

The Early Development History of the Relationship between Taiwanese Nationalism and Chinese Nationalism

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Abstract. This article aims to sort out the historical context of the first eighty years of the emergence and development of Taiwanese nationalism and explore the relationship between Taiwanese nationalism and Chinese nationalism. Taiwanese nationalism originated during the Japanese occupation. The unequal rule of the Japanese colonial government on the Taiwanese islanders united the Taiwanese people and formed an ideological community. At the same time, the Japanese government brought modern political concepts and environment to the island of Taiwan, providing fertile soil for the development of nationalism. During the Japanese occupation, Taiwan's nationalism was China's nationalism. The people of Taiwan identify with the cultural and ideological traditions of the Chinese nation and hope to return to the embrace of the motherland. However, the Kuomintang government's violent and corrupt rule over the Taiwanese people after liberation greatly disappointed the islanders. They gradually realized that the Kuomintang government was backward and that Taiwan could no longer become part of mainland China. After the February 28th Incident, Taiwanese nationalism further developed. Unlike Chinese nationalism, the Taiwanese formed a new nation of political and cultural self-determination.

Keywords: Taiwan Nationalism; Chinese Nationalism; Cross-Strait Relations.

1. Introduction

Taiwanese nationalism, like many other modern nationalisms, is a desire to create consistency between cultural identity and political boundaries. This dual process of cultural and political mobilization developed over nearly a century of struggle in Taiwan. In the past four decades, the development of Taiwanese nationalism has attracted the attention of many scholars.

Gunter Schubert discusses the contemporary debate between nationalism and national identity in Taiwan. Overall, it confirms the observation of many scholars that the island's historical and political developments have resulted in contested or competing identities. Christopher Hughes points out that while China's claim to Taiwan is important to Chinese nationalist politics, the democratic challenge from Taiwan is very powerful [1]. Its position and identity in the international community are crucial to its survival. They explore how Taiwan's status has been seen as a symbol of the legitimacy of the Chinese regime in the evolution of Chinese nationalism. It also shows how this view is challenged by demands for democratization in Taiwan. Facts have proved that the Kuomintang regime, while allowing the residents of Taiwan Island to exercise sovereignty, also insisted that Taiwan Island is part of China. The result is that Taiwan is in an intermediate state between independence and unification with the People's Republic of China, with a "post-nationalist" identity.

Taiwanese and mainland scholars often have opposing views on nationalism. Taiwanese professor Wu provides a comparative analysis of three political nationalisms emerging in adjacent peripheries-the overlapping "spheres of influence" of three mutually exclusive and competing imperial centers: Taiwan, Okinawa, and Hong Kong [1]. The article points out that the rise of nationalism in Taiwan, Okinawa, and Hong Kong should be understood as a macro-historical sociological phenomenon caused by peripheral nationalist mobilization and the concentrated short-term penetration of colonial and geopolitical centers by peripheral countries [1]. While the geopolitics of states in these regions are powerfully shaping the development of these three nationalisms, over time interactions at the social level may generate counterforces from below. Tian pointed out that Taiwanese nationalism

was the product of Taiwan's anti-Japanese movement from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. This was a movement aimed at liberating Taiwan from Japanese rule. His political thoughts and actions share the same blood with the Chinese nation. After the victory of the Anti-Japanese War, Taiwan's "nationalism" concocted by Taiwan's independence elements does not exist historically and is legally untenable. The "nationalism" they deliberately create is just populism, a political dream created to unify a divided country [1].

Most previous research on Taiwan and Chinese nationalism focused on the political level. Based on this, this study starts from a cultural perspective, taking the early development history of Taiwanese nationalism and Chinese nationalism as its theme, and studies the association between the two nationalisms.

2. The Origin and Development of Taiwanese Nationalism

2.1. The Origin of Taiwanese Nationalism during the Japanese Occupation

When the Japanese took over Taiwan from the Qing government, the island's 5 million people were roughly divided into three major ethnic groups: Hokkien, Hakka, and Aborigines. Apart from the islands themselves, the three peoples have little in common. The political and social power of Japanese colonialism forced them to live on the same land and under the control of the same central government, resulting in a syncretic culture. The political cohesion established by the colonial regime, although oppressive, played an important role in shaping the new culture, new history, and eventual political unity of the colonial areas [1].

The most important event in the development of the new Taiwan ethnic group. According to the document, Taiwanese islanders can obtain Japanese citizenship. The formal change of nationality was followed by a Japanese-centered assimilation program aimed at transforming the Taiwanese population into Japanese "subjects." This plan is often referred to as a "landlocked extension," meaning that Taiwan and its people will eventually become an extension of "landlocked" Japan. But in reality, the colonial regime discriminated against Taiwanese islanders and settlers from Taiwan to Japan. Although Taiwanese are nominally Japanese nationals, they are subject to many political and economic restrictions due to their ethnic identity as Chinese or Aboriginal. Although Taiwanese islanders were required to learn Japanese in school and adopt Japanese culture and values, the colonists monopolized senior positions in the government, military, state-owned industrial enterprises, and schools. Administrators, teachers, and policymakers were primarily colonizers from Japan, although they constituted only a small portion of the island's population [2].

Colonial rule brought severe political and social discrimination, but the Japanese occupation marked the first time that the entire island of Taiwan had an effective modern government. The colonial regime severed Taiwan's ties with mainland China and established unified educational, commercial, agricultural, and legal systems. This new system had two important effects: it greatly improved living standards on the island, and at the same time, it allowed Taiwanese to develop a collective identity based on their new historical experience of being neither Japanese nor Chinese. Caught between different cultures, Taiwanese people began to develop an increasingly strong sense of identification with the island of Taiwan [2]. Although it is difficult for the assimilation movement to successfully cultivate Taiwanese people's identification with Japan, the impact of Japanese colonial rule on Taiwan's collective thinking has been extremely profound.

Another impact of Japanese colonialism was that it provided the islanders with their own international political identity. Until the signing of the Cairo Declaration in 1943, neither the Kuomintang nor the Communist Party of China actively expressed to the international community their stance on seeking Taiwan's return to China. Instead, both parties view the Taiwanese as a separate ethnic group from mainland China. Historian Lin Jin pointed out that the support for Taiwan's independence by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party from 1928 to 1943 came about in the historical context of the struggle between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and had nothing to do with culture. The

political demands of Taiwanese islanders may form Taiwanese nationalism. However, when these Taiwanese declarations of independence became part of public discourse, they had a profound impact on the Taiwanese people's self-perception [3].

2.2. The Development of Taiwanese Nationalism after Liberation

If Japanese colonial rule was the starting period for the development of Taiwan's collective consciousness, then the next pioneering period was Taiwan's return to China under the rule of the Kuomintang in 1945. Before 1945, Taiwan's political nationalism was implicit; those calling for self-determination did not consider Taiwan a truly independent nation-state. In the five years following the end of Japanese rule, Taiwan developed a distinctly nationalist identity focused on cultural autonomy and political thought independent of China [1].

Due to their traditional identification with mainland China, except for a few pro-Japanese intellectuals and social leaders, most Taiwanese people were eager to return to the motherland and were initially enthusiastic about the Kuomintang takeover [4]. However, this enthusiasm quickly dissipated after the arrival of the Kuomintang, and Taiwanese islanders soon realized that the Kuomintang regime disdained their colonial experience and the values, ideas, and customs they had internalized under Japanese rule. They persecuted the people of Taiwan as criminals poisoned by Japanese colonialism and imposed a new system that can only be called quasi-colonialism to eliminate or eradicate Japanese influence.

Politically, the Kuomintang did not trust local Taiwanese, and they introduced party members to fill leadership positions in Taiwan [4]. Culturally, these new leaders implemented a radical de-Japanization program, mandating Mandarin as the official language of government and business and banning the use of Japanese. The new culture that Taiwanese people were forced to adapt to was once again impacted [5]. To ensure a civil war with the Chinese Communist Party, the Kuomintang transferred a large amount of resources and capital from Taiwan to the mainland [6]. These political measures continue to disenfranchise local people. Taiwanese islanders discovered that although Taiwan had returned to the Chinese motherland, they had not been liberated from the oppression of colonial rule.

Islanders' initial dissatisfaction with the Kuomintang eventually turned into political anger. On February 28, 1947, Taipei Monopoly Bureau inspectors killed a local passerby while searching for smuggled cigarettes. Large-scale demonstrations and riots broke out in major cities in Taiwan to protest against the Kuomintang government ruled by mainlanders. After the February 28th Incident, the conflict between Taiwanese islanders and mainlanders was no longer invisible, but linked to reality and tragic experiences, like a national myth. Become part of the collective memory of the Taiwanese people.

As a result of the Kuomintang's ongoing war against communist China and its historical impact on Taiwan's political, cultural, and economic life, Taiwanese, regardless of their original ethnic origins, began to identify with their shared history. Although conflicts remain between the ruling elite and local Taiwanese people, the two groups identify with each other amid ongoing conflict with the Chinese Communist Party, especially the latter's threat to unify Taiwan by force. From then on, the people of Taiwan began to see themselves as a "politically and culturally distinct imagined community" [1].

3. The Relationship between Taiwanese Nationalism and Chinese Nationalism

3.1. The Relationship between Taiwanese Nationalism and Chinese Nationalism during the Japanese Occupation Period

At this time, Taiwanese nationalism was inseparable from Chinese nationalism. First of all, the core of Taiwanese nationalism is the consciousness and actions of the Chinese nation-state as a cohesive force. After Japan occupied Taiwan, the Taiwanese people launched an anti-Japanese national

liberation movement that lasted for more than half a century. The main form of the initial movement was armed struggle. The people of Taiwan used force to oppose Japan's occupation of Taiwan. Taiwanese scholars roughly divide Taiwan's armed anti-Japanese movement into three periods: the Democratic Taiwan Volunteer Defense War, Taiwan's heroic anti-aggression war, and the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial resistance war period inspired by Japan's deepening colonial rule. Rules and policies [7].

Starting from the petition movement to the Taiwanese Congress in 1920, with the reform demands for autonomy within the system as the core, the unarmed anti-Japanese movement in Taiwan kicked off. The main force in the unarmed anti-Japanese national movement was Taiwan's intellectual elite who returned from Japan. They established societies and newspapers and engaged in cultural resistance to Japan through the "Islander Enlightenment Movement". Through cultural propaganda, they carried out anti-Japanese national ideological enlightenment, enhanced national consciousness, demanded civil rights, and opposed Japanese colonial rule; they carried out vernacular movements, promoted the Chinese language, and opposed Japanese assimilation education. Whether it is armed resistance against Japan or unarmed resistance against Japan, the ultimate goal of the struggle is the same, which is to oppose Japanese colonial rule to achieve the national liberation of Taiwan and ultimately return to China. In the early days of the armed resistance against Japan, Taiwanese officials and gentry independently established the Democratic Republic of Taiwan, with a clear intention to return to China. This group of patriotic officials and gentry strongly opposed abandoning Taiwan and advocated preparing for war to defend Taiwan before the Qing government signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki with Japan. What they hope for is still the original intention of "if Taiwan can return to China, they are willing to repay all Taiwan's interests" [8]. This idea runs through almost the entire process of Taiwan's transformation into a democratic country.

Secondly, Taiwan's national liberation movement and the mainland's anti-Japanese imperialist struggle support and depend on each other. The Taiwan people's struggle against Japanese aggression and colonial rule has always received the attention and support of the people on the mainland. Mr. Sun Yat-sen has always cared about Taiwan and sent people to Taiwan to establish revolutionary organizations and spread the Three People's Principles. After the establishment of the Revive China Association, the China Alliance, the Chinese Revolutionary Party, and the Chinese Kuomintang, all had organizations in Taiwan or were joined by the Taiwanese.

The Chinese military and international anti-fascist forces became the decisive factor in defeating Japanese militarism and strongly inspired the Taiwanese people's anti-Japanese movement. The people of Taiwan took various actions to oppose Japanese colonial rule and support the resistance of the people of the motherland. Many Taiwan compatriots returned to the mainland and directly participated in the Anti-Japanese War. The "Taiwan National Revolutionary General Alliance" established in South China in October 1938 pointed out in its declaration that Taiwan's liberation movement is inseparable from the national revolution of the motherland. At the same time, they believe that Taiwan's revolutionary struggle is the motherland's national revolutionary struggle [9]. The first article of the basic program formulated by the "Taiwan Revolutionary Alliance" established in 1941 is: Taiwan is China's lost land, and the Taiwan revolution is one of China's national revolutions. When the people of Taiwan gain freedom, they will faithfully abide by the Three People's Principles and the Anti-Japanese War and Nation-building Program, and actively carry out a revolutionary struggle [8].

Finally, the cultural consciousness of Taiwanese nationalism is identification with the Chinese nation. Taiwan is a region dominated by Han immigrants. Language and history are the roots of a nation and the basic elements of people's national identity. Taiwanese nationalism originated from the three waves of immigration from mainland China (Fujian and Guangdong) in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. With the arrival of the immigration wave, Han culture has become the mainstream culture in Taiwan. Whether it was the Chengtian Prefecture established by Zheng Chenggong or the Taiwan Prefecture and Taiwan Province established by the Qing government, they all "established temple studies" in Taiwan, opened courses to obtain scholars and passed on Confucianism. Based on the

spirit of managing the world, they established a cultural system with Chinese culture as the main body. The roots of Taiwanese nationalism formed in this way laid the cultural foundation for Taiwanese nationalism formed during the Anti-Japanese Movement. The customs of using Chinese characters, speaking Chinese, and passing on Chinese culture have not changed to this day. During the Japanese colonial period, the colonial rulers forcibly implemented the imperialization movement in an attempt to eliminate the influence of Chinese culture on the Taiwanese people. This enslaving rule of colonial culture was strongly resisted by Taiwanese compatriots, who launched an extensive Sinology movement to pass on the fire of Chinese culture from generation to generation. Today, Taipei's Zhongxiao Road, Renai Road, and many Confucian cultural sites and sites bear the imprint of traditional Chinese culture. As for the excellent traditional culture of the Chinese nation that has deeply penetrated the behavioral norms and psychological activities of Taiwanese compatriots, this cannot be easily obliterated by a "de-Sinicization movement" [7].

3.2. Taiwan Nationalism and Chinese Nationalism After Liberation

After liberation, especially the political situation, the intervention of major countries, and other issues, some Taiwanese people began to advocate independent nationalism. Behind the voices of protest and dissent triggered by democratization and a growing sense of self-identity is a rebuttal to the principles and necessities of Chinese nationalism. Perhaps the earliest comprehensive criticism of KMT ideology came in the form of the 1964 Manifesto of the Taiwan Self-Rescue Movement (hereinafter referred to as the Manifesto), drafted by National Taiwan University law professor Peng Ming-min and two students. Peng Ming-min put forward arguments against the claim that "Taiwan was originally a part of China and should always be a part of China in the future." In part, he challenged this principle by reinterpreting Taiwan's historical relationship with China, portraying Taiwan as a people struggling to throw off the yoke of the mainland through frequent rebellions [10].

This group believes that China has been pursuing a policy of oppression against Taiwan. In fact, since the Shimonoseki Incident, there have been only four years of direct contact between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, from 1945 to 1949. But these four years were a period of turmoil and suffering. The "228 Incident" occurred and the island's elite were eliminated by the Chinese scholars who immigrated to Taiwan. According to Taiwanese scholars' descriptions of Taiwan's history, they compare themselves to those pioneers who fled to new lands and created new countries regardless of the principle of ethnic and national unity. From this perspective, it would be a mistake to conflate Taiwanese residents with "Chinese".

In addition, some people have proposed a new Taiwanese nationalism. The new Taiwanese nationalists were influenced by the work of Ernest Renan, who advanced the idea that race, language, and culture were not a nation, but a deep sense of community and a common destiny [11]. With Taiwan's ethnic divisions, this community of national destiny has become very attractive. They declared that Chinese people must learn to distinguish between national origin, culture, and language on the one hand, and politics and law on the other. They must give up the idea that they are ethnically, culturally, and linguistically Chinese. Individuals should be proud of their Chinese culture and ancestry, but at the same time keep their identity politically and legally separate from China [12].

The new Taiwanese nationalist attacks on Chinese nationalism also seek to deny any connection between the question of Taiwan's status and China's crisis at the hands of imperialism. Although China was likely to suffer semi-colonial treatment from foreign powers, with the establishment of "New China" in 1949 and the restoration of sovereignty and self-esteem, China's victim status has ended. It is clear that Taiwan only became an issue for China later, when the Kuomintang, with US support, used the island as a base from which to attack the People's Republic of China. Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek's government was exploiting nationalist myths to maintain a regime so undemocratic that it could not claim to represent Taiwan, China, or even the Kuomintang itself. Some believed that the concept of Taiwan's political community must include all the different groups living in Taiwan while maintaining political separation from the Chinese nation. However, as the Taiwanese nationalist questions the connections between state, nation, and party, he also creates space for the

development of an alternative conception of political community, which reveals his concern with bridging the divisions that drive Taiwanese society.

It represents only a small faction within the party. With the continuous changes in the situation, it is normal for different or even extreme ideas and remarks to appear. However, from the analysis of historical development, it is not difficult to see that Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism cannot be separated and have the same roots.

4. Conclusions

Under the Japanese colonial government from 1895 to 1945, people of all ethnic groups who immigrated to Taiwan from mainland China united, recognized the common destiny of Taiwan islanders, and regarded Taiwan as their motherland. In the second half of the colonial period, the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang's support for Taiwan's independence continued. In this social background, Taiwanese nationalism began to germinate. Before Taiwan was regained, the people's national identity in Taiwan was similar to that of the Chinese nation, that is, the Han nationality. After the Kuomintang government took over Taiwan, it exceeded the people's expectations and implemented harsh and unreasonable rule over Taiwan, which led to the outbreak of the February 28 Incident. After conflicts with the Japanese colonial government and the Kuomintang government, Taiwanese nationalism has almost matured. The political problems encountered by Taiwanese people have forced them to break away from the mainland, but in a cultural sense, it is difficult for Taiwanese people to truly let go of their identification with the Chinese nation. Through the analysis of historical, cultural, and other factors, this article argues that although some extreme views believe that Taiwanese nationalism has independent connotations Taiwanese nationalism and Chinese nationalism are essentially the same kind of nationalism and are difficult to separate.

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