was the younger sister of the political prisoner Bing-Hung Tsai, who was arrested in the case "the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) Yu-Dang Gao's Case" in 1950 and was executed in January 13, 1956 (S.-T. Tsai 2014, 74).

- **Su-Mei Hsiao**

  Su-Mei Hsiao was born in Yilan, Taiwan in 1932. During her study in Lan Yang Girls' Senior High School, Ms Hsiao joined a socialist study group because of her disappointment at ROC government's corruption. In 1949, Su-Mei Hsiao took an oath and joined the Communist Party of China (CPC). She as well became a members of the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC. In 1950, she was implicated in the case "the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) Sheng-Chuan Lu and Jin-Huei Fong's Case" and sentenced to five years' imprisonment (S.-M. Hsiao 2009).

- **Wen-Fu Chiu**

  Wen-Fu Chiu was born in Taoyuan, Taiwan in 1943. In 1998, because of the enactment of the White Terror "Redress Regulation", Mr Chiu was for the first time informed about his half older brother Hsing-Sheng Chiu, who was executed in June 18, 1952 because of his implication in the case "the Taiwan Work Committee of the CPC (TWC) Zhongli District Chin Yao's Case" (W.-F. Chiu 2014, 290).

- **Ying-Tai Chen**

  Ying-Tai Chen was born in Taipei, Taiwan in 1928. During his study in National Taiwan University, Mr Chen joined the underground organization the Taiwan Work Committee of CPC. In 1952, he was charged of "participating insurgent organization" and sentenced to twelve years in prison. After the end of martial law in 1987, Ying-Tai Chen was active in recording his experiences of the White Terror and known for his prolific writing in his blog (Y.-T. Chen 2016) and was once the executive director in *the Association for the Promotion of the 1950s White Terror Redress* (H.-M. Tsai 2010).

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