

## Chapter 3

# Taiwanese Communist Feminist, Xie Xuehong: Li Ang's Literary Portrait of Xie Xuehong's Pre-1949 Feminist Activism in Taiwan

Ya-chen Chen

According to recent research, the first wave of Taiwanese feminist movements started in the Japanese colonial era and the second wave was the feminist activism that Nationalists' anticommunist political forces enhanced in Taiwan. This phenomenon seems to match the repetitive patterns that "East Asian feminism's rise occurred under the supervision of male social activists and political-cultural reformers" (Chen, Ya-chen, 141). Seldom, however, do researchers stress Xie Xuehong as the unique feminist part of both waves of Taiwanese feminist activism.<sup>1</sup> This chapter aims to emphasize Li Ang's literary and artistic efforts to add Xie Xuehong's feminist stories to the first two waves of Taiwanese feminist activism.

So far Li Ang's literary works have not been the only artistic portraits of Xie Xuehong. In addition to Li Ang's fictions, there were several onstage shows and even possible plans for movies about Xie Xuehong. For example, in 1994, Tian Qiyuan (田啓元 Tien, Chi-yuan) directed his onstage drama show entitled "Xieshi A Nü—yincang zai lishi beihou de Taiwan nüran" (謝氏阿女—隱藏在歷史背後的臺灣女人 The Girl with the Surname Xie—The Taiwanese Woman Hidden Behind the History).<sup>2</sup> In 2004, Xie Xuehong's life stories were included in an episode of TV show, *Taiwan bainian renwuzhi* (臺灣百年人物誌 *Records of People in Taiwan of the 100 Years*), at the Public Television Station.<sup>3</sup> This TV episode showed a part of Xie Xuehong's unpublished autobiography written in Moscow, Russia, in 1925. Wang Qimei (汪其楣 Wang, Chi-mei) created her own onstage one-person show about Xie Xuehong's life story.<sup>4</sup> The first show started at the Concert Hall of the National Theater on May 21, 2010.<sup>5</sup> The National Archive of Taiwanese Literature also had her performance together with discussion sessions with Li Ang on May 29, 2010.<sup>6</sup> Han Siqing (韓四清), a producer in China's Shanxi

---

Y. Chen (✉)  
Columbia University, New York, NY, USA  
e-mail: yachen.chen@yahoo.com

Y. Chen  
China Medical University, Taichung, Taiwan

Province, also tried to accomplish a motion picture about Xie Xuehong's life story. Although Tian Qiyuan's artistic achievements became topics of several graduate theses in Taiwanese academy and Wang Qimei mentioned her intention to allow Xie Xuehong to speak her mind by giving the onstage microphone to Xie Xuehong, Li Ang's literary works about Xie Xuehong resulted in the greatest amount of impressive reverberation from mass media, public, research projects, and academic publications.<sup>7</sup>

In 2000, Li Ang simultaneously published both *Zizhuan no xiaoshuo* (自傳の小説 *Autobiography: A Novel*) and *Piaoliu zhi lü* (漂流之旅 *A Drifting Journey*; companion travelogue). *Zizhuan no xiaoshuo* (自傳の小説 *Autobiography: A Novel*) is Li Ang's literary biographical fiction about Xie Xuehong's life. *Piaoliu zhi lü* (漂流之旅 *A Drifting Journey*) is Li Ang's companion travelogue of *Autobiography: A Novel*. In this book, Li Ang documented how she followed Xie Xuehong's footsteps to Japan, Russia, and Shanghai (Berry, 234). In the description on the back cover of *Autobiography: A Novel*, Li Ang has defined her literary story about Xie Xuehong's life experience in three ways: first, a biographical story of Xie Xuehong's life; second, a fiction about Xie Xuehong's romantic love; and third, a record of history.

### 3.1 Political Portraits of Xie Xuehong: (Anti-)Communist and (Anti-)Colonialist Data

Before the release of the two above-mentioned books, Li Ang consulted the following influential book: *Xie Xuehong ping zhuan: luotu budiao yüyehua* (謝雪紅評傳: 落土不凋雨夜花 *The Annotated Biography of Xie Xuehong: The Blossom that Never Withers after Falling onto the Soil in Raining Nights*) published by Chen Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming; b. 1947) in 1991. This book inspired Li Ang and motivated her to start the writing project about Xie Xuehong's life. In 2003, the National Archive of Taiwanese Literature staged a dialogue between Li Ang and Wu Dayun (吳達芸 Wu, Ta-yun). Li Ang discussed how she strategized to "subvert" Cheng Fangming's annotated biography of Xie Xuehong in her fiction entitled *Autobiography: A Novel* (Wang, Yuting, 102–125).

Following is a brief listing of some Chinese-language publications in addition to Chen Fangming's book, which involved Xie Xuehong's life story: In 1946, Sanmin (三民) Bookstore released Xiao Youshan's (蕭友山 Hsiao, You-shan) *Taiwan jiefang yudong no huigu* (台灣解放運動的回顧 *Retrospectives of Taiwanese Movements of Emancipation*). In 1986, Pei Kequan (裴可權 Pei, Ke-chuen) published *Taigong panluan ji fuwang jingguo jishi* (臺共叛亂及覆亡經過記實 *Historical Records of the Taiwanese Communist Riots and Decay*). In 1999, Huang Shiqiao (黃師樵 Huang, Shih-chiao) published *Taiwan gongchandang mishi* (臺灣共產黨秘史 *Secret History of the Taiwanese Communist Party*). Qianwei (前衛) publishing company released two books about Taiwanese communism, in which Xie Xuehong involved herself: Lu Xiuyi's (盧修一 Lu, Hsiu-i) *Riju shidai Taiwan*

*gongchandang shi* (日據時代臺灣共產黨史 *Taiwanese Communist History during the Japanese Colonial Era*) and Jian Juongren's (簡炯仁 Chien, Chuong-jen) *Taiwan gongchan zhuyi yundong shi* (臺灣共產主義運動史 *History of Taiwanese Communism*). In 2002, Wang Yu's (王玉) journal article, "Taiwan kangri yundong de zuoyi: cong 'Shanghai gangling' kan Taiwan gongchandang de jiangang benzhi" (臺灣抗日運動的左翼: 從「上海綱領」看台灣共產黨的建黨本質 The Leftist Wing of Taiwan's Anti-Japanese Social Movements: Looking into the Nature of the Taiwanese Communist Party from the "Shanghai Guideline"), appeared in *Fengjia renwen shehui xuebao* (逢甲人文社會學報 *Feng Chia University Academic Journal of Humanities and Social Science*). In 2003, the Taiwanese Public Television Station's Cultural Foundation produced a TV episode about Xie Xuehong: "Cai busi de yehua Xie Xuehong" (踩不死的野花謝雪紅 The Wild Blossom that Never Dies after the Torture, Xie Xuehong). Zhang Chuanren (張傳仁; b. 1957) published *Xie Xuehong yu Taiwan minzhu zizhi tongmeng* (謝雪紅與臺灣民主自治同盟 *Xie Xuehong and the Alliance of Taiwanese Democratic Self-Government*) in 2004. Zhang Kihui (張克輝 Chang, Ki-hui; b. 1928) published *Ah! Xie Xuehong* (啊!謝雪紅) in 2007.

As for Xie Xuehong's involvement in the February 28 Incident, there are numerous publications on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. In the Preview of Renewal Exhibition at Taipei 228 Memorial Museum's "Qingting yu zaishen" (傾聽與再生 Listening as Renewal Process), the fifth chapter entitled "Ereba shijian shimo" (二二八事件始末 From the Beginning to the End of the February 28 Incident) mentions that Xie Xuehong organized the army troops and merged student-level army forces into the *er qi budui* (二七部隊 Army Troops 27) to fight against the Nationalist General Chen Yi's (陳儀) army troops in Taizhong (臺中 Tai-chung) in March 1947. This chapter also contains visual files of the following documents: Xie Xuehong's photo in 1943, the picture of Taizhong Jianguo Craft School (臺中建國工藝學校) that Xie Xuehong wished to establish as the base to educate her youth army force, and the circular order to arrest Xie Xuehong as the most important criminal on January 5, 1948.<sup>8</sup> Li Xiaofeng's (李筱峯 Li, Hsiao-feng) article about Wang Wande's (王萬得) role in the revolution of Taiwanese communism inevitably touched upon Xie Xuehong. Wong Jiayin's (翁佳音 Wong, Chia-in) article on Cai Xiaoqian (蔡孝乾 Tsai, Hsiao-chien) in the same book also mentioned Xie Xuehong. Cai Luo (蔡洛), Yu Yanguang (余炎光), Liu Linsong (劉林松), and Meng Kequn (夢可群) published their *Peng Pai zhuan* (彭湃傳 *Biography of Peng Pai*) in 1986. During the same year, Xiao Biao (蕭彪), Yang Jinhe (楊錦和), Wang Bingnan (王炳南), and Xu Weiping (許偉平) published "Wong Zesheng" (翁澤生). During 1991, *Sichuan dangshi* (四川黨史 *History of the Communist Party in Sichuan*) included Wang Puyuan's (王普源) journal article entitled "Taiwan gongchangdang chengli shimo" (台灣共產黨成立始末 The Establishment of the Taiwanese Communist Party: From the Beginning to the End). In 1991, Chen Fangming published "Taiwan Kangri yungong de zuoyi luxian yi taigong 'shangdapai' zhunao Weng Zesheng wei zhongxin" (台灣抗日運動的左翼路線以台共「上大派」主腦翁澤生為中心). In 1992, Lin Qiquan's (林其泉) "Guanyu Taiwan gongchangdang baiwang de yuanying" (關於台灣共產黨

敗亡的原因 Reasons for the Taiwanese Communist Party's Decay) inevitably touched upon Xie Xuehong. During the same year, Lin Mingzhang (林銘章 Lin, Ming-chang) published "Xie Xuehong shanliang er kankede yi sheng" (謝雪紅閃亮而坎坷的一生 Sparks and Bad Luck—Life of Xie Xuehong) in *Zhuangji wenxue* (傳記文學 *Biographical Literature*). In 1993, Zhang Yanxian (張炎憲) and Gao Shuyuan (高淑媛) coauthored "Yiwei Taigong de xin lulicheng. Zhuang Chunhuo fangwen jilu" (一位臺共的心路歷程—莊春火訪問記錄 The story of a Taiwanese Communist Party's Member—Zhuang Chunhuo's Interview). In 1994, Chen Fangming authored "Lin Mushun yu Taiwan gongchangdang de chengli" (林木順與台灣共產黨的成立 Lin Mushun and the Taiwanese Communist Party's Establishment), and this article was included in *Taiwan shiliao yanjiu* (臺灣史料研究 *Research on Taiwanese Historical Data*).

In 1997 and 2001, when Han Jialing (韓嘉玲) published her research on participants in Taiwanese peasants' social movements, she certainly dealt with Jian Ji (簡吉 Chien, Chi) and Zhuang Shou (莊守 Chuang, Shou) who had connections with Xie Xuehong. In 1999, Taipei County Government published Li Rigao's (林日高 Lin, Ri-cao) life story, parts of which certainly were related to Xie Xuehong. In 2000, Wang Guojun (王國君) published an article about Wong Zesheng: "Qing xi zuguo tiegu zhongxin—Wong Zesheng tongzhi shengping shulue" (情繫祖國鐵骨忠心—翁澤生同志生平述略 Caring about the Motherland—Biographical Sketch of Comrade Wong Zesheng). In 2001, Lin Jiang (林江 Lin, Chiang) recorded memories about Wong Zesheng's life story: "Huainian wo fuqing Weng Zesheng" (懷念父親翁澤生 Recalling My Father Wong Zesheng). Yang Xiuying (楊秀瑛 Yang, Hsiu-ying) also published her memory about her father: "Huainian wode fuqing Yang Chunsong" (懷念我的父親楊春松 Recalling My Father Yang Chunsong). During the same year, Guo Zhengzhong (郭正中 Kuo, Cheng-chung) published "Riju shiqi Taiwan zhishi fengzi de ge'an yanjiu—yi 'Taigong shu-jizhang' Lin Mushun wei lie" (日據時期台灣知識份子的個案研究—以「台共書記長」林木順為例 Japanese Colonial Period Taiwan's Intelligensia Case Studies—The Secretary of the Taiwanese Communist Party Lin Mushun). In 2007, Zeng Jianyuan (曾建元 Tzeng, Chien-yuan) had the printed edition and online version of Zhang Zhizhong's (張志忠 Chang, Chih-chung) biography, which was undoubtedly related to Xie Xuehong.

Some Japanese-language publications are certainly also indirectly related to Xie Xuehong. For instance, the following books are translated into Chinese and published in Chinese-speaking areas: The Japanese government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs published the microfilms entitled *Miscellaneous Documents of the Japanese Communist Party's Relations: Connections with the Taiwanese Communist Party* in Tokyo in 1989. Xu Shikai (許世楷 Hsu, Shih-kai) wrote *Riben tongzhi xia de Taiwan* (日本統治下的臺灣 *Taiwan under Japanese Colonialism*), which Li Mingjun (李明峻 Li, Ming-chun) and Lai Yujun (賴郁君 Lai, Yu-chun) translated and published in Taipei, Taiwan, in 2006. Mukooyama Hiro's (向山寬夫) *Riben tongzhi xia de Taiwan minzu yundong shi* (日本統治下的臺灣民族運動史 *History of Taiwanese Ethnic Social Movements under Japanese Colonialism*) was translated into Chinese by Yang Hongru (楊鴻儒 Yang, Hung-ju), Chen Cangjie (陳滄杰 Chen,

Tsang-chieh), and Shen Yongjia (沈永嘉 Shen, Yung-chia) in 1999. The study group of Japanese-language documents about Taiwanese history (臺灣史日本史料典籍研讀會) translated Wakabayashi Masahiro's (若林正夫) *Taiwan kangri yundong shi yanjiu* (臺灣抗日運動史研究 *Research on the History of Taiwan's Anti-Japanese Social Movements*) in 2007.

Some Western-language publications do not lack information related to Xie Xuehong. For instance, *Time* magazine reported the story about Xie Xuehong on April 7, 1947, with a strong focus on her fights against Nationalists during the February 28 Incident.<sup>9</sup> In this report, Xie Xuehong is called “Snow Red.” During the 1970s, Lu Xiuyi (盧修一 Lu, Hsiu-i) touched upon Xie Xuehong when writing his doctoral dissertation about the Taiwanese Communist Party, and the Chinese version of this research project was published in Taiwan in 1989 and 1997. In 1998, Patricia Stranahan published *The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival* with Rowman and Littlefield. In 1999, Feng Haiyan (馮海燕) published a journal article entitled “Xie Xuehong yu Taigong, Taimeng” (謝雪紅與臺共、臺盟 Xie Xuehong and the Taiwanese Communist Party and Taiwan Independence Union). According to Andrew Morris’s research experience posted onto the H-Asia Discussion Net on April 27, 2000, Frank S. T. Hsiao and Lawrence R. Sullivan’s coauthored article in the *Journal of Asian Studies* seems to be the main English-language scholarly work.<sup>10</sup> In addition to what Andrew Morris mentioned, Hsiao and Sullivan were coauthors at least once more to publish their academic work on the Taiwanese status of communist developments, in *Pacific Affairs*: “The Chinese Communist Party and the Status of Taiwan.” The theme of Anna Belogurova’s (白安娜) MA thesis is similar to Hsiao and Sullivan’s coauthored articles. Her thesis is entitled “The Taiwanese Communist Party and the Comintern 1928–1931,” and completed at the Graduate Institute of Foreign Affairs in National Cheng Chih University. This thesis included dozens of Russian-language publications and data. In 2002, Lin Qionghua’s (林瓊華 Lin, Chŭng-hua) doctoral dissertation in France focused on Xie Xuehong, and the Chinese version of this research was included in Hu Jianguo’s (胡建國 Hu, Chien-kuo) edited book. Lily Xiao Hong Lee’s *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* (modern period: 1912–2000) included Xie Xuehong’s life story (Lee, Stefanowska and Ho, 591–597). In 2006, Huang Huizhen’s (黃惠禎 Huang, Hui-chen) journal article about Yang Kui mentioned Xie Xuehong’s complicated and difficult relations with Yang Kui and his wife, Ye Tao. In 2010, Xu Xueji (許雪姬 Hsu, Hsueh-chi) and Zhong Shumin (鍾淑敏 Chung, Shu-min) edited Li Suian (李隨安) and Chen Jinsheng’s (陳進盛 Chen, Chin-sheng) translation of Konstantin M. Tertitski (郭杰) and Anna Belogurova’s (白安娜) *Taiwan gongchan zhuyi yu gongchan guoji 1924–1932* (臺灣共產主義與共產國際 1924–1932 *Taiwanese Communist Social Movements and the Comintern 1924–1932*) from Russian to Chinese.

### 3.2 Numerous People's Memoirs

Numerous people's memoirs include Xie Xuehong. Yang Kehuang (楊克煌 Yang, Ke-huang; 1908–1978) was probably the most significant source because of his intimate relationship with Xie Xuehong. Yang recorded Xie Xuehong's verbal autobiography as a book entitled *Wo de qianbensheng* (我的半生記 *My Half-Life Records*).<sup>11</sup> He also published *Wo de huiyi* (我的回憶 *My Memoir*). In 1970, Yang Zilie (楊子烈) wrote *Wang shi ru yan* (往事如煙 *The Past was like the Smoke*) and changed the book title to: *Zhang Guotao furen huiyilu* (張國燾夫人回憶錄 *Memoirs of Zhang Guotao's Spouse Yang Zilie*). Yang Zilie's husband, Zhang Guotao, published *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party* with the University Press of Kansas in 1971, and its Chinese version, *Wo de huiyi* (我的回憶 *My Memory*), appeared in *Mingbao* (明報) in Hong Kong and then published by other presses in 1980, 1981, and 2004. In 1988, Zhuang Chunhuo's (莊春火 Chuang, Chun-huo) memoir was published and entitled *Wo yu riju shidai de taigong – qian taigong zhongyang weiyuan de huiyi* (我與日據時期的台共—前台共中央委員的回憶 *Me and the Taiwanese Communist Party During the Japanese Rule—Memoirs of the Former Member of the Taiwanese Communist Party Central Committee*).<sup>12</sup>

In 1982, Su Xin (蘇新 Su, Hsin) published his autobiography, and in 1993 and 1994 Lan Bozhou (藍博洲) edited two volumes of Su Xin's (蘇新 Su, Hsin) memoirs that touched upon Xie Xuehong. In 1990, Gu Ruiyun (古瑞雲) published his memoir: *Xie Xuehong zai yiqi de rizi li* (臺中的風雷:跟謝雪紅在一起的日子裡 *The Winds and Thunders of Taizhong: The Days When I was Together with Xie Xuehong*). Before Lan Bozhou's editorial work, Cai Futong (蔡福同 Tsai, Fu-tung) worked on Su Xin's memoir and included it in *Taiwan yu shijie* (臺灣與世界 *Taiwan and the World*) in 1983. In 1994, Chen Yisong (陳逸松 Chen, I-sung) mentioned his reminder to Chinese Communist leaders to take good care of Taiwanese people who stay in Mainland China, including Xie Xuehong, in his memoir. In 1995, Zhou Mengjiang (周夢江 Chou, Meng-chiang) published his article-length memoir about Xie Xuehong: "Mianhuai Xie Xuehong" (緬懷謝雪紅 *Recalling and Missing Xie Xuehong*) in *Taiwan jushi* (臺灣舊事 *Old Taiwanese Affairs*).

### 3.3 Published Interviews

In 1993, Ye Yunyun (葉芸芸 Yeh, Yun-yun) published an interview with Zhou Ming (周明), who talked about Xie Xuehong in the February 28 Incident. In 2001, the Taiwan Provincial Assembly's publication of an interview with Xie Hanru (謝漢儒 Hsieh, Han-ju) contained the information that Xie Xuehong, Xie E (謝娥 Hsieh, E), Zheng Yuli (鄭玉麗 Cheng, Yu-li), and Li Duan (李緞 Li, Tuan) were all significant members of Taiwanese feminist activism (Taiwan Provincial Assembly, 18). Xu Zongmao's (徐宗懋) book entitled *Ererba shibian diyi zhujiao*

*Xie Xuehong: zhengui zhaopian* (二二八事變第一主角謝雪紅:珍貴照片 *The Number One Protagonist Xie Xuehong in the February 28 Incident: Precious Photos*) has an incredible number of old photos and visual files about Xie Xuehong's communist activities. Xu Zongmao's interview with Zhou Qing (周青 Chou, Ching; Zhou Chuanzhi 周傳枝 Chou Chuang-chih) focused on Zhou Qing's opinion against Chen Fangming's belief that Xie Xuehong lead social movements about Taiwan's independence.<sup>13</sup>

### 3.4 Old Feminist Activist Records

Although the above-mentioned sources seldom left out discussion of Xie Xuehong's complicated romances and intimate relations with diverse men, the records about Xie Xuehong's feminist activism seem to be still more limited than those of her political activism. Following is a brief list of some published information about Xie Xuehong's feminist activism in Taiwan and Mainland China. In March 1991, the Association to Enhance Peace after the February 28 Incident (二二八和平促進會)<sup>14</sup> included Xie Congmin's (謝聰敏 Hsieh, Tsung-min) interview with Xie E (謝娥 Hsieh, E), which indirectly touched upon Xie Xuehong,<sup>15</sup> in its publication entitled *Taiwan zhanhou shi ziliao xuan* (台灣戰後史資料選 *Selected Documents of Taiwanese Post-War History*). Li Duan, Xie E, and Xie Xuehong used to be praised as the top three heroines in feminist activism in post-war Taiwan.<sup>16</sup> They collaborated to organize women's feminist organizations at the governmental levels of Taichung City and Taiwan Province. All of Li Duan, Xie E and Zheng Liyu gradually obtained the highest administrative positions in either the city-level or the province-level women's organizations, but Xie Xuehong's administrative title never reached the peak in these feminist activist organizations. The most likely reason was the fact that even female peers who shared feminist comradeship could hardly accept Xie Xuehong's complexity in romantic relations at that time. Yang Kehuang's *My Memory* also repeated this matter, but in this book the reason why Xie Xuehong was not elected was because Chen Bingji's (陳炳基 Chen, Ping-chi) threat to voters that Xie Xuehong was a communist (Yang, *My Memory*, 268–269).

In 1992, Wang Shiqing's (王世慶 Wang, Shih-ching) "Sanmin zhuyi qingnian tuan tuanyuan yu er er ba shijian (chutan)" (三民主義青年團團員與二二八事件(初探) Participants in the Youth Team of The Three Principles of People and the February 28 Incident (Initial Investigation)) recorded Xie Xuehong's Taiwanese feminist title during that period: Chief of the Taiwanese Women's Team Directly Under the Central Government (中央直屬臺灣區團部臺灣婦女隊隊長) (Wang, Shiqing, 7–10). Chen Cuilian (陳翠蓮 Chen, Tsui-lien) also included this feminist activist title of Xie Xuehong in her article about post-war Taiwan and the Youth Team of the Three Principles of People (Chen, Cuilian, 76–77).<sup>17</sup>

### 3.5 Feminist Activism, Gender Theories, and Li Ang's Literary Works About Xie Xuehong's Child Bride Era

Recent academic publications usually trace the earliest Taiwanese feminist activism back to the Japanese colonial era. They also usually regard the Nationalist women's organizations as the second wave of Taiwanese feminist activism. So far, the above-mentioned old records about Xie Xuehong's feminist activist leadership seem to confirm Xie Xuehong's enthusiasm and obstacles in the second wave of Taiwanese feminist activism under the Nationalist governmental system. As for the earliest wave of Taiwanese feminist activism, Li Ang's literary work seems to compensate the insufficiency of Xie Xuehong's administrative titles of feminist leadership (Hong, Yingxue, 9–43).<sup>18</sup>

During the Japanese colonial era, both Japanese colonizers and grassroots Taiwanese anti-Japanese elites developed their styles of Taiwanese feminism. Japanese colonizers modernized Taiwanese women because of Japan's goal to prepare Taiwan for the modern Japanese empire's first model colony. They helped non-aboriginal and non-Hakka Taiwanese women escape from foot-binding (Brown, 88–89). They established girls' high schools, teachers' colleges, and training programs for nurses and midwives, and then caused most Southern Taiwanese people's (especially Tainan people's) keen desires for good daughters and daughters-in-law to become school teachers, caretakers, or physicians' wives. Women's magazines and the Japanese-styled "Ladies Patriotic Association" showed Japanese colonizers' political agenda related to women in their Taiwanese colony. At the same time, grassroots Taiwanese anti-Japanese elites also promoted Taiwanese feminist activism for their political pursuits. They also published women's magazines and advocated for women's participation in political activities to assist anti-Japanese revolutions. Western women's voting rights, for instance, were supportive models for them to sponsor Taiwan's political escape from Japanese colonialism. Before the age of 18, Xie Xuehong was too young, illiterate, poor, and resourceless to participate in collective teams or activities of feminist activism—except for escaping from patriarchal oppression, such as her status as a mistreated child bride married to Hong Xihu (洪心瓠 Hung, Hsin-hu).

In terms of anthropological gender theories, Xie Xuehong's escape from her fate as the mistreated child-bride in the Hong family reminds readers of Rubin S. Gale (b. 1949), who published an academic article entitled "The Traffick in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex" (Gale, 770–794). In this article, Rubin S. Gale skillfully combined Levi-Strauss and Michael Foucault's theoretical foundations and argued that men act as givers and women function as gifts while arrangements of marital relations are like men's exchange of women to transfer biological sexuality into marital and family systems in patriarchal societies.



Xie Xuehong might not have foreseen Rubin S. Gale's theoretical discourse; however, her statement happened to match this anthropological gender theorist's belief when she recalled in *My Half-Life Records* that she was "sold" like a "desired product" to the Hong family at the price of one hundred and sixty Taiwanese dollars at the age of twelve. Li Ang did not directly cite Rubin S. Gale, but she highlighted Xie Xuehong's comments that matched this gender theory. Li Ang even went out of her way to mention the Han Dynasty's international policy to exchange or "trade" Princess Wencheng (文成公主) and Wang Zhaojun's (王昭君) marriage with the neighboring country's kings for the "price" of warless peace and diplomatic harmony (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 159–161). Xie Xuehong acted as an activist at the moment when she escaped from the destiny as the child bride in the Hong family though she herself was not educated enough to know Rubin S. Gale's gender theory.

In addition to Rubin S. Gale, socio-biologists and other anthropologists adopted the Taiwanese-dialect phrase *simpua* (媳婦仔 child-bride 童養媳) and developed the theory that childhood familiarity would result in sexual disinterest, such as the unhappy marriage in cases of child brides or cousin marriage. Edvard Alexander Westermarck is probably the most well-known theorist about the gender problems of *simpua*. He argued that the experience of human beings or animals living closely together in the first few years of their lives minimize mutual sexual attraction. Some of Arthur P. Wolf's books and academic articles focused exclusively on Chinese case studies of the Westermarck Effect. The research outcome of Arthur P. Wolf, Robin Fox, Joseph Shepher, and Anne Pusey indicated that women lose sexual interest in men who grew up with them like siblings in childhood (Pusey, 61–75; Spain, 623–635, 643–645).<sup>19</sup> Xie Xuehong and Hong Xinhui's arranged marriage seemed to match the above-mentioned researchers' scholarly belief. Compare with Xie Xuehong's love affairs with Zhang Shumin, Lin Mushun, or Yang Kehuang, Xie Xuehong and Hong Xinhui had far less romantic love for each other after living in the same family or home too long to feel interested in exploring new adventurous elements in their marital life. In both *Autobiography: A Novel* and *A Drifting Journey*, Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong's marital relationship with Hong Xinhui happened to be also far less romantic than Xie Xuehong's erotic intimacy with Zhang Shumin, Lin Mushun, and Yang Kehuang.

In *My Half-Life Records*, there is a chapter entitled "Child-Bride." Lower payments for female labors' work also initiated Xie Xuehong's childhood experience in gender inequality. This chapter clearly recorded that lower salaries for female workers in factories and companies but higher payments for men irritated Xie Xuehong, and it also made a note about the Hong family's lack of appropriate payback and foods for Xie Xuehong (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*, 77–82).

### 3.6 Li Ang's Additional Literary Work on Xie Xuehong's Feminist Activism

At the age of 18, Xie Xuehong traveled to Japan with Zhang Shumin (張樹敏 Chang, Shu-min) in 1919, learned Japanese, did business and lived in Chinatown of Kobe (神戸南京町), Japan, for a while. Although the young age and illiteracy might be bottlenecks of Xie Xuehong's participation in collective feminist activism during this particular period, Li Ang's fiction highlights at least two sorts of Xie Xuehong's unique feminist leadership: first, capacities to (re)name/(re)define herself; second, feminist empowerment in the erotic game of writing.

#### 3.6.1 Capacities to (Re)Name/(Re)Define Herself

Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel* and *A Drifting Journey* both reverberated Yang Kehuang's written records of Xie Xuehong in *My Half-Life Records* in terms of Xie Xuehong's capacities to (re)name herself. According to Xie Xuehong's verbal description, her parents thought that she would be a baby boy. After Xie Xuehong was born, her parents named her Jianü (假女 Fake Female), indicating the strong resistance to admit the fact that she was actually female. Her first official name was registered as A Nü (阿女 literal meaning: Female), implying that she was female. When Xie Xuehong was the child bride in the Hong family (ages 13–18), she was called Sulan (素蘭). Xie Xuehong's verbal description and Yang Kehuang's written records mentioned that Xie Xuehong started to name herself Xie Xuehong at Qingdao (青島) in 1919 and more and more people called her Xie Xuehong after 1923. Yamane Toshiko (山根淑子) was the name that Xie Xuehong created for herself in Japan, according to Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel*. In April 1925, Xie Xuehong had her second trip to Shanghai and made up a pseudonym: Xie Feiying (謝飛英). In winter 1927, the Communist International gave a name to Xie Xuehong: Kurcahoba (基爾莎諾娃). Xie Xuehong pointed out one more pseudonym that she invented for herself during her Japanese trip from the end of 1927 to February 1928: Wu Biyu (吳碧玉). In addition, Xie Xuehong recalled that there were too many pseudonyms for her to remember (Yang, Kehuang, *My Half-Life Records*, 22–24 & 227).

Theoretically speaking, the capacities for a woman to (re)name or (re)define herself and act out herself as the active subject, instead of the passive object, represent the creation of the woman's own voices, standpoints, perspectives, interpretation, self-identities, and even the gender performativity of her own gynocentric genealogy. The highlight of Xie Xuehong's capacities to (re)name/(re)define herself happened to echo feminist theories related to Judith Butler's belief in gender performativity (Stone, 4–24), Michel Foucault's theoretical dialogues with Nietzsche about genealogy<sup>20</sup> and history, and so forth.

### 3.6.2 *Feminist Empowerment in the Erotic Game of Writing*

When Zhang Shumin replaced a pen with his penis to write on Xie Xuehong's body, Xie Xuehong was actually the true leader or instructor to strategize and direct the erotic *jouissance* (Luce Irigaray's feminist theoretical term to refer to sexual ecstasy). Although Zhang seemed to be the teacher to show her the writing processes, Xie Xuehong was the true guide toward the sexual climax and Zhang was only her follower in their sexual game. Although Zhang Shumin wrote Chinese characters and Japanese words on Xie Xuehong's body and then Xie Xuehong learned to practice writing them as her own post-class homework, the entire seductive game was actually Xie Xuehong's special design of her own *féminine écriture* (Hélène Cixou and Luce Irigaray's French feminist theoretical term to refer to feminine writing). Within the erotic game, Xie Xuehong was the guide while Zhang Shumin was Xie Xuehong's adherent. If the sexual game is viewed like a movie, Xie Xuehong acted the true filmmaker to direct the actor Zhang Shumin.

The multiplicity of Xie Xuehong's enjoyment of sexual pleasure became the strongest feminist voice to talk back to patriarchal highlights of the singular focus on the male sexual organ. This writing strategy of Li Ang's happened to echo several French feminist theories, such as Luce Irigaray's beliefs in the multiplicity of women's sexual pleasure against the single-ness of men's penises, *parole femme* (women's speaking as women), and so on. While Luce Irigaray argued with male psychologists that women's two (virginal) lips, diverse sexual zones, and multiple parts of female bodies to enjoy the sexual ecstasy should defeat the "one-ness" or "single-ness" of men's penises,<sup>21</sup> Li Ang's literary writing strategy awarded Xie Xuehong this feminist prestige to act out Luce Irigaray's above-mentioned feminist theoretical philosophy.

Citing the age-old Chinese mythological legends about Fan Lihua and the Senior Goddess-Mother's incantation, Li Ang happened to "sinicize" Luce Irigaray's theoretical term "two lips": "We never forgot the mystic incantation. As long as the *two lips* were opened and the voice came out with vocabulary, everything could be involved—including life and death" (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 177–178). This magic incantation of "two lips" was strengthened by Li Ang's strategic over-reading of the sexual infection in the following metaphor: "As easy as the password about sesame, it opens the door toward the stone cave full of valuable deposits" (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 190–191). Furthermore, Li Ang's literary portrait combined both male and female sexual organs in the sections about *fantanari*. On the one hand, this indirectly echoed the feminist theoretical concept of androgyny (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 225–230 & 236–241). On the other hand, this paved the way toward Xie Xuehong's masturbation or autoeroticism (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 225).

In *A Drifting Journey*, Li Ang's literary metaphor about the Japanese harbor of Kobe and the Japanese-style dress, *kimono* (和服), free from the hindrance of panties or bra to easily and care-freely access the sexual *jouissance* happened to match the feminist theoretical argument related to the multiplicity of women's

erotic enjoyment and omnidirectional ecstasy (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 74–75). When Hélène Cixou highlighted women’s seductive strategies, *féminine écriture*, and Madusa’s power to “laugh away”<sup>22</sup> the patriarchal naivety (such as the male-centered-ness), Li Ang’s literary writing strategy offered Xie Xuehong this feminist advancement to put Hélène Cixou’s above-mentioned theories into practice at her own romantic boudoir.

Li Ang’s literary techniques to adopt the Chinese mythological legends, *she-langjun* (蛇郎君 a serpent transforms into a handsome young man and marries a beautiful lady) and *hulijing* (狐狸精 fox-spirit; a fox transforms into an attractive lady and seduces men), happened to reverberate the patriarchal focus on the powerful penetration of penis<sup>23</sup> during sexual intercourse and the feminist seductive strategies to counter-construct the dominating and male-centered power of sexuality (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 50–53 & 275–277). Simultaneously, Li Ang skillfully adopted the Chinese idiom *hongyan huoshui* (紅顏禍水 pretty women with rosy cheeks as sources of disasters) to point out patriarchal tricks to turn the fox-spirit and women into a scapegoat for immoral sexuality (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 275–277). Even Li Ang’s strategic over-reading of Xie Xuehong’s sexual ecstasy or *jouissance* happened to reflect the Bakhtinian-style<sup>24</sup> celebratory spree of carnivalesque joys (Clark & Holquist, 297–299).

Undoubtedly, some researchers showed concerns and asked questions about the essentialist tendency that Li Ang’s literary portrait of Xie Xuehong seemed to share with Hélène Cixou and Luce Irigaray’s theories. In an interview, Li Ang emphasized that her romantic novels focus on human nature and the concerns about human nature differentiate her literary works from pornography. Li Ang remarked

The final destination of literature is to write about human nature. Human nature is under social control. Hence I am more than happy to discuss the issues of human nature under the impacts of social restrictions.<sup>25</sup>

Both Hong Shan-hui (洪珊慧 Hong, Shan-hui) and Chen Danchen (陳丹晨 Chen, Tan-chen), for instance, just aposted sexuality, femininity, and human nature to explore Li Ang’s novels. Exceeding the limitation of human power, the feminist spiritual power in Li Ang’s literary metaphor even reached the levels of supernatural power to transform a fox into a seductive girl. This emphasis might be the indirect answer to the question about the essentialist tendency.

### 3.7 After Xie Xuehong’s Literacy: Li Ang’s Further Work on Xie Xuehong’s Pre-1949 Feminist Activism

#### 3.7.1 Women’s Literacy

The proportion of most East Asian women’s literacy was in doubt at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. There were of course abundant opportunities for daughters’ education in wealthy families and female

students in modern-style teachers' colleges. There was no lack of well-known talented ladies with marvelous educational trainings even before the modern republics were established. However, the ratio of illiterate or uneducated women without outstanding family backgrounds was incredible. Xie Xuehong was only one of the convincing examples.<sup>26</sup>

### ***3.7.2 Financial Independence in a Room of the Career Woman's Own***

After returning from Japan and separation from Zhang Shumin, Xie Xuehong became a career woman: both a tailor and a saleswoman of Japanese-style sewing machines. In *My Half-Life Records*, there is a chapter entitled "Career Women" (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*, 135–143). Compared with contemporary Western feminist thinkers in the 1920s, this financial independence was what Virginia Woolf meant by the "room of [women's] own."<sup>27</sup> At that time, only the rarely seen top percentage of Taiwanese women could bravely afford the luxurious delight of economic independence. With the financial self-help, Xie Xuehong's courage to initiate, maintain, and escape from different romantic relations was certainly what most of her female peers would not dare to put into practice.

### ***3.7.3 Glass Ceiling***

Li Ang's graduate-level training in drama might remind feminist readers of Virginia Woolf's well-known theory about the patriarchal social obstacles to hinder Shakespeare's sister's career. The globally renowned term "glass ceiling" will certainly join feminist readers' recall of the above-mentioned aspects related to Xie Xuehong's career and financial independence. On the job market, male communist peers' better accessibility to positions of power than women, such as Xie Xuehong, also indirectly echoed the feminist theory of "glass ceiling" (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 157).<sup>28</sup>

### ***3.7.4 First Female Bicycle Rider: Feminist and Sexual Metaphors***

In *Autobiography: A Novel*, Li Ang mentioned that Xie Xuehong was reported in local newspapers as the first female biker in Taizhong (臺中 Tai-chung) area and that this news attracted peers' admiration of Xie Xuehong though scandalous criticism did follow the complexity of her love affairs. In the case of biking,

Li Ang's emphasis metaphorically resonated the feminist confidence that women can ride to their own destinations, take their own paths, decide their own roads, define their own directions, and control their own destinies.

Li Ang inevitably included the sexual metaphor of bicycle riding. The rider was Xie Xuehong, the female dominator to decide her sexuality. Xie Xuehong's male sexual partners were counterconstructed as bicycle-like objects in the feminine writing about sexual pleasure. The peers' admiration happened to be the admiration for Xie Xuehong's feminist courage to deconstruct the age-old patriarchal traditions, including both the literal meaning and sexual metaphor of women's bicycle riding (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 67–89).

### 3.7.5 *Overseas Students' Return to Reform Their Hometown or Home Country: Taiwanese, Chinese, Post-colonial, and Marxist/Socialist Feminism*

In Chinese-speaking areas, overseas students' return to reform their hometown or home country played an incredible role in modern history. Influential establishers and revolutionaries who replace feudalist dynasties with republican China, such as Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙), were persuasive examples. Female overseas students also helped improve their home country. For instance, female overseas students were also involved in the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty, the organization of the May Fourth Movement, the rise of Nationalist Party, and the establishment of the Republic of China. They were also the main force to achieve the first two waves of modern Chinese feminism.

Xie Xuehong was no exceptions. In 1923 and 1925, her encounter with Lin Mushun directed Xie Xuehong toward her patriotic admiration for communist and socialist feminism. In 1990, Cheng Fangming (陳芳明) published "Taigong lingxiu Xie Xuehong de eguo jingyan" (台共領袖謝雪紅的俄國經驗 The Russian Experience of the Taiwanese Communist Party Leader Xie Xuehong). Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong's feminist activism showed that Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was of Taiwanese, Chinese, post-colonialist, and socialist/communist styles.

Li Ang's description of Xie Xuehong's respect for Qiu Jin showed that Xie Xuehong's feminist activism did not lack Chinese elements (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 100–103). Xie Xuehong's initial feminist admiration went to Qiu Jin, one of the leaders of Mainland China's first-wave feminism; therefore, Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was undoubtedly a sort of Chinese feminist activism. In addition, another special Chinese feminist activist element that Li Ang points out is the nude parade in Wuhan during 1927.<sup>29</sup>

After abroad experience in Russia and learning experience in Shanghai, Xie Xuehong was as active as most overseas students who returned to Chinese-speaking areas in terms of her socialist social movements (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*,

183–230). The communist training and the establishment of Taiwanese communism undoubtedly made sure that Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was full of socialist and communist flavor.

In addition to enthusiastic participation in Taiwan's cultural association (台灣文化協會 established in 1921) and peasants' social movements, Xie Xuehong also gave speeches to promote Taiwanese feminist thought. Li Ang pointed out that this part of Xie Xuehong's feminist activism was Taiwanese feminist activism:

Taiwanese culturist Zhang Shenqie (張深切 Chang, Shen-chieh) recalled this and included his vivid description in his memoir: "I do not remember my own statements and the condition of the meeting. I only recall that Xie Anü (Xie Xuehong) contended that women should also participate in revolutions... This argument resulted in hilarious praises and left an extremely deep impression on everyone. The number of female participants in Taiwan's past political movements was tiny: only Cai Axin (蔡阿信 Tsai, A Hsin) in Japan and Xie Anü in Chinese-speaking areas. These two people were the rarely seen women among numerous male revolutionaries; therefore, they won a lot of admiration (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 104).

Li Ang mentioned a number of Xie Xuehong's contemporary Western and Caucasian feminists: Mary Wollstonecraft, Susan B. Antony, Emmeline Pankhurst, Mrs. Russel Sager, Ellen Key, and so forth (Li, Ang, *Aitobiography: A Novel*, 100–103). In Li Ang's literary portrait, Xie Xuehong's feminist activism did not lose itself in Western, white, or even Japanese colonial domination of non-white, non-Western, third-world, and colonized feminists. Li Ang clearly alerted readers that Xie Xuehong was fully aware of the subtle nuances between Japan (colonizing country), Korea (under Japanese colonial effects), Taiwan (under Japanese colonial effects), and Mainland China (the area suffering from multiple imperialist countries' unequal treaties) even when she studied communism and socialism with students from those places in Russia (Yang, *My Half-Life Records*, 200–205 & 221–230). In this sense, Xie Xuehong's feminist activism did not lack post-colonial feminist elements.

### 3.7.6 *Comparison and Contrasts*

Xie Xuehong was inevitably compared and contrasted with other renowned Taiwanese women or feminist activists, such as Ye Tao (葉陶 Yeh, Tao; 1904–1969), Cai Axin (蔡阿信 Tsai, Ah-hsin; 1899–1990), Li Duan, Zheng Liyu, Xie E, and so on. Cai Axin and Xie E were both female physicians with considerably high level of formal academic training in educational institutions. They won undeniably high respect and prestigious social status. Li Duan completed her terminal degree in politics and economics at Waseda (早稻田) University in Japan. Ye Tao completed her education at a teacher's college, taught in a public school for seven years, joined the anti-Japanese social movements, served as the head of women's division in the Taiwanese peasants' organization, and suffered from imprisonment with her husband Yang Kui.

Xie Xuehong and Ye Tao were known as a pair of rivals. Huang Huizhen (黃惠禎 Huang, Hui-chen) points out the hostility between Xie Xuehong and Ye Tao in her monograph entitled *Zuoyi pipan jingshen de duanjie: sishi niandia Yang Kui wenxue yu sixiang de lishi yanjiu* (左翼批判精的鍛接:四十年代楊逵文學與思想的歷史研究 *The Training and Connections of Leftist Critical Spirits: Historical Research on Yang Kui's Literature and Thoughts during the 1940 s*) (Huang, 240–241).

The most frequently seen comments after comparing and contrasting Xie Xuehong and the above-mentioned women included Xie Xuehong's lack of systematic academic training in official schools since childhood and her complicated romances with numerous men. In *Autobiography: A Novel*, Li Ang delineated that Zhang Shenqie (張深切 Chang, Shen-chieh) compared Cai Axin (蔡阿信 Tsai, Ah-hsin) and Xie Xuehong. According to Zhang Shenqie's metaphor, Cai Axin was compared to clouds on the sky and Xie Xuehong was compared to clay on the ground because of their educational training (Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 102 & 104).

In *A Drifting Journey*, Li Ang mentioned the comparison and contrasts between Xie Xuehong and Lin Liyun (林麗韞; b. 1933). Lin Liyun moved from Taiwan to Kobe, Japan, studied in “tongwen xuexiao” (同文學校 the school that Chinese heritage people established to teach Mandarin Chinese) from 1940 to 1947, left Japan for Mainland China, and became the first Taiwanese woman to win the status as the *renda daibiao* (人大代表 Representative of the People's Congress) in 1952 (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 80–83). In her 70s, Lin Liyun serves as the Dean of Foreign Languages College at Nankai University.

Li Ang also included some comparison and contrasts between Xie Xuehong and Soong Qingling in *A Drifting Journey*. She mentioned Soong Qingling's fur coat, beautiful dresses, and women's style of wearing decorative hats at that time. However, Xie Xuehong left no clothes after her death and she was not fashionable enough to wear various hats at that time (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 84–85).

### 3.7.7 *The Merger of Li Ang, Xie Xuehong, and Women*

In addition to various pairs of comparison and contrasts between Xie Xuehong and many women, Li Ang established mutual connections with Xie Xuehong and even merged a part of herself with Xie Xuehong in both *Autobiography: A Novel* and *A Drifting Journey*. For example, Li Ang confessed that she was like turning herself into Xie Xuehong. She overlapped her footprints with Xie Xuehong's footprints, her eyes replaced Xie Xuehong's eyes, her thoughts turned into Xie Xuehong's thoughts, and her feeling became Xie Xuehong's feeling (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 91, 94). The experience in using sewing machines of “Singer” brand also linked Li Ang and Xie Xuehong (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 144–145). Li Ang even moved forward to portray the crimson color that Xie Xuehong identified herself with (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 137–140, 229). Li Ang confessed



Xie Xuehong, I still cannot choose to stop standing by your side... I see myself from you. We, you and I, to some extent, are doomed to be everlasting opponents or counterforce... For so many years, I have written my fiction according to your life stories. You lived in my creative writing and my life. You breathed my breath. Sometimes, I even felt that we were in chorus. Yes, in chorus, it is good that we were simply in chorus, not exactly united to be the same. But I am deeply afraid that you would enter my life and merge with me. I fear that I would see you again in your grave and imagine that your ghost, which is reluctant to leave, would stick to me... I realize how intensively you are involved in my life. (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 170–171, 222).

At the end of *A Drifting Journey*, Zhou Qing advised Li Ang that the permission for Li Ang to visit Xie Xuehong at the cemetery required Li Ang's kinship with Xie Xuehong. So Li Ang mentioned that Xie Xuehong was born and brought up in her hometown and was her remote relative. Li Ang said that they were cousins (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 222–225). Li Ang stated

I am no longer just a writer having you as the central figure in my novel. At that moment, you and I had blood relationship that endlessly connected us... You would forever have me. I am your cousin. (Li, Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 226–227, 233–234, 236).

Furthermore, Li Ang remarked that she fused not only herself with Xie Xuehong but all the Taiwanese women in the past 100 years. For instance, in *A Drifting Journey*, Li Ang mentioned that one of the connecting points is women's yearning for the freedom and joys resulted from exoticism (Li Ang, *A Drifting Journey*, 93–97).

### 3.8 More and More French Feminist Theoretical Connections: After Li Ang's Literary Portrait of Xie Xuehong

After Li Ang's literary portrait of Xie Xuehong, there have been more and more academic publications about the French feminist theoretical "intertextuality" between Irigaray, Cixous, and Li Ang's literary work about Xie Xuehong's life stories in *Autobiography: A Novel*. Following is a brief list of examples: While interpreting Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel*, Hong Yingxue (洪英雪 Hung, Ying-hsueh) points out Luce Irigaray's theorem of "female libido" in Xie Xuehong's (謝雪紅) imaginary sexuality with Yang Kehuang and Yang Kepei (Hong, Yingxue, 24). According to Hong, Luce Irigaray's feminist concept of "self-eroticism" and the "two (virginal) lips" also occurs in Xie Xuehong's "female autoeroticism" and *jouissance* after the male sexual organ stops erecting (Hong, 24; Li, Ang, *Autobiography: A Novel*, 225). Hong also believes Cixous and Irigaray's theoretical belief about pairs of binary extremes (Hong, Yingxue, 37).

Cai Meizi (蔡玫姿 Tsai, Mei-tzi) categorizes Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel* as a sort of *écriture féminine* in the 2008 syllabus for her undergraduate class about "women's literature" in the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at

National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan.<sup>30</sup> The application of Irigaray's and Cixous's French feminist theories to interpret Li Ang's literature has been appearing in more and more Taiwanese graduate students' master theses and doctoral dissertations. Since the first Taiwanese master thesis that exclusively focused on Li Ang's novels in 1998,<sup>31</sup> Chen Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming) verbally told me, there have been dozens master theses and doctoral dissertations about Li Ang in Taiwanese academy (my visit to Chen's office at the Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Literature in National Cheng Chih University, Taipei, Taiwan, on June 22, 2010).

Early in the 1990s, Shi Shu (pen name: 施淑 Shih, Shu; real name: Shih, Shu-nü 施淑女) also applied Luce Irigaray's and Hélène Cixous's theories to emphasize Shi Shuqing's (施淑青 Shih, Shu-ching's) "writing techniques to subvert patriarchal ideology... in her early-stage works" (Shi, 279). Influenced by elder sisters, Shi Shuqing and Shi Shu, who also published and won good literary reputations early in their teens, it is not unreasonable or impossible to comparatively explore the links between Li Ang's literature and French feminists, such as Irigaray and Cixous.

Japanese feminist sociologist Ueno Chizuko and Taiwanese literary critics extend the feminist theoretical bridges between Li Ang's literature and French feminists, such as Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray. After Fuji Shozo's Japanese translation of Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel*, Ueno Chizuko gave her feminist endorsement to the translation. She was invited to write her preface to Fuji Shozo's translation. She was also invited to have a dialogue with Li Ang in Japan. The topic of this dialogue was "Li Ang vs. Ueno Chizuko: Experimental Fiction about Sexuality and Politics—Discussions on *Autobiography: A Novel*." During this dialogue, Ueno Chizuko pointed out that Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel* involves Hélène Cixous's French feminist theoretical concept about women's sexual pleasure.<sup>32</sup> After this dialogue, Ueno Chizuko also completed and published her book review of *Autobiography: A Novel*. This book review was translated by Zhang Wenxun (張文薰 Chang, Wen-hsun) from Japanese into Chinese and published in the October 2005 issue of *Wenxue Taiwan* (文學臺灣 *Literary Taiwan*). Ueno Chizuko's feminist theoretical link between Li Ang's literature and French feminist theories does not lack echoes from Taiwanese feminist literary researchers.

## Notes

1. A lot of Japanese-language publications about Taiwanese anticolonial social movements are translated into Chinese and published in Taiwan. This phenomenon evidences both Japanese and Taiwanese focuses on Japan's colonialism and Taiwan's anticolonialism. Here is a brief list of some Chinese translation of Japanese-language books related to this theme:  
 Xu (2006).  
 Mukooyama (1999).  
 Wakabayashi (2007).

2. Online data retrieved in June 2011: <http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/dacs5/System/Exhibition/Detail.jsp?OID=3112720>.
3. Online data retrieved in June 2011: <http://web.pts.org.tw/~web02/taiwan/p23.htm>.
4. Consult Wang Yiru's (汪宜儒 Wang, I-ju) "Xie Xuehong chuanqi Wang Qimei dujiao xi" (謝雪紅傳奇汪其楣獨角戲 Xie Xuehong's Legend, Wang Qimei's One-Person Show) in *China Times*.
5. Online data retrieved in June 2011: <http://www.ntch.edu.tw/program/show/40408e9626b22cb90126bb303c490080>.
6. Online data retrieved in June 2011: [http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news\\_content.php?id=1256788&lang=tc\\_news&cate\\_img=260.jpg&cate\\_rss=news\\_DD](http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news_content.php?id=1256788&lang=tc_news&cate_img=260.jpg&cate_rss=news_DD).
7. This chapter derived from an academic journal article entitled "Taiwanese Feminist Communist: Xie Xuehong" in *American Journal of Chinese Studies* 19:2 (October 2012): 119–126. The *American Journal of Chinese Studies* officially agreed the inclusion of this article in this book. The MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) also included this academic journal article in its literary research website: <http://web.mit.edu/ccw/li-ang/liang-world.shtml>.
8. The online data is retrieved at the following websites in May 2011: <http://228renewal.culture.gov.tw/history.html>  
<http://228renewal.culture.gov.tw/docs/chapter5.pdf>
9. The online data about *Time Magazine's* report of Xie Xuehong was retrieved in May 2011: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,804090,00.html>.
10. Andrew Morris's original wording:  
In terms of research on the TCP, the main English-language work is the article by Hsiao and Sullivan (1983).  
Online data retrieved in May 2011:  
<http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-asia&month=0004&week=d&msg=13IZbkB79du85zwWffTR2w&user=&pw=>.
11. Yang Kehuang's first daughter, Yang Cuihua (楊翠華 Yang, Tsui-hua), published this book in Taipei, Taiwan, in 2004. In the preface, she comments that it would be difficult for readers to remain untouched after they finish reading Xie Xuehong's life stories.
12. It appeared in *Wuyue pinglun* 7 (1988): 83–87.
13. Xu, Zongmao's (徐宗懋) interview with Zhou Qing is included in *Ereba shibian diyi zhujiao Xie Xuehong: zhengui zhaopian* (二二八事變第一主角謝雪紅:珍貴照片 *The Number One Protagonist Xie Xuehong in the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident: Precious Photos*). This interview is also available at the website: Xue Zongmao. "Wo suo renshi de Xie Xuehong—Zhou Qing fangwen ji" (我所認識的謝雪紅-周青訪問記 *The Xie Xuehong that I Knew—Interview with Zhou Qing*): [http://boxun.com/hero/2006/xsj12/22\\_1.shtml](http://boxun.com/hero/2006/xsj12/22_1.shtml) (online data retrieved in September 2009).
14. This association was advocated and established by Zheng Nanrong (鄭南榕 Cheng, Nan-jung; 1947–1989) in 1987. The president of this association is Chen Yongxing (陳永興 Chen, Yung-hsing). The annual conference of this

association is February 28. Members of this association meet to pursue the political rectification of injustice for people who suffered from the hurt related to the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident. In 1996, Taipei City government and the Executive Yuan started the policy about the February 28<sup>th</sup> Memorial Day for Peace. After that, there are more and more news reports, public attention, memorial halls, and press conferences related to the truth of the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident.

15. During the interview, Xie E mentioned that Xie Xuehong actively participated in the *Taizhong funü hui* (臺中婦女會 Women's Association in Taichung). However, Xie Xuehong was not chosen as the leader of this association. Instead, Xie E had experience in serving as the head of Taipei Women's Association and Taizhong Women's Association. Most people did not offer the strongest support to Xie Xuehong mainly because her complicated romantic relations with different men were unacceptable to the Taiwanese social norms at that time.
16. Online data retrieved in June 2011:  
<http://women.nmth.gov.tw/zh-tw/Content/Content.aspx?para=353&page=0&Class=88>.
17. Fulian zhiwei (婦聯執委 Executive Committee Member of the All Women's Association) was Xie Xuehong's feminist activist title after 1949.
18. Also consult Lü Zhenghui's article on newspapers:  
Lü (2000).
19. Also consult Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang's *Marriage and Adoption in China*; Arthur P. Wolf's *Sexual Attraction and Childhood Association: A Chinese Brief for Edward Westermarck*; Robin Fox's *The Red Lamp of Incest and Kinship and Marriage*; Edvard A. Wastermarck's *The History of Human Marriage*, and *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*; Juhani Ihanus's *Multiple Origins: Edward Westermarck in Search of Mankind*, Joseph Shepher's *Incest: A Biosocial View*; etc. With reference to journal articles or book chapters, see Carol McC. Pastner's "The Westmarck Hypothesis and First Cousin Marriage"; Barbara S. Kisilevsky, Sylvia M. J. Hains, Lee Kang, Xie Xing, Huang Hefeng, Ye Hai Hui, Zhang Ke, and Wang Zengping's "Effects of Experience on Fetal Voice of Recognition"; David Spain's "The Westermarck-Freud Incest-Theory Debate"; Robert A. Paul's "Psychoanalysis and Propinquity Theory of Incest Avoidance"; Klaus Immelmann's "Sexual and Other Long-Term Aspects of Sexual Imprinting in Birds and Other Species"; Pierre L. van den Berghe's "Human Inbreeding Avoidance: Culture in Nature"; Arthur P. Wolf's "Childhood Association, Sexual Attraction and the Incest Taboo: A Chinese Case" and "Adopt a Dauther-in-law, Marry a Sister: A Chiense Solution to the Problem of the Incest Taboo"; Alex Walter and Steven Buyske's "The Westermarck Effect and Early Childhood Cosocialization: Sex Differences in Inbreeding Avoidance."
20. "Genealogy demands consideration of the means by which 'dispersed, heteromorphous, localised procedures of power are adapted, reinforced, and

- transformed by these global strategies” (Llyod, 443). Also consult theoretical publications by Michel Foucault and Kathy E. Ferguson.
21. Consult Luce Irigaray’s *This Sex Which Is Not One*; *Luce Irigaray: Key Writings*; etc. Luce Irigaray also coauthored with Sylvere Lotringer and Mary Green. Ingeborg Ovesen also published a monograph about Luce Irigaray.
  22. “The Laugh of Medusa” is one of the most stereotypical representatives of Cixous’s feminist articles. For more information about Cixous, also consult the following official website: <http://www.egs.edu/faculty/helene-cixous/biography>. (online data retrieved in June 2011).
  23. Jian Qiru (簡齊儒 Chien, Chi-ru), for example, highlighted the ritual and sexual procedure of becoming a wife when comparatively decoding the Cantonese–Taiwanese comparative texts of Chinese legends about *shelangjun*. Actually, the *shelangjun* symbolizes the male sexual organ. For details, consult her journal article entitled “Cong ‘chengqi’ de guoduxing yishi jiedu zhongguo shelangjun gushi—yi yuetai yiwen bijiao wei zhuxian” (從「成妻」的過渡性儀式解讀中國蛇郎君故事—以粵台異文比較為主線 Decoding the Chinese Legends about Shelangjun in viewpoints of the Transitional Rituals of “Becoming A Wife”—Main Focus on Cantonese–Taiwanese Comparative Readings).
  24. Consult Bakhtin’s *Rabelais and His World*.
  25. Online data retrieved in June 2011: [http://www.nchu.edu.tw/taiwan/reside\\_writer\\_LiAng\\_08-0.htm](http://www.nchu.edu.tw/taiwan/reside_writer_LiAng_08-0.htm).
  26. Outside of Chinese-speaking areas, even educated women were not taught to understand *kanji* (漢字 Chinese characters) or *hanwen* (漢文 Chinese characters) in Japan and Korea in the past; therefore, they were barred from access to influential documents, such as contracts, treaties, legal data, national policies, military orders, etc., at that time.
  27. Consult Virginia Woolf’s *A Room of One’s Own*.
  28. Also consult *The Glass Ceiling Effect* and Federal Glass Ceiling Commission’s *Solid Investment*.
  29. Consult Chia-lin Pao Tao’s chapter about the nude parade in the forthcoming book entitled *Women and Gender in Contemporary Chinese Societies: Beyond the Han Patriarchy*.
  30. For details, consult the website about the syllabus: [http://iteach.ncku.edu.tw/outline.php?t\\_id=b1063&c\\_id=b134000](http://iteach.ncku.edu.tw/outline.php?t_id=b1063&c_id=b134000) (online data retrieved in April 2011).
  31. According to Huang Yu-ching’s “Lugang shuxia—Li Ang xiaoshuo yanjiu” (鹿港書寫—李昂小說研究 “Writing Lugang—Research on Li Ang’s Fictions”), Hong Shanhui’s (洪珊慧 Hung, Shan-hui) “Xing, Nüxing, Renxing—Li Ang xiaoshuo yanjiu” (性, 女性, 人性—李昂小說研究 “Sexuality, Women, and Human Nature—Research on Li Ang’s Fictions) is the first master thesis which exclusively focuses on Li Ang’s literary works in Taiwanese academy. For details, consult Huang Yu-ching’s “Lugang shuxia—Li Ang xiaoshuo yanjiu” (鹿港書寫—李昂小說研究 “Writing Lugang—Research on Li Ang’s Fictions”), p. 6.
  32. 「李昂 V.S. 上野千鶴子 トークショー: 性と政治をめぐる実験小説——『自伝の小説』を語る」.

## References

- Ang, L. (2000). *Zizhuan no xiaoshuo* (自傳の小説 *Autobiography: A Novel*). Taipei: Huangguan (皇冠 Royal Crown). Retrieved July, 2011 from <http://author.crown.com.tw/lion>.
- Anne, P. (2005). Inbreeding avoidance in primates. In P. Anne & S. H. Durham (Eds.), *Inbreeding, incest, and the incest taboo: The state of knowledge at the turn of the century* (pp. 61–75). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1993). *Rabelais and his world*. Hélène Iswolsky trans. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. (earliest publication in 1941).
- Berry, M. (2010). *A history of pain: Trauma in modern Chinese literature and film* (p. 234). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Brown Melissa, J. (2004). *Is Taiwan Chinese? The impact of culture power and migration on changing identities* (pp. 88–89). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cai Luo (蔡洛), Yu Yanguang (余炎光), Liu Linsong (劉林松), and Meng Kequn (夢可群). (1986). *Peng Pai zhuan* (彭湃傳 *Biography of Peng Pai*). Beijing: Renmin Publisher.
- Carol McC, P. (1986, Winter). The westmarck hypothesis and first cousin marriage: The modification of negative sexual imprinting. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 42(2), 573.
- Chen, Ya-chen. (2011). *The many dimensions of Chinese feminism*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Chen, Cuilian (陳翠蓮 Chen, Tsui-lien). (1996, July). “Sanmin zhuyi qingnian tuan yu zhanhouTaiwan” (三民主義青年團與戰後台灣 The Youth Team of the Three Principles of People and Post-War Taiwan). *Fazhen xuebao* (法政學報 *Academic Journal of Laws and Politics*), 6, 76–77.
- Chen, Danchen (陳丹晨 Chen, Tan-chen). (1989). “Xing? Nüxing? Renxing de fansi—Li Ang chuanzuo lun” (性?女性? 人性的反思—李昂創作論 Sexuality? Femininity? Reflections of Human Nature—Li Ang’s Creative Writing). *Nüxingren* (女性人 *Women*), 2, 89–118.
- Chen, Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming). (1990). Cheng Fangming (陳芳明). “Taigong lingxiu Xie Xuehong de eguo jingyan” (台共領袖謝雪紅的俄國經驗 The Russian Experience of the Taiwanese Communist Party Leader Xie Xuehong). *Zhongguo luntan* (中國論壇 *Chinese Forum*), 31(3), 61–67.
- Chen, Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming). (1991). *Xie Xuehong ping zhuan: luotu budiao yiyehua* (謝雪紅評傳: 落土不凋雨夜花 *Annotated Biography of Xie Xuehong: The Blossom That Never Withers After Falling onto the Soil in Raining Nights*). Taipei: Qianwei.
- Chen, Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming). (1991, January 1). “Taiwan Kangri yungong de zuoyi luxian yi taigong ‘shangdapai’ zhunao Weng Zesheng wei zhongxin” (台灣抗日運動的左翼路線 以台共「上大派」主腦翁澤生為中心). *Zhongguo luntan* (中國論壇 *Chinese Forum*), 3(31–34), 29–38.
- Chen, Fangming (陳芳明 Chen, Fang-ming). (1994, February). “Lin Mushun yu Taiwan gongchangdang de chengli” (林木順與台灣共產黨的成立 Lin Mushun and the Taiwanese Communist Party’s Establishment). *Taiwan shiliao yanjiu* (臺灣史料研究 *Research on Taiwanese Historical Data*), 3, 120–151.
- Chen, Yisong (陳逸松 Chen, I-sung). (1994). *Chen Yisong huiyi lu* (陳逸松回憶錄 *Chen Yisong’s Memoir*). Transcription by Lin Zhongsheng (林志勝 Lin, Chung-sheng). Taipei: Qianwei (前衛).
- Cixous, H. (1981). The laugh of Medusa. In E. Marks & I. de Courtivron (Eds.), *New French feminism*. New York: Schocken.
- Clark, K., & Holquist, M. (1984). *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cotter, D. A., Hermsen, J. M., Ovadia, S., & Vanneman, R. (2002). The glass ceiling effect. *Social Forces*, 80(2), 655–681.
- Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. (1995, March). *Good for business: Making full use of the nation’s human capital* (p. iii). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor.
- Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. (1995, November). *Solid investments: Making full use of the nation’s human capital* (p. 4). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor.

- Feng, Haiyan (馮海燕). (1999, April). Xie Xuehong yu Taigong, Taimeng (謝雪紅與臺共、臺盟 Xie Xuehong and the Taiwanese Communist Party and Taiwan Independence Union). *Jining shizhuan xuebao* (濟寧師專學報 *Academic Journal of Jining Teacher's College*) 20(2), 85–88.
- Ferguson, K. E. (1991, Winter). Interpretation and genealogy in feminism. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 16(21), 322–339.
- Foucault, M. (1977). Nietzsche, genealogy, history. In D. Bouchard (Ed.), *Language, Counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. This article also appeared in *The Foucault Reader*. Paul Rabinow ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
- Fox, R. (1983a). *The red lamp of incest: An enquiry into the origins of mind and society*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Fox, R. (1983b). *Kinship and marriage: an anthropologist perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gu, Ruiyun (古瑞雲 Ku, Jui-yun; Alias: Zhou, Ming周明). (1990). *Taizhong de fenglei: gen Xie Xuehong zai yiqi de rizi li* (臺中的風雷:跟謝雪紅在一起的日子裡 *The Winds and Thunders of Taizhong: The Days When I was Together with Xie Xuehong*). Taipei: Renjian.
- Guo, Zhengzhong (郭正中). (2001, December). “Riju shiqi Taiwan zhishi fengzhi de ge'an yanju—yi ‘Taigong shujizhang’ Lin Mushun wei lie” (日據時期台灣知識份子的個案研究—以「台共書記長」林木順為例 Japanese Colonial Period Taiwan's Intelligensia Case Studies—The Secretary of the Taiwanese Communist Party Lin Mushun). *Taiwan shifan daxue di liujie renwen yanjiu xueshu jiang* (臺灣師範大學第六屆人文學術研究獎 *Humanities Research Award at National Taiwan Normal University*). Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University.
- Han, Jialing (韓嘉玲). (1997). *Bozhong ji: riju shidai Taiwan nongmin yundong renwu zhi* (播種集:日據時代台灣農民運動人物誌 *Seedsmen: Participants in Taiwanese Peasants Social Movements During the Japanese Colonial Era*). Taipei: Jian Ji (簡吉Chien, Chi) Chen He (陳何) Cultural and Educational Foundation.
- Han, Jialing (韓嘉玲). (2001). “Taiwan nongmin yundong de yonggan doushi Jian Ji” (臺灣農民運動的勇敢鬥士簡吉 Jian Ji, The Brave Fighter of Taiwanese Peasants Social Movements). *Buneng yisang de mingdan: Taiwan kangri yingxiong bang* (不能遺忘的名單:臺灣抗日英雄榜 *The Unforgettable Name-List: Anti-Japan Heroes in Taiwan*). Taipei: Haixia xueshu (海峽學術).
- Han, Jialing (韓嘉玲). (2001). “Ku bie Zhuang Shou a bo” (哭別莊守阿伯Tearful Farewell to Uncle Zhuang Shou). *Buneng yisang de mingdan: Taiwan kangri yingxiong bang* (不能遺忘的名單:臺灣抗日英雄榜 *The Unforgettable Name-List: Anti-Japan Heroes in Taiwan*). Taipei: Haixia xueshu (海峽學術).
- Hong, Huishan (洪珊慧 Hung, Hui-shan). (1998). “Xing, nüxing, renxing—Li Ang xiaoshuo yanjiu” (性,女性,人性—李昂小說研究 Sexuality, Femininity, and Human Nature—Research on Li Ang's Fictions). Xinzhu (新竹 Hsin-chu): Graduate Institute of Chinese Literature, National Ching Hua University (Master Thesis).
- Hong, Yingxue (洪英雪 Hung, Ying-hsueh). (2008, October). “Cong xing zhengzhi tuwei erchu—lun Xie Xuehong shuxie yiji Li Ang zizhuang no xiaoshuo” (從性政治突圍而出—論謝雪紅書寫以及李昂《自傳的小說》 Breaking Out from Sexual Politics—Writing Xie Xuehong and Li Ang's *Autobiography: A Novel*). *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao* (臺灣文學研究學報 *Academic Journal of Taiwanese Literary Research*), 7, 9–43.
- Hsiao, F. S. T., (蕭聖鐵) and Sullivan, L. R. (蘇利文). (1979). The chinese communist party and the status of Taiwan 1928–1943. *Pacific Affairs*, 52(3), 446–467.
- Hsiao, F. S. T., (蕭聖鐵) & Sullivan, L. R. (蘇利文). (1983). The history of the chinese communist party 1928–1931. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 42(2), 269–289.
- Hsiao, F. S. T. & Sullivan, L. R. (1983). A political history of the Taiwanese communist party, 1928–1931. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 42(2), 269–289.
- Huang, Huizhen (黃惠貞 Huang, Hui-chen). (2006, October). “Zhanhou chuqi Yang Kui de shehui yundong yu zhengzhi canyu” (戰後初期楊達的社會運動與政治參與 Yang Kui's Social Movements and Political Participation in the Early Post-War Period). *Taiwan wenxue yanjiu xuebao* (臺灣文學研究學報 *Academic Journal of Taiwanese Literary Research*), 3, 249–286.

- Huang, Huizhen (黃惠禎 Huang, Hui-chen). (2009). *Zuoyi pipan jingshen de duanjie: sishi niandia Yang Kui wenxue yu sixiang de lishi yanjiu* (左翼批判精的鍛接: 四十年代楊達文學與思想的歷史研究 *The Training nad Connections of Leftist Critical Spirits: Historical Research on Yang Kui's Literature and Thoughts During the 1940 s*). Taipei: Xiuwei (秀威).
- Huang, Shiqiao (黃師樵 Huang, Shih-chiao). (1999). *Taiwan gongchandang mishi* (臺灣共產黨秘史 *Secret History of the Taiwanese Communist Party*). Taipei: Haixia xueshu (海峽學術).
- Ihanus, J. (1999). *Multiple origins: Edward Westermarck in search of mankind*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Immelmann, K. (1972). Sexual and other long-term aspects of imprinting in birds and other species. *Advances in the Study of Behavior*, 4, 147–174.
- Irigaray, L. (1990). *This sex which is not one*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Irigaray, L. (2004). *Luce irigaray: Key writings*. London, NY: Continuum.
- Irigaray, L., & Green, M. (2008). *Luce irigaray: teaching*. London, NY: Continuum.
- Irigaray, L., & Lotringer, S. (2000). *Why different? A culture of two subjects: Interviews with Luce Irigaray*. New York: Semiotext(e).
- Jian, Juongren (簡炯仁 Chien, Chuong-jen). (1997). *Taiwan gongchan zhuyi yundong shi* (臺灣共產主義運動史 *History of Taiwanese Communism*). Taipei: Qianwei.
- Jian, Qiru (簡齊儒 Chien, Chi-ru). (2003). “Cong ‘chengqi’ de guoduxing yishi jiedu zhongguo shelangjun gushi—yi yuetai yiwen bijiao wei zhuxian” (從「成妻」的過渡性儀式解讀中國蛇郎君故事—以粵台異文比較為主線 Decoding the Chinese Legends about *Shelangjun* in viewpoints of the Transitional Rituals of “Becoming A Wife”—Main Focus on Cantonese-Taiwanese Comparative Readings). *Hubei minzu xueyuan xuebao* (湖北民族學院學報 *Academic Journal of Hubei College of Ethnic Studies*), 21(2), 1–11.
- Joseph, S. (1983). *Incest: A biosocial view*. New York: Academic Press.
- Kisilevsky, B. S., Hains, S. M. J., Lee, K., Xie, X., Huang, H., Ye, H. H., Zhang, K., & Wang, Z. (2003). Effects of experience on fetal voice of recognition. *Psychological Science*, 14(3), 220–224.
- Lee, L. X. H., Stefanowska, A. D., & Wing-Chung Ho, C. 2003. *Biographical dictionary of Chinese women (Modern period: 1912–2000)*. New York: M. E. Sharpe.
- Li, Ang. (2000). *Zizhuan no xiaoshuo* (自傳的小說 *Autobiography: A Novel*). *Piaoliu zhi lu* (漂流之旅 *Drifting Journey*). Taipei: Huangguan (皇冠 Royal Crown).
- Li, Xiaofeng (李筱峯 Li, Xiao-feng). (1987). “‘Taigong’ gaige pai zhugan: Wang Wande 1903–1985” (「臺共」改革派主幹: 王萬得 1903-1985 The Main Revolutionary of the “Taiwanese Communism”: Wang Wande 1903-1985). *Taiwan jindai mingren zhi* (臺灣近代名人誌 *Renowned People in Modern Taiwan*). Zhang Yanxian (張炎憲 Chang, Yan-hsien), Li Xiaofeng (李筱峯 Li, Xiao-feng), and Zhuang Yongming (莊永明 Chuang, Yong-ming) ed. (Vol. 2, pp. 207–217). Taipei: Zili Evening News (自立晚報).
- Lin, Jiang (林江). (2001). “Huainian wo fuqing Wong Zesheng” (懷念父親翁澤生 Recalling My Father Wong Zesheng). *Bu nengyide mingdan. Taiwan kangri yingxioungbang* (不能遺的名單 • 台灣抗日英雄榜 *They Must Not Be Forgotten: Anti-Japanese Resistance Heroes in Taiwan*). Zhongguoquanguo Taiwan tongbao lianyihui ed. Taipei: Haixia xueshu.
- Lin, Mingzhang (林銘章 Lin, Ming-chang). (1992, August). “Xie Xuehong shanliang er kankedeyi sheng” (謝雪紅閃亮而坎坷的一生 Sparks and Bad Luck—Life of Xie Xuehong). *Zhuangji wenxue* (傳記文學 *Biographical Literature*), 61(2), 69–78.
- Lin, Qionghua (林瓊華 Lin, Chüng-hua). (2002). “Nü geming zhe Xie Xuehong de ‘zhenli zhi lu’” (女革命者謝雪紅的「真理之旅」 The Female Revolutionary Xie Xuehong’s “Journey of Truth”). Paris: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Ph.D. Dissertation, 2002. This research was also included in *Ershi shiji Taiwan lishi yu renwu: di liujie zhonghua minguo shi zhuanli lunwen ji* (二十世紀臺灣歷史與人物: 第六屆中華民國史專題論文集 *Twentieth-Century Taiwanese History and People: Collections of Academic Essays on Topics of the R.O.C. History*). Hu Jianguo (胡建國 Hu, Chien-kuo) ed. (Vol. 6, pp. 1137–1234) Taipei: The Archive of National History.
- Lin, Qiquan (林其泉). (1992, April 1). “Guanyu Taiwan gongchandang baiwang de yuanying” (關於台灣共產黨敗亡的原因 Reasons of Taiwanese Communist Party’s Decay). *Zhongguo luntan* (中國論壇 *Chinese Forum*), 18(32–36), 112–120.



- Lloyd, M. (1993). The (F)utility of a feminist turn to Foucault. *Economy and Society*, 22(4), 459–460.
- Lu, Xiuyi (盧修一 Lu, Hsiu-i). (1989 & 1997). *Riju shidai Taiwan gongchandang shi* (日據時代臺灣共產黨史 *Taiwanese Communist History During the Japanese Colonial Era*). Taipei: Qianwei.
- Lü, Zhenghui (呂正惠 Lü, Cheng-hui). (2000, May 8). “Li Ang shi ruhe shuozao Xie Xuehong de?” (李昂是如何塑造謝雪紅的? How Did Li Ang Create the Image of Xie Xuehong?). *Lianhe bao* (聯合報 *United News*).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japanese Government. (1989). *Miscellaneous Documents of the Japanese Communist Party's Relations: Connections with the Taiwanese Communist Party* (Microfilms). Tokyo: Archive of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Mukooyama, Hiroo, LL.D. (1999). (向山寬夫). *Riben tongzhi xia de Taiwan minzu yundong shi* (日本統治下的臺灣民族運動史 *History of Taiwanese Ethnic Social Movements under Japanese Colonialism*). Yang Hongru (楊鴻儒 Yang, Hung-ju), Chen Cangjie (陳滄杰 Chen, Tsang-chieh), and Shen Yongjia (沈永嘉 Shen, Yung-chia) trans. Taipei: Fulushou (福祿壽).
- Ovesen, I. W. (2008). *Luce Irigaray*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Paul, R. A. (1988). Psychoanalysis and the propinquity theory of incest avoidance. *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 3(15), 255–261.
- Pei, Kequan (裴可權 Pei, Ke-chuen). (1986). *Taigong panluan ji fuwang jingguo jishi* (臺共叛亂及覆亡經過記實 *Historical Records of the Taiwanese Communist Riots and Decay*). Taipei: Shangwu.
- Rubin, G. (1975). The traffick in women: Notes on the political economy of sex. In R. Reiter (Ed.), *Toward an anthropology of women*. Monthly Review Press. This article also appears in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004, pp. 770–794.
- Shi, Shu (施淑 Shih, Shu). (1992). “Yanwu—dai xu” (鹽屋—代序 “The Salt House—Preface for the Author”). *Huaji* (花季 *Flower Season*) (pp. 5–8). Taipei: Hongfan (洪範). The title of this article is changed to be “Wenzi migong” (文字迷宮 “The Labyrinth of Words”). It is included in *Li Ang ji* (李昂集). Taipei: Qianwei (前衛), pp. 265–279.
- Spain, D. H. (1987). The Westermarck–Freud incest-theory debate: An evaluation and reformation. *Current Anthropology*, 5(28), 623–635, 643–645.
- Stone, A. (2005). Towards a genealogical feminism: A reading of Judith Butler’s political thought. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 4(1), 4–24.
- Stranahan, P. (1998). *The Shanghai communist party and the politics of survival, 1927–1937*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Su, Xin (蘇新 Su, Hsin). (1983). “Su Xin de huiyi lu” (蘇新的回憶錄 Su Xin’s Memoir). Cai Futong (蔡福同 Tsai, Fu-tung) ed. *Taiwan yu shijie* (臺灣與世界 *Taiwan and the World*) (Vol. 6, pp. 33–40).
- Su, Xin (蘇新 Su, Hsin). (1993). *Weigui de taigong douhun* (未歸的臺共鬥魂: 蘇新自傳與文集 *The Taiwanese Communist Fighting Spirit That Has Not Yet Returned: Su Xin’s Biography and Collections of Writing*). Lan Bozhou (藍博洲) ed. Taipei: Shibao wenhua (時報文化).
- Su, Xin (蘇新 Su, Hsin). (1994). *Yongyuan de wangxian* (永遠的望鄉: 蘇新文集補遺 *The Everlasting Hope for the Hometown: Additions to Su Xin’s Collections of Writing*). Lan Bozhou (藍博洲) ed. Taipei: Shibao wenhua (時報文化).
- Taipei County Government. “Lin Rigao shengping ziliao” (林日高生平資料 *Life-Time Data about Li Rigao*). Retrieved May, 1999 from [www.gis.tpc.gov.tw/Human2/County/Person](http://www.gis.tpc.gov.tw/Human2/County/Person).
- Taiwan Provincial Assembly (臺灣省諮議會). (2001, December). *Xie Hanru fangtan lu* (謝漢儒訪談錄 *Records of the Interview with Xie Hanru*). Taipei: GovBooks (國家書店), Executive Yuan.
- Taiwanese Public Television Station (Cultural Foundation). (2003). “Cai busi de yehua Xie Xuehong” (踩不死的野花謝雪紅 *The Wild Blossom That Never Dies after the Torture, Xie Xuehong*), TV episode.
- Tao, Chia-lin Pao (鮑家麟). “The Nude Parade of 1927: Nudity and Women Liberation in China.” *Women and Gender in Contemporary Chinese Societies: Beyond the Han Patriarchy*. Shanshan Du and Ya-chen Chen ed. Lanham, MD: Lexington, Roman & Littlefield, forthcoming.

- Tertitski, Konstantin M. (郭杰) and Anna Belogurova (白安娜). (2010). *Taiwan gongchan zhuyi yu gongchan guoji 1924–1932 (臺灣共產主義與共產國際 1924–1932 Taiwanese Communist Social Movements and the Communist International 1924–1932)*. Li Suian (李隨安) and Chen Jinsheng's (陳進盛 Chen, Chin-sheng) trans. Xu Xueji (許雪姬 Hsu, Hsueh-chi) and Zhong Shumin (鍾淑敏 Chung, Shu-min) edit. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- van den Berghe, P. L. (1983). Human inbreeding avoidance: Culture in nature. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 6, 91–102.
- Wakabayashi, Masahiro (若林正丈). (2007). *Taiwan kangri yundong shi yanjiu (臺灣抗日運動史研究 Research on the History of Taiwan's Anti-Japanese Social Movements)*. Study Group of Japanese-Language Documents about Taiwanese History (臺灣史日本史料典籍研讀會) trans. Taipei: Bozhongzhe (播種者 Planter).
- Wakabayashi, Masahiro (若林正夫). (2007). *Taiwan kangri yundong shi yanjiu (臺灣抗日運動史研究 Research on the History of Taiwan's Anti-Japanese Social Movements)*. Study Group of Japanese-Language Documents about Taiwanese History (臺灣史日本史料典籍研讀會) trans. Taipei: Bozhongzhe (播種者).
- Walter, A., & Buyske, S. (2003). The Westermarck effect and early childhood cosocialization: sex differences in inbreeding avoidance. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 21, 353–365.
- Wang, Guojun (王國君) (2000, December). “Qing xi zuguo tiegu zhongxin—Wong Zesheng tongzhi shengping shulue” (情繫祖國鐵骨忠心—翁澤生同志生平述略 Caring about the Motherland—Biographical Sketch of Comrade Wong Zesheng). *Songyuan xuekan (松遠學刊 Song Liao Academic Journal)*, 6, 11–13.
- Wang, Puyuan (王普源). (1991, May). “Taiwan gongchangdang chengli shimo” (臺灣共產黨成立始末 The Establishment of the Taiwanese Communist Party: From the Beginning to the End). *Sichuan dangshi (四川當世 Contemporary Sichuan)*. 61–65.
- Wang, Shiqing (王世慶 Wang, Shih-ching). (1992). “Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanyuan yu er er ba shijian (chutan)” (三民主義青年團團員與二二八事件(初探) “Participants in the Youth Team of The Three Principles of People and the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident (Initial Investigation)”). *Shilian Zazhi (史聯雜誌 Magazine of History and Union)*, 21, 7–10.
- Wang, Yiru (汪宜儒 Wang, I-ju). (2010, April 15). “Xie Xuehong chuanqi Wang Qimei dujiao xi” (謝雪紅傳奇汪其楣獨角戲 Xie Xuehong's Legend, Wang Qimei's One-Person Show). *China Times*.
- Wang, Yu (王玉). (2002). “Taiwan kangri yundong de zuoyi: cong ‘Shanghai gangling’ kan Taiwan gongchandang de jiangang benzhi” (臺灣抗日運動的左翼:從「上海綱領」看台灣共產黨的建黨本質 The Leftist Wing of Taiwan's Anti-Japanese Social Movements: Looking into the Nature of the Taiwanese Communist Party from the “Shanghai Guideline”). *Fengjia renwen shehui xuebao (逢甲人文社會學報 Feng Chia University Academic Journal of Humanities and Social Science)*, 4, 211–232.
- Wang, Yuting (王鈺婷 Wang, Yu-ting). (2006). “Xie Xuehong yu Li Ang—liangge nüren she shi she?” (謝雪紅與李昂—兩個女人誰是誰?). “Fengge de guangpu” *shichang Taiwan dangdai wenxue de xinling xiangyan* (「風格的光譜」十場臺灣當代文學的心靈饗宴 “The Spectrum of Styles” Ten Banquets of the Contemporary Taiwanese Literary Soul). Tainan: The Preparatory Office for the National Archive of Taiwanese Literature (國家臺灣文學館籌備處), pp. 102–125.
- Westermarck, E. A. (1921). *The history of human marriage*. London: MacMillan. The microfilm of this book is published by Research Publications in Woodbridge, CT, in 1977.
- Westermarck, E. A. (1977). *Marriage ceremonies in morocco (microfilm)*. Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications.
- Wolf, A. P. (1966). Childhood association, sexual attraction and the incest taboo: A Chinese case. *American Anthropologist*, 68, 883–898.
- Wolf, A. P. (1968). Adopt a daughter-in-law, marry a sister: A Chinese solution to the problem of the incest taboo. *American Anthropologist*, 70, 864–874.
- Wolf, A. P. (1995). *Sexual attraction childhood association: A Chinese brief for Edvard Westermarck*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Wolf, A. P., & Huang, C.-s. (1980). *Marriage and adoption in China, 1845–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wong, Jiayin (翁佳音 Wong, Chia-in). (1987). “Anxiang tiannian de ‘sheng gonghui zhuwei’: Cai Xiaoqian” (安享天年的「省工會主委」:蔡孝乾 The Chair of the Provincial Union That Enjoyed the Peace at the Old Age: Cai Xiaoqian). *Taiwan jindai mingren zhi* (臺灣近代名人誌 *Renowned People in Modern Taiwan*). Zhang Yanxian (張炎憲 Chang, Yan-hsien), Li Xiaofeng (李筱峯 Li, Xiao-feng), and Zhuang Yongming (莊永明 Chuang, Yong-ming) ed. Volume 2. Taipei: Zili Evening News (自立晚報), pp. 271–285.
- Woolf, V. (1929). *A room of one’s own*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt.
- Xiao, Biao (蕭彪), Yang Jinhe (楊錦和), Wang Bingnan (王炳南), and Xu Weiping (許偉平). “Wong Zesheng” (翁澤生). (1986). *Zhonggongdang shi renwu zhuan* (中國當世人物傳 *Biography of Contemporary Chinese People*) (Vol. 27). Xi’an: Shanxi renmin.
- Xiao, Youshan (蕭友山 Hsiao, You-shan). (1946). *Taiwan jiefang yudong no huigu* (台灣解放運動的回顧 *Retrospectives of Taiwanese Movements of Emancipation*). Taipei: Sanmin (三民) Bookstore.
- Xie, Congmin (謝聰敏 Hsieh, Tsung-min). (1991, March). “Xie E nüshi tan ererba” (謝娥女士談二二八 Mrs. E Xie’s Discussion on the February Twenty-Eighth Incident). *Taiwan zhanhou shi ziliao xuan* (臺灣戰後史資料選 *Selected Documents of Taiwanese Post-War History*), (pp. 381–400). Taipei: (二二八和平促進會).
- Xu, Shikai (許世楷 Hsu, Shih-kai). (2006). *Riben tongzhi xia de Taiwan* (日本統治下的臺灣 *Taiwan under Japanese Colonialism*). Li Mingjun (李明峻 Li, Ming-chun) and Lai Yujun (賴郁君 Lai, Yu-chun) trans. Taipei: Yushan (玉山).
- Xu, Zongmao (徐宗懋). (2004). “Zhou Qing changtan Xie Xuehong” (周青暢談謝雪紅 Zhou Qing Talks about Xie Xuehong). *Ereba shibian diyi zhujiao Xie Xuehong: zhengui zhaopian* (二二八事變第一主角謝雪紅:珍貴照片 *The Number One Protagonist Xie Xuehong in the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident: Precious Photos*). Taipei: Shiyang (時英).
- Xu, Zongmao (徐宗懋). “Wo suo renshi de Xie Xuehong—Zhou Qing fangwen ji” (我所認識的謝雪紅—周青訪問記 *The Xie Xuehong that I Knew—Interview with Zhou Qing*). Retrieved September, 2009 from [http://boxun.com/hero/2006/xsj12/22\\_1.shtml](http://boxun.com/hero/2006/xsj12/22_1.shtml).
- Yang, Kehuang (楊克煌 Yang, Ke-huang). (2004). *Wo de banshengji* (我的半生記 *My Half-Life Records*). Xie Xuehong’s verbal autobiography. Taipei: Published by Yang Cuihua.
- Yang, Kehuang (楊克煌 Yang, Ke-huang). (2005). *Wo de huiyi* (我的回憶 *My Memoir*). Taipei: Yang Cuihua.
- Yang, Xiuying (楊秀瑛 Yang, Hsiu-ying). (2001). “Huainian wode fuqing Yang Chunsong” (懷念我的父親楊春松 *Recalling My Father Yang Chunsong*). *Bu nengyide mingdan. Taiwan kangri yingxioungbang* (不能遺的名單•台灣抗日英雄榜 *They Must Not Be Forgotten: Anti-Japanese Resistance Heroes in Taiwan*). Zhongguoquanguo Taiwan tongbao lianyihui (中國全國臺灣同胞聯誼會 All-China Taiwanese Townsman Association) ed. Taipei: Haixia xueshu (海峽學術 Strait Academic Publisher).
- Yang, Zilie (楊子烈). (1970). *Wang shi ru yan* (往事如煙 *The Past was like the Smoke*). The book title was changed to be: *Zhang Guotao furen huiyilu* (張國燾夫人回憶錄 *Memoirs of Zhang Guotao’s Spouse Yang Zilie*). Hong Kong: Zilian (自聯).
- Ye, Yunyun (葉芸芸 Yeh, Yun-yun). (1993). “Er er ba shijian zhong de Xie Xuehong—fang Zhou Ming tan Xie Xuehong, 27 budui, Wu Zhenwu he Zhong Yiren” (二二八事件中的謝雪紅—訪周明談謝雪紅、「二七部隊」、吳振武和鍾逸人 Xie Xuehong in the February 28 Incident—Visiting Zhou Ming to Discuss Xie Xuehong, Military Troop 27, Wu Zhenwu and Zhong Yiren). *Zhengyan* (證言 2.28 *Testimony* 2.28). Taipei: Renjian (人間).
- Zeng, Jianyuan (曾建元 Tzeng, Chien-yuan). “Zhang Zhizhong’s (Er er ba renwu xiaozhuan)” (張志忠二二八人物小傳 *Zhang Zhizhong: Biographies of Participants in the February 28<sup>th</sup> Incident*). *Ziyou shenghuo* (自由聖火 *Sacred Flames of Liberty*). Retrieved May, 2010 from [www.fireoffliberty.org/article/100571.asp](http://www.fireoffliberty.org/article/100571.asp).
- Zhang, Chuanren (張傳仁 Chang, Chuan-jen). (2004). *Xie Xuehong yu Taiwan minzhu zizhi tongmeng* (謝雪紅與臺灣民主自治同盟 *Xie Xuehong and the Alliance of Taiwanese Democratic Self-Government*). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin.

- Zhang, Guotao (張國濤). (1971). *The rise of the Chinese communist party*. Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas.
- Zhang, Guotao (張國濤). (1980 & 1981 & 2004). *Wo de huiyi (我的回憶 My Memory)*. Beijing: Dongfang Publisher.
- Zhang Kihui (張克輝 Chang, Ki-hui). (2007). *A! Xie Xuehong (啊!謝雪紅)*. Taipei: Aixiang (愛鄉).
- Zhang Yanxian (張炎燾) and Gao Shuyuan (高淑媛). (1993, August). “Yiwei Taigong de xin lulicheng. Zhuang Chunhuo fangwen jilu” (一位臺共的心路歷程—莊春火訪問記錄 The story of a Taiwanese Communist Party’s Member—Zhuang Chunhuo’s Interview). *Taiwan shiliao yanjiu (臺灣史料研究 Research on Taiwanese Historical Data)*, 2, 81–92.
- Zhou, Mengjiang (周夢江 Chou, Meng-chiang). (1995). “Mianhuai Xie Xuehong” (緬懷謝雪紅 Recalling and Missing Xie Xuehong). *Taiwan jiushi (臺灣舊事 Old Taiwanese Affairs)*. Zhou Mengjiang (周夢江 Chou, Meng-chiang), Wang Sixiang (王思翔 Wang, Si-hsiang) and Ye Yunyun (葉芸芸 Yeh, Yun-yun) ed. Taipei: Shibao (時報).
- Zhuang, Chunhuo (莊春火 Chuang, Chun-huo). (1988). “Wo yu riju shidai de taigong – qian taigong zhongyang weiyuan de huiyi” (我與日據時期的台共—前台共中央委員的回憶 Me and the Taiwanese Communist Party During the Japanese Rule—Memoirs of the Former Member of the Taiwanese Communist Party Central Committee). *Wuyue pinglun*, 7, 83–87.

## Author Biography

**Ya-chen Chen** 陳雅滄 陈雅滄 is an associate professor at the College of Humanities and Technology in China Medical University. With almost two decades of teaching experience in US higher education, she had research experience as a post-doctoral researcher at Stanford University as well as a visiting scholar at Harvard University and Columbia University. Her academic books include *The Many Dimensions of Chinese Feminism*; *Women in Chinese Martial Arts of the New Millennium: Narrative Analysis and Gender Politics*; *Women and Gender in Contemporary Chinese Societies: Beyond the Han Patriarchy*; *Higher Education in East Asia: Neoliberalism and Professoriate*; *Women in Taiwan: Sociocultural Perspectives*; *Farewell My Concubine: Same-Sex Readings and Cross-Cultural Dialogues*.