

A STUDY ON CHINESE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF TAIWAN POLITICIAN CHIANG WEI-SHUI

UM ESTUDO SOBRE A IDENTIDADE NACIONAL CHINESA DO POLÍTICO DE TAIWAN CHIANG WEI-SHUI

PENGCHENG KE

National Centre for Borderlands Ethnic
Studies in Southwest China at Yunnan
University, Yunnan Province,
China;
kepengcheng2013@gmail.com

TENGYUE MA

National Centre for Borderlands Ethnic
Studies in Southwest China at Yunnan
University, Yunnan Province,
China;
anthropologist@foxmail.com

Received: 04 Jan 2023

Accepted: 10 Feb 2023

Published: 01 Mar 2023

Corresponding author:

kepengcheng2013@gmail.com



Abstract: This paper demonstrates that Chiang Wei-Shui 蔣渭水 (1891-1931) is faithful to the Chinese national identity by combing the historical texts. His main goal was to resist Japanese colonial rule, pursue Taiwan's return to its motherland and complete the reunification of China. Chiang Wei-Shui was a famous politician in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation. In the history of the Chinese national movement in Taiwan, Chiang Wei-Shui was the most influential political activist who could sting the Japanese colonists and awaken the Chinese national consciousness of the Taiwanese. However, in the confrontation between unification and independence in contemporary Taiwan society, separatists manipulated him as a representative of "Taiwan independence", distorting his real national identity. Moreover, Taiwan's independence is now a mainstream political position in Taiwan. Some politicians and scholars invent traditions for political purposes, but few people seek historical authenticity. I believe that researchers should strive to get rid of the influence of politics and pursue pure scholarship, which is why I am researching this topic.

Keywords: Chiang Wei-Shui; Petition Movement;

Taiwanese Cultural Association 台湾文化协会; Taiwanese People's Party 台湾民众党

Resumo: Este artigo demonstra que Chiang Wei-Shui 蔣渭水 (1891-1931) é fiel à identidade nacional chinesa ao combinar os textos históricos. Seu principal objetivo era resistir ao domínio colonial japonês, buscar o retorno de Taiwan à sua pátria e completar a reunificação da China. Chiang Wei-Shui foi um político famoso em Taiwan durante a ocupação japonesa. Na história do movimento nacional chinês em Taiwan, Chiang Wei-Shui foi o ativista político mais influente que conseguiu picar os colonos japoneses e despertar a consciência nacional chinesa dos taiwaneses. Porém, no confronto entre unificação e independência na sociedade taiwanesa contemporânea, os separatistas o manipularam como representante da "independência de Taiwan", distorcendo sua real identidade nacional. Além disso, a independência de Taiwan é agora uma posição política dominante em Taiwan. Alguns políticos e estudiosos inventam tradições para fins políticos, mas poucas pessoas buscam autenticidade histórica. Acredito que os pesquisadores devem se esforçar para se livrar da influência da política e buscar o conhecimento puro, e é por isso que estou pesquisando este tópico.

Palavras-chave: Chiang Wei-Shui; Petition Movement; Taiwanese Cultural Association 台湾文化协会; Taiwanese People's Party 台湾民众党

1. Introduction

Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure once said that the essential elements of language are symbols, and symbols can be divided into signifier and signified. Signifier refers to the psychological impression of the sound-image of the sign on people. The signified is the meaning represented by the symbol. Saussure first pointed out the "arbitrariness principle" relationship between signifier and signified. Symbols can point to any substance, but it is stable once the relationship between signifier and signified is fixed (Saussure, 2011). Later, Roland Barthes extended Saussure's semiotics concept, put forward the infinity of signifiers from text analysis, and pointed out that there are infinite possible signifiers of text (Barthes, 1972).

During the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), Mr. Chiang Wei-Shui was an intellectual and politician who challenged the Japanese colonialists and awakened the Taiwanese to the Chinese national identity. In his youth, Chiang joined the Tongmenghui of China 中国同盟会. Because Yuan Shikai 袁世凯¹ destroyed the fruits of the 1911 Revolution 辛亥革命, Chiang tried organizing his classmates to assassinate Yuan Shikai in Beijing. Since 1921, Chiang Wei-Shui successively took part in the Petition Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament 议会设置请愿运动. He also set up the Taiwanese Cultural Association, Taiwanese People's Party 台湾民众党, and other organizations to awaken the Chinese national consciousness of the Taiwanese to resist Japanese colonial rule. As a result, Chiang Wei-Shui enjoys a highly respected position among the Taiwanese. People hail him as "the father of the new culture movement in Taiwan" (Lin & Tseng, 2014). At present, among the only three expressways in Taiwan, the expressway from Taipei to Yilan 宜兰 is named "Chiang Wei-Shui Expressway" in memory of his commitment to the promotion of Taiwan's cultural enlightenment during the

¹ Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), the leader of the Beiyang Army. In 1912, Sun Yat-sen was pressured to resign as president of the Republic of China and made way for Yuan Shikai. In 1915, Yuan Shikai attempted to restore the monarchy, and changed "the Republic of China" to "the Empire of China". This was opposed by provincial rulers and led to an armed revolt.

Japanese Occupation². In 2020, Taipei Mayor Ko Wen-je 柯文哲 registered a political party with the same Chinese name as the "Taiwanese People's Party" founded by Chiang Wei-Shui during the Japanese Occupation of Taiwan in the election for the leadership of Taiwan. It became the third-largest party with seats in Taiwan's "Legislative Yuan 立法院".

As a historical figure respected by the Taiwanese, "Chiang Wei-Shui" has different signifiers in contemporary Taiwan, reproduced by people with different political positions. However, under the current political atmosphere in Taiwan, the author finds out that some separatists in Taiwan are shaping Chiang as a pioneer of Taiwan independence, distorting the facts. In 2007, You Si-kun 游锡堃, former chairman of the Democratic Progressive Party, the current head of the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan, said that "the Democratic Progressive Party follows Chiang Wei-Shui's pursuit and will continue to work hard for the independence of Taiwan (Shoufu, 2007, p. 5)". Apart from politicians, "independence-oriented" scholars also try their best to add to the "Chiang Wei-Shui" independence symbol. In 1980, Su Beng 史明, who was regarded as the "enlightenment teacher" and "spiritual leader" of Taiwan, published *Modern History of Taiwanese in 400 Years*, which was the first work on Taiwan history written with the historical view of Taiwan's independence. In the book, Chiang Wei-Shui was described as a person who "had a superior Taiwan independence consciousness (Su, 1980, p. 500)."

Scholars on the Chinese mainland have criticized separatists' distortion of Chiang Wei-Shui. For example, professor Chen Xiaochong of Xiamen University wrote the article *Intertwined with the Chinese in Taiwan: Ideology and Practice of the Chiang Weishui Anti-colonial Struggles—Refutation of "the History Sense of Taiwan Independence"*, analyzing Chiang Wei-Shui's anti-colonial struggle against Japanese colonialists, demonstrating his consciousness of the Chinese nation (Chen, 2011). In this paper, the formation of Chiang's Chinese national identity and his political goals will be discussed further.

2. Assassinating Yuan Shikai

Chiang Wei-Shui's life can be roughly divided into four stages: Childhood (1891-1906), Japanese education (1907-1915), medical practice (1916-1920), and social and political movement (1921-1931).

² Taiwan has only three toll highways: national highway No.1, national highway No.3, and national highway No.5. Among them, National Highway No.5 is the only highway that runs from east to west, and its significant part, the Hsuehshan Tunnel, was the longest road tunnel in Taiwan and the ninth longest in the world when it opened in 2006. In 2006, after efforts from all walks of life in Taiwan, national highway No.5 was officially named after "Chiang Wei-Shui", and a "Chiang Wei-Shui" monument was erected at the east exit of the Hsuehshan Tunnel.

Chiang Wei-Shui was raised in a poor family. He once worked as a child diviner with his father, peddling in the street with his younger brother Chiang Weichuan 蒋渭川. Then, in 1899, he entered the private school opened by Zhang Jingguang 张镜光, a scholar in Yilan, and started to receive Chinese education.

From 1898 to 1906, Kodama Gentarō 儿玉源太郎 served as the fourth Governor-General of Taiwan 台湾总督. With the cooperation of Chief Executive Gotō Shinpei 后藤新平, the armed resistance forces in Taiwan were put down. The governance strategy of the Government-General of Taiwan 台湾总督府 turned from armed repression to social and economic construction, which became the turning point of Japanese rule in Taiwan. In 1907, persuaded by friends, Chiang's father sent him to Yilan Public School³, at which Chiang Wei-Shui completed six years of schooling with outstanding grades. In 1910, he was admitted to "Taiwan Government-General Medical School" 台湾总督府医学校 (the predecessor of Taiwan University Medical School) and graduated in 1915.

It was in the medical school that Chiang Wei-Shui embarked on the road of the national movement. He once said, "The disease of my political boredom happened in the era of the medical learning period (Wang, 2005, p. 84)." Shortly after Chiang Wei-Shui entered the school, he joined the Chinese League 中国同盟会 and was determined to join the Chinese revolution. Upon the success of the 1911 Revolution, Chiang Wei-Shui was very excited and thought that the time to regain Taiwan was approaching. However, Yuan Shikai assassinated Song Jiaoren 宋教仁⁴, destroyed the cabinet system, and restored the monarchy, making Chiang Wei-Shui highly dissatisfied. As Weng Junming, a classmate of Chiang's said:

The revolution of the motherland was successful, and the Republic of China was founded. All the compatriots in Taiwan were as excited and enthusiastic as our compatriots on the Chinese mainland. But compatriots in Taiwan were still yearning for the motherland to be solid enough to defeat Japan and save us from slavery and oppression. But

³ In 1898, the Government-General of Taiwan changed original Japanese training centers into children's education schools, equivalent to the current primary schools on the Chinese mainland. Among them, the institutions for Taiwan Han people were called "Gong school 公学校"; the "Fanren Gong school 番人公学校" were for Taiwan's ethnic minorities; Japanese children in Taiwan were taught in "Xiao schools 小学校". However, resources were not equally distributed among the three types of schools, among which Xiao schools were the best in terms of teachers and facilities. Therefore, in 1944, the Taiwan Governor-general's office unified Gong schools, Fanren Gong schools, and Xiao schools into "national schools 国民学校".

⁴ Song Jiaoren (1882-1913), the first politician to advocate the responsible cabinet system in the early stage of the Republic of China, served as president of the Legislative Court of the Republic of China. He was assassinated in Shanghai in 1913. Historians have concluded that the president, Yuan Shikai, was responsible for the assassination.

unfortunately, Yuan Shikai destroyed all the efforts; we resent him so much that we gnashed our teeth (Weng, 1990, p. 295).

Much disappointed, Chiang Wei-Shui had the idea of assassinating Yuan Shikai. His idea received a positive response from students of the medical school. At that time, it was reported that cholera was prevalent in the Chinese mainland every year and people speculated that water was the carrier of infection. At the beginning of the 20th century, the drinking reservoirs in Taipei were accessible to anyone. Chiang Wei-Shui thought that reservoirs in Beijing were the same, so he planned to put cholera bacteria into the reservoir and poison Yuan Shikai in the name of cholera. Chiang Wei-Shui was in charge of this plan, raised funds for this action, and made Du Congming杜聰明 and Weng Junming, both of whom majored in bacteriology, responsible for specific poisoning action.

It took Du and Weng a lot of effort to reach Beijing. Because of the Sino-Japanese Treaty on the Three Northeastern Provinces signed in 1905, people needed a visa to travel from Taiwan to the Chinese mainland, but not from Japan to Manchuria. So they took a boat from Keelung Port to Kobe in July 1913, then from Kobe to Dalian Port in Manchuria, then to Shenyang, and finally arrived in Beijing by train. However, their plan failed. When studying the city streets and water sources, they found that the reservoirs in Beijing were utterly different from those in Taipei. Soldiers guarded all the water sources, and there was no chance of poisoning. Unfortunately, Du and Weng found someone following them after a few days in Beijing. The cholera germs carried by them had died, so they had to give up and return to Taiwan disappointed. Although the action was unsuccessful, it showed that Chiang Wei-Shui and other medical students were concerned about the future of China.

3. Participate in the "Petition Movement for Establishing a Taiwanese Parliament"

In the early days of Taiwan's Occupation, the Taiwanese did not want to be ruled by Japan. As a result, there was frequent resistance, suppressed by a Japanese force. In 1915, the last large-scale armed resistance occurred in Taiwan's Han society, known as the "Selai Temple Incident西来庵事件." Ando Sadayoshi安东贞美, the sixth Governor-General of Taiwan, not only used the police but also sent infantry and artillery, killing a large number of protesters. One thousand nine hundred fifty-seven people, including Yu

Qingfang 余清芳, the leader of the armed resistance, were arrested, and 866 were sentenced to death, which was tragic (Qi, 2015, pp. 113-116).

The cruel behavior of the Government-General of Taiwan made the Taiwanese realize that under the military superiority of Japanese colonists, it was difficult to succeed in military resistance. On the other hand, in 1889, Japan implemented the constitutional monarchy system, and Emperor Meiji promulgated the Imperial Constitution, which stipulated that the "Imperial Parliament" was the legislature and limited administrative power. Taiwan gentry recommended that some Taiwanese join the Imperial Parliament of Japan to limit the power of the Government-General of Taiwan. Still, they found that the Taiwanese entering the Imperial Parliament could not restrict the power of the Governor-General of Taiwan. It even made Taiwan assimilate into Japan and then lose its autonomy. Therefore they asked the Japanese government to set up an autonomous parliament in Taiwan and hand over the legislative power to the people of Taiwan. In 1921, Lin Hsien-tang 林獻堂⁵, leader of "the Petition Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament"⁶ together with 178 Taiwanese people, signed a petition and sent it to Tokyo Imperial Parliament, which was the first parliamentary petition campaign.

In 1915, Chiang Wei-Shui graduated from medical school and worked in Yilan Hospital as a surgical assistant. In 1916, he resigned from Yilan Hospital and founded Da'an Hospital 大安医院 in Taipei (now the famous Yimei Food 义美食品 at No.31, Section 2, Yanping North Road, Taipei) and soon became one of the renowned doctors in Taipei. In addition to running the hospital, in 1917, Chiang Wei-Shui also operated the "Chunfengdeyilou 春风得意楼" restaurant (one of the four restaurants in Dadaocheng 大稻埕 in Taipei business district). During this period, the material life of Chiang Wei-Shui was vibrant, but his spirit was empty, and there was no passion as when he was at medical school at all. In April 1921, Lin Hsien-tang returned to Taiwan from Japan and met the Taiwanese gentry in Chiang Wei-Shui's restaurant. Through this banquet, Chiang Wei-Shui got to know Lin Hsien-tang and found that Taiwan's

⁵ Lin Hsien-tang (1881-1956), was born in Taiwan's famous Wufeng Lin Family, rich in knowledge, and had a profound friendship with Liang Qichao. He got the title of "Father of the Taiwanese Parliament" because of his deep involvement in the Petition Movement to establish a Taiwanese Parliament during the Japanese occupation period.

⁶ The Petition Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament was initiated by Lin Hsien-tang, Cai Huiru, Cai Peihuo and others, which was the earliest and longest island-wide unarmed anti-Japanese movement. The movement insisted that the Taiwanese differ significantly from the Japanese in culture, customs and habits, and Taiwan has its particularity. It advocated that the governance of Taiwan should involve Taiwanese who were familiar with the conditions on the island. It demanded that the Japanese Parliament allow Taiwan to set up an elected parliament to assist the Government-General of Taiwan in handling special legislations and particular budgets. Taiwanese launched 15 petition movements, from the first one in January 1921 to the last one in January 1934, but the Japanese National Diet did not approve them.

parliamentary petition movement was in good agreement with his ideas, which rekindled his political enthusiasm. He gladly joined in and played an essential role in the later development of the parliamentary petition movement.

After Lin Hsien-tang returned to Taiwan, he actively publicized the petition campaign, and the people on the island were greatly encouraged. As a result, the number of people who participated in the second petition movement in Taiwan increased sharply from 10 to more than 350, which aroused the vigilance of the Government-General of Taiwan. To suppress the parliamentary petition movement, DenKenjiro 田健治郎, the eighth Governor-General of Taiwan, met eight principal figures of the second parliamentary petition movement, demanded to stop the movement, and forced Lin Hsien-tang to join the official "Sunward Party 向阳会" by taking strict measures. In the end, Lin Hsien-tang and others gave in, which was called the "Eight Pioneers Incident 八骏事件" in history (Ye, 2000, p. 231).

The "Eight Pioneers Incident" made Lin Hsien-tang and others temporarily yield. So Chiang Wei-Shui and others decided to set up the Taiwan Parliamentary League 台湾议会期成同盟会, an alliance formed to promote the Taiwan Parliament, with the petition movement as its primary purpose. In January 1923, they applied to Taipei's "North Police Department" for an association, with Shi Huanchang 石焕长 as the person in charge, but it was rejected. On February 16, 1923, Chiang Wei-Shui, Cai Peihuo 蔡培火, Chen Fengyuan 陈逢源, and others took advantage of the third petition movement in Tokyo and applied to Waseda Police Department for association again, which was finally approved. However, it didn't last long. On December 16, 1923, the Police Bureau of Government-General of Taiwan launched an island-wide arrest of the members of the Taiwan Parliamentary League, arguing that the establishment of the League violated the Public Security Police Law, and Chiang Wei-Shui was at the top of the arrest list. This incident was the most significant arrest of the Taiwanese by the Japanese colonial government after the "Selai Temple Incident" in 1915, which shocked both inside and outside the island and was historically called "Violation of the Police Law Incident 治安警察法违反事件." (briefly called "Police Incident 治警事件")

In the "Police Incident" trial court, if Chiang Wei-Shui could admit his "faults" and respond to the Japanese assimilation policy, he would be free from jail. However, he did the opposite. He said openly in court, "Taiwanese are Chinese, which no one can deny (Liu, 2018, p. 197)." Under Japanese colonial rule, Chiang Wei-Shui's argument in court was likely to lead to a fatal disaster. The ultimate goal of Japan's colonial rule of Taiwan was to eliminate the Chinese national identity of the Taiwanese from the aspects of history, beliefs, habits, etc. so that they could be assimilated into the Japanese nation. Few people dared to question the assimilation policy, fearing retaliation from the Government-General for advocating "complete Taiwan autonomy". Chiang Wei-Shui, however, openly stressed in court that no matter who ruled Taiwan, it could not change Taiwanese identity as a part of China. His words were a challenge to Japanese colonial rule.

Huang Huang-Hsiung 黃煌雄, the leader of the Democratic Progressive Party, who used to be a member of the National Assembly, legislator, and supervisory committee member, admitted:

The whole generation of the Taiwanese of Chiang Wei-Shui all agreed with the Chinese identity and was proud of them. In fact, from a historical point of view, the modern national movement in Taiwan is also a kind of identity movement of Han nationality and the Chinese nation, which fully shows the majestic national righteousness (Huang, 2006a, p. 13).

4. Founding Taiwanese Cultural Association and Taiwanese People's Party

In addition to promoting the establishment of the Taiwan Parliament, another contribution of Chiang Wei-Shui was the establishment of the Taiwanese Cultural Association. The Association was the most critical folk cultural organization in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation, which played an important role in arousing the Chinese national consciousness of the Taiwanese.

Chiang Wei-Shui promoted the establishment of the cultural association to provide a platform for the youth in Taiwan to communicate. In 1921, Chiang Wei-Shui visited Lin Hsien-tang and proposed to him establish a "cultural association," which was strongly supported by Lin Hsien-tang. Later, Chiang Wei-Shui, Wu Haishui 吳海水, Lin Liming 林麗明, and others completed the draft of the founding meeting. On August 28, they sent the founding plan of the Taiwanese Cultural Association and other materials inside and outside the island to recruit members. On October 8, Chiang Wei-Shui, Wu

Haishui, and Lin Liming reported to Chief Kawasaki川崎警务长 of the Government-General and set up an association office in Da'an Hospital of Chiang Wei-Shui. On October 17, the inaugural meeting of the Taiwanese Cultural Association was held at "Retreat Girls' School静修女子学校" in Dadaocheng, Taipei, with a total of 1,032 participants. The general assembly elected Lin Hsien-tang as the prime minister and Chiang Wei-Shui as associate director. According to Cai Peihuo⁷, at that time, Taiwan's associations generally set up "president会长" and "vice president副会长." However, the Taiwanese Cultural Association set up a "Prime Minister总理" and "associate director协理," which was to imitate the system of China's Kuomintang to reflect their patriotic feelings (Cai, 1982, p. 281).

Chiang Wei-Shui worked hard to enlighten the Taiwanese, awaken the consciousness of the Chinese nation, and show his yearning for the Chinese mainland. In November 1921, Chiang Wei-Shui published the article "*Clinical Lecture Notes--Diagnosis of a Patient named Taiwan*临床讲义——对名叫台湾的患者的诊断," pointing out that people in Taiwan have Chinese ethnic origin. However, after the Japanese "poisoning," Taiwanese suffered from intellectual malnutrition and showed the symptoms of "retarded children" so that their fine bloodline was eclipsed. To treat the intellectual malnutrition of the Taiwanese, Chiang Wei-Shui regarded improving people's intelligence as the primary goal of establishing a cultural association (Chiang, 2005, pp. 3-6).

The cultural association held quite a few activities, including publishing conference newspapers, setting up newspapers, kindergartens, remedial education institutions, sports training institutions, Chinese language research institutes, and organizing cultural propaganda teams. Among them, the most fruitful achievements of the cultural association were holding various talks and running newspapers. In addition, they took the opportunity to promote national consciousness. The main message of publicity is:

⁷ Cai Peihuo (1889-1983) was born in Yunlin County, Taiwan. His ancestral home was Quanzhou, Fujian. In 1906, Cai Peihuo studied at the "National Language School of Government-General of Taiwan台湾总督府国语学校". In 1914, he joined the Taiwan Tung-hua-hui Association (台湾同化会), founded by Lin Hsien-tang. After the association's dissolution, Cai was sponsored by Lin Hsien-tang to study in Japan and was admitted to the Science department of Tokyo Higher Normal School. In October 1922, Cai Peihuo, Lin Hsien-tang, Chiang Wei-Shui, Lin Youchun林幼春, and others founded the "Taiwanese Cultural Association". Cai Peihuo was the publisher of Taiwan's first publication, Taiwan Youth台湾青年, to fight against Japanese colonial rule. Cai peihuo was arrested and sentenced to four months in prison, along with Chiang Wei-Shui, for violating the so-called "Security Police Law治安警察法" by vigorously promoting the Petition Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament. After the victory of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Cai peihuo joined the Kuomintang and went to Nanjing to attend the Japanese surrender ceremony on behalf of Taiwanese. Later, he had held important posts in Kuomintang government departments until his death.

Han nationality is an advanced civilized people with a glorious culture of 5,000 years and should not succumb to the rule of other nationalities. Japan's ruling policy is to eliminate all the cultures and traditions of the Han nationality, making it the object of economic exploitation and become a subordinate nation to Japan ultimately. We should arouse the national consciousness of the Han nationality, take Taiwan as our land, and rule ourselves. We should unite for the elimination of humiliation (PBGT, 2006a, p. 224).

According to *the History of Police in Government-General of Taiwan* 台湾总督府警察沿革志, the promotion of Chinese national consciousness by the Cultural Association has caused significant changes in Taiwan society. For example, the number of the Taiwanese who attended the "Commemorative Day of the First Japanese Government of the Taiwan Island 本岛始政纪念日"⁸ decreased. The number of people who did doggerel to satire the Government-General of Taiwan or participated in the speech protest increased significantly. Especially among young people, the cultural association had a far-reaching influence. Many students protested against the Japanese in schools. And more and more Taiwan students chose to study on the Chinese mainland. According to a survey conducted by the Government-General of Taiwan, only 19 students were studying on the Chinese mainland in 1920, but in 1923, the number reached 273, an increase of more than 14 times within three years. (PBGT, 2006a, pp. 232-233).

However, the cultural association was composed of three groups with different ideological tendencies, which brought some hidden trouble for its future division. The three groups were: the "nationalist school 民族主义派" with Chiang Wei-Shui as the center, influenced by the national revolutionary movement of the Chinese Kuomintang; the "reformist school 改良主义派" centered on Cai Peihuo, influenced by the Japanese democratic movement; the "socialist school 社会主义派" centered on Wang Minchuan 王敏川 and Lian Wenqing 连温卿 was mainly influenced by the proletarian socialist revolutionary movements in China and Japan. Opposing Japanese rule was the common goal of these three groups, which was the basis of cooperation. But as time went by, the differences were hard to reconcile. Finally, on January 3, 1927, an interim meeting

⁸ June 17, 1895, Kabayama Sukenori 桦山资纪, the first Governor-General of Taiwan, announced the takeover of Taiwan in Taipei, and the date was designated as the "Commemorative Day of the First Japanese Government of the Taiwan Island". Ever since, various commemorative activities have been held every year on June 17, to declare Japan's ruling power and publicize its achievements in the colony of Taiwan.

of the Taiwanese Cultural Association was held in Taichung, and the three groups were officially divided. Finally, Chiang Wei-Shui could only establish the Taiwanese People's Party independently.

In February 1927, Chiang Wei-Shui began to prepare for a new political organization. He had submitted six applications for an association to the Police Bureau of Government-General by May. Still all of them were rejected by the government on the grounds of his advocating colonial autonomy and seeking national awakening. On June 7, Chiang Wei-Shui, Cai Peihuo and others held another meeting to discuss revising the application materials. Under the coercion of Kobayashi 小林课长, the head of the Security Department of Government-General of Taiwan, Cai Peihuo conveyed Kobayashi's opinion on the association that was, Chiang Wei-Shui was not allowed to participate in the association on the following grounds:

First, the government in Taiwan cannot tolerate the existence of nationalist groups in Taiwan. Second, Chiang Wei-Shui is an extreme Chinese nationalist, so he will probably dominate the association when he joins it. Therefore, it is rare to get permission if Chiang Wei-Shui attends the meeting. If Chiang wanted to join, he had to promise that he would not dominate the general situation and that he would not create any nationalist groups (Huang, 2006b, p. 129).

In the face of the threat from the Government-General, the participating members were unmoved. Finally, on July 11, Chiang Wei-Shui and others named the organization "Taiwanese People's Party". They applied for an association to the Police Bureau of Government-General, which was approved at last. The police bureau analyzed that:

The guiding force of the Party is still centered on the Chiang Wei-Shui faction. Though not entirely changed, the platform has been softened, with a declaration to avoid being misunderstood as a national movement. If we prohibit it again, the cadres may go underground to rebel against the administration, bringing more trouble to the suppression. Now that there's a slight softening on the surface... So we decide to acknowledge its existence under strict supervision... and control it (PBGT, 2006a, p. 148).

After establishing the Taiwanese People's Party, it made many criticisms against the Government-General of Taiwan. Among them, the Party's "anti-opium new concession movement 反对鸦片吸食新特许运动" was considered an important reason why the Government-General retaliated against it, which eventually led to the banning of the Party.

At the beginning of the 19th century, to solve the problem of China's trade surplus and open the Chinese market, Britain imported a large amount of opium into the southeast coast of China and Taiwan, making countless Chinese people addicted to opium. In the early days of the Japanese Occupation of Taiwan, the Government-General issued the Military Punishment Order of the Taiwanese 台湾人民军事犯处分令, and Punishment Order of Taiwan Inhabitants 台湾住民刑罚令 to prevent damage to Japanese fighting power. On the one hand, the Government-General stipulated that anyone who traded opium to Japanese soldiers should be sentenced to death; on the other hand, it continuously sold opium to the Taiwanese. It was not until 1898 that Gotō Shinpei 后藤新平 became the civil administrator of the Government-General that he began to deal with the opium problem. Gotō Shinpei put forward the "Opium Gradually Banned Policy 鸦片渐禁政策", that was, the government still sold opium, but addicts could only buy it with a license issued by the government. The government aimed to ban opium by reducing license issuance year by year.

In terms of legislative intent, it was advisable to ban opium progressively. However, the Government-General found that opium, after being sold exclusively by the government, could expand the government's financial resources and win over a large number of people by issuing opium distribution rights. Under the consideration of interests, the Japanese colonial government acted negatively. Thus opium users increased, not decreased. In November 1924, Japan joined the International Opium Convention and assured the international community that domestic opium smoking was prohibited. Under pressure, the Government-General revised the original opium policy and promulgated a new opium policy in 1928. The new opium policy stipulated that opium was not allowed to be smoked, and treatment was adopted to eliminate smokers' addiction. However, license holders were excluded from the new policy. The policy caused strong dissatisfaction from the Taiwanese People's Party, so it immediately issued a protest to the Government-General, and actively contacted the Japanese Prime Minister and Minister of Extension, hoping to make the Government-General completely ban opium smoking. After being rejected by the Japanese government, they complained directly to the headquarters of the League of Nations in Geneva, who promised they would set up an investigation team to investigate Taiwan. Hearing this news, the Government-General was flustered. Lin Hsien-tang's diary recorded it in detail:

(February 23, 1930) Zhuwu Police Minister猪俣警务部长 ordered the patrol to invite me to meet... He said that the League of Nations committee members would meet with the Taiwanese People's Party on March 1. The Government-General's officials were apprehensive about the matter, so he asked me to advise Wei-Shui not to meet the committee members...

(February 25) Zhuwu Police Minister called me this morning... He said international committee members would undoubtedly meet with Wei-Shui and others. He wanted to ask me as a representative to meet with committee members to avoid losing national dignity.

(February 28) I called on Commissioner Ishii to ask the number of members to meet tomorrow. He urged Wei-Shui not to go... He noted that Wei-Shui would tell these committee members about domestic affairs. I said it was inevitable that Wei-Shui would oppose the new opium concession policy when he met the committee, but he would not tell them about other domestic affairs. He said Wei-Shui had telegraphed to the League of Nations in Geneva to oppose the Government-General. It was impossible to face the committee tomorrow without mentioning domestic affairs (Lin, 2001, pp. 63-68).

Taiwanese People's Party's actions against the new opium franchise policy have received positive responses from the Taiwanese people. Many groups, such as the "Ru-Shui Club如水会," composed of intellectuals and medical workers in Taipei, wrote to the Government-General of Taiwan and the Japanese central government to oppose the new opium franchise. The anti-new opium franchise campaign led by the Taiwanese People's Party made the Taiwanese notice the opium problem neglected for more than 30 years. It forced the Government-General to revise the franchise order and set up a "rehabilitation center更生院" with a budget of 400,000 yuan to carry out the corrective treatment.

Taiwanese People's Party criticized the opium policy of the Government-General and revised its party program in line with the current situation to unite more compatriots against Japanese rule. In 1929, the impact of the American economic crisis expanded continuously, becoming a worldwide economic storm that affected all capitalist countries, and Japan, as a new bourgeois country, did not escape the impact. To reduce losses, it increased the exploitation of the colonies, which has made life more difficult for the working class in Taiwan, and the contradiction between employers and employees rose sharply. To absorb laborers and other proletariats to resist Japanese rule jointly, on February 18, 1931, the Taiwanese People's Party held its fourth party congress, focusing on adjusting its program, policies, and party constitution. After many debates, the revised draft was finally passed. However, the Taipei North Police Commissioner suddenly appeared at the meeting, announced the ban on the Taiwanese People's Party, and detained 16 key

members, including Chiang Wei-Shui on the spot. At this point, the Taiwanese People's Party was utterly strangled by the Japanese colonial rulers. Affected by this, Chiang Wei-Shui died soon after, and the Chinese nationalist movement in Taiwan was in a state of suspension.

5. Chiang Wei-Shui's Chinese national identity

Born in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation, Chiang Wei-Shui was a new generation of local Taiwanese intellectuals after the Japanese Occupation who grew up under the assimilation policy of Japanese rulers. So why did he have such a solid Chinese national identity?

There are two approaches to contemporary ethnic identity research: objectivism holds that the elements of ethnic identity are objective, including blood, history, culture, language, etc. The subjective theory emphasizes that ethnic identity is an individual problem and will change with social conditions (Ma, 2016, pp. 1-2). Objectivism and subjectivism are not wholly divided but act on individual ethnic identities together. For example, Chiang Wei-Shui's Chinese national identity was formed under the combined action of objective and subjective factors.

Ancestral home endowed Chiang Wei-Shui and other Taiwanese with Chinese traditional culture such as language, thoughts, beliefs, customs, and habits, which was his Chinese national identity's most significant objective factor. According to the statistics of the Police Bureau of Government-General, by the end of 1936, there were 5,451,863 people on Taiwan Island, among whom 5,020,941 were immigrants from Fujian and Guangdong and their descendants, accounting for 92.1% of the total population of Taiwan (PBGT, 2006a, p. 2). They brought a large number of local literature, opera, diet, religion, folk customs, and others to Taiwan. This makes the Taiwanese deeply influenced by Chinese culture.

The governance of the Qing Dynasty for more than 200 years was another objective factor. The vast majority of the Chinese mainland people came to Taiwan in scattered ways. Although they brought the customs and habits of Fujian and Guangdong, it was difficult to establish the central plains style social structure 中原式社会结构 and Chinese culture with national characteristics. After Taiwan was incorporated into China's territory in the Qing Dynasty, the government implemented the official system of the

Chinese mainland, enlisted talents through the old civil service examination system, and promoted Confucian morality in Taiwan, integrating Taiwan into its social system. Deeply influenced by the culture of the central plains, the Taiwanese naturally had a strong Chinese national identity. Even the Japanese had to admit this fact:

Regarding the national consciousness of the islanders, the key lies in their belonging to the Han ethnic system. The Han nationality has always been proud of its 5,000-year-old traditional culture, and its national consciousness is unbreakable. The people on this island, who belong to this Han ethnic system, have been transferred to the local government for more than 40 years, but their customs, habits, language, beliefs, and other aspects still follow the old look. Therefore, it is not easy to throw away the Chinese national consciousness (PBG, 2006a, pp. 2-3).

Fredrik Barth pointed out that forming ethnic boundaries needs the socialization process including exclusion and inclusion (Barth, 1969). By investigating Chiang Wei-Shui's life experience, we can also find out about the process of inclusion and exclusion in him and the influence of subjective factors on the formation of his Chinese national identity.

In 1899, Chiang Wei-Shui entered the private school set up by Zhang Jingguang, a Yilan scholar, to receive Chinese education. Zhang, who received good training in Chinese, saw the great mountains and rivers of the Chinese mainland and deeply loved his country. His patriotic sentiment and Chinese cultural accomplishment significantly influenced Chiang Wei-Shui.

Personal knowledge and experience made Chiang Wei-Shui realize the difference between Taiwan and Japan. After the Japanese invasion of Taiwan, the people of Yilan were enslaved continuously. On January 1, 1896, the Japanese army forced 250 people from Yilan to build fortifications at the brigade's headquarters. On January 2, another 500 laborers were recruited, of which 300 were responsible for repairing the fortifications; the other 200 people were forced to go to the defensive line to clean up the shooting range, which was not different from death. Later, some people were selected to form a slashing team and were forced to rush to the front line. The people of Yilan resolutely resisted. Small-scale anti-Japanese attacks on Japanese military police occurred in Yilan City often. For example, on December 28, 1895, the anti-Japanese people attacked the Japanese Guards in Yilan County. On March 5, 1898, 60 anti-Japanese people lurked in Ertouzhuang 二头庄, Touweibao 头围堡. On March 10, Lin Huowang 林火旺 led 200 men to attack Ganjiaozhuang 柑脚庄 and captured six traitors who worked for Japan. On April

3, anti-Japanese people lurked outside the north gate of Yilan and then fought with Japanese military police, with casualties on both sides. There were countless stories.

Chiang Wei-Shui, who grew up in Yilan, understood the Japanese's cruelty to the Yilan people. The Japanese not only suppressed the Taiwanese people by force but also poisoned them with opium, from which Chiang Wei-Shui's family suffered a lot. Because his father was infected with opium, most family income was used to buy opium. Chiang Wei-Shui often peddled with his younger brother Chiang Weichuan and worked as child workers to support his family. To give Chiang Wei-Shui the chance to receive an education, his younger brother gave up further studies after graduating from public school. So he hated the opium policy that the Japanese colonial government advocated and fiercely opposed it as soon as the new opium franchise policy of the Government-General was introduced. He was exposed to the Japanese military repression and opium poisoning, so his consciousness of hating the Japanese gradually formed.

In the face of oppression and discrimination under Japanese rule, Taiwanese people's Chinese national identity was strengthened. As Cai Peihuo, Ye Rongzhong叶荣钟, and others said:

We were born after Taiwan was ceded to Japan. We had never set foot on our motherland's land or seen its territory. We had no blood or in-laws on the Chinese mainland. So, in addition to literature, history, and traditional culture, there is no connection. The motherland is just a product of ideas, not actual contact experience. But we have a warm and robust centripetal force, which is roughly the so-called "national spirit" (Huang, 2006c, p. 305).

6. The influence of Chiang Wei-Shui's "Chinese national identity" on the Taiwanese

Although Chiang Wei-Shui died young, he engaged in the national movement with a strong Chinese national identity, which significantly influenced the Taiwanese. His major influences are as follows:

Firstly, he awakened the Chinese national consciousness of Taiwan people during the Japanese occupation period. Taiwan was an immigrant society. Immigrants could be divided into Quanzhou people, Zhangzhou people, and Cantonese, and their ancestral areas were the main objects of identification. Historically, there has been constant fighting among different categories, and it wasn't easy to unite. Chiang Wei-Shui insisted on uniting all the Taiwanese, making them realize that although they came from different ancestral

regions, they were all descendants of the same ancestors and belonged to the Chinese nation.

Secondly, he took Chinese national identity as the foundation to unite the anti-Japanese masses. Under Japanese rule, the capitalists in Taiwan were mainly Japanese, but there were still a few Taiwanese capitalists. Many anti-Japanese leaders often used class struggle as a means of resisting Japan. However, Chiang Wei-Shui believed that class struggle alone would exclude Taiwan capitalists from the anti-Japanese group, weaken the anti-Japanese forces and lead to the failure of the anti-Japanese campaign. In his view, Taiwan capitalists were a vital force against Japan, which should be united. Therefore, he advocated a combination of class struggle and national struggle to unite the masses of Taiwanese. The Police Bureau of the Government-General of Taiwan 台湾总督府警务局 evaluated the social movement led by Chiang Wei-Shui: "It is greatly influenced by the revolutionary movement of the Chinese Nationalist Party. It wants to organize the people of Taiwan and promote the national movement and the class movement in parallel" (PBG, 2006b, p. 185, 261).

Thirdly, Chiang Wei-Shui influenced his relatives and friends profoundly. As Chiang Wei-Shui's right-hand man, Chen Qichang, secretary-general of the Taiwanese People's Party, went to the Chinese mainland to participate in the War of Resistance against Japan. After China regained Taiwan from Japan in 1945, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Kuomintang government under the name of "funding bandits," and he was not released from prison until Chiang Kai-shek 蒋介石 died in 1975. However, He firmly adhered to the identity of the Chinese nation and was looking forward to the early reunification of China. At the age of 82, Chen Qichang founded Yuanwang magazine 远望杂志. The act was to pursue the reunification of China and its national rejuvenation. In the foreword to the magazine, Chen Qichang showed the desire of the first generation of anti-Japanese intellectuals:

The peaceful reunification of China may not be what I, an 83-year-old man, and my brother Liu Ming 刘明, an 86-year-old man, can expect. Lu Fang Weng 陆放翁, a poet in Song Dynasty, once said, "In sorrow, we do not see the nine states unity." It is true that the first generation of anti-Japanese people still feel the same way today. How can we not strive for peace for our children and grandchildren? To live up to the ideals of

our youth, account for our children, and fulfill our final responsibility to the nation, we founded this magazine (Wang, 1988, p. 279).

7. Conclusion

Restore the true meaning of Chiang Wei-Shui as a political symbol

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, in Taiwan society, where the consciousness of "Taiwan independence" dominates, Chiang Wei-Shui has been manipulated by separatists as a political symbol of "Taiwan independence". This statement is purely symbolic reproduction for specific political purposes, deviating from historical facts and Chiang Wei-Shui's lifelong pursuit of China's national unity. This article aims to recover the original national identity of Chiang Wei-Shui in historical texts.

Throughout the process of Chiang Wei-Shui's political activities, we can find that his political appeal lay in "Taiwan autonomy 台湾自治". However, the "Taiwan autonomy" pursued by Chiang Wei-Shui was not "Taiwan independence 台湾独立", but a strategy and means of returning to China. Even the Japanese colonists were afraid of Chiang Wei-Shui's pursuit of autonomy in Taiwan as a strategy to return to China. For example, at the inaugural meeting of the Taiwanese People's Party, the Police Bureau pointed out that Chiang Wei-Shui was a "nationalist" and prohibited him from joining the association. In February 1931, the Government-General issued Reasons for the Prohibition of the Taiwanese People's Party, which pointed out that the party "gradually dominated by the leftists led by the nationalist Chiang Wei-Shui and slowly showed an explicit national movement to resist our people (PBG, 2006b, pp. 263-264)."

Is the "national movement" and "nationalist" mentioned by the Government-General "Taiwanese nationalism" or "Chinese nationalism"? The evaluation of Chiang Wei-Shui by the Police Bureau provides the answer:

These people have great hopes for the future of China, believing that China will soon recover its power and undoubtedly be able to regain Taiwan. Based on this view, they insist on not losing their national characteristics before this time and accumulating their strength to wait for the chance. They have an intense national consciousness and are proud of China, always emphasizing its 4,000-year-old history. These people who tend to radicalize frequently stirred up anti-Japanese rhetoric. Chiang Wei-Shui, Cai Huiru, and Wang Minchuan are representatives (PBG, 2006b, pp. 13-14).

Obviously, the Government-General was wary that Wei-Shui's nationalism was "Chinese nationalism" rather than "Taiwanese nationalism". Thus, the "autonomy of Taiwan" is not for Taiwan's independence but acts as the first step to return to China.

Funding: This research was funded by the National Social Science Foundation of China (grant numbers: 18ZDA159) and First Class Discipline of Yunnan University of Ethnology.

Data Availability Statement: Not applicable.

Acknowledgments: We gratefully acknowledge the Nation Chengchi University, Taiwan, for the support of the first author for his study in Taiwan. We also thank Canrong Xie, Huihui Zou, Usman Sattar, and Austin Smith for their efforts in proofreading and suggestions for paper publication.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

References

- Barth, F. (Ed.). (1969). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Boston: Little Brown & Co. <https://www.amazon.com/Ethnic-Boundaries-Organization-Culture-Difference/dp/B001E3C1HW>
- Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. New York: the Noonday Press. <https://archive.org/details/barthes-roland-mythologies-en-1972>
- Cai, P. (1982). *The Movements History of Taiwanese*. Taipei: Independence Evening Post. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b14831742*cht
- Chen, X. (2011). Intertwined with the Chinese in Taiwan: Ideology and Practice of the Chiang Wei-Shui Anti-colonial Struggles. *Taiwan Research Journal*(2), 54-60. https://kns.cnki.net/kcms2/article/abstract?v=3uoqIhG8C44YLTl0AiTRKkgchrJ08w1e7t vjWANqNvp_h02JkFSCiXbOJ3NEazzBiRBNeyJPWM48cFTfONbO4lnQuHVxgLqQl&uniplatform=NZKPT&src=copy
- Chiang, W. (2005). Clinical Lecture Notes---Diagnosis of a Patient named Taiwan. In X. Wang (Ed.), *Complete Works of Chiang Wei-Shui*. Taipei: Straits Academic Press. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b12788470*cht
- Huang, H. (2006a). Congratulations on the History of Taiwan. In Y. Wang (Ed.), *Festschrift of Chiang Wei-Shui*. Taipei: Taiwan Research Foundation. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b10511859*cht
- Huang, H. (2006b). *Biography of Chiang Wei-Shui: Sun Yat-sen of Taiwan*. Taipei: China Times Publishing Co. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b8811396*cht
- Huang, H. (2006c). Chiang Wei-Shui, Lee Teng-Hui, Chen Shui-Bian: Their Time and China. In Y. Wang (Ed.), *Festschrift of Chiang Wei-Shui*. Taipei: Taiwan Research Foundation. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b10511859*cht
- Lin, C., & Tseng, C. (2014). Resistance Spirit: The Underground Stream and the Main Stream in the History of Taiwan. *The Journal of Chinese Public Administration* (15), 205-225. <http://doi.org/10.6712/JCPA>
- Lin, H. (2001). *Lin Hsien-tang Diary* (Vol. 3). Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History at Academia Sinica. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b8947066*cht
- Liu, W. (Ed.). (2018). *The Taiwan Minpao* (Vol. 2). Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History. <https://metadata.ncl.edu.tw/blstkmc/blstkmc?00110ABFF9C00A0200000000000600A00000001000000000^#tudorkmtop>
- Ma, T. (2016). The Difference and Development of National Objectivism and Subjectivism Judging from the Construction and Differentiation of Taiya People in Taiwan. *Journal of Southwest Minzu University*(6), 1-8. <https://kns.cnki.net/kcms2/article/abstract?v=3uoqIhG8C44YLTl0AiTRKibYIV5Vjs7ij P0rjQD-AVm8oHBO0FTadlOU5N4sdhpF5-AHMuiSvG0Bn4li1MDmPNWk83mpKSi4&uniplatform=NZKPT>

- PBGT. (2006a). A History of Social Movements in Taiwan(Vol.1 of Culture Movement). Taipei: Straits Academic Press. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b12788456*cht
- PBGT. (2006b). A History of Social Movements in Taiwan (Vol.2 of Political Movement). Taipei: Straits Academic Press. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b12788483*cht
- Qi, J. (2015). *The Taiwan People Armed against Japan*. Taipei: Qi Jialin. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b15139540*cht
- Saussure, F. (2011). Course in General Linguistics. New York: Columbia University Press. <http://cup.columbia.edu/book/course-in-general-linguistics/9780231157261>
- Shoufu. (2007). You Si-Kun Is a Betrayer of Chiang Wei-Shui. *Straits Review Monthly*(201), 5. DOI : 10.29925/SRM.200709.0002
- Su, B. (1980). *Modern History of Taiwanese in 400 Years*. Taipei: Peng Island Culture Company. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b8575187*cht
- Wang, X. (1988). *Taiwan History and Taiwanese*. Taipei: The Grand East Book CO. <https://metadata.ncl.edu.tw/blstkmc/blstkmc?001C465064AD010200000000000100A000000010000000000^#tudorkmtop>
- Wang, X. (Ed.). (2005). *Complete Works of Chiang Wei-Shui* (Vol. 1). Taipei: Straits Academic Press. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b12788470*cht
- Weng, Q. (1990). *Biography of Weng Junming*. Taipei: Publishing Department of Joongang Daily. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b1382592*cht
- Ye, R. (2000). *Social and Political Movements in Colonial Taiwan* (Vol. 1). Taipei: Morning Star Publishing Inc. http://nbinet3.ncl.edu.tw/record=b8459178*cht