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**Objective History - An Oxymoron? A preliminary
analysis of Lung Ying-tai's (龍應台) Da Jiang Da Hai
(大江大海)**

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OBJECTIVE HISTORY – AN OXYMORON?

A preliminary analysis of Lung Ying-tai's (龍應台) Da Jiang Da Hai (大江大海)

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PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. OBJECTIVES

This paper is a preliminary attempt to make analytical inroads into the as yet little researched contents of Da Jiang Da Hai (大江大海, henceforth abbreviated as DJDH). This work in question is a contemporary book by Lung Ying-tai (龍應台) covering the history of the Chinese Civil War through the eyes of its witnesses.

Here, two separate lines of enquiry will be picked up. These both show the author's personal involvement in her work, and lead us to reflect on whether 'objective' history writing is possible at all.

Part Two will concentrate on the first line of enquiry, where an attempt is made to describe and analyse Lung's authorial voice on the chapter level. The basis of this analysis will be chapter 2 of DJDH. This particular chapter was chosen for its semblance to a microcosm of the entire book, featuring a similar interplay of different perspectives against the backdrop of the Communist victory in mainland China – just on a smaller scale. Taken in a broader context, this line of enquiry is a response to Schweiger (2016), which covers in general terms the authorial voice on the level of the entire work.

Part Three on the other hand deals with the second line of enquiry. That seeks to tangibly demonstrate how DJDH is a work with aims other than the mere 'objective' portrayal of history. More concretely put, Part Three will, by means of a translation of chapter 22, seek to lay bare some of Lung's implicit invitations to her readers to act in certain ways with respect to their history. Amply demonstrating this point will go to show that the work is in both its form and content undeniably Lung's and by no means a neutral juxtaposition of experiences, representative of her intentions and perspectives on history as it is.

Pursuant to the above analysis, the conclusion will evaluate the merits and drawbacks of Lung's approach, as well as question if the term 'objective history' can only ever be a figment of our imagination. We will first start by introducing the work in greater detail.

1.2. DA JIANG DA HAI (大江大海)

DJDH was written by former Taiwanese culture minister and celebrated public intellectual Lung Ying-tai. The book was published in 2009 and caused a sensation in the People's Republic of China and Taiwan¹. This work is claimed by Lung to be a version of history that is independent of and seeks to debunk the 'state narratives' presented by the governments on both sides of the Straits of Taiwan. In the author's own words, her work's non-orthodox

¹ BBC Chinese, 2009.

perspective aims to allow those affected by state propaganda to “open their eyes” to what had really happened over the course of the Chinese Civil War (1927 – 1950), thereby preventing readers from blindly following the state-controlled crowd to land in another large-scale violent conflict².

To achieve this objective, Lung includes interviews and written correspondence from various people who had either personally experienced the happenings of the war or were indirectly affected by the historical events through their relatives and other loved ones. By juxtaposing material originating from different fronts, i.e. Communist, Nationalist and other perspectives, it is Lung’s explicit goal to put together a narrative of suffering that transcends state boundaries and military allegiances, and to clearly show the senselessness of propaganda that glorifies war³.

Lung claims that this ‘neutral’ perspective of hers (i.e. in her words neither Communist nor Nationalist) has led to her coming under fire from both sides. Other critics, most notably Li Ao (李敖), have stated that many of her details, aside from subtly showing support for the Nationalist cause⁴, are inaccurate as well. This is predominantly due to her having only focused on certain accounts and ignored all others, to the detriment of her accurate portrayal of history⁵.

In terms of content, the book focuses mainly on the stories of individuals and groups who had to leave their homelands (predominantly on the Mainland) and flee to Taiwan or elsewhere to avoid the ravages of the civil war. All these stories are “arranged and held together by the [author’s] narrative voice to create a coherent picture and to support the larger [pacifist] message.”⁶ The life stories of Meijun (美君), the author’s mother, and of the author herself are also used as a framework to contain the other narratives regarding the mayhem of the Chinese civil war that led up to the separation of the Mainland and Taiwan into Communist and Nationalist camps respectively in 1949. Towards the end of the book, the focus shifts to the author’s experiences growing up in Taiwan, and her perceptions of her mother’s memories of their ancestral hometown, Chun’an (淳安).

² Lung, 2016.

³ Lung, 2016.

⁴ See for instance Li, 2011, pp. 163-5.

⁵ See for instance Li, 2011, pp. 197-202.

⁶ Schweiger, 2016.

PART TWO: AN ANALYSIS OF ‘AUTHORIAL VOICES’ IN CUM TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER 2 OF DJDH

2.1. ANALYSIS

In light of the foregoing, this part will concentrate on Chapter 2 and the narrative voice(s) present within the chapter, all the while making reference to the context of DJDH as a whole. Grammatical features will not be the focus of the analysis given that its basis is the English translation. We will begin by taking a look at chapter 2’s contents against the backdrop of the entire work.

2.1.1. Content (see column 3 of table 1)

DJDH is a “montage of family histories, interviews, archive discoveries, formal and informal talks, travelogues, personal reflections etc.”⁷ that narrates the experiences of refugees forced to leave Mainland China due to the Chinese Civil War. Serving as a framework into which all the stories are pressed are the experiences of the author and her mother, Meijun. Lung’s professed aim of writing the book was to juxtapose different perspectives of the war such that “people could open their eyes”⁸. Chapter 2, the focus of this section, seems to fulfil this end reasonably well, albeit on a small scale. For one, the general theme of fleeing Mainland China, related via parallel stories of several different parties, is told in this chapter, with Meijun’s experiences stringing the jumble of perspectives together into a coherent flow of events. Meijun’s were arguably the most personal experiences in the chapter, followed by those of the 64th Army and its officer Jian Bucheng (簡步城), finally followed by those of the nameless civilian refugees at the pier. The chapter starts with Meijun seeking to flee Hainan Island, and then moves on to a description of the 64th Army attempting to flee the same locality, in essence a mirroring of Meijun’s actions on a grander scale. In between, facts are cleverly slipped into the narrative to explain the urgency with which so many people were forsaking their hometowns on the Mainland for Taiwan – engendered mainly by the Nationalist defeat at the hands of the Communists – creating the basis on which much of the rest of the book unfolds. The author’s lens then proceeds on to the soldiers who were left behind – people and experiences Meijun was unlikely to have personally seen or gone through directly on the battlefield – then shifts to cover the suffering of the civilian refugees struggling up overcrowded boats, which Meijun evidently did witness first-hand.

There is hence an intertwining of broadly similar stories, which as aforementioned are strung together around Meijun, the pivotal character. Meijun is however by no means the

⁷ Schweiger, 2016.

⁸ Lung, 2016.

unambiguous protagonist in this chapter, as she is absent from many important scenes. Transitions between parts about Meijun and those about the other groups of refugees fleeing Hainan Island are usually made abruptly, with signposting right at the beginning of the following paragraph to signal the switch of perspective (e.g. “The big ship ...” starting para. 12 to mark the transition of the focus from Yingda (應達) in para. 11 to the civilian refugees). This has the effect of preventing the work from flowing like a typical novel would, instead smacking more of the rapidly changing scenes in a film.

2.1.2. Narrativity (see column 2 of table 1)

Here, we will focus on how content is conveyed in both DJDH in general and in chapter 2 in particular. Even though the book cannot unambiguously be classed into a genre, the fact that it is a compilation of stories is indisputable. As such, narrativity is one of its most prominent features.

Much of the book is made up of a general narration of history, with reference frequently being made to concrete historical events and dates, as briefly mentioned above⁹. However, the work cannot be said to consist exclusively of hard facts, as many extrapolations from historical events take an emotional turn, with the author delving deeply into the inner workings of those involved – without any form of citation. Even interviews with historical personages, elements which may be expected to bring the work closer to a factual basis, are generally embedded into this narrative structure. Chapter 2 contains no complete interviews, and the only one hinted at is at the end of paragraph 12, where Meijun is quoted in what seemed to be the context of an interview (formal or otherwise). Other instances of indirect citation involve the probably fictional dialogue between the soldiers and their commander in paragraphs 6 and 7, as well as Jian Bucheng’s quoted or paraphrased thoughts in paragraphs 8 and 9. In addition, what has been said about Meijun being the thread which strings the story together applies as well to the entire work as it does to chapter 2. Meijun’s restricted role as protagonist also stems from the fact that the book relates alongside hers the stories of so many other people.

All the above may make chapter 2 seem to represent a diversity of perspectives, in concurrence with Lung’s claims about her book. However, what one must take note of is that these ‘quotes’ are very snugly fit into the author’s storyline – by means of thorough paraphrasing (as with Jian Bucheng’s part) or minimal use of quoted direct speech (as with the quote from

⁹ However, historical facts are used in chapter 2 and in the work in general without religious citation. Only quotes and retellings of personal stories have their respective sources cited in the footnotes. This might serve to portray Lung as knowing her history impeccably, since the lack of citation of historical facts leads the reader to unselfconsciously take her as the authority on these. In the process, her narrative becomes more credible and forceful.

Meijun being the *only* observable instance of an interview in the chapter) – and the flow of the story is always, at least in this chapter, steered and driven on by the author’s strong hand¹⁰.

While Lung has publicly denied¹¹ trying to insert her voice into the work, she has also made conflicting statements about having had to leave out “80 percent of the material”¹² obtained on her field trips and from historical documents. As such, despite her vehement insistence to the contrary, it must be said that DJDH is Lung’s narrative of history.

The above can be supported by an analysis of chapter 2, with the aid of table 1:

Table 1: Paragraph-by-paragraph breakdown of chapter 2’s contents

Paragraph	Narration (i.e. who determines the flow of the story by steering the topic) by	About
1	narrator's voice (author)	Meijun
2	narrator's voice	retreating Nationalist forces (<i>starting lines</i> : general situation, including generally-accepted historical facts; <i>rest</i> : the abandoned soldiers)
3-9	narrator's voice (para. 6&7: probably fictional dialogue between soldiers and officer, para. 8&9: train of thoughts of Jian Bucheng)	64 th Army (para. 3: soldiers aboard ship, para. 5–7: soldiers on boat in general, para. 8&9: Jian Bucheng)
10-11	narrator's voice	Meijun, Yingda
12-15	narrator's voice (para. 12: direct speech by Meijun)	refugees fleeing from pier (para. 19: attempt at direct interaction with reader)

Table 1 clearly indicates that the vast majority of the paragraphs is narrated by an authorial voice. In spite of this, the nature of this voice is by no means always concrete. On some occasions, for instance in the quote from Meijun at the end of paragraph 12, the author-narrator is revealed as occupying the role of interviewer of Meijun. At other times, such as in paragraph 14, the author-narrator tries to address the reader directly, and in yet other instances the author-narrator expresses her personal emotions (e.g. para. 11: “and so let this baby bring ...”). However, by far the most frequent role she occupies is that of omniscient narrator who assertively relates historical events (e.g. retreat of the Nationalists in May 1950), facts and figures

¹⁰ Schweiger, 2016, concurs.

¹¹ Lung, 2016.

¹² Lung, 2016.

(e.g. 1/7 of the Nationalist forces having been forcibly recruited), and even the emotions felt by the parties being described (e.g. soldiers left behind collapsing in desperation).

Having ascertained that in chapter 2 Lung's narration is mostly done from an omniscient perspective, we may ask why quotes and paraphrases were used at all. In the case of Meijun's direct quote, its presence may be to remind the reader that they are dealing with a real narrator, and not an amorphous being claiming absolute knowledge of historical events. This is useful where it would appear very non-credible for Lung to claim absolute certainty as regards descriptions and other historical details. In the specific context of this direct quote in question, it would for instance be more believable if it were a first-hand witness who makes what might seem to be a ludicrous comparison between refugees and dumplings. As such, with the direct quotation, Lung more credibly adds vividness to her already poignant description of the civilian refugees.

The dialogue (para. 6, 7) and paraphrase (para. 8) could similarly be said to serve the emphasis of the subjects' thoughts and feelings, in this case directly conveying the emotions of the soldiers who were fleeing to Taiwan. Via the response of the 64th Army commander in the former and Jian Bucheng's thoughts in the latter, Taiwan is portrayed as a safe haven for the battle-worn Nationalist soldiers. Through this portrayal of hope by means of letting the reader in on what is supposed to be private conversation, instead of by dishing out judgements to the reader in her capacity as an amorphous narrator, Lung might thus be attempting to make an emotional connection with the reader, and ease the reader into her usage of the flight from the Mainland to Taiwan as the emphasis of the book¹³.

The purposeful exclusion of content is also diagnostic for a strong subjective element in the work, despite Lung's claim that she had not inserted her own take into this collection of different perspectives on Cross-Straits history. As mentioned in 2.1.1, chapter 2 includes a selection of parallel narratives whose central theme is the flight to Taiwan after the Nationalist defeat on the Mainland. The putting together of these stories must have involved a process of filtering out content irrelevant to the author's intended narrative (recall the '80%' of raw material she claims to have left out). Moreover, as shown above, the authorial voice overwhelms those of the chapter's subjects, such that nothing is told from the angle of the historical witnesses, as

¹³ Aside from the emphasis on the flight of refugees from the Mainland to Taiwan, Lung has also made specific choices as regards how to narrate the grand story. This set of choices has meant the relative neglect or even exclusion of certain other perspectives. For instance, the difficulties of Mainland refugees attempting to integrate into societies outside of Taiwan has not received as much focus as those of refugees in Taiwan. As a result of the specific angle from which the narrative is presented, certain authors have claimed that Lung's perspective is biased. Representative of this opinion is Li, 2011, who for instance argues on pp. 175-7 that Lung tells the story of displacement from a privileged elite perspective, and ignores the majority of the refugees who started off in abject poverty. In the same book, he points out many other biases of perspective in DJDH.

might not have been the case should more attention have been given to developing and describing the individual perspectives instead of what the author subjectively perceives to be the commonalities¹⁴ of these perspectives. In the context of the entire book, Lung was very evidently trying to thematise each chapter – grouping perspectives to emphasise specific commonalities – to suit her narrative style. Furthermore, the narrative style in question is not based on the chronological progression of historical events, as might conduce to greater ‘objectivity’. In combination, the foregoing is therefore a clear indication that the work is meant to be unmistakably hers, and in consequence undeniably subjective.

The implications of the above will be discussed below.

2.1.3. Sub-conclusion: Academic or non-academic?

Lung has publicly claimed that she has never intended for DJDH to be a work of academic historiography, and has thus said that she would pay no heed to the criticism of academicians regarding the work¹⁵. Indeed, as has been elaborated in 2.1.2, the narrative structure of the book that pervades even into the emotions of its subjects does make it resemble a work of literature more than one of serious scholarship. However, the fact that there are even opinions being voiced by academic circles points towards the work trying to set foot on academic territory. This section will seek to briefly elucidate how it does so, with reference to chapter 2.

First, DJDH claims to present an authoritative take on a sensitive period of history. Its grand narrative structure, as described above, draws its legitimacy from its professed all-inclusiveness and from demonstrating that it is grounded in hard fact and first-hand sources of information. The degree of emphasis on interviews and primary sources, to an extent that most typical novels do not go, has even led Lung to claim that DJDH has been made less palatable to literary readers¹⁶.

In addition, concrete paratextual features also demonstrate the book’s aim to present a version of the ‘truth’. For instance, footnotes – a feature rather out-of-place in the literary genre – are present in the book, sparse as they may be. Chapter 2 has a footnote citing the source of the information regarding Jian Bucheng (footnote 22 in translation). While 127 footnotes for the approximately 200 pages of content of the traditional Chinese version of DJDH might seem very little in comparison to unambiguously academic texts, their very presence highlights the author’s aim to justify and substantiate her claims about history, a course of action which is very well at home in academic history writing.

¹⁴ Schweiger concurs with this view, stating that in DJDH, “the fate of different characters is often told by linking them in space and/or time, which intensifies the general message of the book” (Schweiger, 2016)

¹⁵ Lung, 2016.

¹⁶ http://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/china/2009/11/091109_longyingtai_book.shtml

The decision to include the abovementioned features might stem from Lung's self-proclaimed purpose of opening her readers' eyes to the "truth"¹⁷, which necessitates the portrayal of DJDH's content as veracious. This in turn makes unavoidable the inclusion of certain academic practices that make the book redolent of the academic genre. All this is despite Lung having explicitly denied that the work constitutes historiography¹⁸.

Given the foregoing, it can be said that criticism from academicians on academic terms is inevitable, as DJDH demonstrates academic intentions despite being in its form a literary work. This raises questions about the nature of narrativity, especially ones relating to Hayden White's controversial opinions from the 1970s, that ask if the presence of narrativity necessarily makes a work fiction. It also stops us from taking for granted the boundaries separating historiography and fiction, and makes us wonder if the historiographical genre could be defined by purpose instead of by style alone.

In conclusion, it cannot be denied that Lung's book has allowed people to open their eyes, albeit only to her version of the truth. Still, it is unreasonable to expect any master narrative to be all-encompassing, whence it might actually be a good thing that Lung's anti-norm perspective which features such coherent opinions has come into being. It arguably makes the mass of information that is oral history digestible in an alternative manner and hence contributes to the diversity in the interpretation of history.

¹⁷ Lung, 2016.

¹⁸ Lung, 2016.

2.2 – TRANSLATION

Table 2: Annotated translation of chapter 2

Para.	Chinese original	Translation
0	躲躲雨	Seeking Shelter from the Rain
1	離離開淳安之後就是壹路的狼狽遷徙,從火車站到火車站,過江過河過大山。壹年半以後,自己都弄不清是怎麼回事,美君發現自己已經站在海南島壹個混亂騷動的碼頭上,洶湧的人潮拼命地要擠上大船,丈夫在另壹個港口,失去了聯繫。	From the moment she left Chun'an ¹ , it had been a journey full of difficulties and hardship, from railway station to railway station ² , crossing ³ canals, crossing rivers, crossing towering mountains. A year and a half later, without being able to figure out what exactly had happened, Meijun found herself now standing on a rowdy pier on Hainan Island ⁴ . Surging masses ⁵ of people were desperately trying to squeeze onto a big ship. Her ⁶ husband was at another harbour; they had lost contact.
2	海南島的正式大撤退,是壹九五零年的五月,中華人民共和國已經在半年前成立,但是在沿海、在西南,還有戰事。很多的國軍部隊,是在解放軍的炮火壹路追擊下被逼到了碼頭邊。奉命負責	Even though ⁷ the formal Great Retreat ⁸ from Hainan Island took place in May 1950, and half a year earlier, the People's Republic of China had already been established, battles were still being fought ⁹ in coastal areas and in the southwest. Many Nationalist units had been pushed to the jetties and ports ¹⁰ by the cannon fire of the

¹ Meijun taken as subject of this sentence, hence the pronominal reference “she”.

² Repetition of the nominal phrase ‘railway station’ to retain rhythm.

³ Repetition of the present continuous verb ‘crossing’ to retain rhythm.

⁴ Southernmost province of China, hence last Nationalist bastion as Communists advanced down from the north.

⁵ Addition of ‘surging’ unnatural, but just to retain the water-metaphor present in 洶湧 and 人潮.

⁶ 丈夫 means Meijun’s (“her”) husband, inferable from context.

⁷ 但是 starts the second clause in the original, but the translation “even though” was foregrounded to retain the integrity of the long sentence.

⁸ The “Great Retreat” is not a well-defined historical event, but capitalised to sound sufficiently officious for the context. However, the exact counterpart to this on the Communist end is well and truly a commemorated operation, termed the Hainan Campaign 海南島戰役 (May 1950). As such the capitalisation of the term could be justifiable in this analogy.

⁹ The alternative, “there was still fighting”, sounds too detached.

¹⁰ 碼頭邊: two near-synonyms juxtaposed in translation to reflect the Chinese generalisation.

<p>掩護撤退的部隊,邊打邊退,好不容易最後到達了碼頭,卻只能在岸上看著軍艦迅速起錨逃離。炮火直接射到了船舷,船上的人,不得不淚眼汪汪看著掩護自己上船的袍澤被拋棄。碼頭上的傷兵絕望地倒在地上放聲痛哭,沒負傷的兵,像是到了地球的邊緣,後面是家鄉阻隔在萬裏烽火之外,前面是完全背棄了你的汪洋大海。</p>	<p>Liberation Army. The troops, dutifully providing cover on orders, fought as they withdrew. It was not at all easy for them to finally arrive at the pier.¹¹ Yet, by then, all they could do was watch from the shore as their warship¹² hurriedly raised its anchor to flee. Gunfire directly hit the flanks of the ship, and the people on board could not help but look, their eyes gleaming with tears, at their fellow soldiers – their very comrades¹³ who had covered them and allowed them to safely board¹⁴, only to be abandoned themselves. The wounded soldiers on the pier collapsed on the ground in desperation, and burst into tears. Those soldiers who had not been injured felt as if they had reached the brink of existence¹⁵ – behind them was home, from which they were cut off by the flames of war, raging across thousands of miles; before them, there was the vast expanse of water, the ocean, which had left them¹⁶ high and dry¹⁷.</p>
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¹¹ 2 commas replaced by 2 full-stops to mirror the rhythm in the original but keeping to English rules of punctuation (i.e. 3 segments semantically unconnected)

¹² Singular used to focus emotion onto one single referent, generalisation by plural would weaken this effect. The use of a singular also has the effect of making this one specific scene involving one specific group of soldiers and one warship, concurring with the author's general strategy of first describing a general phenomenon (here the battles along the coast), to then zoom in on one unfolding scene (here this unnamed group of soldiers standing in for the general phenomenon).

¹³ 'Fellow soldiers' used in conjunction with 'their very comrades', in tandem with a subordinate clause, to retain some semblance of the emphasis on the lot of those left behind, despite the awkward structure of the long sentence transferred directly from the original.

¹⁴ 掩護自己上船: phrasal verb rendered with two verbs ('covered' and 'allowed to board').

¹⁵ 地球的邊緣: 'earth' is taken to reflect "existence" here, whence "the brink of existence" was used as the translation.

¹⁶ 你 used in original, but "them" is used here to more consistently refer to the same group of abandoned soldiers.

¹⁷ 'Stranded' is too ambiguous to render 背棄, with the latter's specific connotation of betrayal; "high and dry" on the other hand does prominently carry such connotations.

3	上了船的國軍部隊,這時也傻了。徐蚌會戰中犧牲慘重的六十四軍,三月間在海南島緊急上了船,七千官兵中還有壹千多個是壹路“抓”來的青壯少年。	The Nationalist troops who had boarded the ship were quite stunned at this moment. The 64th Army, which had suffered serious casualties in the Battle of Xubang ¹⁸ , has now, in the third month, hurriedly boarded the ship on Hainan Island. Out of its seven thousand soldiers, more than one thousand were youths ¹⁹ who had been “grabbed” ²⁰ along the way.
4	急難中,船要開往臺灣了,可是,臺灣在哪裏?開軍艦的人都不知道。	In this critical situation, the ship had to set sail for Taiwan, but where was Taiwan? None of those steering the warship knew.
5	在炮火射程外的安全海面上,海軍拿出地圖來找臺灣的位置。	Beyond the reach of gunfire, in the safety of the sea ²¹ , the navy crew took out their map to search for the location of Taiwan.
6	士兵問長官,“什麼時候才到那個地方啊?”	The soldiers asked their commander: “When will we be arriving at that place?”
7	軍官說,“我也不清楚,反正到時候你就知道了,到的那個地方叫‘臺灣’,我沒去過,你也沒去過,聽說那地方不錯。”	The officer said, “I am not sure either, anyhow you will find out soon enough. That place we are heading for is called ‘Taiwan.’ I have never been there before, and neither have you, but I have heard that that place is not at all bad.”
8	六十四軍的軍官簡步城安慰惶恐的士兵,但是心裏慌得厲害。他	Jian Bucheng ²² , officer of the 64th Army, was comforting his confused and terrified soldiers, but inside, he was quite flustered

¹⁸ Took place in 1948, and marked, along with a few other major battles, the turning point in the civil war in the direction of Communist victory.

¹⁹ 青壯少年 is rendered very plainly as “youths”, without any adjective, as it is rather illogical to expect there to be so many ‘fit’ (to translate 青壯) youths to recruit in a time of war and famine.

²⁰ 抓 is probably a synonym for something more sinister, to the tune of ‘abduct’. However, the English uses the neutral ‘grab’ to reflect the Chinese diction.

²¹ 在安全的海面上 cannot be rendered literally as ‘on the safe surface of the sea’, hence the vague “in the safety of the sea” was opted for, omitting 面 for expediency.

²² His story was quoted by Lung from 《离开大陆的那一天》(*The Day I Left the Mainland*), no official English translation. As such the pinyin version of his name has been opted for.

	自己都不知道臺灣是在東西南北哪個方位。從冰天雪地如蘇武牧羊的絕境中壹路打到海南島,心力和體力的透支,已經到了人的極限。安慰了士兵,他再來安慰自己:人生的路,太累了,反正去那個叫“臺灣”的地方,只是暫時“躲躲雨”吧,也好。	himself. He did not even know the location of Taiwan ²³ – north, south, east or west? Having fought in a world of ice and snow, from which, not unlike Han statesman Su Wu ²⁴ , he had herded his sheep all the way to Hainan Island, his mental and physical exhaustion ²⁵ had already reached the human limit. And so, after comforting his soldiers, he turned to comfort himself: The road of life is simply too tiring. So, in any case, going to that place called ‘Taiwan’ temporarily ‘seeking shelter from the rain’ ²⁶ might be just as well, right? ²⁷
9	他作夢都沒想到的是,這壹場“雨”啊,壹下就是六十年。	Even in his wildest dreams he had never imagined ²⁸ that this bout of ‘rain’ would in the twinkling of an eye ²⁹ have lasted a full 60 years.
10	臉色蒼白的美君在碼頭上,才從產房出來沒幾天,懷裏抱著熟睡的嬰兒,但是,別搞錯,從淳安抱出來的那個孩子,已經帶到湖南的老家,讓奶奶保護,此刻在懷裏安	Her face very pale, Meijun stood on the pier. She had come out of the delivery room just a few days earlier, and was now carrying a baby in her bosom, who was fast asleep. Don’t be mistaken - that child who had been carried out from Chun’an had already been brought to Meijun’s family in Hunan, where grandmother had been charged with looking

²³ 他自己都不知道 ought to be rendered as ‘he did not even know (that) himself’, but ‘himself’ has been omitted from the translation to avoid excessive repetition (“himself” already used once in immediately foregoing sentence).

²⁴ Su Wu (c. 140-60 BCE) was a diplomat of the Han dynasty who was captured by the Xiongnu and forced by them to herd sheep in Siberia. He endured the tribulations of solitary steppe life and refused to surrender to the enemy out of loyalty to his country. The comparison with Jian Bucheng hence plausibly aims to emphasise the patriotism and selflessness in the service of their respective states that both men have shown.

²⁵ 體力, 精力透支: ‘energies’ for 力 sounds too mystic, ‘forces’ illogical.

²⁶ Continuous verbal construction used here to match the translation of the exact same three characters in the chapter title.

²⁷ Question to reflect the 吧.

²⁸ Used instead of the more idiomatic ‘never in his wildest dreams’ to mirror the Chinese.

²⁹ 壹下就...: connotes something commencing and lasting for much longer than expected. Hence “in the twinkling of an eye” has been used to carry this connotation.

	然閉著眼睛的,是在海南島出生的應達。	after it. The baby in her arms now, with its eyes so serenely closed, was Yingda—meaning one who ‘was meant to arrive’—born on Hainan Island.
11	叫他“應達”,是想,只有在這樣的亂世裏,方才明白,要“到達”自己想去的,是件多麼不容易的事;就讓這嬰兒帶來“到達”的希望吧。	To call him “Yingda” was to serve as a reminder that only in such a chaotic age would one realise how incredibly difficult a matter it was to ‘eventually arrive’ at the destination of one’s desire – and ³⁰ so let this baby bring with it the hope of an ‘eventual arrival’ ³¹ ... ³²
12	大船無法靠岸,無數的接駁小船擠在港內碰來撞去,亂哄哄地來回把碼頭上的部隊和眷屬接到大船邊,然後人們攀著船舷邊的繩梯大網像蜘蛛壹樣拼命往上爬。很多人爬不動,抓不住,直直掉下海,“慘叫啊,壹個壹個撲通撲通像下餃子壹樣”,美君說。	The big ship had no way of approaching the shore, so hordes of small shuttle boats packed the harbour, knocking against each other in noisy disorder, ferrying the troops and their families from the pier to the side of the big ship; and people then ³³ climbed up the flank of the ship on rope ladders and nets, just like spiders, desperately clambering upwards. Many people could not take the climb, lost their grip, and fell straight into the sea below. “They were screaming so miserably ³⁴ , one after the other, ploof, ploof, they splashed like dumplings poured into water,” said Meijun ³⁵ .

³⁰ Semicolon replaced by “– and” to preserve the train of thought, as the semicolon in English denotes much more of a break than in Chinese usage.

³¹ Both “eventually arrive” (adverb) and “eventual arrival” (noun) had to be used to render 到達, as trying to use the exact same word classes in both instances of the expression would have resulted in an awkward structure.

³² 吧 is rendered here by an ellipsis, as translating this as a question (see footnote 27) would have compromised the sense of hope this sentence tries to convey.

³³ Periphrastic construction “and ... then” used to render 然後 as part of a procession of different events.

³⁴ 慘叫啊 translated as a clause with subject, verb and adverb to avoid the ambiguity a direct English translation would present.

³⁵ Inversion of ‘said’ and the subject, as typical of the narrative genre. This makes the direct quote from Meijun appear less intrusive, as would have been the case had the normal ‘Meijun said’ been used.

13	<p>炮聲聽起來就在咫尺之處,人潮狂亂推擠,接駁小船有的翻覆了,有的,快到大船邊了,卻眼睜睜看著大船開動,趕不上了。港內的海面,到處是掙扎著喊救命但是沒人理會的人頭,碼頭上壹片驚惶,哭聲震天。</p>	<p>The sound of gunfire seemed to come from somewhere very, very³⁶ close; the crowds were pushing and squeezing frenetically;³⁷ some of the small shuttle boats capsized, while others, just about to reach the side of the big ship, could only look on helplessly as the big ship began to move, unable to catch up. In the harbour, on the water's surface, heads³⁸ were seen everywhere, struggling, crying out for help, but no-one cared. The pier was one piece of panic and loud cries shook the heavens.</p>
14	<p>如果你站在碼頭上望向海面,用想象力變魔術“休”地壹聲倒退壹百米,仿佛電影默片,你看見那水面上,全是掙扎的人頭,忽沈忽浮,浮起時你看見每壹雙眼睛都充滿驚怖,每壹張嘴都張得很大,但是你聽不見那發自肺腑的、垂死的呼喊。歷史往往沒有聲音。</p>	<p>If you stood on the pier and looked at the surface of the sea, and used your imagination to transport yourself – with a “whoosh” – a hundred meters backwards, as in a silent movie, you would see the heads of those who were struggling for their lives, the one moment sinking, the other suddenly floating up again, and when they were floating up you could see how filled with terror every pair³⁹ of eyes was, how wide open every one of their mouths was; but you would not hear the dying cries emanating from the depths of their souls. History is often silent⁴⁰.</p>

³⁶ “Very” repeated to create suspense that 咫尺之處 contains.

³⁷ The series of two semicolons is used to preserve intact the triad of descriptions (i.e. sound of gunfire, thronging crowds, shuttle boats), and serves the added purpose of preventing a flurry of commas from blurring the distinction between the three parts.

³⁸ Here 人頭 has been translated as “heads” without elaboration, as an elaboration along the lines of ‘heads poking out of the water’s surface’ would necessarily bring with it unwanted semantic baggage. The verb ‘to see’ was added to produce “heads were seen” to prevent the ambiguity which would be inherent in ‘heads were everywhere’.

³⁹ Classifiers directly translated to retain emphasis on the ‘every’.

⁴⁰ 沒有聲音: ‘soundless’ appears a slavish translation without real purpose. Hence the neutral “silent” was used.

15	皮箱,無數的皮箱,在滿布油漬的 黑色海面上沈浮。	Suitcases, innumerable suitcases – they were bobbing ⁴¹ in the water, which was black from blotches of oil.
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⁴¹ “Bobbing” is idiomatic, while the direct translation of 沈浮, ‘floating and sinking’ (or for that matter ‘sinking and floating’) is unfeasible.

PART THREE: TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER 22 OF DJDH

3.1: SUMMARY AND BRIEF ANALYSIS

Part Two has dealt with the narrativity of DJDH, and has also shown that despite its narrative components, the work makes use of certain academic practices to increase its credibility. Part Three, then, will seek to demonstrate that Lung desires this credibility not for its own sake, but to realise her express objective of making DJDH a call to action.

This aim of hers – to ‘open her readers’ eyes’ to the workings of state propaganda and to the various stories and perspectives it blots out (1.2 and 2.1.1) – is exemplified in chapter 22, translated below. In it, Lung’s call to action is manifested in the form of hidden but powerful prompts. Before these are gone into further, however, a summary of the chapter’s contents is due.

Chapter 22 concerns the lives of refugees from the Mainland who were housed in the Tiu Keng Leng (調景嶺) refugee camp in Hong Kong. It begins by briefly describing the history of the camp and the hill which it sits on. It then proceeds to narrate the story of Chen Baoshan (陳寶善), an erstwhile heroic Nationalist soldier who had now been reduced to a refugee.

However, before these details are delved into, the author, seemingly in fulfilment of her above objective, sets aside the first five paragraphs as a gentle reminder to the unsuspecting modern reader that things are never what they seem on the surface, and one just has to dig deeper to find out that many people have stories to tell about 1949. Lung achieves this effect by repeatedly matching mundane sights and sounds of modern-day life (e.g. “their working hours are too long”) to unexpected, and hence potentially intriguing references, mostly past-oriented (e.g. “every Hongkonger has a hidden story to tell about his origins”). This literary device recurs several times in the rest of the chapter (e.g. “crouching tigers and hidden dragons” to set the scene for Chen Baoshan’s entry into the picture). In addition, arguably to further arouse the curiosity of the reader about that one period in modern Chinese history, the year 1949 is mentioned seven times in this chapter in connection with different historical events. While it might be said that for a history book to continually emphasise certain dates is normal, doing that in conjunction with the aforementioned devices – very plausibly to create suspense and inspire sustained curiosity about the subject matter – is clearly indicative of an authorial intention to achieve an objective beyond presenting an inert collocation of witness accounts.

As all the above seems to implicitly nudge the reader’s attention in the direction of certain specific events, this ‘objective’ could be plausibly equated to Lung’s call to action on the part of her readers, whereby the strategies above urge them to actively and independently inform themselves about the history of the Chinese Civil War. The credibility conferred upon DJDH by its academic flourishes (see 2.1.3) only serves to make the call to action more effective, as the

reader is given the impression that following in Lung's footsteps and digging after the truth will produce concrete rewards. Whether or not this hypothesis holds, it is palpable from the above and the evidence presented in 2.1.2 that DJDH bears the indelible imprint of Lung's perspective on 1949. As such, DJDH is by no means 'objective' in its coverage of history.

3.2: Translation

Para.	Chinese original	Translation
0	魔鬼山上	On ‘Devil’s Mountain’
1	香港人不太談自己的來歷。如果臺灣人在一個晚餐桌上,閑聊時還可能偶爾提及“我爸是民國三十八年從青島過來”這樣的話題,因而透露了自己的出處,香港人很可能彼此在一個辦公室同事三十年,不知道彼此都是寧波人,會說上海話,而且都是一九四九年五月前後抱在媽媽懷裏過了羅湖口岸的。	Hongkongers don’t often discuss their origins. A Taiwanese seated at a dinner table might still occasionally make mention of issues along the lines of “My father came over from Qingdao in the 38 th Year of the Republic of China ¹ ,” hence revealing his own place of origin. Hongkongers, on the other hand, might have been colleagues in the same office for thirty years, but yet be unaware that they both hail from Ningbo, speak Shanghainese, and were moreover brought through the Luohu Port ² in their mother’s bosom around May 1949.
2	他們工作的壓力太大,工作的時間太長,現實的滾動速度太快,每個人,都在當下的軌道上專心一意地拚搏向前。經濟的成就、專業的高標準、現代化的領先,是靠一種力爭上遊的拚搏意誌得到的。	The pressure they experience at work is too great, their working hours are too long, and reality is passing them by too quickly. ³ Everybody is wholeheartedly concentrating on fighting and bashing their way forward on the track of the present. Economic achievements, high professional standards, its position at the forefront of modernisation – all of these were obtained only through a will to persevere in the upstream struggle.
3	粵 ⁴ 文化生命力強韌,像海洋裏的漩渦一樣有巨大的吸力和同化	Cantonese culture is resilient and resembles the whirlpools in the ocean in its enormous

¹ The count of years from the foundation of the Republic of China (the Minguo calendar) starts with 1912 as Year 0. It is still used in Taiwan alongside the Gregorian calendar.

² This is the port of entry that people entering Hong Kong from mainland China via Shenzhen (by land-bound modes of transportation) still need to pass through.

³ The first three clauses in the original sentence (“工作的壓力”, “工作的時間” and “現實的滾動”) are separated from the last (“每個人...”) because the former nicely form a three-part list, while the latter was the odd one out, using “每個人” as its referent instead of “他們” as the preceding clauses.

⁴ 粵: Rendered as “Cantonese” because ‘Yue’ usually refers to the group of dialects.

	力,一九四九年流過來的百萬人潮,一過口岸,就進入這個文化和語言的大吸器、大熔爐裏。無法融入的,或者設法離開,或者就被淘汰。融入的,六十年後,你完全看不出他是一九四九的遷徙者。	capacity to absorb and assimilate. Once past the port, the wave of a million refugees from 1949 entered this giant suction machine – a great melting pot – of cultures and languages. Those who could not be integrated either sought to leave or were left behind in the dust. Those who integrated you won't be able to recognise sixty years later as migrants from 1949.
4	於是,從外面看起來,七百萬香港人,就是一個整體,都是說廣州話的香港人。	Therefore, seen from outside, the seven million Hongkongers form a homogeneous whole. They are all Cantonese ⁵ -speaking Hongkongers.
5	你要跟他們坐下來,一個一個幾近不禮貌地打破沙鍋問到底,才赫然發現,原來每一個香港人都深藏著一個身世的故事;很多、很多的故事,都來自江海動蕩的一九四九。	You need to sit down with them and probe them one by one, all the way, to verge on impoliteness, in order to come to the startling realisation that every Hongkonger has a hidden story to tell about his origins. Many, many ⁶ stories come from the turmoil of 1949.
6	戰火像一團一團燃燒彈一樣在中國大陸的土地上炸開,從東北、山東到河南,一片焦土,幾千萬的難民流離於途中,香港,自然成為一個生命閘。北方每爆發一波戰爭,香港就湧進一波難民,一波一波進來。一九四九年的上環,西	The flames of war were like bundles upon bundles of incendiary bombs exploding on Chinese ⁷ soil. From the Northeast and Shandong to Henan, it was a vast patch of scorched earth. Tens of millions of refugees were adrift without a home. Hong Kong hence naturally became a life-valve ⁸ . For every fresh wave of warfare erupting in the north, a fresh wave of refugees would surge into Hong Kong, entering wave by wave. In

⁵ 廣州話: lit. 'Guangzhou dialect' (of Yue). The antiquated name for Guangzhou was Canton, hence "Cantonese" is a correct translation. 'Cantonese' is in fact conventionally used in academic contexts to denote this standard variety of Yue (see footnote 4).

⁶ Used instead of 'a great many' to avoid connotations of triviality.

⁷ 中國大陸 translated as "Chinese"; here as 'Mainland Chinese soil' would sound contrived.

⁸ 生命閘: could refer to Hong Kong as the point of entry to a new life, hence the direct translation.

	<p>營盤一帶,九龍的鑽石山一帶,滿街都是露宿的難民。</p>	<p>the first half of 1949, in the area around Sai Ying Pun⁹ station, in the area around Kowloon's Diamond Hill¹⁰, the streets were filled with refugees putting up in the open.</p>
7	<p>一九四五年日本人撤走時,香港剩下六十萬人,一百萬人避難離去;一九五一年,島上已經有了兩百零七萬。那突然冒出來的,一部分固然是逃避日本人的如今回籠,一部分,卻是國共內戰的新難民,有上海紗廠的大老板,把整個工廠的工人都帶了來;有國民政府中曾經身任要職的高官、國軍中曾經是抗日英雄的將領和軍官,有地方政府的縣長、局長和大學的校長,有不願意繼續跟蔣介石去臺灣的立法委員、國大代表,有媒體主筆、學界泰鬥、作家和藝術家,有知識界的清流,有高僧大儒,有神父和修女。然而更多的,當然是無家可歸、流離失所的普通人,攜兒帶女,還有成千上萬的傷兵,在某一次戰役中變成殘廢。</p>	<p>In 1945, when the Japanese retreated, Hong Kong was left with 600,000 people. A million people had gone elsewhere to seek refuge. By 1951, there were already 2,070,000 people on the island. Of the huge number of people who had suddenly appeared, indeed a part comprised homecomers returning after the Japanese Occupation. The other part, however, comprised new refugees of the Nationalist-Communist Civil War, among whom were:¹¹ the owner of a big Shanghai cotton mill who had brought his entire factory staff over; erstwhile high-ranking officials in the Nationalist government; generals and officers of the Nationalist Army who were once heroes in the fight against Japan; county magistrates and ministers in the local government; university principals; legislative council members and members of parliament who were unwilling to follow Chiang Kai-Shek to Taiwan; chief editors of the media; leading academics; writers and artistes; leading intelligentsia; revered monks and scholars,¹² priests and nuns. Of course, more numerous than those were the</p>

⁹ 西營盤: Official English name based on Cantonese transcription (Jyutping: sai1 jing4 pun4).

¹⁰ 鑽石山: Official English name "Diamond Hill".

¹¹ Colon used to make a list with equal weightage on the individual items.

¹² The religious groups seemed to belong together, hence the comma instead of semicolon. However, semicolons were used with the rest for coherent separation, because there were appended clauses to some items in the list.

		homeless common folk who were leading a wandering existence, with their children in tow, as well as the injured soldiers who numbered in the tens of thousands and who were maimed in the one battle or the other.
8	那是一個多麼熟悉的情景:斷了腿的傷兵,腋下拄著拐杖,衣服骯臟,獨自站立在陌生的街頭,不知往哪裏去;很多,還是少年。	That scene was such a familiar one – injured soldiers who had broken their legs and had to prop themselves up with walking sticks ¹³ . Their clothes were filthy, and they were standing solitarily in the streets filled with civilians, without any idea where to head. Many of them were only youths.
9	救急救難的東華醫院出面收容難民,消息一傳開來,闖過了羅湖的人,潮水一般湧到東華。一九四九年冬天,也就是黃傑的殘部和豫衡聯中的孩子們被逼進十萬大山和越南邊境的時候,東華醫院開始照顧難民。半年之內,收容了八千兩百多人,其中殘廢的人占極高的比例,將近兩千。	The Tung Wah Hospital ¹⁴ stepped out and came to the rescue, offering to accept refugees. Once the word got out, those who had made it past Luohu surged to Tung Wah. In the winter of 1949, in other words, when the injured soldiers under General Huang Chieh ¹⁵ and the children of Yuheng Joint Secondary School(?) ¹⁶ were driven into the Shiwan Mountains ¹⁷ and to the Vietnamese border, Tung Wah Hospital started providing care to the refugees. Within half a year, it had accepted in excess of 8,200 people, of which the crippled made up an exceedingly large proportion – there were almost 2,000 of them.

¹³ 腋下拄著拐杖: Translated with the past-tense modal verb (“had to”) as a passive construction (i.e. ‘they were propped up by walking sticks’) raises unnecessary doubt about agency (e.g. who had provided them with the walking sticks).

¹⁴ 東華: Official English name based on Cantonese transcription (dung1 waa4).

¹⁵ 黃傑: Wade-Giles is conventionally used for this former Nationalist general’s name. After the Communist victory in 1949 he led the escape of thousands of Nationalist troops southwards. He later occupied governmental positions in the Republic of China (Taiwan).

(<http://museum.mnd.gov.tw/Publish.aspx?cnid=1482&p=12186>)

¹⁶ No English translation or Roman transcription of this school name found, hence pinyin transcription and a direct translation were opted for.

¹⁷ A mountain range in Guangxi.

10	<p>一九五零年六月二十六日,剛好是韓戰爆發後的一天,七千個難民被送到吊頸嶺。極有效率的港府,一天之內全部運送完畢。</p>	<p>On the 26th of June, 1950, exactly one day after the Korean War broke out, 7,000 refugees were sent to Diu Keng Leng. The exceedingly efficient Hong Kong government was done transporting them within a day.</p>
11	<p>吊頸嶺在九龍半島的東端“魔鬼山”的一片荒涼山坡上。這個無人的荒地,有一個廢棄的面粉廠;一九零五年,加拿大籍的香港公務員倫尼,買下了這片荒地,建了一個面粉廠,沒想到三年之後破產,倫尼就用繩子吊著自己的脖子,綁上巨石,然後還跳海。工廠所有的機器被債權人搬走,原來運貨的小碼頭荒廢,山坡上的廠房逐漸變成猙獰的廢墟,從此以後,魔鬼山本來叫“倫尼面粉廠”的這片山坡,就被稱為“吊頸嶺”。</p>	<p>Diu Keng Leng perches atop a barren slope on ‘Devil’s Mountain’, itself located on the eastern end of the Kowloon Peninsula. On this barren no-man’s-land, there is an abandoned flour mill. In 1905, a certain Rennie, a Hong Kong civil servant of Canadian nationality, bought over this piece of barren land and had a flour mill built there. Unexpectedly, however, it went bust only after three years, and Rennie hung a rope around his neck, then tied the rope to a large boulder, after which he even jumped into the sea¹⁸. Creditors moved off all the equipment in the factory, the jetty which was originally used for goods transportation was abandoned, the factory sitting on the mountain slope eventually degenerated into a hideous ruin. From that point on, this patch on the slope of ‘Devil’s Mountain’, originally termed ‘Rennie’s Mill’, came to be known as Diu Keng Leng (‘ridge of the hanging neck’).</p>
12	<p>港府聰明的公務員,將“吊頸嶺”正式改名為“調景嶺”。</p>	<p>The ever-resourceful Hong Kong civil administration officially changed the name from Diu Keng Leng to Tiu Keng Leng (‘ridge of adjusting times’).</p>

¹⁸ Error – the lack of logic associated with first hanging oneself then jumping into the sea is caused by the fact that multiple rumours circulated regarding Rennie’s death. The more popular version was that he hung himself; the less well-known, but more accurate version is that he jumped into the sea to his death (Sai Kung District Council, 2011).

13	<p>七千個人只是登記領飯票的,其實還有沒登記的五、六千人,最高峰時,近兩萬人住在調景嶺營區內,包括八百個孩子。國軍和眷屬大概占一半以上,湖南和廣東籍的最多,但是也有來自青海、西康、甘肅和熱河省的,東北的傷兵和難民也不少。</p>	<p>The figure of 7,000 refugees only represented those who had registered for a ration ticket. In fact, there were on top of this five to six thousand more unregistered refugees. At its peak, close to 20,000 people were putting up in the Tiu Keng Leng refugee camp, including 800 children. Nationalist soldiers and their families made up upwards of one half of the headcount, and those from Hunan and Guangdong were the most numerous, but some also hailed from Qinghai, Xikang, Gansu and Jehol¹⁹ provinces, and injured soldiers alongside refugees from the Northeast were not few either.</p>
14	<p>這是一個沒水沒電沒路的荒山,一切從頭開始。港府已經在山坡上築構了上千個 A 字形油紙棚,一個棚住四個人;三十個大葵棚,分婦女組、醫務組、平劇社、自治糾察隊等等單位進駐,一個大葵棚容納七十個人。社會局供給難民的配額是每天每人白米十八盎司、肉和魚二盎司、青菜八盎司、腐乳或鹹魚二盎司。每隔一天,民福電船運送面包過來,汽笛一響,赤腳的孩子們就飛奔到碼</p>	<p>This was a barren mountain with no water and no electricity, and everything had to start from scratch. The Hong Kong government²⁰ had already built on the slopes of the mountain more than a thousand A-shaped oilpaper tents, each with four occupants, and thirty big shack houses, separate ones set aside for women, medical staff, the opera troupe, a self-regulatory orderly corps and other analogous groups, with one shack house being able to accommodate 70 people. The Social Affairs Department²¹ allotted each refugee with a total of 18 ounces of rice, two ounces of meat and fish, eight ounces of vegetables and two ounces of</p>

¹⁹ Xikang and Jehol were provinces of mainland China under the KMT administration, which were dissolved by the Communist government in 1955. Xikang was merged with Sichuan, whereas Jehol was divided between Hebei, Liaoning and Inner Mongolia.

²⁰ Then (a few decades before the handover in 1997) still the British colonial administration of Hong Kong.

²¹ 社會局: Predecessor of the current Hong Kong Social Welfare Department (社會福利署). Translated with a different term to avoid anachronistic usage of terms.

	頭上,興奮地喊著“面包船來了!面包船來了!”	fermented bean curd or salted fish. Every other day the electric boat owned by the Social Welfare Department would deliver bread over, and with the sounding of its horn, barefooted children would come running onto the jetty, shouting excitedly, “The bread ship has come! The bread ship has come!”
15	大人則十人一組,每天兩次,排隊去領飯。飯領回來,坐下來同吃的卻有十四、五個人,那沒有飯票的,也是同鄉同學同是天涯淪落,難民互相扶持。	On the other hand, adults were divided into groups of ten, and they queued up for rice twice every day. Once the rice was brought back, those who sat down to eat together would number 14 or 15; one who did not have a ration ticket was nonetheless someone of the same hometown, from the same school, and shared the same miserable lot – the refugees helped one another out.
16	和一般難民營不一樣,調景嶺難民裏頭,真正的臥虎藏龍。隨便看過去,在山路上扛著一袋面粉正迎面走下來的,可能就是個“營長”。譬如一九二零年出生在廣東增城的陳寶善。	Unlike ordinary refugees, those at Tiu Keng Leng really did harbour crouching tigers and hidden dragons among their ranks. Just casually peering over, the one bearing a sack of flour coming down the mountain trail in your direction might be a ‘camp leader’. Take for instance Chen Baoshan, born in 1920 in Zengcheng, Guangdong.
17	寶善十八歲讀高中時,日本人已經快要打到廣州了,不顧父親的反對,毅然決然去報考中央陸軍官校,考取了,跟其它幾個同學從廣州沿著溪谷,翻山越嶺,一路徒	When Baoshan was 18 and in his final years of secondary school, the Japanese were already closing in on Guangzhou. ²² He ignored the objections of his father and insisted on trying for the Central Military Academy. He succeeded in entering the academy, and moved together with a few of

²² The Chinese original omits the subject from the clause “不顧...”, hence implying that that clause should be in the same sentence as “讀高中時”, under the subject Baoshan. However, a sentence break was still opted for because the clause “日本人...” would otherwise have been hard to fit into the sentence.

	<p>步,足足走了兩個多月,走到貴州獨山。到了獨山之後,這滿腔報國熱情的青年人才發現,報國的開始就是在荒山裏建營房。上山伐木,從山上把巨大的木頭扛下來,蓋教室、宿舍。沒有米,他們就走三十公裏的山路,去扛米,如同勞役營一樣的艱苦。一九四二年,堅持下來的寶善成為正式的軍校十七期畢業生。蔣委員長發給每一個畢業生一把劍,上面寫著“成功成仁”四個字。</p>	<p>his schoolmates along narrow river valleys away from Guangzhou, crossing mountains and ridges, undertaking the entire journey, which lasted more than two full months, on foot,²³ to eventually reach Dushan²⁴ in Guizhou. Only after arriving at Dushan did this young man, so full of the zeal to serve his country in gratitude²⁵, discover that serving his country would need to start with constructing barracks in the remote mountains. Going up to the mountains for timber, lugging huge logs down from the mountains, building classrooms and barracks. There was no rice, and they thus made their way through thirty kilometres of mountain trails²⁶ to lug some rice back, experiencing hardship comparable to that in a forced labour camp. In 1942, Baoshan, who had persevered to the end, joined the 17th batch of formal graduates of the military academy. Generalissimo Chiang awarded every graduate with a sword, on which four characters meaning “succeed in dying for a righteous cause”²⁷ were inscribed.</p>
18	<p>陳寶善開始和日軍作戰,在槍林彈雨中實踐他的愛國抱負。抗日戰爭之後,國共內戰爆發,他從山</p>	<p>Chen Baoshan started to battle with Japanese forces, realising his patriotic ambitions in the forest of weapons, under the shower of ammunition. After the war</p>

²³ Series of commas used instead of sentence breaks as the entire Chinese sentence relates one single journey, and hence the English sentence attempts to mirror that effect of recounting a journey in a single breath.

²⁴ Dushan in Guizhou later served as the Nationalist base in the Battle of Dushan (1944), against Japanese aggressors. (<http://news.ftv.com.tw/newsprog/taiwan/promo.aspx?id=411>)

²⁵ 報國精神: Repaying one's debt of gratitude to the country by serving it.

²⁶ 山路: “Mountain trails” used instead of ‘mountain roads’, as the latter in English would imply roads for vehicles, which is presumably not the meaning of the Chinese compound.

²⁷ 成功成仁: Of course, these four characters could be interpreted as a dvandva-compound and translated as ‘success and dying for a righteous cause’, but that would not do the strong military values inherent to this context justice. As such, a two-verb phrase was used instead.

	<p>東的戰場打到徐蚌會戰。碾莊被包圍時,天寒地凍,傷兵遍野,他自己也受傷了。</p>	<p>against the Japanese was over, the Nationalist-Communist civil war erupted, and he partook of the fighting from the Shandong battlefield all the way to the Battle of Xubang. When Nianzhuang was besieged²⁸, it was in the deep of a freezing winter. Injured soldiers were all over the countryside, and he was also injured himself.</p>
19	<p>這就是五十五萬國軍被“殲滅”的戰役。陳寶善帶著傷,輾轉到南京,然後是廣州,最後是香港。在調景嶺,那麼多年之後,他還會跟你說:這幾十年來,我一幕幕回想,真是作夢也沒想到,我們會落敗到這種程度!我們在徐蚌會戰以前一直都沒打敗仗的.....他們的訓練不如我們,補給也不好。我輕視他們,我會以一個營打他們的一個兵團二萬多人.....我們仗打得很好,為什麼會跑到香港來呢?我能說出的原因是,軍心變了。不然怎會垮得這麼厲害呢?</p>	<p>This was the battle in which 550,000 Nationalist troops were “annihilated”. Chen Baoshan, nursing injuries, undertook a tortuous journey to Nanjing, then to Guangzhou, and finally to Hong Kong. At Tiu Keng Leng, after so many years, he would still tell you, “All these decades, as I recollect those memories frame by frame, never had I imagined that we would end up this thoroughly defeated! Before the Battle of Xubang we had never lost a single battle ... Their training couldn’t compare to ours, and their supply lines were not reliable²⁹ either. I belittled them, I would pit just one of our camps against one of their 20,000-strong legions³⁰ ... We fought battles very well, why did we need to flee to Hong Kong? The only explanation I can give is that the soldierly morale had faltered³¹. Otherwise, how could we have suffered such a devastating collapse?”</p>

²⁸ One of the clashes in the Battle of Xubang (1948).

²⁹ 不好: Does not refer to ‘bad’ supply lines as such, instead more to subpar conditions. As such “not reliable” was used as a translation.

³⁰ 軍團: “Legions” was deemed to be the most appropriate term to describe a group 20,000 soldiers strong. Battalions, another possibility, are in strict usage only c. 300 men strong.

³¹ 軍心變了: “Morale had faltered” used instead of ‘allegiances had changed’ because no explicit mention is made of defection to the Communists.

20	<p>一九四九,在華東醫院和調景嶺,每天上午和下午分兩次,難民排隊領飯,你可能看見陳寶善在行列裏,他二十九歲,眉宇間有股掩藏不住的英氣,但是神情抑郁;如果你不細心,你就不會想到,他曾經懷抱著多麼大的熱情,把自己奉獻給他的信念:國家。</p>	<p>In 1949, at Wah Tung Hospital and at Tiu Keng Leng, refugees would queue up to get rice twice every day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. In the queues, you would be able to see Chen Baoshan.³² He was 29 years old. There was an unconcealable spirit of heroism between his brows, but he wore a look of depression. If you were not to look meticulously enough, never would you expect that he had once held such great passion towards sacrificing himself for his one³³ belief – the nation³⁴.</p>
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³² Full-stop inserted to prevent an excessively long sentence, and such that his age and heroism are separately emphasised.

³³ 他的信念 translated as “his one belief” to emphasise the specific nature of the referent. The vaguer ‘his belief’ would otherwise sound incongruent with the forceful noun phrase “the nation” at the end.

³⁴ 國家: Translated as “nation” instead of ‘country’ due to the former’s connotations of ‘nation-building’ etc. being more suited to the context.

CONCLUSION

Parts Two and Three have each used one chapter to demonstrate and describe one specific manifestation of subjectivity in DJDH. Both strands of analysis have conclusively shown that Lung's views and intentions have shaped and are present throughout the book. As such, it is beyond doubt that the work is not a neutral collection of pristine witness accounts of 1949. Instead, as Lung herself had professed, it is a book directed by a purpose. That is to raise awareness about the unheard narratives from that epoch, to the ultimate end of preventing future warfare. While it might be asked if the figuratively deafening authorial voice in DJDH even does justice to these 'unheard narratives', we must ponder if absolute objectivity – if it even exists – would outweigh DJDH's pacifist subjectivity in terms of social relevance. After all, if the essence of history writing were the blind pursuit of pedantic objectivity regardless of contemporary societal needs, would it not quickly lose its utility and come to face an existential crisis?

At this point, we should perhaps also look at the paradoxical nature of history writing itself. On the one hand, there is historiography. It is the pursuit of academicians, who seek to construct their version of the 'truth', keeping all the while to high academic standards of 'objectivity'. On the other is popular history. It might contort historical 'truths' and be thoroughly infused with 'subjectivity', but yet be able to rouse the collective emotions of entire nations, for better or for worse. Given the existence of these two extreme poles to the discipline, it might perhaps be time for us to recognise the indispensability of the latter in preventing history writing from veering in the direction of useless sophistry, and not use 'objectivity' as the sole criterion for determining the value of works about history. Therefore, the term 'objective history' could indeed be written off as an oxymoron, because any attempt to fully take the term apart would almost inevitably devolve into meaningless casuistry.

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