From *Hōnto Jin* to *Bensheng Ren* - the Origin and Development of Taiwanese National Consciousness: based on the Examination of two Diaries (1920-1955)

By

Shih-jung Tzeng
St Antony's College

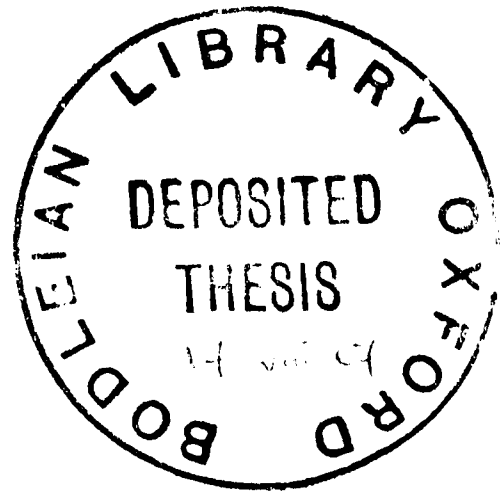
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This thesis represents a new attempt to use numerous volumes of mostly unpublished diaries, viewed as private forms of ego documents, as the main source for examining identity-centered issues. Using the private diaries of two Taiwanese intellectuals, Chen Wangcheng and Wu Xinrong, I have examined how Taiwanese national consciousness emerged and was reconstructed under the Japanese and Chinese Nationalist rule between 1920 and 1955. The examined cases suggest that a sense of Taiwanese national consciousness was created in the 1920s via an empirical construction, on the one hand, through the working of the politico-social networks, and via an abstract construction through the spread of print-capitalism on the other. Nevertheless, between 1937 and 1945, this multi-dimensional Taiwanese national consciousness was primarily reconstructed by the war development and mobilization, which were also reinforced by war propaganda, such as the discourse of the (greater) East Asian new order, rather than by the *Kōminka* cultural and religious policies. In other words, the sense of cohesion between the Taiwanese and Japanese was intensified, mainly because they shared a common fate in the cumulative process of warfare. In general, the islanders maintained a double identity as 'Taiwanese/Japanese', with the former being visibly tilted towards the latter during the war.

In the early postwar period, the reconstructed Taiwanese national consciousness underwent a further reconstruction caused by the regime change from Japan to China in 1945 and the 2.28 Incident in 1947. The Taiwanese experienced a new imagination of Chinese national consciousness during the regime change, which was later challenged by the misrule of the Nationalist Chinese government and led to the emergence of the *bensheng ren* (native Taiwanese) consciousness. In nature, the increasing ethnic confrontation between the *bensheng ren* and *waisheng ren* (mainlanders), which centered around the conception of 'modernity vs. nationality', mainly resulted from their opposing 'Japanese experiences' and finally led to the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident, which in reverse provided a political focus to materialize the *bensheng ren* (vs. *waisheng ren*) identity from outside. In addition, the emerging international Cold War environment enabled the creation of a de facto independent state based on Taiwan-size governance, which internationally had an evident impact on shaping and reshaping the *bensheng ren* identity.

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Preface

This thesis represents an attempt to use numerous volumes of mostly unpublished diaries, viewed as private forms of ego documents, as the main source for examining identity-centered issues.

In this thesis, I shall first examine, the emergence of a Taiwanese national consciousness and the ways it has developed or been reconstructed in the context of the modern history of Taiwan. Second, I shall address the question of the position and structure of national consciousness among the islanders under Japanese and Chinese Nationalist rule in Taiwan between 1920 and 1955.

The diaries of two elite Taiwanese, Chen Wangcheng (1888-1979) and Wu Xinrong (1907-1967), will be used as major sources to examine the questions mentioned above. In Taiwan studies, it is common for scholars to use the diary as a form of historical document for researching various topics. However, through the intersection of political, mental and ideological analyses, this thesis employs numerous volumes of mostly unpublished diaries as a main source through which to examine identity-related issues, which may represent a new attempt in the literature on the development of a national consciousness. Chen Wangcheng, a colonial teacher and an active journalist and local politician between the 1910s and the 1940s, was born in Xinzhu in Northern Taiwan. He was viewed as a Taiwanese sympathizing with China in the late-1920s and early 1930s Taiwan. Wu Xinrong was a medical doctor, socialist writer and active local politician during the 1930s and 1940s in colonial Taiwan. He was born in Tainan in southern Taiwan. He was close to the independent-minded Taiwan Communist Party in the late 1920s. Both Chen and Wu were involved with anti-colonial Taiwanese activists in the late

1920s and early 1930s.

This thesis consists of the following parts. In the Introduction, I firstly introduce the theory and history of diary writing, and discuss the nature of the diary genre as a source for understanding a diarist's mentality. I also give a general picture of the content and style of Chen Wangcheng's and Wu Xinrong's diaries. This includes asking the following questions: What languages were used in these diaries? Who was their intended readership? Can they be treated as private records? Were they closer to the Japanese or Chinese tradition of diary writing? Secondly, I give a brief review of the literature on nationalism and national identity. Finally, I examine the growing literature on identity-centered issues in Taiwan's case.

In Chapter one, I examine how Chen's sense of Taiwanese national consciousness emerged and developed, in particular in 1920s Taiwan. My approach is firstly to examine his circles of friends, and attempt to find out how the construction of the national self was 'empirically' enabled by the working of these politico-social networks. Moreover, I try to examine how Taiwanese nationalism grew to an island-wide scale and was evidently shared by the islanders. Secondly, I examine Chen's reading materials and attempt to find out how the construction of the national self was 'abstractly' enabled by various ideological communications through activities taking place between the reader and the printed word. I argue that the formation of his sense of Taiwanese national self in the 1920s was enabled by the combination of an empirically politico-social construction on one hand, and by an abstractly ideological construction on the other.

In Chapter two, I continue the empirical approach to examine how Taiwanese nationalism developed between 1930 and 1945, especially under war-time mobilization and the establishment of the *Kōminka* movement between 1937 and 1945. My main

purpose is to examine the role of warfare in constructing and reconstructing the identity position of the islanders. Instead of focusing on *Kōminka* policies of education, culture and religion, I focus on examining how the 'political' dimension of warfare, represented by war development and mobilization, etc., influenced the mentality of the Taiwanese people during the war. I argue that it was the warfare itself, rather than the *Kōminka* policies, which played a crucial role in reshaping the mental world of the islanders.

In Chapter three, I continue the topic of war and identity from an abstract approach by examining how the 'ideological' dimension of warfare, represented by war propagation, etc. affected the islanders. I analyze the reading materials of Chen and Wu during the war and attempt to find out what role their reading materials played in shaping and reshaping their ideological world.

In Chapter four, I examine how the islanders experienced another reconstruction of identity position caused by the regime change in 1945, the 2.28 Incident in 1947, and the following events before and after 1950. I focus on examining how the identity of *bensheng ren* first emerged and further materialized in the early postwar context.

Introduction

The Diary as an Historical Document for Examining Identity-related Issues

First of all, what was the historical origin and development of diary writing in the West? What was it used for? What were the features and functions of the diary in China and Japan? Moreover, why is the diary, a form of ego document, used to examine identity-centered issues in this thesis? What does it mean for scholars to use private diaries as sources for understanding a writer's mentality?

According to Arthur Ponsonby, the modern usages of the words 'diary' and 'journal' started to emerge in the sixteenth century.[1] When it was used in the title of 17th- and 18th-century texts, the term 'diary' often referred to "medical or astronomical accounts", a kind of almanac or even a housekeeper's pocket book, which were "seldom designed for publication." Most diaries were not published in the 17th and early 18th centuries. The diaries published in the 18th century are "not introspective or personal" but are mostly "sea diaries or daily accounts of battles." Furthermore, dairies and journals, as "serial autobiographical texts", experienced a period of proliferation in the 17th century, which was caused by "social, cultural and historical shifts" related to "an expanded concern for the creation of the private realm of the individual," an assumption that 'man' is a unitary, consistent and rational 'self' and some other factors such as "an increasing secularization," a shift "from oral communication to widespread literacy and print technology that signaled a change in the articulation of consciousness," and "new conceptualizations about time." By the

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[1] Ponsonby, Arthur. *English Diaries: A Review of English Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century with an Introduction on Diary Writing*. 1923. p. 3.

19th century, however, diaries were "both a private and a public document, no longer confined to privacy."[2]

There is a common view that the diary has been less the subject of theoretical discussion than other sources. Felicity Nussbaum agrees with this and offers the explanation that it is due to the critical assumption that most diaries "remain unpublished records", that their length "may make reading tedious and difficult" and that they lack "formal cohesiveness," etc.[3] She tries to conceptualize the diary and suggests that from the 17th century to the late 18th century, the diary represented "one important site of the dangerous and secretive, a site that was only later conceptualized as the divided mind of conscious and unconscious psyche." She further concludes that the diary is "a mode of perceiving reality and a signifying system within the discursive practices available in the social-cultural domain." The diary articulates modes of discourse that "may subvert and endanger authorized representations of reality in its form as well as its discourse of self or subject."[4]

What was the diary used for in Europe? Porter Abbott points out three general functions of diary strategy – "mimetic, thematic and temporal" – in which one can isolate functions served by the distinctive characteristics of the diary structure itself. However, since diarists can accomplish almost anything in a diary indicating that "its actual functions are nearly infinite", he stresses its three definitive features: "its documentary character, its privacy and its non-retrospective structure," though none of these functions is necessarily served in any particular work. In addition to these

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[2] Nussbaum, Felicity A. "Toward Conceptualizing Diary." 1988, p.129-131. According to Nussbaum, diary means "the daily recording of the thoughts, feelings, and activities of the writer, entered frequently and regularly." Journal is an interchangeable term for the diary, but the former is considered to be the more elaborate form than the latter.

[3] Nussbaum, Felicity A.1988, p.128.

[4] Nussbaum, Felicity A. 1988, p.137.

general functions, he further points out "the special reflective function" that can be served only by the diary strategy.[5]

In the United States, the diary "has its roots in the spiritual autobiography that charts the progress of the pilgrim's soul toward God." But throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the secular diary "served a number of semi-public purposes" and the writers of many of these secular diaries "intended them to be read." Women diarists in particular "wrote as family and community historians." Toward the end of the 19th century, diary writing became "associated with gentility, and keeping a life-record among a lady's achievements."[6] However, a survey shows that American males wrote journals in numbers far exceeding those written by females until well past the mid-19th century. Margo Culley explains that the main reason that diary literature became the field of women writers was "the emergence of the self as the subject of the diary." Many 18th- and 19th-century diaries were "semi-public documents" and it was roughly in the last one hundred years that the content of the diary has become "a record of private thoughts and feelings." Those kept by men, particularly, "record a public life or are imbued with a sense of public purpose or audience." During the 19th century, as "a split between the public and private spheres" came increasingly to influence the lives of women and men, "those aspects of culture associated with the private" became the field of women. During the same period, changing ideas of the self, "influenced by romanticism, the industrial revolution, and the 'discovery' of the unconscious" led to changes in the content and function of the diary. As "the modern idea of the secular diary" as a 'secret' record of an inner life evolved, "the life of personal reflection and emotion" became an important part of the 'private sphere' and

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[5] Abbott, H. Porter. *Diary Fiction: Writing as Action*. 1984. pp.37-38.

[6] Culley, Margo. *A Day at a Time: the Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present*. 1985. p.4.

women continued to "turn to the diary as one place where they were encouraged to indulge full 'self-centeredness.'"[7]

In comparison with the West, the Chinese seem to have a longer tradition of diary-writing concerning which, however, much less academic research has been done so far. According to Chen Zuogao, Chinese scholars disagree over when the writing of diaries started in China, but they suggest that it originated in a period between the 2nd century B.C. and the 7th century A.D. After that, Chinese diary writing further developed in the Song dynasty (from the 10th to 13th century), but later experienced a period of decline in the Yuan dynasty (from the 13th to 14th century). It however reached its apex in the Ming and Qing dynasties (from the 14th to 19th century). The number of diaries was estimated to be more than 1,000 throughout Chinese history and many of these diaries, particularly those written by famous and wealthy, were published.[8] The content of these diaries covers various realms but their forms seem to be quite standard, including academic, full-length and short diaries. Compared with other kinds of historical sources in China, however, the style of diary writing was generally freer and more straightforward. From the late-19th century, an increasing number of Chinese diaries recorded subjects connected with foreign affairs and Western experiences, though it seems that there were no academic discussions over whether or how much Chinese diary writing was influenced by the West in terms of its content and function.[9]

In contrast, Japanese diary writing in the modern period seems to have received more influence from the West. The oldest diary in Japan dates back to the 8th century and it was created by an official unit. During the formative Heian period (794-1185),

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[7] Culley, Margo. 1985. pp. 3-4

[8] Chen Zuogao. *Lidai riji congtan*, 2004. pp.1-4. Harrison, Henrietta. *The Man Awakened from Dreams: One Man's Life in a North China Village, 1857-1942*. 2005. pp.10-11.

[9] Chen Zuogao. *Zhongguo riji shilue*, 1990. pp. 169-182, 195-206.

Japanese diaries were partly written in the Chinese language due to influence from China, and partly written in the Japanese language. The latter sometimes contained fiction but revealed more details of personal feelings, thoughts and life. After that, Japanese diary writing, according to the status of diarists in history, can be roughly divided into 'official' and 'individual' diaries.[10] The former were created for public purposes by officials including those in the royal court and governmental units, while the latter were written by individuals from any background.[11] From the 9th century on, the individual diary became popular and womens' diaries focusing more on personal life and feelings reached their apex between the 10th and 11th centuries. Moreover, diary-writing in modern Japan beginning in the Meiji period was characterized by the great number of diaries, diversity of diarist's backgrounds, and a rise of the use of colloquial language for diary-keeping, etc.[12] In addition, the content and function of diary-writing in modern Japan was more or less influenced by modern Western individualism, in which an increasing number of diaries focused on the emotion and reflection of the diarist's self.[13]

Taiwanese historiography today has increasingly employed personal documents as additional sources, which is closely related to the new tendencies in historical writing in both domestic and international scholarship.[14] However, no general survey nor research on diary writing in modern Taiwan, whether published or unpublished, has been carried out to date.

Chen Wangcheng riji (Chen Wangcheng's Diary) consists of 49 volumes covering

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[10] Yamanaka Yutaka. "Nikki to kokiroku." In Yoshinari, Isamu ed. *Nihon 'nikki' sōran: 'nikki' kara Nihonjin no seikatsu to rekishi o saguru*, 1994, pp. 10-15.
[11] Baba Kazuo ed. *Nikki kaidai jiten: kodai・chūsei・kinsei*, 2005, pp.1-2.
[12] Sasaki Takashi. "Kingendai no nikki." In Yoshinari Isamu ed. *Nihon 'nikki' sōran: ' nikki' kara Nihonjin no seikatsu to rekishi o saguru*, 1994, p273.
[13] Nejime Kenichi. "Tōzai no nikki – sono kyōtsūsei to dokujisei." In Yoshinari Isamu ed. *Nihon 'nikki' sōran: ' nikki' kara Nihonjin no seikatsu to rekishi o saguru*, 1994, pp.64-69.
[14] Helen, Ann. "Revealing Cultural Problems, Hopes and Obsessions in Chhoa Poe-hoe (Cai Peihuo)'s Diary (1929-1936): A Study into the Analysis of Autobiography in Taiwan." 2004, pp.4-6.

the period between 1912 and 1973 in Taiwan. Chen started writing his diary in Japanese in 1912, but changed into classical Chinese around March 1915, and again into *baihuawen* (modern Chinese) around February 1925. The switch in language from Japanese to classical Chinese in 1915 was closely related to his rising sense of Taiwanese consciousness overlaying a sense of Han consciousness, while the switch from classical to modern Chinese in 1925 was mainly caused by a 'modern' reconstruction of his Taiwanese consciousness overlaying his emerging Chinese national consciousness. However, since Chen, a first generation Japanese-educated islander, was mostly exposed to the increasing influence of Japanese education and culture in Taiwan, the style of his diary keeping might be closer to a Japanese style. The Japanese tradition in the modern period was more or less influenced by the individualism of modern Europe, focusing on presentation of the diarist's self.[15] Moreover, who was the intended readership for his diary? Can it be viewed as a private record? For the following reasons, I am inclined to view his diary, which is still unpublished, as a form of ego document close to a 'private' record. The Japanese secret agents, who regularly visited him from the late 1920s, checked a volume of his diary concerning his trip to Japan in 1933, and took away two volumes during a search of his office in 1939, which suggests that he was aware of being under surveillance.[16] Even so, this does not mean he did not try to keep a 'private' diary in his own way. The main reason for his keeping a diary for such a long period of time, from 1912 to 1973, was that he desired to record, and was accustomed to recording, his daily activity and personal life in a basically honest way, at least during the Japanese period, as shown by the many stories in his diary which he even hid from his

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[15] Nejime Kenichi. "Tōzai no nikki – sono kyōtsūsei to dokujisei." In Yoshinari Isamu ed. *Nihon 'nikki' sōran*, 1994, pp.68-69.

[16] Chen Wangcheng. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 19, 1933; October 4, 5, 1939. Mitchell, Richard H. *Thought Control in Prewar Japan*, 1976, pp. 195-199.

family and friends.[17] In addition, no evidence shows that he had any intention of publishing his diary during his lifetime.

Between 1945 and 1947, he continued to keep a diary in modern Chinese in a generally brief and reserved style of writing mainly focusing on recording daily events. After the 2.28 Incident, he appeared to be more cautious in his diary writing due to an increasing awareness of political censorship. This became more evident in the 1950s, in particular after 1952, when Taiwan was exposed to the suppressive atmosphere created by the Chinese Nationalist government, newly retreated to Taiwan from mainland China.

Wu Xinrong riji (Wu Xinrong's Diary) consists of around 33 volumes covering the period between 1933 and 1967 in Taiwan. In 1981, a cautious selection of these voluminous writings was published in two volumes, at a time when freedom of publication was greatly restricted in Taiwan. The rest of his writings have remained unpublished until now. Wu probably started keeping a diary in Japanese in 1922 or 1923, at a time when he studied at the Taiwan Commercial School. He continued this habit of writing until April 1929 when he was detained for a month in Japan, and had several volumes of his diary taken by the Japanese police, in an anti-leftist suppression called the April 16th Incident.[18] There is no evidence to show that these volumes were returned to him at a later stage. After that, he gave up keeping a diary for several years. However, he resumed diary writing in September 1933 when he settled down to operate a clinic for a year in his hometown of Tainan. He explained why he resumed keeping a diary as follows: "At the moment I am neither an activist involved in any social movement nor a member of any political society. Therefore the

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[17] For example, Chen recorded in his diary his long-term affair with a *Hakka* woman starting around 1929. Please refer to chapter 2.

[18] Wu Xinrong might have started keeping a diary in Japanese in 1922 (or 1923) and continued it until 1929, since he mentioned that he started to learn basic Chinese when he studied at the Taiwan Commercial School between 1922 and 1925. He recalled that the first classical Chinese book he read was *Sanguozhi* (*The Histories of Three Kingdoms*) in 1927.

reason that I gave up keeping a diary has disappeared. Diary-keeping is important to us because it is a way to record our daily lives, and to reflect upon our past."[19] From that time on, he wrote his diary mostly in modern Chinese except during the wartime period from January 1938 to August 1945, when he wrote in Japanese. The reason that he switched languages from modern Chinese to Japanese during wartime was twofold. As he explained: "The expansion of the Japanese empire means the spread of the Japanese language. I am a tiny individual who cannot act against it. For the same reason that I have been using Japanese language in my daily life, it is extremely natural for me to keep a diary in Japanese." Thus Wu reveals that the unfolding war increasingly reshaped his perception of the colonial empire in which he was born and educated.[20]

Yet can Wu's diary be viewed as a 'private' record? These volumes were normally stored in a drawer in his study room. However, they were once hidden in the ceiling of his room and once buried in the ground to keep them from being taken by police, when he was in hiding after being accused of involvement in the 2.28 Incident in 1947.[21] Subsequently under the suppressive rule of the Nationalist government, he kept a diary more cautiously and with less enthusiasm. In June 1949, he experienced a dilemma stating: "I have been lazy about keeping a diary for a long time. There is a reason for this. Since the diary is a record of my whole life, I should not worry about political sensitivity. I do not care if my future career will be affected owing to my writings in the dairy. From now on I will keep a diary every day. At least I will record my here-and-now life."[22] This suggests that diary keeping had become a daily discipline, shaping his inner and independent self, since the early 1930s. Throughout

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[19] Zhang Liangze, ed. *Wu Xinrong riji (zhenqian)*, pp. 1-2.
[20] Wu Xinrong, *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 4, 1938.
[21] Wu Xinrong, *Cishi cidi* (Here and Now), A manuscript written in Chinese in 1952. p37.
[22] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 23, 1949.

the 1950s, however, his entries were much more cautious than before, showing his increasing awareness of political censorship imposed by the Nationalist Chinese government.

In sum, a modern private diary is the written experience of a diarist at a given time and space and focuses mainly "on the presentation of the self", which makes it one of the best approaches to examine identity-centered issues. In addition, its marks of 'privacy' and 'subjectivity' are believed to have marginalized other personal documents as a reliable historical source for understanding a writer's mentality.

Review of Literature on Nationalism and National Identity:

In the literature on national identity, it is generally agreed that national identity is created and thus cannot be viewed as a fixed and substantial existence. It is also agreed that the state has a strong hand in its creation. Different authors have stressed different approaches taken by the state in this process. Bhikhu Parekh views national identity as "a set of tendencies and values that needs to be periodically redefined in the light of historically inherited characteristics, present needs, and future aspirations".[23] Hobsbawn stresses "invented traditions", which are basically "a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past." "Traditions" which claim to be old are often quite recent in origin.[24] He views the duration from 1870 to 1914 in Europe and in America as the zenith of national invented traditions, since it was after 1870 that a rapid political mobilization of the masses threatened the balance of the old order. To respond to the threat of mass democracy caused by the inclusion of the lower classes, the ruling elites channeled the

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[23] Parekh, Bhikhu. "The Concept of National Identity" In *New Community*, Vol. 21 (2), p.255.
[24] Hobsbawn, Eric, and Ranger, Terence, ed., *The Invention of Tradition*. 1999. pp. 1-7.

activities of the masses into collective ritual routines governed by accepted regulations. The patterns of inclusion involve the formation of a "community" such as the nation, which is based on "invented traditions" and is legitimated by the use of history. Furthermore, the invention of new status systems and patterns of socialization, such as a hierarchical education system, and the creation of institutions, such as festivals and sports, can also be viewed as parts of the patterns of inclusion.[25] Ernest Gellner, however, viewed nationalism as "a very distinctive species of patriotism," which becomes pervasive and dominant only in the modern world. It is distinguished by several important characteristics such as, first, the units which this sort of patriotism (i.e. nationalism) favors with its loyalty "are culturally homogeneous, based on a culture striving to be a high (literate) culture"; second, they are large enough to sustain "the educational system which can keep a literate culture going"; third, their populations are "anonymous, fluid and mobile."[26] Moreover, nationalism emerged at a time when the transformation from agrarian high culture to an industrial culture happened. In the industrial world of modern "state-sustained, pervasive and homogeneous" high cultures, "the important, identity-conferring part of one's education or formation is not the special skill, but the shared generic skills, dependent on a shared high culture which defines a 'nation'. Such a nation/culture *then* and then only becomes the natural social unit, and can not normally survive without its own political shell, the state."[27]

Eugen Weber, also, highlights the role of the state through examining how it was effective in the creation of national identity in the case of rural France. He argues that the fundamental changes leading to the formation of French nationalism took place in rural France between 1880 and 1910, evidenced by the fact that patriotism and

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[25] Hobsbawn, Eric, and Ranger, Terence, ed., 1999. pp.263-307.
[26] Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*, 1997, p.138.
[27] Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*, 1997, pp.142-143.

dominant culture were taught in official French to students throughout the educational system, also that the modern market and ways of life were able to reach remote areas through the constructions of railroads and roads, and the military service of young soldiers also brought these modern experiences home.[28] Eugen Weber further argues that individuals and groups began to shift from indifference to participation in politics since they perceived that they were involved in the nation. In the process of transition from traditional local politics to modern national politics, political rebellion and socio-economic conflict at the national level diminished local solidarities and improved national unity. Moreover, war with foreign states was important in promoting national awareness, strengthened by educational propaganda, by developing trade and commercial ties, and finally by something approaching universal service.[29]

This brings my attention to the issue of the relationship between warfare and national (or ethnic) groups. G. Simmel agrees that "conflict is a possible form of socialization, and enmity sharpens group boundaries". Conflict "not only strengthens the cohesion of an existing unit, but also mobilizes its members." He adds that war requires a "centralistic intensification of the group form", which is best guaranteed by despotism.[30] Max Weber also drew attention to the major role of political action, such as wars, in the formation of ethnic groups and their imagery.[31] This approach was further developed by Anthony Smith, who stresses that war has been a powerful factor in shaping certain crucial aspects of nationhood (or ethnic community). However the impacts of war on nationhood (or ethnic community), including both "direct influences" such as mobilization, propaganda, and cohesion, and "indirect influences"

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[28] Weber, Eugen. *Peasants into Frenchmen – the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 1976, pp.493-496.
[29] Weber, Eugen. 1976, p.242. p.298.
[30] Simmel, G. *Conflict, and the Web of Group-affiliations*, p.88.
[31] Weber, Max. "Ethnic Groups". In Roth G. and Wittich, C. eds. *Economy and Society*. Vol.1, CH5.

such as centralization, rationalization and colonialism, have been "uneven" because they have affected some dimensions of nationhood (or ethnic community) more than others. For example, how far war can be said necessarily to foster the social cohesion of nationhood depends on "the form of war, the incidence of success, and the general climate of ideas."[32]

The most relevant argument to the main questions in this thesis, nevertheless, is Benedict Anderson's research into colonial nationalism. He regards the nation as an "imagined community" and argues that "the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation". The potential stretch of these communities "was inherently limited, and bore none but the most fortuitous relationship to existing political boundaries".[33] Anderson continues to argue that official nationalism, joining the new national and old dynastic principles, such as the British empire, led to "Russification" in the extra-European colonies. In a colony, the colonial state, in cooperation with capitalism, produced many qualified natives for state and corporate bureaucracies by "rapidly multiplying its functions" and by creating its "centralized and standardized" school systems, in which new administrative and educational pilgrimages were created. The interlock between these pilgrimages "provided the territorial base for new imagined communities" in which natives could come to see themselves as "nationals". In addition, the (native) bilingual intelligentsia, who had access to models of nation and nationalism distilled from American and European history, played an important role in spreading the new imagined communities to both literate and

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[32] Smith, Anthony. "War and Ethnicity: the Role of Warfare in the Formation, Self-images and Cohesion of Ethnic Communities." In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol.4, p.375, pp.390-393.

[33] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1991, p.46.

illiterate masses in the colony.[34] Anderson's emphasis on the colonial elite's impact on colonial nationalism was also shared by Van Niel. Van Niel divides the modern Indonesian elite under Dutch rule into the functional elite, who served to keep a modernized state and society functioning, and the political elite, who were engaged in political activities involving some alterations of the political status quo. The former included the great majority of Western trained Indonesians and served a great social function through acting as the medium of change, while the latter were of more symbolic than practical significance. He concludes that the functional elite actually held Indonesian society together in the early twentieth century, and kept an independent Indonesia functioning after 1945.[35]

Moreover, Anderson reminds us of a limitation in the policy of the colonial state's "nation-building" among the colonized people. This limitation results from the emergence of official nationalism within the colonial empire. For example, in the case of the Japanese empire, the Koreans were to be "Japanified" after being annexed, but they were not allowed to administer to the Japanese by joining imperial pilgrimages due to the emergence and intensification of the Japanese nation at the centre of its empire.[36]

Anderson further explains that official nationalism in the postcolonial worlds of Asia and Africa was not modeled directly on that of the dynastic states of nineteenth –century Europe. Its immediate genealogy should be traced to the imaginings of the colonial state. He argues that the interconnection of three institutions of power, the census, the map and the museum, demonstrate the late colonial state's way of thinking about its control. The census illustrated the nature of the people it ruled; the map showed the geography it controlled; and the museum

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[34] Anderson, Benedict. 1991, p.140.
[35] Van Neil, Robert. *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite*, 1960, pp.1-3, pp. 240-242.
[36] Anderson, Benedict. 1991, pp.110-111.

demonstrated "the legitimacy of its ancestry".[37] More precisely, map and census shaped the grammar which would in due course make possible "Indonesia" and "Indonesians", but the concretization of these possibilities owed much to the colonial state's peculiar imagining of history and power, which was illustrated by its archaeological service in the form of "replicable *series*". The replicable *series*, however, "created a historical depth of field which was easily inherited by the state's postcolonial successor."[38]

Anderson continues to explain in what ways the national consciousness has changed. He claims that historical narrations offer the possibility of reconstructing people's (or national) consciousness through "remembering or forgetting" their pasts. This makes possible the conscious changes of persons or nations both in history and the present day.[39]

However, instead of emphasizing print-capitalism and the "imagined community", Anthony Smith stresses the role of pre-existent ethnic ties, and a vivid sense of community, in the formation of a modern nation. He also differs from Hobsbawn's "invented traditions", by arguing that the task of nationalism is more to "reconstruct" the traditions, customs and institutions of the ethnic community than to "invent" new traditions.[40]

In short, national identity is created and the state has a strong hand in the creation, which thus cannot be viewed as a fixed and substantial existence. Moreover, in a colony, the interlock between the administrative and educational pilgrimages created by the colonial state provided "the territorial base for a new imagined community" in which natives could come to see themselves as 'nationals'. In addition, the (native)

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[37] Anderson, Benedict. 1991, p.164.
[38] Anderson, Benedict. 1991, p.185.
[39] Anderson, Benedict. 1991, pp.204-206.
[40] Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*, 1993, pp. vii-viii, 15-17.

"bilingual intelligentsia" played an important role in spreading the new imagined community to both literate and illiterate masses in the colony. Historical narrations, however, enable the reconstruction of the national consciousness through "remembering or forgetting" the past. Furthermore, "conflict is a possible form of socialization", and hostility sharpens group boundaries. Conflict "not only accentuates the cohesion of an existing unit, but also mobilizes its members." Thus, warfare has a powerful role in "shaping certain crucial aspects of nationhood." However both the "direct influences" of war on nationhood such as mobilization, propaganda, and cohesion, and "indirect influences" such as centralization, rationalization and colonialism, have been "uneven" since they have affected some aspects of nationhood more than others.

The Case of Taiwan:

Over the past hundred years the island of Taiwan has been ruled by two foreign powers, the Japanese Empire (1895-1945) and the Nationalist Chinese Government (KMT, 1945-1990s). The Japanese colonial state, after its take-over of Taiwan in 1895, implemented colonialism in three stages, the 'specific ruling period' based on Law No.63 from 1895 to 1918, the 'assimilation period' based on Act 3 from 1918 to 1936, and the war-time period from 1937 to 1945. During this final period Taiwan was officially positioned as the imperial base for the southern advance, constructed as an industrialized island on which the official project of *Kōminka* (Making Imperialized Citizens) was implemented to create imperial subjects among the islanders as a way of spiritual mobilization for the purposes of war. The failure of Japan and the consequent take-over of Taiwan by the Nationalist Chinese government started a period of national reconstruction based on the principle of

Sinicization/de-Japanization in early postwar Taiwan due to the Nationalist perception of Japanese influence over the Taiwanese as being something 'poisonous'.

In contrast to the nation-building projects imposed on the islanders by the colonial Japanese and Nationalist regimes, in these same periods a Taiwanese national consciousness emerged and further developed. In the following paragraphs, I review the literature on the origin and development of the Taiwanese national consciousness during these two periods, mainly between 1920 and 1955.

1. The Colonial State and its Impact on National Identity

In general, research into the role of the Japanese colonial state's nation-building project in Taiwan has paid more attention to the realm of education, focusing on the creation of a Japanese identity among Taiwanese people by the colonial state. Tsurumi states that colonial education in Taiwan included "a large base of elementary schools for the general populace topped by a small number of specialized institutions for a select few." The basic approach of the education system was to serve the colonial state through instilling into the Taiwanese pupils a sense of national loyalty to Japan, while also providing them with modern skills and knowledge. She concludes that Japanese education brought a decisive change into the lives of all levels of Taiwanese, despite its "superficial" nature. Life in Taiwan thus became "much closer to life in Japan than the case in any colony under Western rule." Moreover, the Taiwanese anti-colonial movement in the 1920s was strongly influenced by liberal-minded Japanese in Japan, and the national identity of these anti-colonial intellectuals was not Chinese, though some of them were affiliated with China.[41] More recently, Zhou Wanyao reached a similar conclusion by arguing that the colonial state created a strong sense of Japanese national identity among Taiwanese

[41] Tsurumi, E. Patricia. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, 1977, pp.212-219.

students through elementary education. Unlike Tsurumi, however, she claims that the Taiwanese sense of Japanese identity was "ambiguous" due to a sense of distinction between the two caused by a combination of the Taiwanese Han ethnic ties and the Japanese colonial state's discriminative policy.[42]

Schooling was an important instrument in this process because the teaching of Japanese language was employed as a means of inculcating a sense of national identity. From this angle, however, Eiko Tai argues that the teaching of *Kokugo*, the national language of Japan, did not much impact on the creation of a sense of Japanese identity among the islanders. The islanders were far from becoming Japanese, especially in their mental attitudes, due to "the legal distinction between them, which coincided with ethnic differences." This distinction might even have helped them to "consolidate the respective ethnic boundaries that separated them."[43]

Furthermore, regarding the nation-building project of the Japanese colonial state during wartime, 1937-1945, most scholars have focused on examining how the war-affiliated *Kōminka* movement, mostly covering the 'imperialized' policies of cultural and religious realms, reshaped the position of the islanders' identity. Kondō Masami argues that the policies of the war-affiliated *Kōminka* movement were to replace Taiwanese cultural and religious identities with Japanese ones, based on an emperor-centered ideology, by deconstructing Taiwanese geographical and blood ties. It did not however achieve much evident success.[44] This view is challenged by Zhou Wanyao who reminds us that the younger generation of islanders were most influenced by these policies evidenced by many of them considering themselves nothing other than Japanese, though she concludes that *Kōminka* was successful more

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[42] Zhou Wanyao. "Aimei de Taiwanren – Riben zhimin tongzhi yu jindai minzu guojia zhi rentong." In *He wei Taiwan?*. 1997, pp.12-13.
[43] Eka Tai. "Kokugo and Colonial Education in Taiwan." In *Positions* 7:2, 1999, pp.504-505, p.530.
[44] Kondō Masami. *Sōryokusen to Taiwan - Nihon syokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū*, pp.252-254.

in 'form' than in 'substance.'[45] Instead of assessing *Kōminka* influence on identity positions of the islanders, Leo Ching challenges the view represented by Mark Peattie that *Kōminka* (1937-1945) was an extension of *Dōka* (assimilation), the colonial ideology adopted since 1921, as an extension of colonial policy. He argues, *Dōka* was largely articulated as "a problem of the colonizer" since its inner contradiction was manifested by the gap between political discrimination and cultural assimilation. However the 'newness' of *Kōminka* lies in its inauguration and internalization of 'Japanization' as exclusively "problematic of the colonized", who were viewed as incomplete "imperial subject(s)". Therefore *Kōminka* was a colonial ideology, which by concealing the inner contradiction of *Dōka*, "radically transformed and defined the manner in which colonial subjectivity and identity were allowed to be articulated and represented." Ching further focuses on Taiwan's aborigines to examine why the aborigines experienced a visible shift in their attitude toward the Japanese colonial state from resistance to cooperation during the wartime period (1937-1945) several years after the fiercely anti-Japanese Musha Incident of 1930. He argues that the colonial ideology "was produced, enacted and reproduced through the fields of symbolism and meaning", in order to maintain the legitimacy of colonial rule after the incident. During wartime the aborigines were no longer uncivilized people waiting to be civilized, but "were considered imperial subjects assimilated into the Japanese national polity through expression of their loyalties to the emperor", even though the shift "did not constitute a real and radical transformation."[46]

Ching's approach to the wartime shift of aborigines "from mutineers to volunteers", as he put it, by interpreting *Kōminka* as a "reconstructed" colonial ideology, seems to be less convincing. *Kōminka*, viewed as a major part of the ideological mobilization

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[45] Zhou, Wanyao. *The Kōminka Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945*, pp. 226-227.
[46] Ching, Leo T. S. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, 2001, pp. 90-91; pp.135-137.

of war and defined as a movement of 'making imperialized citizens' mainly covering cultural, linguistic and religious realms, certainly had a role in reshaping the aborigines' perception of the Japanese colonial state. However this is not enough to explain the aborigines' visible, if not substantial, shift from resistance to cooperation within several years. The political dimension of warfare, as experienced by war development and mobilization, might play a more crucial role in leading to the aborigines' visible shift to cooperation based on reconstruction of their perception of the Japanese and their self-articulated identity, the nature of which was more than just superficial. (Please refer to chapter 2)

Using a case study, Lo Ming-cheng employs the story of Taiwan's doctors, classified as a modern profession, during the *Kōminka* era, 1937-1945, to examine "the agency and creativity of ethnic hybrids in their attempts to overcome obstacles in their search for an identity". Lo argues that the physical and cultural differences between Japanese and Taiwanese "were actively and to some extent successfully dismissed", in particular, during the *Kōminka* period. The *Kōminka* doctors "constructed the role of medical modernist as the central theme of their identity narratives without extinguishing their Taiwanese ethnicity". Due to the unhappy subconscious relationship between the Japanese and Taiwanese, however, the *Kōminka* doctors "developed a hybrid identity along two dimensions: they located themselves across ethnic boundaries and, furthermore, supplanted the category of ethnicity with that of the profession." These doctors' embodiment of both Taiwanese and Japanese identities resulted in patterns of identity formation that "manifested an imagination of reading modernity as non-ethnic rather than reading Japan as heterogeneous."[47] Moreover, based on an overseas Taiwanese student's diary written

[47] Lo, Ming-cheng. "Between Ethnicity and Modernity: Taiwanese Medical Students and Doctors under Japan's *Kōminka* Campaign, 1937-1945." In *Positions* 10:2, pp. 291-292, 317-318.

in Japanese in Japan during the Pacific war, Fong Shiaw-chian argues that identity formation is not necessarily related to a set of immobile values, as Huntington claims. Instead, he stresses the way this formation occurs among intersecting dominant discourses, and suggests that the overseas student Ye's wartime identity was multiple, rather than hierarchical, and not fixed: "it bent either to Chinese or Japanese values, or to a mixture of both." He further argues that "the elements connected into part and parcel of an identity" depend very much "on the dominant discourses", which means that "nation-states", instead of Huntington's idea of civilizations, with their ideological apparatuses providing dominant courses, are still "the most potent agent in fashioning its citizens' here-and-now identity."[48]

In sum, Zhou and Lo are convincing in arguing that the islanders' positions of identity were reshaped during the *Kōminka* wartime period. However warfare itself, as experienced through war development, mobilization and other political actions, rather than *Kōminka* cultural and religious policies, might have played a much more important role in reshaping certain aspects of the islanders' identity. Also, the islanders might have responded differently to different military objects in certain war periods, i.e. the Chinese between 1937 and 1941, and the Anglo-American powers between 1941 and 1945. Moreover, Fong is right in suggesting that identity is multiple and mobile, and that the nation-state is the most influential agent in creating its citizen's identity. However what constituted the islanders' multiple identities and how did shifts among different dimensions of identity occur in changing historical contexts? What caused these changes? Is it possible to reconstruct and trace these changes? (Please refer to chapter 2) Furthermore, Fong's employment of a wartime diary as a major source to examine identity-related issues is inspiring, though he does

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[48] Fong, Barry Shiaw-chian. "Civilization and Individual Identities: Ye Shengji's Quest for Colonial Self in Two Cultures." In *Issues & Studies,* 34:10, pp. 93, 122-124.

not explain why he uses a diary rather than other sources to examine people's mentality. Also the Taiwanese student Ye's wartime diary is closer to a study note, covering only a limited number of years, and was done in Japan rather than in Taiwan, suggesting a possible inability directly to understand what happened in wartime Taiwan.

Finally, as to the Nationalist Chinese nation-building project in early postwar Taiwan, Wakabayashi might be the first scholar to examine the Nationalist state's policy of 'sinicization', which, he argues, created a cultural contradiction between the native Taiwanese and the dominant Mainlanders. He regards this, in part, as the origin of native Taiwanese separatism in postwar Taiwan, as shown by the continuing tension between two sides until as late as the 1980s.[49] Yang Congrong views the policy of sinicization as a "cultural construction", which created a confusion of identity in postwar Taiwan due to an entanglement of the levels of ethnicity and nationality.[50] Through connecting the historical dimension of Japanese heritage in Taiwan, Zeng Shirong further employs the concept of "cultural reconstruction" based on the principle of "Sinicization / de-Japanization" to examine the Nationalist initial nation-building project in the early postwar period, and concludes that the radical cultural reconstruction, equivalent to a "cultural revolution" as experienced by many native Taiwanese, politically led to the dominant position of Sinicization, in place of Japanization, some years after the 2.28 Incident, while Taiwanese native traditions influenced by Japanese rule receded.[51]

2. The Origin and Development of Taiwanese National Consciousness

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[49] Wakabayashi Masahiro. *Zhuanxingqi de Taiwan – 'tuoneizhanhua de zhengzhi.'* 1989, pp.206-209. Wakabayashi Masahiro. *Taiwan – bunretsu kokka to minshūka*, 1992, p.28.
[50] Yang Congrong. *Wenhua jiangou yu guomin rentong: zhanhou Taiwan de zhongguohua*, 1992, p.21.
[51] Zeng Shirong (Tzeng, Shih-jung). *Zhanhou Taiwan zhi wenhua chongbian yu zuqun guanxi- jian yi "Taiwan daxue" wei taolun lian, 1945-1950*, 1994, pp.166-167.

Though various viewpoints of the origin of a Taiwanese national consciousness have been offered, it is widely believed that it emerged in the Japanese colonial period. Huang Zhaotang argues that a Taiwanese (national) consciousness emerged in the process of Taiwanese resistance to the foreign discriminative rule of the Japanese, during which the construction of a modern transport island-wide promoted communication among islanders in different parts of Taiwan, enabling the imagination of Taiwanese as a national community.[52] Through an examination of Taiwanese political movements under Japanese colonial rule between 1914 and 1937, Edward Chen suggests that there was "a strong current of national consciousness" among the followers of these movements intensified by their opposition to an alien domination. Lin Chenglu, the theoretical founder of the Taiwanese political movements based on the idea of self-rule in the first half 1920s, was the first Taiwanese to give definite expression to Taiwanese nationalism by claiming the Taiwanese 'cultural' distinction from the Japanese without advocating the restoration of Taiwan to China. He further suggests that the emergence of Taiwanese political movements and the modern ideas behind them should be examined in a broader context in which the *Wilsonian* principle of national self-determination, announced after WWI was found attractive to many people in the colonies or 'semi-colonies' such as Korea, Taiwan and China, at a time when Japan was in the liberal period of *Taisho* democracy.[53] Zhou Wanyao further examines how and in what contexts these modern ideas impacted overseas Taiwanese students, such as Lin Chenglu, immediately after WWI, in Japan, and how Taiwanese political movements represented by the League for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament based on the idea of self-rule started in early 1920s Taiwan. She adopts George Kerr's division

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[52] Huang Zhaotang. *Taiwan zongdufu*, 1985, pp.39-41.
[53] Chen, Edward. "Formosan Political Movements under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1914-1937". In *Journal of Asian Studies*, 31:3, 1972, pp.481-483, p.495.

of generations in colonial Taiwan and further argues that a generation of young and Japanese-educated Taiwanese intellectuals emerging around the late 1910s played a decisive role in bringing about these political movements.[54] Instead of examining the Taiwanese movements launched by the first-generation Taiwanese elites in the 1920s, Douglas Fix focuses on examining Taiwanese politico-cultural movements in the late colonial context, 1930-1945, and also stresses their legacies and the impact of Japanese rule in his discussion of Taiwanese nationalism in the early postwar period. He argues that the organized resistance to Japanese colonial rule continued into the 1930s as Taiwanese elites articulated political and cultural agendas, separately represented by the conservative Local Self-rule Movement and the New Literature Movement dominated by young leftists, revealing "complex changes" in the colonial environment of that period. The more mature articulation of a Taiwanese identity was the product of debates over Taiwanese literature in the 1930s, during which Taiwanese intellectuals not only experimented with a written Taiwanese vernacular but also began to collect and analyze popular Taiwanese literature. Through these explorations, "the 'Taiwanese people' were no longer an abstract political community demanding self-rule. Now they shared a history, a language and a culture." However, "for a growing segment of Taiwanese intellectuals, the linguistic and cultural identification with Taiwan as geographic and ideological space was incomplete." During wartime, according to Fix, the Taiwanese elite's response to *Kōminka* policies was quite varied, but "a lingering attachment to Chinese culture and political ideology characterized the wartime sentiments of some first and second generation nationalists." In general, the Taiwanese people including the former nationalists, extensively participated in Japan's war, showing their wartime cooperation. Finally,

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[54] Zhou Wangyao. *Rijushidai de Taiwanyihui shezhi qingyuan yundong*, 1989, pp.9-18, pp.27-56, pp.70-96. George Kerr. *Formosa: Licensed Revolution and the Home Rule Movement, 1895-1945*, 1974.

the Taiwanese agendas for a postcolonial Taiwan were "fundamentally" influenced by their prewar participation in the resistance movement, their "political and cultural agendas articulated during colonial rule," "an evolving identification with Taiwan as a place and an idea", and their wartime participation in Japan's war efforts.[55]

However, Fix does not seem to pay enough attention to a collective phenomenon called *tenkō*, a shift of course among Japanese leftist and liberal intellectuals in the 1930s, which might also have happened in Taiwan. To the Japanese colonial strategists, the local elections first held in Taiwan in 1935 might have had an impact on causing a *tenkō* among leftist and liberal Taiwanese activists island-wide by involving them in the official election.

By introducing a revised Anderson-Chatterjee thesis, Wu Ruiren tries to examine why a Taiwanese nationalism, instead of a Chinese nationalism, emerged in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule in the 1920s. By interpreting the Japanese empire as "an expanding nation-state", he argues that Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, Korea and Katafuto was "a nationalizing colonialism aiming at incorporating these peripheries through a system of differential incorporation, which placed the peripheries in a state of institutional liminality and imposed on them a condition of double marginality". The state of institutional liminality "turned the colonial space of Taiwan into a national space in the minds of Taiwanese, who began to develop discourses of political nationalism out of contentions with the Japanese state in the 1910s and 1920s". Along with their fight against Japan's assimilationism in the 1920s and 1930s, they also articulated a cultural nationalism. Both politically and culturally, "the

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[55] Fix, Douglas. *Taiwanese Nationalism and Its Late Colonial Context*, 1993, pp.15-25, pp.355-367.

condition of double marginality compelled the Taiwanese to choose a pro-West and modernist ideological strategy to construct their national imagination."[56]

Leo Ching focuses on the "cultural dimension of Japanese colonialism and its legacy", and argues that the historical conditions of Japanese colonialism "enabled and produced various discourses on the conception and representation of Japaneseness, Taiwaneseness, aboriginality, and Chineseness" in both colonial and postwar Taiwan. He defines the political movements in the 1920s, whose political ideology "did not constitute an evolution of nationalist thought arriving at its paradigmatic form", as ethno-national or proto-nationalistic, instead of as nationalistic movements. He argues that the importance of these anti-colonial struggles lies in their formal awareness and articulation of 'Taiwanese' as a distinctive and (semi)autonomous 'ethnos' (*minzoku*), "either within the larger rubric of the Japanese empire or Han Chinese ethnology." It is in this regard that Ching also deploys the term *neonationalist* to describe this *dependent* and *relational* form of Taiwanese identity emerging at this particular historical juncture. He further concludes that the 'emergent' Taiwan had no static or fully constituted 'identity'. Instead, it must be apprehended and articulated at the same time in relation to the 'residual' Chinese culturalism and the 'dominant' Japanese colonialism – "a contradictory and irreducible triple consciousness that is the embodiment of a colonial Taiwanese identity formation."[57]

First of all, Ching evidently ignores the fact that the different generations of Taiwanese might embody different structures or dimensions of identity. Second, Ching argues that the emergent Taiwan had no static or fully constituted identity. However, national identity might be not a fixed and substantial existence. It could represent, as Bhikhu Parekh suggests, "a set of tendencies and values that needs to be

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[56] Wu Ruiren. *The Formosan Ideology: Oriental Colonialism and the Rise of Taiwanese Nationalism, 1895-1945*, 2003, pp. x, xi, 384-392.
[57] Ching, Leo. 2001, p10, pp.51-53, pp.176-177.

periodically redefined in the light of historically inherited characteristics, present needs, and future aspirations."

Wakabayashi agrees with Huang that the discriminatory policy adopted by the Japanese colonial state had a role in bringing about Taiwanese nationalism. He also agrees with Zhou that a new-style Taiwanese intelligentsia influenced by global political ideas appeared around 1920. However, he offers another explanation of the origin of Taiwanese nationalism inspired by Anderson's theory of imagined community. He argues that there were two social corporations in Taiwan history, including the "scholar-official-centered social corporation" of the Chinese empire based in Beijing, and the "Taiwan-size social corporation" based in Taibei and created in the Japanese colonial period. The Qing empire created a "scholar-official" class in Taiwan, which, to some extent, was integrated into the imperial social corporation. However, the nature of the Taiwan-size social corporation created in the Japanese colonial period is the same as the Southeast Asian nationalisms created under Western colonial rules. The Taiwan-size social corporation was created by the formation of an island-wide modern market formed by the establishment of administrative, traffic and educational systems during the Japanese colonial period. The Japanese-educated Taiwanese intelligentsia embodied the Taiwan-size social corporation during the colonial period. However, these Taiwanese intellectuals were prevented from entering "imperial administrative office(s)" due to racial discrimination. In contestation to this, they launched a series of anti-Japanese politico-cultural movements island-wide, which became the substance of the Taiwan-size social corporation. Moreover, they were the founders of Taiwan's print-capitalism, by which those who belonged to the Taiwan-size social corporation were able to imagine themselves as a community

called 'Taiwanese'.[58] In postwar Taiwan, the Nationalist Chinese nation-building project was to enforce the policy of 'Sinicization' on native Taiwanese, which became one of the major origins of the duality of Taiwanese nationalism in postwar Taiwan. However the 2.28 Incident and the Nationalist Chinese exclusive political system led to a fundamental ethnic division between native Taiwanese and Mainlanders, which provided the possibility of leading the *bensheng ren* to become politicized Taiwanese. Moreover, despite the Nationalist Chinese ideology, the Taiwan-size social corporation created in the Japanese colonial period was informally inherited in the postwar period prior to the late 1980s, due to a political separation between Taiwan and China.[59]

The other major focus of research into the development of Taiwanese national consciousness in the postwar period is the 2.28 Incident and its impact on the formation of the *shengjizuqun* (the *bensheng ren* vs. the *waisheng ren* or the native Taiwanese vs. the Mainlanders). Yin Zhangyi suggests that the 2.28 Incident was crucial to the emergence of the Taiwanese independence movement in the postwar period, but not important to the further development of a confrontational Taiwanese consciousness in the island, as shown by prevalent intermarriages between the Mainlanders and the native Taiwanese, and by a large number of native Taiwanese choosing to join the Nationalist party controlled by the Mainlanders.[60] Wang Fuchang, however, questions Ying's argument by asking why political confrontations based on the ethnic differences increased after the lift of martial law in the late 1980s. He traces the origin of these confrontations back to the context of the early postwar period, and argues that the native Taiwanese and the Mainlanders turned into two

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[58] Wakabayashi Masahiro. *Taiwan – fenlie guojia yu minzhi hua*, 1994, pp.51-55.
[59] Wakabayashi Masahiro. 1994, pp.50-51, pp.55-56.
[60] Yin Zhangyi. "Taiwan de rentong weiji ji qi fazhan." In Huang Kangxian ed. *Jindai Taiwan de shehui fazhan yu minzuyishi*, 1987, p280.

conscious and stable ethnic groups around 1950 due to their cultural differences and the inequalities in political and economic spheres between them. Moreover, the period between the Nationalist take-over at the end of 1945 and the 2.28 Incident in early 1947 was crucial to the ethnic formation of the *bensheng ren.*[61] Zhang Maogui further argues that the "historical relation of inequality" in the postwar period was the origin of the *shengjizuqun.* During the Chinese-dominated postwar period, Taiwan was integrated into a histro-cultural system centered on China rather than on Taiwan. This structure caused inequalities between the Mainlanders and the native Taiwanese, and further restricted the latter to develop its self-identity.[62] More recently Zhang has focused on the development of Taiwanese consciousness and argues that the increasing confrontation with the Mainlanders immediately after the Chinese take-over of Taiwan at the end of 1945 started a process of materialization of a variable Taiwanese consciousness, with the 2.28 Incident in early 1947 as its first focus. However, the process of its materialization was later greatly restricted by Nationalist authoritarian rule and its nation-building project of Sinicization.[63]

Zeng Shirong, in contrast, focuses on the origin of the *shengji zuqu* in the early postwar Taiwan period, and differs from Zhang in saying that a contradictory 'Japanese experience' and the 2.28 Incident led to the formation of the *shengjizuqun.* In the process of the native Taiwanese negotiation/confrontation with the Mainlanders between August 1945 and February 1947, the 'modernized' dimension of the Japanese experience of the Taiwanese was gradually characterized as part of the emerging identity as *bensheng ren.* It was further used to criticize the misrule of ruling

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[61] Wang Fu-chang, *The Unexpected Resurgence: Ethnic Assimilation and Competition in Taiwan, 1945-1988*, 1989, pp.41-42, pp.53-54.
[62] Zhang Maogui. "Shengji wenti yu minzu zhuyi." In Zhang Maogui etc., ed. *Zuqun guanxi yu guojia rentong*, 1993, pp.241-242.
[63] Zhang Maogui. "On Becoming 'Taiwanese', or/and, Becoming 'Chinese' – the Paradox of Identity Politics and Recognition in Taiwan." A paper read on the Third Annual Conference on Democracy on Both Sides of the Taiwan Strait, "Nationalism and Cross-Strait Relations," Harvard University, 1999, 12-26.

Mainlanders who had strong anti-Japanese feelings stemming from their wartime resistance to the Japanese invasion of China and considered the native Taiwanese to have lost their Chinese identity due to being "poisoned" by their previous Japanese education. The increasingly fierce confrontations between the 'modernity' of the native Taiwanese and that of 'nationality' of the Mainlanders led to the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident in 1947, after which the *bensheng ren* became a distinct ethnic group with a significant national character.[64]

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[64] Zeng Shirong, *Zhanhou Taiwan zhi wenhua chongbian yu zuqun guanxi- jian yi Taiwan daxue wei taolun lian, 1945-1950*, 1994, pp.166-169.

Chapter 1: The Formation of a Taiwanese National Consciousness during the 1920s: An Examination of Chen Wangcheng's Diary (1912 – 1930)

In this chapter, I will examine how Chen Wangcheng's sense of Taiwanese national consciousness emerged and developed, in particular, in 1920s Taiwan. My approach is first to examine Chen's circles of friends and then his reading materials during this period. My definition of a circle of friends is determined by an analysis of social connections based on the number and nature of exchanges (i.e. discussions and visits) between various people. Therefore, an examination of Chen's circles of friends contributes to an understanding of the construction of his national consciousness from an empirical or politico-social approach. However, reading materials can only make sense to their readers when various abstract communications occur between readers and printed words. An examination of Chen's reading materials thus enables an understanding of the construction of his national consciousness from an abstract or ideological approach. Before entering these discussions, Chen's life and numerous volumes of diary-writings will be briefly introduced.

A Brief Introduction to Chen's Life

Cheng Wangcheng (1888-1979) was a cultural and a political activist in Taiwan between the 1920s and 1940s. Chen, born in Xinzhu in northern Taiwan, belonged to the third generation of the Chen family, which had been in Taiwan since Chen's grandfather

had immigrated in the 1860s from Quanzhou in Fujian in mainland China. He was also called Huang Wangcheng since his father, a hired worker, had married into the Huang family at the age of twenty-five.[1] Before he finished primary school, his parents opened a shop to sell pottery and cloth in Xinzhu.[2]

Before Chen started his working career in 1912, he had received not only a basic education in classical Chinese, but also a systematic schooling in Japanese. As a child Chen attended two old-style private schools and received an eight-year basic education in classical Chinese, such as the *Sishu wujing* (Four Books and the Five Classics). In 1895, when he was seven years old, Taiwan was ceded to Japan, but Chen did not go to a Japanese primary school, which was introduced into Taiwan after the Japanese takeover, until he was fifteen years old.[3]

Chen's Japanese schooling consisted of two major parts: basic education (1903-1907) and a training course for teachers and civil servants (1907-1911). Chen went to Xinzhu gongxuexiao (Xinzhu Primary School) where general subjects, such as Japanese language, mathematics, and moral education were taught. In addition, Taiwanese school children were requested to take a subject called Chinese language which was taught by a Taiwanese teacher called Zhang Linshu (1856-1933) for five hours a week. Chen maintained close contact with Zhang after leaving school in 1907.[4]

In 1907, Chen started studying at the teacher-training section at the Taiwan sōtokufu kokugo gakkō (The National Language School of Taiwan Governmental Office), which

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[1] Wang Shiqing "*Huang Wangcheng xiansheng fangwen jilu.*" In Huang, Fusan (eds), *Jinxiandai Taiwan koushu lishi*, p.74. See also Zhang Denan, *Jianjin gengjie de shehui yundongjia – Huang Wangcheng*, 1999, pp. 28-30.

[2] Wang Shiqing, p.76.

[3] Wang Shiqing, p.79.

[4] The Xinzhu gongxuexiao was only for Taiwanese students. There was no strict limitation in the age of its students during the early Japanese rule. Wang Shiqing, p.80.

focused on the training of primary school teachers and civil servants, and along with the *Taiwan sōtokufu yigakkō* (The Medical School of Taiwan Governmental Office), which trained doctors, were the only two schools providing advanced education for graduates from primary schools in Taiwan. According to Chen's recollection, the four-year programme at *Taiwan sōtokufu kokugo gakkō* was divided into two parts, the 'Japanese language section' and the 'teacher-training section', and was supported financially by the colonial government. Its students came from all over the island and lived together in dormitories except for students of the 'teacher-training section' who studied separately according to race. Moreover there were some distinctions between the school lives of Taiwanese and Japanese students; most Taiwanese students still adhered to traditional customs in their daily lives, such as wearing Han-Chinese clothes and queues at school. Chen did not cut his queue until he worked as a primary school teacher in 1913.[5] Even so, he worked hard at learning the Japanese language. On his graduation trip to Japan, his good spoken Japanese impressed Japanese audiences when he was requested to give an address on behalf of the other students.[6]

Though Chen graduated from the colonial teacher-training school intending to be a career teacher, his teaching career did not last long. In 1911, the 23 year-old Chen graduated from *Taiwan sōtokufu kokugo gakkō* and then started to teach at Xinzhu Primary School. In addition to teaching, in 1913 Chen and his Taiwanese colleagues organized a poetry society called *Luantan hui* (A poets club for random composition) which focused on composing Chinese poetry and met regularly for several years. As early as 1911, Chen married Lin Yuzhan, the daughter of a rich businessman and an

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[5] Wang Shiqing, p.84.
[6] Zhang Denan, p.30. See also, Wang Shiqing, p.120.

illiterate with bound feet who went on to bear him nine children. However, despite family responsibilities, in 1918, due primarily to limited scope for future development and discrimination at work Chen quit teaching.. Prior to this, he and his Taiwanese colleagues sometimes had arguments with their Japanese colleagues and also complained about discrimination by the school principal. He had thought about quitting his job several times during his teaching years and finally, together with two Taiwanese colleagues, he resigned in 1918.[7] Subsequently, he tried to run a company, but it soon failed. In March 1919, he took his first trip to Fuzhou in southern China for a month, inspired by his deep admiration for the beauty of mainland China.

In 1920 he began work as a Japanese tutor and financial manager in the large family of Cai Lianfang, and it was here from 1920-1925 that Chen's social contacts and his knowledge of the modern world were greatly widened. The family was based in central Taiwan, the initial centre of the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements in the 1920s. Cai Lianfang, (1875-1936) an influential landlord and a local official in Taizhong, had been cooperating with the colonial government since 1896.[8] However, Cai's nephew, Cai Huiru (1881-1929), was the best-known pro-China leader in the Taiwanese-based movements during the 1920s. In 1920, Chen took his second trip to the mainland to deal with difficulties caused by the Hong Kong branch of the *Zhennan huishe* (Zhennan Company) founded by Cai Lianfang and other local elites including Lin Xiantang (1881-1959) and Lin Lietang (1876-1947). Through the Cai family, he met several major leaders of the Taiwanese-based movements including Lin Xiantang and Cai Huiru. He was also influenced by Qian Zeshen, another tutor from Nanjing in charge of teaching

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[7] Zhang Denan, 1999, p.39.
[8] Zhang Denan, 1999, pp.40-41.

modern Chinese for the Cai family. Chen started to learn modern Chinese from him, and a month after Qian's arrival in August 1924, he switched form keeping his diary in classical to modern Chinese.[9]

Chen initially participated in cultural and political activities aimed at enlightening the islanders in the mid-1920s a time when the Taiwanese-based movements enjoyed a certain popularity. After he quit his job in Taizhong, in May 1925, he and his friends organized the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* (The Xinzhu Youth Society), which aimed to improve the cultural environment for citizens in Xinzhu. In November 1925, he joined the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (The Taiwan Cultural Society) was founded in Taibei in 1921 and aimed to enlighten the islanders about cultural issues by promoting island-wide speeches.[10] Later, he also worked as both a journalist and an editor at the *Taiwan minbao* (The Taiwan People's Weekly), which was the only Taiwanese-owned Chinese newspaper during the 1920s. Chen wrote editorials and short commentaries for the newspaper and was regarded as an expert on China's affairs. Occasionally he introduced issues concerning China to the Taiwanese readers by rewriting reports from newspapers published in China.[11]

Chen's central-left stance in both the political and ideological sense gradually emerged in an atmosphere of increasing tension between the left and right wings of the Taiwan Cultural Society. In January 1927, the Taiwan Cultural Society split into two factions because its left-leaning members had successfully monopolized the leading positions. Later in July, its non-leftist members led by Jiang Weishui (1891-1931) founded the *Taiwan minzhong dang* (The Taiwan Mass Party) in Taizhong. Chen and Chen Fengyuan

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[9] Wang Shiqing, pp.75-86; Zhang Denan, 1999, pp.43-44.
[10] Wang Shiqing, pp.86-88.
[11] Zhang, Denan, 1999, pp.55-58.

(1893-1982) were among the five founding members of this association.[12] According to Chen Fengyuan's recollection, Jiang Weishui and Chen Wangcheng were the core members of the Taiwan Mass Party, which was regarded as a politically moderate association in the late 1920s.[13] However, with a fast increase in its leftist members it rapidly turned into a left-leaning association. In February 1931, its leftist members insisted on revising its guiding principles by copying those of the Japanese proletarian parties. Though Chen voted against the proposal, it was passed by an executive committee, leading to the disbandment of the Taiwan Mass Party ten days after the resolution.[14]

After the early 1930s, Chen withdrew from the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements due to internal ideological tensions and because of the rise of Japanese militarism. In August 1932, Chen quit his job as a reporter at the *Taiwan xinminbao* (Taiwan New People's Daily). Later he tried twice to look for a long-term work in China during visits to Nanjing and Shanghai, but failed in his attempts.[15] He returned to Taiwan and in December 1935 he was successful in a city council election, the first election in Taiwan's history opened on a limited basis to local Taiwanese elites. During his term as Xinzhu city councilor, from 1935 to 1939, Chen also ran a company with his friends in Taoyuan. In the autumn of 1940, Chen was suddenly accused of instigating young people in Xinzhu to join the anti-Japan war in China, and was imprisoned for 300 days at the police

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[12] Wang Shiqing, p.90. The Japanese colonial authorities warned Jiang Weishui not to join the Taiwan Mass Party, otherwise it would be disbanded.
[13] Wang Shiqing , "Chen Fenyuan xiansheng fangwen jilu (An interview of Chen Fenyuan)". In Huang Fusan (eds), *Jinxiandai Taiwan koushu lishi*,1991, p.147.
[14] Wang Shiqing , p.91.
[15] Wang Shiqing , p.91.

station in Xinzhu.[16]

Immediately after the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Chen organized the Xinzhu branch of the *Sanminzhuyi qingniantuan* (Three Principles of the People Youth Corps) with some local elites to maintain social order. Later in October, he and his Taiwanese friends founded the *Minbao* (The People's Daily), the newspaper inherited from the only Taiwanese-owned *Taiwan minbao* in the colonial period, and worked as the chief writer of editorials. The *Minbao*, a popular Chinese newspaper in the early postwar period, maintained its critical approach towards the performance of the new Chinese authorities in Taiwan.[17] In April 1946, he participated in a provincial level council election in Taibei, but was only elected to be an alternative member. The following year, during the 2.28 Incident, a military suppression conducted by the Chinese Nationalist in March 1947 which claimed thousands of lives, Chen was accused by the Chinese authorities in Taiwan of being one of the thirty leading 'rioters'.. The *Minbao* was banned due to its critical approach during the incident and Chen went into hiding and later fled to Nanjing and Shanghai where he stayed for almost a year.[18] However in 1948, he surrendered to the Chinese authorities in Taibei and, after the withdrawal of the accusation by the authorities, he worked as a compiler at the *Taiwansheng tongzhi guan* (Institute for

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[16] According to Chen's recollection in 1967, he was imprisoned in the spring of 1942 for 300 days. However, on Sept 27, 1941,he recorded in his diary: "In the evening, Fang brought us two more bottles of wine and some dishes in memory of my being investigated by the prosecutor on this day last year." This suggests that Chen was investigated in September 1940. Also, he recorded on October 1,1941: "a prefectural secret agent came to see me today. He recalled that he had sent me to the office of the prosecutor. ...". This suggests that Chen was sent to the prosecutor's office before October 1941. On the basis of these two sources, I infer that Chen's recollection is incorrect. Chen must have been imprisoned at the end of September of 1940, or even much earlier than that. An additional factor that would seem to support my inference is that I was unable to locate Chen's diary-writings between late-December, 1939 and September 30, 1941. It is possible that Chen did not keep a diary during this period due to his being imprisoned. See Wang Shiqing , pp.92-93.

[17]Wang Shiqing , P.94.

[18] Huang Jiwen (Chen Fenghua ed.) "Fuqin Huang Wancheng de huiyi." In *Zhuqian wenxian zazhi*, vol. 10, 1999, pp.50-52.

Compiling the Taiwan General History). In 1949, he filled a vacant position as a councilor on the Provincial Assembly. Two years later, he was appointed as director of the *Xinzhuxian wenxian weiyuanhui* (Committee for Compiling the Historical Documents in Xinzhu County) in his hometown.[19] He retired from his job after completion of the *Xinzhu Gazette* in 1957, at the age of 69.

Part I: Circles of Friends – the Empirical and Politico-social Dimensions of the Construction of Chen's National Identity

Before embarking on an examination of Chen's circles of friends, the social networks based on various contacts among his associates, it is necessary to establish the historical context in which Chen started his career as a schoolteacher in early 1910s Taiwan.

In the first two decades after the Japanese takeover in 1895, Taiwan was experiencing a specialized period of colonial rule in which it was governed by military governor-generals and based on Law No. 63. During this period, the colonial government tried to consolidate its rule through various means including the adoption of new policies and the suppression of native armed resistance. The administration of Kodama Gentarō (1898-1906), the governor-general of Taiwan, and Gotō Shinpei, chief of civil administration, laid the foundation of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, including a series of investigations of native customs, lands and households, the establishment of island-wide infrastructure, the encouragement of agricultural production, the adoption of the *hokō* system and the weakening of native armed resistance. Kodama Gentarō was followed by another governor-general, Sakuma Samata (1906-1915), who continued

[19] Wang Shiqing , pp.95-96.

Kodama's policies and, in particular, focused on suppressing the aboriginal armed resistance.[20] Moreover, throughout the first period of Japanese rule, 1895-1915, based on ideas of gradualism and separatism, an educational system, which included "a large base of elementary schools for the general populace topped by a small number of specialized institutions for a select few" was successfully introduced into Taiwan by the colonial authorities. Its basic approach was to serve the colonial state by instilling Taiwanese pupils with a sense of national loyalty to Japan, while providing them with modern skills and knowledge.[21] From the perspective of imperial educational history, this approach, based on the 1890 imperial educational edict representing the imperial ideology, was viewed as a counter action to the 'westernized' approach adopted in the early Meiji period.[22]

Hontō jin vs. *Naichi jin*: the Making of Japanese Colonial Subjects in 1910s Taiwan

In the broader educational context, what was colonial school life like in Xinzhu in the early 1910s when Chen started his teaching career? In addition to various teaching activities, Chen, as a colonized elite-trained schoolteacher, was frequently exposed to diverse national rituals and activities at the Xinzhu Primary School. Taking his diary writings in 1913 and 1914 as an example, he recorded that he cut off his queue on April 2, 1913, indicating his abandonment of the Manchu Qing custom, when he was entitled, after two years service, to wear a costly uniform for Japanese civil officials including teachers at school. On April 8, he walked to school for the first time dressed in a suit,

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[20] Huang Zhaotang, Huang, Yingzhe, trans. *Taiwan zhongdufu*, 1989, pp.81-104.
[21] Tsurumi, E. Patricia. *Japanese Colonial Educational in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, 1977, pp.212-219.
[22] Yamazumi Masami. *Nihon kyōiku shōshi: kingendai*, 1993, pp.60-61.

with, a cap with gold braid, and a knife, based on the uniform stipulated by the colonial authorities for schoolteachers. Thereafter, he wore this uniform mainly when he attended official ceremonies, such as the New Year Festival and the Memorial Day of Japanese Initial Rule in Taiwan.[23] The proceedings of these ceremonies requested all school members to sing the national anthem, salute photos of the emperor and empress, and listen to an oral reading of the imperial educational edict by the school principal, etc.[24] Through these ritual performances, it was expected that a sense of loyalty to Japan would be instilled into the Taiwanese pupils and even teachers. Moreover, school life in the early 1910s sometimes included involvement in military-related activities, such as ceremonies for celebrating the pacification of native rebels, in particular, in the aboriginal areas close to Xinzhu, which were clearly designed to impress upon school pupils the idea that the strong colonial state was increasing its contol over native society.[25]

In contrast to the official project of creating colonial subjects, Chen was exposed to the cultural and religious practices of native traditions outside his school circle in Xinzhu. Native religious practices including worshipping ancestors, and holding ceremonies in temples remained lively among local inhabitants in Xinzhu in the 1910s. The customs of the Qing period, including the use of the lunar calendar, traditional clothing and etiquette, and women's foot binding, remained visible among local dwellers in Xinzhu. However, Chen viewed these old practices of native society in a practical and flexible way. On May 30, 1915, he organized a poetry meeting at his home, in which he composed a poem entitled "Foot-binding"', indicating his opposition to the old custom due to "its

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[23] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 2, 8; October 28, 31, 1913. See also October 8, 1914. A year later queue-cutting was conducted by "all school pupils" on 8th October, 1914.
[24] Taiwan kyōikukai. *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi*, pp. 302-303.
[25] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 29; March 16, 1912. See also January 11; September 5, 1913.

inconvenience for walking". A week later, on the same day that his wife unbound her feet, he explained the history of queue binding and queue cutting to his pupils. Two days later he held a simple ritual after conducting queue cutting for five male members of his family. Three days after that, a traditional drama was held in front of Xinzhu Primary School, aimed at attracting local residents to join in a queue-cutting meeting held at the school on the same day.[26] There seems to be no direct evidence that the increase of queue-cutting and foot-unbinding activities among Xinzhu residents were influenced by the establishment of Republican China in 1912. In other words, Chen, as a schoolteacher trained in the Japanese way, was simply caught up in the process whereby local people in Xinzhu were increasingly abandoning old practices, which by the mid-1910s were viewed as symbols of the Qing/Han-Chinese identity. These old symbols of identity were in part replaced with a mixture of 'Japanese' and 'modern' practices introduced by the Japanese colonial state, suggesting that local residents were evidently involved in the process of becoming Japanese colonial subjects.

However Chen's experience of school life, in particular, his relationship with Japanese colleagues within his school circle, was sometimes tense. During Chen's teaching career at the Xinzhu Primary School (1911-1918), which was only for Taiwanese pupils, his social contacts mainly focused on Xinzhu-based Taiwanese schoolteachers previously trained at the teacher-training school. In 1911, when Chen started teaching at the school it had 9 teaching staff and 11 classes with 585 Taiwanese students.[27] Among the teaching staff, 3 were Japanese, including a school principal called Takagi Heitaron, and 6 were Taiwanese, including a senior teacher called Zhang Linshu who was responsible for

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[26] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 30; June 7, 9 & 12, 1915.
[27] Chen Wangcheng ed., *Taiwansheng xinzhu xian zhi gao*, Vol.7, 1954, p.4.

teaching classical Chinese. Teachers were greatly respected by the Taiwanese public during the colonial period partly because they were characterized as civil servants represented by the special civil-service uniforms which they wore at school.[28] Both Taiwanese and Japanese teachers were paid well according to the living standards of that period, though the latter were entitled to subsidies equal to 50% of their salary from the colonial government. However, throughout 1912, Chen frequently complained that the Japanese school principal treated him in an arrogant and rude manner and twice he thought about quitting his job. On Sunday, September 22, 1912, Chen became extremely angry with the school principal who had requested all teaching staff and students to go to school, and then after they had waited for a long time, failed to appear. During the same year two Taiwanese teachers also threatened to quit their jobs as a protest against the rude manners of the school principal. Clearly there were significant tensions between the Taiwanese teachers and the school authorities.[29]

But what was the source of tension in the school in the early 1910s? In March 1912, the teaching staff reached an agreement that only the Japanese language could be spoken among teachers in the office. Two years later, in December 1914, a stricter policy was adopted when an agreement was reached among the teaching staff, that a fine would be paid by teachers or senior school pupils if they acted against the Japanese-only regulation at school. However, to what extent exactly the Japanese-only regulation should be applied at school sparked an argument between Chen and one of his Japanese colleagues a month later.[30] This led to increased tension between the Taiwanese and Japanese

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[28] Zhang Denan, 1999, p.30.
[29] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 13; February 29; April 1; June 18; August 17; September 11-12, 18, 19 & 22; December 2, 1912.
[30] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March 19, 1912; December 8, 1914; January 7, 1915.

teachers and Chen's preoccupation with the Japanese-speaking issue might even have played a role in his decision, in around February or March 1915, to switch the language he used in his diary from Japanese to classical Chinese. Chen started keeping a diary in classical Chinese on February 5, a month after the argument, and over the next few weeks he used a mixture of both Chinese and Japanese languages. From late March 1915, he formally kept a diary in classical Chinese but changed into modern Chinese in 1925. After that, he used modern Chinese until 1973, the year he quit diary keeping.[31] The conflict over the Japanese-speaking issue between the Taiwanese and the Japanese teachers mirrored an evident ethnic tension in the public sector in Taiwan in the mid-1910s. It was around this time that the anti-colonial Ta-pa-ni Incident occurred in southern rural Taiwan in 1915. This incident which claimed more than 1,000 lives was a major armed resistance, led by a group of Taiwanese local elites consisting largely of men who helped run the local policing system called *hokō*.[32]

The ethnic and cultural ties of the Han Chinese people were not the only reason that the Taiwanese teachers, including Chen, formed a distinct circle of friends, based on regular poetry meetings. Discrimination at work, also strengthened the identity of the Taiwanese circle, though tensions also existed within it.[33] In March 1912, Chen attended the first poetry meeting attended by his Taiwanese colleagues at school. From autumn 1913, the poetry society was further developed into a regular society called *Luantan hui* (A Poets Society for Random Composition). The society which was devoted to the composition and recitation of classical Chinese poetry was led by Zhang Linshu, a school

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[31] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary,* February 5; March 17-31, 1915.
[32] Katz, Paul. "Local Elites and Mobilization during the Ta-pa-ni Incident of 1915", paper presented at Defang jingying yu Taiwan nongmin yundong guoji xueshu yantaohui, 2005, pp.1-5.
[33] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 6; July 1;October 14, 1912

teacher and a senior scholar of traditional Chinese learning. Zheng Jiazhen (1868-1928), a provincial level degree-holder in the Qing period, was often invited to offer advice to its members.[34] With the admission of several Taiwanese teachers from other primary schools in Xinzhu in 1917 the society's membership expanded to 12 members.. Chen showed a great enthusiasm for classic Chinese poetry as reflected by his transcription of around 230 classical poems in his diary between 1913 and 1916. He also composed classical poems from time to time and even attempted to keep a diary in a classical poetic style for several days in 1915.[35]

It was Chen's sense of Taiwanese consciousness as a *hontō jin*, overlaying his Han-Chinese consciousness, strengthened by the combination of ethnic tension and work discrimination between the Taiwanese and Japanese members at school, that finally led him to end his teaching career in 1918. His move to quit his job in the colonial public sector triggered a vain attempt by the colonial authorities to keep him working for Japan, but Chen had become increasingly indifferent to the Japanese project of creating colonial cooperators in Taiwan.

In the early winter of 1917, a series of events had occurred centered on ethnic relations between the Japanese principal and the Taiwanese teachers and which resulted in Chen quitting his job. The problem started when the school principal rudely criticized (Taiwanese) school pupils by likening them to "dogs, pigs and cats, etc." in November. Three weeks later, in a lecture to the students the school principal, Uehara Chugoro, stated that "the loud talking of the [Taiwanese] teachers' in the office is an exhibition of the nature of being slaves of the Manchu." In response, Chen noted in his diary that

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[34] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March 26, 1912. Zhang Denan, 1999, pp.36-38.
[35] Zhang Denan, 1999, pp. 38-39. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March 27& 30; July 19-20, 1915.

Uehara was impolite and deserved no respect..[36] A week after that, Uehara Chen noted that "speaks rudely" again in a meeting with the teaching staff. Having requested the Taiwanese teachers to obey school regulations, and commended the Japanese teachers for being well-behaved, he went on to threaten that "[If you want to quit the job], I do not care how many of you there will be!" Since his words were found "very offensive", the following day Chen purposely went to school late and lashed out at the principal loudly in protest. After class that day, "all of the Taiwanese teaching staff" held a meeting, reaching an agreement that three of them including Chen would hand in their written resignations in protest. The tension between the two sides continued for the next few days with Chen and two Taiwanese colleagues determined to quit their jobs. However the dispute was temporarily settled after Uehara apologized politely for his erroneous words.[37] Nevertheless, Chen and his two colleagues finally left the school at the end of the academic year in 1918, at a time when Chen was not guaranteed any other job prospect. After that, he tried to run a shop selling groceries, but this lasted only three months. Though he remained in close contact with the Taiwanese teachers of the poetry society, he showed no intention of returning to his teaching career, evidenced by his turning down a job offer in 1919, reflecting his determination not to work in the colonial public sector.[38]

However, what were the bases, both mental and social that prompted Chen and his two Taiwanese colleagues to act in such a 'determined' manner when they decided to quit their jobs around the end of 1917? Before examining these questions, it is necessary to examine what a Taiwanese teacher's life in Xinzhu was like in the late-1910s? As

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[36] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 10; December 5, 1917.
[37] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 12-19, 1917
[38] Zhang Denan, 1999, pp. 39-40.

reflected in his diary of 1917, for example, throughout that year, as a teacher, Chen was involved in intensive state-related activities demonstrating official ideology inside and outside the school. These included a series of activities, lasting ten days, for school members to welcome a Japanese prince called Kitashirakawa no miya Narihisa during his official trip to Taiwan in late October.[39] Moreover the school members were often involved in activities organized for citizens, such as popular lectures, exhibitions, and various Japanese-language and official-training courses.[40] In contrast to these intensive state-related activities representing the state's influence upon local society and people, a growing network emerged based on the regular poetry meetings attended by Taiwanese teachers at Xinzhu-based primary schools. This social network was sustained by intensive poetry meetings centered on traditional Han Chinese culturalism, representing a native influence beyond the sanction, if not control of the colonial state.[41] Research shows that the colonial authorities made no obvious attempt to suppress these Taiwanese-based poetry meetings in the colonial period. From autumn 1917, Chen, regularly attended these poetry meetings with great enthusiasm, initially on a monthly and then a weekly basis.[42] It was, in part, this social network based on poetry meetings and rooted in ideas of Han Chinese culturalism, which provided an instrumental and sustainable basis on which Chen, together with his two colleagues, acted so determinedly to quit their teaching jobs in the colonial public sector.

Growing up under Japanese colonialism Chen's Taiwanese consciousness, i.e. a *hontō jin*, had emerged gradually, and now as an adult it was strengthened in the process of his

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[39] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 19-27, 1917.
[40] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 2; April 12; May 4 & 12; July 9; August 10; October 4; December 8, 21, 1917.
[41] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 13; July 10; September 29 & 19; October 16 & 17, 1917.
[42] Zhong Meifang, *Rijushidai lishe zhi yanjiu*, 1986, pp. 45-46. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 9, 21& 28; October23 & 27; December 24, 1917.

frequent confrontations with the school principal and his Japanese colleagues., These conflicts were caused by the discrimination he suffered as a direct result of the distinct political status of the ruled *hontō jin* and the ruling *naichi jin*; a product of the discriminatory rule that endured during the first half of the colonial period based on Law 63 . In other words, it was a combination of the social network, providing an instrumental basis, and the Taiwanese (*hontō jin*) consciousness, providing a social and mental basis, which enabled Chen to challenge the discrimination he experienced at work as represented by the arrogance and rudeness of the Japanese school principal, and ultimately to quit his job in the colonial public sector.

In sum, although the original ethnic categorization of *hontō jin* and *naichi jin* may have come from an official classification conducted by the colonial state at the very beginning of Japanese rule. The formation and intensification of the consciousnesses of "*hontō jin* vs. *naichi jin*"", however, can be better viewed in the process of the interactions between the two sides in the colonial context. An examination of Chen's case discloses that an evident tension between *hontō jin* and *naichi jin* existed even in colonial public sectors, revealing that both *hontō jin* and *naichi jin* became distinct ethnic groups with a clearly defined self-consciousness in 1910s Taiwan, instead of just unessential terms for ethnic classification.

The Formation of a National Self: Chen's Social Network and his Absorption of Modern Thought: April 1920– March 1925

Before entering into a discussion of Chen's social networks, it is first necessary to address the question of the general historical context at the end of the 1910s in Taiwan.

The political context of the late 1910s may be briefly described as follows: first, with Hara Takashi at the helm since October 1919, the Japanese government embarked upon an experiment of political liberalism by introducing civilian rule to Taiwan and contributing to the future development of the Taiwanese political movement. Second, Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination deeply impacted upon many of the approximately 2000 Taiwanese students in Tokyo, around 1920. Moreover, through their interaction with students from Korea and China, where Wilson's doctrine had a major role in bringing about the March First Movement and the May Fourth Movement respectively, these overseas Taiwanese students began to learn about mass political movements.[43] Against this backcloth, the *Xinmin hui* (the New People's Society) was founded in Tokyo in January 1920 by a group of Taiwanese overseas students, including Lin Chenglu (1887-1967), Cai Peihuo (1889-1983) and Cai Shigu (1884-1951), with the support of several wealthy elites from central Taiwan such as Lin Xiantang (1881-1956) and Cai Huiru (1881-1929), the president and the vice president of the *Xinmin hui* respectively. The goals of the society were to develop a political movement aimed at reforming the colonial governance, to publish a magazine aimed at enlightening Formosans, and to solicit the support of the Chinese people. In July 1920, the first issue of a monthly magazine entitled *Taiwan Seinen* (the Taiwan Youth), written in Japanese and Chinese, was published under the editorship of Cai Peihuo, with a circulation at that time of around 3000. There was no convincing evidence showing that the *Xinmin hui* had any success in getting Chinese support.[44] As for how to develop a political movement to improve Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, throughout 1920, these Tokyo-based overseas

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[43] Chen, Edward I-te. Formosan Political Movements under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1914-1937. *Journal of Asian studies*, 31:3 (May 1972), p.481.
[44] Chen, Edward I-te. 1972, pp.481-482.

students debated as to whether the principle of 'assimilation' or 'autonomy' should be adopted as the main approach of the political movement. Most members of the *Xinmin hui* were inclined to support the assimilative approach, which was previously promoted by Itagaki's Assimilation Society founded in December 1914 and aimed at promoting the idea of assimilation among islanders island-wide. It was also supported by the Movement for the Abolition of the Law No.63 (1918-1920) which was aimed at abolishing Law No.63 on which an officially discriminatory policy between the ruled *hontō jin* and the ruling *naichi jin* was based.[45] However, the debate ended after a meeting held by *the Xinmin hui* in December 1920 at which the Lin Chenlu-led autonomous approach finally won the support of the majority. The autonomous approach, theoretically founded by Lin Chenglu and directly influenced by liberal Japanese scholars such as Yoshino Sakuzō (1878-1933), Yamamoto Miono and Izumi Tetsu in Japan, was slightly modified as a collective effort to petition for the establishment of a Taiwan Assembly (i.e. the *Taiwan yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong*). This heralded a wave of Taiwanese politico-cultural movements based on the idea of Formosan self-rule in the first half of the 1920s.[46]

During the time, between April 1920 and March 1925, while Chen was working for the Cai family in Taizhong, his Taiwanese (*hontō jin*) consciousness experienced a fundamental shift due, not least, to the influence of these Taiwanese-centered politico-cultural movements. Chen's five-year stay in central Taiwan overlapped with the first half of the democratic *Taisho* period which had started immediately after the end of the First World War, during which a new colonial policy based on the idea of assimilation

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[45] Lamley, Harry. "Assimilation Efforts In Colonial Taiwan: The Fate of the 1914 Movement." *Monumenta Serica*, 29, 1970-1971, pp.496-498. Chen, Edward I-te. 1972, pp.481-482. Zhou Wanyao. *Riju shidai di Taiwan yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong*, 1989, pp.28-34.

[46] Chen, Edward I-te, 1972, pp.482-483; Zhou, Wanyao. 1989, pp.34-35 & pp.36-50.

instead of discrimination was adopted by a new civilian governor. The development of Chen's Taiwanese consciousness was in part enabled by his Taizhong-based circle of friends centered on social connections of Cai Lianfang's (1875-1936) family, and in part inspired his reading materials imported from Japan and China, or published in Taiwan, in the first half of the1920s.

1. The Emergence of a Taiwanese National Consciousness and the Taizhong-based Social Network Centered on the Lin and Cai families, 1920-1923

During his working career in central Taiwan, Chen's social network was greatly expanded from the Xinzhu-based teacher's circle to a more extensive circle based on the social connections of the Cai family. Partly as a reult of these social connections, Chen's Taiwanese national consciousness emerged. After Chen quit his teaching job in 1918, he tried to run a company in Xinzhu without success. He then took a month-long tourist trip to China. In April 1920, Cai Lianfang appointed him as a financial manager to deal with failed investments in the stock market caused by the global depression after World War One. The details of the appointment, however, are unknown since Chen's diary of 1920 is missing. In addition, he also worked as a Japanese translator for Cai Lianfang and as a private tutor for his children.[47] Cai Lianfang was member of the Taizhong-based gentry and a businessman who had cooperated with the colonial authorities since the Japanese takeover of Taiwan, as reflected by his being offered a couple of official positions

[47] Zhang Denan, 1999, pp. 40-41.

including the head of Taizhong District in 1915.[48] However, his nephew, Cai Huiru, was a well-known leader in the Taiwanese-based politico-cultural movements, and was viewed as a sympathizer with China. Through the social and business connections of the Cai family, Chen was able to access both unofficial and official circles of friends in Taizhong. Moreover, Chen maintained a certain connection with several influential families in central Taiwan, including the Lin Family in Wufeng, the Yang Family in Qingshui and the Gu Family in Lugang. Members of these families, Lin Xiantang, Cai Huiru and Yang Zhaojia (1892-1976), were among the major leaders of Taiwanese politico-cultural movements in the 1920s. Lin Lietang (1876-1947), a cousin of Lin Xiantang, was also an indirect supporter of the Taiwanese movements. Also, Lin Xiantang, Lin Lietang and some other Taiwanese gentry were among the business partners of Cai Lianfang, due to their co-establishment of the *zhengnan* Company in which Chen took charge of financial affairs. Through various social and work contacts, Chen maintained a close connection with these politico-cultural leaders of the Taiwanese movements during his stay in Taizhong in the first half of the 1920s.[49]

However, what exactly was the historical context in which Chen was gradually influenced by new, modern ideas imported into Taiwan after the end of World War I ? Moreover, how and why was Chen's Taiwanese consciousness transformed into a 'national' one? Is it possible to trace these mental changes? From the very beginning of Chen's employment in Taizhong, regarded as a centre of Taiwanese political movement in the early 1920s, he was exposed to an environment in which he could easily access 'new ideas' promoted by a group of reform-minded Taiwanese leaders, such as Lin

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[48] Taiwan nichi'nichi shinpōsha ed. *Taiwan retsushin den*, 1916, p.187.
[49] Zhang Denan. "Huang Wangcheng – cong jiaoshi dao jizhe de zhuanzhe." Zhuqian wenxian zazhi, vol.10, 1999, pp.60-61.

Xiantang.,.[50] Chen started working for the Cai family in Taizhong in April 1920, a couple of months after the establishment of the *Xinmin hui* by a group of Taiwanese overseas students in Tokyo. Throughout 1920, the Tokyo-based Taiwanese overseas students, led by Taizhong-based Lin Xiantang and Cai Huiru, debated the issue of 'assimilation vs. autonomy' and in July of the same year, they started publishing the monthly *Taiwan Seinen* in Tokyo. This was the historical context in which Chen started working for the Cai family. Since Chen's diary for 1920 is missing, there are no sources available to examine how he responded to the activities of these reform-minded Taiwanese in that year. However an examination of Chen's diary for 1921 reveals his new ideological leanings. On 6th January 1921, a month after members of the *Xinmin hui* in Tokyo had adopted a resolution favouring the promotion of self-rule by Taiwanese political movements he summarized in detail in his diary an article examining the history of Law No.63 in *Taiwan seinen*, which may suggest that he was reading this, the only Taiwanese-based and reform-minded magazine, earlier than January 1921. However his summary of the article was followed by a comment on the same day that "the overseas Taiwanese students try hard to abolish the law and, as I heard, Lin Xiantang has gone to Tokyo [for this reason]!" thus revealing that he followed but was still unaware of the latest development of the *Xinmin hui* which had just adopted the self-rule approach and decided not to continue to strive for the abolition of Law No.63 based on the idea of discriminatory rule.[51] Throughout 1921, he recorded that he read the monthly *Taiwan*

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[50] Hong Shichang. *Taiwan minbao yu rizhishiqi Taiwan xin wenhua yundong (1920-1932)*, 1997, p.51. Around 50 % of the cadres of the Taiwan Cultural Society, founded in 1921, were from central Taiwan.
[51] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 6, 1921; Ji Zhe, "Liusan wenti zhi yan'ge", *Taiwan Seinen*, 1:5, 1920.

seinen at least six times, indicating he was a regular reader of the magazine.[52] However his social contacts based on circles of friends centered on the social network of the Cai family may also have played a crucial role in drawing him into a new ideological environment which was more likely to facilitate the reconstruction of his mental world in a national sense.

What kind of social network was Chen exposed to during his stay in Taizhong? In what way did his social contacts impact on his absorption of modern ideas enabling the reconstruction of his mental world? In an interview conducted in 1967, he revealed that his association with Lin Xiantang, whom he met through Cai Lianfang in Taizhong, heralded his future participation in the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements in the late 1920s.[53] As mentioned earlier, Chen also worked as a financial manager at the *Zhengnan* Company co-established by Cai Lianfang and Lin Xiantang and Lin Lietang of the Lin family in Wufeng, etc. So, what was the nature of the personal and business connections, between Chen and, notably, the Lin family? Lin Xiantang and Tokyo-based Taiwanese students started the first petition for the establishment of the Taiwan Assembly on 31st January 1921, signed by most of these overseas students. Four days after the event, Chen recorded that a Japanese secret agent came to Cai's residence "to return the petition sent by Lin Xiantang [to us] and then borrowed a volume of the *Taiwan Youth* [from us]." Three weeks later, after a visit to a Japanese mayor to discuss matters relating to "the European and American difficulties, and the harmonious relation between Japan and China.", Chen, together with Cai Lianfang and Lin Lietang, visited a Japanese official

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[52] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 6; February 3; July 17; September 4 & 5; November 2; December 5, 1921.
[53] Wang, Shiqing, p.86.

and "talked about the matter of a Taiwan Assembly"[54] These two entries regarding the Lin family reveal not only Chen's link with the Lin Xiantang-led Taiwanese movement, but also a certain working relationship among Chen, the Lin family and Japanese officials. Moreover, Chen also maintained a social relationship with Lin Xiantang. In late May 1921, Lin Xiantang visited Cai Lianfang's house and talked to Cai about colonial politics and Korean independence. Two months later, Lin Xiantang came to Cai's house again, and had "an enjoyable talk" with Chen about global affairs and the issue of amity between Japan and China, before having lunch together. In January 1923, Chen and Lin Xiantang sat on the same train "talking intimately about China's affairs". In July 1923, Chen was invited to have lunch with Lin Xiantang at Lin's House and they talked about the Taiwan Cultural Society during the former's trip to Wufeng.[55] Furthermore, Chen's personal relationship with Lin Lietang, the husband of Cai's young sister and a cousin of Lin Xiantang, who financially supported the Taiwanese political movements, was even closer than with Lin Xiantang. On May 29, 1921, Lin Lietang came to Cai's house and invited Chen,for a chat during which he criticized Japanese foreign policies as a failure. A week later, Lin Lietang brought the *Shanghai xinbao* (The Shanghai News) with him to Cai's house, asking Chen to read aloud the news regarding the Japanese-British Alliance.[56] Clearly, Lin Lietang greatly enjoyed talking to Chen about current affairs concerning China, Taiwan and Japan. In January 1923, Chen was invited to his house to view China-based newspapers and talk about current affairs. These diary entries all suggest that Lin Lietang, who was familiar with China due to his business investments there, as well as having traveled on the mainland and had his children educated there,

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[54] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 3 &19, 1921.
[55] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 31; July 24, 1921. See also January 30; July 17, 1923.
[56] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 29; June 5 & 6, 1921.

paid special attention to China's affairs. Moreover, the issue of Taiwanese political movements was another focus of his attention, as reflected by his opposition to a Japanese mayor's proposal to act against the Lin Xiantang-led petition for the Taiwan Assembly in July 1922. Chen, who had become a supporter of Taiwanese political movements around mid-1922 also shared Lin Lietang's support for the petition.[57] In February 1923, Lin Lietang showed Chen a song composed in support of the petition for the Taiwan Assembly. In response to this, Chen "stressed the awakening of the Taiwanese people [*Taiwan ren de juexing*]".Clearly, Chen's connections with the Lin family played an important role in the emergence of his Taiwanese national consciousness in the early 1920s.[58]

In addition to the Lin family, Chen's personal and employment experience at the Cai family also had a role in arousing his interest in the "new ideas". Among members of the Cai family in Qingshui in central Taiwan, Cai Huiru, the nephew of Cai Lianfang and partly China-based Taiwanese gentry, was "greatly respected" by Chen since he was a well-known leader in the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements, and China sympathizer. Around 1920, when Chen started working for Cai Lianfang's family, Cai Huiru, the vice president of the *Xinmin hui* founded in 1920 and a major sponsor of *Taiwan Youth*, was the most popular leader among the overseas Taiwanese in Tokyo.. Furthermore, although Cai Lianfang cooperated with the colonial authorities, he was among those who firmly supported the Lin Xiantang-led petition for the Taiwan Assembly, as reflected by, his strong opposition to the Japanese mayor's proposal regarding the petition.[59] Moreover,

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[57] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 11 & 23, 1922.
[58] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 26; March 7; July 19, 1923.
[59] Ye Rongzhong, edited by Li Nanheng, *Taiwan renwu qunxiang*, pp.81-83; *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 11, 1922; October 24, 1923.

through the social and business connections of the Cai family, Chen was able to access unofficial and official circles of contacts not only in Taizhong but also throughout the rest of Taiwan. Chen could, therefore, discuss "matters relating to the Taiwan Assembly" and "the new ideas in Japan" with other activists of the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements, including Liu Mingchao, a prominent member of the *Xinmin hui*, and Wang Minchuan (1887-1942), another leading member of the *Xinmin hui*. Lian Yatang (1878-1936), a Taiwanese scholar specializing in traditional Han Chinese learning and the author of the three-volume *Taiwan Tongshi* (the Taiwan General History) published between winter 1920 and spring 1921, was also a friend of the Cai Family, and was viewed by Chen as a "literary giant".[60]

In sum, from 1920 to 1923, Chen's association with the Taizhong-based circles of friends, as centered on the Lin and Cai families and evidenced by considerable social interaction, had a significant impact on him, increasing his interest in the issues of Taiwanese political movements based on a Taiwanese national consciousness, colonial politics, China's affairs and international politics.

Moreover, by commuting regularly between Taizhong and his hometown Xinzhu, Chen maintained his contact with his previous circle of friends based on the poetry society which by the early 1920s was also exposed to the changing ideological environment in Taiwan.. The Xinzhu-based circle of friends, initially formed by members with a teaching background and maintained by regular meetings for poetry-composition, further developed into a non-official organization called the *Xinzhu qingnian zijue hui* (The Society for Awakening the Xinzhu Youth) This title was evidently influenced by the *Tokyo Taiwan qingnian hui* (the Tokyo Taiwan Youth Society), which was a society

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[60] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 9, 14 & 31, 1921; February 12; July 22; August 19, 1922.

attached to the Tokyo-based *Xinmin hui*. The *Xinzhu qingnian zijue hui* was established in a solemn atmosphere at a primary school on February 27, 1921. It was led by Zhang Shigu, an ex-teacher and was administered by Dai Liang, a schoolteacher.[61] Moreover, another youth society titled *Zhusheng hui* (the Xinzhu's Voice Society) was founded around 1921, and partly shared a common membership with the *Xinzhu qingnian zijue hui*. Neither the *Xinzhu qingnian zijue hui* nor the *Zhusheng h*ui were particularly active and the relationship between the two societies remained unknown between 1921 and 1923. Only one entry in Chen's diary records that the *Zhusheng hui* organized a film party promoting hygienic ideas for citizens at a primary school in July 1921. It seems unlikely Chen was not a member of these societies, but in spring 1923, he raised the issue of what and how the *Zhusheng hui* should function in an article entitled "A Letter to Members of the *zhusheng hui*" in a Taizhong-based newspaper. This implies that Chen positioned himself as an advisor to the society who was ideologically more "progressive" than his friends in Xinzhu.[62]

2. The Shift in Chen's Mental Universe, 1920-1923

What general image do we have of Chen's mental world between 1920 and 1923, during which time the petition for the Taiwan Assembly was presented annually and the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (the Taiwan Cultural Society) was founded in October 1921 in Taibei? My previous discussions suggested that Chen's social contacts represented by interactions with friends mainly based in Taizhong enabled him to access information

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[61] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 25 & 27; March 7; June 28, 1921.
[62] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 27; August 20, 1921. See also March 25; April 4, 1923. This article hasn't been founded so far.

concerning new ideas and current affairs both inside and outside Taiwan, leading to a gradual reconstruction of his mental world. This mental shift in the early 1920s can be described as follows: firstly, Chen gradually developed a 'new' way of perceiving himself and the outer world, demonstrated by his rising political awareness of being a Taiwanese who was 'discriminated-against' under Japanese colonial rule. Chen's view of himself at this time is clearly reflected in several diary entries. On 9th November 1921, he wrote: "I went to a barbershop run by a female *naichi jin*. Due to her unfriendliness, I mocked myself for not going to one of the numerous barbershops run by *hontō jin*. In the evening, an elderly Chinese beggar [*Zhongguo ren laogai*] came to my place. I gave him twenty cents out of sympathy for him." Chen viewed himself as a *hontō jin*, the most popular term used to refer to Taiwanese people in the colonial period. However, Chen sometimes referred to Taiwanese (*Taiwan ren*), instead of *hontō jin*, as seen in a record in which he stressed "a strong need for the awaking of *Taiwan ren*" after a discussion with Lin Lietang about the establishment of the Taiwan Assembly. Chen's rising Taiwanese consciousness was also demonstrated in an event which happened a week before Lin's visit. He recorded that he together with a friend "became extremely angry" while witnessing an event: "A *naichi jin* stabbed a *hontō jin*, spreading blood on his face. Tens of *hontō jins* gathered around, making a commotion. Some of them even asked the stabbed person not to make further argument. The others echoed their advice."[63] Chen's response to the event revealed an evident difference between himself and those *hontō jin* crowds. He was aware of the visible discrimination between the ruled Taiwanese and the ruling Japanese, and began to show his support of the Taiwanese politico-cultural activists who attempted to improve the existing unequal status between them. In a letter

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[63] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 9, 1921. See also February 19 & 26, 1923.

written months before the event to his close friend Cai Shigu, an ex-teacher born in Xinzhu and an active overseas-based Taiwanese activist, Chen revealed his belief in "freedom and equality", his strong opposition to "discrimination and suppression", and his distrust of the Japanese promise to improve the unequal status of the Taiwanese (*hontō jin*).[64] For these reasons Chen strongly supported of Lin Xiantang who, at the turn of 1922 and 1923, had sparked a debate in the newspapers about the unequal status of Taiwanese. In sum, by early 1923, at a time when the majority of ordinary islanders possibly remained unaware of the problem, Chen had already revealed a strong awareness of being discriminated against and of the need to improve his kinsmen's political status by supporting the Taiwanese-based politico-cultural movements. Moreover, Chen's Taiwanese consciousness and awareness of discrimination were based on modern values such as "freedom and equality" and "self-rule", and not the pre-modern Han-Chinese racialism that he might have believed in the pre-1920 period.[65]

Secondly, between 1920 and mid-1923, Chen was increasingly aware of a changing ideological environment in Taiwan in which "the ideological conflicts between new and old were drastic". Throughout this period, Chen and his friends showed a growing interest in discussing personal ideological change and the ideological trends both inside and outside Taiwan.[66] In addition to his increasing awareness of Taiwanese consciousness in a modern sense, the new ideas that engaged him were primarily modernity and liberalism which had been introduced, for the most part, by Taiwanese politico-cultural activists. In mid-December 1921 Chen contributed an article for the first

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[64] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 23; September 23 &26, 1922.
[65] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 17&19, 1922. See also January 3, 6& 13; February 26; March 1, 1923.
[66] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 18; March 25; July 19, 1923.

time to a writing competition. The subject was whether those who have the same surname could marry each other, a topic which he showed a great interest in debating with his friends. This suggests that Chen perceived that the changing ideological environment, which was sparking various debates over 'new vs. old' or 'modernity vs. pre-modernity' was becoming increasingly relevant to him.[67] Moreover he took an open-minded approach to modern ideas and practices regarding hygiene, education and politics, as demonstrated by his support of compulsory education and political liberalism.[68] In general, his diaries demonstrate that during this period he was gradually becoming a liberal-oriented and modern-minded person with a growing awareness of being a Taiwanese under discriminatory colonial rule. Thirdly, Chen's interest in China-related affairs gradually developed. As mentioned above, China-related affairs were a major concern of Chen's circle of friends centered on the Cai and Lin families in Taizhong. Cai Huiru, a China-based Taiwanese political leader greatly respected by Chen, and Lin Lietang, might also have had an impact on Chen in this regard. In August 1921, in conversation with members of the Cai family, Chen expressed his yearning to study in Tokyo but knew he could not afford to. He noted, however, that more and more Taiwanese were choosing to study in China, which was one of the social trends in Taiwan at that time. On the other hand he was all too aware that some parts of China were in turmoil. In 1922, he expressed his deep anxiety about the political turmoil in China, and donated money to China in the wake of the natural disasters that had caused great damage.[69]

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[67] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 13 & 25; December 1 & 2, 1921.
[68] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 4, 1921; January 18 & 27, February 7, September 26, 1922; March 14, 1923.
[69] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 11, 1921. See allso January 7; February 9; July 29; August 9, 1922.

3. The Colonial State's Countermeasures and the Zhijing Event

Tension between the Japanese colonial authorities and Taiwanese politico-cultural activists arose when the latter expanded their influence island-wide by increasing lectures and publications which attempted to spread new ideas. In response to this, the colonial authorities adopted three types of countermeasures: conciliation, coercion and police repression. Conciliation was aimed at luring Taiwanese elites away from the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements by offering them attractive posts at three levels in local councils. Coercive measures included, in August 1922, the colonial authorities giving an order to the heads of institutes in the public sector as well as private Japanese firms to dismiss the Taiwanese personnel who were either directly involved in or in sympathy with the movements.[70] In July 1922 Japanese officials in Taizhong tried in vain to persuade the local gentry including Cai Lianfang, not to support Lin Xiantang. Lin Xiantang, however, was forced to withdraw from the Taiwanese movement due to being threatened with the loss of part of his financial assets. This led to mistrust about his leadership among Taiwanese activists. In fact, Taiwanese activists and their main supporters were regularly visited and watched by Japanese secret agents. Cai Lianfang (and Chen) were also visited regularly by Japanese secret agents who normally conducted their duties by collecting opinions of Taiwanese elites or activists about current affairs, etc., in a relatively open way.[71]

Moreover, in 1923, in order to win the hearts of the Taiwanese people and, in an

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[70] Chen, Edward I-te, 1972, pp.487-488.

[71] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 3; September 29; November 3 & 25, 1921. See also January 13 &15; February 6, 1923.

attempt to weaken the popularity of anti-colonial Taiwanese activism, the colonial authorities adopted two measures. First, Taizhong-based elites, including Cai Lianfang, were invited to join a formal meeting with the Japanese crown prince who made an official trip to Taiwan in April 1923. Local elites and "huge crowds of citizens" welcomed the crown prince with great enthusiasm. Though Cai Lianfang was offered a special chance to meet the crown prince alone, which gave him "a great sense of honor", he maintained an ambivalent attitude to Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, as shown by an event that occurred later that year.[72] In 1923, the colonial authorities created an island-wide pro-government society called *Gongyi hui* (the Public Good Society,) consisting of Taiwanese elites led by Gu Xianrong, who opposed Taiwanese activists supporting the *Taiwan yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong* (Petition for the Establishment of the Taiwan Assembly) and the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (Taiwan Cultural Society).[73] According to records in Chen's diary, for several months in the second half of 1923, the *Gongyi hui* tried unsuccessfully to recruit Cai Lianfang by offering him a post as the head of its Taizhong branch. This was at a time when the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* had started organizing several public lectures for citizens in Taizhong, which resulted in its increasing popularity. At the end of July 1923, Cai and Chen, attended two consecutive lectures on cultural issues at the ancestral shrine of the Lin Xiantang's family. Although the speakers were aware that the venue was being watched by policemen and therefore had to be cautious, Chen was impressed by these two well-attended lectures, and subsequently exchanged views with his employer Cai, expressing his "great admiration" for the lecturers.[74] Perhaps due to Cai's evident support of the lectures organized by the

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[72] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 14, 20, 27, 28 & 29, 1923. Zhang Denan, 1999, p.41.
[73] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 2, 1923.
[74] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 30 & 31; August 1, 1923.

Taiwan wenhua xiehui, after consulting with Chen several times in early August, he resolutely decided not to join the *Gongyi hui*. However the *Gongyi hui* attempted to force Cai to join them by publishing a news report saying he had agreed with their offer. This, however, proved a failure when Chen was asked to correct the statement for him. Moreover at a party held at Cai's house and attended by around 15 persons including Cai's Taiwanese and Japanese friends, the *Gongyi hui* became a target of criticism, thus it is clear that by this time Cai firmly supported the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*.[75] In sum, the political atmosphere in Taizhong in late 1923 was that of increasing confrontation between the pro-Taiwanese camp and the pro-government camp, in which Chen clearly sensed that "the young Taiwanese viewed the anti-policemen acts as something honorable", thus reflecting the growing anti-colonial sentiment in Taiwan.[76]

In response to this growing anti-colonial sentiment accompanied by the increasing popularity for Taiwanese activism, at the end of 1923, the colonial state launched a wave of island-wide political suppressions, which made Chen even more sympathetic towards the Taiwanese activists and further deepened his nationalist beliefs. In February 1923, the Taiwanese leaders petitioning for the establishment of a Taiwan Assembly founded a political society in Tokyo at the office of the monthly *Taiwan* magazine, the successor of the *Taiwan seinen*. This occurred in December 1923, three months after a devastating earthquake in Tokyo and against a background of police suppression and rising anti-colonial sentiment fostered by an increasing number of lectures and publications organized by Taiwanese activists.. On December 16, the island-wide search, summons and arrest of approximately one hundred Taiwanese political activists, included two who

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[75] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 4, 5, 6,7 & 10, 1923
[76] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 19 & 2, 1923.

were Chen's former classmates; one who was his close friend in Xinzhu, and three who were members of the Taizhong-based Cai and Lin families.[77] From the very beginning Chen closely watched the development of this island-wide incident, which became known as the Zhijing Event. He observed that the immediate reaction of Taiwanese society to the event was calm, though "people in Qinshui [in Taizhong] were enraged by it." He was certainly deeply affected by the event since he was in Taizhong at that time and some of the accused activists were very close to him. He showed strong support for the accused and viewed them as "a group of persons with ideals and integrity".[78] Further developments attracted national attention, bringing noted criminal lawyers for the defence from Japan. Amidst tremendous publicity, the court acquitted all the accused in August 1924. However, the high court reversed the original judgment in October, leading to many of the accused being imprisoned for several months.[79]

4. A Taiwanese National Consciousness Overlaying an Emerging Chinese Consciousness, 1924- March 1925

In July 1924, "island-wide" meetings of 'disadvantaged people' [muryokusha taikai] organized by the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* and centered around Lin Xiantang, not only demonstrated opposition to the previous official suppressions of Taiwanese leaders and the pro-government *Gongyi hui*, but also played a role in bringing socialist influences to the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements. Both these developments had an evident ideological impact on Chen, as reflected in his increasing anti-colonial sentiment based

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[77] Zhou Wanyao. 1989, pp.81-83.
[78] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 16, 17, 19, 21, 26, 27& 28, 1923. February 27; March 7, 1924.
[79] Chen, Edward I-te. 1972, p.488.

on his Taiwanese national consciousness and the subsequent emergence of his socialist inclinations. The meetings of 'disadvantaged people' were held simultaneously in Taibei, Taizhong and Tainan on July 3, 1924. In Taizhong, according to Chen's diary, the meeting was held at the ancestral hall of Lin Xiantang's family. Attended by around 1000 residents, it aimed to counteract the Gu Xianrong-led, pro-government meeting of the 'advantaged people' [*yūryokusha taikai*] held the previous June. Chen was impressed by the concept of 'disadvantaged people' since "it evidently met the social condition of that period" at a time when the self-centered 'advantaged people' obviously ignored the outnumbered 'disadvantaged people'.[80] He described in detail what happened at the meeting on July 3, and summarized two of four lectures discussing what the terms 'advantaged people' and 'disadvantaged people' meant. According to these two lecturers, 'advantaged people' were viewed as those who used money, authority and force to suppress ordinary people, while 'disadvantaged people' referred to those who were loyal to their duties and abided by the law, rather than those who were incapable or powerless. As evidenced by his many enthusiastic talks with friends about the meeting on his return to Xinzhu the following week, Chen was profoundly influenced by these lectures which promoting anti-colonial, anti-authoritarian and democratic values island-wide,[81] This anti-colonial sentiment based on a Taiwanese national consciousness was further strengthened by Chen's participation in a series of events organized by Taiwanese politico-cultural activists before he quit his job in Taizhong in March 1925. On July 21, 1924, Chen attended a welcome party with around 200 people, which was held in Taizhong for the Taiwanese petitioners just returned from the trip to present the fifth

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[80] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 1, 2, 3, 10 & 11, 1924. Ye, Rongzhong, edited by Li Nanheng. *Taiwan renwu qunxiang*. pp.85.
[81] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 3, 10 & 11, 1924.

petition for the Taiwan Assembly in Tokyo. This was followed by his participation at another meeting attended by around 3000 citizens and organized by Taiwanese politico-cultural activists in Taizhong; six lectures were given mainly focusing on socio-cultural issues. Chen's great enthusiasm for the increasingly island-wide Taiwanese activism was also demonstrated by his participation in a rally in Taizhong on February 21, 1925.Attended by hundreds of citizens, this rally was in support of Cai Huiru who was about to be jailed for 3 months after being formally sentenced in the Zhijing Event. Witnessing the strong support of the Taiwanese crowd for Cai Huiru, the main leader of the Taiwanese political movements, Chen reached the conclusion that "the hearts of Taiwanese would never die".[82] Having been profoundly influenced by the previous 'island-wide' or 'Taiwan-wide' events, such as the petition for a Taiwan Assembly, the Zhijing Event and the lectures organized by the Taiwan Cultural Society, Chen's sense of Taiwanese consciousness was now 'national' .

Moreover, the emergence of Chen's socialist tendencies in late 1924, mirroring the new approach of the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements in that period, resulted partly from his participation at the meeting of 'disadvantaged people' in July 1924, and can be viewed as resulting partly from the influence of his Taizhong-based social connections, and partly from his readings of socialist writings in that period.. In March 1925, Chen strongly supported his friend's proposal to organize a research society in Xinzhu to study "socialist thought". Before this however, as early as September 1924, his socialist inclinations had been revealed in records in his diary. On September 10, he "purposely acted in a modest way" to negotiate with his bosses, the landlord Cai Lianfang and his

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[82] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 21, 22 & 25, 1924. Also February 21, 1925.

wayward concubine, in order to sort out a tenant's problem; in so doing he records, he was motivated by his "sympathy with the peasant" who he viewed as being "oppressed". Moreover, a week later, he disagreed with his close colleague Qian Zeshen, a Chinese tutor working for the Cai family; he viewed Qian as "a conservative" due to his belief that communism was unfit for Chinese culture, thus indirectly suggesting that Chen was inclined to view himself as a progressive leftistmm.[83] However, why and how did Chen become a socialist at about this time? This may be linked to the evident impact on him of the meeting about 'disadvantaged people' and his subsequent readings. For a couple of weeks after his participation at the meeting in early July 1924, his intellectual interests remained centered around new foreign ideas including modern liberal ideas. However, in August 1924, he unusually turned his attention to socialist readings. Enthusiastically, he started reading a book titled *Shisen o koeite* (Crossing the Deadline), written in Japanese by Kagawa Toyohiko (1888-1960). He read for three consecutive days from August 11 to 13, summarizing in detail the plot of the novel by making a daily list, including subjects such as "the poor child bullied by the rich child", "the description of slum area", "the capitalist refused to help the poor traveler", and free love, etc.[84] A week later, he was reading another volume of the book subtitled *Taiyō o sasu* (Shooting at the Sun). Once again he summarized the plot of the novel, focusing on socialist concerns.[85] Around this time, he started summarizing Lenin's ideas of class division and other socialist ideas drawn from an unknown source written in Japanese. He also wrote a brief introduction to Marx's life in his diary, thus suggesting that he was evidently attracted by socialism.[86] In

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[83] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 9, 10 & 19, 1924.
[84] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 11, 12 & 13, 1924. Kagawa Toyohiko, *Shisen o koete*, Tokyo kaizō sha, 1921. The second part of the book entitled *Taiyō o sasu*.
[85] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 21, 22, 26 & 27, 1924.
[86] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 27 & 28, 1924.

sum, the emergence of Chen's socialist tendencies had a lot to do with his participation in the meeting of 'disadvantaged people', which he followed up by immersing himself in socialist readings. However, Chen's working environment at the Cai family, a well-known landlord in central Taiwan, may also have had a direct role in bringing about his awareness of a class consciousness, the middle-class self from a working-class family, leading him to become a sympathizer of 'disadvantaged people'.

Chen's Taizhong-based social network, in particular, his close association with Qian Zeshen, a Chinese tutor from Nanjing who had starting working at the Cai family in late August 1924, strengthened his interests in China-related affairs. This then played a role in developing a Chinese-dimension to his Taiwanese national consciousness. As early as 1921, influenced by his Taizhong-based social connections, Chen had become concerned about affairs in China. In mid-1924, there is evidence that he was interested in the ideas of Hu Shi, the leader of China's new cultural movement, and had begun to favour the use of *baihua* (modern Chinese) in place of *wenyan* (classical Chinese). This interest was further developed on August 29, 1924 when Qian Zeshen started working as a tutor teaching modern Chinese for the Cai family.[87] Qian was treated hospitably by the Cai family not least because some members of the Cai family who were interested in China's affairs viewed him as a knowledgeable source of information. Chen, in particular, showed a great interest in learning modern spoken and written Chinese from him and a couple of weeks after Qian's arrival, Chen started trying to keep his diary in modern Chinese and to speak Mandarin. From November, Chen studied modern Chinese with Qian on a daily basis, in exchange for Japanese lessons.[88] Moreover, he was able to access information

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[87] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 15 & 24; August 29, 1924.
[88] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 30; September 1, 2 , 9 12, 13, 14, 18, 21 & 26; October 5; November 10, 1924.

about Chinese literature, philosophy, culture and politics through an exchange of views and readings with Qian. Qian, a nationalist-minded Chinese, tried twice to "awaken" Chen's consciousness as an "oppressed" Taiwanese under colonial rule by repeating two lectures on Taiwan's affairs given by Liang Qichao, a famous Chinese thinker, in Nanjing.[89] In sum, by the end of Chen's employment at the Cai family in Taizhong in early 1925, he had developed an evident interest in China-related affairs with a special focus on the new cultural movement, promoted by Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu; this was further reflected in his use of modern Chinese in his diary from around early February 1925. Moreover, he was sometimes in the position of defending China when it became a target of criticism in his discussions with friends and, for the first time, he planned to start a business in central China at some point in the future, thus suggesting an emerging Chinese-dimension to his sense of Taiwanese national consciousness.[90]

Chen's Taizhong-based social connections also included a circle of Japanese friends. Despite his increased sense of Taiwanese-ness and anti-colonial sentiments, Chen in general welcomed the Japanese liberals supporting the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements, as shown by his participation at a lecture entitled "Considering the Self-ruled Taiwan" given by Tagawa Daikichirō (1869-1947), a Japanese liberal politician, in Xinzhu in January 1925, and attended by more than 2000 citizens. Moreover, Chen also attended lectures given by Japanese talking about issues of modern knowledge and China-related affairs.[91] In addition, due to his work as a translator and financial manager, Chen maintained frequent contacts with Japanese local officials and bank managers,

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[89] Zhang Denan. 1999, p44; *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 8; December 6, 7 & 13, 1924. February 19 & 26, 1925.
[90] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 12; February 1, 8, 9 & 10, 1925.
[91] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 8; November 7; December 29 & 30, 1924. Also January 9, 1925.

while negotiating local politics or dealing with financial affairs for his boss Cai Lianfang.[92]

Towards a Politicized Sense of Self: Chen's Dilemma between the Pro-Colonial and Anti-Colonial Camps, March 1925 - December 1925

When Chen returned to Xinzhu from Taizhong after quitting his job in March 1925, he was ideologically an anti-colonial and nationalist-minded Taiwanese who had an emerging sense of a Chinese consciousness and a growing interest in socialist ideas. However, he formally joined the anti-colonial camp as a cadre of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (Taiwan Cultural Society) at the end of 1925. After this, he became politically active in the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements, and between 1926 and 1932 also extended his Taiwanese-centered circles of friends from a local to an island-wide scale. The question now arises as to how and why as a believer in Taiwanese nationalism and other modern values, Chen turned into a "political" supporter of the Taiwanese activism around the end of 1925? How did he position himself between the colonial and the anti-colonial camps throughout 1925?

Although ideologically Chen had been a supporter of Taiwanese activism, he kept a certain distance politically from the anti-colonial Taiwan Cultural Society for several months after his return to Xinzhu from Taizhong in March 1925. Instead, he joined the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* (Xinzhu Youth Society), a moderate cultural society reorganized from the *Zhusheng hui* (Xinzhu Voice Society). During his five-year stay in Taizhong, he had maintained close contact with his teacher-based circle of friends in Xinzhu. Now,

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[92] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 11, 1922. March 1 & 3, 1925.

three days after his return to Xinzhu on March 7, 1925, he reconnected with this network of friends and sought to organize a study group aimed at researching "socialist ideas". This plan won the support of a group of his friends who attended a reception for him. Two factors led him to create a study group in Xinzhu. First, he was dissatisfied with the existing *Zhusheng hui*, which he viewed as an inactive society controlled by the colonial authorities. Second, he criticized the Xinzhu-based young intellectuals as a group of ambitionless people who "remained aloof" from the changing ideological environment in Taiwan. Instead, he insisted that the way of conducting "a cultural enlightenment" was to "dominate the current trend rather than being controlled by it", thus he revealed his commitment to changing the existing ideological environment in his residential Xinzhu.[93] However, what did he believe would "change" the outer world in Xinzhu? The core of his beliefs is revealed in his diary entry a few days later, made after reading the Taiwanese-owned *Taiwan minbao*. He recorded: "Two sentences could be written down here: 'Justice will never die; truth will never vanish.' These were the golden laws of current believers [in Taiwan]. In other words, the beliefs worthy of sacrificing life would never change"; "... after lunch I wore ordinary clothes, displaying my original face as a Taiwanese [*Taiwan ren*]. ...The [official] *Keisei shinpō* fiercely attacked the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* and accused it of acting like a communist organization instigating conflict between laborers and capitalists. I believed that it acted for the sake of justice and had nothing to do with the communists."[94] These diary entries reveal his fundamental beliefs: first, he believed he was on the same side as "justice and truth", which were unchanging for which it was worth sacrificing one's life. Second, he considered that his Taiwanese

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[93] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 1; March 7, 10, 21 & 25, 1925
[94] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March 27, 1925.

identity was his original self. Third, he believed that the anti-colonial *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* represented "justice and truth." In other words, he was in the process of becoming a politicized self who was willing to fulfill his beliefs.

Before the establishment of the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* Chen and his friends attempted to organize two study societies one focusing on socialism, and the other on composing modern Chinese poetry. Both societies ultimately failed; though he did successfully organize a couple of meetings. On April 3, 1925, after the death of Sun Yat-sen, he organized a memorial meeting in his reading room to commemorate Sun, whom he viewed as "the great man of China." The meeting was attended by ten of his friends including Zheng Zuoheng, Zhang Jie, Zhang Bang, Zhang Ze, Zeng Ruiyao, Dai Liang, etc. These participants came primarily from the school where Chen had worked and local government, and represented the main body of his circle of friends in Xinzhu. At the meeting Chen read a funeral oration he had composed, and then gave a lecture. It was decided to hold a regular study meeting from then on.[95] In addition to speaking on socialism and modern China-related affairs, a week later at another meeting organized by some of the participants of the memorial meeting, Chen gave a lecture entitled "Commonsense about Self-rule", reflecting his continued interest in Taiwanese politico-cultural movements. Although he was dissatisfied with the *Zhusheng hui*, he was invited to give another lecture entitled "Why Do We Study?" at a meeting which attracted 500-600 citizens.[96] After that, at a time when public lectures organized by local societies were gaining an island-wide popularity, Chen and many of his friends in Xinzhu started to organize the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* on the basis of the *Zhusheng hui* by revising its

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[95] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 29; March 7,13 & 20; April 2 & 3, 1925.
[96] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 8 & 26; May 9, 1925.

regulations,.

The *Xinzhu qingnian hui* which had more than ten members and was headed by Li Liangbi was created at an official meeting hall on May 30, 1925. Two weeks later a textile factory was founded, run by Chen and backed by eight members of this society. The *Xinzhu qingnian hui* was expanded to more than 30 members at the end of August 1925, with its members drawn primarily from teachers, local civil servants, businessmen and doctors. The society regularly held lectures on cultural issues at official venues for citizens in Xinzhu and attracted hundreds of audience each time. Compared with the anti-colonial Taiwan Cultural Society, the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* appeared to be closer to the local government. However, there is no evidence that the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* accepted any financial support from the local government even though it was advised to do so.[97] Nevertheless, the textile factory run by Chen did receive some technical assistance from the local government when it was first established. In addition, Chen and Li Liangbi successfully sought financial support through Liu Minchao, a Taiwanese official who was the head of an economic section of the local government.[98]

In fact, Chen faced the dilemma of either joining the anti-colonial *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (Taiwan Cultural Society) or working in local government, since both sides had been trying to recruit him since mid-1925. In May 1925, two local members of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*, Wu Tinghui, a carpenter born in 1891, and Xue Jinmu, tried to persuade Chen to join the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* as the head of its Xinzhu branch by offering financial support. They implied that Lin Xiantang was their backer. However Chen declined the offer and suggested that they strengthen the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* rather

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[97] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 22, 27 & 30; June 14; July 4 & 9, 1925.
[98] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 5, 12 & 13, 1925.

than establish a Xinzhu branch of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*.[99] At about this time, Japanese local officials and secret agents started to keep a close watch on Chen's involvement with the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*.[100] On June 7, several leaders of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* including Lin Xiantang, Cai Huiru and Cai Shigu (1884-1951) gave their first lecture in Xinzhu attracting an unprecedented audience of 2000 people. Chen described the response of Xinzhu citizens to their visit as "looking as though they were welcoming gods". At Chen's invitation, these leaders of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* exchanged views and had their photograph taken with most members of the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* at Chen's house on the following day.[101]

Japanese local authorities were well aware of the close contact between the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* and the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*, and tried to divide them by drawing the former to their side, immediately leading to tension within the *Xinzhu qingnian hui*. During this period, local Japanese officials visited Chen's textile factory several times, suggesting that Chen accept financial support from the local government. Chen declined financial aid for the *Xinzhu qingnian hui*, but accepted it for the textile factory. A couple of weeks later, tensions within the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* increased, reflecting a direct conflict between its pro-colonial and anti-colonial camps. On August 21, Chen had a serious argument with Li Liangbi, the president of the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* who also worked at an official company, and Dai Liang, an ex-teacher working in local government, about the proposal to organize a society to improve the religious custom of *pudu*, through cooperation between the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* and the local officials of the

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[99] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, 19 & 25, 1925.
[100] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 1 & 21; June 1& 2, 1925.
[101] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, June 2, 7 & 8, 1925.

hokō system.[102] Chen disagreed with the proposal for cooperation with local official units because he viewed the *hokō* system as lacking in autonomy, though Li Liangbi believed it was totally autonomous. On the following day, the official press reported that the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* had received the support of the official *hokō* on the issue of the improvement of the *pudu*. Chen responded angrily. This internal conflict was finally settled by a mediation attended by several members of the *Xinzhu qingnian hui*.[103]

Although the local authorities almost succeeded in recruiting Chen into local government, Chen finally decided to join the anti-colonial *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* mainly due to the working of his social network, and partly due to increasing tensions between local Taiwan society and the colonial government. On October 9 1925, the Xinzhu branch of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* was established at the wholesale office of the *Taiwan minbao*. Chen was invited to give his first lecture at the meeting to which Lin Xiantang and Cai Paihuo, the major leaders of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*, were also invited. Nevertheless, three days later, a Japanese local official invited Chen to work in local government. Later, after consulting his close friends Zhang Jie, Zhang Shigu and Zeng Ruiyao, members of the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* who also worked in local government, Chen confirmed that he would accept the job offer However, after a major riot of sugar farmers in Erlin in central Taiwan, and a wave of intensive persuasion from the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* , Chen reconsidered his decision. On October 26 1925, 400 to 500 sugar farmers attacked policemen, leading to increased tension between the native society and the colonial government. This tension also existed in Xinzhu, shown by the fact that the

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[102] *Pudu*, also called *Zhongyuan pudu*, is a religious ceremony related to both Buddhism and Taoism and commonly held in lunar July. The ceremony includes rituals of purification and offerings of food to the spirits of the dead, etc. *Hokō* was a semi-official local system adopted in Qing period and inherited by the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan. It was used to assist the police in dealing with local affairs.

[103] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 7 & 8; August 9, 11& 21-23, 1925.

anti-colonial *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* was much more popular than the moderate *Xinzhu qingnian hui*. For example, lectures held by the former usually attracted thousands of listeners, while only hundreds attended lectures held by the latter.[104] On October 29, when Cai Shigu, a leading cadre of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* and a close Xinzhu-based friend of Chen since the 1910s, persuaded Chen to work for the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* as a lecturer in Xinzhu with a monthly salary of 60 yen, Chen thought seriously about it and decided to decline the job offer from the local government. Five days later, when Cai Paihuo, a important leader of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* and a former classmate of Chen's at the teacher-training school, invited Chen to join a meeting organized by several local members of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* such as Yang Liang who was a Xinzhu-based landlord and businessman, Chen finally decided to join the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*.[105] Li Liangbi, the pro-governmental president of the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* immediately rebuked Chen for this decision not to withdraw from the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* after joining the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*. However, after taking a vote, the majority of the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* decided in fvour of maintaining his membership. On December 15, Chen was invited by Lin Xiantang, the leader of the anti-colonial camp, for a two-day stay at his house in Wufeng, suggesting that Chen was now firmly placed in the anti-colonial camp.[106]

The Propagation of Taiwanese Nationalism through a Taiwan-size Politico-social Network, 1926-1930

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[104] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 26; November 15; December 13, 1925.
[105] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 29; November 4, 1925.
[106] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 6 & 10; December 2 & 15, 1925.

In the process of his politicization evidenced by his involvement in island-wide politico-cultural activities from 1925 to 1932, Chen established overlapping Taiwan-wide circles of friends including members of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*, the *Xinzhu qingnian hui*, the *Taiwan minbao* and the *Taiwan minzhong dang* (Taiwan Mass Party). Throughout the year, prior to beginning work at the *Taiwan minbao* in December 1926, he gave island-wide lectures for the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* and Xinzhu-based lectures for the *Xinzhu qingnian hui*, amounting to 37 in a single year. Chen was now clearly participating whole-heartedly in the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements led by the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*. The topics of these lectures mostly covered modern social, cultural and political ideas, aimed at enlightening the Taiwanese people in both urban and rural areas using a relatively moderate approach. These lectures were attended by audiences ranging from 100 to 4000 people, mainly mobilized by local branches of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* and the Xinzhu-based *Xinzhu qingnian hui.*[107] Through the network of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*, in particular, his circle of friends was greatly extended to an island-wide level, also suggesting his positive involvement in the Taiwan-wide political, social and cultural integration of the Taiwanese people promoted by Taiwanese elites, which was crucial to the formation of Taiwanese nationalism in the context of the late1920s.

Although being also an ideologically left-leaning Taiwanese activist, when the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* split into leftist and non-leftist camps in January 1927, Chen sided with the non-left camp within the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*-led Taiwanese politico-cultural movements. This split also revealed rising tensions within his island-wide circle of

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[107] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 1925 – November 1926. Chen gave 28 lectures organized by the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* and the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* in 1925, 27 in 1926, and 14 in 1927.

friends. Between 1921 and 1927, the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* acted as the home front of the *Taiwan yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong* (the League for the Establishment of a Taiwan Assembly), promoting modern politico-cultural ideas among the islanders. However, as a result of the increasing percentage of farmers and workers among its membership, the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* gradually evolved from its original cultural approach into a nationalistic class organization. In January, 1927, at a meeting held in Taizhong, the left-leaning members of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* led by Lian Wenqing (1895-1957) became dominant, leading to the collective withdrawal of its non-leftist members led by Jiang Weishui and Cai Peihuo. This marked the formal split within the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* based on ideological conflict. Chen sided with Jiang Weishui who represented a moderate and nationalist-minded influence at that time. Within months after the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* split, the non-leftist members had created the *Taiwan minzhong dang.*[108] In Xinzhu, Chen kept a certain distance from the left-leaning members of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* due to their radical approach, which resulted in suppression of the society by the colonial authorities later.[109]

In the first half of 1927, during the early stages of the Taiwan Mass Party, Chen emerged as one of its leaders when the majority of the *Taiwan minzhong dang* passed his proposals on crucially controversial issues. From February to May 1927, at least three meetings had been held to prepare for the creation of the *Taiwan minzhong dang* none of which were attended by Chen; this suggests that he was not actually an initiator of the party. On May 29, the first official meeting of the *Taiwan mindang* (the Taiwan People Party) attended by 68 members, including Chen, was held in Taizhong. As a result of

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[108] Chen, Edward I-te. 1972, pp.490-491.
[109] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 16, 17 & 18, 1927.

an earlier warning from the colonial authorities, its leaders, Jiang Weishui and Cai Paihuo, found themselves under pressure to adopt a proposal to replace the term "emancipation of Taiwanese" with that of "liberty and equality" as the guiding principles of the *Taiwan mindang*. After elaborating on what the term "emancipation" meant, Chen however insisted on making no modification to the principles, and this proposal was finally passed by the majority of *Taiwan mindang* members.[110] However, the colonial authorities found the inclusion of term "emancipation of Taiwanese" in the guiding principles unacceptable because of its suggestion of self-determination for Taiwan, and four days later the *Taiwan mindang* was forced to fold. .[111] Three days later, another meeting was organized at the office of the *Taiwan minbao* by Jiang Weishui, Cai Paihuo, Xie Chunmu (1902-1969), a journalist at the *Taiwan minbao*, Huang Zhou (1899-), another journalist at the *Taiwan minbao*, and Peng Huaying (1893-1968), a graduate from Meiji University, to discuss how to proceed with their plan for creating an alternative political association. On July 10, a meeting was held in Taizhong to found the *Taiwan minzhong dang*; it was attended by 63 members. Due to a previous official warning from colonial authorities that Jiang would only be allowed to become a member of the *Taiwan minzhong dang* on the condition that no claim of Taiwanese nationalism was found in its platform, there was a debate over whether Jiang could become a member at the meeting. In response, Chen proposed that the controversial issue should be decided by vote, which was again passed by the majority of its members. The *Taiwan minzhong dang* then became a

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[110] *Taiwan minbao*, no.161, June 12, 1927.
[111] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 29; June 1, 3 & 4, 1927.

"non-nationalist" association in which Chen was elected as one of its five founding members.[112]

Chen was entering the centre of the non-leftist and Taiwanese-centered politico-cultural movements in December 1926, when he joined the Taibei-based *Taiwan minbao*, which was the only Taiwanese-owned newspaper propagating various new ideas concerning Taiwanese nationalism at that time. Although from 1925-1935 Chen stayed mostly in Xinzhu, based on his social network at the *Taiwan minbao*, he maintained close contacts with members of the *Taiwan minzhong dang*. The *Taiwan minbao*, the successor of reformative-minded *Taiwan seinen* and *Taiwan*, was initially created by a group of Taiwanese activists including Lin Chenglu, the theoretical founder of the Taiwan self-rule movement, and Cai Paihuo in Tokyo in 1924, with its Taiwan branch established at Jiang Weishui's house in Taibei. The *Taiwan minbao* was formally moved from Tokyo to Taibei in August 1927, at which time it reached a circulation of more than 10,000.[113] With strong encouragement from his close friend, Xie Chunmu, in December 1926, Chen joined the Taibei-based weekly as a journalist in Xinzhu.. Xie was a member of the *Taiwan minzhong dang* and a journalist at the *Taiwan minbao* around the time when Chen had already worked for the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* for a year.[114] In 1927 there were more than 40 people working at the *Taiwan minbao*, all of whom, including Lin Chenglu, Cai Huiru, Cai Paihuo, Cai Shigu, Jiang Weishui, Yang Zhaojia, Chen Fengyuan, Xie Chunmu, and Huang Zhou etc., were Taiwanese and, any of whom were also among the leaders of the *Taiwan minzhong dang*. By the end of 1927, the *Taiwan minzhong dang*

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[112] Wu, Sanlian & Cai Paihuo, *Taiwan minzu yundong shi*, pp.362-366. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 17, 1927.
[113] Hong, Guiji. *Taiwan baoyeshi de yanjiu*, 1957, p75
[114] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 29; October 6; November 10, 1926.

had set up 15 branches with a total of 456 members island-wide. Chen was a member of both the Central Committee and the Central Standing Committee of the *Taiwan minzhong dang*. In summer 1927, Chen and some friends formally left the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*, which had been controlled by leftists since January 1927, and had recruited a total of 4,393 members.[115] These members of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (also called *Xinwenxie* [New Taiwan Cultural Association]" from January 1927) were mostly younger and less educated, compared with those of the pre-1927 *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*. In Xinzhu, however, after Chen left, relations between the *Taiwan minzhong dang* and the *Xinwenxie* deteriorated. In October 1927, Chen's former friend Lin Donggui who was in charge of Xinzhu branch of the *Xinwenxie* accused Chen of accepting money from the local government on a monthly basis. However, according to Chen's diary, it was only his textile factory, which received monthly funding from an economic unit which was responsible for promoting local enterprise by offering financial and technical support from the local government.[116] In fact, the increasing tension between leftists and rightists emerged not only between the *Taiwan minzhong dang* and the *Xinwenxie*, but also within the *Taiwan minzhong dang*.

Chen withdrew from the politico-social network of Taiwanese activism due not only to the increasing ideological tensions within the *Taiwan minzhong dang* and the *Taiwan xinminbao* (the successor of the *Taiwan minbao* founded in 1932), but also to the rise of Japanese militarism in the early 1930s, that efficiently suppressed leftist influences in Taiwan. The relatively moderate *Taiwan minzhong dang* increasingly turned into a

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[115] Li Zhengliang. "Riju shiqi xinzhu zhengzhi shehui jingying chutan," *Zhuqian wenxian zazhi*, 10, 1999, pp.86-87; *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 22, 1927.

[116] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 22, 27& 29; October 7, 18 & 21; November 1& 29, 1927. Also April 6 & 7, 1928; December 17, 1929.

left-leaning association, in particular, after annexing the Taiwan Labor Union which, by February 1928, had recruited more than 10,000 members. This move further split the *Taiwan minzhong dang* into two factions. Jiang Weishui, together with Chen, Huang Zhou and Xie Chunmu, etc. managed to control the leadership of the *Taiwan minzhong dang* by accommodating themselves to the left-leaning Taiwan Labor Union, which consequently led to ideological tension within the organization. In August 1930, Lin Xiantang, together with other major leaders such as Cai Paihuo, Cai Shigu, Chen Fengyuan and Yang Zhaojia, were forced to create the bourgeois *Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng* (the Taiwan Local Self-rule Union). These sixteen bourgeois members were finally dismissed from the *Taiwan minzhong dang* in December 1930.[117] Subsequently, Jiang Weishui and Xie Chunmu proposed to position the *Taiwan minzhong dang* as "a nationalist movement centered on the proletariat" by revising its guiding principles. This proposal was examined by a committee in February 1931. However, Chen, a sympathizer of socialism and a close friend of Jiang, together with several Xinzhu-based members of the *Taiwan minzhong dang*, expressed disagreement with the proposal due to Chen's insistence that the founding spirit of the *Taiwan minzhong dang* was based on the principle that the association was for "all Taiwanese" rather than only for the proletariat.[118] The proposal was finally passed, which led to the organization being disbanded by the colonial authorities ten days later, indicating a further collapse of the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements. Chen's politico-social connections were now restricted to his *Taiwan minbao* (*Taiwan* xinminbao)-based and Xinzhu-based circles of

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[117] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 15 & 26, 1928; Wu Sanlian, Cai Paihuo & Ye Rongzhong. *Taiwan minzhu yundongshi*, 1983, pp.422-425. Lin Xiantang was not dismissed, but he left the Taiwan minzhong dang later.

[118] Wu Sanlian, Cai Paihuo & Ye Rongzhong. *Taiwan minzhu yundongshi*, 1983, pp. 430-440

friends. In August 1932, however, Chen resigned from the *Taiwan xinminbao* after a quarrel with Yang Zhaojia, an executive of the newspaper and a member of the bourgeois *Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng*, who had complained that news about lectures organized by the *Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng* were ignored by Chen and the *Taiwan xinminbao*. Chen argued however that the newspaper worked for "all Taiwanese" rather than for the bourgeoisie. This ideological conflict within the newspaper led to Chen's resignation. Although a farewell party organized for him in Xinzhu was attended by more than 400 friends from all across the island, after his resignation, Chen, an ideological left-leaning but politically central Taiwanese activist, was only able to maintain his Xinzhu-based politico-social circle of friends.[119] In sum, the shrinking of his political-social network from an island-wide to a local level after his resignation from the *Taiwan xinminbao* in late 1932 mirrored an overall decline in Taiwanese politico-cultural movements starting with the early 1920s.

Part II: Reading Materials – the Abstract and Ideological Dimensions of the Construction of Chen's Taiwanese National Consciousness

In this section, I will examine how Chen's reading matter impacted on his ideological world, with particular focus on the construction/ reconstruction of his sense of a 'national self' in the 1920s.

The Development of a Sense of Taiwanese (*Hontō jin*) Consciousness based on Han Culturalism in the 1910s

[119] *Taiwan xinmingbao*, August 27 & 28; September 3, 4 & 7, 1932.

My first question is: what were Chen's reading sources before 1920? During his teaching career in Xinzhu between 1911 and 1918, he regularly read newspapers, magazines and general publications, written in Japanese language, as well as Chinese literature mainly covering poetry and novels, written in classical Chinese. In 1912, for example, he regularly read T*aiwan nichi'nichi shinpō* (Taiwan Daily), a government-controlled Japanese newspaper with a page devoted to China affairs. This paper was created in 1898 and was the only Taiwan-based newspaper in the early 1910s. Chen sometimes read Japanese magazines imported from Japan, such as *Chūō kōron* (The Central Review), a comprehensive magazine published in Tokyo, and *Taiyō* (The Sun), a monthly magazine initially published in 1897 in Tokyo. Furthermore, as a school teacher, he paid special attention to education-related publications such as *Shinkyōiku kōgi* (The Teaching Materials for New Education), *Shōgaku kyōshi ron* (On Primary School Teachers), *Risō no gakkō* (An Ideal School), and a Japanese law book entitled *Roppō zensho* (A Collective Book for Six Laws). In addition, he studied Chinese history and current affairs by reading Japanese books, such as Ishimura, Tei'ichi's *Gen-Min-Shin shiryaku* (A Brief History of Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties) and *Shina kakumei jikkenki* (Records of Witnessing the Chinese Revolution) which offered him a clearer picture of Sun Yat-sen's political revolution in China in 1912. As an active member of a poetry club, Chen greatly enjoyed composing and reciting classical Chinese poetry with his teacher friends, but he was also fond of reading classical Chinese novels such as *Hongloumeng* (The Red Chamber Dream), a famous Chinese novel written by Cao Xueqin in the Qing

period.[120]

Between 1913 and 1918, Chen maintained interest in both Japanese and classical Chinese readings. He continued his regular reading of the *Taiwan Daily*, and sometimes read other Japanese magazines such as the *Taiwan Kyōiku* (Taiwan Education), and Japanese books regarding Western and Japanese histories.[121] He read more classical Chinese literature between 1913 and 1918 than in 1912, including *Xixiangji* (Romance of the West Chamber), a famous Chinese drama written by Wang Shifu in the 14th century, *Huayuehen* (The Marks of Flower and Moon), a classical novel written by Wei Xiuren in the 19th century, *Liaozhai*, a collection of bizarre stories written by Pu Songling in the Qing, *Sanguo yanyi* (the Romance of the Three Kingdoms), a popular Chinese historical novel written by Luo Guanzhong in the Ming period, *Suiyuan shihua* (Yuan Mei's Talks on Poetry), written in the Qing period, *Hongdoucun shiji* (The Poetry of the Hongdou Villager), a collection of classical Chinese poetry written by Yuan Shu in the Qing period, etc..[122]

In sum, an examination of his reading materials in the 1910s does not suggest a clear ideological picture of Chen, due to very few comments made in his diary after the reading of these publications. However it does reveal that he learnt about current affairs in Taiwan, Japan and China through following the daily news in Japanese and he paid special attention to education-related books written in Japanese, thus suggesting that Japanese was the major language he used to absorb information of the outer world. However, he also greatly enjoyed reading classical Chinese literature including novels

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[120] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1912.
[121] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 3; April 27, 1913. January 2; February 28, 1915. June 9, 20 & 23 September 15; December 18, 1916. Also April 23; June 25; December 12, 1917.
[122] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1913-1917.

and poetry, and frequently attended poetry meetings organized exclusively by Taiwanese teachers, unveiling his sense of a Taiwanese (*hontō jin*) consciousness based on Han culturalism. As noted above this sense of Taiwanese (*hontō jin*) consciousness, further strengthened by the discrimination he suffered at work centered on the Japanese-speaking disputes at school during this period, had a major impact on his decision in March 1915 to keep his diary in classical Chinese rather than Japanese.

The Construction of a New Ideological Self, 1920 -1925

During his employment at the Cai family in Taizhong, from April 1920 to March 1925, Chen was increasingly exposed to new foreign ideas through various readings; this lead to the reconstruction of his ideological world and played an important role in reshaping his identity position. However, what role did his reading materials play in bringing about this ideological shift?

1. An Overview of Chen's Reading Materials, 1920 - March 1925

As Chen's diary of 1920 is missing, I can only deal with the books and materials he read between 1921 and March 1925. In June 1922, he began subscribing to the official *Taiwan Daily* and continued to read it through this period. Sometimes he read local Japanese newspapers including the *Keisei shinpō*, the *Taichū shinpō* (Taizhong News) and the *Tainan shinpō* (Tainan News), while the Japanese books he read included the diplomatic histories of Japan and China and Western history, literature and geography. In addition, he started reading socialist books written in Japanese, such as *Shisen o koete*

(Crossing the Deadline) written by Kagawa Toyohiko (1888-1960), and Lenin's socialist works written in Japanese around August 1924. It is also apparent that, as early as January 1921, Chen regularly read the monthly *Taiwan seinen* (the Taiwan Youth), the only Taiwanese-owned and reform-minded magazine which had been started in July 1920 and was initially issued in both Japanese and classical Chinese. In the later period continued to read the monthly *Taiwan* (Taiwan) and the *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's Weekly), both of which were successors of *Taiwan Youth* and written in both Japanese and Chinese.[123]

However his leisure reading during this period was mainly written in classical or modern Chinese. He continued to read classical Chinese literature with great enthusiasm, including *the Shiji,* written by Sima Qian in the *Han* period, *Dongzhou lieguozhi*, a popular historical novel written by Yu Shaoyu in the Ming, *Yulihun* , a famous Cantonese drama written by Xu Zhenya, *Yiyuji*, a Chinese poems written by Wang Yanhong in the Ming, *Zaishengyuan*, a Chinese novel written in the Qing, *Caigen tan* , a philosophic work about life written in the Ming period, *Qianjiashi*, a collection of poems from the *Tang* and *Song* Dynasties edited as an introduction to poetry in the Song period, *Song Yuan Ming shi*, a collection of poems of the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties edited by Zhu Zi in the Qing period. Moreover, Chen's Chinese readings also covered books published in the late Qing or early post-Qing period in Taiwan and in China, which included *Qingshi pingzhu*, commentaries on Qing edited by Wang Wenru in the early 20th century, *Yinbingshi quanji* , a collection of Liang Qichao's writings from the late Qing period, and three books written in classical Chinese and published in Taiwan by Lian Heng (1876-1936), a Taiwanese scholar, including the *Taiwan tongshi* (A General History

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[123] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 1921- March 1925.

of Taiwan), a famous general history of Taiwan first published in winter 1920, *Dalu youji* (Travel Notes of Mainland China), a travel book about a trip to China, and *Dalu shicao*, a collection of poems published in 1921.[124] However, since approximately mid-1924 Chen showed increasing interest in knowing the ideas of China's new cultural movement, and in using *baihua* (modern Chinese) in place of *wenyan* (classical Chinese), shown by his readings of *Hushi wencun*, a collection of Hu Shi's (1891-1962) reform-minded articles, *Duxiu wencun*, a collection of Chen Duxiu's (1879-1942) articles, *Yiye*, a novel written by Wang Tongzhao in modern Chinese, and a couple of introductions to spoken Mandarin such as *Guanhua huihua* (Mandarin Conversations) and *Zhongguo kouyu huihua zhinan* (A Guide to Spoken Mandarin).[125]

2. Chen's Ideological Reorientation: Centered on an Examination of Three Taiwanese-based Magazines

The traces of Chen's reconstruction of his ideological world between 1920 and March 1925 can be disclosed by a thematic examination of his readings in connection with several related events, with a focus on Taiwanese-based reform-minded magazines and newspaper, i.e. *Taiwan seinen*, *Taiwan* and the *Taiwan minbao*. Records in his diary show that the issues of Taiwanese consciousness and anti-discrimination were among his major concerns as early as the beginning of 1921. As discussed above, he recorded that he read the reform-minded *Taiwan seinen* at least six times throughout 1921, suggesting that he was a regular reader of this monthly, the only Taiwanese-based reform-minded magazine.

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[124] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January, 1921 - March, 1925.
[125] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 15 & 24; July 1 & 30; October 17, 1924. Also February 8, 9 & 20, 1925.

On January 6, 1921, after reading *Taiwan seinen*, he summarized in detail an article entitled "The History of the Issue of Law No.63", examining the history of Law No.63 in the colonial context, and he understood that at that time Lin Xiantang and overseas Taiwanese students in Tokyo were trying to abolish this discriminatory law. This entry in his diary reveals that Chen paid attention to the information of the reform-minded Taiwanese activists. In the same month, he showed a great interest in reading Lian Heng's newly published *Taiwan tongshi* (A General History of Taiwan), the only general history of Taiwan at that time promoting the Han-Chinese/Taiwanese nationalist view.[126] With a sense of Taiwanese consciousness overlaying his Han-Chinese consciousness in his mind, he was "extremely convinced" by two articles in *Taiwan seinen*, written by overseas Taiwanese students, regarding their refutation of the "discriminatory" view of Taiwan made by Hashimoto Hakusui, an influential Japanese author writing about Taiwan.[127] Chen's belief in anti-discriminatory ideas led him to strongly support the policy of compulsory education for Taiwanese pupils, advocated by his former classmate, Cai Peihuo, in another article in *Taiwan seinen* in September 1921.[128]

Moreover, another focus for his reading was the issue of same-surname marriage, which also reflected Chen's interest in the issues of Taiwanese consciousness and anti-discrimination. The reformation of the traditional system of marriage was an issue raised in the reform-minded *Taiwan seinen* in the early 1920s.[129] During November and December 1921, Chen openly debated the issue of same-surname marriage with great enthusiasm, and enjoyed reading news and articles regard this issue, as reflected in his

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[126] *Taiwan seinen,* 1:5, December, 1920. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 6, 9, 14 & 30, 1921.
[127] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 17, 1921. Kō, Shikishō (C. Huang, Chichang). "Hashimoto Hakusui sensei ni kotau." In *Taiwan seinen*, 2:5, 1921. pp. 59-63.
[128] Cai, Peihuo. "Ninen buri no kitai." In *Taiwan seinen*, 3:1, 1921, pp.83-85.
[129] *Taiwan seinen*, 1:5, 1920; 1:2; 3:1; 3:5; 3:6, 1921.

detailed summary of an article that was "very worthy of reading", entitled "Konpon teki konen kakushin ron [zokuzen] (On a Fundamental Reform of Marriage)" in *Taiwan seinen*. For the first time, he entered a writing competition, held by a Japanese newspaper, the *Taiwan shinbun* (Taiwan News), to argue the acceptability of same-surname marriage and was ranked in fourth place. We know that he was inclined to view same-surname marriage as morally unacceptable but he did not provide a detailed record of his opinions in his diary, The significance of this event was that he felt the need to voice his views on controversial issues openly, thus suggesting that by the end of 1921, the changing ideological environment in Taiwan promoted by the reform-minded overseas Taiwanese students was increasingly relevant to him.[130]

Chen's other foci of Chen's reading, linked to his rising sense of Taiwanese consciousness, were centered on the issue of anti-colonialism. As mentioned in the previous section, throughout 1923, there was a rising anti-colonial sentiment reflected in, and fostering, a growing number of publications and lectures promoted by reform-minded Taiwanese. This was also evidenced by Chen's reading of *Taiwan* magazine, the successor of *Taiwan seinen*. An examination of his reading of *Taiwan* in 1923 suggested that his anti-colonial sentiment had two sources: first, it came from his belief in self-rule for Taiwan based on its cultural particularity. On January 13th, he recorded that he had "explicitly" read *Taiwan* magazine, in which he found a "very readable" article. This article was entitled "Ajia no fukō undō to Nihon no shokumin seisaku (The Asian Revival Movement and Japanese Colonial Policy)" and was written by Chin, Hōgen (C. Chen Fengyuan), a former classmate of Chen, who argued that since

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[130] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 8, 13, 15 & 25; December 1, 2, 5 & 6, 1921. *Taiwan seinen*, 3:5. 1921.

the policy of assimilation was contradictory to Asian revivalism, only self-rule for Taiwan based on its particular culture was acceptable to Taiwanese people. The "preface" of the volume strongly promoting "the self-awareness of Taiwanese consciousness" under a global reconstruction based on the removal of discriminatory racial and class consciousnesses might also have been convincing to Chen.[131] Second, it came from his increasing distrust of the Japanese colonial government and its media. On May 1st, 1923, Chen recorded that he found another entire issue of *Taiwan* magazine "very readable". After reading an article written by an overseas student called Huang Chaoqin (J. Kō, Chōkin, 1897-1976) rebutting the official *Taiwan Daily* for purposely misleading public opinion about the *Taiwan yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong* (Taiwanese petition for the establishment of a Taiwan Assembly) he added: "I now realized we had been deeply hoodwinked by the government-controlled newspapers. I was shamed for being so short-sighted and admired the endeavors made by the overseas [Taiwanese] students". In "Genron no sekinin o omoze yo – Taiwan nichi'nichi shinpō no uso ni odoroku (The Responsibility of the Press is Great! – A surprise due to lies told by the *Taiwan Daily*)", Huang points out the mistakes in several paragraphs of the *Taiwan Daily* in early 1923 and further corrects them by citing facts from other newspapers or sources.[132]

Furthermore, from 1924 to March 1925, the focus of Chen's reading focus consisted of two emerging realms: first, his interest in socialist writings, such as Kagawa Toyohiko's *Shisen o koete*, leading to an emergency of his socialist concern after the meeting of disadvantaged people in July 1924, and secondly, his visible shift in reading focus from

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[131] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 13, 1923. Chin, Hōgen, "Ajia no fukō undō to Nihon no shokumin seisaku." In *Taiwan*, no.1 (January, 1923). p.1, pp.18-32.
[132] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 1, 1923; *Taiwan*, April, 1923; pp.43-50.

classical Chinese literature to current "new cultural movements" in modern China. This was demonstrated by his use of modern Chinese (*baihua*), his learning of Mandarin and his reading of socialist publications in Chinese. These two emerging realms of his reading interests were further strengthened after Chen's return to Xinzhu from Taizhong in March 1925.

3. Chen's Emerging Ideological Tendencies and Core Values: March 1925 - December 1925

As I have argued, between March 1925 and December 1925, Chen was torn between joining the anti-colonial camp or the pro-colonial camp. Did his readings also have a role in his final decision to join the anti-colonial camp? During this period, in addition to his regular readings of the Taiwanese-based *Taiwan People's Weekly*, the Japanese official *Taiwan Daily* and some other Japanese newspapers including the *Osaka Asahi shinbun* (Osaka Asahi News), the *Keisei shinpō* (*Keisei* News), and the *Tainan shinpō* (Tainan News), Chen intensified his readings of books and magazines relating to the new cultural movement in China. They included: magazines such as *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Xiaoshuo Monthly), a popular magazine edited by Zheng Zhenduo etc. in modern Chinese promoting 'new culture', and books such as Chen Duxiu's *Duxiu wencun* (A Collection of Chen Duxiu's Works); Hu Shi's *Hushi wencun* (A Collection of Hu Shi's Works), *Zhongguo zhexueshi dagang* (An Outline of History of Chinese Philosophy), and *Changshi ji* (A Book of Trying), a collection of poems written in modern Chinese, *Wuyu wenlu*, a collection of articles written by the anti-Confucian Wu Yu, and a collection of fairy tales translated by *Lu Xun* (1881-1936) called *Ailuoxianke tonghuaji* (A Fairy Tale

of V. *Eroshenko*). In addition to these works written in modern Chinese and published in China, he also read Shimizu Anzan's *Shinashinjin to reimei undō: shinjūkyō. shinbungaku.shinundō* (China's New Man and the Enlightenment Movement: New Confucianism. New literature and New Movement), a Japanese book dealing with China's new cultural movement published in Japan in 1924. Moreover, Chen paid continuing attention to socialist-related readings, all published in Japanese in Japan, including: Ikuta Chōkō's and Honma Hisao's (1886-1981) *Saishin shakai mondai jūnikō* (Twelve Lectures on the Latest Social Issues), a popular book about social issues first published in 1919, Fukuda Tokuzō's (1874-1930) *Shakai seisaku to kaikyū tōsō* (Social Policy and Class Struggle), first published in Tokyo in 1922, Kawada Tsugurō's *Nōsou mondai to taisaku* (Rural Issues and Strategies), a book on rural economy first published in 1924, and an unspecified book about Karl Marx's theory. His other readings included books on the special issue of evolution, such as Matsumura's *Shinka to shisō* (Evolution and Thought), Ishikawa Sanshirō's *Hi shinkaron to jinsei* (Non-evolution and Life), first published in Tokyo in 1925, Kamada Eikichi's *Shinshū ron* (On Progress), first published in Tokyo in 1915, and Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population*, which is believed to have an impact on Darwin's idea of evolution, and some other books on cultural and political subjects such as Tsuchida Kyōson's *Bunka tetsugaku nyūmon* (An Introduction of Culture and Philosophy), first published in Tokyo in 1923, and Suematsu Kaiichirō's *Chihō jichisei yōgi* (The Guidelines of Local Self-rule), a book written by the politician and first published in Tokyo in 1923.[133]

Throughout this nine-month period, Chen faced the dilemma of which side to take in the divide between the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*-led anti-colonial camp and the pro-colonial

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[133] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March – December, 1925.

camp; finally he joined the former. But to what extent did his reading during this crucial nine-month period influence his decision? As mentioned above, in mid-1924, Chen began to focus his reading on the new cultural movement in China and socialist-related works mainly from Japan, although his central concern remained self-rule for Taiwan on the basis of Taiwanese nationalism.[134] Throughout 1925, socialist-related writings became his major interest. Chen recorded that he "learnt a lot about knowledge of social science" from reading He Haiming's (1887-1944) *Qiu xingfu zhai suibi* (Informal Essays at the Study Room for Happiness), essays on various topics written in classical Chinese in the early Republican period. However, regarding socialism, Chen was evidently influenced by his intensive reading of Chen Duxiu's collective works entitled *Duxiu wencun*, which he worked through during the two months from March to April 1925. Chen recorded that he realized that "there was an urgent need to start the reformation of social thought and literature", and he also noted that after reading and summarizing Chen Duxiu's collected works, he had grasped "the basic ideas of various current ideas". Moreover, he recorded that it had also improved his knowledge of the "labor and management" issue. However, although Chen was also "highly convinced" by Chen Duxiu's political view of self-rule, he disagreed with his insightful but radical view that "the way of saving China from weakness was to destroy the Eastern morality completely."[135] Moreover, in June 1925, Chen recorded that he had "learnt a lot" by spending two weeks in reading and summarizing Ikuta Chōkō's *Chihou jichisei yougi* (The Guidelines of Local Self-rule) and Honma Hisao's *Saishin shakai mondai jūnikō* (Twelve Lectures on the Latest Social Issues), which talked about the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, socialism,

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[134] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 9 & 16; February 21; March 27, 1925.
[135] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March 20, 28 & 31; April 1, 4, 7, 16 & 28, 1925.

Marxism, the study of democracy and labor unions, etc. From an article in the leftist *Kaizō* magazine, Chen learned about the ideas of Lenin and the history of Russian Revolution in 1917.[136] Chen's reading of socialist books clearly had a direct impact on the topics of the public lectures he gave during this period. He recorded that he spent two weeks in August reading a socialist work entitled *Shakai seisaku to kaikyū tōsōu* (Social Policy and Class Struggle) written by Fukuda Tokuzō and published by the *Kaizō* in 1924, and gave a public lecture entitled "Class Struggle" at a meeting organized by the Xinzhu Youth Society in October 1925. Two months later he read another book entitled *Nōson mondai to taisaku* (Rural Issues and Strategies) written by Kawada Tsugurō's and published by the *Kaizō* in 1924, and gave another two public lectures entitled "Rural Culture" at two separate meetings organized by the Taiwan Cultural Society in December.[137] In sum, Chen's socialist ideas at this time mainly came from his readings of these Japanese scholars' works written in Japanese and Chen Duxiu's works written in Chinese.

Furthermore, during this nine-month period, Chen intensified his interest in writing modern Chinese, and his interest in reading works related to the "new cultural movement" in China, mainly focusing on Hu Shi's works. He kept a diary in modern Chinese in early February 1925 and attempted, but failed, to form a club for composing modern Chinese poetry. He obtained a basic picture of Chinese philosophy by reading Hu's works, such as *Zhongguo zhexueshi dagang* (An Outline of History of Chinese Philosophy), in a systematic way. He also read Hu's other works, such as *Hushi wencun* and *Changshi ji,* to obtain other ideas of the "new cultural movement" in China.[138] In

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[136] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 23; June 13, 16, 17, 21, 22 & 23, 1925.
[137] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 2, 10, 13 & 30, 1925.
[138] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 22; May 1, 11, 13 & 21; June 4 & 5; September 25, 1925.

addition to the new cultural movement, Chen paid special attention to the Guomindang due to Sun Yat-sen's death in March 1925. In a funeral oration written in modern Chinese entitled "A Memorial Speech for Mr Sun Yat-sen", he viewed Sun as "one of the greatest men over last three centuries in China" due to his establishment of the Republic of China by overthrowing the oppressive Manchu rule over the 400-million Han-Chinese majority. He praised Sun's contribution to China of "national self-determination, political reform and social improvement", and viewed him as a representative of freedom, equality and human rights.[139] These values, embodied by Sun, formed the foundation of the core ideas shared by the activists and supporters of the Taiwanese nationalist movements at that time.

Having been exposed to the liberal environment in Taiwan partly created by the new cultural movement in China, two more core ideas emerged in Chen's ideological world, represented by his great interest in evolution and his belief in anti-superstition. Throughout 1925, Chen gave about 28 lectures island-wide, in which three lectures were directly related to his belief in evolution, and two lectures were related to his opposition to outdated customs and family values. During the second half of 1925 he read three evolution-related works including Matsumura's *Shinka to shisō* (Evolution and Thought) and the socialist Ishikawa Sanshilō's *Hi shinkaron to jinsei* (Non-evolution and Life), first published in Tokyo in 1925. These readings had a direct impact on at least two public lectures given by him at this time, evidenced by a lecture entitled 'Life and the Conquest of Nature' given in Gaoxiong on December 26 after his reading of Matsumura's *Shinka to shisō* (Evolution and Thought) the day before.[140] Moreover, after his return to

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[139] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 3, 1925.
[140] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, June 20; September 26; August 9; November 13; December 12, 19, 23, 25 & 26, 1925.

Xinzhu in March 1925 Chen was no longer merely an observer of the ongoing politico-cultural movements. He believed that, in Xinzhu, the thoughts of the locals could be guided in the right direction by improving their cultural conditions. In August 1925, he was engaged in propagating the anti-*pudu* issue and even tried to start an organization to improve traditional religious customs, viewed as a "costly and superstitious" annual ritual.[141]

In sum, Chen's ideology in this nine-month period can be described as follows: belief in self-rule for Taiwan based on Taiwanese nationalism remained at the centre of his ideological world, while two new tendencies of socialist concern and interest in China's movement of enlightenment were strengthened, and two core ideas represented by evolutionism and anti-superstition also emerged. In other words, the reconstruction of his ideological world since 1920 continued until the end of 1925, at which time he was ready to work for the anti-colonial camp.

Chen's Conception of the Taiwanese Nationalism and its Relationship to his New Ideological World, 1926-1930

Chen started working for the anti-colonial *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* by giving island-wide circuit lectures at the end of 1925, and also formally worked as a journalist posted to Xinzhu for the *Taiwan minbao* in December 1926. What were his reading materials during his employment by the anti-colonial camp prior to 1930? Chen continued his regular reading of newspapers, such as the official *Taiwan nichi'nichi shinpō* (Taiwan Daily) and the anti-colonial *Taiwan minbao*, and Japanese magazines, such as the leftist

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[141] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 9 & 13; August 4, 9, 11 & 21, 1925.

Kaizō (particularly since 1928) and the *Kaigai* (*Overseas*), a Japanese monthly promoting knowledge of international politics and ideological trends established in Tokyo in early 1927.

However, the major focus of Chen's reading, between 1926 and 1930, remained the socialist-related writings, mostly published in the Japanese language in Japan, including Kawakami Hajime's *Yuibutsu shikan kaisetsu* (An Introduction of the Materialistic View of History) and *Daini binbō monogatari* (The Second Story of Poverty), and nine theoretical works on socialism such as a Japanese translation of Karl Marx's *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* published in Japan in 1922, Takabatake, Motoyuki's *Marukusu jūnikō* (Twelve Lectures on Marxism) published in 1927, Takada Yasuma's *Shakaigaku genri* (Principles of Sociology), a Japanese work published in 1925, Kitazawa Shin'jirō's *Shin shakai no kensetsu* (The Construction of New Society), Marukusu Reinin's *Sayoku shōnibyō* (Infantilism of the Left Wing) and *Shakai kagaku* (Social Sciences), a Japanese periodical published in Japan in 1925, etc. The other socialist-related writings included *Roshia kyōsantō shoshi* (A Brief History of Russian Communism) and the anarchist Ōsugi, Sakae's *Gokuchū nikki* (A Prison Diary). Another reading focus during this time were liberal writings on politics, published in Japanese in Japan, including *Eikoku giin seido shi* (The British Parliamentary System), *Gikai no sayō* (The Function of Parliament), Morihi Shigeharu's *Rikken shugi to gikai seiji* (Constitutionalism and Parliamentary Politics), Tagawa Dai'kichirō's *Fusen no kotoba* (Some Words on General Elections), and Yanaihara Tadao's writings on general colonial policy and Korean politico-economic issues.[142] The rest of his readings covered modern thought, history and literature, mostly published in Japanese in Japan, which included

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[142] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1926-1929.

three volumes of Western history, eight volumes of writings centered on modern thoughts and figures, such as Kimura Takeshi's (1894-1979) *Sekai shūkyō jōroku kō (*Sixteen Lectures on Global Religions*)*, Kuwaki Gen'yoku's *Kindai shichō jikkō* (Ten Lectures on Trends of Modern Thoughts), *Shin seishin undou* (New Spiritual Movement), *Gandhi to shinri no hōji* (Gandhi and the Insistence of Truths), *Mussolini* (Benito Mussolini), and Sakai Toshihiko's *Jiyū shakai no danjo kankei* (Relations between Male and Female in Liberal Society), and four volumes of literary writings covering Kuriyagawa Hakuson's three famous works, such as *Kindai no renaikan* (Modern View of Love), *Zōge no tō o dete* (Exiting from the Ivory Tower) and *Kumon no shōchō* (A Symbol of Depression). From the time he started working as a journalist at the *Taiwan minbao* in December 1926, he also became interested in reading *Shinbun henshū gaku* (A Study of News Editing), published in Japan.[143]

In 1927, however, Chen increasingly shifted his China-related reading focus from the new cultural movement to Chinese current politics, in particular, Guomindang-related publications, which included six works related to Sun Yat-sen such as the *Sonbun shugi* (Sun-ism), published in Japanese, and *Sunzhongshan yishi ji* (Anecdotes of Sun Yat-sen), published in Chinese in Shanghai in 1926, and three works written in Chinese related to the Guomindang including *Jiang Jieshi jiangyan ji* (The Collection of lectures of Jiang Jieshi), *Zhongguo guomindang jiangyanji* (A Collection of Lectures on the Guomindang) and Gan Naiguang's *Guomindang jige genben wenti* (Some Fundamental Issues of the Guomindang).[144] His Chinese readings related to the new cultural movement covered only Zhou Zuoren's *Yutian de shu* (A Book on Rainy Days), an essay in modern Chinese,

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[143] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1926-1929.
[144] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1927 & 1929.

Sanyeji (A Collection of Three Leaves), a collection of letters written by three famous Chinese authors including Guo Moruo (1892-1978), and Yu Dafu's *Yu Dafu riji* (The Diary of Yu Dafu), etc. In addition, Chen recorded that he had read a couple of traditional novels and essays written in classical Chinese.[145]

In sum, Chen's reading materials focused primarily on writings about socialism, liberal politics, and modern thought and culture, with another focus on Guomindang-related political ideas and figures in China, which indicates a shift from the new cultural movement.

What was the implication of this shift in his reading focus to Guomindang-related publications at this time? As mentioned earlier, after he started working at the *Taiwan minbao* as a journalist in December 1926, he occasionally wrote comments on politico-social issues for the magazine. From August 1927 he wrote a weekly political comment called *lengyu*, commenting on current affairs at both domestic and international levels, with an evident focus on politics in Taiwan, China and Japan. Because of this, he paid more attention to China's affairs at a time when the Jiang-led military expedition was heading North. This was also supported by his diary entries about a string of victories by Jiang Jieshi's troops in Nanjing, Shandong and Northeastern China.[146] In addition to his short comments (*lengyu*) with their partial focus on China's issues, he twice lectured about mass movements in China at meetings organized by the *Xinzhu qingnian hui,* and wrote at least 3 articles about the political situation in China between 1927 and 1928.[147] In an article entitled "Mr. Sun Yat-sen and the Northern Expeditionary

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[145] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1926 & 1929. Tian, Shouchang; Zong Baihua & Guo Morou. *Sanyeji*. 1927.
[146] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March 28, 1927. Also April 19; May 1 & 4; December 29, 1928.
[147] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, Novemberl, 1926. February 15, 24 & 25; March 21& 26; April 8; May 22 & 25, 1927. Also May 13; December 14, 1928.

Army" written in modern Chinese in March 1927, Chen expressed the belief that the Jiang-led expeditionary army would "certainly unify the whole of China" due to the convincing political ideas of Sun Yat-sen also called the "Three Principles of the People". He further explained that the "Three Principles of the People" consisted of nationalism, socialism and democracy, which would make China a democratic country equal to the global powers in the political and economic senses.[148] This article exposed his great support for Sun Yat-sen, reflecting his optimism in respect of the Guomindang and his positive perception of China in the late 1920s, which also revealed the evident impact of his China-related readings during the period.

Moreover, Chen continued his interest in liberalism-related writings, reading on subjects such as the parliamentary system, constitutionalism and liberal colonial policy written in Japanese by liberal-minded scholars such as Tagawa Dai'kichirō and Yanaihara Tadao (1893-1961). In 1926, he recorded that he was "very interested in reading and summarizing" a book on the British parliamentary system, and "deeply moved" by another book on constitutionalism. He maintained his concern about the Taiwanese-led petitions for the establishment of the Taiwanese Assembly but after observing a meeting at a town council realized that the ordinary Taiwanese people lacked political awareness.[149] For this reason, he gave at least 10 public lectures island-wide focusing on promoting modern political and legal ideas among the islanders throughout 1926. During this time he gave 27 other lectures on various topics, attracting audiences ranging from around 300 to 3000 people.

In July 1927, nevertheless, under pressure from the colonial authorities, the creation of

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[148] *Taiwan minbao*, No. 148, March 13, 1927.
[149] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 13, 28 & 30; May 3 & 5, 1926. Also May 24, 1928.

the *Taiwan minzhong dang*, of which Chen was one of the five founding members, indicated that the non-leftist Taiwanese activists had modified their original nationalist claim for "the liberation of the Taiwanese people as a whole" into a claim for "the creation of a democratic politics".[150] Chen clearly supported this "political" compromise.

However does this mean that Chen also modified his Taiwanese nationalist claim in an "ideological" sense around mid-1927? From 1926 to 1928, Chen composed two articles dealing with the issues of colonial policy and the Taiwanese nationalist movement, of which only one article was published. In the article entitled " 'Three Strategies' of Gotō Shinpei (1857-1929) to Govern Taiwan" published in modern Chinese in the *Taiwan minbao* in 1927, he offered a definition of the Taiwanese nation by criticizing three existing strategies formerly adopted by the Japanese chief administrator Gotō Shinpei in the 1900s. The official strategies were based on the observations of three Taiwanese weaknesses: first, to use suppressive means due to the timidity of the islanders; second, to induce the islanders with small gains due to their love of money; third, to recruit the islanders with titles due to their great concern of face. In criticizing these strategies adopted by Gotō Shinpei, Chen argued that the islanders were accustomed to fear political suppression while admiring those who worked in the public sector, which originated in their lack of political awareness. However, after the First World War, they learnt about how to resist political suppression and started looking down on those who worked in the public sector. He then concluded that the Taiwanese people were fooled by Gotō Shinpei "due to their lack of political awareness". The Taiwanese people could avoid being fooled again, "if they could unify with each other and search for the liberation of weak nations through improving their self-shortcomings and through

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[150] *Taiwan minbao*, no.161, no. 166, 1927.

knowing their sadness of being a weak nation."[151] In this article written in 1927, by conceiving of the Taiwanese people as "a weak nation searching for liberation", Chen, makes clear for the first time that he viewed Taiwan as a nation. In a couple of his political comments (the *lengyu*) in the *Taiwan minbao* he also viewed the Indian and Korean peoples as "weak nations" which endured misery under imperial rules.[152] In addition to his belief in self-rule for Taiwan based on Taiwanese nationalism, his idea of "a weak nation searching for liberation" might be also be related to his previous experience of participation in the "Meeting of Disadvantaged People" in mid-1924 and his concern about 'disadvantaged people' based on his reading of various socialist writings. In his other article entitled "What Is the 'Horizontal Movement'?" published in the *Taiwan minbao* in April 1927, he continued a similar concern about the issue of 'disadvantaged people' by explaining the "Horizontal Movement", a movement launched by a 'disadvantaged' social group believing in "freedom and equality" and searching for liberation by attempting to abolish its unequal social status in Japan.[153] Eight months later, he gave a public lecture in Xinzhu titled "The Strength of the Disadvantaged People", revealing a continuing socialist concern about the issue of 'disadvantaged people', which was crucial to the construction and reconstruction of his Taiwanese national consciousness in the late 1920s context. [154]

What sort of socialist was Chen, in both the political and ideological senses, in the late 1920s? In another article entitled "The Social Policy in Taiwan" written in modern Chinese in late January 1927, a couple of weeks after his withdrawal from the

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[151] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 13, December 25, 1926; June 9, 1927; March 7, May 24, 1928. *Taiwan minbao*, no. 145, February 20, 1927.
[152] *Taiwan minbao*, No. 193, 195, 225, 1928.
[153] *Taiwan minbao*, No. 151, April, 1927.
[154] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 30, 1927. The lecture was stopped by police before it had finished for an unknown reason.

leftist-dominant *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* (Taiwan Cultural Society), Chen predicted that there would be great difficulty in the adoption of "moderate socialism" by the colonial authorities in Taiwan. He argued that due to the deficiencies of capitalism, shown by severe class conflicts between the poor and the rich, two new approaches had been adopted to improve matters, these were, represented by the Russian social revolutionary approach and the British social reformatory approach. In Japan, the former was illegal, while the latter was legal. However the Japanese government normally sided with the capitalists leaving the laborers in an unfavorable position. In colonial Taiwan, the laborers' situation was even worse.[155] This article disclosed Chen's basic approach to socialism in 1927: he opposed capitalism but supported a moderate socialist approach. This position was indirectly evidenced by his withdrawal from the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* dominated by a group of radical socialists in early January 1927. His moderate socialist approach was also shown by his opposition to a violent attack on policemen conducted by a group of radical socialists in Xinzhu, while offering his help to them after their arrest by the police.[156] Moreover, an examination of his reading of socialism-related works in this period, mostly introductory works, also suggests that he attempted a balanced reading of the subject, evidenced by his inclusion of at least two volumes of critical works on socialism.

But what was the role of Han culturalism in Chen's construction and reconstruction of Taiwanese national consciousness in the late 1920s? In general, he maintained a critical approach to traditional elements of Han culturalism in Taiwan. He shifted his reading focus from classical Chinese literature to modern literature and even started using modern

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[155] *Taiwan minbao*, no. 142, January 30, 1927.
[156] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 17, 1926. Also November 27, 28, 29 & 30, 1927.

Chinese in his diary writings and articles around 1925. Also he continued fighting against "religious superstitions", such as the costly religious ceremonies of *zuojiao* and funerals, by giving at least two public lectures in Xinzhu in mid-1926, and even, in March 1927, acting as a major force to establish a committee for the same purpose within the *Xinzhu qingnian hui* (Xinzhu Youth Society) after a fierce debate among its members.[157] Furthermore, Chen's criticism on Han culturalism also covered its marriage system. For a week in August 1925 he greatly enjoyed reading Kuriyagawa Hakuson's work on modern free love and was interested in reading a book about "male vs. female" relations in modern liberal society.[158] His unconventional thinking about the traditional marriage system was reflected in his own long-term affair with a *Hakka* woman which started around 1929. Chen did not divorce his wife, nor did make public his new relationship despite the fact that at this time Taiwanese men were legally allowed to take a concubine. In order to exchange messages with his mistress and to keep matters about her secret in his diary, Chen sometimes wrote in Romanized Taiwanese, a written vernacular promoted by a group of reform-minded Taiwanese activists in the 1920s.[159]

Finally, what was the role of his sense of a Chinese national consciousness in his conception of Taiwanese national consciousness? Chen started writing his diary in Japanese in 1912, but switched into classical Chinese around March 1915, and again into modern Chinese around February 1925. The switch in language from Japanese to classical Chinese in 1915 was closely related to the rising sense of his Taiwanese consciousness covering his Han-Chinese consciousness, while the switch from classical

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[157] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, May 14-June 15; July 3, 1926. March 5 & 9, 1927. April 25, 1928. See also *Taiwan minbao*, No. 149, March 20, 1927.
[158] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 20-28, 1925; March 13, 1927.
[159] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 21, 1923. Also May 7-12; June 6-8, 1929. Chen started learning the written Taiwanese in 1923.

to modern Chinese in 1925 was mainly caused by the formation of his Taiwanese national consciousness overlapping his Chinese (national) consciousness. The emergence of his Chinese-dimension national consciousness was also evidenced by his obvious interest in China-related affairs with a special focus on the new cultural movement in 1924-1925, and then on the Guomindang-related issues in the late-1920s. However what was the implication of his Chinese-dimension national consciousness in the late-1920s context? In a political comment (*lengyu*) written in September 1928, he commented on current affairs in Taiwan by expressing "the Taiwanese great expectation" of the establishment of another Taiwanese-based newspaper, while worrying that "the movement of Taiwanese liberation [has] entered a suffering period" due to the imprisonment of most politico-cultural activists at that time. Meanwhile, he also commented on China's current affairs by expressing his great delight about the news of Jiang Jieshi's success in roping in Manchuria, while disagreeing with the Chinese Communists who had killed hundreds of local officials in Hunan since it was "not the right way to construct a new China".[160] This comment suggests that Chen expected a rising new China led by the Nationalist government, if not the Chinese communists, in the late-1920s context, disclosing a sense of his Chinese national consciousness, while Taiwanese nationalism remained in the centre of his identity position.

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[160] *Taiwan minbao*, No. 226, September 16, 1928.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined how Chen's sense of Taiwanese national consciousness emerged and developed in 1920s Taiwan. I have argued that the formation of his sense of Taiwanese national consciousness in the 1920s was enabled by the combination of an empirically politico-social construction on one hand, and by an abstractly ideological construction on the other.

Chen's case shows that an evident tension between *hontō jin* (Taiwanese) and *naichi jin* (Japanese) existed even in colonial public sectors in the 1910s, revealing that *hontō jin* and *naichi jin*, instead of just being terms for ethnic classification, became distinct ethnic groups with a clearly defined self-consciousness. A combination of a sense of *hontō jin* consciousness providing a mental basis, and social networks providing an instrumental basis, enabled Taiwanese people such as Chen to challenge the discrimination of the ruling Japanese in 1910s. Moreover, the consciousness of *hontō jin* (Taiwanese) was reconstructed into a Taiwanese national consciousness in the first half of the 1920s, primarily due to the working of Chen's Taizhong-based social network centered on the Lin and Cai families. Until mid-1923, he had revealed a strong awareness of being a discriminated-against Taiwanese needing to improve his situation by supporting the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements. This sense of Taiwanese consciousness was based on modern values such as freedom, equality and self-rule, representing a liberal approach. He also showed an interest in China's affairs. In response to a growing anti-colonial sentiment among islanders, at the end of 1923 the colonial state launched a wave of political suppression island-wide, which had the reverse effect of strengthening Chen's Taiwanese nationalist beliefs. The island-wide meetings of 'disadvantaged

people', as a protest against this political suppression, not only strengthened his Taiwanese nationalist consciousness but also brought about his socialist tendencies in late1924. Based on his social networks in Taizhong, his close association with the mainlander Qian Zeshen in late 1924 also strengthened his interest in China-related affairs, in particular the new cultural movement, which had a role in developing his Chinese-dimension consciousness around early 1925.

Between March 1925 and December 1925, Chen turned from an ideological into a "political" supporter of the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements based on Taiwanese nationalism and other modern values, when he joined the anti-colonial camp led by the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui* at the end of 1925. In the process of his continuing politicization reflected, between 1926 and 1932, by his participation in island-wide politico-cultural efforts to propagate modern values, including Taiwanese nationalist ideas, he established overlapping circles of friend including members of the *Taiwan wenhua xiehui*, the *Xinzhu qingnian hui*, the *Taiwan minbao* and the *Taiwan minzhong dang*. This indicated an extension of his politico-social network from a local to an island-wide level. He was now involded in the Taiwan-wide political, social and cultural integration of the Taiwanese people, which was crucial to the formation of Taiwanese nationalism in the late-1920s context.

However, Chen subsequently withdrew from the politico-social network of Taiwanese activism partly due to the increasing ideological tensions between the leftist and the rightist groups within the anti-colonial camp and partly due to a rising militarism in early 1930s that suppressed, in particular, the leftist influence. The shrinking of his politico-social network from an island-wide to a local level after his withdrawal in 1932

mirrored an overall decline in Taiwanese politico-cultural movements starting with the early 1920s.

Moreover, an examination of Chen's reading materials suggests that he experienced a reconstruction of his ideological world between 1920 and 1925, caused by his extensive readings of reform-minded magazines published by overseas Taiwanese students, as well as other readings in both Japanese and modern Chinese. By the end of 1925, Chen's new ideological views centred on a belief in self-rule for Taiwan based on Taiwanese nationalism, while two new tendencies represented by his socialist concern and his interest in China's movement of new culture were strengthened, and two core ideas represented by evolution and anti-superstition had also emerged.

Between 1926 and 1930, however, his reading materials focused primarily on writings of socialism and liberalist politics, with another reading focus on Guomindang-related issues in China due to the Northern Expedition led by Jiang Jieshi. Prior to 1927, he came up with a clear conception of the Taiwanese nation through imagining the Taiwanese people as a weak nation searching for liberation. In addition to his belief in self-rule for Taiwan based on its particularity of Han culturalism throughout the 1920s, his conception of the Taiwanese nation also stemmed from his socialist concern with the "disadvantage group", likened to the colonized Taiwanese people. Moreover, Chen's sense of Taiwanese nation had a Chinese-dimension evidenced by his adoption of written and spoken Chinese and influenced by the new cultural movement, and by his evident expectation of a rising China led by the Nationalist Chinese at the end of the1920s.

Chapter 2: Identity and War (I) - the Taiwanese National Consciousness under War Mobilization and the *Kōminka* Movement: Chen's and Wu's Diaries (1937-1945)

Scholars researching identity-related issues have conflicting views on the identity of the islanders in wartime Taiwan (1937-1945). However most scholars believe that the identity of the islanders visibly tilted towards the Japanese during wartime, far more so than in any other period of colonial rule. They tend to approach this issue through an examination of the *Kōminka* (Making Imperialized Citizens) campaign, covering mostly the cultural, religious and educational policies.[1] In this chapter, I approach this issue from a different angle, examining how the role of warfare reshaped the identity position of the islanders in wartime Taiwan. I argue that warfare itself, as experienced through war development, mobilization and other political actions, rather than the *Kōminka*'s cultural and religious policies, played a far more important role in reshaping the islanders' identity. My questions are: how did the islanders respond to the different stages of the war's development and mobilization? Were the inner ethnic divisions between the Taiwanese and Japanese laid aside as a result of the increasing sense of hostility towards the external military objects as the war unfolded? Furthermore, if the islanders' identities were indeed reshaped during wartime, what caused these changes? Is it possible to reconstruct and trace these changes in a wartime context?

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[1] Ching, Leo, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, pp.135-137; Fix, Douglas, *Taiwanese Nationalism and Its Late Colonial Context*, pp.364-366.

The Formation of a Wartime Context in the 1930s

In the mid 1930s, the island of Taiwan was re-orientated as 'the base for southward advance', owing to the significant change in the colonial policy of the Japanese empire, which also included two accompanying policies aimed at turning Taiwan into an 'imperialized' nation, i.e. the *Kōminka*, and the attempt to turn Taiwan into an 'industrialized' island. This change of policy, announced by the Japanese admiral, Kobayashi Seizo, who had previously succeeded a civil officer as the governor of Taiwan in September 1936, symbolized the beginning of wartime in Taiwan.[2]

In what context, however, did the Japanese approach the war against China in 1937, and later the Allies in 1941? In what context was the island of Taiwan involved in the war? I describe the formation of a wartime context in Taiwan in the 1930s in terms of the following factors.

From an international perspective, the 1930s may be regarded as a period of global transition of hegemony, which, politically, resulted from the disruption of the existing balance among the Europe-centered powers caused by World War I and, economically, resulted from the abandonment of the British-supported 'gold standard system' in 1931 caused by the Great Depression.[3] In this changing world climate, the Japanese empire faced significant reorientations in the 1930s in terms of its political structure, economic policy and foreign affairs, which finally led to its military expansion into Asia.

Prior to 1931, the Japanese party government had been supporting the gold standard, the Naval disarmament agreements, and the 'cooperative diplomacy' that followed the

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[2] Taiwan keizai nenpōsha ed. *Taiwan keizai nenpō*, 1941, p.751.
[3] Polanyi, Karl, *The Great Transformation*, 1957, p.3 &20.

existing international order that had been controlled by the British and Americans since 1922. However, owing to the negative impact of the Great Depression and a series of political assassinations in the early 1930s, the party government quickly lost power to the combined leadership of the right-wing military leaders, bureaucrats and business leaders, who opposed, both nationally and internationally, the existing political-economic order and supported a military-based foreign expansion. The Manchurian Incident was carried out unilaterally by the Guandong Army, mobilized by several army officers in September 1931, with the support of the business leaders, who regarded northern Manchuria as an 'imperial lifeline', rich in natural resources.[4] Although the combined leadership supporting foreign expansion was not formally formed under the framework of total war until 1937, the Japanese Army-first continental expansion, i.e. the 'northward advance', by 1933, had roughly extended its control over parts of North China to the Korean peninsula and Manchuria. In contrast, however, to the dominant approach of the northern advance, that had been advocated since the Meiji period, the approach of the Navy-first 'southward advance', i.e. the foreign expansion from Taiwan into southern China and Southeast Asia, emerged as the official policy only from 1936, as the Navy needed to ensure that there was fresh access to oil, the supply of which from the West had become uncertain. This resulted from the increasing tensions between Japan and the Anglo-American powers, in turn caused by the mutual competition in both the Southeast Asian market and the international political and military realms. The southern advance finally replaced the northern one as the dominant approach, and further developed into an armed intervention in Southeast Asia, as the Japanese took advantage of the sudden

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[4] Berger, Gordon M., "Politics and Mobilization in Japan, 1931-1945". In Duus, Peter, ed. *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 6, 1988, pp. 106-118.

vulnerability of French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies, following the conquest of their home governments by the Germans in spring 1940.[5]

This gradual strategic shift in Japanese foreign expansion, from the approach of the Army-first northern advance to that of the Navy-first southern advance, profoundly influenced the colonial policy, economic structure, and social system in Taiwan during wartime, approximately from 1931 or 1937 to 1945. I would like to draw a general picture of how Taiwan was integrated into the war mobilization of the Japanese empire at different periods during the war, from 1931 to 1942.

In Japan, the period between the Manchurian Incident of 1931 and the China Incident of 1937 is commonly regarded as being "semi-wartime", as evidenced by the increasing control of the army over the government, and the approximate 20% rise in the military component of the Japanese budget for that period.[6] In Taiwan, the colonial authorities implemented a series of policies to pave the way for future mobilization towards total war, in which the island was designated as "the base of the southward advance". These policies were intended, firstly, to bring Taiwan's existing rice-centered economy gradually into a controlled form, through imposing restrictive regulations and introducing controllable associations, that would economically lead to the decline of the relatively autonomous landlord class's influence on local society; and, secondly, to reshape the colonial political environment by fracturing the potential opposition, suppressing the radicals, and recruiting collaborators, and through implementing a limited local election

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[5] Peattie, M. R., "*Nanshin*: the 'Southward Advance,' 1931-1941, as a Prelude to the Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia." In Duus, Peter, Myers, Ramon H. and Peattie, Mark R. ed., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, 1996, pp. 202-218.

[6] Eckert, Carter J., "Total War, Industrialization, and Social Change in Late Colonial Korea". In Duus, Peter; Myers, Ramon and Peattie, Mark, *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, 1996, p.11.

that partly succeeded in constraining the rising native middle-class elite.[7] Both the economic and political reconstruction significantly reduced the 1920s' tradition of native opposition. Furthermore, as to how the colonial state functioned between 1931 and 1937, colonial Taiwan was governed by a well-organized, Japanese-dominated administrative system, with the authoritarian leadership of the Taiwanese governor at the top, and the social control apparatus, consisting of a strict police network and the *hokō* system, at the bottom. This institutional design proved to be a highly organized and penetrating system for future wartime mobilization in the late 1930s.[8]

Between 1937 and 1942, the colonial authorities in the southern-advanced-oriented Taiwan initiated two major policies, that included 'industrialization' and the *Kōminka*, to construct/mobilize the island's material and human resources for the ongoing war. Regarding the industrialization aimed at increasing productivity and forming a controlled economy in Taiwan, a state-controlled agricultural economy, based on a widely-adopted system of 'association', was first established by controlling the system of irrigation, and the production and trade of rice, thus taking control of the land and the agricultural elite. Furthermore, both the traditional and new capitalists from Japan, together with the semi-state-run companies in Taiwan, successfully created military-based industries in Taiwan from the mid 1930s, using existing capital from the sugar industry, absorbing local capital from the controlled economy, and introducing capital and new technologies from Japan.[9] These industrial developments (1937-45), forming a dual-structure industry in Taiwan consisting of large military-based companies run by the Japanese, and medium

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[7] Lin Jiwen, *Riben jutai moqi (1930-1945) zhanzheng dongyuan tixi zhi yanjiu*, 1991, pp.44-54; pp.55-74.
[8] Taiwan was, therefore, regarded as "a laboratory of controlled economy" in wartime, as some strict policies that were infeasible in Japan were adopted in Taiwan.
[9] Lin Jiwen, 1991, pp.112-118.

to small companies run by the Taiwanese, achieved the greatest material progress in Taiwan's history before the 1970s and further subjected the colonial society to the control of Japanese technology and capital.[10] Industrialization also significantly reshaped the socioeconomic structures and relationships in wartime Taiwan, which impacted on people's ideology and identity. Furthermore, the imperial authorities who implemented the war-affiliated *Kōminka* movement aimed to replace Taiwanese with Japanese identity through encouraging the spread of the Japanese language beginning in 1937, promoting the Taiwanese adoption of Japanese names and religious beliefs from the late 1930s, and further implementing a recruitment programme to enable the Taiwanese to serve in the imperial armed forces from 1942.[11]

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[10] Ho, Samuel. "Colonialism and Development." In Myers & Peattie eds. *The Japanese Colonial Empire*, 1984, p.368. Kobayashi, Hideo. *DaiTōa kyōeiken no keisei to hōkai,* 1975, p.327. Cumings, Bruce. *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American-East Asian Relations at the End of the Century*, 1999, pp.77-79.

[11] Zhou, Wanyao. *The Kōminka Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945*, 1991, pp.39-41. However Kondō Masami suggests that the implementation of the recruitment programme can be better regarded as a part of the war mobilization, rather than the *Kōminka* campaign.

From Political Shift to Identity Reconstruction: Warfare and the Islanders' Position of Identity, 1937-1945

Part I: Chen Wangcheng

Between Accommodation and Confrontation: a Tension between Political Choice and Identity Position, 1933-1939

A realistic predicament, created by Chen's frustrations in starting a business in China, forced him to consider seriously how to seek a long-term career in colonial Taiwan, where the militarist atmosphere was intensifying. After Chen's resignation from the *Taiwan xinminbao* in August 1932, which meant his formal withdrawal from the anti-colonial movements, he traveled to Shanghai and Nanjing to seek a new career in October 1932. Later, in October 1934, he visited Shanghai and Nanjing again for a period of three months for the same purpose. In Shanghai, he visited former members of the Taiwan Mass Party, such as Xie Chunmu, who had been exiled to Shanghai by the colonial authorities, and a few other old friends, such as Zhang Xiqi, who ran an ophthalmologic hospital in the French concession, and Xu Bingnan, who was working for the Shanghai branch of the Manchuria Railway. According to the Japanese intelligence sources between October 1934 and January 1935, Chen visited Xie Chunmu in Shanghai, who operated a press agency named Hualian, financed by the Nanjing government, and published anti-Japanese news about Taiwan. The sources also show that Chen worked at

the press agency as an editor in January 1935.[12] Perhaps due to the apparent lack of long-term career prospects there, however, he returned to Taiwan in February 1935 to face the reality that he had to survive in a Japanese-ruled society that was being increasingly controlled and mobilized for the purposes of war. The dilemma that Chen faced was also shared by most Taiwanese elites who had been involved in the 1920s' anti-colonial movements. The Japanese authorities, in order to silence Taiwanese political resistance and prepare for future war mobilization, recruited some of these Taiwanese elites by offering them positions within the pro-colonial associations, or opening up the local elections to them. Some former members of the Taiwan Mass Party, such as Yang Zhaojia, Chen's close friend, Peng Huaying, and Chen Xin, were recruited into a pro-colonial association called the East Asia Co-prosperity Society. In contrast to this, the colonial authorities punished other former members of the Taiwan Mass Party, such as Chen's close friend, Xie Chunmu, by sending them into exile, or jailing leftists, like Wang Minchuan.[13]

The first step that Chen took to solve his predicament was to participate in the first-ever local election promoted by the colonial authorities and the bourgeois Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng (Taiwan Local Self-rule League), that was partly designed to recruit the anti-colonial Taiwanese elite. This change suggests that Chen's multifaceted identity, particularly its Chinese dimension, had started shifting more towards the Japanese direction. In April 1935, the Japanese colonial authorities announced an amendment to local self-rule in Taiwan, according to which half of the members of the

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[12] Nihon kokuritsu kōbunshokan rekishi Ajia shiryō sentā, Reel no. A-0574. Mitchell, Richard H. *Thought Control in Prewar Japan*, 1976, pp. 195-199.

[13] Lin Jiwen, 1991, pp. 62-65.

city and district councils should be elected by the male citizens over 25 years old and by the Japanese nationals who had resided in the same area for at least six months and who were able to pay over 5 yen in taxes per year; other members would be elected by the government.[14] This announcement immediately created great debate among Chen's close friends, some of whom were ex-teachers, members of the Xinzhu qingnian hui and government-appointed councilors. Chen himself, initially, did not show much interest in the amendment, however, since he disagreed with the bourgeois supporters of local self-rule. However Liu Wan, a Taiwanese ex-teacher and subsequently deputy mayor of the Xinzhu city government, may have been the key person who convinced Chen to participate in the election. Two months after Chen's return to Taiwan from China, the amendment was announced. Two weeks after this, Liu Wan, together with a former colleague of Chen's at the *Taiwan minbao*, first visited Chen at his house, where they talked. Ten days after this visit, Chen was invited to Liu's house for a meal and they exchanged views about the Taiwan minzhong dang and several local figures. Several weeks later, Liu Wan invited Chen to his official residence, where he shared a great deal of current gossip about official circles with him and strongly advised him to participate in the local election. This finally led Chen to decide to run for council.[15] With the support of his friends in Xinzhu, mostly from previous members of the Xinzhu qingnian hui and the Taiwan minzhong dang, he soon obtained various electioneering sources, and succeeded in winning the election in November 1935 by overwhelming his rivals, some

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[14] "Nakagawa sōtoku funin no kunji"; "Chihōseido kaisei ni kansuru Nakagawa sōtoku no yokoku." In Taiwan sōtokufu keimu kyoku ed. *Yochoku ryouji yukoku kuntatsu ruisan*, 1941. p.613 & p.696. However, these councilors were only allowed to exercise limited rights, such as auditing the budget, rather than lawmaking.

[15] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 18 & 28; May 11; June 6 & 18, 1935.

20 candidates in all, including 7 Japanese. This also indicated that the previously anti-colonial political base led by Chen in the Xinzhu area was, to a certain degree, integrated into the colonial government.

Another down-to-earth approach adopted by Chen was to rearrange his career in colonial Taiwan to organize the Taoyuan-based Datong Company (1935-1940), trading rice and other foodstuffs, that gradually became connected to the emerging controlled economy in the mid 1930s, designed to support the imperial war mobilization. The Datong company, headed by Zhong Fan, an active businessman and a prefectural councilor based in Taoyuan (1935.12-1939), and run by Chen, with around 10 clerks and a total of 10,000 yen invested mostly by Chen's close Taiwanese friends working in the public sector, was formally founded in Taoyuan in May 1935.[16] Around this time, Chen moved to Taoyuan, staying at a friend's house, though he was initially reluctant to do so because he did not want to leave his family and friends, particularly, his mistress Li Zhaozhi, a *Hakka* widow from Taibei and a professional midwife who trained in Japan. Chen's relationship with Li Zhaozhi started in Xinzhu in 1929, perhaps because he had little in common with his wife, a rich merchant's daughter. Chen finally decided to move to Taoyuan in May 1935, mainly because the Xinzhu area was hit by a serious earthquake that caused extensive damage to houses in that area, including Chen's own, on April 21. By commuting between Taoyuan and Xinzhu at weekends, which normally took less than two hours by bus, he could manage to look after his affairs in both places. In Taoyuan, using his Datong Company, Chen established a close connection with both the Japanese and Taiwanese local officials and businesspeople who were working in the local government, banks or companies, since he needed to keep his business operational

[16] Kōnan shinbun sha (ed.), *Taiwan jinshikan*, 1937. p.180, 223 & 229.

through bank loans or to solve various problems through negotiations with the local authorities. Furthermore, although the Datong company was private, it was gradually integrated into a war-oriented network of controlled economy that aimed to ensure sufficient food during wartime and to assist the ongoing military-centered industrialization. The colonial authorities began to implement a series of measures to control the production and export of rice in 1933, and they placed the whole process of rice circulation under state control in 1939, by introducing a system of associations to collect and ration the rice.[17]

In the prewar period, before July 1937, however, although Chen was accommodating to the colonial government, he was sometimes faced with frustrations, since the ethnic and political tensions never diminished. During the campaign of the first-ever election in Taiwan in 1935, he was frustrated by two events: firstly, he was extremely disappointed by the uneven ethnic percentage of the government-assigned councilors in Xinzhu, which was announced earlier, showing that 9 out of 14 were Japanese, and he complained that "the Taiwanese would be very disappointed in political participation"; secondly, the police prevented his campaign assistants from circulating handbills written in Chinese at City Hall, since the Chinese language was regarded as an unwelcome and sensitive symbol of ethnicity.[18] Although Chen finally won the election and also attended various official ceremonies for the councilors elect, including a trip to worship at a Shinto shrine, the ethnic tension between the Japanese and Taiwanese councilors would sometimes emerge when controversial issues were discussed by the City Council. In Xinzhu City Council, there were a total of 28 members, including 13 Taiwanese, of whom 5 members

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[17] Taiwan kyōikukai. *Taiwan kyōiku enkakushi*, 1942, p.80; 1945, pp.161-163. Chen was also a member of the Xinzhu Association of Rice Merchants in 1939.

[18] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 7 & 15, 1935.

were appointed by the government, and 15 Japanese, of whom 9 members were assigned by the government. Six of these were later elected as council advisors, including Chen and two other Taiwanese. At the council, Chen was regularly supported by five Taiwanese members who were not government-assigned members, and he may be regarded as the major leader of the Taiwanese group, while his Japanese counterparts were Shimizu Gentarō, the leader of the Japanese group of senior councilors, and Kanno Hideo, the founder of the Japanese group of junior councilors. Some members of the latter group occasionally exhibited an unfriendly attitude towards Chen.[19]

Chen, well aware of his status as a local politician representing the interests of Taiwanese citizens, occasionally confronted his Japanese colleagues for simple ethnic reasons, although, on the whole, they worked well together. At an annual meeting held by the Xinzhu Financial Association (a state-controlled organization aiming to attract local capital) to discuss the reconstruction of its committee, Chen's sharp interrogation caused a fierce argument with a Japanese cadre, that, Chen soon claimed, "originated from ethnic hostility between the Taiwanese and the Japanese". Chen's ethnic appeal, however, did not win support from other Taiwanese members at the meeting, which left him with a strong sense of isolation. In contrast to the state-controlled association, Chen, allied with three other Taiwanese councilors, partly succeeded in protesting that there had been an oral insult to "all citizens" issued by a Japanese councilor, by withdrawing from the meeting. Furthermore, Chen and other Taiwanese members sometimes also became involved in conflicts between different groups of Japanese politicians.[20]

Chen, however, consciously adjusted himself to the changing political climate as war

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[19] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 20, 1935.
[20] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 26 & 27; February 29; March 24; May 10, 14 & 23, 1936.

approached, although it was not enough to prevent him from suffering a preemptive curb by the colonial authorities. In response to the February 26th Incident in 1936, in which several high-level officials were killed by soldiers, which caused extensive social disorder and a further rise in militarism in Japan, Chen showed his practical-minded attitude by supporting two provisional motions at the Xinzhu City Council. One was proposed by a Japanese councilor to extend the regards of the council and express the loyalty of all members to the Japanese emperor, and the other was proposed by Chen himself to express his sorrow at this event by canceling a scheduled banquet.[21] Although the nationalist-minded Chen had shown some flexibility in changing his politics, he was unable to escape from a political investigation at a time when the war against China was approaching. In late April 1937, he was unexpectedly summoned to the police station for an investigation of his connection with the illegal Taiwanese Communist Party. This caused him to panic, since he did not know how this could have happened. However the answer may lie in a conversation that took place weeks later: a Japanese secret agent told Chen that his withdrawal from the anti-colonial movement in 1932, before "the political situation began to change dramatically [in mid-1937]", was "a far-sighted decision". These words imply that the investigation of Chen could be just a warning to preempt him from doing anything harmful to the colonial state as the war against China was approaching.[22]

In political terms, the outbreak of war against China created a situation in which he had to take sides in order to survive the war. As a Taiwanese, regarded by the colonial authorities as being of the same ethnicity as the Chinese, he acted cautiously when war

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[21] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 26, 27 & 28, 1936.
[22] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 22; May 25, 1937.

broke out. Japan finally went to war with China at Lugouqiao on July 7, 1937. Several days later, Chen was chatting with his friends outside, among whom was a Japanese secret agent, but "nobody dared to mention the current military tension between Japan and China". Later, he returned home and listened to the radio with his family. "We listened to the official news broadcast downstairs together. Afterwards, we moved the radio into my room, trying to listen to the news broadcast from Nanjing, but the reception was unclear." This record reveals his cautious response that indirectly mirrored the Taiwanese sense of helplessness and embarrassment at the beginning of the Sino-Japan conflict.[23]

Chen's cooperative approach towards the colonial authorities was further strengthened during the process of the rapidly unfolding war mobilization that was profoundly reshaping the environment in colonial Taiwan. That he continued to cooperate may also indicate that the Japanese dimension of his identity had somewhat intensified, while his Chinese sympathies were fading. About three months after the outbreak of war, Chen, the popular Taiwanese councilor, was requested by the colonial authorities to support the war against China by delivering two public lectures. The first public lecture was delivered at a prefectural meeting attended by residents of Xinzhu a week after the outbreak of war. One of his Japanese colleagues at the city council had previously arranged this lecture. Chen initially declined the offer, but finally accepted on the insistence of his colleague. Chen was the only Taiwanese out of the eleven lecturers. The others were Japanese, including several of his colleagues from the City Council. In his lecture, entitled "Our awareness of involvement in the current war situation", Chen stressed the Taiwanese

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[23] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 7, 11, 12, 13, 14 & 19, 1937. According to Chen's diary, Japanese secret agents visited him regularly from 1928 when he was both a reporter at the *Taiwan minbao* and a leader of the Taiwan minzhong dang.

stance. The following day, Chen was highly praised for his performance by some of his relatives and friends.[24] When the war intensified following fierce fighting in Shanghai in October, however, the city government asked Chen to deliver his second public lecture, entitled "The correct attitude towards the current political situation" at a conference held by an official organization aiming to promote morale about the war. Chen was the only Taiwanese out of four lecturers. The others were Japanese, including the mayor of Xinzhu City, the prefectural medical chief and a prefectural councilor. A couple of Chen's Taiwanese friends voiced their disappointment at his support for the war in his public lecture, however, and were worried that he would be unable to live up to his reputation in Taiwanese society.[25] The change in his friends' opinions regarding the second lecture indicates that Chen was moving further towards adopting a pro-war stance as the war unfolded.

Furthermore, Chen, as a councilor, was also involved in other activities related to the war mobilization, such as the farewell parties for soldiers, donations of money and celebrations of war victory, although he showed a certain degree of reservation about these. After the outbreak of war in July 1937, the Japanese Army began its first wave of military attacks and expanded quickly from Northern to Central China. It encountered considerable resistance from the Chinese troops in Shanghai, however, and so, on September 13, a total of 1,200 Japanese soldiers and 850 Taiwanese military workers were mobilized to leave for Shanghai in support of Japan. Chen described the atmosphere of war mobilization in Taoyuan: "my fourth brother [a doctor] told me: when he had examined the physical conditions of the thirty-nine new recruits last night, he had heard

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[24] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 15, 1937. Shinchikushū jihō. *Shinchikushū jihō*, August 1937, p.115.
[25] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 4, 16, 19 & 31,1937. Shinchikushū jihō. *Shinchikushū jihō*, November 1937, p.54.

short and quick heartbeats from them on the stethoscope. He then looked around and found that the recruits were full of anxiety and depressed. Then he wished the war would end as soon as possible"; "All Taoyuan citizens waved banners to see these soldiers and military workers off. The city had an atmosphere of war".[26] In contrast, the war victories were celebrated in a cheerful atmosphere. When the Chinese troops in Shanghai were defeated by Japan on October 27, 1937, Chen wrote, "Not only the area of Taoyuan but also the rest of the island was filled with a victorious atmosphere". One month later, the Nationalist government was forced to move its capital from Nanjing to Chongqing. Chen responded to this news by writing in an exclamatory tone, "The Japanese Army's front line was approaching Nanjing. Song Ziwen fled from Shanghai to Hong Kong, and on to Manila. This high-level official could only settle in a foreign country when his fatherland was occupied". In Taiwan, the news of victory created a sense of arrogance among the Japanese and even among many Taiwanese. This was a new phenomenon of which Chen remained critically aware. "The next-door liquor shop was full of bureaucratic airs. The shopkeeper ignored his customers who could not speak Japanese. Shuijing [a Taiwanese] and some other clerks also behaved arrogantly".[27]

Politically, it is reasonable to argue that Chen chose, if passively, to be on the Japanese side after the outbreak of war, although, psychologically, he was more an observer than a participant. After the outbreak of war, Japanese secret agents, who had been keeping Chen under close watch since 1928, began to visit him more frequently. Nevertheless, Chen, under the increasingly upbeat atmosphere of the war in Taiwan, could not help exhibiting a sense of sympathy for people in the mainland who were suffering because of

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[26] Kondō, Masami. *Sōryokusen to Taiwan - Nihon syokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū*, 1996, p.351. See also *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 9, 15, 16 & 26, 1937.
[27] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 27, 28 & 29; November 30; December 14, 1937.

the war. Unusually, he transcribed a solemn and stirring poem, written by Guo Moruo, summoning up Chinese morale in the face of the Japanese invasion. Meanwhile, a deep sense of loneliness, originating from an inner awareness of his independence from the external war atmosphere, emerged, from time to time, in his mind.[28] Since his diary for 1938 has disappeared, there are insufficient sources to discuss his further responses to the second wave of the Japanese military invasion in central and southern China during that year.

In 1939, his decision to withdraw from the council's election for a second term, accidentally caused by a fierce conflict with his Japanese colleagues at the City Council, was probably regarded by the colonial authorities as a step towards ending his cooperation with them, and may have led to his imprisonment in late December under the pretext of his involvement in an antiwar event. Chen's diary for 1939 is blank from December 21, because, from that date on, he was unexpectedly imprisoned at a police station in Xinzhu for 300 days. According to Chen's reminiscences in 1966, he was "inexplicably" accused of instigating young people in Xinzhu to enlist in an anti-Japan war in Mainland China, and bringing handbills back to Taiwan with the purpose of spreading communist propaganda. He denied these accusations, and never discovered the actual reason for his imprisonment.[29]

The actual reason, however, may be revealed by tracing a series of related events in his diary entries for early 1939. On February 20, 1939, Chen questioned the corruption of the administrative section during wartime. This immediately extorted a retort from his Japanese colleague, the businessman, Ishii Kazuo. Kanno Hideo, an unfriendly Japanese

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[28] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 4; December 7, 1937. Chen got the poem from a popular Japanese magazine entitled *Kaizō*, which was accessible to readers in Taiwan at that time.
[29] Wang Shiqing. "Huang Wangcheng xiansheng fangwen jilu," 1991, pp.92-94.

councilor, then sided with Ishii Kazuo and directly questioned Chen's loyalty to the Japanese empire, which was a serious accusation against Chen in terms of wartime politics. The President of the City Council finally settled the argument, after Chen vehemently denied the accusation. On the following day, an official newspaper published a report on the event, entitled "Chen's wrong words caused uproar at City Council", voicing an unfavorable opinion of Chen. This unexpected event finally led to his decision to withdraw from the upcoming council election in late November 1939.[30] Around that time, the international political situation suggested that the European war was approaching, and the Japanese increasingly confronted the Americans and British in the diplomatic field. This finally led to the outbreak of the European war in early September, which implied that the Japanese would be involved in an extensive war in future. In this pressing situation, a group of young people in Xinzhu, who were ideologically close to Chen and a couple of whom sometimes exchanged views with Chen at his house, were accused of spreading anti-Japan writings and were arrested by the police on 8 September 1939. Three weeks later, a Japanese official visited Chen to confirm his decision to stand down at the upcoming council election. Two days after this confirmation, Chen's Datong company in Taoyuan was searched by four secret agents. Chen wrote: "[They] began to ransack our office desks and rooms. I was very embarrassed because my personal letters were checked by them...Two volumes of my diary, a book entitled *Entering Russia* and three postcards were taken...After that I was very angry and unhappy. I was so shocked about getting into trouble. To me, things were too uncertain to be predicted".[31] During

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[30] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 20, 21 & 22, 1939. See also *Taiwan nichi'nichi shinpō*, February 21, 1939.

[31] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 8, 15 & 16; October 4, 5 & 10, 1939. These young people were jailed for 3-4 years.

the search, two clerks of his company were also arrested. The cause of the search remained a mystery to Chen. On 21 December, he was unexpectedly imprisoned at the police station for 300 days. The Datong company, in the face of the rising difficulties caused by a series of stricter measures for rice control enforced by the colonial authorities at that time, lasted only a few more months before collapsing.[32]

One may conclude that the searching of Chen's company and his imprisonment revealed that the true intention of the colonial authorities was to warn the Taiwanese not to take any actions against Japan, in particular, under the increasing pressure of the European war, which was closely connected to Japan's future war plans, so whether or not Chen was actually involved in these anti-Japanese activities was irrelevant. However, why did Chen, rather than others, become the object of Japanese persecution? The cause for this may be that the colonial authorities regarded Chen's withdrawal from the council election in late 1939 as a step towards ending his cooperation with them, which had been effective since late 1935, a time when the previously anti-colonial Chen became entangled in local politics by participating in the first-ever council election. Chen, however, was not fully aware of this.

Chen's cooperative approach, starting in 1935 and further strengthened after the outbreak of the Japanese war against China in 1937, ended in late 1939, as a directly result of the political mistrust of the Japanese colonial authorities. Chen's passive attitude in continuing his cooperative approach, however, as evidenced by his withdrawal from the reelection campaign, may have been related to his inner contradictions resulting from his overlapping Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese consciousnesses, that arose during the process of the Japanese war against China.

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[32] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary,* November 18, 25 & 29; December 7, 1939.

A 'Taiwanese/Japanese' Double Identity, 1941-1945

Chen's mentality experienced a visible shift immediately after the outbreak of the Pacific War. This was caused by a series of initially convincing victories in the Japanese war against the Anglo-American powers, which further led to Chen's increasing sense of Japanese consciousness. After his imprisonment for 300 days, he stayed at home, mostly reading, and did not undertake any formal employment until the end of the war, during which time he was under the close scrutiny of Japanese secret agents. He resumed his diary-keeping in early September 1941, although the manner in which he kept his diary was more cautious, and the style of his writing flaccid, compared with before. He revealed a clearer sense of Japanese consciousness, however, in response to the ongoing Pacific war. He described the Pearl Harbor Incident on 8th December 1941 as follows: "Our country declared war on Britain and America at 6 a.m. In Xinzhu, all radios must be turned on for further news". On December 9, he added: "Our Navy destroyed two capital ships, over ten warships, and over one hundred military aircraft in the battle. Our side, however, lost only two military aircraft, and no warship was destroyed". The following day, he wrote, "In the recent Japan-America conflict, our country achieved remarkable success. ... the American Navy was busy enough with their own affairs, not to mention attacking Japan".[33] In early 1942, Japanese armed forces successfully captured Manila, Singapore and Jakarta. In response, Chen and his Taiwanese friends expressed their optimism about further Japanese military expansion in Southeast Asia. In January, after chatting with several young Taiwanese, Chen concluded that: "Nowadays, the ambitions

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[33] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 8, 9 & 10, 1941.

of the young are in Southeast Asia. This is clearer than during the period after the Sino-Japanese War in 1937...When we talked about the brightness of our future developments in Southeast Asia, we criticized the wrongdoings of the Americans and the British". Moreover, when Jakarta was captured by Japan in March, Chen commented: "The Greater East Asia War might be finished soon. The goal that East Asia should belong to the East Asian People will come true before long. What a cheerful project it has been!"[34]

This evidence reveals that Chen, as a Taiwanese, also viewed himself as Japanese and was proud of that identity. Moreover, he was convinced not only of the Japanese strength in Southeast Asia, but also the Japanese war ideology, such as the idea of a 'Greater East Asian New Order'. One may argue that these writings cannot totally represent his true feelings, since he was still under close observation by secret agents after his imprisonment. His writings may be more than just products of his concern about surveillance, however, if he took action (please refer to chapter 3). Firstly, in February 1943, Chen proposed to work in institutions in the Japanese-occupied areas of Southeast Asia, when he heard from his friends in Taibei that there were two high-paid vacancies there, one as department-chief at a newspaper in Thailand and another to work part-time overseeing translation in the 'Greater East-Asia Province', established to govern the occupied areas in November 1942. He immediately applied for both posts by sending two copies of his resume and a photograph. The following day, he visited his friends in Taibei to obtain further details but was told to wait and see. Furthermore, two of his sons, Chen Jixu and Chen Jizhi, joined the Japanese military as military workers on Hainan Island in

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[34] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 5 & 13; March 8 & 10, 1942.

January 1943, even though Chen did not encourage them to go abroad.[35] In fact, some of his friends showed a strong interest in working abroad, or actually worked successfully in these Japanese-occupied areas.[36] Moreover, Chen proposed to change his name to the Japanese-style name 'Kikuton Seiichi', although he never officially registered it as such.[37] For pragmatic reasons, he decided to apply for recognition as a *Kokugo jōyō katei* (Japanese-speaking family), regarded as a Japanized family with certain privileges in terms of education and food rations, but without success.[38] These actions might politically suggest that the 55-year-old Chen, a Taiwanese living a depressed life after his imprisonment, was partly convinced by Japan's initial success in the war against the Anglo-American powers and sought to survive the war, through increasingly assuming a Japanese identity. This type of double identity, i.e. 'Taiwanese/Japanese', may explain why he commented neutrally on the official announcement regarding the conscription of Taiwanese, by citing a friend's words: "The Taiwanese, from now on, will be fully responsible for all duties of being [Japanese] nationals".[39] His Chinese consciousness, meanwhile, became increasingly invisible as the war unfolded.

This identity position was maintained throughout the final stages of war, at a time when Taiwan and Japan were increasingly subjected to foreign aerial bombings, indicating that the Japanese were losing ground to the Allies. During this period, he continued to live an isolated life focused on various readings, and was only slightly involved in matters outside, such as occasionally worshipping at a Shinto shrine or

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[35] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 30 & 31; February 19 & 20, 1943.
[36] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 7; September 29; December 21-25 & 28, 1942.
[37] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 2; February 2, 1943. See also Kōnan shinbun sha (ed.), *Taiwan jinshikan*, 1943, pp.149-150.
[38] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary,* August 1; November 11, 13 & 23, 1943.
[39] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 21, 1943.

participating in war mobilization activities.[40] He sincerely mourned the death of a Japanese admiral, Yamamoto Isoroku, in mid-1942, an incident that indicated that the Japanese were being thwarted by the Allies. When Italy's Mussolini resigned from office in late July 1943, however, a significant sign of the Axis's collapse, he was utterly surprised. The threat of war represented by the Allied aerial bombardments was approaching northern Taiwan and, at the end of 1943, Chen's daughter and son-in-law were killed, causing him great panic and sadness. The hostility towards the Allies caused by the intense bombings may have influenced his 'Taiwanese/Japanese' double identity. He recorded a bombing event in 1945: "The enemy warships carrying aircraft, 450 in total, coordinated with several large aircraft of zhina dalu [Chinese Mainland], are coming to attack Taiwan. The damage on our side was not serious". This evidence indicates that the Taiwanese and Japanese shared the same position in the face of the threats of foreign counteroffensives made by the Allies, including the Chinese. This position of a 'Taiwanese/ Japanese' double identity may also explain why "many Taiwanese burst into tears" when they heard the formal announcement of the Japanese surrender to the Allies on August 15, 1945, while also reminding them of the importance of "keeping cautious and calm" in the face of the Japanese colonial authorities.[41]

In short, the contradictions between Chen's Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese consciousnesses, caused by a visible tension between his political choice of being a pro-war and pro-Japan Taiwanese and his identity position during the first half of the war (1937-1941), were more or less dissolved as Taiwan, as part of the Japanese empire, faced new, Western military opponents, rather than the Chinese, who were ethnically and

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[40] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary,* May 8; June 8, 1942. See also August 12, 1943; February 22 & 23, 1945.
[41] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary,* January 9; August 15 & 18, 1945.

geographically linked to the Taiwanese, during the Pacific War. The sense of cohesion between the Taiwanese and Japanese was intensified, partly because they faced common military opponents from the West, and partly because they shared a common fate, including the experiences of war success and difficulties, in the cumulative process of warfare. The sense of community between the Taiwanese and Japanese led Chen to develop a rising Japanese consciousness on the one hand, while simultaneously suppressing the role of his Chinese consciousness on the other.

Part II: Wu Xinrong

Wu's Life and Thought during the Early Period, 1907- 1932

Wu Xinrong (1907-1967) was a medical doctor, a socialist writer and an active politician during the 1930s and 40s in colonial Taiwan. He was born in 1907 in coastal Beimen in Tainan, southern Taiwan. Tainan, regarded as a centre of historical culture in Taiwan, was both the commercial and the political base of Dutch rule from 1624 to 1661, the capital of Koxinga's Kingdom from 1661 to 1683, and the political and economic centre of Taiwan during most of the Qing period. The first generation of the Wu family in Taiwan had immigrated from Quanzhou in Fujian soon after Taiwan was integrated into the Manchu Qing Empire in the 1680s. Wu Xinrong's father (1889-1960), a poet educated in classical Chinese, was adopted by a rich merchant at the age of seven. Wu's adoptive family faced increasing financial difficulties, however, caused by the mismanagement of their business during his childhood. Living in a large, declining

family of around 30 members, Wu was frequently asked to help out at home or in the shop.[42]

Wu began his Japanese schooling at primary school, from 1915 to 1921, without previously learning classical Chinese, even though his father was a poet who composed classical poetry and organized the first society for poets in the Beimen area in 1912.[43] During his schooldays, he was encouraged by one of his Japanese teachers to develop his writing talent. One of his writings was published in the most popular Japanese children's magazine of the time. He was punished by the school principal, however, a Japanese-centre person, because he ignored the regulation that students were not allowed to speak Taiwanese at school.[44] Wu was described as a sensitive but versatile student at the end of his primary school days, after which his family was even worse off and unable to provide educational expenses for the next generation.[45]

Wu continued his Japanese schooling at the Taiwan Commercial School, from 1921 to 1925, in Tainan City. There, he was exposed to 'new thoughts' emerging after the First World War, promoted by the Taiwanese elite from the rest of Taiwan or Japan. The six-year-term Taiwan Commercial School, founded in 1919, was one of three top schools providing advanced education for graduates of the primary schools in Taiwan in the early 1920s. Wu, a poor student from the countryside, was intellectually unprepared for the new environment, in which most students came from wealthier backgrounds.[46] At that period, the Taiwan Cultural Society, established in 1921 and organized by the Taiwanese elite, held a series of lectures in Tainan aimed at promoting the ideas of national

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[42] Wu Xinrong. *Zhenying huiyilu*, 1963. p.16; pp.27-31.
[43] *Zhenying huiyilu*, pp.35-36. Wu Xinrong started to learn classical Chinese of the Japanese style in the early 1920s, when he was a student at the Tainan Commercial School.
[44] *Zhenying huiyilu*, pp.46-47.
[45] Wu Xinrong. *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp. 85-86.
[46] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp.91-92.

consciousness and modern culture among ordinary Taiwanese. These lectures attracted Wu and his friends' participation and discussion, through which he gradually developed an interest in reading books and magazines containing new ideas.[47] Furthermore, his interest in reading was stimulated by the occasional exchange of knowledge in his circle of friends at school, where Lin Maosheng, a Taiwanese teacher of English who had graduated from Tokyo University, was a crucial person in enlightening him during this formative stage. Only Lin Maosheng and one other teacher, who taught Mandarin, were Taiwanese among a teaching staff of thirty. Wu was rather impressed by Lin's liberal style of teaching and versatile way of thinking.[48]

Wu was unable to complete his studies at the Taiwan Commercial School, as it was closed in 1925. He and some of his classmates sought further study in Japan, China and South-east Asia. His study in Japan was financed by his uncle, who had started a business as a medical doctor in 1924. His study in Japan covered two periods: study at Kinkawa High School, between October 1925 and May 1927, and study at the Tokyo Medical College, between January 1928 and September 1932.

Wu continued his ideologically liberal approach and maintained a special concern about his national identity as a Taiwanese under Japanese rule during his two-year stay at the Kinkawa High School, although he felt that the Japanese there were far friendlier than those in Taiwan. The school principal, Hotoli Sumio, was a liberal educator and writer, and frequently invited Taiwanese students to talk with him at a place called the 'Home of Liberty,' a setting designed to encourage intellectual exchange among students. Some of his writings, including an essay denouncing the Japanese invasion of China and several

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[47] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp.94-96.
[48] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp. 91-96.

Chinese poems, were recommended by the principal to be published in a school periodical.[49] Furthermore, Wu, together with a few other students from Taiwan, organized a society for Taiwanese students, headed by Chen Yisong, who later became one of Wu's closest friends. Chen Yisong and other members of the society were deeply influenced by the socialism that was reaching its apex in Japan. Through them, Wu developed not only an interest in socialism but also contacts with Chinese students from the Mainland.[50] Two Chinese figures, the nationalist Sun Yat-sen and the socialist Guo Moruo, were greatly respected by him at that stage. He posted three photos of Sun Yat-sen and a Chinese map on the wall of his room and started reading Sun's collected works.[51]

Wu's ideology shifted from liberalism to socialism, and he started to participate in left-leaning student movements during his study at the Tokyo Medical School, from January 1928 to September 1932, when socialism was dominant in Japan. After he finished high school, he was admitted to the Tokyo Medical College in January 1927, where he immediately became an active socialist among the Taiwanese students. This resulted from several of his previous experiences. He recalled in his reminiscences that he was greatly disappointed by the so-called 'new liberalism', when he discovered that it was used as a cover for imperialism after attending a lecture given by Tsurumi Yūsuge, a popular liberal politician, in early 1927.[52] After abandoning liberalism, he embraced socialism when he moved to an area close to Waseda University, a famous meeting place for Japanese leftists, where new, progressive and radical ideas flourished. In 1928, he

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[49] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, p.109.
[50] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp.108-109.
[51] Shi Yilin. *Wu Xinrong zhuan*, 1999, pp. 20-21.
[52] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp. 109-110.

frequently attended lectures delivered by the famous leftist scholar, Oyama Ikuo.[53]

Moreover, Wu's enthusiasm for socialism was further channeled into action when he joined the Taiwan Academic Research Society in 1928, a leftist society organized by Taiwanese students in Tokyo, which counted among its members Chen Yisong, Su Xin, Xu Naichang and Yang Kui. From 1928 to April 1929, Wu took charge of recruiting Taiwanese students at the Tokyo Medical College, while Chen Yisong recruited at Tokyo Imperial University, and Su Xin at the Tokyo College of Foreign Language. This leftist society maintained close connections with other leftist organizations in Japan, such as the New Men Society at Tokyo Imperial University, which were more sympathetic towards improving Taiwan's status as a Japanese colony. The Taiwan Academic Research Society was actually a front organization for the Taiwan Communist Party, itself a branch of the Japanese Communist Party. It was established by Xie Xuehong and Weng Zesheng in Shanghai in April 1928.[54] Wu Xinrong, according to his autobiography, was engaged in student movements attended by students from various national backgrounds in Tokyo between the winter of 1928 and spring of 1929.[55]

Wu Xinrong's participation in these leftist movements ended abruptly when the Japanese launched a widespread campaign against anti-government movements on 16 April 1929. Wu, together with several prominent members at the Taiwan Academic Research Society, was arrested and later imprisoned for 29 days at a police station during the so-called April 16 Incident, which was regarded as a watershed for leftist movements in Japan.[56] After being discharged from the police station, he, together with other

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[53] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp. 115-116.
[54] Lin Qionghua. "Nugemingzhe Xieshuehong de 'zhenli zhi lu' (1901-1970)." In *Ershi shiji Taiwan lishi yu renwu xueshu taolunhui*, 2001. pp.29-30.
[55] Wu Xinrong. *Zhenying zizhuan*, p.96.
[56] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp. 115-116.

Taiwanese members, promulgated a public statement, on behalf of their societies, that "the Taiwanese should fight for our own liberation" and that "the national liberations of suppressed colonial Taiwanese and Koreans are the prerequisite for the liberation of the Japanese masses".[57] There was less and less political room for him and his leftist friends, however, when the Japanese Communist Party and its Taiwan branch in Tokyo were destroyed. From then on, he distanced himself from the student movements because he was put on a watch list by the Japanese police.[58]

During the remainder of his stay in Japan, from 1929 to 1932, Wu Xinrong transferred his attention from participation in the student movements to literary writings. He became involved with three literary magazines and composed a variety of literary works, including modern poetry in Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese, classical Chinese poetry, essays, and commentaries. These writings relate to the issues of social equality, national liberation, and lyric expression.[59] In the final year of his medical training in Tokyo, he began a relationship with a Japanese girl who ran a salon. The relationship lasted only until his graduation in the spring of 1932. He then started work at an ill-equipped hospital established in memory of a leftist politician, who had been assassinated by a rightist sympathizer at the Japanese parliament. While working at the hospital, Wu experienced, through his mobile medical services, the "real life" of the deprived Japanese farmers, and the anti-Japanese sentiments in the Korean communities in Japan. They reminded him that his hometown in Taiwan faced a similar economic and political situation.[60] In the autumn of 1932, he decided to return to Taiwan and opened his own clinic in Jiali, near

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[57] Wang Naixin etc., trans. *Taiwan shehui yundongshi*, vol.1, pp.56-59.
[58] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp. 115-116.
[59] *Wu Xinrong zhuan*, 1999, pp. 28-37.
[60] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, p.121.

his hometown of Jiangjun in Tainan Prefecture.

Moving towards Political Moderation: Wu's Social Participation in Prewar Colonial Taiwan, 1932-1936

When Wu started working as a medical doctor in Jiali in September 1932, what was the colonial context that the left-leaning Taiwanese youth faced? This colonial context may be described at both the general and the local levels.

The political situation in Taiwan between the late 1920s and the early 1930s was that various Taiwanese political movements, in particular left-leaning ones, had already reached their zenith and started to decline, as the colonial authorities launched a series of anti-leftist campaigns from February 1929. This decline was intensified by the Manchurian Incident of September 1931. Under these circumstances, the centre-left Taiwan minzhong dang (Taiwan Mass Party) was banned in February 1931. Moreover, the Taiwanese Communist Party, supporting the liberation of proletarian and Taiwan's independence, together with its front organization, the Taiwan wenhua xiehui (Taiwan Culture Society), were also banned in late 1931. Only the moderate Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng (Taiwan Local Self-rule League), formed by rightist politicians in August 1930 and aiming to promote Taiwan's autonomy on a local level, could survive in this atmosphere of heightened militarism.

On the local level, however, the political and economic picture in Wu's town of residence, Jiali, in the early 1930s, was more diverse. Firstly, Jiali town, with 26,355 residents, including 621 Japanese, was the administrative centre of the coastal Beimen area, which consisted of six townships and 130,252 residents in 1936. Each family in the

populous Beimen area owned only 50% of the average size of land owned by families in Tainan prefecture. Worse still, these coastal lands were unproductive because of the high salt content of the local soil. This made Beimen an economically poor area and an origin of exported workers. Secondly, since state-run sugar refining was the largest industry in the Beimen area, many farmers worked for the sugar company as contract workers, providing sugarcane from their own land. These farmers were usually poorly paid, however, which caused increasing tension between the farmers and the sugar company. Thirdly, the Jianan Irrigation System, the largest in East Asia at that time, which covered Jiayi and Tainan prefectures, was established in 1930. The farmers of the region were required by the colonial authorities to pay half of its construction fees through water taxes. This generated anti-tax movements, supported not only by the farmers but also by the landlords of that area.[61] In other words, the long-standing tension between the peasants and landlords of the region evolved gradually into a conflict between the farmer-landlord bloc on the one hand, and the sugar company and colonial government on the other.[62] Moreover, the moderate Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng, organized by the conservative landlords on an island-wide scale, began to expand throughout the region.[63]

When the left-leaning Taiwanese Wu returned to Taiwan and began his career in Jiali in late 1932, he encountered both the increasingly vocal farmers' protests against the state-run sugar company and the colonial authorities, who had, in turn, adopted a tougher stance against them since 1929, and, also, the growing rightists' demands for local autonomy. Under this colonial environment, Wu's initial strategy was to adopt a non-political position, in which he maintained a certain distance from both leftist and

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[61] Kondō, Masami. *Sōryokusen to Taiwan - Nihon syokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū*, 1996. pp.194 -195.
[62] Kondo Masami, 1996. pp. 189-195.
[63] Kondo Masami, 1996. p.195.

rightist political activities, and focused on developing his social connections with young local intellectuals by organizing a 'cultural' society in Jiali. In September 1933, he started to organize a society called the qingfeng hui (Qingfeng Society) which consisted of 12 young Taiwanese, most of whom worked in the local public sector. The formation of this 'non-political' society was privately regarded by Wu as the beginning of a future social movement, and its goal was to organize young intellectuals through cultural enlightenment and to improve the cultural life of the area.[64]

The new society's non-political stance, however, did not enable it to avoid Japanese police surveillance. In challenging this official restraint, his sense of Taiwanese identity appeared to be firmer than ever. As mentioned earlier, Wu had been placed on a watch list during the April 16 Incident of 1929 in Japan. A couple of weeks after the establishment of the new society, he was twice visited by the Japanese police and warned about his "ideological problem". Three weeks later, he was told in a friendly manner by the police that, even though his newly-built wards at the clinic were illegal, they would not report this fact to the authorities.[65] He exhibited mixed feelings in his diary in response to such pressure from the police: "Regarding the matter of the wards, I am greatly worried. I am not sure if they will pass official inspection or not, although I have cooperated with them". He then added, however, in his diary, a modern Chinese poem that he had composed entitled "A Crowd of Lambs". In the poem, he implied that he would never be the same as a group of beaten lambs about to be slaughtered without fighting for their survival.[66] This revealed that his sense of Taiwanese identity and anti-colonial sentiment remained unchanged in the colonial context. A month later, however, the qingfeng hui finally came

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[64] Zhang Liangze ed. *Wu Xinrong riji (zhanqian)* 1981. pp. 2-4. See also *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, pp. 126-127.
[65] Zheng Xifu. *Wu Xinrong xiansheng nienpu chugao*. 1977, p15.
[66] Zhang Liangze, ed. *Wu Xinrong riji (zhanqian)* 1981, pp.5-6.

to an end because of a fight between two drunken members, an event which greatly undermined Wu's morale.[67]

Wu, however, soon recovered from these frustrations by linking his circle of young Taiwanese intellectuals in Jiali with an island-wide network of Taiwanese writers in 1935, promoting a 'Taiwanese' perspective on literary creations. In May 1934, the Taiwan Literature Alliance, attended by a group of 82 Taiwanese writers who used to be involved in left-leaning political movements, was established in Taizhong. The island-wide Alliance decided to publish a literary periodical called *Taiwan wenyi* (Taiwan Literature and Art) to popularize literary writing. This event itself revealed a major shift in the strategy of the left from active political participation to literary writing after the earlier governmental suppression campaigns. Wu, together with his close friend Guo Shuitan, established the Jiali branch of the Alliance in 1935. It consisted of 12 Taiwanese members who were mostly ex-members of the qingfeng hui, and aimed to promote both a realistic approach and a local perspective on Taiwan's burgeoning literary movement.[68] They wrote mainly about the local working class in the coastal Beimen area, where the farmers' protests against the colonial state continued unabated. From then on, he and the Jiali literary group became integrated into the island-wide network of Taiwanese writers

Unlike his great interest in literary writings, Wu initially showed indifference to the local political efforts aimed at constraining the native elite. As mentioned earlier, the moderate Taiwan Local Self-rule League, organized by the right-leaning landlords and tolerated by the colonial authorities, began to operate in the Jiali area in the early 1930s. The tendency was further encouraged, as the regulations for the first-ever local election

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[67] Zhang Liangze, ed. *Wu Xinrong riji (zhanqian)* 1981, pp.6-8.
[68] Zhang Yadai. *Lengche de reqingzhe – Wu Xinrong ji qi zuopin yanjiu.* 1997, pp. 24-31. *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 1, 1935.

of councilors were announced in June 1935. The local election, which was scheduled to take place in November 1935, was limited in scope and partly designed to channel the resistance caused by the suppression of the Taiwanese politico-cultural elite, who had participated in Taiwanese activism years ago, towards a harmless outlet. The 28-year-old, left-leaning Wu did not participate in the local election as a candidate, though his political patron, Wang Wuji, a mayor of Beimen Township and a medical doctor, encouraged him to stand. There were several reasons for his absence from the town council election. Firstly, he viewed it as a limited election in which only 19.7% of Taiwanese over 25 years old were qualified to vote; in contrast, all male Japanese over 25 years old had the right to vote in Japan at that time. Secondly, he believed that the town council was merely an advisory organization with no decision-making power. Thirdly, he regarded himself as a progressive cultural man who was unwilling to work together with those candidates who represented the conservative Taiwanese township gentry who were willing to collaborate with Japan. Even so, he believed that the election was the first-ever election for the Han-Chinese and could be regarded as an enlightened and progressive political step.[69]

However, by expanding his social contact with some non-leftist Taiwanese elites from 1936, he gradually became more involved in local politics, a move which led him to become a political moderate, and he visibly shifted his political course within the wartime context. In 1936, he started this by organizing one society that comprised nine of his Taiwanese friends with whom he had shared a dormitory in Tokyo, and another that comprised around thirty Taiwanese medical graduates from Tokyo. A significant social development was that, in April 1936, he joined the Nanzhou Club, the largest Taiwanese-based social group in southern Taiwan, which was headed by the college

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[69] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 8, 15 & 22, 1935. Also Kondo Masami. 1996, pp.196-201.

professor, Lin Maosheng, who passed on many progressive ideas to Wu. The members of the Tainan-based club were middle-class intellectuals who were in their 30s and who had graduated from universities in Japan. Most of its members were non-leftists and included city councilors, businesspeople, lawyers, doctors and journalists, among whom several members even belonged to the rightist Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng.[70] Furthermore, through various social connections with both leftists and the rightists since 1932, as an important campaigner, Wu successfully assisted his political patron, Wang Wuji, in obtaining membership of the Tainan Prefecture Council in November 1936.[71] In other words, until then, he had been moving towards a more centrist stance in terms of his political ideas. He argued that there was no clear distinction between the left and the right under Japanese colonial rule. "The left can be viewed as socialism with a nationalist inclination, while the right can also be seen as nationalism with a socialist inclination...the distinction exists only between the progressive and the conservative." Based on this understanding, Wu regarded himself as a progressive, if realistic, person who was searching for political emancipation by liberating Taiwan, and for economic equality by restructuring society.[72]

Reconstructing Traces of Wu's Political Shift during Wartime, 1937-1945

Did the warfare reshape the political stance and even the identity position of this left-leaning Taiwanese youth? Is it possible to trace the process of his political shift during the war?

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[70] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 26; April 10. See also *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, p.133.
[71] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 1 & 22. 1936.
[72] *Wu Xinrong huiyilu*, p.130.

Several months before the outbreak of the Japanese war against China in July 1937, Wu felt that something unusual was happening in his surroundings. He first detected an extraordinary boom in the rural economy, as evidenced by a quick rise in the income and number of patients at his clinic from mid-1936, which, he implied, may had been created by the Japanese buildup of military-related industries in Taiwan. Furthermore, he noticed that a series of important events had occurred in early April 1937, such as the disbanding of the Japanese Imperial Assembly in Japan and the abolition of a long-standing Chinese printed page in the newspapers in Taiwan, which could indicate that "an era of transition" was approaching.[73] When the war against China broke out on July 7, he recorded the following in his diary, "If justice is still alive, human conscience will spread all over the world", demonstrating his opposition to violence and his compassion for China.[74]

As the war unfolded during the following months, however, he was soon involved in a series of war mobilization activities, thus leading to certain psychological tensions. Together with several other medical doctors, Wu was first assigned to take charge of the medical services at a defence unit, and fund-raising for the military in Jiali.[75] Other tasks in which he participated included farewell parties for the soldiers who were about to be sent abroad, and parades celebrating the initial victories as the war spread to central China. In the Beimen area, twenty-six Japanese soldiers and several Taiwanese military workers were mobilized to join the battle in Shanghai, as the Japanese Army encountered considerable resistance from the Chinese troops. Wu was aware that war had become a reality, although he wished that the sadness and anxiety that it caused would soon come

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[73] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 31; July 12-13 & 16; December 31, 1936. See also February 9; March 31; April 1, 1937.
[74] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 7, 1937.
[75] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 15, 19 & 31; September 1-2.

to an end.

Wu's response to his involvement in the war mobilization against China was intricate and multifaceted. He first realized that the unexpectedly rapid progress of the war had created a tense environment in Taiwan that he could not avoid, although his anxiety had never truly been assuaged. When he was assigned new duties relating to the war mobilization in October 1937, he attempted to justify himself by recording in his diary: "This is the current trend that I cannot evade...Everyone has his own duty, everyone is following the current trend".[76] Participating in the war against China went against his belief in anti-aggression, however, so, in order to escape this mental conflict, he indulged in daily entertainment and drinking. The increasing mental tension almost led him to the brink of collapse at a time when the Nationalist capital Nanjing was about to be lost to the Japanese in late November 1937. About that time, he described his life as having "totally fallen into an immoral world" created by the current war environment.[77]

In this depressing, if inescapable, environment, defined by a series of initial Japanese successes in China, Wu gradually found ways to justify his involvement in the war mobilization, and developed a more realistic approach. His new realistic attitude towards the war against China emerged soon after the fall of Nanjing in mid-December 1937. After he returned from a farewell party for Taiwanese military workers on 19 December, about a week after Nanjing's fall, he recorded: "During this period of historical transition, it is natural that the Taiwanese should also take part in the current war". He further explained his reasoning by arguing: "In Chinese history, China was twice conquered by foreign nations. It was first conquered by the Northern Mongolians, and then by the

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[76] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 2 & 16, 1937.
[77] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 12 & 23-24; December 13, 1937.

North-eastern Manchus. It might be China's destiny to be under invasion by the Eastern Japanese this time".[78] This clearly shows that he tried to justify the Taiwanese workers' participation in the Japanese war against China by re-interpreting Chinese history and current events. In so doing, he also indirectly justified his own involvement in the war mobilization.

This emerging tendency was further strengthened by the second wave of Japanese military victories in central and southern China throughout the year 1938, which may have finally led to Wu's political shift of course in the wartime context. On January 4, 1938, he changed the language in which he wrote his diary from modern Chinese to Japanese, 5 years after he resumed keeping a diary in 1933. He explained that the usage of written and spoken Japanese was "natural" to him, since he had been born in the Japanese period and educated under the Japanese system. It was also "convenient and necessary" to use Japanese, particularly during a period when an individual was unable to resist the expanding power of the Japanese.[79] This understanding of Japan's strength was previously confirmed by the first wave of Japanese military occupation of the major cities of central China, which had forced the Nationalist government to move to western China at the end of 1937, and further strengthened by its second wave of occupation of southern China and the Wuhan area in October 1938.[80] Under these circumstances, on 2nd October, Wu first showed a positive intention to take to the battlefield in Canton as a military doctor because "the nation which does not fight is a fallen one", although he also expressed concern about how to support his family during his absence from home.[81] In

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[78] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 19, 1937.
[79] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 4 & 19, 1938.
[80] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 15, 22 & 28, 1938.
[81] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 2, 1938.

late October 1938, he regarded the actions of the Taiwanese who sent their brothers and sons to the battlefield as justifiable, and drew an analogy between the Japanese conquerors and the Mongolian and Manchu conquerors who had successfully invaded China in previous centuries. He expressed his sadness about the futility of China's resistance, which he described as a "dead person", after the further loss of Canton. This indicates that a significant shift of attitude towards the war against China, from passive to positive, emerged at the end of 1938, even though Wu's mental anxiety continued.[82]

The substantiation of Wu's adoption of the new approach, however, depended, firstly, on his re-examination of his surroundings, including the current situation and future development of China, Japan and Taiwan, and, secondly, on his redefinition of his individual identity and future career arrangements. Regarding China, he indicated the likelihood of further partition, as evidenced by several Japanese-supported regimes that had been earlier founded in parts of China. At the end of 1938, he recorded in detail "the theory of China's federation", which suggested that China should be divided into nine regimes based on their geographical differences. He regarded the theory as radical but plausible. This attitude may have resulted from his newly pessimistic views of China's current and future prospects, and from his extensive reading about Chinese politics, history and culture[83] (please refer to chapter 3). In contrast, he increasingly recognized that the Japanese represented a new and strong nation in Asia, and even in the world, although he saw the growing possibility of her confrontation with the western powers. In February 1939, when Hainan Island was occupied by the Japanese, he realized that the island had become a geographically important place. The Japanese takeover of the island,

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[82] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 19, 22 & 28; November 14, 1938.
[83] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 28; December 2, 1938.

he argued, had put the British, American and French colonies in danger. This would lead to Japanese confrontation with these western powers if the rising Japanese further intended to control the Pacific Ocean.[84] When the Japanese formally allied with Germany and Italy in September 1940, he expressed his agreement with expelling the British and French from Asia and Africa, and fully understood that the British and Americans would become Japan's future rivals.[85]

On the basis of his understanding of the broader wartime environment, Wu first redefined what he thought the Taiwanese stance should be in this context. After Shanghai and Nanjing were taken over by the Japanese, he developed the view that Taiwan's future should be linked to the Mainland rather being limited to Taiwan Island, reaching these conclusions through various exchanges with his Taiwanese friends who had returned from the Mainland where Taiwan's status was rising.[86] This view was based, however, on Wu's recognition that the Taiwanese should be viewed as part of the Eastern Asian People rather than the Chinese, within the expanding framework of the Japanese empire.[87] By the late 1940 he got his younger brother a job working as a translator in the Japanese Army, his father a visit to Nanjing, his cousin work in Beijing, and several close friends work in different parts of China.[88]

Furthermore, he rearranged future careers for himself and his family in a realistic way. Firstly, he decided to participate in the local election of 1939, which was regarded as an instrument of political control designed to rope in the local elite as early as the mid 1930s. Initially, he was indifferent to participating in the first local election in 1935, which he

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[84] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 11 & 25; March 24, 1939. See also February 23, 1940.
[85] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 10; October 3, 1940.
[86] *Wu Xinrong's Diary,* April 3, 1938; August 3, 1939.
[87] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 5, 1938; January 1 & August 6, 1940.
[88] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 30, 1940.

regarded as limited. Wu gradually became involved in local politics in 1936, however, by expanding his circle of friends to include mostly young intellectuals, with whom he successfully assisted his political patron, Wang Wuji, who had close connections with the local authorities, to obtain membership of the Tainan Prefectural Council. This indirect experience of political participation developed into a direct one when he decided to run for membership of the Jiali town council in July 1939. This decision was taken four months after his political patron, Wang, privately suggested to him that he could participate in the township council and financial association representing a new and young influence, "as the colonial authorities of *zhou* and *jun* had given permission to me [Wang]". With the goodwill of the colonial authorities, Wu also strongly felt "the necessity of demonstrating his political influence during the war". He, and three close allies, finally succeeded in becoming councilors in the election on November 1939.[89] This election had a twofold impact on Wu: firstly, the process of his politicization from 1935 to 1939 indicated that his involvement in the war mobilization had gradually transformed his position from indifference to active participation in colonial politics, revealing that a Japanese national identity was becoming increasingly relevant and important to him. Furthermore, the political situation in Jiali and even the Beimen area was reshaped by the election, since the indigenous political faction, consisting of young Japanese-educated, middle-class Taiwanese elite in the area, centered on Wu and led by Wang Wuji, was further strengthened during the process of political mobilization and campaigning. The aim of the rising political faction, defined in part by Wu himself, was to solve local political and economic problems by challenging the existing conservative

[89] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 17; July 9; November 22, 1939.

position.[90]

Wu's growing political importance further encouraged him to exercise his influence in the state-controlled economic associations, designed to absorb local capital for the war mobilization and industrialization. With support from his political allies in different parts of Tainan prefecture, Wu first succeeded in using his political power within an irrigation association, a county-level unit used to control farmlands, and the local elite, through the control of water resources. Later, in mid-1941, he became one of the supervisors of the Jiali financial associations, an appointment which usually required official permission.[91]

Furthermore, he decided to send his son to a primary school designed only for Japanese students. He tried very hard to utilize his connections with his Japanese friends and finally succeeded in obtaining an offer of admission for his son.[92] There were 11 Taiwanese students allowed to attend this sort of school, which had 167 members in total in 1939.[93] Furthermore, he chose to name his arriving baby 'Nanto' or 'Aki', which referred to the Japanese wartime ideologies of the 'Southward advance' and 'Eastern Asianism'. With his increasing optimism about the future of the Japanese empire in Eastern Asia, and his growing consciousness of being an "Eastern Asian", Wu politically shifted to an anti-western sentiment, particularly as some parts of Asia remained under the colonial rule of the Western powers[94] (please refer to chapter 3).

Wu's most significant decision, however, was to follow, albeit reservedly, the policy of *Kōminka*, indicating that his position of identity was gradually tilting towards a

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[90] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 22; February 28; April 22; November 21, 1940.
[91] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 20; February 17, 1940; July 12, 1941. See also Taiwan keizai kenkyū kai ed. *Taiwan keizai sōsho*, vol. 10, 1942. pp.245-246.
[92] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 21; November 10, 1938. See also April 26, 1939; January 31 & March 3, 1940.
[93] Tainanshū Hokumon gunyakusho ed. *Hokumongun gaikyō*, 1939. pp.14–15.
[94] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 5; November 10; December 7 & 12, 1938.

Japanese-dimension. With regard to the non-compulsory name-changing policy, Wu experienced a long and elaborate process of decision-making. He failed to respond to the policy until March 1940, at a time when the Japanese had control over most of the Mainland. Since his oldest son had just been allowed to enroll at a Japanese-only primary school, however, Wu started to consider the idea of name-changing, on condition that "the Taiwanese have no choice but to take a Japanese name". He created a couple of Japanese surnames and names for himself and his family, which still intentionally preserved the Han-Chinese cultural meanings of their former names. He also reached an agreement about the surname-changing issue with some senior members of the Wu lineage at a meeting in Jiali. Although Wu considered surname-changing to be a dishonorable action of "a fallen nation", he justified himself by arguing that "it is also right to put the destiny of the nation on the right course".[95] In July 1941, he was appointed as section chief in charge of cultural and medical affairs at the Jiali branch of the *Kōmin hōkō kai* (Society for the Imperialized Civilians to Sacrifice for Public Affairs), which was the major executive body of the *Kōminka* movement in the Japanese empire. His attitude towards his new post was ambivalent: he had not formally changed his surname nor did his family belong to *kokugo jōyō katei* (the Japanese-speaking Family) until mid-March 1942. The pressure to change name continued to occupy Wu's thoughts, however, and he started using both Chinese and Japanese names in his articles published in the periodical, *Minzoku Taiwan* (Taiwan Folklore), in 1942. He recorded in his diary that he had adopted Ōmichi as his first Japanese surname for various reasons, including local folk traditions, family history, religious theory, and current Japanese political

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95 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 15; December 1 & 9, 1940. See also January 20 & 29, 1941.

trends.[96] When the Pacific War intensified in 1944, however, Wu replaced Ōmichi with Nobeoka, a symbolic mixture of the Wu surname, Taiwan's founder Koxinga, and a Japanese place called Okayama. According to his diary, Wu's reasons for changing his surname were mainly practical considerations: firstly, he was aware that the 50-year-long Japanese rule in Taiwan was a reality; secondly, it was a way of demonstrating his willingness to support the empire during the final stages of the Pacific War; thirdly, using a Japanese surname was a fundamental requirement for those Taiwanese parents who wished to send their offspring to a Japanese-only primary school; fourthly, he intended to start a new life through changing his surname, in order to forget the misfortunes he had suffered during the past few years, such as the loss of his first wife in 1942.[97] There is no record, however, showing that he had registered his Japanese names officially, although it is clear that he was ideologically convinced of the advisability of name-changing at the final stage.

Furthermore, as a medical doctor trained in modern methods, Wu responded to the policies of the Japanization of Taiwan's religion in a broad-minded way. He and the villagers of Jiali warmly welcomed the first Japanese Shinto shrine that was established there 1936, with Taiwanese religious rituals. These same villagers, however, strongly opposed the new policy, initiated in 1938, that aimed to replace Taiwanese religious beliefs with Japanese ones by drastically reducing the number of Taiwanese temples.[98] Wu's response to the new policy was multivalent: first of all, as a believer in evolution, he regarded Taiwan's traditional temples and superstitions as symbols of the "old era", which should be eliminated, while the Japanese Shinto Shrines represented the "new era".

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96 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July.3, 1941. See also March 14 & 21; July 8, 1942.
97 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 26; March 19, 1944.
98 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 17, 1936; February 14, 1938.

He disagreed, however, with the way in which the colonial authorities forced the villagers to follow this new policy.[99] Secondly, he believed that certain Buddhist and Daoist statues and temples, which were valuable in terms of art and local history, should be carefully preserved. He secretly preserved the oldest Daoist statue in Jiali, the *baosheng dadi* (Deity of life), as he tried to avoid opposition from the villagers and interference from the local Japanese authorities, when the religious reformative policy intensified in 1940.[100] Furthermore, he regularly worshipped at Shinto Shrines for both private and public reasons. In April 1941, Wu recorded that, together with his family, he "honourably" worshipped at the newly established Kaizan Shinto Shrine to show his "sense of national consciousness". In April 1942, he regularly attended worship at the Beimen Shinto Shrine, together with his medical colleagues from the war mobilization unit. Wu was delighted to attend worship, as he found some tablets relating to medical deities placed at the shrine.[101] He was inclined to view these religious reform establishments as something 'new', and even conducted the wedding ceremony of his second marriage in the official manner at the Shinto shrine, thus indicating his acceptance of a Japanese identity.[102] This open-minded proclivity can also be detected in his response to another religious reform policy, the aim of which was to replace Taiwanese family beliefs with Japanese ones by reorganizing the religious setting of the living room of the Taiwanese family. Wu was quite willing to follow the policy, as he believed that "it was meaningless to place personal beliefs above an important national career". The records show that over 90% of the households in one of the villages in Jiali followed this

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[99] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 14 & 21, 1938; May 4, 1940.
[100] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 21; October 9, 1940.
[101] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, April 28; October 27, 1941. See also April 28, 1942.
[102] *Wu Xinrong's Diary,* October 29; November 8, 1942. See also June 26; July 25, 1943. On July 16, 1944, Wu was rewarded a certificate of merit, from the imperial authorities, for his contributions to the *Kōminka* Movement.

policy.[103]

An Intensified Japanese-dimensioned Identity after the Outbreak of the Pacific War, 1942 –1945

After the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, regarded as the third wave of Japanese military expansion, the Japanese dimension of Wu's national identity was further strengthened, as his involvement in the war mobilization and the *Kōminka* movement grew far deeper than ever before. He described the outbreak of the Pacific War as a "nerve-racking", "unprecedented and decisive" event that had turned the Asian war into a world war. His shock at the war was soon replaced by positive expectations, however, when British-colonized Hong Kong was captured by the Japanese, three weeks later. He believed that the future downfall of British-colonized Singapore might lead to the emancipation of several independent states, including the Philippines, Burma, Vietnam and India, which would be the most meaningful event of the Pacific War launched by Japan.[104] His positive thinking about the anti-Western war was further encouraged by the fall of Manila in early January 1942, which event he regarded as representing "the American withdrawal from Asia". In the upbeat war atmosphere, Wu was promoted to become one of the directors of the only society of medical doctors in Jiali. He also organized a meeting to promote the recruitment of voluntary soldiers among the locals in Jiali, at which he gave a public lecture.[105]

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103 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 29, 1938. Kaku, Suitan. "Karikō hōkoku jichi shinkōkai no jisai." In Hokumon gun ed. *Buraku shinkō kenkyūkai habyō yokō*, April 22, 1939.
104 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 8 & 26, 1941.
105 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 1 & 9, 1942.

Furthermore, the fall of Singapore in mid-February 1942 totally convinced him of the Japanese capability to control "the sphere of greater Eastern Asia" and that "the British Empire was toppling". Wu described how he "experienced spiritually and ideologically great progress", and thought that "world history has suddenly entered a new era, and the Japanese have entirely dominated East Asia".[106] His upbeat mood continued with the news of the fall of Dutch-ruled Jakarta in late February. Even when the progress of the war was being restrained by the American resistance in late May 1943, Wu's resolution to support the war remained unchanged, indicating that his Japanese-dimension identity was stronger than ever before. When he heard the news over the radio that the famous Japanese admiral, Yamamoto Isoroku, had been killed in battle, he was "extremely shocked and realized the exceptional fierceness and difficulty of the ongoing war". Wu's shock then turned into a strong sense of self-awareness that "we should fully understand that we are a nation participating in a brutal war", when the Imperial Navy encountered another setback on the Aleutian Island, ten days later. This sense of self-awareness revealed that the Japanese dimension of Wu's double identity as a 'Taiwanese/Japanese' or a 'Japanese/Taiwanese' intensified in the face of the rising war difficulties. This was further elucidated by his decisions to become a medical volunteer on the battlefield, to have a Japanese-style wedding ceremony for his second marriage, and to adopt a Japanese surname.[107]

In addition to his Japanese identity, the other source supporting Wu's stance towards the depressing final war resulted from his Taiwanese identity, which represented a sense of belonging and a responsibility to defend the island of Taiwan and her people in the

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106 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 12 & 16, 1942.
107 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 6; July 25; September 23 & 25, 1943. Also March 19, 1944.

face of the war crisis. Wu was involved in the left-leaning activities organized by Taiwanese students in Tokyo between 1928 and 1929, and later participated in a couple of cultural and social societies consisting of young Taiwanese intellectuals at both the local and island-wide level, between 1932 and 1937. Most of these societies ceased operations between 1937 and 1941, although their cultural and social connections continued in an informal way. From late-1941, however, Wu reconnected with the circle of writers, and more frequently contributed articles to the Taiwanese-based magazines, *Taiwan Bungaku* (*Taiwan Literature*) and *Minzoku Taiwan* (Taiwan Folklore), organized by prominent Japanese and Taiwanese.[108] Through writing about Taiwan's local history and associating with Taiwanese writers, Wu developed a more systematic and deeper understanding of Taiwan's past, which had a profound impact on articulating his Taiwanese identity throughout the wartime, and, in particular, offered a spiritual source for his defence of the island of Taiwan in the face of the war crisis caused by the American counterattack.[109]

At the gloomy prospect of war, Wu became increasingly aware of a rising Taiwanese status and identity, indirectly causing a psychological shift in his war participation, initiated by a series of frustrations encountered in his political and economic career at the end of 1944. Throughout 1944, the Germans were quickly losing ground to the Allies on the Continent, and both Taiwan and Japan came under the direct threat of American air raids. In order to recover Japan's dominance over the war, the colonial authorities mobilized the controlled economy in Taiwan. For this reason, Wu was suffered problems during the second half of 1944, since his father was accused by the economic police of committing

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108 *Taiwan Bungaku* published writings of some well-known Taiwanese, who used to be leftists, and also a couple of Japanese authors. It was also regarded as a magazine aimed to promote the Taiwanese spirit. The non-official *Minzoku Taiwan* was a popular magazine among the Taiwanese community, aimed to research and introduce Taiwan's custom and history. Also see Shi, Yulin, *Wu Xinrong zhuan*, pp. 111–112.

109 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 7; August 10 & 31; September 4, 1944.

an economic crime relating to his family-run fish farm. To solve this unfortunate situation, Wu tried hard to negotiate with the local authorities and finally settled the matter by paying a fine amounting to 8000 yen, around a quarter of his income in 1944.[110] Furthermore, due to his awareness of Taiwan's rising status in the war crisis, Wu was optimistic about becoming president of the medical doctors' society in Beimen but unexpectedly lost to his Japanese rival. Surprisingly, described this "small" event as "a very humiliating setback" and "a big warning in my life", adding that he "deeply realized that I should not look for a future in the public sector until the end of the war". This disclosed a psychological shift in Wu's thinking, as evidenced by his view that his prospects might be brighter in the post-war period rather than under the current Japanese regime, also revealing his pessimism about Japan's future in terms of the war.[111]

The unavoidable failure of the Japanese, as evidenced by the continuing bombing is-land-wide and the loss of Manila and Okinawa to the Americans in early 1945, resulted in some new, entangled psychological inclinations in Wu's mind, finally leading to future shifts in his political course and identity position immediately following the Japanese surrender in August. When Manila was taken by the Americans in February 1945, Wu expressed a deep sadness, as the subsequent fall of Taiwan appeared inevitable. This also reminded him of the necessity of "defending the island, a sacred territory, for the descendants". Under the daily threat of air raids, Wu gradually returned to worshipping the local Han-Chinese deities, rather than the Japanese *Shinto*, as the sense of helplessness intensified in his mind. This new spiritual inclination, indicating his return to the Taiwanese Han-Chinese beliefs, however, does not imply that a sense of partition

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110 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 21, 28 & 30; November 21; December 8 & 25, 1944.
111 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 19, 21, 22 & 23, 1944.

between the Taiwanese and the Japanese was encouraged in his rational thinking; the evidence to the contrary includes his action of preventing the villagers from reading handbills distributed by the American aircraft, containing war propaganda encouraging Taiwanese hatred of the Japanese.[112] Furthermore, the American landing on neighbouring Okinawa in late March, which ended Wu's deep worry that Taiwan would be the next target after the taking of its neighbour, Manila, nevertheless suddenly created an increasing sense of isolation in Wu's mind, further leading him to imagine Taiwan as "an orphan in the Pacific Ocean". This sense of isolation may have led Wu to read about Irish revolutionary history with great enthusiasm and further conclude that "some particularities in the Irish history can also be found in the history of Taiwan", although the military involvement of the Americans and Russians in Germany throughout April 1945 attracted his attention more.[113] Although the Japanese authorities in Tokyo tried to maintain Taiwanese and Korean support of the war by passing an important act to improve the status of these nations within the empire, the unavoidable prospect of war failure may also have led Wu, from late May, to take another step towards adopting Chinese consciousness. In mid-1945, he resumed reading the collections of Sun Yat-sen, representing the ideology of the Nationalist Chinese that he had previously read during his schooldays in Japan in the late 1920s.[114]

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112 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 6, 7, 14 & 20; April 10; May 15, 1945.
113 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 22, 26 & 27; April 4 & 14-16, 1945.
114 *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 21; May 29 & 30; June. 8-17; July 9, 1945.

Conclusion

Through this examination of the diaries of two Taiwanese local elites, Chen Wangcheng and Wu Xinrong, I suggest that the war itself, as experienced through the war development, mobilization and other political actions, rather than the *Kōminka*'s cultural and religious policies, played a much more important role in reshaping the islanders' sense of identity during wartime. Chen Wangcheng's case shows that his political course was reshaped in the unfolding semi-wartime and wartime contexts, from an anti-colonial stance in the 1920s to a practical, if ambivalent, pro-war stance (against China) in the late 1930s. The political shift, between 1935 and 1939, further led Chen to shift between the different dimensions of his identity, gradually moving from Chinese to Japanese, with his Taiwanese dimension at the centre. His political insensitivity to the increasing mistrust of the colonial authorities, and his inner sense of independence from the war, which originated from his overlapping Chinese and Taiwanese consciousnesses, however, not only created a tension between his political cooperation and identity, but also led to his imprisonment at the end of 1939. This tension was more or less dissolved, however, as Taiwan, as part of the Japanese empire, faced new Western military opponents, instead of the Chinese, during the Pacific War. The sense of commonality between the Taiwanese and Japanese was intensified, partly because they faced common military adversaries from the West, and partly because they shared a common fate, including the experiences of war success and difficulties, in the cumulative process of warfare. This resulted in Chen maintaining a double identity as a 'Taiwanese/Japanese' throughout the war.

Wu Xinrong, who was a generation younger than Chen Wangcheng, experienced a more visible political shift, reshaped by the war, from an anti-colonial, nationalist and

left-leaning stance before 1935 to a pro-Japan and pro-war stance during wartime. This political shift, initially emerging at the end of 1938, was closely related to Wu's response to the series of war victories created by the Japanese military offensive against the Chinese and Anglo-American powers, which led to his re-examination and re-definition of his position and surroundings at different stages of the war. The political shift further led to a reconstruction of Wu's identity position, visibly tilting towards a Japanese identity and away from a Taiwanese identity until the end of the war.

Both Chen and Wu experienced political shifts in the process of the unfolding semi-wartime and wartime, which led to the reconstruction of their positions of identity. Chen's co-operative approach ended in the midst of the wartime, however, owing to a political interruption and an inner ambivalence, while Wu's co-operative approach was further strengthened until the end of war. Compared with Chen, Wu was more deeply engaged in the war mobilization, particularly between 1941 and 1945, although some uncertainties remained, represented by both his mental tension several months after the outbreak of war in 1937 and his conflicting psychological tendencies in the desperate final stages of the war in early 1945. Moreover, both Chen and Wu experienced an intensification of their Japanese identity during wartime, particularly during the Pacific War. Chen, however, initially embodied a three-dimensional identity in the 1920s. This position was gradually reconstructed in the course of his political shift between 1935 and 1939, with his Chinese-dimension gradually giving way to his Japanese identity through his Taiwanese-dimension. This continued after 1941 and Chen exhibited a double identity, i.e. Taiwanese/Japanese, throughout the rest of the wartime, while his Chinese identity faded away. By contrast, Wu virtually embodied a two-dimensional identity, with his Taiwanese identity in the centre in the prewar colonial context. His Taiwanese-dimension,

however, visibly tilted towards Japanese in the process of his political shift throughout the war. The differences between these two figures are also related to their backgrounds relating to the generation and education. Chen (1888-1979) was from the previous generation, had studied classical Chinese for over ten years before his Japanese schooling began on the island, and had a longer and more active anti-colonial experience than Wu. Wu, meanwhile, was born in the Japanese period and received only Japanese schooling throughout his academic career in Taiwan and Japan. He was more influenced by Japanese culture and found it more accessible and acceptable to him.

Anderson is correct in arguing that historical narration offers the possibility of reconstructing a national consciousness by remembering or forgetting a people's past. As Parekh suggests, however, the "present needs and future aspirations" also enable the reconstruction of a national consciousness. The reorientation of Chen and Wu's identity positions resulted from their political shifts, which, in turn, were largely caused by their perceptions of Japan's war prospects in the current and future stages. Furthermore, Lo is correct in arguing that the *Kōminka* doctors developed a hybrid identity (please refer to the Introduction). Her view that these doctors located themselves across ethnic boundaries and supplanted the category of ethnicity with that of the profession, however, appears less convincing. Wu's case shows that, as a medical doctor, he also engaged in other professions, including that of writer and politician. This multiple role embodied by the *Kōminka* doctors was not unusual during wartime. As Wu's case suggests, as a writer, he was able to articulate his Taiwanese identity by researching Taiwan's history and culture during wartime.

Chapter 3: Identity and War (II) - Ideological Reorientation and a Rhetorical Defence of the War: Chen's and Wu's Diaries (1937-1945)

In the previous chapter, I examined the relationship between identity and warfare, a type of political action, in wartime Taiwan. Rather than adopting a political and empirical approach, in this chapter, I will examine this relationship through an ideological and abstract approach, to determine if and how printed words shaped the perception and even the identity of the Taiwanese islanders during wartime, 1937-1945.

Part I: Chen Wangcheng:

As outlined in the previous chapter, Chen initially adopted a cooperative approach towards the colonial authorities by participating in the first-ever local election in November 1935, which was designed to recruit anti-colonial Taiwanese elites. It was pointed out that Liu Wan, the Xinzhu deputy mayor, played a major role in recruiting Chen through a series of visits during in mid-1935. However, what were Chen's ideological reasons, as opposed to his political ones, for the shift in his political course during the mid 1930s? In other words, why was Chen, who used to be an anti-colonial, nationalist-minded and left-leaning Taiwanese elite, no longer challenging the Japanese colonial authorities and the Taiwanese-based bourgeois Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng (Taiwan Local Self-rule League), which was promoting a limited local election, during the latter half of 1935?

Before answering these questions, several other associated questions should be examined. Firstly, what was Chen's ideology when he resigned from the *Taiwan*

xinminbao (Taiwan New People's Daily) in August 1932? Did he experience any evident ideological changes between August 1932 and mid 1935? What happened, ideologically, after he made the decision to participate in the local election, which would indicate the beginning of his cooperative approach towards the colonial state?

As his reading materials for the period covered various publications, including magazines, newspapers and books written in both Japanese and Chinese, the following discussion will focus on a couple of the most popular magazines that he regularly read, *Kaizō* and *Chūō kōron*. The rest of his reading and the films and radio broadcasts he mentions in his diary will also be addressed in the following discussion.

Chen's Ideological Perspective during the First Half of the 1930s

Chen's ideology during the early 1930s may be examined through an analysis of a series of events alongside his related writings of the period. Firstly, the moderate Taiwan Mass Party, of which Chen was one of the founders, was increasingly becoming a left-leaning association, following its integration with the Taiwan Labour Union in February 1928. This new development, however, led to a split in the Taiwan Mass Party, which became manifest when its bourgeois members separately formed an association called the Taiwan Local Self-rule Union in August 1930. After that, a debate about the nature of the Taiwan Mass Party emerged among its members. Most of its leaders regarded the Taiwan Mass Party as "a nationalist movement centered on the proletariat", although Chen disagreed with them, stating that it was for "all people" rather than just the proletariat. For this reason, Chen was regarded by one newspaper as "a believer in

bourgeois democracy".[1]

However, Chen regarded the newspaper's remark as a "misunderstanding" and instead was inclined to view himself as a socialist.[2] To illuminate his ideological point of view during this period, two approaches are suggested: firstly, an analysis of his writings which relate to a dispute over his resignation from the *Taiwan xinminbao* in August 1932, and his regular political comments (*lengyu*), in the newspaper and, secondly, an examination of his reading materials for the period from 1931 to 1935.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Chen's resignation from the *Taiwan New People's Daily*, was instigated by a dispute with Yang Zhaojia, an executive of and bourgeois investor in the newspaper, which signaled the end of his participation in Taiwanese activism, starting in the mid 1920s. This dispute arose over Yang's accusation that Chen purposefully ignored news about political lectures promoting local self-rule which were being held by the Taiwan Local Self-rule Union led by Yang. Immediately after he resigned from the *Taiwan xinminbao*, a couple of statements relating to Chen's resignation were published in another newspaper,[3] which included the following ideas: a) the *Taiwan xinminbao* was the only newspaper representing the Taiwanese people as a whole, and thus should voice opinions neither only for the proletarian nor only for the bourgeoisie; b) the Taiwanese people should not be divided; and c) the *Taiwan xinminbao* should not become an official newspaper representing the Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng. These ideas suggest that Chen was a Taiwanese nationalist who maintained a central ideological position in early 1930s Taiwan. However, this perception of Chen's

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[1] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 20, 1931. This source comes from a newspaper whose title could not be identified.
[2] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 29, 1931.
[3] *Taiwan shinbun*, August 27 & 28, 1932.

ideological position is challenged by an examination of his brief comments about various issues that were regularly published in the *Taiwan xinminbao*. In late 1929, he sharply criticized the colonial authorities for supporting only the bourgeoisie and failing to protect unemployed Taiwanese.[4] He also blamed the bourgeoisie for opposing a labour law that was intended to address some of the needs of the working class. It is clear that Chen sympathized with the proletariat, and believed that capitalism was on the decline due to the global economic depression.[5]

Furthermore, an examination of Chen's reading materials during the early 1930s, most of which were written in Japanese, may disclose a clearer picture of his ideological views. Since his diary of 1932 is missing, I am restricted to an examination of his diaries from 1931, 1933 and 1934 as the major sources for an examination of his reading materials, which mainly cover newspapers, magazines and books written in both Japanese and Chinese. In 1931, he regularly read the *Osaka asahi shinbun* (*Osaka Asahi News*), a major Japanese newspaper published in Japan, the *Taiwan nichi'nichi shinpō* (Taiwan Daily), the most popular Japanese newspaper published in Taiwan, the *Taiwan xinminbao* (Taiwan New People's Daily), the only Taiwanese-based newspaper written in modern Chinese in Taiwan, and the *Dagongbao* (Public News), a Chinese newspaper published on the Mainland. Chen, however, continued to read the *Osaka asahi shinbun* and the *Taiwan nichi'nichi shinpō* after his resignation from the *Taiwan xinminbao* in 1932. He also regularly read two popular comprehensive magazines, *Kaizō* and *Chūō kōron* (Central Review), and a China-based magazine written in Chinese called *Shijie zhishi* (World Knowledge), which specifically focused on international relations.[6] Examining

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[4] *Taiwan minbao*, August 2 & 9, 1929.
[5] *Taiwan minbao*, December 6, 1930; March 7, 1931.
[6] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1931, 1933 & 1934.

the titles of the newspapers and magazines mentioned above fails to reveal any thematic implications. An examination of the titles of books that he read during this period, however, reveals that his reading was focused on three major fields: a) Japanese books about socialist theory, published in Japan; b) Japanese books about Chinese current affairs, published in Japan; and c) classic Chinese novels published on the Mainland.[7]

What was Chen's perception of China in the early 1930s? When the Manchurian Incident broke out on September 18, 1931, Chen recorded, "Ye Guolin came over and we talked about the Manchurian Incident. According to his report, the Taiwanese, whether educated or not, all expressed their disappointment".[8] This sense of frustration was confirmed in his commentaries, such as the *lengyu* (cold comments), in the *Taiwan xinminbao*. On September 26, Chen wrote, "[the incident] came as a thunderbolt. The Japanese national flag has replaced the Guomindang flag and is now fluttering on top of Fengtian's city wall". He then described the incident as "a critical life and death juncture for the Chinese nation" and further predicted that "from now on, a large-scale anti-Japanese movement is unavoidable, due to the Chinese people's deteriorating perception of Japan". Chen's sympathy for China was intensified, due to the lack of support for China exhibited by the global community. He complained that "the anti-war United States and the other powers of the League of Nations are not willing to protect weaker nations and protest against injustice".[9] Therefore, he began to encourage the Chinese to uphold their morale against the Japanese, and exhibited the sincere expectation that, if the political and military leaders in China could cooperate with each

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[7] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1931, 1933 & 1934.
[8] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 21, 1931.
[9] *Taiwan xinminbao*, September 26; October 3, 1931.

other, "the future of new China may look hopeful".[10] These writings reveal Chen's evident support for China and its people. Lin Chenglu, Chen's close friend and the chief editor of the Taiwanese-based *Taiwan xinminbao*, offered him a friendly reminder to make no further comments about the Manchurian Incident since "currently, we are not in a suitable position to talk about it".[11]

Chen, as an evident sympathizer of China in 1931, however, experienced a visible change in his perception towards China after he began to cooperate with the colonial authorities in mid-1935, when he was recruited by Liu Wan. Chen published a series of travel notes in the *Taiwan xinminbao* entitled "A Glance at the Newly Rising China", that were based on his experiences in China in May, 1930. Although Chen attempted to maintain a balanced view in his reports on China, some parts of which were experiencing political and military turmoil, he tended to view China as "a rising state" that he supported and with which he sympathized. He even took action to search for a career there during two further trips to China in 1932 and in 1934, although this proved unsuccessful.[12] The evidence shows, however, that he no longer viewed China as a rising state by 1935. On October 10, 1935, he wrote: "It is China's national day today. China absolutely looked like a rising state ten years ago. However, it looks like a dying patient now. It's a pity indeed! Compared with the spectacular Taiwan Exposition which opened today [in Taiwan], [China's national day] is definitely inferior".[13] Why did Chen experience an evident change in his ideological perception of China in late 1935?

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[10] *Taiwan xinminbao*, October 17 & 24, 1931.
[11] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 26, 1931.
[12] *Taiwan xinmingbao*, June 14 & 28; July 12; August 9, 1930.
[13] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 10, 1935.

Chen's Ideological Reorientation and Cooperative Approach: Based on his Reading of Three Comprehensive Magazines, *Kaizō*, *Chūō kōron* and *Bungei shunjū*, June 1935 – December 1939

1. A Shift towards Cooperation and a Rising Japanese Consciousness

About ten days before Chen made his remark about his changing perception of China, he recorded that he "had learned a lot" from several articles in *Kaizō* magazine, including from an article entitled "Shina kokuminseifu no aratanaru kiki" (A New Crisis in the Chinese Nationalist Government), which was "enough to enrich my knowledge". The author of this article, Hirose Yoshihiro, argued that China had been facing a deepening agricultural crisis which was leading to a shortage of taxes, increasing local unrest, and a financial crisis caused by the rapid loss of silver since 1934. The combination of these problems was greatly weakening the current foundation of the Nationalist Chinese Government.[14] This indicates that Chen was aware of the negative aspect of China's development by early October 1935. In fact, in early 1934, he had recorded that he had "learned something" from Hirano Yoshitarō's article entitled "Kaitai o niseru - kyū Shina no keizai shakai – Adam-Smith no Shinaron" (Old China's Economy and Society before Collapse – An Adam Smith View of China), which predicted China's economic and social collapse in the near future.[15] Increasingly, Chen perceived China in a negative way, particularly, after he failed to find work there during his trips in 1932 and 1934. This new perception of China, that gradually emerged around 1934 and 1935, certainly influenced

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[14] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 1, 1935. See also *Kaizō* (October 1935).
[15] *Chūō kōron* (January 1934).

his decision to adopt a politically cooperative approach towards the Japanese colonial authorities, particularly during his participation in the local elections in November 1935.

The question arises, however: why was Chen no longer opposed to the 'limited' local elections, previously supported by the bourgeois Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng, with which he had quarreled in 1932? An examination of Chen's reading between 1933 and 1935, which consisted primarily of works on socialism, classical Chinese novels or international politics, shows that he remained a left-leaning opponent of capitalism. In 1934, he read an article, written by Takahashi Kamekichi (1894-1977), entitled "Sekai shihonshugi no shin tenkō" (A New Shift in Recent Global Capitalism), which suggested that the ravaging of capitalism during the Great Depression would give rise to socialism. Also, Chen found another article, written by Sakisaka Itsurō and entitled "Shihonshugi no jiko mujun" (Self-contradiction of Capitalism), to be "inspiring".[16] Moreover, although Chen found liberalism in general to be less impressive than socialism, he found party politics and the parliamentary system acceptable.[17] In January 1934, Chen twice records that he read the liberal Minobe Tatsukichi's (1873-1948) articles on party and parliament, and was impressed by one of these, entitled "Wa ga gikaiseido no zento" (The Future of Our Parliamentary System), which argued that the parliamentary system had recently lost most of its functions because of popular mistrust resulting from the domestic and foreign crises of the early 1930s. The system should not be eliminated, however, as it functions as an institution for criticizing governmental policies, representing public opinions and supporting civilian rights and freedoms. At the same time, however, the article goes on to

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[16] *Kaizō* (March, 1934), pp.2-25; *Kaizō* (April 1934). See also Morito Tatsuo. "*Shakai shisō no shinka.*" In *Chūō kōron* (March 1934), pp.2-20.

[17] Sakisaka Itsurō. "Jiyū shugi no hanmon." In *Chūō kōron* (November 1933), pp.36-48. See also Suzuki Yasuzō. "Jiyū shugi no shimetsu." In *Chūō kōron* (April 1934), pp.98-106.

insist that a strong government is needed in the face of the national crisis.[18] Perhaps on the basis of this understanding, around this time, Chen observed a meeting of the Xinzhu city council with great interest, and even expressed his opinions about the councilors' performances. He also attempted to study the theory and history of both parliamentary and party politics by reading a book written in Japanese entitled the "Parliamentary Politics Reader" in February 1934.[19]

Chen's knowledge of the parliamentary system, as mentioned above, may have provided an ideological basis for his acceptance of Liu Wan's advice to participate in the local election in mid-1935, but, in ideological terms, why did he accept this 'limited' election? This may have something to do with Chen's view concerning the necessary compromises during an internal or external *hijōjiki* (time of crisis). In fact, Chen was exposed to various views about this "time of crisis" of scholars and politicians in the first half of the 1930s, at a time when Japan faced dual national and international crises stemming from the Manchurian Incident and the Great Depression. As mentioned above, even the famous liberal, Minobe, felt the necessity for a strong government in the face of the national crisis. This view was shared by the socialist Yamakawa Hitoshi, who further suggested that a controlled economy should replace capitalism.[20] Yet, what sense of a "time of crisis" did the nationalist-minded and left-leaning Chen have in colonial Taiwan during the first half of the 1930s? It is reasonable to argue that he underwent an ideological crisis when many Japanese and Taiwanese leftists and liberals experienced a shift in their ideological course between 1932 and 1935. This shift is referred to as *tenkō*,

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[18] *Chūō kōron* (January 1934), pp.2-14. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 15 & 31, 1934.
[19] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 30; February 9, 1934.
[20] Eizawa Kōji, *Daitōa kyōeiken no shisō*, 1995, pp.39-43.

and occurred as a result of the rising fascism.[21] A realistic inclination caused by his ideological crisis may be the source of Chen's compromise regarding the limited election, promoted by Taiwan's bourgeoisie. Furthermore, he also experienced a career crisis after his return from China in January 1935, where he failed to find work. This crisis was intensified by the devastating earthquake that occurred in April 1935, damaging many houses in Xinzhu, including that of Chen. This may be another reason for his compromise over the limited election, which was the first-ever election in colonial Taiwan. After making the decision to participate in the election in mid-1935, Chen showed an interest in reading articles about electoral politics and the representative system. A month before election day, he read an article written in Japanese entitled "The Reformation of Electoral Politics and Public Self-awareness", that argues that a proper election should aim to improve public life by awakening public self-awareness.[22]

2. Towards a New Perception of China and the Coming of the War Crisis, December 1935 – December 1937

As discussed in the previous chapter, in political terms, Chen's cooperative approach was further strengthened after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in mid-1937, as a result of his increasing involvement in the war. However, I also suggest that he was psychologically more of an observer than a participant in terms of war involvement, which seems to indicate an inner tension between his political choice and his identity position, which led to conflicts among his overlapping Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese

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[21] Tsurumi Yūsuke, translated by Li Yongchi. *Riben jingshen shi, 1931-1945*. 1984, pp.12-15.
[22] Sasaki Sōichi. " Senkyo shukusei no kokumin jikaku." In *Kaizō* (October 1935), pp.2-39.

consciousnesses. This inner tension partly led him to end this cooperative approach, which resulted in his arrest at the end of 1939. What was the general picture of his readings under the cooperative approach between 1935 and 1939? What were the connections between his reading and the intensification of his political cooperation after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in mid-1937? Did he experience a change in his perception of China as the war unfolded? Furthermore, what was the impact of reading on his political choices and his identity position during his cooperative period?

Chen regularly read the magazine *Kaizō* and, less regularly, *Chūō kōron* and *Bungei shunjū*. However, the left-leaning *Kaizō* and the liberal *Chūō kōron* and *Bungei shunjū* gradually came under the control of the imperial authorities, who imposed stricter censorship after the outbreak of war in 1937.[23] Also, Chen regularly read newspapers, such as *Taiwan nichi'nichi shihpō (Taiwan Daily)* and *Osaka asahi shinbun (Osaka Asahi News)*. These magazines and newspapers were written in Japanese. Moreover, his reading of books mostly focused on subjects relating to the imperial war on the Mainland and Chinese affairs, mainly written in Japanese and published in Japan.[24]

As mentioned earlier, around the time when Chen adopted his cooperative approach towards the colonial authorities, he increasingly came to view China as a sinking rather than a rising state. During the period of his intensified cooperation with the colonial state (1937-1939), which overlapped with his term as city councilor in Xinzhu, what were his perceptions of the emerging wartime environment, particularly regarding the issue of warfare between China and Japan?

Prior to the outbreak of the war in July 1937, Chen's concerns about Chinese affairs

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[23] Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945*, 1988, pp.180-184.
[24] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1935, 1936, 1937 & 1939. The volume of 1938 is missing. See also Gregory J. Kasza, p.44.

primarily focused on two areas. He continued reading the work of leftist Chinese writers, such as Lu Xun, and articles on these leftists and on socialism, notably in his regular reading of the 'left-leaning' *Kaizō* Magazine.[25] The war-related issues in China, however, were soon added to his reading interests as the war approached, and Chen began to pay more attention to Chinese leadership issues and relationships between China and Japan. In September 1936, Chen read an article written in Japanese entitled "A Discussion of Jiang Jieshi [at a Seminar]", which included Chinese and Japanese participants with diplomatic backgrounds and called for greater cooperation between China and Japan, without making any comment. However, a wave of conflicts between China and Japan drew Chen's attention to the issue of growing anti-Japanese sentiments among many Chinese people. In October 1936, he recorded that he had "learned a lot" by reading an "interesting" article, written by Hatano Ken'ichi, entitled "Kōnichi shisō no shoyōin" (Some Causes of the Anti-Japanese Sentiment). It argues that the Chinese communists promoted an anti-Japanese united front formed by Chinese people of all levels, which was a major reason for the universal anti-Japanese sentiment in China. It further suggests that the Japanese government should recognize Jiang Jieshi's unification of China that the article views as a mainstream political fact, and seek to sort out conflicts between both sides by modifying Japan's foreign policy.[26]

The Xi'an Incident in mid-December 1936 drew Wu's attention to the Chinese leadership issue and growing Chinese anti-Japanese sentiment. He watched the latest development of the Xi'an Incident closely, by accessing Taiwan-based local news and Nanjing-based radio news, which only deepened his concern about the future of China. In

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[25] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, 1936-1937.
[26] *Kaizō* (September 1936), pp. 98-118; *Chūō kōron* (October 1936), pp. 164-218.

early 1937, he recorded that he had read two articles, in *Kaizō*, entitled "Sei'an jihen no chūkan hōkoku" (A Report on the Xi'an Incident) and "Chūgoku no kinjō o hōkoku su Shanghai nite" (A Report on China's Recent Situation from Shanghai), both focusing on the Xi'an Incident. The former suggests that this decisive incident indicated that the Nanjing government would cease its ongoing anti-communist campaign and, consequently, adopt an anti-Japanese approach by cooperating with the Chinese communists. The latter, written by Yamamoto Sanehiko (185?-1952), a Japanese/China expert, argues that Jiang Jieshi had become the focus of national attention immediately after his survival of the Xi'an incident, which suggests that the central control had suddenly spread throughout China. He further suggests that the Japanese should recognize this unified China and work out a friendly policy toward it.[27] Having been exposed to various news reports on the Xi'an Incident, Chen's image of Jiang Jieshi was that he was "a true great leader" who acted bravely for the sake of the Chinese nation.[28]

Furthermore, Chen also examined the Chinese anti-Japanese sentiment from sources on the Chinese side. As mentioned above, he was able to access Nanjing-based radio news reports on the Xi'an Incident. On February 11, 1937, he recorded that he had read a Japanese article in *Kaizō*, written by the left-leaning Chinese nationalist scholar, Ō, Zōji (C. Wang Zhaoshi), entitled "Nihon kokumin ni keikoku suru no sho" (A Warning Letter to the Japanese Nationals). The author claimed to represent the mainstream of the Chinese nation, and criticized the Japanese government for causing a crisis between the two states. He warned that a war between the two sides would be unavoidable if Japan maintained its current aggressive policy which had spread a wave of anti-Japanese

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[27] *Kaizō* (February 1937), pp. 91-92; pp. 204-205 & 223. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 27; December 3 & 27, 1936.
[28] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 19, 1936.

sentiments throughout China, aimed at protecting China's independence from imperialist invasion.[29] In a political sense, what was the mentality of Chen, a Taiwanese councilor who was cooperating with the colonial authorities, months before the outbreak of the war? Chen did not mention what he had thought after reading Wang Zhaoshi's anti-Japanese article. However, on the same day - the Lunar New Year's eve - he enjoyed a cheerful chat with several Taiwanese friends at home, where they recited two classical Chinese poems written by the famous Song Dynasty loyalist, Yue Fei, which seems to convey some sense of a Han-Chinese nationalism. Around the same time, Chen also expressed the difficulties faced by Taiwanese people who were working in the public sector under colonial rule, and the embarrassment of the Taiwanese public in the face of a war between China and Japan. As a councilor, however, Chen was also involved in various activities related specifically to the Japanese identity, such as worship at a Shinto Shrine on an inspection trip to Taibei.[30] Chen, an ideologically left-leaning Taiwanese, viewed himself as a "disadvantaged" Taiwanese citizen under the colonial rule, in which he was also regarded as a Japanese national. The Japanese identity was increasingly relevant in his cooperative capacity. However, his Chinese consciousness was gradually subsumed by his central Taiwanese identity, due to the increasing relevance of his Japanese identity.

Perhaps sensing the growing crisis between China and Japan, for ten consecutive days in late April 1937, Chen read the Japanese version of Henry L. Stimson's book entitled *The Far Eastern Crisis: Recollections and Observations*, which he found to be a deeper, although inadequately broad, analysis of the Sino-Japanese crisis. Stimson argued that the Manchurian Incident launched by the Japanese should be peacefully dealt with through

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[29] *Kaizō* (February 1937), pp.234-244.
[30] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 3, 11 & 18; July 1. 1937.

cooperation between the United States and the League of Nations.[31] This was followed by Chen's reading of another article, written by Hosokawa, Karoku, entitled "Sekaiteki kiki no gekika to tairiku seisaku no shōsatsu" (An Intensification of the World Crisis and Reflections on the Mainland Policy). In this, the author criticized Japan's mainland policy as having become the core of her national policies and urged the Japanese public to improve their understanding of this policy in order to prevent it from leading to war and national disaster.[32]

The major focus of Chen's readings a couple of months after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war was war-related topics written in Japanese. Chen began to pay attention to Japan's war development and strategy as he quickly became involved in the war mobilization in late-1937. He read Yamamoto Sanehiko's article entitled "Senran HokuShi o iku (Tenshin nite)" (Visiting the Battlefield in Northern China) to obtain the latest information about the war in Northern China. He also understood that the Soviet Union might cooperate with China to fight against the Japanese in the near future, after reading an article written in Japanese entitled "On the Chinese Mainland's War – An Assumption of the Cooperation between China and the Soviet Union".[33] However, one of the most popular war-related topics was the evaluation of military strength, which, for the Japanese, was the key factor in directing their perceptions of China at that stage. Before news arrived of the first Japanese victories in China at the end of 1937, there was a popular view, promoted by scholars both in China and in Japan, that there was a necessity to review China's strengths in the wake of the Xi'an Incident, the extension of

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[31] Henry L. Stimson, trans. by Kiyosawa Retsu, *Kyokutō no kiki*, 1936. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 21, 1937.
[32] *Chūō kōron* (June 1937), pp. 4-8.
[33] *Kaizō* (September 1937), pp.125-151; pp. 1-9.

central government's control over the country, the significant improvement in China's military buildup and infrastructure, and the spreading anti-Japanese patriotism. This led many Chinese to believe that China might be able to defeat Japan; thus they called for an immediate anti-Japanese war in China. Chen also read another article, however, entitled "China's War Secrets", which drew attention to the negative aspect of China's military strength. It argued that the Chinese were over-confident and at a disadvantage because of their poor quality troops. This was because the Chinese troops were, at least in part, recruited from the ranks of bandits and vagrants, and were actually controlled by local warlords rather than the state. The article further argues that the military discipline of the Chinese troops was also insufficient.[34] A couple of months later, in the early winter of 1937, the first wave of Japanese military success in Shanghai and Nanjing soon revealed the flaw in the "rising China" discourse. Having been exposed to these critical or liberal war-related articles by the end of 1937, Chen's views of the Japanese war against China remained negative. To illustrate this point, in September 1937, Chen copied into his diary a poem, written by Guo Moruo, that summons up Chinese morale against the Japanese invasion.[35]

Table 1: A list of the magazines read by Chen in 1937[36]

Date of	Title of article	Title of magazine	Notation

[34] See Ozaki Hotsumi. "Jikyoku to taiShi ninshiki." In *Kaizō* (October 1937), pp. 43-45; *Kaizō* (September 1937), pp.33-41.

[35] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 4, 1937.

[36] Table 1 gives a list of the magazines read by Chen, as mentioned in his diary for 1937, which reveals that war-related issues were his primary reading interest. He may have excluded censored works from his diary, however, and this list omits other forms of reading sources.

reading			
Jan.	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (Jan.1937)	
Feb.	Yamamoto Sanehiko, "Chūgoku no kinjō o hōkoku su Shanghai nite" (A Report of China's Recent Situation from Shanghai)	*Kaizō* (Feb. 1937)	
	Ō, Zōji. "Nihon kokumin ni keikoku suru no sho" (A Warning Letter to Japanese Nationals)	*Kaizō* (Feb. 1937)	
	Matsumoto Shigeharu, "Sei'an jihen no chūkan hōkoku" (A Report on the Xi'an Incident)	*Kaizō* (Feb. 1937)	
	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (Feb. 1937)	
Mar.			
Apr.	No specific article mentioned	*Bungei Shunjū*	
May	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (May 1937)	
Jun	Hosokawa Karoku, "Sekaiteki kiki no gekika to tairiku seisaku no shōsatsu" (Intensification of the	*Chūō kōron* (Jun. 1937)	

	World Crisis and Examination of Continental Policy)		
Jul.	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (Jul. 1937)	
Aug.	*Reading about the issues of the Sino-Japanese Relation in the *Kaizō* *Kōni Shina sengō* (A Special Edition on the Anti-Japanese China)	*Kaizō* (Aug. 1937) From unknown source	
Sep.	Yamamoto Sanehiko, "Senran Hokushi o iku (Tenshin nite)" (Leaving for War-battered North China (from Tianjin)) Nakano, Kōkan. "Shina no sensō hiwa" (Secrets of the China War) Mutō, Tei'ichi. "Tairiku senryaku ron – Soshi rengō sakusen no katei no shita ni" (On the Mainland's War Strategy – an Assumption of a United Front	*Kaizō* (Sep. 1937) *Kaizō* (Sep. 1937) *Kaizō* (Sep. 1937)	

	between the Soviet Union and China)		
Oct.	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (An extra edition, Oct. 1937)	
	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (An extra edition, Oct. 1937)	
Nov.	"Shinagun Shanghai sōtai" (The Total Retreat of the Chinese Army from Shanghai)	*Kaizō* (Nov. 1937)	
	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (Nov. 1937)	
	Nuno Toshiaki, "Seki-Gaimō to seki-Shinkyō" (Red Outer Mongolia and Red Xinjiang)	*Kaizō* (Nov. 1937)	
	Nozaki Seichika, "Shimodai to tenwan" (Stepping down from the Stage and Turning the Corner)	*Kaizō* (Nov. 1937)	
Dec.	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (Dec. 1937)	

	No specific article mentioned	*Bungei Shunjū* (5th extra edition on the China Incident, 1937)	
	"Chōkō oku ya senba" (Recalling the Night Battle at Yangzhi River)	*Bungei Shunjū* (5th extra edition on the China Incident, 1937)	

3. A Reshaped Perception of the Sino-Japanese War and the Discourse of the "East Asian New Order" throughout 1939

From January 1939, however, Chen gradually changed his views on the nature of the ongoing Sino-Japanese war. As Chen's diary of 1938 is missing, an examination of his reading materials during that year is impossible.[37] However, Chen recorded that "I had visibly changed my views on the nature of the Sino-Japanese war" after reading an article entitled "Tōa shinchitujo no kensetu" zadankai" (A Symposium for 'the Construction of the East Asian New Order') in January 1939. The symposium was attended by six Japanese participants, including a parliamentarian named Akamatsu Katsumaro (1894-1955) and a scholar named Yamazaki Yasuzumi. This article argues that the nature

[37] Since two volumes of Chen's diary were taken by the Japanese police in October 1939, this missing diary of 1938 may be one of them.

of the Sino-Japanese war embodied a confrontation between the Japanese view of the "Tōa kyōeiken" (East Asian Cooperative Body), that aimed to promote coordination between East Asian nations, and three other views: the Nationalist Chinese desire to establish a Chinese capitalist state, the Western desire to bring East Asia under its imperial control, and the Soviet Union's desire to bring East Asia within the communist bloc. Since the aim of the war was to establish a new order in East Asia and seek the liberation of East Asian peoples from the West, the war was, by its nature, virtuous.[38] In other words, until early 1939, Chen was swayed by the article's promotion of the ideas of the "East Asian new order" and the "East Asian cooperative body", and began to view the Japanese war as positive rather than "selfish" and "invasive". As mentioned earlier, Chen remained a psychological sympathizer with the Chinese people on the Mainland until late 1937. From early 1939, however, at the same time as he was becoming more deeply involved in the war mobilization effort, Chen also developed a new understanding of the nature of the Japanese war against China under an information environment that was greatly controlled by the imperial authorities.[39]

Around December 1938, Konoe announced the introduction of the "East Asian new order" which was a cooperative approach in East Asia, linking China, Manchuria and Japan. There is no record in Chen's diary for 1939, however, showing his response to this.

How did Chen approach ideas such as the "East Asian new order", and what did it mean to him in early 1939? With the concept of "East Asia as a whole" in his mind, he conceptualized a broader concept of "the Orient" in another article entitled "Tōa minzoku

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[38] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 11, 1939. *Bungei Shunjū*, January 1939. pp.72-79.

[39] Kasza, Gregory J., *The State and Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945*, 1988, pp.168-193.

to Nihonbunmei" (The Oriental Nations and Japanese Civilization), which examines how the three major nations in Asia, i.e. the Japanese, the Chinese and the Indians, formed an "oriental" civilization, which throughout history stood in opposition to "Western" civilization.[40] The concepts of both "East Asia" and "the Orient" represented an ideological endeavour by Japanese strategists to conceptualize a holistic view. In another article, written by Yamamoto Sanehiko, entitled "The Road Leading to a Permanent East Asia", the author further suggests that a cooperation between the "new-born China" and the "young Japan" would facilitate the liberation of the Indian, Malay, Tai and Indonesian peoples from their colonized status. This cooperation between the "two original East Asian cultures" would ensure "a new construction of Asia".[41] These ideological constructions are close to the concept of an "East Asian new order", although a clearer concept of it was offered by Moritani Katsumi in June 1939, six months after the announcement of the official Konoe statement. In his article, entitled "A Theoretical Examination of the East Asian New Order", Moritani argues that the Japanese were destined to lead the East Asian peoples to unification and prosperity by overcoming "white imperialism" and expelling "red imperialism". Thus, as Konoe's official statement suggests, the basic principles of the "East Asian new order" are the Chinese recognition of the Manchurian State, an anti-communist alliance formed by Japan, Manchuria and China, and the mutual economic cooperation of the three states.[42]

In addition to the idea of an "East Asian new order", in 1939, Chen's intellectual attention mainly focused on politics in Europe, where an extensive war appeared inevitable. He summarized an article that appeared in *Chūō kōron* in May 1939, entitled

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[40] *Bungei Shunjū* (January 1939), pp.30-31.
[41] *Kaizō* (June 1939), pp.243-247.
[42] *Kaizō* (June 1939), pp.40-43.

"Dainiji sekai taisen to kyokutō' zadankai" (A Symposium for the Second World War and the Far East)", concluding that "the USA and Soviet Union were unwilling to get involved in the war, but would eventually join it. If Japan cooperated with Germany and Italy, it would not be an advantage for the Japanese in their war in China".[43] In the following few months, Chen continued to observe the escalation of the war in Europe closely. In mid-1939, he recorded that he had "learned a lot" from reading two articles written in Japanese in *Kaizō*, titled "On the Eve of the European War" and "The Changeable European Clouds", both of which focused on the latest developments in the European war.[44]

In ideological terms, Chen's absorption of the official discourse surrounding the East Asian new order should have had an impact on the intensification of his decision to cooperate with the Japanese authorities in 1939. In political terms, however, Chen decided against running for the council again in late November and was imprisoned in late December 1939. Chen's decision to withdraw from the council election was taken in late February 1939, after a quarrel with his Japanese colleagues. This decision did not prevent him, however, from continuing to access the official ideology promoted by the imperial authorities with enthusiasm. This may suggest that the end of his cooperation at the end of 1939 was a direct result of Japanese mistrust, that led to his imprisonment for 300 days, and also partly due to Chen's own inner tensions arising from his multiple national consciousnesses. Thus, Chen's absorption of the idea of an 'East Asian new order' to promote mutual cooperation between China, Japan, etc., may have been more meaningful to him in the 'political' rather than the 'ideological' context.

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[43] *Chūō kōron* (May 1939), pp.72-96. See also *Cheng Wangcheng's Diary*, April 28, 1939.
[44] *Kaizō* (June 1939), pp.20-27; pp. 80-99.

Furthermore, to what extent did the Japanese political censorship affect Chen's ideological shift, beginning in early 1939, in his perception of the nature of the Japanese war against China, particularly during and after the search of his office, in which two volumes of his diary were taken by the police in October 1939? As mentioned before, Chen was placed on the watch list and regularly visited by Japanese secret agents as early as the late 1920s, thus suggesting that he was constantly aware of being under a certain degree of censorship. Although the freedom of the press in both Taiwan and Japan was evidently restricted during the war, however, there is no direct evidence that Chen's selection of reading material prior to his being searched and later arrested around autumn 1939, as mentioned above, was visibly affected by political censorship and suppression. Regarding his selection of reading materials after the search, no records are available, because he simply did not keep a diary during the period of his imprisonment.[45]

A New Ideological Picture of the Pacific War: Based on his Reading of Three Comprehensive Magazines, *Kaizō*, *Chūō kōron* and *Bungei shunjū*, September 1941 – August 1945

Because Chen did not keep a diary between late-December 1939 and September 1941, mainly due to his being imprisoned and because his diary for 1944 is missing, the following discussion of his reading material will cover only his diaries for 1942, 1943 and 1945.

During the period 1942-1945, Chen regularly read newspapers, such as the official *Taiwan Daily*, and sometimes listened to radio broadcasts. His magazine reading focused

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[45] Kasza, Gregory J., *The State and Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945*, 1988, pp.168-193.

mainly on *Kaizō* and *Bungei shunjū* in 1942, and also on *Nanfang* written in Chinese and the *Taiwan geijutsu*, written in both Japanese and Chinese, in 1943 (please refer to Table 2). The books he read, however, covered various dimensions, including the Buddhist classics written in both Chinese and Japanese, Chinese classical poetry and novels, and Western history and literature written in Japanese. Chen also showed great interest in quoting from these Buddhist classics and Chinese poetry, particularly between 1943 and 1944, thus revealing that he had gradually shifted his focus away from war-related writing in the latter period of the Pacific War.[46] However, what caused this shift in focus? Before examining this issue, I will first focus on his reading of three comprehensive magazines, in an attempt to discover how his reading may have been influenced during the period 1942-1945. Notably, several employees of the *Kaizō* and *Chūō kōron* magazines were arrested by the police in January 1944, and were forced to cease operations six months later, due to the stricter control over the press.[47]

As discussed in the previous chapter, Chen's diaries show that he was quite convinced not only of the Japanese military strength in Southeast Asia, but also its war-related ideology at the beginning of the Pacific war. He commented that "the Greater East Asia War might be finished soon. The goal of East Asia belonging to the East Asian People will also come true before long. What a cheerful project it is!" when Jakarta was captured by Japan in March 1942.[48] This suggests that, for Chen, the idea of a "(greater) East Asian new order" was no longer an official ideology of which he had to be gradually convinced, but that this had now developed into a broader discourse, proven to be both realistic and feasible.

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[46] *Cheng Wangcheng's Diary*, 1942, 1943 & 1945.
[47] Tsurumi Yūsuke, translated by Li, Yongchi. *Riben jingshen shi, 1931-1945*, pp.123-125, 1984.
[48] *Cheng Wangcheng's Diary*, March 10, 1942.

By what ideological process was Chen being influenced by these war-related ideas? What was the core of these ideas? In January 1942, he observed that "the ambitions of young Taiwanese had shifted to Southeast Asia," a month after the outbreak of the Pacific War. The optimism of these young Taiwanese regarding the Japanese expansion was also shared by Chen, who, after chatting with friends, recorded that: "When we talked about the brightness of our future in Southeast Asia, we criticized the wrongdoings of the American and the British".[49] Due to the upbeat mood created by Japan's initial military success, Chen noticed a rising Japanese nationalism and was "inspired" by Ōgushi Toyofu's article entitled "Nihon minzoku sekaikan no kakuritsu" (The Establishment of the Japanese World View). The author believed that nationalism was the origin of a state's power, and supported this view with the example of Pearl Harbor. He explains that, although the United States was regarded as economically powerful, it was also spiritually weak, and that the Japanese were the most excellent nation in the world because of their intense discipline.[50] His views about the ongoing war launched by the Japanese were shared by another article in February 1942, entitled "The Nature of the Sacred War", which examined the war from a historical perspective. The author regarded the Sino-Japanese War and Pacific War as "sacred wars", aimed at liberating the Asian nations by challenging European imperialism. The ultimate goal of this process was the construction of a new global order by deconstructing the old one that was mainly supported by the Anglo-American powers. The new global order represented a Japanese worldview based on the idea of *hakkōichiu* - the origin of universal authority.[51] This article represented an ideological endeavour from a historical and a philosophical

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[49] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 5; March 8, 1942.
[50] *Bungei Shunjū* (January 1942), pp.24-32.
[51] *Bungei shunjū* (January 1942), pp.88-101. See also *Cheng Wangcheng's Diary*, February 21, 1942.

perspective in order to justify the ongoing wars. Furthermore, the idea of *hakkōichiu* was later elaborated in Chen's summary in his diary of Kōyama Iwao's (1905-1993) article, in which he states that "the nature [of the idea] is Japanese, global and modern. When the idea applies to the Greater East Asian War, it aims to create a Japanese-centred order, rather than a war conducted by the [Japanese] imperialists". Moreover, in his reading of another article entitled "Symposium for 'Principle of Establishment of the East Asian Prosperous Sphere'", the Japanese-launched war was further justified by arguing that, by resisting the Anglo-American imperial invasion of Asia, the Japanese aimed to create an Asia in which all Asian nations could be placed "in their proper places" (*ondono sono tokoro o u*).[52] In sum, these articles represent a series of ideological endeavours to justify the ongoing wars, and reveal an image of Japanese nationalism and the Japanese worldview based on the idea of *hakkōichiu*, that was the core of Japanese war ideology.

Another issue that attracted Chen was how to view the future of the British Empire after the fall of Hong Kong and Singapore in early 1942. After Hong Kong's fall in late December 1941, Chen was "inspired" by Kawada Tsuguro's article entitled "Sekaiteki seiryoku ga boturaku ka" (Have Global Powers Declined?). The author argues that Germany, that represented collectivism and statism, was confronting the British, French, Russians and Americans, who represented individualism and liberalism, for the sake of establishing a pan-European economy. The Japanese, he suggested, should adopt the German approach and establish an East Asian economy by challenging the Anglo-American powers.[53] Furthermore, when Singapore and Jakarta were taken by the Japanese, Chen optimistically expected the establishment of the "Greater East Asia

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[52] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, July 14, 1943. See also *Bungei shunjū* (February 1942), pp. 82-83.
[53] *Bungei shunjū* (January 1942), pp.48-50.

prosperity sphere" and also paid even closer attention to the future of the British Empire. The prospect of Indian independence soon became the focus of his attention. He read two articles about India in *Kaizō* in June 1942, including Yanaihara Tadao's "Eikoku no Indo seihuku shiron" (On the History of the British Indian Conquest) and Tsunamoto Yukitoshi's "Indo dokuritsu no tenbō" (Prospects for Indian Independence). Yanaihara Tadao reviewed the history of India under British rule and concluded that the British should support an independent India, as Indian national consciousness was on the rise. He also believed that the best timing for Indian independence was "now", as the British were losing ground to the Japanese. Moreover, Tsunamoto Yukitoshi argues that, regarding "the greater East Asia prosperity sphere", the Japanese should support the idea that "India belongs to the Indians", although it did not appear likely that India would become independent.[54]

Throughout the year 1942, Chen focused on war-related issues. In 1943, however, his focus shifted to literature, the arts, philosophy and Western history. Does this mean that Chen was no longer interested in war-related ideology? In addition to the stricter control that the imperial authorities exerted over the press in early 1944, Chen's interest in war-related issues in 1942 was primarily the result of the encouragement from the Japanese military success in the initial stages of the Pacific War. These events led to a blossoming of his Japanese consciousness: he proposed using a Japanese name, and tried to keep a diary in Japanese for a couple of days in the first half of January, 1943. In February, he also unsuccessfully applied for jobs in the Japanese-occupied areas. Moreover, he submitted an application to be recognized as a "Japanese-speaking family"

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[54] *Kaizō* (May 1942), pp.134-143 & pp. 80-88.

in August 1943, although this was rejected.[55] These actions, starting in early 1943, "politically" indicated that he was further engaged in his Japanese identity and found it more relevant to his life.

Secondly, the Taiwanese dimension of Chen's double identity led him to read books and magazines on literature, art and philosophy written in classical and modern Chinese, as well as in Japanese. This "cultural" interest was also related to the official policy of researching and popularizing Taiwanese history and folklore in the early 1940s, at a time when the discourse of the (greater) East Asian new order represented the official ideology and cultural particularities which could be articulated in Taiwan.

An examination of Chen's reading materials during the Pacific War suggests a general picture of his identity during the final period of wartime, from 1943 to 1945. He virtually maintained a double identity, as a Taiwanese/Japanese. His Japanese consciousness was more politically inclined, while his Taiwanese consciousness was more culturally inclined.

In general, most of Chen's reading materials, which were allowed to be openly published, were exposed to the censorship imposed by the imperial authorities during the war. Among his reading materials, only the Buddhist classics and Chinese literature, including poetry and novels, etc., written in classical Chinese, may have been able to evade the official censorship. There appears to be no record in his diary showing that he accessed sensitive publications, secretly circulated among his circle of friends. Table 2 gives a list of the magazines Chen read from 1942-1943, as mentioned in his diaries, which, at least, reveals his great interest in reading war-related issues. The limitations of this mode of analysis, however are as follows: firstly, Chen may have excluded from his

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[55] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 2, 3 & 15; February 19; August 1, 1943.

diary any censored works that he may have read secretly; and, secondly, other forms of his reading are not included in this list.

Table 2: A list of the magazines read by Chen in 1942 and 1943

Date of reading	**Title of article**	**Title of magazine**	**Notation**
Jan.,1942	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
Feb.	Ōgushi, Toyohu, "Nihon minzoku sekaikan no kakuritsu" (The Establishment of the Japanese World View)	*Bungei Shunjū* (Jan.1939)	
	Kawada, Tsugurō, "Sekaiteki seiryoku ga boturaku ka" (Have the Global Powers Declined?)	*Bungei Shunjū* (Jan.1939)	
	Nihon seikisha, "Seisen no hongi" (The Nature of Secret War)	*Bungei Shunjū* (Jan.1939)	
	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	

Mar.	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Fengyuebao*	
	"Tōa kyōeiken no kakuritsu no genri" (The Principles of Establishment of the East Asian Co-prosperous Sphere)	*Bungei Shunjū* (Feb.1939)	
	"Senryōchi keiei kihon no kadai" (Basic Issues of Management of the Occupied Areas)	*Kaizō* (Mar.1942)	
	No specific article mentioned	*Bungei Shunjū* (Feb.1939)	
Apr.	No specific article mentioned		
May	No specific article mentioned		
Jun.	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō* (May,1939)	
	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	

	Yanaihara, Tadao, "Eikoku no Indo seihuku shiron" (On the British History of Indian Conquest)	*Kaizō* (May,1942)	
	Tsunamoto, Yukitoshi, "Indo dokuritsu no tenbō" (The Prospect of Indian Independence)	*Kaizō* (May,1942)	
	Saitō, Chū, "Indo dokuritsu no ni mondai" (Two Issues of Indian Independence)	*Bungei Shunjū* (Apr.1942)	
	"NichiDoku meiyaku no tetsugakuteki kiso" (The Philosophic Foundations of the Japan-German Agreement)	*Bungei Shunjū* (Apr.1942)	
	Nakamura, Masakatsu, "Gaisei to bunka" (Foreign Conquest and Culture)	*Bungei Shunjū* (Apr.1942)	
Jul.	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	

	Ōta, Unosuke, "Sina jihen kaiketsu no kōsō" (A Proposed Solution for the Sino-Japanese Incident) Doi, Akira, "Shina mondai no genkaidan" (The Current Stage of China Issues)	*Kaizō* (Jul.1942) *Kaizō* (Jul.1942)	
Aug.	Imanaka Tsugimaro, "Sun Yat-sen" (About Sun Yat-sen)	*Kaizō* (Aug.1942)	
Sep.	(Read 5-6 articles in *Kaizō*, without mentioning their specific titles) Hasegawa, Nyozekan and Takada, Yasuma, etc. *Kokka to gakumon zadankai* (A Symposium on "State and Knowledge") "Shina zuiron" (An Informal Discussion on China)	*Kaizō* (Aug.1942) *Kaizō* (Aug.1942) *Bungei Shunjū* (Sep.1942)	

	Hosokawa, Karoku, "Sekaishi no dōkō to Nihon" (Trends of World History and Japan)	*Kaizō* (Aug.1942)	
	"Tuchi no kyoukun" (Lessons of Earth)	*Kaizō* (Aug.1942)	
Oct.	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
	Tanigawa, Tetsuzō, "Nihon bunka genri no minzokusei to sekaisei" (The Nationality and Universality of the Japanese Cultural Principles)	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	
	Matsumura, Shuitsu, "Kindai sensōshi kenkū" (A Study of Modern War History) (二)	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	
	Nagata Ken'ichi, "Indonesia kinseishi" (A Modern History of Indonesia)	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	
	Matsumoto, Sōkichi, "Jūkei seiken dōkō ki tsuku" (On the Directions of	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	

	the Chongqing Regime)		
	Kataoka, Teppei, "Shōkō chitai o yuku" (Heading towards the Pacified Areas)	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	
	Rōyama, Masamichi , "Dai-Tōa seiji no kichō to tenbō" (The Basic Principles and Prospects of the Greater East Asian Politics)	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	
	Suzuki, Tōmin, "DokuSosen to Seia no hūun" (The German-Russian War and the Changing Situation in West Asia)	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	
	Kaji, Ryūichi, "Manshū kenkoku jūshūnen ni atarite" (On the Tenth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Manchurian State)	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	
	Ishikawa, Ken, "Bunkyō Sasshin no konpongi" (The Fundamentality of Reformation of Culture and Education), and six other unspecified articles	*Kaizō* (Oct.1942)	

Nov.	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Kaizō*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	
Dec.	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Bungei Shunjū* (Dec.1942)	
Jan.1943	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
Feb.	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	
Mar.	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	

Apr.	No specific article mentioned	*Taiwan geijutsu*	
	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
May	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
Jun.	No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
Aug.	Chin Kasen, "Michi" (The Road)	*Bungei Taiwan*	
	Nishikawa, Mitsuru, "Taiwan jūkan tetsudō" (The Taiwan South-North Railway)	*Bungei Taiwan*	
	Hamada, Hayao, "Sōsō" (Initiation)	*Bungei Taiwan*	
	Yō, Sekitō, "Shūn'en" (Displeasure in Spring)	*Bungei Taiwan*	
	Kōno Keichin, "Yuwakashi" (The Kettle)	*Bungei Taiwan*	
	Uno, Kōji, "Chikuba no tomo" (Friends		

	in Youth), and four other unspecified essays No specific article mentioned	*Nanfang*	
Sep.	Unspecified magazines		
Oct.-Dec.	Newspapers, without mentioning any specific magazine		

Part II: Wu Xinrong:

The Ideological Origins of Wu's Mental Conflict in mid-1937

Wu experienced a sense of mental conflict, as mentioned in the previous chapter, several months after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, in July 1937, although he had become more of a political moderate by the mid 1930s. How can one describe and interpret Wu's mental conflict caused by the Japanese war against China? What was the ideological origin of this mental conflict? And to what kind of information environment was he exposed during that period? I will discuss these questions by examining Wu's readings and writings during the mid 1930s.

During the period from 1936 to 1937, Wu regularly read several newspapers and magazines, although quite few books he read were recorded in his diary. Wu recorded

that he had collected 450 books in four major categories, including medicine, thought and literature, written in Japanese, and classics, written in classical Chinese.[56] He also went to the cinema and watched 16 films, comprising 7 Japanese, 5 Western and 4 Chinese films. These films were mostly imported from Japan, mainly for entertainment, or were film adaptations of literary works. Furthermore, Wu composed 14 poems and essays, mainly about lyrical and proletarian topics, during these two years, at a time when the Japanese imperial authorities were increasingly strengthening their control over the media and publications by employing stricter regulations.[57]

Under this environment, Wu revealed his inner conflict in response to the outbreak of the Japanese war against China in mid-1937 by recording in his diary: "If justice is still alive, human consciousness will spread all over the world". This inner tension further developed into a sense of immorality, as Wu became increasingly involved in the war mobilization from late 1937.[58] The implication of his comment on the outbreak of the war is twofold: firstly, as a Taiwanese living under Japanese colonial rule, he felt great compassion for China, resulting from his ethnic and cultural links with the Chinese people on the Mainland. In a poem previously written in Japanese, entitled "On April 26th -- the Nankunshen Temple" in 1935, Wu notes that: the April 26th was a date when "our sacred ancestor *Koxinga*" landed in Taiwan from the Mainland, after expelling the Dutch. Since then, the temple was established to worship "the outstanding lord and the morally courageous men of the Han-Chinese People". The architecture of the temple was "a symbol of the nation and culture" and "an essence of the folk arts".[59] Clearly, Wu's

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[56] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 17, 1937. Wu recorded his daily schedule, included the newspapers and magazines he read. September 3, 1937.

[57] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, 1936 & 1937.

[58] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 7; November 12 & 24, 1937.

[59] *Taiwan bungei*, vol.2, no.10, September, 1935.

consciousness of being Han-Chinese was revealed in the poem composed in 1935, and it was this consciousness, subsumed beneath his Taiwanese consciousness, that directly conflicted with his Japanese consciousness in the face of the Japanese war against the Chinese.

Secondly, Wu believed in universal values, such as "justice", "human conscience" and "peace", and disagreed with the Japanese imperialism. In another poem, entitled "The Conscience of the World", composed in January 1936, the left-leaning and nationalist-minded Wu suggested, in a manner of self-examination, that the islanders, who had fought for survival for centuries in Taiwan, instead of "pursuing Jerusalem's dream", should rather search for "the conscience of the world".[60] This seems to imply the transformation of his Taiwanese nationalist, anti-colonial perspective and his appeal, instead, to universal values, i.e. human conscience and justice. This 'transformed' belief naturally conflicted with the Japanese imperialist invasion of China, where people were suffering in an 'unjust' war.

Moreover, Wu gradually found a new way to justify his involvement in the war mobilization when Shanghai and Nanjing were taken by Japan at the end of 1937, as argued in the last chapter. This new approach was intensified throughout 1938 and further turned him from a 'passive' into a 'positive' supporter of the war mobilization. However, in what inner and outer ideological context did Wu's new approach emerge? If he changed his perceptions of China, Japan and Taiwan after the first-wave military offensive launched by Japan at the end of 1937, how much can this be related to his reading and adoption of other forms of media in that period?

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[60] *Taiwan bungei*, vol.3, no.2, January, 1936.

The Reconstruction of Wu's Perception of China

The reconstruction of Wu's perception of China resulted from his reading about both Chinese history and current affairs in the early wartime period, and had an evident impact on his political development, which encouraged him to become positively involved in the war. On 19th December, 1937, in response to the loss of Nanjing, Wu began to justify his involvement in the Japanese war against China by re-interpreting Chinese history. He argued that it was China's destiny to be conquered by foreign nations, such as the Mongols from the north and the Manchus from the northeast. However, from where did this re-interpretation of Chinese history arise? In general, Japanese scholars commonly viewed both the Mongols and Manchus as foreign conquerors of China. A rough examination of the articles in *Chūō kōron*, however, reveals that this view was particularly common during the first wave of the Japanese military offensive in autumn 1937. According to his diary, Wu often read *Chūō kōron* in the period between 1936 and 1940. In a Japanese article entitled "The Way of Cooperation between Japan and China", the author argues that: China had historically been conquered by foreign nations, i.e. the Mongols and Manchus, and that these foreign conquers were sinicized during their colonial rule. The article goes on to note that the current Nationalist Chinese government, resting on a collapsing economic base, and resisting Japan's policies in the region, could not avoid conflict with Japan.[61] This article implies that the Chinese Nationalists should not fight against the Japanese invasion, although other articles seek to differentiate the Japanese and the Mongol and Manchu cases in China. In another Japanese article,

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[61] *Chūō kōron*, an additional edition entitled "A Reader to China in Crisis." (October 1937), pp. 29-30.

entitled "The Japanese Soul and the Chinese Soul – a Chance to Correct the Misunderstanding of China among our Countrypeople", the author argues that the Japanese military aim, unlike the aims of the Mongols and Manchus, was to establish a peaceful world, based on a kind, imperial spirit.[62] After the Nationalist capital, Nanjing, was lost to the Japanese in mid-December 1937, another article, written in January 1938, suggested that the Japanese should follow the Manchu experience of rule, rather than the Mongol one, by adopting a more "humane" manner of governing the newly occupied territories, through considering the colonial history of the foreign rulers of China.[63] These articles represent the ideological efforts of the Japanese strategists to justify the wave of Japanese military actions in China in the early stages of the war.

After an examination of the ideological development of the three articles mentioned above, one may find that, after the fall of the capital, Nanjing, Japanese strategists were seeking a new discourse, representing a "peaceful" and "humane" approach, in order to refine and further justify the Japanese military invasion of China. To these Japanese strategists, the period between the fall of Nanjing in mid-December 1937 and the fall of Wuhan in October 1938 may be viewed as a transitional period, during which a new discourse was under construction. The beginning of the transitional period was signaled by the official announcement in mid January 1938 that the Japanese authorities would "no longer view the Nationalist Chinese government as a rival" and instead would attempt to adopt a peaceful approach by establishing a new regime in China. It ended in late December 1938, however, when the new discourse, i.e. the construction of a new order in East Asia, was formally announced by Prime Minister Konoe.[64]

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[62] *Chūō kōron* (October 1937), p.96.
[63] *Chūō kōron* (January 1938), pp.1-3.
[64] *Chūō kōron* (April 1939), pp.4-5.

Before examining with this new discourse, we should explore the nature of Wu's perception of Chinese history and China's current affairs around 1938, a crucial period, during which he began positively to support the war mobilization. Wu's view of Chinese history throughout 1938, in fact, was more influenced by his reading of leftist historical works. He recorded that he first read a comprehensive history of China, entitled *Yuibutu shikan Shinashi* (Materialistic View of Chinese History), which was a Japanese translation of the item 'History' in the 'China' section of the *Encyclopedia of the Soviet Union*. This book, translated by Ōhashi Tetsuya in August 1937, aimed to improve the understanding of China's current affairs among Japanese readers when the war first broke out.[65] Wu recorded that, reading this book "re-enforced in me a systematic understanding of Chinese history" and made him believe that "history moved in waves of motion", in which "the current stage is at the bottom of a wave, and is followed by a stage of peace".[66] On the basis of a systematic and comprehensive understanding of Chinese history, Wu went on to read Guo Moruo's Chinese work, entitled *Research into Chinese Ancient Society*, and found it a "great" book that improved his knowledge of ancient China. By employing the Marxist theory on the origin of the family, property and the state, Guo viewed China as a society that had been ruled by "feudal systems" for over two thousand years and one that needed to be critically examined in a "scientific" way. He further implied that Chinese society in the Republican period was under capitalist control, and required a future revolution.[67] Guo's view of the revolution indicated a need to change current society, from a historical perspective. This view was also shared by

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[65] Ōhashi Tetsuya, *Yuibutushikan* shina shi, August 1937. pp.1-2.
[66] *Wu Xinrong's Diary,* January 15 & 20, 1938.
[67] Guo Moruo. *Zhongguo gudai shehui yanjiu*, 1930. pp.1-6 & pp.22-23. Also *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 24; April 11, 1938.

Ishikawa Sanshirō in a book written in Japanese in 1937, entitled *Tōyō kōdai bunka shidan* (Oriental Cultural History in the Ancient Period), which Wu regarded as "a particularly good book". The author argues that oriental culture reached its apex under the Tang Dynasty and then came to a standstill, which continued into the Republican period. On the basis of this historical view, he further implied that the Japanese might play a role in changing the current "standstill" in oriental society by incorporating China into a broader East Asia.[68]

The view that China needed to improve its situation may have had an impact on Wu's redefinition of his position around 1938. Being influenced by the view that China needed to change, however, was not the same as the aggressive approach espoused by certain Japanese militants. Wu maintained a critical yet sympathetic attitude towards China, as evidenced by his remarks on Shinkaku Dou's Japanese translation of Lin Yutang's English book, entitled *Waga kokudo waga kokumin* (My Country and my People). Wu showed "a great interest" in Lin's views that "the elderly Chinese nation was able to become a rising nation creating a great culture, since it had repeatedly absorbed the foreign invaders' blood [new ingredients] over the last eight hundred years". Unsurprisingly, as Wu recorded, the scholarly Lin "unreservedly criticized the shortcomings of the Chinese nation, eagerly promoted China-specific culture, and finally appealed for "rule by law" as the only way to save current China". After reading this book, Wu concluded that the "Chinese nation would never die", which seems to indicate his sympathy with the Chinese nation.[69]

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[68] Ishikawa, Sanshirō. *Tōyō kōdai bunka shidan*, 1937. See also *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 19, 1939.
[69] *Wu Xinrong's Diary,* April 13 & 20, 1939. See also Lin Yutang, translated by Shinkaku Dou, *Waga kokudo waga kokumin*, 1938. pp. 11-14.

Wu's Consciousnesses of the (Greater) East Asian Peoples, 1939-1945

Wu formally changed his political course around 1939, and further strengthened his new approach of engaging in a 'positive' involvement in the war mobilization by participating in a local election at the end of 1939. What role did his reading play in constructing and reconstructing his perception of the war that influenced the definition and redefinition of his position under the wartime context?

Between 1939 and 1945, Wu regularly read newspapers and magazines, including *Chūō kōron* (until mid 1940, the Central review), *Nihon iji shihpō* (1932-1943, Japan Medical News), *Bungei Taiwan* (1939-1943, Literature and Art in Taiwan), *Taiwan geijutsu* (1940-1943, Taiwan Art), *Nanfang* (The South), *Taiwan bungaku* (1941-1944, Taiwan Literature) and *Minzoku Taiwan* (1941-1942, the *Folklore Taiwan*). Furthermore, Wu read a large number of books written in Japanese, on various subjects, including medicine, social science, socialism, philosophy, international relations, history, law, economy, literature, biography and the geography of Taiwan, Japan and China. The books he read in wartime were mostly written in Japanese, with only a small number being written in Chinese.[70] Moreover, Wu also paid close attention to radio broadcasts. In July 1938, he recorded that he had installed his first radio – "an instrument of modern civilization" - for the sake of "enlivening my family life...for my kids to learn Japanese and for me to get familiar with Mandarin and English...enabling me to respond efficiently to the daily news...enabling me to listen to broadcasts by famous figures".[71] In addition to radio messages, Wu traveled to go to the cinema in Tainan city from Jiali,

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[70] Wu, Xinrong, *Zhenying cangshu lu*, a manuscript, unknown edited year. Also *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, 1939-1945.

[71] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 14 & 21, 1938.

where he lived between 1939 and 1942, an average of ten times per year, although the frequency of these visits quickly decreased after 1942. Wu visited the cinema only once in 1944, as Taiwan was increasingly being bombed by US forces. The films he saw were mostly produced in Japan, although some were filmed in the US, Germany and France. The subjects included the war itself, war propaganda, national policy, history, art and life.[72]

The discourse on the "East Asian new order" was emerging as an ideological justification for the Japanese invasion in China throughout 1938, and formally became the official stance after it was announced by Prime Minister Konoe in December 1938. This new discourse was further developed into the "greater East Asian prosperity sphere" around the latter half of 1940, and thereafter remained dominant until the end of the Pacific War (1941-1945).[73]

After December 1938, Wu increasingly perceived China in an unconventional way, after Canton and Hankou were occupied by the Japanese. The idea of a divided China gradually emerged in his mind, as the Chinese Nationalist government was quickly losing ground to the Japanese. When the new Nanjing government was formally established in March 1938, Wu realized that China was being divided into several regimes, including the Manchurian and Mongolian governments. Furthermore, he assumed that, even if the Han Chinese people could seize control of the mainland from Japan in the future, they would only control the major part of it, and would be compelled to admit the independent status of Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet.[74] Around the period when Canton

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[72] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, 1939 –1945.

[73] Li, Yongchi. "Riben 'dadongya gongrongquan' linian de xingcheng." In *Si yu yan*, 15:6, 1978. pp.413-427.

[74] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 28, 1938.

and Hankou lost to the Japanese, in late 1938, he recorded in his diary, from an unknown source, the theory of a new Chinese federation, based on the principle of a divided China, an idea he regarded as "radical but plausible". According to this theory, China consisted of nine regimes, including the Northeastern regime, i.e. the Beijing Provisional Government, that was historically a political centre; the Eastern regime, i.e. Wang Jingwei's Government centered in Nanjing, which was currently the economic centre; the Southeastern regime, that was a rising cultural centre; the Central regime, that was the geographical heart of China; the Northwestern regime, that was the origin of the ancient Chinese; the Southwestern regime, that was primarily a mountainous area; and the Mongolian, Xinjiang and Tibetan regimes, that had long been separate areas in terms of their national and historical particularities.[75] It seems that this theory had appeared at an earlier stage, but first emerged in his mind around 1938, although its source remains unknown. Moreover, Wu continued his interest in leftist affairs in wartime China and obtained "an outline of Chinese communist history" by reading a book entitled *Akairo Shina* (Red China), written by an anti-leftist Japanese military officer in 1938, that argues that the communist expansion in China during the previous ten years had made China "a major source of conflict in Asia", so the prevention of communist expansion was an urgent task.[76] Influenced perhaps by his cooperation with the Japanese authorities, the formerly left-leaning Wu made no negative comment on the author's anti-leftist views.

The official discourse on the "East Asian new order" was, particularly since 1939, a core argument in Wu's readings on Chinese affairs in the modern and wartime periods. The response that Wu records in his diary also reveals their evident influence on him. In

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[75] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 2, 1938.
[76] Ōkubo, Kō'ichi. *Akairo shina*, 1938, pp.1-4. See also *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 13, 1939.

mid-1940, he records that he was "greatly influenced" by a book entitled *Gendai Shina hihan* (Criticism of Modern China), written by Ozaki Hotsumi in Japanese in November 1938, whom he refers to as "the best critic on modern China". The critically-minded author modifies his previously cautious attitude towards the Sino-Japanese war in mid-1937 and states in the preface that this book was written as part of "East Asian history", aiming at "a real integration between the Chinese and the Japanese", and stating that "we should adopt a positive attitude towards the ongoing war" at a time when it had developed into a full-scale conflict.[77] The author's adoption of a "positive" attitude towards the war reminds us that Wu had been anti-war as recently as mid-1937, but began positively to support the war around late 1938. This might suggest that the convincing war progress, as evidenced by the fall of Guangdong (Canton) and Hankou in late 1938, followed by the emergence of the official discourse on the "East Asian new order", offered an ideological justification for the war and had a significant impact on both Ozaki Hotsumi and Wu. Moreover, the official discourse also had an impact on Wu's reading of a book entitled *Shina oyobi Shinajin* (China and the Chinese), written in Japanese by Murakami Chigyō in Beijing in mid-1938. Wu recorded that he "had learnt a lot" from "the masterwork on China", which he also refers to as "a Chinese social history" and "a sad history of China". The author reveals, in the preface, that the book originated from "a sense of sadness" about the "East Asian destiny" surrounding the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, and hoped that the Japanese would "think about a future East Asia and future relations between Japan and China", even as the war news dominated the

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[77] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 21; August 29, 1940. See also Ozaki Hotsumi. *Gendai Shina hihan*, Tokyo, 1938. pp.1-4.

current media outlets.[78] These words suggest that the author intended to ease the hostile relations between the Chinese and Japanese, and hoped to transform the bilateral relationship into a future broader East Asian framework. Finally, among Wu's readings relating to China's affairs in wartime, another book, entitled *Shin Shina sobyō* (A Sketch of New China), written in Japanese by Chin, Hōgen (C. Chen Fengyuan), and published by the Taiwanese-based *Taiwan xinminbao* in Taibei in 1939, was deeply influenced by the official discourse. Wu viewed the book as "travel notes" without making any further comment. The author, however, a former Taiwanese activist during the anti-colonial movement of the 1920s, wrote three chapters before beginning his travel notes in the book, including "How to Manage the Mainland", "The Economic Basis of the East Asian New Order" and "The Construction of a New East Asian Cooperative Economy". The author states in the preface that the "new China" under the Sino-Japanese war was in a transition period and that the Japanese and the Chinese should think about how to work together in order to construct the new East Asian order. This argument seems to echo the official Japanese stance.[79]

The discourse of the East Asian new order was further developed into that of the "Greater East Asian new order" after the outbreak of the European war in the second half of 1940, and, later, into the "Greater East Asian prosperity sphere" after the outbreak of the Pacific War at the end of 1941.[80] The ideological core of the "Greater East Asian prosperity sphere" was the Japanese emperor's ideology (*kōdo*) connected with a geographical and national pan-Asian-ism. This inner ideological connection between

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[78] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 21; August 29; September 1, 1940. See also Murakami Chigyō. *Shina oyobi Shinajin*, 1938. pp.1-2.

[79] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 29, 1940. See also Chin Hōgen (C. Chen Fengyuan). *Shinshina subyo*, 1939, pp.1-6.

[80] Li, Yongchi. "Riben 'dadongya gongrongquan' linian de xingcheng. In *Si yu yan*, 15:6, 1978. pp.422-427.

discourse and practical needs, such as the *Kōminka's* name-changing policy, may be the reason why Wu again began to pay attention to the issue of Chinese nationalism and its origin in the middle of the Pacific War. He approached the issue in a different way, however. In 1944, he recorded that he had had a discussion with an elderly Taiwanese scholar specializing in classical Chinese learning in Jiali on the topic of "Southern Chinese People" and the origin of Wu's surname. He learned that his ancestors had moved to southern, barbarian-held areas of ancient China and that their offspring consequently became "impure Han-Chinese People" in later years. This discovery led Wu to understand that his ancestors were not pure Han-Chinese, which provided him with an historical justification for "creating a new surname and becoming a new man". This occurred at a time when the *Kōminka's* name-changing policy was being intensified.[81] In fact, the discovery had a lot to do with Wu's reading of a Japanese book entitled *MinamiShina minzokushi* (The Ethnic History of Southern China), written by the Chinese scholar, Xu Songshi, and later translated by a Japanese scholar, named Ide Kiwata, in 1941. Wu recorded that he had "learnt something new" from Xu's view, stating that, in contrast to the original Han-Chinese People living north of the Yellow River, the *Miao*, *Yao* and *Tong* Peoples were actually the original Han-Chinese People, living south of the Yellow River. Wu challenged Xu's view, however, by guessing that these three peoples might be the original ones living north of the Yellow River. If not, he added, these three peoples, based in the extensive southern areas, may have become mixed with the southern-advanced, northern Han-Chinese people, creating a new culture, that, he predicted, would "play a crucial role in shaping the future East Asia".[82] In other words,

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[81] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 26, 1944.

[82] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 4, 1944. Xu Songshi, translated by Ide Kiwata, *MinamiShina minzokushi*, 1941, pp.329-330. Wu also paid attention to the issue of the origin of the Chinese People, although he

this view of Wu is two-fold and requires further elaboration. First of all, the view of "a mixed culture and people enabling a rising culture" reminds us of Lin Yutang, who holds a similar view that "the Chinese people" became a rising nation in the past due to "a mixture of foreign cultures in their history". However, Wu focused on southern peoples, rather than the Chinese people as a whole. Perhaps Wu was thinking of "the South Eastern regime", which includes Guangdong, Guangxi and Fujian and which he regarded as "a rising cultural centre" in his concept of "a new Chinese federation". Secondly, Wu's view that "a new culture", created by these southern peoples, is crucial to a "future East Asia" clearly suggests that he regarded southern China as lying within the framework of East Asia, indicating that his view was also influenced by the official discourse on the (greater) East Asian new order.

Wu composed a poem entitled "For the Greater East Asian War", which was published in December 1943 in Japanese in the Taiwanese-based newspaper, *Kōnan shinbun*. This poem reveals his support for the ongoing war and is quoted as follows:[83]

The earth's axis is rolling unceasingly
History is moving without end
I am thinking on the top of Niitaka yama Mountain
Looking eastward at the endless Pacific Ocean
Facing westward toward the boundless Asian Continent
Gazing northwards at the sacred Japanese Archipelagoes
Pointing southwards to the tropical Malay Archipelagoes
Oh! the island, our Taiwan
In the middle of East Asia the gate of the world

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disagreed with Alfred Forke's view that it originated in Vietnam. See Alfred Forke, translated by Takayama Yōkichi, *Shina minzokuron* (The World-conception of the Chinese), 1939. See also *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, April 20, 1944.

[83] *Kōnan shinbun*. December 6, 1943. The Niitaka yama Mountain in Japanese is equivalent to the Xin Gaosan in Chinese, i.e. today's Yu Mountain in Taiwan.

The sun is shining around
All God's creations are lively
I am looking from the top of Niitaka yama Mountain
In a far distance, the Magellan Straits have become old
The Panama Canal sitting opposite is too narrow
Australia on my right hand is an exotic land
The Aleutian Archipelagoes on my left look like a stepping-stone
Oh, the boundless Pacific Oceans
The cradle of the new era, the altar of the new century

The smoke from gunpowder is rising among the islands of the ocean
The sounds of explosion are everywhere in the jungles
I am calling from the top of Niitaka yama Mountain
Diligent Chinese!
Brave Mongols!
Religious Buddhists!
Stand up with the Japanese
Oh! the war, the Greater East Asian War
The construction of a new order　　the creation of a new culture

This poem was one of Wu's few writings during wartime and reveals two interesting concepts that require further elaboration. Firstly, the poem reveals that the greater East Asian nations, such as the Chinese and Mongols, should work together with the Japanese in the war against the Anglo-American powers. Secondly, he mentions that he was "standing" on the top of Niitaka yama Mountain, i.e. today's Yu Mountain, the highest mountain on the island of Taiwan and the highest throughout the Japanese empire, and looked omni-directionally towards the rest of the world, thus revealing the centrality of Taiwan in the East Asian and the global contexts.[84] What sort of influence did Wu

[84] Lu Xingchang. "Wu Xinrong's 'Zhenying shiji' chutan." In Tainan xianli wenhua zhongxin ed., *Wuxinrong xuanji*. no.2, 1997. pp.243-246.

receive from the official discourse? What was his view of Taiwan, particularly regarding its relation with Mainland China, and its position within the expanding Japanese empire during wartime? Did his various forms of media play a role in shaping and reshaping these perceptions?

Wu revealed that he was East Asian for the first time in early 1938, several months after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. This idea intensified during the following years. He agreed with the Japanese policies of a "northward advance" and a "southward advance" in January 1938, stating that there was no need to prevent the Japanese expansion. He added that Southeast Asia, including the Philippines and Indonesia, produces rice, sugar and cotton. If they are captured, then the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Oceans can be controlled. If Japan can create the so-called "island empire", then the so-called "East Asian tragedy" will end. The new culture can only be established when the old one is destroyed. Thus, when "the ruled states" are able to claim their rights from "the ruling ones", then "the yellow race" will be able to claim its freedom from "the control of the white race".[85] This record suggests that Wu regarded himself as part of "the ruled yellow race", who expected to be liberated from "the ruling white race" by supporting an expansion of the Japanese empire in (greater) East Asia. On the one hand, the anti-Western sentiment, in both a racial and a political sense, grew as the tensions between the Japanese and the Anglo-American powers increased after 1938. During the process of this confrontation, Wu's consciousness as an East Asian became even clearer.[86] On the other hand, the convincing Japanese military successes in China brought most of East Asia under its control. Japan's extension of its control over Asia enabled Wu to

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[85] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 7, 1938.
[86] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 25; June 26; October 3, 1939; see also October 3, 1940.

imagine the "East Asian People" as promoted by the war-related writings and the official discourse on the "(greater) East Asian new order". In late 1938, he made dozens of greeting cards for friends, containing the words "Happy new year; Constructing East Asia!"[87]

How did these official discourses affect Wu's view of himself as an East Asian? Articles introducing the related ideas of "East Asia", "the East Asian People" and "the East Asian new order" began to appear in *Chūō kōron* (*The Central Review*), the magazine he read the most frequently during the war, around the end of 1938, and soon became a dominant discourse throughout 1939. An article in written in Japanese, that Wu read but did not comment on, entitled "The Basic Principles of Dealing with China for the Japanese – the Sino-Japanese war is a war to create a new culture", written by Dohihara Kenji, argues that the Japanese were constructing a new Eastern culture by absorbing Western and preserving Eastern culture. Thus, the Sino-Japanese war was a cultural war in which the Japanese would construct a new Eastern culture for the Eastern peoples by liberating them from Western cultural control.[88] A month later, in December 1938, after the fall of Hankou, the idea of an East Asian new order was mentioned in a "foreword" in the *Chūō kōron* for the first time, thus revealing its growing influence.[89]

In addition to magazines, Wu was also influenced by other media, such as films. He recorded in his diary that he was "moved" by a film called the *Sounds of Explosion*, which is classified as a national policy film, in May 1939. He adds: "All of a sudden, I clearly realized that I belong to the Japanese nation, perhaps because her friendliness to the East touched my nostalgia". Another film Wu watched was entitled the *Ceremonial*

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[87] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 7 & 12, 1938.
[88] *Chūō kōron* (November 1938), pp.16-24.
[89] *Chūō kōron* (December 1938), pp.1-3.

Sacrifice of Nations, and was classified as a German war propaganda film. He recorded in his diary that he was "moved" by one of its stories relating to the Olympic Games. He "suddenly burst into tears" when he saw a Japanese athlete winning the Marathon championship at the end, suggesting to him that "the yellow and black races were not necessarily physically inferior to the white", and thus he understood that he was "a member of the entire Japanese nation".[90] In sum, Wu's responses to the two films demonstrated his awareness of the distinctions between "the East and the West" and "the yellow and the white", and also had an indirect impact on strengthening his sense of Japanese identity.

With the Japanese military expansion into greater East Asia, including Southeast Asia, Wu's consciousness of being East Asian was further developed by a broader implication. The fall of Hong Kong in late December 1941 led him to think that the future political independence of the Philippines, Vietnam, Burma and India from Western colonization would be the most meaningful result of the Pacific War. The wave of Japanese military successes early in the war seemed to suggest that his idea of Asian liberation, presumably distilled from the revised official discourse, had been proved feasible.[91] Even when the Japanese were losing ground to the Allies in late 1944, part of his ideological foundation for defending his pro-war position was "the liberation of East Asia" or "the protection of East Asia".[92] In sum, in the wartime context, 1939-1945, in addition to his Taiwanese national consciousness, Wu's Japanese national consciousness was the central position from which his consciousnesses extended to East Asia and Greater East Asia.

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[90] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 12, 1939; October 28, 1940.
[91] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 26, 1941; March 8, 1942.
[92] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 10; September 4, 1944.

A Sense of Taiwanese Subjectivity and Identity

The other view disclosed in Wu's poem is a sense of Taiwanese subjectivity during wartime. This, together with a sense of Taiwanese identity, can occasionally be found in his diaries. Prior to his formal participation in the project to record Taiwanese folklore and culture in late 1941, Wu proposed the launch of a "pure" literature magazine with a friend, aimed at promoting "the love of local culture", and greatly praised a young Taiwanese lady for her novel about Taiwanese customs, stating that "she excellently described our national heritage". He hung pictures of *Koxinga* and the Buddhist deity *Guanyin* in his room, and viewed them as "representatives of Taiwanese history and Eastern religion".[93] These two records show that Wu's Taiwanese national consciousness had a clear cultural dimension. During a serious illness in April 1939, he recorded "I was born Taiwanese, and will die Taiwanese," revealing that his sense of Taiwanese national identity remained in a core position until at least 1939. Moreover, in a geographical sense, Wu developed the view that "Taiwan is a geographically sacred place, located in the centre of Southeast Asia", and "at the conjunction of the globe's largest ocean, the Pacific Ocean, and the largest continent, Asia".[94] In other words, Taiwan was central to him in the spiritual, cultural and geological sense.

Moreover, Wu also viewed Taiwan as existing under the framework of the Japanese Empire and (greater) East Asia during the war. With the Japanese military expansion extending into most parts of Mainland China, more and more Taiwanese people were working in the occupied areas and found their status to be rising. Wu gradually developed

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[93] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 18; April 6, 1939. See also March 27; April 29, 1940.
[94] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, April 6, 1939; August 10, 1941.

the view that "Taiwan's future was on the Mainland". When the Japanese expansion moved southwards into Southeast Asia, and into direct conflict with the Western colonial powers, however, Wu realized that the importance of Taiwan in the Japanese Empire, even in the world, would be greatly increased.[95]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Wu shifted his attention from literary writing to war mobilization after the outbreak of the war in mid-1937, but reconnected the circle of writers that grew out of the *Minzoku Taiwan* (Taiwan Folklore) and the *Taiwan bungaku* in late-1941, at a time when the *Kōminka's* policies were still in place. Why did these magazines aiming to research and promote the culture and history of Taiwan emerge in the midst of the *Kōminka* movement, which aimed to assimilate the Taiwanese people as "imperialized citizens"? It is widely believed that the publication of *Minzoku Taiwan* was "an exhibition of conscience during wartime", as it acted independently against the policies of *Kōminka* by preserving the customs and history of Taiwan. Recent research suggests, however, that *Minzoku Taiwan* should be viewed as a part of the research on greater East Asian folklore. Regarding Taiwan's particularity, the work serves as an instrument for understanding the overseas Chinese living in Southeast Asia, who were regarded as being culturally linked to the Taiwanese. *Minzoku Taiwan*, together with Taiwan's literature and drama etc., started a movement into researching local culture in wartime Taiwan, in late-1941. This shift actually seemed to echo a change in the imperial policy caused by the Japanese military expansion into Southeast Asia.[96] I assume, however, that the shifting policy, allowing colonial particularity to be articulated under the *Kōminka* movement, had something to do with the appearance of the official

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[95] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 3; November 28, 1940.
[96] Wu Micha. "Minzoku Taiwan hakan no jidai haikei to sono seishitsu." In Fujii Seizo, etc. eds. *Taiwan no "Daitōa sensō."* pp. 231-233; pp. 258-261.

discourse on the greater East Asian prosperity sphere, as it supports the liberation of Asian peoples from Western colonization. Japanese strategists during that period may have previously considered how to respond to a potential request for Taiwanese or Korean political independence, inspired by the Japanese official discourse supporting the liberation of other colonized Asian peoples from the Western powers. For the imperial strategists, the way to reduce the potential appeal for liberation by the two colonized peoples was to allow their cultural particularities to exist to an acceptable degree and to promote research into their histories and cultures within the Japanese imperial framework.

Wu joined in the activities of *Minzoku Taiwan* since November 1941, through Chen Shaoxin's connections at the Taibei Imperial University, where a couple of Japanese scholars, including Kanaseki Takeo (1897-1983), took charge of the magazine. Wu recorded that Chen Shaoxin convinced him of the idea that "we must carry out our responsibility for Taiwanese culture" when they met in November 1941.[97]

How did Wu's reading materials from 1941 to 1945 influence his sense of Taiwanese national identity during the wartime? He recorded in his diary that he regularly read magazines related to Taiwanese culture, such as *Minzoku Taiwan, Taiwan bungaku, Taiwan geijutsu* and *Nanfang*, etc., and sometimes contributed articles written in Japanese to the former two, which aimed at researching and promoting Taiwan's customs, culture and literature. Furthermore, he read books, such as *On Taiwanese Cultural History*, which was written by four Japanese scholars, and which examines the origin of Taiwanese history in the seventeenth century, and the *Taiwan Gazette*, which records the

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[97] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 28, 1941. Chen Shaoxin started working at Taibei Imperial University around 1942.

local histories of major areas of Taiwan.[98] He also showed a great interest in reading novels related to Taiwanese customs and figures, written in Japanese by the female Taiwanese writer, Huang Fengzi, and a couple of works written in Japanese by the Japanese writers, Furusawa Iwami and Shōji Sōichi.[99] Although he made little comment on these writings in his diary, the picture of Wu's reading from 1941 to 1945 suggests that he continued his reading of Taiwan's history, literature and culture until the end of the war, which should have had an impact on the articulation of his Taiwanese identity.

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[98] Wu, Xinrong. *Zhenying cangshu lu*.
[99] Wu, Xinrong. *Zhenying cangshu lu*.

Conclusion

The picture of Chen's ideological world around 1932, at a time when he withdrew from the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements, was that he remained a nationalist-minded, left-leaning Taiwanese elite with a sense of Chinese consciousness. This consciousness revealed itself in his view of China as a rising state and in his overt support of China during the Manchurian Incident of 1931. However, he experienced a change in perception in late 1935, as evidenced by his increasingly negative view of China. This may have been partly due to his cooperative approach towards the colonial state in late 1935 after failing to find a career in China in 1932 and 1934, and partly due to his reading materials, that reveal a growing pessimism about China's future. During 1932-1935, Chen suffered an ideological and practical period of crisis. This sense of crisis led him to adopt a cooperative approach towards the colonial state, by participating in a limited local election.

Prior to the outbreak of the war, in mid-1937, in addition to his writings on socialism, issues such as the Chinese leadership and Sino-Japanese relations added focus to Chen's reading because of the impact of the Xi'an Incident in late 1936. Ideologically, his identity position, months before the outbreak of the war, can be described as follows: Chen, an ideologically left-leaning Taiwanese, viewed himself as a "disadvantaged" Taiwanese under colonial rule, under which he was regarded as a Japanese national. His Japanese identity became increasingly relevant to him during his cooperative approach with the colonial state. His Chinese-dimension consciousness, however, that emerged in the mid-1920s, became gradually subjected to his central Taiwanese identity, through his increasing association with his Japanese identity, while his Han-Chinese consciousness

could ethnically make sense only when it referred to Taiwan's aboriginals, rather than the Japanese.

War-related topics, such as war strategy, partly written by liberal-minded Japanese, soon became his major focus within months after the outbreak of war, in mid-1937, during which he was increasingly involved in the war mobilization. Having been exposed to these critical war-related articles by late 1937, Chen's views of the Japanese war against China remained negative, thus revealing his continuing sympathy with China, albeit this remained covert.

From early 1939, however, Chen gradually opened up a new way of understanding the nature of the Japanese war against China, mainly due to his absorption of the discourse on the East Asian new order, particularly as it relates to mutual cooperation in East Asia and the liberation of Asian peoples from Western colonialism. Ideologically, his continued reading of the official ideology should have had an impact on the intensification of his cooperative approach. In political terms, however, Chen withdrew from the reelection of his councilor seat in late November and was then imprisoned in late December 1939. Chen decided not to seek a second term as city councilor in late February 1939, but this decision did not stop him from continuing to absorb the official ideology promoted by the imperial authorities with enthusiasm. This confirms my previous view that the ending of his cooperation in late 1939 was a direct result of the Japanese mistrust of him, and also due to tensions between his multiple national consciousnesses. Chen's absorption of the official ideology, promoting mutual cooperation between China, Japan, etc., may have been meaningful to him more in an ideological context than a political one.

During the Pacific War, Chen seemed to be ideologically convinced by the official

discourse on the (greater) East Asian new order, partly due to the wave of initial military successes in south East Asia, and partly due to his extensive readings of war-related articles promoting Japanese nationalism and the Japanese world view. His reading focus shifted away from war-related issues in 1943, however, suggesting that his ideological absorption of war-related ideas was, in part, being channeled into real actions, which proved to be of limited success. Also, Chen's rising Taiwanese national consciousness in the latter period of the Pacific War caused a shift in his reading focus towards cultural writings, at least partly written in Chinese. In sum, Chen embodied a double identity as a 'Taiwanese/Japanese' during wartime, while his Japanese-dimension identity was more politically inclined, and his Taiwanese-dimension identity was more culturally inclined.

Wu's realistic approach to the war emerged soon after the loss of the Nationalist capital of Nanjing in late 1937, and led to a shift in his political course, turning him from passive to positive involvement in the war mobilization in late 1938. From an ideological perspective, however, the reconstruction of his perception of China, which partly resulted from his extensive reading of Chinese history and current affairs at an early stage of the war, also had an evident effect on turning him into an active supporter of the war. The evidence shows that, after the outbreak of the war, Wu was exposed to a wave of ideological efforts conducted by the Japanese strategists to justify the Japanese war by reinterpreting Chinese history, and, to find a new discourse, representing a "peaceful" and "humane" approach, to justify the Japanese invasion of China. An examination of Wu's reading of Chinese history suggests that he felt an evident need to 'change' an unsound China, although he maintained a sympathetic attitude towards it.

Wu formally changed his political course in 1939, as evidenced by his participation in a local election. The election occurred around the same time as the official discourse

about the East Asian new order emerged. Under the official discourse, Wu increasingly perceived China in an unconventional way, as evidenced by his introduction of the theory of "a new Chinese federation". In fact, the official ideology, particularly since 1939, was a core aspect of his readings on China's affairs in the modern and wartime periods. The records in his diary show that he was evidently influenced by these writings promoting the official war ideology, particularly in the sense that they inspired in him an understanding of being "East Asian". In other words, in addition to the political-dimension of the war mobilization and development, the Japanese war propaganda also had the visible effect of reshaping Taiwanese people's perceptions and even identity position during the war.

In ideological terms, the identity position of Wu during the war was that his duel Taiwanese/Japanese identity was the centre on which his consciousnesses of being East Asian and Greater East Asian were based in a differential order. Ultimately, to both Chen and Wu, their Taiwanese identity meant more in a spiritual and cultural sense, while their Japanese identity meant more in a political sense.

Chapter 4: Modernity vs. Nationality – the Formation of the *Bensheng Ren* Identity under Nationalist Chinese Rule: Chen's and Wu's Diaries (1945-1955)

Part I: Chen Wangcheng:

Chen and the Imagination of Chinese National Identity among Xinzhu's Citizens, August 1945 – October 1945

In this section, the main sources used to examine Chen's identity mostly include his entries in a diary kept from 1945 to 1955 (the years 1947-1948 and 1952-1954 are missing), and include his political comments (*reyan*, 'hot comments') and editorials in *Minbao* (The People's Daily) between October 1945 and February 1947. Chen was the editorial writer at the *Minbao*, a popular newspaper written in Chinese which was first issued in October 1945, and banned after the 1947 2.28 Incident. It followed in the press tradition of the Taiwanese-owned *Taiwan minbao* (Taiwan People's Weekly), which was published in the 1920s. Writing with a generally brief and reserved style of writing, focusing mainly on daily events, Chen continued to keep a diary in modern Chinese between 1945 and 1955. For this reason, I will supplement my examination of his mentality between 1945 and 1947 with his political commentary (*reyan*) and editorial writings. After the 2.28 Incident, Chen appeared to exercise greater caution in his diary writing, due to his awareness of the deepening political censorship. This became more evident in the 1950s, particularly after 1952, when Taiwan was fully

exposed to the repressive atmosphere, commonly known as the White Terror.[1]

During the final stage of the war, 1943-1945, Chen maintained a virtual double national identity, as a Taiwanese/Japanese, as his Japanese national consciousness manifested itself ideologically, while his Taiwanese national consciousness was more culturally inclined, fueled as it was by the changed environment that was characterized by the increasing number of publications focusing on specific Taiwanese folklore, arts and culture, starting in the early 1940s. This position of double identity was maintained as the Japanese Empire, including Taiwan, was being bombed intensively by US warplanes. Chen was able to access war news primarily through newspapers and radio broadcasts, although these broadcasts were occasionally disrupted due to the inconvenience or damage caused by the intensive bombing campaign. In order to avoid the bombing, in late April, 1945, Chen's family moved to Xinpu, a remote *Hakka* area in Xinzhu county.[2] Chen's double identity was demonstrated by his responses and those of his friends in Xinzhu to the ending of the war. On the day on which the emperor announced Japan's surrender, Chen recorded: "[In Xinpu] ... many people burst into tears when they learned of the formal announcement. In the evening, Fang and I went upstairs in Axin's house to listen to the radio, but the reception was unclear. A [Taiwanese] cadre of the town office, named Miyamoto (Lu), treated us to some Jinji wine...All of us behaved cautiously, without making any noise". Three days later, Chen recorded: "In the afternoon, I ran into [my Taiwanese friends] Yaxuan, Yao and Zeng. We reminded each other about

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[1] According to a report issued by a non-official committee, the officially registered number of victims in the White Terror was 1,017. However, it is estimated that there were actually between 3000 and 4000 victims, with three times the number of *bensheng ren* victims as *waisheng ren*. See *Taiwan Shibao*, March 2, 1994.

[2] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 26; June 3, 1945.

the necessity to remain calm and silent in the current situation".[3] Their responses reveal the Japanese aspects of their identity in their sadness over the surrender, yet they also reveal an awareness of being distinct from the ruling Japanese in their "caution" regarding the colonial authorities. Shortly after Japan's surrender was confirmed by further broadcasts in the following weeks, however, Chen emerged as a major local figure in Xinzhu, as evidenced by his invitation to preside over a local official ceremony to celebrate the Nationalist National Day.[4]

How did Chen come to emerge as a major focus of attention for Xinzhu's citizens immediately after the Japanese surrender? Firstly, his familiarity with Chinese affairs, including the Nationalist ideology, i.e. Sun Yat-sen's *sanminzhuyi* (Three Principles of the People), and his competence in writing, speaking and reading Chinese, made him a popular figure for introducing China-related knowledge. On September 24, 1945, Chen was invited to deliver an introductory lecture on the *sanminzhuyi* in Xinzhu. He recorded that: "the whole hall was filled with an unexpectedly large audience. When they calmed down after the lecture, [we] practiced the national anthem".[5] This 'China fever' among the local Taiwanese suggested that the Chinese national identity was unilaterally represented through learning the symbols representing Nationalist China. In this active process of nationalist imagination, Chen acted as a mediator. Moreover, people began to re-evaluate the local and island-wide Taiwanese elite in various social settings, as the Chinese take-over approached. These emerging views appeared to be unfavourable to those who had worked closely with the Japanese during the colonial period.[6] In the arena of public opinion, which was formed through informal

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[3] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 15 & 18, 1945.

[4] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 10, 1945.

[5] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 24 & 30; September 6 & 24, 1945.

[6] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 6 & 10, 1945.

exchanges, Chen's public image as a left-leaning Taiwanese, sympathizing with China in the prewar context, particularly in the 1920s, and his experience of imprisonment during the war, transformed him into a dual anti-colonial and pro-China symbol among many Taiwanese, all this despite his cooperation with the colonial authorities, at least between 1935 and 1939. Chen was aware of his public image and consciously made efforts to live up to it.

Chen, as I have argued, held a double national identity, as both a Taiwanese and Japanese during wartime, during which time his Chinese-dimension lay hidden. Through what historical process did Chen's Chinese national consciousness reemerge in the months following the Japanese surrender? A month after the surrender, the politico-social picture of Taiwan remained unclear: during this time, the Japanese colonial authorities continued their efficient control of Taiwan, despite the social disorder that arose, mainly due to the economic deprivation that increased during the final stages of the war.[7] The further confirmation of the Japanese failure and an unsuccessful proposal for an independent Taiwan meant that the islanders had no choice but to face a take-over represented by the Nationalist Chinese government. This knowledge increasingly created a wave of interest in China's affairs among islanders at a time when the Taiwanese Han-Chinese religious and folk practices remained visible in local society.[8] Under these circumstances, Chen, regarded as an expert in China affairs, was asked by local Taiwanese and Japanese acquaintances to write about Sun Yat-sen's *sanminzhuyi* and to teach the Chinese language. On September 15, 1945, the Xinzhu Lawyers' Society, to which his Kyoto-graduated son

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[7] Fix, Douglas. "Jiedu shuju – zhimindi Taiwan de zuqunxing, baoli yu zhanshi dongyuan." In Wakabayashi Masahiro & Wu Micha ed. *Kuajie de Taiwanshi yanjiu: yu dongyashi de jiaocuo*, 2004, p.370.

[8] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 19, 22, 27, 29 & 30, 1945.

belonged, also expressed an interest in learning the Chinese language and Sun Yat-sen's *sanminzhuyi* from Chen. In addition, he felt a strong need to teach his younger son, who was still at school, the Chinese alphabet and he was also sought to improve his knowledge of Nationalist Chinese ideology by accessing related readings.[9] All of these actions suggest that his Chinese national consciousness was re-imagined through both an internal self-awareness and an external regulation of his public image as a Chinese expert in Taiwan society, at a time when Taiwan's Han-Chinese religious and folk practices remained lively.

Moreover, the sudden decrease in the degree of Japanese influence in Taiwan indirectly strengthened Chen's psychological identification with the Chinese. After the surrender was announced, several Japanese from the public sector visited Chen to discuss how to deal with the Japanese residents in a postwar Taiwan. In mid-September, 1945, this was followed by a series of depressing news bulletins relating the suicide of two Japanese military leaders in Japan. Two weeks later, Chen and several friends were saluted by Japanese soldiers during a trip to neighbouring towns as they traveled in a car provided by the police. In contrast to the depression and humility of the Japanese, the local Taiwanese citizens were in high spirits in expectation of the coming Chinese take-over. During the week following the official ceremony of the Japanese surrender in early September, 1945, in order to express their excitement about Taiwan's "recovery" from Japan, firecrackers were frequently let off by Chen's neighbours. Similarly, the waitresses at a restaurant in Xinzhu showed a great interest in the coming changeover by changing their names from Japanese into Chinese.[10]

The first step towards extending Taiwanese support for the Chinese take-over was

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[9] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 28; September 3, 10 & 15, 1945.

[10] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, August 28; September 13, 15 & 28, 1945.

to organize welcoming activities for the arriving Chinese representatives. This partly shows Taiwanese acceptance of their role in the war failure, suggesting that their newly and unilaterally imagined Chinese national identity was further intensified by putting it into practice. Through what process did this happen? Who played a crucial role in this? Although the war ended, because of the previous intensive war mobilization, Taiwan remained a highly organized society, in which the Taiwanese elite continued to play a major role in public affairs. In early September, 1945, Zheng Hongyuan, a member of the local gentry, who had been close to the Japanese authorities during the colonial period, began to discuss how to welcome the Chinese troops at a meeting, after the news of a related activity in Taibei spread to Xinzhu. Chen was invited to this meeting but declined to attend, perhaps due to Zheng's image as an active collaborator. In contrast, he decided to go to a preliminary meeting ten days later, attended by around forty cadre members, most of whom had been linked to the previously anti-colonial and left-leaning activists of the Taiwan Cultural Society in the 1920s, where they decided upon the establishment of the mainland-based sanminzhuyi qingniantuan (Three Principles of the People Youth Corps) in Xinzhu. At the long-winded meeting, presided over by Zhang Shide, the first Taiwanese representative of the sanminzhuyi qingniantuan returning from China immediately after the surrender, Chen proposed "welcoming the Nationalist Chinese troops with delicious foods and drinks at the end of the meeting", which would become the common way of receiving the Chinese in the following weeks.[11]

A wave of China fever among the local citizens spread widely between mid-September and mid-October, during which the Taiwanese islanders underwent a process of learning to be Chinese nationals. During these few weeks, Chen became

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[11] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 8 & 18, 1945.

intensely engaged in reading and writing about Sun Yat-sen's political ideas, as represented in the Nationalist ideology, and also in establishing the Xinzhu branch of the mainland-based sanminzhuyi qingniantuan.[12] In addition, as a mediator of Chinese affairs, he participated in a series of activities focusing on both introducing and creating China-related ideas and rituals among the islanders in the Xinzhu area. Between late September and early October, Chen was invited to deliver four introductory lectures on the *sanminzhuyi*. He recorded the first one: "The whole hall was filled with an unexpectedly large audience...When they calmed down after the lecture, [we] practiced the national anthem". This clearly shows his intermediary role in the instilment of Chinese nationalism among the zealous citizens by his teaching of the Nationalist ideology and national symbols. This was followed by another activity organized to welcome Zhang Shide, the military representative of the Chinese Nationalist Government, which indicated the earliest arrival of Chinese representatives in Taiwan. Zhang received an exceedingly warm welcome from the citizens. "When Zhang arrived...there were noisy firecrackers and banner-waving, and the whole city was crazy for him", recorded Chen. Ten days later, on October 10. 1945, he was invited to preside at an official ceremony, attended by over 2,000 citizens and students in Xinzhu, celebrating Chinese National Day at a primary school. He recorded, "I was the chairman. I read out Sun Yat-sen's will and then shouted "Long Live" three times, which took half an hour. After that, the schoolchildren waved banners as they paraded through the streets. At 1pm, I was invited to Xinxing, where I delivered a lecture on the *sanminzhuyi* at the League of Educators".[13] Acting as a mediator for the active imagining of the Chinese nation among Xinzhu citizens,

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[12] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 20, 21 & 22, 1945.

[13] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 24, 27 & 29; October 1, 2 & 10, 1945. See also *Minbao*, October 12, 1945.

Chen was increasingly aware of being a Chinese national, even before the Chinese government formally arrived in Taiwan. This awareness is clearly demonstrated by his participation in the National Day ceremony, which he regarded as an official way of extending his loyalty to the Nationalist Government. He also consciously maintained a certain distance from the former members of the Taiwanese Communist Party, however, which he regarded as an "impure" association, even though the latter was integrated into the Xinzhu branch of the sanminzhuyi qingniantuan at the end of September.[14]

Before the formal arrival of the Nationalist Chinese government in late October 1945, Chen's intermediary role in supporting the islanders' image of Chinese national identity was also accompanied by a clear opposition to those who had closely worked for the Japanese imperial government in the war against China, the *Kōminka* policies, and the idea of an independent Taiwan. His first political comment column in *Minbao*, first called *lengyu* and then changed to *reyan* on November 1, 1945, mainly focused on criticizing "the local tyrants and evil gentry of the old age". This criticism was further elaborated in another comment about the "*hanjian*" (the traitors to the Han-Chinese People) and "*yuyong shenshi*" (the gentry working for the colonial authorities), who were famous islanders who had closely collaborated with the Japanese during wartime. This was followed by another criticism of the *Kōminka* movement, mainly covering the name-changing and Japanese-speaking policies that Chen regarded as disloyal to the Taiwanese national identity. The sense of Taiwanese national consciousness, as he perceived it, was represented by those Taiwanese nationalist activists who had challenged the Japanese dominance in the 1920s but had sympathy for them after their loss in 1945, rather than by those snobbish islanders

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[14] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 29 & 30; October 3 & 4, 1945.

who had flattered the Japanese during the colonial period but had become anti-Japanese vanguards after their loss. Chen's defence of the Taiwanese identity, however, did not lead to his support of an independent Taiwan. This is demonstrated by his criticism of those who supported Taiwan's political independence and opposed the Chinese takeover in 1945, although he agreed with the resistance movement against the invading Japanese troops after the establishment of the Republic of Taiwan in 1895. In a further article, entitled "A Dream of Independence", which also appeared in *Minbao*, Chen depicted those who had attempted to establish an independent Taiwan as equivalent to traitors, thus showing his harsh criticism of them.[15]

"An Agent of the Taiwanese People's Voices"

Chen's role as a mediator between China and Taiwan gradually changed into that of acting as a medium for Taiwanese voices after the establishment of *Minbao* on October 10, 1945, around two weeks before the formal arrival of the Nationalist Chinese government and troops. On September 2, Lin Foshu suggested that Chen should establish a newspaper and oversee the editorial department. The Taibei-based newspaper, that was created around two weeks before the formal arrival of the Nationalist Chinese administration, was organized and financed by the local Taiwanese elite, and closely linked to *Taiwan minbao*, which was being published in the 1920s. Around the same time, Chen moved to Taibei and worked for *Minbao* as an editorial writer in charge of writing editorials and a daily column called *reyan* (hot comments) for what was the only Chinese-language newspaper established by islanders. *Minbao* soon became popular, with its circulation second only to the

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[15] *Minbao*, October 12, 14, 15, 16 & 19, 1945. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, September 10; October 14, 1945.

semi-official *Taiwan xinshengbao* (The Taiwan New Life Daily) that was published in both Japanese and Chinese. Chen's political comments, as expressed in *reyan*, were written in a brief but sharp style and were particularly popular with Taiwanese readers.[16] Chen's political commentary became critical of the Nationalist Chinese authorities soon after the Chen Yi government began its takeover of Taiwan. In his daily column in *Minbao*, Chen described Chen Yi's arrival in Taiwan on October 24, 1945: "It was a moving moment to see the arrival of administrator Chen hailed by the crowd. This expression of public enthusiasm was the first time that this was possible in fifty years". This welcoming message for the Chinese takeover was followed by an anti-imperialist column the next day: "Administrator Chen is now in charge of Taiwan's politics...On the day when Chen Yi arrived in Taiwan, every Japanese family politely waved national flags to welcome him. However, some of these Japanese privately revealed a sense of hostility, as they hope to reclaim Taiwan one day. If the Japanese cannot shake off this imperialist myth, their future will be miserable". Chen's viewpoint is clearly revealed here as being pro-China and anti-Japan. In his diary, however, Chen only briefly recorded the events surrounding Chen Yi's arrival in Taiwan: "At 10am, the ceremony for the Japanese surrender to the Allies was held at the Public Hall. Another celebratory meeting was held in the same place at 3pm. I could not enter it because of the crowds".[17] This 'descriptive' private writing can be differentiated from his public commentary published in the newspaper. This basic distinction between Chen's private and public writing is common during the early postwar period (October 1945 to February 1947). For this reason, in this analysis, I have relied more heavily on Chen's written commentaries during the early

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[16] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 29. See also Zhang Denan. *Jianjin gengjie de shehui yundong jia – Huang Wangcheng*, 1999, pp.74-75.

[17] *Minbao*, October 25 & 26, 1945. See also *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 24 & 25, 1945.

post-war period.

Chen's commentaries turned critical of the Chinese authorities immediately after Chen Yi's arrival. Chen recorded in his diary that Chen Yi "disliked very much" his columns about Japan that were published on October 28 and 29. In his column on October 29, Chen first complained about the slow process of the Nationalist takeover, the increasing social disorder and the rising price of commodities following the Chinese arrival. In response, he suggested that the Nationalist authorities promote more talented Taiwanese because they were more familiar with the island's affairs. Otherwise, the "Taiwanese will draw an analogy between the Nationalist government and the Japanese one". This seems to indicate that the analogy related to the inequality of Taiwanese employment in the public sector was a major irritation to Chen Yi.[18] In response to Chen Yi's informal interference in his commentary, Chen described his experience as a critical journalist who was tolerated by the Japanese authorities. In doing so, Chen hoped for the creation of an equally free speech environment under the Nationalist administration. This was followed by his adoption of a more engaged approach to writing, during which he changed the title of his daily column from *lengyu* (cold comments) to *reyan* (hot comments) on November 2, 1945, without modifying his role as "an agent of the [Taiwanese] people's voices".[19]

The Appearance of the Term *Bensheng Ren* and its Historical Context, November 1945 - 1946

How did the islanders view themselves after the arrival of Chinese officials, civilians and soldiers, at a time when the Japanese inhabitants, who primarily worked

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[18] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 29, 1945. See also *Minbao*, 27, 28 & 29, 1945.

[19] *Minbao*, October 30 &31; November 1 & 2, 1945.

in the public sector, remained in Taiwan? In what context did the term *bensheng ren* (i.e. the term the Taiwanese used to describe themselves in contrast to the 'mainlanders' in the postwar context) first emerge and become popular? Around two weeks after the formal arrival of the Chinese, on November 5, the term *bensheng ren* appeared for the first time in Chen's political commentary, in the column *reyan* that focused on employment issues and their relationship to the islanders' new political status under Nationalist Chinese rule. Chen wrote:[20]

Some people have been circulating an idea: "You [islanders] do not necessarily have any advantages [after the Chinese take-over]".
This vaunted view was expressed by the triumphant Japanese as they talked to the frustrated *bensheng ren*.
According to a news report, all Japanese were not only employed again, but also had their salaries increased after the take-over of a certain institute and they were overjoyed.
I hope that we *bensheng ren* do not lose heart. Please hold on for the future!
We should bear in mind: Taiwan ultimately belongs to our *bensheng ren*!

In this column, Chen revealed a clear awareness of being *bensheng ren*, particularly when the Japanese status remained higher than that of the islanders, even under the administration of the Chinese government, who claimed to have "liberated" the island from colonial rule. In an editorial entitled "The Issue of Employment of the *bensheng min* (Native Provincial People)", however, written on the same day, Chen directed his criticism not only at the Japanese but also at the mainlanders. He complained that very few *bensheng ren*, although they were no longer a colonized people, had been promoted after the take-over, due to their lack of ability in the Chinese language. In fact, three days prior to this, the term *bensheng ren* appeared for

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[20] *Minbao*, November 5, 1945.

the first time in *Minbao*, and perhaps also in most publications in Taiwan, linking the new status of the local residents to the issue of employment in the post-takeover period. The mayor of Taibei Huang Chaoqin, a Taiwanese who had returned from the mainland with the Nationalist government, addressed the staff of the city government at his inauguration on November 2, 1945. He requested that: "Every employee should treat each other one fairly. No matter whether *bensheng ren* or Japanese, those who make a mistake will be fired by me...We should employ them [i.e. the Japanese] on the basis of their experience, abilities and skills. This is good for the *bensheng ren* and the Japanese in Taiwan...the *bensheng ren* should not look down on their Japanese colleagues and the Japanese staff should devote themselves to city affairs".[21] This evidence suggests that the origin of the term *bensheng ren* in early November was closely related to job discrimination and, consequentially, the differential political statuses of the Chinese, Japanese and Taiwanese residents.

Since the first appearance of the term *bensheng ren* in early November, 1945, it became increasingly popular and more clearly defined, as interactions between the islanders, mainlanders and Japanese increased. In *Minbao*, the term *bensheng ren* was used every other day in November, and every single day in December, thus showing its increasing popularity.[22] However, several terms were also used to address the islanders in *Minbao*, such as *Taibao* (Taiwanese compatriots), *shengmin* (Provincial People), *bensheng min* (Native Provincial People), *Taisheng ren* (Taiwan Province People) and *shengbao* (Provincial compatriots).[23] The concept of *bensheng ren*, however, did not include Taiwan's aborigines, who were commonly referred to as

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[21] *Minbao*, November 2 & 5, 1945.

[22] *Minbao*, November & December, 1945.

[23] *Minbao*, October, November & December, 1945; January, 1946.

gaoshanzu (Mountain People).[24]

The Rise and Fall of the *Bensheng Ren* and Chinese National Consciousnesses among the Islanders

Bensheng ren consciousness was intensified as the process of the Chinese takeover proceeded from November to December 1945, at a time when the islanders' imagined Chinese national consciousness was frustrated by their growing perception that they were being discriminated against by the newly arrived Chinese officials. As mentioned above, when the Nationalist Chinese takeover proceeded during the first half of November, discriminatory employment policies against the islanders under the new Nationalist rule sparked the majority of the disputes in Taiwanese society. What was the nature and cause of the discriminatory Nationalist policy? In Chen's political commentary on November 14, 1945, he cited a Chinese official's view by demanding "how can we employ those traitors to the Chinese who helped the Japanese to fight against us!", thus revealing that the islanders' participation in the Japanese war against China was at least one of the major causes of the discriminatory Nationalist policy. Chen basically agreed to punish and discriminate against those members of the Taiwanese gentry who had worked closely with the Japanese during the war and suppressed the Taiwanese masses from working in the public sector; however, he suggested working out a clear definition of who were the 'traitors to the Chinese' in Taiwan's particular context. Moreover, the islanders' inability to speak or write the Chinese language was regarded as another cause of the Nationalist's discriminatory

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[24] *Minbao*, November 6, 1945.

policy, to which Chen was simply opposed.[25] What were, however, the responses to the discriminatory Nationalist Chinese policy? In an editorial titled "Construction and Human Resources", that appeared in *Minbao* on November 19, 1945, Chen criticized the fact that the mainlanders occupied all of the political positions at the upper level, and further argued that well-trained Taiwanese should not be ignored, since they had the greatest love for Taiwan, as it was "the place of their ancestors' tombs". Chen seems to be suggesting that the natives should be given priority consideration for employment in the public sector. The view that Taiwan is "the place of their ancestors' tombs" reveals a concrete sense of the *bensheng ren* consciousness. He further regarded this ancestral link as "the prime motivator for the construction of a new Taiwan" in another article that he published the same day.[26] In other words, the *bensheng ren* consciousness was seen as an ideological weapon to defend the native Taiwanese in the face of the discriminatory employment policies enforced by the Nationalist Chinese. In another article, entitled "Do not Wrongly Have a New Sense of Superiority", Chen's *bensheng ren* consciousness emerged again in the face of the Chinese newcomers who adhered to to a sense of superiority over the native Taiwanese, believing as they did that Taiwan's recovery from Japan had resulted from their wartime sacrifices. Chen reminded these Chinese newcomers of the islanders' hardships under the previous fifty years of colonial rule, and further warned them that the islanders would dampen their enthusiasm for the take-over if the Nationalists persisted with their sense of superiority.[27] The islanders' enthusiasm for the Nationalist government significantly waned as the take-over manifested itself in late

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[25] *Minbao*, November 14, 15 & 25, 1945.

[26] See "Shelun: jianshe yu rencai" (Editorial: Construction and Human Source), "Reyan", in *Minbao*, November 19, 1946. *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 17, 1945.

[27] *Minbao*, December 2, 1945. See also *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 1, 1945.

1945. This waning was evidenced at a conference held to propagate the Nationalist ideology by the newly established provincial headquarters of the Guomindang in mid-December that was attended by "very few citizens".[28]

Fueling the growing atmosphere of dissatisfaction among the islanders, Chen Yi's government adopted initial policies to strengthen its control over post-takeover Taiwan in early 1946. These policies would lead to growing conflicts between the Chinese government and Taiwanese society, during which an increasing distinction would be drawn between the *bensheng ren* and the *waisheng ren*. *Minbao*, and especially its political commentary, *reyan*, written by Chen, proved to be extremely popular among Taiwanese readers, indicating popular approval of its criticism of the Chen Yi administration. In response to this, Chen Yi attempted to co-opt the newspaper and, at the same time, restrain its activities. As mentioned above, Chen Yi closely watched *Minbao* during the months after his arrival in Taiwan, at which time publication activities were unusually free and lively – during this period, around 20 newspapers were published islandwide. The evidence shows, however, that Chen Yi attempted to influence *Minbao* through a close friend of his named Zhang Xiqi, who was an official adviser to Chen Yi's government. Chen's diary entry for December 23, 1945, revealed the intermediary role played by Zhang between Chen and the administration: "In the morning, I showed the *reyan* that had just been written to Advisor Zhang. He agreed to warn Xia Shengtao". Xia, the chairman of the Committee for Propagation within Chen Yi's government, was warned that an important document from Chen Yi's office had been lost. Another diary entry shows that Chen Ji had secretly worked for Chen Yi. Chen recorded in his diary entry for January 2, 1946, that he had privately invited his friend, Chen Ji, one of the major

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[28] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 12 & 16, 1945.

investors in *Minbao*, to "work for Chen Yi as a special agent" and "immediately received approval from him [Chen Ji]", thus showing a certain degree of cooperation between Chen and Chen Yi's government.[29] The cooperative relationship appears to have been 'politically complicated', however, as, in the weeks that followed, Chen Yi's government unveiled a series of measures to strengthen its control over the press by actively suppressing *Minbao*-related, native Taiwanese publications.

Chen Yi's suppression of the press in early 1946 was accompanied by an event called "Quansheng hanjian zong jianju (Reporting Han-Chinese Traitors Island-wide)" in late January, that stirred up a wave of protests surrounding identity-related issues in Taiwanese society. Although Chen maintained a certain degree of cooperation with Chen Yi, he displayed no visible modification of his criticisms of Chen Yi's government. On January 6, he was told by Zhang Xiqi that Ge Jingen, the secretary-general of the Provincial Office, found his political comments "unacceptable"; in his article, Chen had complained that "the *waisheng ren*" frequently showed their sense of superiority over "the *bensheng ren*", thus making the latter feel like "the ruled people". In another comment by Chen, made on January 17, 1945, he expressed his desire that "Taiwanese would emerge from their miserable ruled status [Taiwanren yao chutoutian]". This is a reference to the inequality in Taiwanese status under the Japanese and Chinese rule.[30] This was followed by two events that were closely related to *Minbao*. Firstly, on January 24, 1945, Lin Maosheng, the director of *Minbao*, was accused of being a traitor to the Han-Chinese, although he was not detained. A month later, a couple of Taiwanese, who had been close to the Japanese colonial authorities, were arrested on suspicion of being traitors

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[29] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 23, 24 & 28, 1945; January 2, 1946. Lai, Tse-han; Ramon H. Myers & Wei, E: *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947*. 1991. pp.76-80.

[30] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 6 & 15, 1946. See also *Minbao*, January 5, 6 & 17, 1946.

to the Han-Chinese. This event immediately caused panic among the Taiwanese elite. Even Chen was warned by his friends not to ignore this danger. Since the criteria used to judge the "crime" were ambiguous, during this period, in early 1946, the Taiwanese public was exposed to an atmosphere of uncertainty.[31] The second event relating to *Minbao* occurred in February 1946. About a week after Lin Maosheng's case, Chen Ji, a Xinzhu-based journalist, who was close to Chen, *Minbao's* major investor and working as a special agent for Chen Yi at that time, was unexpectedly arrested by the police without any publicized charge. This initiated three weeks of low-key rescue operations led by Chen. Two days after this arrest, Chen was told by the intermediary, Zhang Xiqi, that Chen Ji had been involved in an incident during which a group of citizens had besieged an organ of the city government. Two weeks later, Chen brought a repentant letter, written by Chen Ji to Ke Yuanfen, Chen Yi's chief of staff, but was heckled by him because he lacked a guarantor. Immediately after meeting with Ke, on the same day, Chen received endorsements from a group of newspaper publishers who were attending an arranged meeting at the same building held by the provincial government. Chen helped to secure the successful release of Chen Ji in late February, 1945, and this case was finally settled by the endorsements. This event and its conclusion reveal Chen Yi's attempts to strengthen control over Taiwan through a strategy of suppressing the liberal press, within which the critical-minded *Minbao* was a major target.[32] One may suspect that, in addition to his public role in the rescue action, Chen may also have played a hidden role in the event, because he maintained a relatively cooperative relationship with Chen Yi's government, through Zhang Xiqi.

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[31] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, February 22, 23 & 24, 1946. See also *Taiwan Xinshengbao*, "Shelun: hanjian jianju zailun (Editorial: On Reporting the Traitors to the Han People again)", February 26, 1946; *Renmin daobao*, "Jianju hanjian de zayin (Some Noises about Reporting the Traitors to the Han People)", January 23, 1946.

[32] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 30; February 1, 2, 3, 4, 15, 19, 20 & 27, 1946.

The question arises, however, to what extent did this cooperative relation between them really work during the suppression of the press and, afterwards, continue to work within the months prior to the 2.28 Incident in 1947, an incident that occurred as the result of the complete loss of Chen Yi's control over Taiwanese society? Chen's following perceptions of Chen Yi's government may provide a feasible answer to this.

In response to the suppression of *Minbao*-related Taiwanese journalists, Chen maintained his critical approach towards the government, making a special appeal to the consciousness of the *bensheng ren* by continuing to point out instances of multi-level discrimination and misrule on the part of the Chinese authorities. Regarding the policy of "reporting Han-Chinese traitors (*hanjian*)", Chen argued that the Chinese authorities needed to provide a precise definition of what, specifically, the *hanjian* consisted. Chen constructed this argument without showing any opposition to the policy.[33] The arrest of Chen Ji on January 30, 1945, however, did not reduce *Minbao's* criticism of the Chinese authorities. This criticism was found in an editorial, rewritten by Chen, entitled "The Freedom of Speech and the Press". In it, Chen employs the ideas of Sun Yat-sen, and criticizes the forced closure of a small newspaper that was operating in eastern Taiwan because the Chinese government found its views unacceptable. This could have been an indirect method of expressing his opposition to the official suppression of the press, specifically in Chen Ji's case.[34] Moreover, Chen expressed his discontent regarding his perceived discrimination against and mistreatment of native Taiwanese, which led to an intensification of *bensheng ren* consciousness. In a further editorial, entitled "Never Disappointed! Young People!", rewritten by Chen, the author first notes that the Taiwanese youths have been greatly disappointed in recent months due to their being overlooked in the

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[33] *Minbao*, January 17 & 20, 1946.

[34] *Minbao*, February 12, 1946.

public sector as a result of their language incompetence. He adds, however, that: "the Taiwanese are the masters of Taiwan...We are no longer the suppressed people now... We are certainly unwilling to become the suppressed people again. We have the Han-Chinese blood in our bodies. Also we have the *Koxinga's* spirit of revolution, aggressive souls, and endurance". Here, a clearer definition of the Taiwanese national consciousness emerges in Chen's strong appeals to Taiwanese subjectivity, and he links the pioneering *Koxinga*, regarded as the founder of Taiwan, with the broader pan-Han Chinese national consciousness.[35] What was the historical context that enabled this "clearer" sense of Taiwanese national consciousness to emerge? In another editorial, entitled "A Welcome of Consolatory Envoy Li [from the Chinese central government]", Chen highlighted the most controversial and frustrating issues relating to the post-takeover period:

> When Taiwan returned to the arms of her motherland, the Taiwanese public welcomed the arrival of the Chinese officials with great sincerity...However, since the national army arrived, lots of officials have come with their families and relatives and started to govern. The islanders had ardently bright hopes, but have started becoming disappointed and regretful. Their great enthusiasm has cooled. These officials have trampled on the islanders' dignity with a sense of superiority ...[These officials] continued those policies of a controlled economy which were previously adopted in wartime, and, in turn, messed up a well-organized Taiwanese society. These officials did not know the causes of this mess...Instead of looking for these causes, they disdainfully viewed the previous education, culture and patriotism experienced by the islanders [in the Japanese period] as a way of being "enslaved".[36]

In addition, Chen's changing perception of Japan and its inhabitants in post-takeover Taiwan also played a substantial role in shaping his *bensheng ren*

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[35] *Minbao*, February 6; March 15, 1946.

[36] *Minbao*, February 6 & 8, 1946.

consciousness. Chen continued his criticism of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, and also continued to draw attention to the island's war-related experiences. Furthermore, he remained discontented with the Japanese inhabitants working in Taiwan's public sector, particularly when their status was superior to that of the native Taiwanese.[37] What did Chen think the Japanese inhabitants' status should be? He revealed in his political commentary that "the Japanese should be repentant for launching the war" and "certainly cannot have a sense of superiority over the Taiwanese". He agreed that the Japanese should be appointed to official positions in post-takeover Taiwan but should not be allowed to become involved in policy-making activities.[38] In early 1946, however, there was an emerging psychological inclination among native Taiwanese to prefer Japanese rule to the Chinese one, and they felt particularly dissatisfied with the latter due to the discrimination and worsening corruption. In his political commentary written on January 20, 1946, Chen likened the Chinese rule to that of the Japanese, as both acted like conquerors in terms of their superior attitude towards the Taiwanese. The Japanese were not as discriminatory as the Chinese, however, due to the racial differences between the two groups. In a further political commentary, Chen mocked the worsening corruption of the Chinese rule by comparing it with that of the Japanese.[39] The Taiwanese commonly used the latter as a subject by which to criticize the former. This emerging psychological inclination among the native Taiwanese intensified when most of the Japanese inhabitants were forced to leave Taiwan at the end of March, 1946. In a political commentary published on March 9, 1945, Chen angrily wrote: "The Taiwanese compatriots showed an over-heated enthusiasm [toward the Chinese] immediately after the

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[37] *Minbao*, December 4, 5, 18 & 21, 1945.

[38] *Minbao*, December 21, 1945; January 17, 1946.

[39] *Minbao*, January 20 & 25, 1946.

recovery of Taiwan [in Autumn 1945]. However, they treat [the Chinese] with coldness now. There have been illegal arrests, imprisonments and occupations, messing things up everywhere. How can things be so disorderly!"[40] In this period, Chen had a far more impatient attitude and offered far sharper criticisms of the Chinese authorities than was the case previously. Over 90% of the Japanese inhabitants were forced to leave Taiwan in late March and April, 1946, which led to a sudden decrease in the degree of Japanese influence in Taiwan on the one hand, and paved the way for relatively direct confrontations between the mainlanders and the native Taiwanese, on the other.[41]

In sum, two visible psychological inclinations among the islanders emerged during and after the Nationalist Chinese takeover (November 1945 to March 1946). Firstly, a self-awareness of the *bensheng ren* consciousness first emerged and was intensified by the growing frustration with the Chinese administration after the end of the war. The first appearance of the term *bensheng r*en emerged in early November, 1945, as a result of the islanders' awareness of being discriminated against in employment under the Chinese regime. The term emerged more in form than in substance during this period. Until the early post-takeover period, in early 1946, however, the imagined Chinese national consciousness of the islanders was greatly frustrated by a series of events including "the reporting of Han-Chinese traitors" in late January, the official multi-level discrimination against islanders and the increasing misrule of the Chinese government. This led to a further intensification of *bensheng ren* consciousness among the islanders, only with a redefined and reconstructed substance, in which the Japanese colonial experience played a significant role. Beginning in early 1946, in the relatively free media environment and with its popularization through publications

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[40] *Minbao*, March 9 & 24, 1946.

[41] *Minbao*, March 17, 20 & 21, 1946.

like *Minbao*, the term *bensheng ren* became the most popular term used to address native Taiwanese.

The other psychological inclination among the islanders that emerged in early post-takeover Taiwan was a visible shift in people's perception and attitudes towards the Nationalist Chinese government. In late October, 1945, the islanders, backed by their newly imagined Chinese national consciousness, welcomed Chinese officials and troops with great enthusiasm immediately after the end of war. Among the islanders, however, the "excessive" enthusiasm evidently transformed into a criticism of the Chinese authorities, as their imagined Chinese national consciousness became frustrated by a series of events centered around the Taiwanese identity in early post-takeover period. The modernity of the islanders' Japanese experience was regarded as an integral part of being *bensheng ren*, and was further employed as an ideological weapon to criticize the misrule by the mainlanders. This process led to a growing consciousness of the Taiwanese people's status as *bensheng ren* and a decreasing consciousness of their Chinese national identity. In contrast, the mainlanders, fuelled by a Chinese nationalism partly that had been created during their anti-Japan war, criticized the native Taiwanese for their lack of Chinese national consciousness and attributed this deficiency to their having been "enslaved" or "poisoned" during the Japanese colonial period. In other words, to them, anti-Japanese Chinese nationalism was imagined as an integral part of *waisheng ren* consciousness.[42] The term *waisheng ren* was used for the first time to address mainlanders in *Minbao* on December 3, 1945, a month after the first appearance of the term *bensheng ren*.[43] Thus, the confrontational "Japanese experience" between the

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[42] Zeng Shirong (Tzeng, Shih-jung), *Zhanhou Taiwan zhi wenhua chongbian yu zuqun guanxi – jian yi Taiwan daxue wei taolun lian (1945-1950)*, 1994, pp.85-86.

[43] *Minbao*, December 3, 1945.

two sides played a crucial role in shaping the features of both sides into two distinct groups: *bensheng ren* and *waisheng ren*.

'Modernity vs. Nationality': the 2.28 Incident

In mid-1946, the *bensheng ren* consciousness reached a periodical apex, sparked directly by a dispute over "wrong words" by Fan Shoukang (i.e. fanshoukang shiyan fengbo), the educational chief of Chen Yi's government. This event was further publicized by provincial councilors during a wave of interrogations at the provincial assembly in May, 1946. Before this event, in mid-April, 1946, Chen became engaged in an unsuccessful campaign for the position of provincial councilor. At the same time, however, he took part in the establishment of two associations, the Journalist Union and the Committee for the Protection of Civilian Liberty, which appears to point to his rising influence in Taibei.[44] Moreover, with its increasing circulation, two *Minbao* journalists succeeded in becoming Taibei city councilors in mid-March. Partly due to its connection with the US-educated Lin Maosheng, the director of *Minbao*, the newspaper also maintained a close contact with the chief of the American Information Union in Taibei.[45] Zhang Xiqi, the advisor to Chen Yi, however, maintained his intermediary role between Chen and Chen Yi's government during that period, as evidenced by Chen's agreement to delete part of his political commentary (the *reyan*) that was likely to offend Ke Yuanfen, the military chief of Chen Yi's government.[46] During the 'wrong words' incident, Fan accused the native Taiwanese of having been "enslaved" by Japanese rule, of clinging to a strong anti-mainlander sentiment, of

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[44] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, March 5, 21 & 28; April 1, 15 & 30, 1946.

[45] *Minbao*, March 15 & 19; April 19, 1946.

[46] *Minbao*, April 3, 4 & 13, 1946.

wishing to be politically independent, and of displaying a lack of willingness to assist the new government. This immediately sparked a wave of fierce protests from the islander-based press and from the Taiwanese councilors, who were attending a session of the provincial assembly, and further inspired a series of arguments between the *bnsheng* and *waisheng* communities.[47] In response to Fan's accusation, Chen argued that these "wrong words" originated from a fundamental misperception about Taiwan, and that there was a need to correct it in order to eliminate "the deep chasm between the *bensheng ren* and the *waisheng ren*". He added that the *bensheng ren* remained cooperative towards the government and certainly had no intention of seeking an independent Taiwan. In another article, entitled "On Enslaved Education and National Consciousness", published in *Minbao* on May 26, 1945, he defined this "enslavedness" as "a loss of an independent self", which could not apply to the Taiwanese under the Japanese rule. Chen justified this with a racial appeal, noting that the Taiwanese too are "the offspring of the *huangdi* [Yellow Emperor] and have the Chinese spirit even if they superficially wore Japanese clothes, ate Japanese food, spoke the Japanese language, lived in Japanese houses and wore Japanese clogs".[48] In other words, in mid-1946, Chen, at least externally, maintained his Chinese national identity, even if he had begun to develop a clear sense of being *benshen ren*.

However this "wrong words" argument over the mutual perceptions and attitudes between the *bensheng ren* and the *waisheng ren* revealed a significant distinction between these two groups in terms of their perceptive approach towards one another. This approach may be viewed as a continuing intensification of the ideological confrontation between the modernity of the *bensheng ren* and the nationalism of the *waisheng ren*. The different perceptions, conceptualized as "modernity v.s.

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[47] Zeng Shirong, 1994, pp.71-73.

[48] *Minbao*, May 5, 8, 10 & 26, 1946.

nationality", became far more evident within the months after the "wrong words" incident, thus indicating that this was a formative process for both ethnic groups. The "modernity" of Taiwan's Japanese experience was pointed out in Chen Shaoxin's article, written in Japanese, entitled "Rule by Law and Rule by the People" in the *Taiwan xinshengbao*. As a Taiwanese scholar, the author argued that the ethnic conflict between the *bensheng ren* and the *waisheng ren* had originated from an ideological conflict between "the rule by law" inherited during the Japanese experience, and "the rule by the people" embodied in "pre-modern" mainland society. This view was echoed in two political comments written by Chen Wangcheng, that appeared in *Minbao,* in which he argued that "2 plus 2 is 4" was certain for people in Taiwanese society, but that "2 plus 2" could be 3 or 5 in Chinese society. His statement indicates a common view that the primary difference between these two societies was that Taiwanese society was ruled by law, while the Chinese one was not. He further encouraged everyone, including officials and soldiers, to abide by the law on which democracy is based.[49] Holding up the "rule by law" as an essential aspect of "modernity", Chen evidently gained a clearer idea about the "modern" dimension of his *bensheng ren* identity, and, consequently, about the nature of the conflict between the *bensheng ren* and the *waisheng ren.* In contrast, as seen from Fan Shoukang's accusation that the *bensheng ren* lacked Chinese national identity and loyalty, the *waisheng ren's* perception of the *bensheng ren* was based on a "Chinese nationalist" approach.

Amidst the debate about the "wrong words" event and the worsening political and economic situation in Taiwan, in autumn 1946, a new facet of *bensheng ren*

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[49] Chen Shaoxin, "Houchi to ninchi" (Rule by Law and Rule by People); *Taiwan Xinshenbao*, March 3, 1935. *Minbao*, June 7, 10 & 16, 1946.

consciousness emerged, in the form of strong appeals for self-rule in Taiwan.[50] Chen expressed his strong support for a wave of independence movements in India, Indonesia, Vietnam and Korea in late 1946 and early 1947. He claimed that his support of the Asian independence movements stemmed from the principles of Sun Yat-sen's nationalism, although they might also have been linked to his previous beliefs in the Japanese-supported liberation of Asia from the Western colonial powers during the war. (please refer to the previous chapter.) In Taiwan's context, however, he welcomed the Chinese Nationalist government's announcement of a constitution, according to which Taiwan's provincial governor and county-level magistrates would be elected through direct popular elections.[51] Did Chen, therefore, become an advocate of an independent Taiwan before the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident? In a political column written on January 22, 1947, he denied a report in *zhongyang ribao* (Central Daily), based in Nanjing, that the Taiwanese wished to be independent or to be ruled by a foreign country. He further argued that "the idea of an independent Taiwan originated from *Koxinga* and reappeared in Tang Jingsong", the founders of the Zheng Kingdom in the 17th century and the short-lived Republic of Taiwan in 1895 respectively, "due to their strong oppositions to the misrule of foreign nations", which was the same cause of Sun Yat-sen's nationalism. This argument implies that the idea of an independent Taiwan could also originate from native Taiwanese opposition to the misrule conducted by the Nationalist Chinese.[52] In other words, until January, 1947, Chen may have been a covert believer in a politically independent Taiwan.

The outbreak of the mainlander-centered Yuanlin Event in mid-November, 1946,

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[50] *Minbao*, August 20, 25 & 31; September 16, 1946. Zeng Shirong, 1994, pp.86-87.

[51] *Minbao*, August 22, September 5, 20, 28, 1946; January 26, February 25, 1947.

[52] *Minbao*, January 22, 1947.

followed by a wave of Taiwanese-led protests, in which the islanders vowed to defend Taiwan as a society ruled by law, mirrored the deepening multiple crises.[53] This lead to the near collapse of the institutional bases in Taiwanese society at all levels and indicated the *bensheng ren's* crucial defence of his fundamental values and beliefs, which centered on modernity and were inherited from his previous Japanese experience. This *bensheng ren* consciousness confronted the growing challenges arising from the *waisheng ren's* misrule, which the Taiwanese believed reflected mainland China's pre-modernity. This defence, consequently, led to a further substantiation of *bensheng ren* consciousness in the process. The Yuanlin Event, described by the Taiwanese-based *Minbao* as "a shock-horror, a violation of law and a murderous event conducted in group form", was a crucial blow to the public order in Taiwan that occurred months before the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident.[54] Chen described it as "a big event" in his diary and took the initiative to deliver a lecture entitled "How to Protect Freedom" at a meeting aimed at protecting the rule of law in

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[53] The details of the Yuanlin Event can be described as follows: Xu Zongxi, a mainlander and the former head of Lugang police station in central Taiwan, was accused of assaulting Shi Jiangxi, a Taiwanese councilor, and refused to appear in court after being summoned for trial. On November 11, 1946, the Taizhong Local Court in Yuanlin sent over ten people, including three judicial police constables and some prison guards, to arrest Xu at the Taizhong Police Station, where Xu had been recently posted. In response to this, Xu, together with several mainlander police officers from the police station, viewed the arresting officers as a group of bandits attempting to surround the station and thus opened fire at them, which caused three people to be seriously hurt. These police officers not only hindered the wounded people from being sent to hospital for medical treatment but also jailed the rest of the people from the local court in Yuanlin. It took a week to rescue all of them from the police station through a series of difficult negotiations between the two sides. The following day, Chen Yi, the Chinese governor of Taiwan, appeared and decided that the event should be dealt with by the process of law. This event was regarded by the native press as a sign of the coming turmoil in Taiwan and thus led to a wave of law-protection actions promoted by native Taiwanese activists island-wide. Only one police officer, who was accused of firing the actual shots, was given a prison term of 5 years, and the other accused police officers were found not guilty. See Zeng Shirong, 1994, pp.76-80.

[54] *Minbao*, November 13, 1946.

Taiwanese society. This meeting, attended by 500 to 600 people, was organized by four Taibei-based societies, and mainly comprised Taiwanese politicians, journalists and lawyers.[55] Under this pressure, the Yuanlin event culminated in the announcement of the verdict, a week before the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident, that the seven accused, all of them mainlander police officers, were innocent except for the one who pulled the trigger. This outcome was obviously unsatisfactory to the native Taiwanese public, as evidenced by their strong push for legal reform during the 2.28 Incident.[56]

Based on the above discussion, the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident and the Nationalist government's military response to it, in mid-March 1947, may be viewed as a manifestation of the growing tensions between the "modernity" of the *bensheng ren* and the "nationality" of the *waisheng ren* during the early postwar period. Since Chen's diaries for 1947 and 1948 are missing, we lack the ability to comprehend fully his mental and ideological perspectives on the period; however, *Minbao*, which was banned during the 2.28 Incident, and a couple of interviews with Chen and his family conducted decades later, shed some light on his views during this time. The continuing confrontation between the *bensheng ren's* modernity and the w*aisheng ren's* nationality, further stirred up by the Yuanlin Incident, only exacerbated the total collapse of Taiwan's economy and society that may be observed in the sharp rise in commodity prices and the rapid spread of diseases island-wide in February, 1946.[57] This situation in Taiwanese society may be understood through a couple of editorials in *Minbao* that appeared in early 1947, and may have been written or rewritten by

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[55] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 13 & 28; December 19, 1946. See also *Minbao*, November 29, 1946.

[56] *Taiwan Xinshenbao*, March 8, 1947. See also *Minbao*, February 22, 1947.

[57] *Minbao*, February 1, 11, 12, 15, 22, 26 & 28, 1947. Even the *Minbao* faced a great difficulty in operations due to suddenly rising costs in February 1947.

Chen. Six weeks before the 2.28 Incident, an editorial entitled "Never Depressed, Compatriots!" explained that the current disturbances in Taiwan and China were due to "the loss of national morality"; Taiwanese society used to have a solid basis of social morality, but this was deteriorating, due to the bad influence from the mainland. This article further reminded the islanders that the crisis in Taiwan had spread down to its level of morality, and suggested that they should "revive their revolutionary spirit for constructing a new Taiwan". This "revolutionary spirit" was positively defined, in another editorial, as "the pursuit of happiness of the majority through promoting goodness, national consciousness, democracy and people's livelihood" in "a time of crisis" in Taiwanese society.[58] This "time of crisis" for Taiwan was described by a further editorial, published ten days before the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident:[59]

> Over the last few days, at whatever institutes or units [we] visited, all hardworking people showed that they were deeply depressed. They shook their heads and said, "At the end of the world, people could not survive unless they are opportunists. Those who came from the mainland frequently accused us of being enslaved [by the Japanese]. In the beginning, we were angry, since we did not know what they meant by "enslaved". However, we now realize that acting in a law-abiding way means being "enslaved". Ignoring a sense of morality was the only way to survive in "Chinese" society. ...
> ...Taiwan is the island where our ancestors constructed with their sweat and toil for 300 years. It is the island where our ancestors' tombs lie and so do ours. No matter how bad it will be, we will never give it up!

This reveals a clear, firm sense of *bensheng ren* identity, enforced by the continuing confrontation between the *bensheng ren's* modernity and the *waisheng ren's* nationality. This confrontation finally led to a major clash between the two ethnic

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[58] *Minbao*, January 15 & February 28, 1947.

[59] *Minbao*, February 19, 1947.

groups during the 2.28 Incident, and the subsequent military crackdown by the National Chinese government.

Between Independence and Accommodation: Chen's Sense of *Bensheng Ren* Identity under the White Terror, 1947-1955

What was the impact of the 2.28 Incident on Chen? How could one characterize Chen's identity in post-2.28 Taiwan, 1947–1955? *Minbao* was banned and its director, Lin Maosheng, killed for unknown reasons during the 2.28 Incident. Mostly due to Chen's previous harsh criticism of the authorities in *Minbao* and his public lectures in the street during the 2.28 Incident, he was viewed by the authorities as one of the thirty key suspects who had been involved in "instigating citizens to create internal disorder". His oldest son was arrested on the same accusation in early April, 1947. Chen then decided to hide in a house in Shanghai, owned by Zhang Xiqi, for a year or so. Following Zhang's advice, the former advisor to Chen Yi's government, in April, 1948, Chen decided to surrender to the police in Taibei, assisted by his former student, Su Shaowen, a Taiwanese-born Major General in the Nationalist Army, and was later acquitted.[60] In June, 1948, he was appointed by the government as chief compiler at the Provincial Bureau for Compiling Taiwan's General History (from June, 1948, to June, 1949), which was the official agency recruiting distinguished native Taiwanese, including Lin Xiantang.[61] In early 1950, Chen filled a vacant position as a provincial councilor, thus showing his further cooperation with the Nationalist central

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[60] Taiwansheng zhengfu ed. *Taiwansheng zhengfu gongbao*, summer, June 14, p.29618.

[61] Zhang Denan. 1999, pp.84-85.

government that had been recently established in Taibei.[62] His quest for a second term as provincial councilor in November 1951 further suggests his continued cooperation with the nationalist authorities.[63] Losing in his reelection bid, in December 1951, the 63-year-old Chen accepted an appointment, offered by the Xinzhu county government, as chair of a committee in charge of compiling the Xinzhu County Gazette, which was completed in 1957, after which the 69-year-old Chen basically retired.[64] Chen continued to keep a diary throughout the 1950s, although the volumes from 1952 to 1954 are missing. The style of his diaries in the 1950s remained reserved and brief, similar to the diary he kept during the early postwar period.

Chen's reentry into provincial politics and cultural affairs in the mainlander-dominated post-2.28 Taiwan externally revealed his cooperation with the Nationalist Chinese government, that was endeavouring to consolidate its control over Taiwanese society. What sort of accommodation was it, however? Throughout 1949, Chen closely observed events, as the Nationalists lost the civil war. He understood that the US government responded to this loss in a white paper that stated that the Nationalist government was corrupt and could not efficiently utilize U.S. reinforcements.[65] This was followed by the Indian and British recognition of the Communist Chinese government, and the US's reluctance to offer a military defence

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[62] In mid-April, 1946, Chen failed to win a position on the Taiwan Provincial Council, that consisted of 30 councilors. However, the election results show that he obtained the second-highest number of votes among those candidates who failed. Chen was allowed to fill a vacant position on the provincial council in 1950, because a councilor had been killed in the 2.28 Incident in 1947, and the one who had then filled this vacant position was recruited into the Taiwan provincial government in 1950.

[63] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 16, 1950; October & November, 1951.

[64] Zhang Denan. 1999, pp.89-91.

[65] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, April 24; May 26; August 6, 7 & 21; October 18; November 30, 1949.

of Taiwan in early 1950.[66] In response to these developments, the Nationalist government appointed Wu Guozhen as governor of Taiwan, and reshuffled the provincial government by recruiting more native Taiwanese.[67] Under this environment, Chen, as a newly-elected member of the provincial assembly (1950-1951), was invited by Su Shaowen, the Taiwan-born Major General and a former student of Chen, to join the Guomindang as the Secretary-in-Chief of its Xinzhu branch. Chen firmly declined the offer without stating the reason for this, revealing that he was not a Guomindang party member in 1950.[68] The outbreak of the Korean War in mid-1950, however, caused the U.S. to re-enter the Taiwan Straits and, as Chen perceived, solidify "the unsolved status of Taiwan".[69] This led to a convergence between the international Cold War and China's civil war, thus ensuring a stable Taiwan, where the defeated Nationalist government was able to reconstruct the Guomindang and create an institutional basis for its authoritarian rule centered around Jiang Jieshi and his son, Jiang Jingguo.[70]

Chen's interrogation at the provincial council (1950-1951) and various social events that he recorded in his diary enable one to examine the nature of his relationship with the Nationalist authorities during the White Terror. In June, 1950, when Chen Yi was executed by the Nationalist government on the grounds that he was a communist, Chen wrote: "Innumerable Taiwanese people were killed by his hand during the 2.28 Incident. He ended up the same way!", thus showing his great discontent with Chen Yi and his Chinese government. In contrast, he extended a deep

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[66] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 30, 1949. Aslo January 7; February 12, 1950.

[67] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 16, 1949; February 2, 1950.

[68] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 7& 9, 1950.

[69] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, June 26 & 28; August 1, 1950.

[70] Tien, Hung-mao. *The Great Transition – Political and Social Change in the Republic of China*, 1989, pp.1-7. Wakabayashi Masahiro, *Taiwan – fenlie guojia yu minzhuhua*, 1994, pp.83-106.

respect to Jiang Weishui, an active anti-colonial Taiwanese leader in the 1920s, by praising him for his "nationalist spirit and uncompromising will", indirectly revealing a sense of Taiwanese national consciousness.[71] Moreover, in a year-end session of the provincial assembly in 1950, Chen disagreed with a motion proposed by Guo Gouji, an outspoken Taiwanese councilor, to take an inspective trip to Japan. Chen argued that the costly trip would be an unnecessary burden on the taxpayers and mocked Guo, saying that "the Japanese son-in-law wanted a trip to Japan", since Guo's wife was Japanese. Chen's opposition was accepted in the end, revealing that his anti-Japanese image had come out into the open under the Nationalist authoritarian rule.[72] In sum, around 1950, Chen was more or less a hidden protestor against Chinese rule in Taiwan, a hidden supporter of Taiwanese national consciousness, and, on the surface, an openly anti-Japanese Taiwanese.

In the late 1920s, Chen, had been a left-leaning Taiwanese and remained a sympathizer with leftist causes in the anti-leftist Taiwan of the 1950s. By mid 1950, the Guomindang had established an institutional basis for the total control of Taiwan, indicating the beginning of the anti-leftist White Terror.[73] In mid-December 1950, Guo Guoji told Chen that Guo was being criticized by a top police officer of the Guomindang, and was viewed as "a follower of communism", when Guo, together with two councilors, showed their sympathies towards the Taiwanese communists. To show support for his colleagues, including Guo, at the provincial assembly, Chen proposed clamping down on the government secret agents, who intimidated the civilians. Moreover, Chen involved himself in a series of petitions by a group of sugar

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[71] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, June 18; August 5, 1950.

[72] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 25 & 26, 1950. See also Huang Fusan eds., *Jinxiandai Taiwan koushu lishi*, 1991, p 95.

[73] Guo, Zhengliang, *Guomindang zhengquan zai Taiwan de zhuanhua* (1945-1988), 1988, pp.30-31.

farmers protesting against the closure of a sugar refinery, thus underscoring his leftist inclinations.[74] In October, 1951, several of Chen's closest friends, who had been involved in anti-Japanese activities during the war, were accused of being communists by the Nationalist authorities. Chen was requested by the police to assist them in finding these "suspects" when he was running for reelection to the council in 1951. This action angered him, and further fueled his indifference towards political participation under the Guomindang.[75] This might also suggest that the Chinese national consciousness became increasingly indifferent to Chen in 1951, a couple of years after his resumption of cooperation with the Guomindang, which had begun with his surrender to the latter after having hidden in China.

Chen's reluctance to become a Guomindang party member and his involvement in various elections at the local level reveals the nature of his relationship with the Nationalist party-state, and provides a way of examining his identity position in early 1950s Taiwan. Chen joined the Guomindang in pre-2.28 Taiwan; however his refusal to join the Guomindang as the Party Secretary of its Xinzhu branch in January 1950, and his non-partisan status during the elections for the provincial council in 1951, showed that he was not a party member in the early 1950s. His non-partisan political approach, however, became a major obstacle to his political participation when the reconstruction of the Guomindang party state was completed in Taiwan. In the spring of 1951, Chen took charge of the electioneering affairs for Zhu Shengqi, a *Hakka* politician with a party membership in the Guomindang, who was standing as magistrate of Xinzhu. Chen, as a *Holo*, claimed that the ethnic distinction should be laid aside in order to create a united front in the election.[76] Due to the Guomindang's

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[74] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, December 8 & 15, 1950. See also July 27 & 28; August 3, 1951.

[75] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, October 4, 5 & 12, 1951

[76] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, January 20; February 8; April 1, 1951. *Holo* refers to native Taiwanese

manipulation, Zhu Shengqi, a nominee of the Guomindang, won the post, although Chen disagreed with the Guomindang's role in this election.[77] A few months later, in June, 1951, Chen revealed his willingness to run for reelection as a provincial councilor. The chairman of the Guomindang branch in Xinzhu prepared to assist Chen, on condition that he joined the Guomindang as a party member. Chen firmly rejected this offer, however, which inspired the Guomindang to act against him by requesting the party members not to vote for Chen in the indirect election. Chen's non-Guomindang political stance finally led to him losing the election. His firm refusal to join the Guomindang, however, suggested that Chen's Taiwanese national consciousness remained unchanged under the nationalist authoritarian rule in post-2.28 Taiwan.[78]

What sort of Taiwanese national consciousness did Chen embody in early post-2.28 Taiwan? As discussed above, Chen argued in January, 1947, that the idea of an independent Taiwan had originated during the Zheng Dynasty in the 17th century, and had reappeared in the Republic of Taiwan in 1895. He further elaborated the idea of Taiwanese nationalism as "a strong opposition to the misrule of foreign nations", and expanded upon this idea in two articles written in 1948, a year after the 2.28 Incident. In an article entitled "The Hidden Anti-hegemonic Political Consciousness of the Taiwanese", Chen argued that anti-hegemonic consciousness was carried by the Han-Chinese immigrants to Taiwan and further developed in Taiwan's historical context. Initially, the anti-hegemonic consciousness, represented by *Koxinga* as *fan Qing fu Ming* (opposing the Qing and recovering the Ming), intensified during the

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whose ancestors originally came from Fujian, while *Hakka* refers to native Taiwanese whose ancestors originally came from Guangdong in China.

[77] Zhang, Denan. 1999, p.88.

[78] *Chen Wangcheng's Diary*, November 10-19, 1951. Also Zhang Denan. pp.88-89.

process of the foreign rule of Taiwan, by both the Manchus and the Japanese. He labeled this sentiment "anti-foreign nationalism". Thus, Taiwan's 300-year-long history was, as he put it, "the history of national struggle".[79] Moreover, in another article, entitled "National Consciousness and the Taiwanese Republic", Chen outlined the history of the Republic of Taiwan and suggested a balanced way of viewing it. He suggested that the Taiwanese national spirit lay more in the history of the anti-colonial movements during the Japanese period, rather than that of the Taiwanese Republic. Chen's view of Taiwanese nationalism was also visible during an interview he gave in 1966, in which he explained that Taiwanese nationalism was based on the idea of "anti-hegemony".[80]

Part II: Wu Xinrong:

Wu's Mentality Immediately after the Japanese Surrender

In early 1945, Wu Xinrong, who had held dual Japanese/Taiwanese national identity, entered a period of uncertainty. This is evidenced by his tangled psychological inclinations in the face of the prospect that Japan might lose the war (please refer to the previous chapter). What was really in Wu's mind when the Japanese surrendered to the Allies on August 15, 1945?

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[79] Chen Juxian (Chen Wangcheng). "Taiwanren fan qiangquan zhi qianzai de zhengzhi yishi." In Taiwansheng tongzhiguan ed. *Taiwansheng tongzhiguan guankan*, 1:3, 1948. pp. 1-2.

[80] Chen Juxian. "Minzu jingshen yu Taiwan minzhuguo." In Taiwansheng tongzhiguan ed., *Taiwansheng tongzhiiguan guankan*, no.1, 1948. pp.21-22. See also Wang Shiqing. "Huang Wangcheng xiansheng fangwenjilu." In Huang Fusan ed., *Jinxiandai Taiwan koushu lishi*, 1991, p.94.

Wu's first response to Japan's loss was ambivalent. On August 15, 1945, he was told to listen to "an important radio broadcast" as he was returning home at noon. His radio did not work, however, due to a power cut, and, that night, one of his friends rushed to his house to tell him about the broadcast. Wu was "quite surprised that my predictions came true".[81] He changed the language in which he wrote his diary from Japanese to modern Chinese the following day. He recorded:

... After waking up I went out to see a patient while it was still dark. I washed my face and brushed my teeth after returning home. Then I worshipped my ancestors and Buddha. After that I thought about the local figures of *jun* [district], *jie* [town] and *buluo* [community].

...We went to Jiangjun by car, and then to Dadaowen [a fish farm] to see my father. Then we [four] took off our clothes and jumped into a pond, washing off ten-years of war dust and fifty-years of hardship. Then we got out of the pond and shouted at the sea. From now on, we will start our new lives! ...

... Oh, how momentous it was! The historic transition lay in a single day, in a single moment! Oh, how dramatic it was! Although today is the first day of the peace, it is hard [for me] to avoid a sense of worry and endless uncertainty. Anyway [I should] open-heartedly move on, and endeavour to sort things out.

In the next few days, [I should] act cautiously and quietly observe further developments in the outside world.[82]

This entry offers two major revelations: firstly, Wu expected "a new life" to begin immediately after the ending of the war and Japanese colonial rule, and so quickly returns to traditional Taiwanese Han-Chinese religion and beliefs; secondly, he had a clear sense of the insecurity and uncertainty caused by the failure of the Japanese war, in which he had been involved. Several months before the Japanese surrender, in the face of the increasing difficulties of the war, he gradually returned to the worship of the Taiwanese Han-Chinese deities. This return to his Taiwanese Han-Chinese beliefs

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[81] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 15, 1945.

[82] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 16, 1945.

was also connected to Wu's awareness of the increase in the status of the Taiwanese, as evidenced by his being offered the right to recommend six township mayoral candidates in the Beimen district, which used to be monopolized by the local Japanese authorities.[83] His expectation of a new life following the conclusion of the war and the end of the colonial rule, therefore, can be regarded as an extension of his rising Taiwanese national consciousness from an ethnic and religious perspective. In addition, this seems to point to a further reconstruction of Wu's dual national identity, as the decreasing Japanese-dimension quickly shifted to the Taiwanese-dimension, covering the rising Han-Chinese consciousness.

From where did Wu's sense of insecurity and uncertainty arise? What did they represent within the context of the ending of the war? Two days after the Japanese surrender, Wu exchanged views with ten Taiwanese friends at his home and concluded that "since the current situation is still uncertain, everyone feels a sense of insecurity", which appears to indicate that his feelings were not unique. After chatting with a Japanese friend, he added, "it is rumoured that the military authorities may take action," which might partly explain the reason for his insecurity. If appears more likely, however, that the major reason may have more to do with his previous participation in the failed war effort. As he notes in his diary, Wu understood that he was entering a "new era" and a "new life", without feeling any sense of victory or happiness. Rather, he and his friends felt uncertain and insecure. Tellingly, he describes a party, held three days after the surrender, as a "boisterous" but "melancholy" gathering.[84]

The Emerging Chinese National Consciousness Imagined through the Support of

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[83] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 4, 8 & 10, 1945.

[84] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 16, 17, 18 & 21, 1945.

the Taiwanese Han-Chinese Consciousness

In contrast to the shrinking Japanese dimension of his dual national identity, Wu's Chinese national consciousness was gradually being imagined through his growing support of the Taiwanese Han-Chinese consciousness in the weeks following the Japanese surrender. Four days after the Japanese surrender, Wu expanded his social contacts outside his local area. He took a trip to Tainan city and also tried to contact friends in central and northern Taiwan. He deeply lamented the damage done to Tainan city during the war, although felt relieved when he saw that the *Chikan Building*, the administrative centre of the Dutch and the Han-Chinese *Koxinga's* rule in Taiwan, remained intact.[85] Wu then reminded himself of his responsibility to create "a new culture" from the colonial debris, since "the legacies of Manchu and Japanese rule in Taiwan had been cleaned up by the war". His statement seems to call for the construction of a new culture, modeled on the ethnically Han *Koxinga* regime, that was in place prior to the arrival of both the Japanese and the ethnically Manchu Qing.[86] This Han-Chinese ethnic and cultural consciousness became more evident when the Chinese takeover of Taiwan proved imminent. Wu composed a poem entitled "Welcoming Song for the Troops from the Fatherland" three weeks after the surrender, in which he, as a Han Chinese (the offspring of the Yellow Emperor), expected to be liberated from fifty years of darkness and slavery by "our fatherland's troops". This was the first time that Wu viewed Nationalist China as his fatherland after the Japanese surrender, and the first time he identified himself as Chinese, through the support of his rising ethnic-Han consciousness. Although the Chinese troops failed to arrive in Tainan as anticipated, Wu celebrated Chinese National Day

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[85] Jiang, Aiping, *Zheng Chenggong xinyang de chengli yu fazhan*, 2000, pp.90-92.

[86] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 19 & 20, 1945.

on October 10, 1945, with great enthusiasm, and recorded that "the double-ten day is the first day [for Taiwanese] to become Chinese nationals. The streets are full of national flags. I burst into tears when we shouted 'Long Live the Great Republic of China' across from the town hall".[87] This Chinese national consciousness continued, when Chen Yi started official Chinese rule in Taiwan in late October, 1945, which also represented the Allies' acceptance of the Japanese surrender. Wu offered incense to his ancestors on the same day, telling them about the event, and also arranged a celebration banquet "to extend our loyalties to the fatherland". These actions indicate that the formation of his imagined Chinese identity was partly facilitated through, again, the support of an existing Han-Chinese consciousness of his Taiwanese national identity.[88]

The formation of his Chinese national identity was strengthened by his participation in the establishment of the Beimen branch of the left-leaning sanminzhuyi qingniantuan (Three Principles of Three Peoples' Youth Corps), the guominzhengfu huanying weiyuanhui (Committee for Welcoming the Nationalist Chinese Government), and other societies aimed at nationally connecting China-based organizations charged with aiding the Chinese takeover of Taiwan, and also locally maintaining a stable social order.[89] Wu's intense participation in establishing these China-oriented organizations nurtured an emerging Chinese national identity in him, that, in turn, strengthened these pro-China actions. He showed no intention of pushing for a politically independent Taiwan during that period, as is evidenced by his concern

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[87] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 10, 1945.

[88] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 24 & 25, 1945.

[89] *Sanminzhuyi qingniantuan Taiwan zhituanbu suoshu gedifang fentuan gongzuo renyuan mingce* (A Name List of the Members of the Local Sub-branches of the Taiwan Branch of the Three Principles of the People's Youth Corp) 1946, unknown publisher and place. See also *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, September 20, 22, 25 & 27, 1945

about the likely interruption of the Chinese takeover of Taiwan due to a rumour about the potential for war between Nationalist China and the USSR in early October, 1945.[90] Prior to the Chinese arrival in Jiali, where he was living in mid-November, 1945, Wu was concerned about the increasing social conflicts and problems partly caused by the harsh Japanese economic mobilization during the wartime, and the rising confrontation between the left-leaning young Taiwanese and the right-leaning local gentry.[91] For these reasons, he organized a society called *zhongyihui* (the Righteous Society), an armed group aimed at maintaining social order. Furthermore, as a left-leaning activist during the prewar period, Wu organized another society called the Jiali Peasant Society that, joined by the former cadres of the Farmers' Union and headed by Wu himself, aimed at resisting landlords.[92]

There was an evident move from Wu's fading Japanese-dimension national consciousness towards his Chinese-dimension through his central Taiwanese-dimension Han-Chinese consciousness, only months after the Japanese surrender. This shift appears to indicate that Taiwan was increasingly being integrated from a Japan-sized politico-social corporation into a China-sized one, which also implies that Wu's sense of orphanage, that emerged in the depressing final stages of the war, gradually diminished. Clearly, he had no intention of returning to the Japanese dimension of his identity, as demonstrated by his strong sense of entering "a new era" or having "a new life" following the Japanese surrender. Wu described the final meeting for both Taiwanese and Japanese councilors, held at Jiali's town council in early October, 1945, as something like "a funeral ceremony", implying there was

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[90] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 4, 1945

[91] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, September 25, 26, 28 & 30; October 6, 1945.

[92] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 1, 3 & 17, 1945.

no possible return of Japanese rule in Taiwan.[93] What sort of Taiwanese national consciousness did Wu possess before the formal arrival of the Chinese in Jiali in mid-November 1945? As mentioned above, his concept of the construction of a "new culture" was modeled on the Han-Chinese *Koxinga's* rule, revealing his intention to return to a Taiwan-based, rather than a China- or Japan-based, view of history. This historical view did not include Taiwan in a broader Chinese or Japanese historical discourse, but rather Wu clarified that it was centered within its own "300-year-long history" after another visit to the *Chikan Building* on October 20, 1945.[94] In other words, up until that point, Wu's self identification with Taiwan centered specifically on the island's own 300-year history.

A Return to the Taiwanese National Identity in the Face of a Frustrated Chinese National Imagination

Wu's abstractly imagined Chinese national identity was soon challenged by the arrival of the first Chinese official and the subsequent political takeover of Jiali. Four months after the Japanese surrender, together with nearly 2000 local Taiwanese, Wu warmly welcomed a Chinese police officer at the town hall. He could not help but reveal a sense of disappointment when he saw the officer's disorderly followers from China, although he reminded himself that "[our] nation and government were still trustworthy", thus revealing his insistence on his newly imagined Chinese national identity. This was followed by another event ten days later, showing the beginning of Wu's dissatisfaction with the Chinese officials, when the chair of the five-member committee in charge of the takeover of Tainan prefecture appointed only one local

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[93] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 6, 1945.

[94] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 20, 1945.

Taiwanese to the committee, without consulting the Beimen branch of the left-leaning sanminzhuyi qingniantuan, a well-organized branch headed by Wu and aimed at assisting with the takeover.[95] This revealed the irreconcilable expectations of Wu and the Chinese official regarding the division of power and the future plans for Taiwan's governance.

A psychological distinction between the local Taiwanese and the mainland Chinese emerged in Wu's mind, as his dissatisfaction with the Chinese takeover intensified. On November 19, 1945, he first used the term *bensheng*, to indicate 'this province of Taiwan' and so distinguish the native Taiwanese from the mainlanders. When he met with three visitors working in the public sector at home, he called them "today's *bensheng* talented figures", implying that he intended to relate the *bensheng* to something positive. Ten days later, Wu praised another Taiwanese policeman, saying that "although [he] was young, he looked down on those newly arrived Chinese officials," revealing a negative characterization of the mainlanders.[96] The following day, Wu emotionally revealed his great dislike and disappointment for "the unfair and unreliable time" and considered retreating from it, after participating in a couple of meetings about the Chinese takeover. At the end of December, 1945, Wu concluded his view of the Chinese takeover by stating that "the year that has undergone the surrender, peace, takeover and then the turmoil is finished. Nevertheless, our happiness has turned into despair, and then dissatisfaction. Still [we] have to work hard, fight and construct [for the future] next year".[97] Why and how did Wu experience such a dramatic a change in his perception of Chinese rule in little more than four months' time? Before dealing with this, the following question should be

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[95] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 14 & 24, 1945.

[96] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 19 & 28, 1945.

[97] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, November 29 & December 31, 1945.

answered: what expectations did Wu have about the coming Chinese rule?

The dramatic change in Wu's perception of the Chinese rule was mostly caused by his over-expectations and misunderstanding of the foreign Chinese rule. As mentioned earlier, he returned to re-read SunYat-sen's collective works, representing the Nationalist Chinese ideology, months before the Japanese surrender, which initially enabled him to imagine a Chinese national identity based on this systematic reading. However, the Taiwanese Han-Chinese consciousness played a major role in supporting the imagined Chinese national identity in the months following the Japanese surrender, at a period when most Taiwanese still had a sense of insecurity and worry partly caused by their involvement in the failed war. Their warm welcoming of the first Chinese officials, however, may be interpreted as more than just an exhibition of their ethnic-Han consciousness, linking Taiwan to the mainland. It may be read as an 'indirect' way for the Taiwanese to concede a failed war in which they had participated, showing that they had no intention of resisting the takeover of the formerly rival Allies, including the Chinese, by skillfully but opportunistically transforming their sense of insecurity into an 'over-enthusiastic' welcome of the Chinese. This was the context within which the Taiwanese Chinese national identity was initially imagined. Thus, Wu's expectations of the coming Chinese rule were based on an abstract, unilateral and opportunistic footing, which led to his unrealistic and fragile over-anticipation.

He reached a clearer self-position in early 1946, when the Chinese had been in Taiwan for a few months, and the island's Japanese inhabitants had been recently banished. Wu began to use a Chinese writing brush with which to make his diary entries in early 1946, although these are missing for the first three months of this year. Four months after the Chinese arrival in Jiali, all of its Japanese inhabitants there were sent back to Japan on a single day. Wu was shocked by this, and wrote on March 17,

1946:

...the Japanese left Gaoxiong Port yesterday...[I can't see] any Japanese in Jiali now. This hasn't happened once in the last fifty years. [I am] bitterly experiencing the tremendous impact of this historic event! All of a sudden, our fifty-year-old [Japanese] neighbours have left. Although they were the conquering rulers, [I] can't avoid a sense of loneliness. For instance, the leaving of the [Japanese] school principal's couple from my primary schooldays made me burst into tears, showing a transcendence of national distinction. However, although [we were] not willing to protect those who used to be [Japanese] police officers when they left, [we still] had to keep them alive.[98]

The departure of the Japanese inhabitants further hastened the decline of Wu's Japanese consciousness, while at the same time strengthening his awareness of being Taiwanese. This transformation was occurring at a time when his abstractly imagined Chinese consciousness was being increasingly frustrated by his real experiences of encountering Chinese from the mainland, which psychologically implied a gradual return to his Taiwanese-dimension identity. These multi-dimensional interactions between Wu's Chinese, Japanese and Taiwanese national identities gave him a clearer self-awareness as a Taiwanese, i.e. as an emerging *bensheng ren*, which defined itself in the early postwar context.

What were Wu's plans for his career and the future of Taiwan under Chinese rule? What did he do to achieve these goals? His plan for a future Taiwan was exhibited in a couple of the proposals he offered, including the establishment of state-run public clinics and ancestor temples for Han-Chinese ancestors in each township, and suggestions for new names for the streets of Jiali, such as Sun Yat-sen, *Koxinga*, Worker, Farmer, etc., thus revealing his socialist background and his consciousness of being both Taiwanese and Chinese. A school song that Wu composed for the Jiali

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[98] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 17, 1946.

Primary School, however, manifested a clearer picture of his plans for a future Taiwan: "Offspring of the Yellow Emperor, Following *Koxinga's* moral integrity; ...Looking eastward, the Yu Mountain, viewing westward, the *Kunshen* Sea...We should stride forward, the avenue of self-rule; the fatherland's old culture, the global new science...We should encourage ourselves, in an integral manner".[99]

Wu's political expectations were frustrated when he lost the provincial council election in mid-April 1946. This crucial setback marked the end of the process of his politicization, which first began with his participation in the war mobilization in late 1937 and the local elections in late 1939. The Chen Yi government held a competitive election for provincial, county, city and town councilors in Taiwan, in which 36,968 candidates participated.[100] Until late March, 1939, Wu was politically associated with two major organizations, serving as a chief at the Beimen branch of the sanminzhuyi qingniantuan, and as a councilor on the Tainan county council. He sought to run for a position on the Taiwan provincial council, which consisted of 30 councilors but lacked law-enacting and budgetary duties, in mid-April 1946, under the campaign slogans "new regime, new Taiwan and new talents" and "fighting against those snobbish cooperators, and against those obsolete old politicians'.[101] In political terms, Wu positioned himself as a "progressive and young" politician, who aimed at creating a new Taiwan under the Chinese new regime. This political enthusiasm and his expectations, however, faced a crucial frustration when he and several other provincial and municipal chiefs of the left-leaning Sanminzhuyi qingniantuan lost the provincial councilors' election, thus revealing that the political approach that Wu had

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[99] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 24 & April 13, 1946.

[100] Lai, Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers & Wei, E: *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947*, 1991. pp.67-70.

[101] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 4; June 25; July 4, 1946. See also *Renmin daobao*, April 22 & 23, 1946.

adopted at the beginning of the postwar period proved to be unpopular under Chinese rule.[102] This was a "crucial" setback because these leftist ideas were one of his ideological pillars immediately after the war, as Wu reconnected with the leftist tradition of the 1920s. This was evidenced by his reading of one of Guo Morou's poems entitled "Cry Over our Suffering Comrades" which caused him a great deal of emotional excitement and ideological inspiration, since it could bring him a "vividness of life" amidst the deteriorating environment in Taiwan.[103]

This major political frustration was followed by his move towards making a final break with the authorities, which indicates his intention to withdraw from "Chinese" politics and consequently signaled the increasing irrelevance of his Chinese national identity. Two days after he failed in the provincial council election, Wu visibly modified his left-leaning approach by joining the conservative Guomindang on the grounds that the party needed "progressive" new members.[104] Later, this political modification did not seem to ease his political participation, which would lead to him considering withdrawing from politics altogether. Wu delivered an ultimatum to the local authorities, including a pro-government local Taiwanese family, by handing a letter to a Chinese magistrate, appealing for political reform and support of a police officer who was viewed by him as a "good Taiwanese".[105] Since Wu did not receive any positive response to this, he decided to withdraw from all political activities on May 13, 1946, upon which he also went to a Taiwanese temple to worship. Three days later, he worshipped at another Taiwanese temple, viewing its religious ceremony and

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[102] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, April 17, 1946.

[103] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, September 2, 1946.

[104] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, April 19, 1946.

[105] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 5, 8 & 11, 1946.

"thinking remotely about the nation's history".[106] This demonstrates that, when Wu faced unbearable political frustrations, he would return to the Taiwanese religion and culture, thus demonstrating a return to his Taiwanese national identity.

In mid-May, 1946, Wu's political crisis turned into a multi-level crisis, which would lead him to adopt a further non-cooperative approach. This indicates that, although he did not totally relinquish his imagined Chinese national identity, his *bensheng ren* consciousness was on the rise. As early as late-April, 1946, Wu sensed a looming economic crisis, mainly caused by a shortage of rice and the deepening poverty of the masses, a fact that was made clear when his daily earnings could not longer meet his daily expenses.[107] On May 18, 1946, he recorded that he had decided to withdraw from participation in any political activity, since "we refuse to cooperate, except in situations like a national crisis". He then added, "we refuse to cooperate with those who are merely impractical, those who are corrupt, those who gain private ends through public causes, and those who are cold-blooded and unreasonable". This non-cooperative approach was also based on Wu's observation of his surroundings in which "confrontations exist everywhere in the world". These confrontations included, internationally, the US confrontation with the USSR, and "nationally, the Guomindang's confrontation with the Communists which causes our constant concern, since it is crucial to the Han-Chinese recovery. In Taiwan, the mainlanders confront the local Taiwanese [i.e. the *bensheng ren*], relating to the political situation on the mainland and need time to sort it out. In our local area, the faction led by the head of the [Beimen] district confronts the other...We can't cooperate with them [the former faction]. Our best strategy is to withdraw and wait".[108] Surrounded by multi-level

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[106] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 13 & 17, 1946.

[107] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, April 20, 21 & 23, 1946.

[108] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 18, 1946

confrontations, Wu could only choose to wait.[109]

The rising confrontation between the *bensheng ren* (the native Taiwanese) and the *waisheng ren* (the mainlanders) was ideologically intensified through a closer comparison of the former Japanese and the current Chinese rule in Taiwan. In early July, 1946, Wu concluded the reasons why "the Taiwanese are so against the *waisheng ren* and the public so distrustful of the government", was because of "firstly, the failure of the takeover which was undertaken by corrupt officials; secondly, the inefficiency of governance caused by the awful administration; thirdly, the serious food shortage, which caused unrest; fourthly, the spread of terrible diseases caused by low cultural standards".[110] This analysis of the failure of the Chinese administration of Taiwan consists of two major points: firstly, it implies a comparison between the previous Japanese rule and the current Chinese one; and, secondly, it reveals that the confrontation between the two was, by nature, a conflict between "modernity", as represented by the former Japanese rule, and "less modernity", as represented by the current Chinese regime. Regarding the former, Wu began to compare the two regimes from around late May, 1946. As he was assigned several posts that he was unlikely to have held under the Japanese rule, he recorded that "since the takeover, we greatly suffered in both a spiritual and material sense and secured only some superficial reputation. Still, this [his reputation] was comforting to me".[111] What does Wu mean by the phrase "spiritual and material suffering"? He regarded the Chinese way of governance as "perfunctory," which "he could not get used to and also disagreed with", thus implying that the Japanese rule was far more efficient. Moreover, he personally experienced Taiwan's economic collapse when he had to "borrow money

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[109] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 18 & 19, 1946.

[110] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 2, 1946.

[111] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 22, 1946.

from friends" for his survival, an event that had not befallen him since he first established his clinic in 1932.[112] As a doctor, Wu found that a few terrible diseases, such as cholera, were spreading widely in his residential area. He found that around 10% of the villagers in coastal villages had become ill, and that many citizens in Tainan city were dying of disease. Wu even contracted cholera twice himself, following the Chinese takeover, thus clearly revealing the worsening hygienic environment in Taiwan following the end of Japanese rule there.[113]

The confrontation between the two sides in the early postwar context resulted from an inner ideological conflict between the *bensheng ren's* modernity, originating from the previous Japanese experiences, and the *waisheng ren's* nationality, partly emerging during the process of the anti-Japanese war. The Japanese heritage was represented in two main aspects in early postwar Taiwan: Japanization and modernization. The former was "consciously" suspended by the native Taiwanese due to the Japanese surrender and the Chinese anti-Japanese sentiments. The latter, however, was imagined as an integral part of the *bensheng ren's* identity. The *bensheng ren's* modernity was also linked to wartime Taiwan, that was a highly rationalized, organized and centralized society due to the war mobilization.[114] This led the *bensheng ren* to expectations of 'rationalization' for the nationalist-minded and less modern Chinese governance of Taiwan, that was the main cause of the increasing confrontation between the two sides.

In psychological terms, Wu soon turned to a radical approach to the Chinese authorities as he "had nowhere to escape" and was "at the end of the world" due to the deepening multi-level crisis beginning in September, 1946. Until mid-1946, even

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[112] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 20, 24 &25, 1946.

[113] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 16 & 28; July 15, 28 & 30, 1946.

[114] Kushner, Barak, *The Thought War – Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, 2006, pp.184-185.

though he was increasingly dissatisfied with Chinese rule in Taiwan, Wu still had high expectations of the central government on the mainland. This expectation, however, was significantly weakened when he began to receive information from the mainland. As early as late May, Wu complained that the newspapers in Taiwan could not function as an instrument to report facts and express public dissatisfaction. A couple of weeks later, he immediately "realized the real situation on the mainland", leading him to "a visible shift in mentality" shortly after reading newspapers and magazines from Shanghai. This "realization" shattered his expectations of the Chinese central government, further strengthening his decision to withdraw from participation in public affairs in Taiwan.[115] In fact, this sense of indifference towards public affairs existed extensively in the minds of the Taiwanese elite, as evidenced by a sharp decline in the number of people who participated in the activities of the Guomindang and the Sanminzhuyi qingniantuan.[116] On August 30, Wu recorded that "the crisis I am currently encountering is extremely serious. ...Where on earth should I go?" This sense of "nowhere to escape" was caused by a multi-level crisis that intensified in late September, 1946, due to the further social deterioration. He felt strongly that he was "at the end of the world", in which "righteous people were forced to leave their homes", and "only vicious people would be promoted". This led him to anticipate the arrival of the "*datong shijie*" (a world without unfairness), thus revealing his increasingly radical approach to the Chinese administration in Taiwan.[117]

The 2.28 Incident and the Formation of the *Bensheng Ren* Identity

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[115] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 23; June 11, 1946.

[116] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 9 & 14; August 15, 1946.

[117] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 30; September 24, 25, 26 & 27, 1946.

What were the mental resources that supported Wu during the multi-level crisis? Firstly, it was his leftist beliefs that sustained him throughout the deepening crisis. One of his major concerns after the takeover was to organize the left-leaning sanminzhuyi qingniantuan, which was not popular among the public, and was sometimes distrusted by the authorities. In response to this, the strategy of the sanminzhuyi qingniantuan was to remain low-key, waiting for the right time. Wu's leftist beliefs lay latent, as evidenced by the fact that he felt "his life being refreshed again" after reading one of Guo Moruo's poems, at a time when he was greatly depressed by the worsening multi-level crisis that offered him "nowhere to escape".[118] Moreover, as an intellectual, Wu believed that the intellectuals in Taiwan should follow "the cultural heritage of the revolutionary tradition as represented by Lu Xun and Lai He", the most famous leftists in China and Taiwan, respectively, thus revealing his intention to fight for survival at a time when the crisis had become unbearable. It was the "clear-cut revolutionary passion" that Wu identified as his "true self".[119]

Moreover, another mental resource that Wu used to support himself during the crisis was his Taiwanese Han-Chinese consciousness and beliefs that had been resurfacing in his mental world since the final stages of the war. In autumn 1946, he moved further away from politics towards cultural affairs, after losing the Jiali mayoral election. His cultural activities included visiting friends at cultural societies, such as the Joint Society for Taiwan Culture, which was aimed at promoting Taiwanese culture, writing and translation.[120] He named his newborn baby "*Xiatong*", indicating that he was "a true offspring of the Han-Chinese". It was this Han-Chinese

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[118] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 9; September 2; October 22 & 23, 1946.

[119] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, September 6; December3, 1946. See also February 8, 1947.

[120] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 8, 9, 10, 12, 22 & 23; November 11, 1946.

consciousness that enabled Wu to trust to the Chinese leadership at the central level. He noted that "the most meaningful event in Taiwanese history" occurred when the Chinese leader, Jiang Jieshi, and his wife first visited Taiwan in 1946, on the memorial day of the October 25 Chinese takeover of Taiwan. This was, however, based on a "Taiwan-centred", rather than a "China-centred", way of thinking, since he viewed it from the perspective of Taiwanese history.[121] Furthermore, the "modernity" of his Japanese experience, that emerged during the interaction between the *bensheng ren* and the "nationalist-minded" *waisheng ren*, acted as another mental resource for sustaining his own stance in the crisis.

Three mental resources supported Wu in his fight for survival during the February 28 Incident in 1947. At the end of December, 1946, he recorded that his only hope was the coming of "a big revolution in society and politics" that would garner the support of "the progressive youths" and "the righteous people". Otherwise, he would become "an economic serf forever," he lamented.[122] He believed that the radical approach was the only way to survive the multi-level crisis. Although he had twelve posts in the public and private sectors, spending ten days per month on these, he felt impotent in the depressed world.[123] The crisis became far worse when the shortage of rice caused public panic. In mid-February, 1947, the doctor's upper middle class family, who lived in Taiwan, an island rich in rice production, could not afford to buy rice and was forced to replace it with potatoes at their daily meals.[124] A week before the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident, two of Wu's friends, including a leftist named Li Lu, came to see him. They discussed the current political crisis and "strongly suggested

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[121] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, September 13; October 25, 1946

[122] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 31, 1946.

[123] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 1, 5, 11 & 17, 1947.

[124] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 31; February 20, 1947.

[we] organize people", which implied that he was "waiting" to take action.[125] On March 1, 1947, a day after the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident, Wu recorded: "The policemen of the Bureau for the Monopoly of Tobacco and Wine gunned down a citizen yesterday, causing Taibei citizens to rise up. They repeatedly shouted beat the 'A-san' [i.e. the mainlanders] and surrounded the governmental office...I frequently heard the term 'coup in March'. It might be true. Personally, I am increasingly dissatisfied with the current situation. My mind, however, has become more certain". On the following day, Wu went to Tainan city to visit some friends, including a leader of the youth corps. That evening, he dined with some friends at a friend's house in Jiali, "toasting the Taibei uprising".[126]

The 2.28 Incident was an event that forced the native Taiwanese to take action to defend themselves during the intensifying multilevel crisis. This action sharpened the border between the native Taiwanese (*the bensheng ren*) and the mainlanders (the *waisheng ren*). The 2.28 Incident can thus be regarded as the political stimulus for shaping the *bensheng ren's* identity. What was Wu's role in this event? The news about the Taibei uprising quickly spread to central and southern Taiwan through radio broadcasts controlled by angry citizens. In his hometown of Jiali, due to the halting of the function of police units and the return of the ethnic Taiwanese who had served in the Japanese military overseas, Wu took charge of organizing the "Temporary Committee for Handling the Current Situation in the Beimen Area", conducting the takeover of military facilities at the police station and overseeing an armed defence of his hometown on March 2, 1947. The committee was enlarged as it took in several local leaders of the public sector the following day.[127] Later, Wu became vice-chair of

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[125] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 22, 1947.

[126] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 1 & 2, 1947.

[127] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 3 & 4, 1947.

the committee, although a rescue team of 12 armed local Taiwanese was sent to Jiayi without his agreement. Wu then proposed to dismiss the committee and return the arms to the police station, which caused some disputes among the participants. He then participated in a conference for people from Tainan county, during which 47 officials, including the Chinese magistrate, were recalled. In an upbeat mood, Wu was elected, on March 10, 1947, as the chair of the Beimen branch of the island-wide er-er-ba chuli weiyuanhui (Committee for Tackling the 2.28 Incident), which consisted of major leaders from all levels in the Beimen area, two thirds of whom Wu regarded as "progressive". In the evening of the same day, however, the upbeat atmosphere was soon frustrated by the news that an armed force, organized by Taiwanese students in Taibei, had encountered part of two divisions of Nationalist Chinese troops sent out by the Nanjing government from the mainland. This information led to a full dissolution of the island-wide er-er-ba chuli weiyuanhui and the enforcement of martial law in Taibei.[128] This new development brought a sense of uncertainty to people in the south. On March 12, 1947, Wu recorded that "today is the memorial day of Sun Yat-sen's death. The national flags fill the streets [of Jiali]...However, there is a sense of indescribable insecurity on the faces of the masses...Anyway, nothing is predictable. Things break out without principle or reason. So, I have to firmly withdraw from the event, and closely watch how it progresses." The next day, on March 13, 1947, a couple of unidentified armed men arrived in Jiali. A day after that, Wu went into hiding.[129]

He described his experiences from March 13 to 18 1947 as, "the most depressing and confusing period in my life", when the Nationalist Chinese military crushed the Taiwanese participants in the 2.28 Uprising. Except for the period from March 18 to

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[128] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10, 1947.

[129] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 12 & 13, 1946.

21, 1947, Wu did not keep a diary during his concealment and imprisonment, which lasted from March 14 to late June. He recorded what happened during that period, however, in his diary on July 1, 1947, after his release from prison on June 21. Most of these recollections were based on his memory, or on his records kept on pieces of paper. On March 18, 1947, he was taken by force by a couple of armed men to the police station to open an arms depot, but was subsequently released, as he did not have the key for the cache. The public in Jiali panicked, however, as there were rumours that the Chinese troops were coming, bringing messages such as "revenge, terror and blood". Wu then went into hiding at a friend's house. This event greatly frustrated him, teaching him "a lesson" and causing him to feel "a great sadness for the future of our nation and country". He related the 2.28 Incident to the "May 30th Tragedy" in 1920s China, a "flood-wreaked" political disaster, and composed a poem entitled "After Reading '*The Deluge*'", thus revealing his sense of mourning for those Taiwanese youths who had been killed in the 2.28 incident, and his sense of hopelessness regarding the Chinese authorities.[130] According to an official report written in 1994, several years after the 1987 lifting of martial law in Taiwan, the death toll of the 2.28 Incident remains unknown, although it indirectly suggests that around 18,000 were killed during that event.[131] On March 19, 1947, Wu considered that the situation had improved and returned home. He was told, however, that several police officers had come to arrest him at his house during his absence on March 23. He then decided to go into hiding again. On April 9, 1947, over ten members of the Taiwanese elite in the Jiali area, including Wu's father, were arrested and imprisoned in Tainan city. On April 20, 1947, Wu formally surrendered to the military police corps with the assistance of an advisor at the military headquarters in Tainan city. He was questioned

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[130] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 1; March 18, 1946.

[131] Xingzhengyuan 'yanjiu er-er-ba shijian xiaozu'. *Er-er-ba shijian yanjiu baogao*. 1994, p.262.

about his relationship with the communists and his involvement in the 2.28 Incident, and was later imprisoned in Taibei. He was released on June 21, 1947, then went to visit his father, who had been accused of hiding bandits, in Tainan Prison on June 30. The following day, Wu returned to his home in Jiali, after "the hundred day disaster", with a concrete sense of seeing "a broken country with an intact mountain and river".[132]

After the hundred-day disaster, Wu tried to sequester himself from the Chinese-controlled world in Taiwan, and focused on composing his autobiography and family history. In so doing, he showed that his Taiwanese, i.e. *bensheng ren*, identity was under a process of further substantiation through cultural reconstruction. In other words, his return to the historical writings about himself, his family and Taiwan, as a direct response to the Chinese crushing of the 2.28 Incident, played a cultural role in internally constructing his *bensheng ren* identity. Moreover, Wu's depressed mood, caused by his bitter experiences during the 2.28 Incident, led him to a deepening inclination towards Buddhism, thus demonstrating his disillusionment with the secular world. It was during the period of Wu's discontent with the Nationalist Chinese crushing of the Taiwanese uprising that Japanese food became increasingly popular in Taiwan, thus indicating a physical return by the Taiwanese to their common Japanese experience after the 2.28 Incident.[133] Moreover, Wu transferred his political expectations to other Taiwanese. He assisted Wu Sanlian, a Tainan-born Taiwanese who had been living on the mainland during the war, to run for the National Assembly, on the grounds that Wu Sanlian was "a pioneering figure

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[132] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, April 9, 15, 20 & 28; May 2 & 15; June 7; July 1& 2, 1946. Wu Xinrong employed the first sentence of the poem entitled "Chun Wang" (Hope in Spring), written by the famous Tang Dynasty poet, Du Fu, to describe his sadness about "the hundred days disaster".

[133] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 25 & 30; August 3, 1946.

in the Taiwanese liberation movement who never betrayed his principles". When Wu Sanlian was elected, Wu recorded that "the Taiwanese people have made a good choice, and naturally Taiwan is still hopeful", revealing his increasing expectations of Taiwan-born figures and also his continued anticipation of a better time to come.[134] Wu's main concerns during the post-2.28 period, however, were cultural and historical affairs. A month after his release from prison, Wu had a rough idea of composing an ancestral history, consisting of "national" and "family" histories on the mainland and in Taiwan separately.[135] This idea developed into Wu writing his autobiography six months later, which he defined as "a record of the first half of my life", and within which he described how his surroundings had changed during the period of "pre-revolutionary" turmoil. It took around five months for Wu to complete the first draft of his autobiography, that consisted of three parts, covering the period from 1920 to 1947, with the last chapter entitled "A Period of Deluge", that focused on the 2.28 Incident.[136]

Wu's historical writings revealed an intention to construct and interpret the past not only of himself, however, but also of his family and of Taiwan, based on a Taiwan-centred view of history. This work was undertaken within a climate of increasing censorship imposed by the Nationalist Chinese government, that was quickly losing ground to the Communists on the mainland. After the 2.28 Incident, Wu no longer kept his diary regularly, as previously. The style of his entries appears more reserved and weaker. In June, 1949, Wu recorded that "I have been lazy in keeping my diary for a long time" due to a "political" consideration, adding that, "if my writings affect my future career, I am ready to accept that. From now on, I will

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[134] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 5; November 24 & 28, 1946.

[135] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 31, 1946.

[136] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 1 & 9; March 20; July 6 & 10, 1948.

keep my diary on a daily basis. At least I will record my here-and-now life".[137] In December, 1951, Wu began to write another autobiography, entitled *Cishi cidi* (*The Time, the Land*), that was based on his previous autobiographical writings, and consists of three parts, covering the feudal Qing, the capitalist Japanese and the socialist Chinese periods, respectively. After the completion of the work in October, 1952, Wu swiftly became devoted to writing and editing the Tainan County's Gazette and the Journal of Nanying, that promoted the local history of Tainan area.[138]

Wu's leftist beliefs amid the growing political censorship following the 2.28 Incident became a hidden but essential component of his mental world. At the end of January, 1948, Wu recorded that "a global crisis is approaching. Our guess is that it will be settled in three months' time. Thus, we are willing to tolerate it for the next three months. However, if it cannot be settled then, it will be the end of us". Eleven months later, however, on December 23, 1948, Wu recorded, "All of my hopes and ideals depend on the beginning of next spring. If things cannot meet my expectations then, I will know what sort of future mine will be". A week later, on January 1, 1949, Wu repeated this idea in his diary, noting that "the greatest and the last hope of my whole life will come true this year. If not, it will be a big miscalculation in my life".[139] Examining the records mentioned above, it appears that Wu was writing about certain closely connected issues. So, what were his "hidden" expectations during these two years? Firstly, what sort of things could he not mention directly in his diary? Since the Nationalist Chinese government viewed the 2.28 Incident as an event "mainly instigated by the communists, aimed at the establishment of an independent Taiwan",

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[137] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 23, 1949.

[138] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December ?, 1951; November 11-14, 1952; January 1, February 10 & March 29, 1953.

[139] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, January 29; December 23, 1948. Also January 1; March 13, 1949.

the ideas of supporting leftist causes and Taiwanese independence increasingly became political taboos. In particular, the anti-leftist trend in politics was further intensified as the Chinese Nationalists were losing ground to the Chinese communists on the mainland throughout 1949.[140] This may be one reason why Wu could only write about this indirectly. Moreover, his "hidden expectation" could have a lot to do with the ongoing civil war on the mainland. On March 13, 1949, Wu visited his closest friend, the leftist Chen Yisong, and 30 to 50 other friends in Taibei, perceiving that they were "all uncertain on the eve of the great transitional era". In other words, Wu realized they were facing the coming of a great transition, at a time when the upbeat Communist troops were confronting Nationalist troops on both sides of the Yangzi River. Wu reminded himself to prepare for "a coming crucial change before summer" and also to finish reading two books, a series on world cultural history written by H. G. Wells entitled *The Outline of History*, and a socialist book entitled *Shehui Lun* (On Society), that replaced the *Ziben Lun* (On Capital) when the latter was deleted from his diary, probably due to his caution arising from the political censorship of leftist theory.[141] This may suggest that Wu's "hidden expectations" were related to the leftists or the Chinese Communists. Did he secretly expect an overwhelming victory of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, to envelop the island of Taiwan? This is possible but there is no convincing evidence for this. In May, 1949, when the Communists entered Shanghai and Nanjing, Wu understood that Taiwan had become "the safest place in the whole country", although he could not imagine that Taiwan would soon "became an orphan of the Pacific Ocean", or perhaps

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[140] Bai, Chongxi, "Bai Chongxi dui quanguo guangboci." March 27, 1947. In Naijing dier dangganguan ed., *Taiwan er-er-ba shijian shiliao dang'an*, vol.2, pp. 683-685.

[141] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, March 7 & 13; October 27, 1949. See also Wells, Herbert George, transl. by Kitagawa Saburō, *Wells sekai bunkashi taikei*, 1933.

"a semi-independent state". This reveals that he understood that the Communists would be unable to ensure that Taiwan was the "safest" place in China, on the one hand, and that he still had an expectation of a unified China, including Taiwan, in that period, on the other.[142]

The Evolution of the Concept of a Politically Independent Taiwan

Taiwan was increasingly forced to separate itself from the mainland because of two political events: firstly, the Nationalist troops retreated to Taiwan, "making Taiwan an isolated base in the Eastern Seas", as Wu put it, in mid-October, 1949. Despite this, however, Wu was aware that "the future status of our Taiwan remains unsolved". When the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in early 1950, Wu viewed the event from a Taiwanese perspective, recording that "the whole history of Taiwan became richer...and the small island, from now on, will gloriously exist in the world. However, I have been suffering from hypertension since my uncle's death, and thus I have lost any interest in politics'.[143] This sense of indifference towards public affairs was accompanied by a rising sense of isolation, as revealed in Wu's remark about the Nationalist Chinese troops' retreat to Taiwan from its final two bases on the mainland at Zhoushan and Hainan that "Taiwan has totally turned into an orphan of the Pacific Ocean".[144]

This increasing sense of isolation in Wu's mind was further strengthened by a further political event, the US navy's interference in the Taiwan Straits, after the outbreak of the Korean War in mid-1950, that signaled the continuing separation of

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[142] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 2 & 28, 1949.

[143] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, October 15; December 31, 1949. Also March 10, 1950.

[144] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 5, 1950.

Taiwan from the mainland in the emerging cold-war global order. However, Wu was clearly worried about the increasing isolation of Taiwan that stemmed from the American involvement in protecting the Taiwan Straits from any attack "before the resolution of Taiwan's future status". He wrote, "the move might protect Taiwan from the threat of war, but we felt that Taiwan could have a great influence on the fatherland in the future. We insisted that Taiwan belonged to the Taiwanese, and the Chinese as well".[145] This record might suggest that, as both a Taiwanese nationalist and a leftist, Wu may have hoped to see an autonomous Taiwan under the realm of China, rather than an "isolated" Taiwan protected by the US. One may conclude that Wu did not become a supporter of a politically independent Taiwan around 1950.

The emerging cold-war environment, formed by the Nationalist retreat to Taiwan and the American involvement in the Taiwan Straits, however, created an increasingly isolated Taiwan, gradually forcing Wu to adapt to the "Taiwan-sized" political governance, and providing the basis for future ideological development by creating a politically independent Taiwan in the future. In August, 1950, Wu decided to seek a second term as county councilor and aimed to "create the democratic basis for the long-term future of Taiwan as a country". The first step towards this future was to implement local self-rule, including "the introduction of the general election of governors and provincial councilors in Taiwan".[146] In other words, the emerging cold war international framework, although creating a sense of isolation or orphanage in Wu's mind, enabled the formation of an independent state based on the Taiwan-size political governance, and also had a significant impact on shaping his *bensheng ren* identity from the perspective of international politics.

Moreover, the "modernity" of the *bensheng ren*, characterized as a part of the

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[145] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 29, 1950.

[146] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 10, 1950.

bensheng ren's identity in their interactions or confrontations with the mainlanders during the early postwar period, gradually linked up to the American-led Western influences in the early postwar period. In August, 1950, as a serving councilor, Wu decided to run for a second term, based on the Nationalist government's policy of implementing self-rule at the local level in Taiwan. This policy may be traced back to the US's announcement that it would protect Taiwan, thus implying that Taiwan's tradition of local self-rule, that began during the Japanese colonial period, and which was a crucial aspect of the "modernity" introduced by the Japanese administration, was gradually reconnected by the American influence, which was itself a representation of "modernity" in the early postwar period. Notably, the formerly anti-western Wu during the Pacific War changed his lifestyle from the Japanese to the western model. He watched more American films, which shows his increasing acceptance of and exposure to the coming American influences of the period, particularly under the gloomy atmosphere of the "White Terror", during which the Nationalists consolidated their political control of Taiwan.[147]

What was Wu's identity position in the first half of the 1950s, when the Guomindang consolidated its control over Taiwan? Before answering this question, I will attempt to describe Wu's core values and beliefs around that period. Before the Nationalist government formally moved to Taiwan, Wu revealed his campaign platforms for the proposed local elections, that included: firstly, "to speak for the Taiwanese, and make sacrifices for the masses", thus revealing being Taiwanese as his dominant identity; secondly, to care for disadvantaged minorities, such as farmers and patients, thus revealing his leftist beliefs; thirdly, to reform Taiwan's politics by examining the domestic situation and introducing mainstream foreign ideologies; and,

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[147] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, August 10, 1950; August 8, 1951. See also Masahiro, *Taiwan – hunretsu kokka to minshuka*, 1992, p.36.

finally, to fulfill local self-rule, that is critical to democracy and, consequently, modernity.[148] It was these three aspects - the Taiwanese national identity, the socialist beliefs and modernity - that made up Wu's core values. A year later, Wu again revealed his platform at the end of 1950, when the election formally took place months after the US announcement that it would protect Taiwan. Wu emphasized that he must, firstly, "ensure Taiwan's status through understanding the international situation", revealing a continuing Taiwan-centred focus; secondly, establish local self-rule and the rule of law, to improve science, culture, and agricultural standards, and to widen access for the young by excluding feudal influences, etc.; both of these factors reveal Wu's belief in modernity.[149] Comparing this with his platform for the previous year, Wu continued to emphasize his Taiwanese national identity as the top priority, and continued to strengthen his beliefs in modernity, but blurred his views on the leftist values, perhaps due to a shift in the national and international political situations.

Wu's Taiwanese national identity, formed by forces from both inside and outside the island, seemed to evolve gradually into supporting the idea of a politically independent Taiwan that was dominated by native Taiwanese (the *bensheng ren*) rather than mainlanders (the *waisheng ren*), at a time when he was devoted to writing his autobiography, a history of his family and a history of Taiwan in the 1950s. In February, 1951, Wu failed in his quest for a second term as councilor, due, according to him, both to his miscalculation and refusal to conduct vote-buying, a new phenomenon that was emerging in postwar politics, and to the nativism in Jiali, although he trusted the system of democracy itself.[150] From that time on, Wu

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[148] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, September 10, 1949.

[149] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, December 31, 1950.

[150] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, February 3, 1951.

withdrew from politics almost completely and focused on his writing. He composed his autobiography, based on the previous one that had been completed in mid-1948, between December, 1951 and October, 1952, and worked on the *Tainan xianzhi* (Tainan C*ounty's Gazette*) for the next few years. Around this period, Wu regularly read newspapers, medical works, magazines, etc., and paid more attention to Taiwan's culture and religion than its politics, due to his focus on his writings.[151]

What was the role of Han-Chinese religion and culture in the construction of Wu's Taiwanese national identity around 1951? In May, 1951, he took a religious trip to the top nine temples in Tainan, following a serious illness. Several days after this, he worshipped at the *Koxinga* temple in Tainan, and commented on it in a couple of sentences: "the lonely official of the former dynasty on the isolated island, originally created an independent kingdom (gudaoguchen duchuangduli)". Ten days later, Wu composed a poem in Chinese entitled "An Audience at the *Koxinga* Temple", in which these two sentences were repeated, thus revealing that he defined *Koxinga* as the common founder of Taiwan, or the national founder of Taiwan.[152] As mentioned above, Wu's view of history was a 300-year-long Taiwan-based history beginning with *Koxinga,* that was described immediately after the Japanese announced their surrender in 1945. His writings in these poems suggest that he retained this Taiwan-based historical view in the early 1950s. Two months later, on July 18, 1951, Wu argued that the "political factor", i.e. the Nationalist Chinese governance (in Taiwan), was a form of political control, and could not dominate Taiwan for ever. For this reason, Wu "first viewed himself as ethnic-Han (i.e. Han Chinese), and then as Taiwanese", and both identities were "innate", while his political or religious identity was "acquired". In other words, it was this innate Han Taiwanese, or Taiwanese Han,

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[151] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 24, 1951.

[152] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, May 21 & 31, 1951.

identity that served as the core of Wu's Taiwanese national identity during the early 1950s.[153] A month earlier, on June 16, 1951, he rearranged his living room and placed in the centre of a shelf a small shrine, also called a *shenpeng* (J. *kamidana*, a small shrine accommodating statues of deities) that had been handed down from the Japanese period. He then recorded, "the Japanese used this 'shrine' to make the Taiwanese imperialized citizens [i.e. the *Kōminka* religious reform policy].[154] However, the Taiwanese were not imperialized. In contrast, we used the shrine to worship our deity, as it was convenient and pure. So, what were our deities? We placed two deities in the shrine...The right one was *Penzu*...and the left one *Guanyin*".[155] This entry suggests that he viewed himself as "Taiwanese" in early 1950s, and that "our deities" during the Japanese period were *Penzu* and *Guanyin*, both of which were affiliated with the Han-Chinese religion.

During his work at the *Tainan wenxian weiyuan hui* (Committee of Compiling and Collecting Local History in Tainan) as the chief compiler for the Tainan *County Gazette*, in October, 1954, Wu was imprisoned again in Taibei for four months, having been accused of being involved in a communist plot in Taiwan. Because of the pressure of work between April, 1953 and February, 1955, Wu failed to keep a diary during the period of his imprisonment (October, 1954 to February, 1955). He continued to keep a diary in a cautious way only after his release from prison, calling his new writings "a record of remaining life". After this, Wu lived a depressed life under close watch by the local authorities during the "White Terror". He described himself as a "loser", who was "never pessimistic and never looked down on himself".

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[153] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, July 18, 1951.

[154] The *Kōminka* religious reform policy aimed to replace Taiwanese family beliefs with Japanese ones by reorganizing the religious setting of the living room of the Taiwanese family.

[155] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, June 16, 1951.

Two poems that Wu composed in prison may reveal some of his thoughts upon his release in 1955. In the first poem, entitled "Celebrating a Birthday in Prison", Wu wrote, "[my] forty-eighth year of life was full of wind and rain; [I not only] achieved nothing, but also encountered difficulties; [despite being] a baldheaded man eating vegetarian foods, he could not make himself a Buddha; [my body had] become as thin as a lath, although [my] will had become stronger", thus implying his growing desire to fight in the face of difficulties. In the second poem, entitled "I Love Taiwan", Wu wrote:[156]

Taiwan was the ancient Yingzhou; its mountains and rivers are splendid
It was also called Formosa, and horizontally calms the big waves of the Pacific Oceans
Koxinga farsightedly laid its foundation; Tang [Jingsong] and Liu [Yongfu] created an extensive blueprint
It is protected by ten thousand states, without making any enemy in the world
Its politics followed trends; its people love freedom
We wish all of our compatriots to be forever immersed in prosperity

This poem can be viewed as a Taiwanese national poem composed by a Taiwanese nationalist, in both a cultural and political sense. Wu first mentions Taiwan's special geography and landscape, then its common founder *Koxinga* and national heroes, Tang and Liu, who created the short-lived Republic of Taiwan in 1895. Furthermore, Wu describes these peaceful Taiwanese who are willing to share mainstream values with the other states in the international community. Wu became, in both a cultural and political sense, a hidden Taiwanese nationalist in mid-1950s Taiwan that had been wracked by the severe "White Terror" environment created by the Nationalist Chinese government. His *bensheng ren* identity emerged during the process of his interaction

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[156] *Wu Xinrong's Diary*, Preface, August 15, 1955.

and confrontation with the *waisheng ren* both before and after the 2.28 Incident, and was further intensified by the cold-war international structure that ensured a Taiwan-sized political governance. The dimensions of his *bensheng ren* identity, i.e. a politically independent Taiwan in the international community, however, seem to have emerged in Wu's mind during the 1950s, as he grappled with the idea of Taiwan's unresolved political status.

Conclusion:

During the period between the Japanese surrender in mid-August, 1945, and the Chinese arrival in late October of the same year, my above examination suggests that both Chen and Wu experienced an imagination or re-imagination of the Chinese national consciousness. Chen, previously seen as an anti-colonial and pro-Chinese Taiwanese, was inclined to conduct the Chinese "re-imagination" by accessing the Guomindang's ideology and symbols that mainly resulted from his experiences during the 1920s, while Wu was inclined to conduct a Chinese imagination through the Han-Chinese consciousness of his rising Taiwanese national identity. Both of them first reconnected with the politico-social network of the left-leaning Taiwanese activists in the 1920s, as evidenced by their participation in the activities of sanminzhuyi qingniantuan to welcome the Chinese takeover, although Chen also reconnected with the network of the Taiwanese newspaper, *Minbao*, that was based in Taibei.

Both Chen and Wu experienced an increasing sense of irrelevance with their newly imagined Chinese national consciousness, as evidenced by the two visible psychological inclinations that emerged during and after the nationalist Chinese takeover of Taiwan, between November, 1945, and March, 1946. Firstly, the consciousness of the *bensheng ren* emerged and was further intensified due to the native Taiwanese's growing frustration with the Chinese takeover. Secondly, the native Taiwanese experienced a visible shift in their perception of and approach towards the Chinese Nationalist government, as dominated by the mainlanders. In other words, the modernity of the native Taiwanese Japanese experience was imagined as part of the *bensheng ren* consciousness and was further employed as an ideological weapon with which to criticize the misrule of the mainlanders in the

process. In contrast, the mainlanders, on the basis of a Chinese nationalism that had been partly created during the anti-Japanese war, criticized the native Taiwanese for their lack of Chinese national consciousness and for having been "poisoned" by their previous colonial relationship with Japan. In other words, to them, the anti-Japanese Chinese nationalism was imagined as a part of the *waisheng ren* consciousness. It was these two opposing "Japanese experiences" that played a crucial role in creating the new ethnic categorizations of the *bensheng ren* and the *waisheng ren*.

From summer to winter 1946, the ethnic confrontation between the *bensheng ren* and the *waisheng ren*, that centered on 'modernity vs. nationality', was further intensified by the impact of the Wrong Words Event and the Yuanlin Event, that led to a further intensification of the dual consciousnesses of both groups. This finally led to the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident in early 1947, which provided a political focus and impetus for shaping the *bensheng ren* (and consequently its opposite, the *waisheng ren*) identity from the outside. During the post-2.28 period, Wu's case suggested that his return to the historical writings about himself, his family and Taiwan, in direct response to the Chinese crackdown following the 2.28 Incident, played a significant role in internally constructing his *bensheng ren* identity. Moreover, the emerging cold-war international environment, creating a sense of isolation or orphanage in Wu's mind, enabling the establishment of a *de facto* independent state, based on the Taiwan-sized political governance. This would also have an evident impact on externally and internationally shaping Wu's *bensheng ren* (Taiwanese) identity. This Taiwanese national identity, formed by forces both on and off the island, in connection with the emerging issue surrounding Taiwan's unsolved status, gradually evolved into support for a politically independent Taiwan during the 1950s.

Chen, however, was able to accommodate himself to the Chinese Nationalist government during the post-2.28 period. His reluctance to become a Guomindang

party member, however, may reveal a sense of his latent *bensheng ren* identity, that he described as an "anti-hegemonic consciousness", and would finally lead him to a life of semi-retirement in the 1950s.

Conclusion

This thesis may represent a new attempt to use numerous volumes of mostly unpublished diaries, viewed as a private form of ego document, as the main source for examining identity-centered issues. I have examined, first of all, how a Taiwanese national consciousness emerged and in what ways it developed or was reconstructed in the context of the modern history of Taiwan. Secondly, I have also examined the state of national consciousness among the islanders under Japanese and Chinese Nationalist rule in Taiwan between 1920 and 1955.

Thesis and Argument:

In Chapter one, I examined how Chen's sense of Taiwanese national consciousness emerged and developed, in particular, in 1920s Taiwan. I suggested that the formation of his sense of Taiwanese national consciousness in the 1920s was enabled by the combination of an empirically politico-social construction on one hand, and by an abstractly ideological construction on the other. Chen's case shows that he was a Japanese imperial subject who viewed himself as a *hontō jin* which overlaid his sense of Han-Chinese consciousness in the 1910s. There was however an evident tension between *hontō jin* and *naichi jin* even in colonial public sectors, revealing that both *hontō jin* and *naichi jin* remained distinct ethnic groups with a clearly defined self-consciousness in the 1910s. A combination of a sense of *hontō jin* consciousness which provided him with a mental basis, and social networks which provided him with an instrumental basis, enabled him to challenge the discrimination of the ruling Japanese and further led him to leave the colonial public sector, suggesting that the

Japanese colonial state was increasingly irrelevant to him around 1918. Moreover, his sense of being *hontō jin* developed into a Taiwanese national consciousness in the first half of the 1920s, due primarily to the influence of Chen's Taizhong-based social network centered on the Lin and Cai families. Until mid 1923, he had revealed a strong awareness of being a Taiwanese victim of discrimination who hoped to improve his situation by supporting the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements. This sense of Taiwanese consciousness was based on modern values such as freedom, equality and self-rule, representing a liberal approach. In response to a growing anti-colonial sentiment among islanders, at the end of 1923, the colonial state launched a wave of island-wide political suppression. For Chen, however, this merely had the effect of strengthening his Taiwanese nationalist beliefs. The island-wide meetings of "disadvantaged people" that were organized as a protest against this political suppression in late 1924, not only strengthened his Taiwanese nationalist consciousness but also nurtured his socialist tendencies. Influenced by his social networks in Taizhong and his close association with the Mainlander Qian Zeshen in late 1924, Chen's interest in China-related affairs, in particular, the new cultural movement, was strengthened, resulting in early 1925 in the emergence of a Chinese-dimension to his national consciousness. When, at the end of 1925, he joined the anti-colonial camp, he turned from being a mere ideological supporter to being an active political supporter of the Taiwanese politico-cultural movements based on Taiwanese nationalism and other modern values. In the process of his continuing politicization, evidenced by his island-wide politico-cultural participation in the dissemination of modern values including Taiwanese nationalist ideas, between 1926 and 1932, he established overlapping circles of friends which reflect the extension of his politico-social networks from a local to an island-wide level. This suggests that he was involved in creating Taiwan-wide political, social and cultural links between

Taiwanese people, which was crucial to the formation of Taiwanese nationalism in the late 1920s context. However, Chen withdrew from this politico-social network of Taiwanese activism partly because of increasing ideological tensions within the anti-colonial camp and partly due to the rising militarism in the early 1930s that suppressed, in particular, the leftist influences in the Japanese empire. The shrinking of Chen's politico-social network from an island-wide to a local level after his withdrawal from Taiwanese activism in 1932 signaled a decline in his political activity based on Taiwanese nationalism.

Moreover, an examination of Chen's reading materials suggests that he experienced a reconstruction of his ideological world between 1920 and 1925, as result of his extensive readings which covered the reform-minded magazines published by overseas Taiwanese students, and other readings in both Japanese and modern Chinese. By the end of 1925, at the centre of his ideological world, Chen still envisaged self-rule for Taiwan based on Taiwanese nationalism, but two new tendencies represented by his socialist concerns and his interest in China's movement of new culture had been strengthened, and two core ideas represented by evolution and anti-superstition also emerged in his thinking. Prior to 1927, he developed a clearer conception of the Taiwanese nation by envisaging the Taiwanese people as a weak nation searching for liberation. In addition to his belief in self-rule for Taiwan based on its particularity of Han-Chinese culturalism, throughout the 1920s, his conception of the Taiwanese nation, with a Chinese dimension, originated from his socialist concerns about "disadvantaged groups" in which he included the colonized Taiwanese people.

Employing both an empirical political and ideological approach, chapters two and three examined the identity-centered issues among islanders between 1931 and 1945, in particular, during the wartime period between 1937 and 1945. I suggest that the war

itself, as experienced through the mobilization and development of the war, as well as war propaganda, rather than the *Kōminka* cultural and religious policies, played a crucial role in reconstructing the islanders' political choice and identity position during wartime.

Chen's case shows that his political direction was gradually reshaped during the unfolding of the semi-wartime and wartime contexts, and he moved from an anti-colonial stance in the 1920s to a practical, if ambivalent, pro-war stance (against China) in the late 1930s. His political shift between 1935 and 1939, was also enabled ideologically by the formation of his shifting perceptions of China and the Sino-Japanese war. In this respect, his reading materials during this period further led to a shift among different dimensions of his national identity: with his Taiwanese identity remaining centre stage, gradually the Japanese dimension of his identity became more important than the Chinese dimension. However, due primarily to his political insensitivity to the increasing mistrust of the colonial authorities towards him, and partly due to the ineluctable inner conflict resulting from the tension between his political cooperation and his identity position, he finally ended cooperation with the Japanese at the end of 1939.

However, for two main reasons, during the Pacific War this tension was more or less dissolved. Firstly, Taiwan, as a part of the Japanese empire, faced new Western military objectives, instead of Chinese, during the Pacific War. A sense of cohesion between Taiwanese and Japanese was intensified partly because they faced common military opponents from the West, and partly because they shared a common fate, including the experiences of successes and difficulties, in the cumulative process of warfare. Secondly, from an ideological perspective, Chen was evidently influenced by the official discourse of the (greater) East Asian New Order, mostly due to his extensive readings of war-related articles promoting Japanese worldviews, and

representing a series of ideological endeavors to justify the Japanese-launched wars. In general, during this period, he maintained a dual national identity as a 'Taiwanese/Japanese'; with the Chinese-dimension of his national identity becoming invisible throughout the war.

Wu, who was a generation younger than Chen, experienced a more visible political shift reshaped by warfare; he moved from an anti-colonial, nationalist-minded and left-leaning stance before 1935 to a pro-Japan and pro-war stance during wartime. This political shift, which initially emerged at the end of 1938, was closely related to his response to the waves of military successes achieved by the Japanese military offensives against the Chinese and Anglo-American powers. These led him to re-examine and re-define his position at different stages of the war. This political shift further led him to reconstruct his identity, and until the end of the war he visibly tilted away from the Taiwanese dimension of his identity towards the Japanese dimension. Moreover, from an ideological perspective, the official discourse of the East Asian New Order emerged, in particular after 1939, as a core argument in many of his readings which centered on China's affairs in the modern and wartime periods. The extent to which Chen was influenced by these writings, is evidenced by the emergence during wartime of his sense of being an East Asian. In other words, the mobilization and development of the war, underpinned by war propaganda, profoundly reshaped his identity position in wartime.

Both Chen and Wu experienced political shifts in the course of the unfolding of the semi-wartime and wartime periods, which further led to a reconstruction of their positions of identity. Compared with Chen, Wu was more engaged in war mobilization, particularly, between 1941 and 1945. Moreover, both Chen and Wu experienced an intensification of Japanese-dimension national identity throughout the war and also developed a sense of being part of the (greater) East Asian people at that

time. However in the 1920s, Chen had embodied a three-dimensional national identity. This position was gradually reconstructed in the process of the political shift that he experienced from 1935 to 1939. The Chinese dimension of his national identity gradually moved closer towards the Japanese dimension of his identity and the Chinese dimension became virtually invisible during the Pacific War. By contrast, Wu virtually embodied a two-dimensional national identity, with his Taiwanese identity placed at the centre in the prewar colonial context, while manifesting a visible tilt towards a Japanese dimension during the wartime. The differences between Chen and Wu were also related to their backgrounds, generation and education. Chen (1888-1979) was a generation older and had studied classical Chinese for more than ten years before beginning his Japanese schooling on the island; moreover he had a longer and more active anti-colonial experience than Wu. Wu was born in the Japanese period and received only Japanese schooling throughout his academic career in Taiwan and in Japan. Consequently, he was influenced more by Japanese life and found it more accessible and acceptable to him.

During the period between the Japanese surrender in mid August and the Chinese arrival in late October 1945, both Chen and Wu experienced an imagination or re-imagination of their Chinese national consciousness. Chen, with a previous history of being an anti-colonial and pro-China Taiwanese, was inclined to conduct the Chinese 're-imagination' by accessing the Guomindang's ideology and symbols, which mainly came from his experience of the 1920s. Wu, on the other hand, was inclined to conduct the Chinese national 'imagination' through the Han-Chinese consciousness of his rising Taiwanese national identity. Both of them first re-established contact with the politico-social network of left-leaning Taiwanese activists from the 1920s, as evidenced by their participation in the *sanminzhuyi qingniantuan* (Three Principles of the People Youth Corps) for the sake of welcoming

the Chinese takeover, although Chen also re-established contacts with his network of friends connected with the Taiwanese-based newspaper *Minbao* based in Taibei.

Both Chen and Wu experienced an increasing sense of irrelevance to their newly imagined Chinese national consciousness, as evidenced by two visible psychological inclinations, which emerged in Taiwan during and after the Nationalist Chinese takeover of Taiwan between November 1945 and March 1946. Firstly, a *bensheng ren* consciousness emerged and was further intensified due to a growing frustration with the Chinese takeover. Secondly, the native Taiwanese experienced a visible shift in the perception of and approach towards the Chinese Nationalist government as dominated by the Mainlanders. In other words, the modernity of the Japanese experience of the native Taiwanese was imagined as a part of the *bensheng ren* consciousness and was further used as an ideological weapon to criticize the misrule of the Mainlanders in the process. In contrast, the Mainlanders, on the basis of a Chinese nationalism partly created in the process of their war experience with Japan, criticized the native Taiwanese for their lack of Chinese national consciousness, largely as a result of previous Japanese influence. In other words, for them, anti-Japanese Chinese nationalism was imagined as a part of the *waisheng ren* consciousness. It was these two opposing 'Japanese experiences' which played a crucial role in creating the new ethnic categorizations of *bensheng ren* and *waisheng ren*.

Between summer and winter of 1946, the ethnic confrontation between *bensheng ren* and *waisheng ren* which centered around 'modernity vs. nationality' was further intensified by the impact of the Wrong Words Event and the Yuanlin Event, leading to a further intensification of the consciousness of both groups. This finally led to the outbreak of the 2.28 Incident in early 1947, which provided a political focus and cause to shape the *bensheng ren* (vs. *waisheng ren*) identity from outside. In the post-2.28 period, Wu's case suggested that his return to historical writings about

himself, his family and Taiwan, was a direct response to the Chinese suppression of the 2.28 Incident, and played a significant role in constructing his *bensheng ren* identity from inside. Moreover, the emerging international Cold War environment, created a sense of isolation which in Wu's mind, presented the possibility of a de facto independent state based on Taiwan-size governance, and also had an evident impact on reshaping his *bensheng ren* (Taiwanese) identity from outside, in the sense of international politics. This Taiwanese national identity formed by forces from both the inner and outer contexts of Taiwan, in connection with the emerging issue of the unsolved status of Taiwan, gradually fostered the idea of a politically independent Taiwan in the 1950s.

Chen, however, maintained a certain accommodation with the Chinese Nationalist Government in the post-2.28 period. However, his reluctance to become a party member of the Guomindang unveiled an evident sense of *bensheng ren* (Taiwanese) identity viewed by him as an "anti-hegemonic consciousness". This view finally led him to a life of semi- retirement in the 1950s.

General Discussions

The importance of using the diary as the main source for a study of identity-centered issues, is multi-level. Firstly, in a theoretical context, it represents a new approach in the literature on identity-related issues. The diary, as a private and textured form of ego document, has the potential for providing a critical response to macro-level theoretical literature on identity-related issues. Moreover, the diary as source, written at a given time and space and focused mainly on recording the diarist's self, enables the comprehension of mentalities and motivations of complicated individuals. Finally, in the context of contemporary Taiwan and even

East Asia, the historical understanding of the public, for example, about the issues of the colonial past, wartime involvement and major incidents was sometimes blurred due to the entanglements of politics, nationalist sentiments and other factors. However, for a historian, the use of 'private' and primary diaries might suggest a new and more 'reliable' way of comprehending these subjects.

Regarding the origin of Taiwanese national consciousness, I agree with most scholars that it originated in the Japanese colonial period, in particular, in the 1920s. However, Leo Ching defines the political movements in the 1920s as ethno-national or proto-nationalistic, instead of nationalistic movements and describes the Taiwanese identity as having a *dependent* and *relational* form emerging at that particular historical juncture. He further explains that the political ideology of Taiwanese political movements in the 1920s "did not constitute an evolution of nationalist thought arriving at its paradigmatic form." However, through examining how and why Chen's Taiwanese national consciousness emerged in the first half of the 1920s, I suggest that the formation of Taiwanese national consciousness was enabled by the combination of an empirically politico-social construction on one hand, and by an abstractly ideological construction on the other. Chen's case shows that his sense of Taiwanese national consciousness emerged in the mid-1920s, the politicization of which further involved him in the island-wide formation of Taiwanese nationalism among islanders in the late 1920s by an island-wide propagation enabled by print-capitalism and politico-social networks based around reform-minded Taiwanese intellectuals. Ideologically, Taiwanese nationalism had its origins in modern nationalist and socialist values, and had a multi-dimensioned existence revealing its 'relational', if not 'dependent', feature.

This thesis draws inspiration from Anderson's theory of the formation of colonial nationalism. However Chen's case suggests that the politico-social network of native

society also had a role in bringing about Taiwanese nationalism.

Furthermore, how and why was the (Taiwanese) national consciousness reconstructed? G. Simmel suggests that conflict is a possible form of sociation and that hostility sharpens group boundaries. Max Weber also stresses the major role of political actions, such as war and conflict, in the formation of ethnic groups and their imagery. Chen and Wu's cases reveal that the war itself, as experienced through war development and mobilization further enforced by war propagation, had a crucial role in reconstructing their identity positions. The postwar conflicts, as experienced through multi-level confrontations between the native Taiwanese and the Mainlanders and the 2.28 Incident, also had a central role in reshaping identity positions, as shown by the formation of the *bensheng ren* (and the *waisheng ren*) in the early postwar period. In other words, it was political actions, such as war and other forms of conflict, that played a main role in reconstructing national consciousness. In other words, national consciousness is not a fixed and substantial existence. This naturally leads to my contestation of Ching's (and Fix's) argument that the "emergent" Taiwan had no static or fully constituted identity until the end of the World War II, which implies that national identity is a substantial existence. However, I argue that the Taiwanese national identity was formed with a multi-dimensional structure in the late 1920s. It was, after its formation, not a fixed and substantial existence. It was later shaped and reshaped by a series of powerful factors in a relatively short period between the 1930s and the 1950s, as evidenced by warfare (1937-1945), the regime change in 1945, the 2.28 Incident in 1947, and the Nationalist nation-building policy of Sinicization under the international framework of the Cold War in the 1950s, etc.. Since these factors were 'extremely powerful', the Taiwanese national consciousness looked 'evidently' unfixed.

Moreover, Anderson is right in arguing that historical narration offers the possibility of reconstructing national consciousness through remembering or forgetting people's pasts. However, Chen and Wu's cases suggest that the reconstruction of their national consciousnesses during the war between 1937 and 1945 visibly resulted from the political shifts mostly caused by their perceptions of war in its current and future stages. In other words, as Parekh suggests, "present needs and future aspirations" also enable the reconstruction of national consciousness.

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Glossary

Akamatsu Katsumaro 赤松克磨 (1894-1955)

Aki 亞姬

Ashan 阿山

Baihuawen 白話文

Baosheng dadi 保生大帝

Beimen 北門

Bensheng min 本省民

Bensheng ren 本省人

Bensheng 本省

Buluo 部落

Bungei shunjū 文藝春秋

Bungei Taiwan 文藝台灣

Cai Huiru 蔡惠如

Cai Lianfang 蔡蓮舫

Cai Peihuo 蔡培火

Cai Shigu 蔡式穀

Chankoro 清國奴

Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀

Chen Fengyuan 陳逢源 (J. Chin, Hōgen)

Chen Ji 陳記

Chen Shaoxin 陳紹馨

Chen Wangcheng 陳旺成 (1888-1979)

Chen wangcheng riji 陳旺成日記

Chen Yisong 陳逸松

Chikan 赤崁

Chin Kasen 陳火泉

Chongqing 重慶

Cishi cidi 此時此地

Chūō kōron 中央公論

Dagong bao 大公報

Dai Liang 戴良

Dai-Tōa kyōeiken 大東亞共榮圈

Datong shijie 大同世界

Dohihara Kenji 土肥原賢二

Doi Akira 土井章

Dōka 同化

Dōka kai 同化會

Eizawa Kōji 榮澤幸二

Er-er-ba chuli weiyuanhui 二二八處理委員會

Erlin 二林

Fan Shoukang shiyan fengbo 范壽康失言風波

Fan Qing fu Ming 反清復明

Fengyue bao 風月報

Fengtian 奉天

Fujian 福建

Furusawa Iwami 古澤岩美

Fuzhou 福州

Gao shanzu 高山族

Gaoxiong 高雄

Ge Jingen 葛敬恩

Gongyi hui 公益會 (J. Kōeki Kai)

Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平

Guanyin 觀音

Gudaoguchen duchuangduli 孤島孤臣, 獨創獨立

Guo Gouji 郭國基

Guominzhengfu huanying weiyuanhui 國民政府歡迎委員會

Guo Moruo 郭沫若

Guomindang 國民黨

Hainan 海南

Hakka 客家(人)

Hakkōichiu 八紘一宇

Hamada Hayao 浜田隼雄

Hanjian 漢奸

Hasegawa Nyozekan 長谷川如是閑

Hashimoto Hakusui 橋本白水

Hijōjiki 非常時期

Hirose Yoshihiro 廣瀨至宏

Hokō 保甲

Holo 福佬(人)

Hontō jin 本島人

Hosokawa Karoku 細川嘉六

Hu Shi 胡適

Huang Chaoqin 黃朝琴 (J. Kō, Chōkin)

Huang Fengzi 黃鳳姿

Huang Zhou 黃周

Huangdi 黃帝

Ide Kiwata 井出季和太

Imanaka Tsugimaro 今中次麿

Ishikawa Ken 石川謙

Ishikawa Sanshirō 石川三四郎

Izumi Tetsu 泉哲

Jiali 佳里

Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石

Jiang Jingguo 蔣經國

Jiang Weishui 蔣渭水

Jie 街

Jun 郡

Kagawa Toyohiko 賀川豊彦

Kaizan jinja 開山神社

Kaizō 改造

Kaji Ryūichi 嘉治隆一

Kanaseki Takeo 金關丈夫

Kataota Teppei 片岡鐵兵

Kawada Tsugurō 河田嗣郎

Kawakami Hajime 河上肇

Ke Yuanfen 柯遠芬

Keisei shinpō 經世新報

Kitashirakawa no miya Narihisa 北白川宮成久

Kiyosawa Retsu 清澤洌

Kodama Gentarō 児玉源太郎

Kōdō 皇道

Kokugo jōyō katei 国語常用家庭

Kōminka 皇民化

Konoe 近衛

Kōmin hōkō kai 皇民奉公會

Kōmin 皇民

Kōnan shinbun 興南新聞

Kōno Keichin 河野慶珍

Kōyama Iwao 高山岩男

Koxinga 國姓爺 (鄭成功)

Kunshen hai 鯤鯓海

Lengyu 冷語

Li Liangbi 李良弼

Lian Heng 連橫

Lian Wenqing 連溫卿

Lian Yatang 連雅堂

Liang Qichao 梁啓超

Lin Chenglu 林呈祿

Lin Foshu 林佛樹

Lin Lietang 林烈堂

Lin Maosheng 林茂生

Lin Xiantang 林獻堂

Lin Yutang 林語堂

Lin Yuzhan 林玉盞

Liu Mingchao 劉明朝

Liu Yongfu 劉永福

Luantan hui 亂彈會

Lugang gujia 鹿港辜家

Matsumoto Shigeharu 松本重治

Matsumoto Sōkichi 松本鎗吉

Matsumura Shūitsu 松村秀逸

Miao 苗

Minbao 民報

Minobe Tatsukichi 美濃部達吉

Minzoku Taiwan 民俗台灣

Morito Tatsuo 森戸辰男

Moritani Katsumi 森谷克己

Murakami Chigyō 村上知行

Muryokusha taikai 無力者大会

Musha 霧社

Mutō Tei'ichi 武藤貞一

Naichi jin 內地人

Nagata Ken'ichi 長田謙一

Nakamura Naokatsu 中村直勝

Nakano Kōkan 中野江漢

Nanfang 南方

Nanjing 南京

Nanying 南瀛

Nankunshen 南鯤鯓

Nanzhou julebu 南洲俱樂部 (Nanzhou Club)

Nanto 南圖

Nihon ijishinpō 日本医事新報

Nihon seikisha 日本世紀社

Niitaka yama 新高山

Nishikawa Mitsuru 西川滿

Nobeoka 延岡

Nozaki Seichika 野崎誠近

Nuno Toshiaki 布利秋

Ōgushi Toyofu 大串兔代夫

Okayama 岡山

Ōmichi 大道

Ondono sono tokoro o u 各得其所

Ōhashi Tetsuya 大橋哲哉

Ōkubo Kōichi 大久保弘一

Ōta Unosuke 太田宇之助

Osaka asahi shinbun 大阪朝日新聞

Ō Zōji 王造時

Oyama Ikuo 大山郁夫

Ozaki Hotsumi 尾崎秀実

Penzu 彭祖

Pudu 普渡

Qian Zeshen 錢澤身

Qingfeng hui 青風會

Qingshui 清水

Quansheng hanjian zong jianju 全省漢奸總檢舉

Quanzhou fu 泉州府

Qu Qiubai.瞿秋白 (J. Ku Shuhaku)

Renmin daobao 人民導報

Reyan 熱言

Rōyama Masamichi 蝋山政道

Saitō Chū 齋藤忠

Sakisaka Itsurō 向阪逸郎

Sakuma Samata 佐久間左馬太

Sanminzhuyi qingniantuan 三民主義青年團

Sanminzhuyi 三民主義

Shanghai xinbao 上海新報

Shandong 山東

Shehui lun 社會論

Shengbao 省胞

Shengjizuqun 省籍族群

Shengmin 省民

Shenpeng 神棚 (J. kamidana)

Shijie zhishi 世界知識

Shōji Sōichi 庄司総一

Sishu wujing 四書五經

Song Ziwen 宋子文

Su Shaowen 蘇紹文

Su Xin 蘇新

Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙

Suzuki Tōmin 鈴木東民

Suzuki Yasuzō 鈴木安藏

Takada Yasuma 高田保馬

Tagawa Dai'kichirō 田川大吉郎

Taibao 台胞

Taibei 台北

Tainan wenxian weiyuan hui 台南縣文獻委員會

Tainan xianzhi 台南縣誌

Tainan 台南

Taisheng ren 台省人

Taiwan bungaku 台湾文学

Taiwan bungei 台湾文芸

Taiwan wenyi 台灣文藝

Taiwan difang zizhi lianmeng 台灣地方自治聯盟

Taiwan geijutsu 台湾藝術

Taiwan minbao 台灣民報 (E. Taiwan People's Weekly)

Taiwan mindang 台灣民黨

Taiwan minzhong dang 台灣民眾黨

Taiwan nichi'nichi shinpō 台湾日日新報 (E. Taiwan Daily)

Taiwan seinen 台湾青年 (E. Taiwan Youth)

Taiwan shinbun 台湾新聞

Taiwan sōtokufu kokugo gakkō 台湾総督府国語学校

Taiwan sōtokufu yigakkō 台湾総督府医学校

Taiwan tongshi 台灣通史

Taiwan wenhua xiehui 台灣文化協會 (abbr. wenxie 文協)

Taiwan xinminbao 台灣新民報 (J. Taiwan shinminpō)

Taiwan xinshengbao 台灣新生報 (E. Taiwan New Life Daily)

Taiwanren yao chutoutian 台灣人要出頭天

Taiwan yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong 台灣議會設置請願運動

Taiwansheng tongzhi guan 台灣省通志館

Taizhong 台中

Takahashi Kamekichi 高橋龜吉

Takayama Yōkichi 高山洋吉

Kataota Teppei 片岡鐵兵

Tang Jingsong 唐景崧

Tanigawa Tetsuzō 谷川徹三

Taoyuan 桃園

Ta-pa-ni Incident 噍吧年事件

Tenkō 轉向

Tokyo Taiwan qingnian hui 東京台灣青年會

Tong 僮

Tōa kyōdōtai 東亜協同体

Tōa shinchitujo 東亜新秩序

Tsunamoto Yukitoshi 綱本行利

Tsurumi Shunsuke 鶴見俊輔

Tsurumi Yūsuke 鶴見祐輔

Uno Kōji 宇野浩二

Waisheng ren 外省人

Wang Minchuan 王敏川

Weng Zesheng 翁澤生

Wenyanwen 文言文

Wu Guozhen 吳國禎

Wu Tinghui 吳廷輝

Wu Xinrong 吳新榮 (1907-1967)

Wufeng linjia 霧峰林家

Wu Sanlian 吳三連

Wuxinrong riji 吳新榮日記

Xia Shengtao 夏聲濤

Xiatong 夏統

Xie Chunmu 謝春木

Xie Xuehong 謝雪紅

Xinmin hui 新民會

Xinpu 新埔

Xinwenxie 新文協

Xinzhu 新竹

Xinzhu Gongxuexiao 新竹公學校

Xinzhu qingnian hui 新竹青年會

Xinzhu qingnian zijue hui 新竹青年自覺會

Xinzhuxian wenxian weiyuanhui 新竹縣文獻委員會

Xu Naichang 許乃昌

Xu Songshi 徐松石

Xue Jinmu 學金木

Yamakawa Hitoshi 山川均

Yamamoto Isoroku 山本五十六

Yamamoto Miono 山本美越乃

Yamamoto Sanehiko 山本實彥

Yamazaki Yasuzumi 山崎靖純

Yanaihara Tadao 矢內原忠雄

Yang Kui 楊逵

Yang Liang 楊良

Yang Zhaojia 楊肇嘉

Yao 傜

Ye Shengji 葉盛吉

Yingzhou 瀛洲

Yoshino Sakuzō 吉野作造

Yō Sekitō 葉石濤 (C. Ye Shitao)

Yuanlin shijian 員林事件

Yue Fei 岳飛

Yūryokusha taikai 有力者大会

Yuyong shenshi (J. Goyō shinshi) 御用紳士

Zhang Linshu 張麟書

Zhang Shide 張士德

Zhang Shigu 張式穀

Zhang Xiqi 張錫祺

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Zheng Zuoheng 鄭作衡

Zhennan huishe 振南會社

Zhijing shijian 治警事件

Zhina dalu 支那大陸 (J. Shina tailiku)

Zhongyang ribao 中央日報

Zhongyihui 忠義會

Zhoushan 舟山

Zhu Shengqi 朱盛淇

Zhusheng hui 竹聲會

Ziben lun 資本論

Zuojiao 作醮