

Nationalism in China*

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I. Problem of Definition:

The theme of this International Conference makes it imperative for us, first of all, to understand the meaning of nationalism. After a century of study, scholars of nationalism from different nations have produced no general consensus on this "group loyalty" that "has most powerfully motivated men in our time."¹ Boyd C. Shafer observed that "Different historical factors have been involved in the making of each nation, nationality and nationalism" and that "Differing political, economic, social and geographic conditions have influenced their development." Therefore, the nationalism in China is obviously not synonymous with those of Korea and Japan. Let's face this problem; let's quote a few of the definitions reached by scholars in this field; and let's examine and search into the meaning of these definition.

—Nationalism was (in 1926 and 1931) "a modern emotional fusion of two very old phenomena—nationality and patriotism," as well as "the paramount devotion of human beings to fairly large (sic) nationalities and the conscious founding of a political 'nation' on linguistic and cultural nationality."

—Carlton Hayes—

—Nationalism was described(in 1939) "a consciousness, on the part of individuals or groups, of membership in a nation, or of a desire to

* The 5th International Conference Paper.

1) Boyd C. Shafer, "Toward a Definationalism," in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy* (New York: The Free Press, c. 1961) p. 309.

forward the strength, liberty, or prosperity of a nation."

—English students of the Royal
Institute of International Affairs—

—Nationalism was (in 1944) "a state of mind", "an act of consciousness" of a "large majority of a people," which recognized "the nation-state as the ideal form of political organization and the nationality as the source of all creative cultural energy and of economic well-being."

—Hans Kohn—

—Nationalism was (in 1954) "a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of nation have been expressed, attached to a common traditions and common customs, venerating its own heroes, and, in some cases, having a common religion."

—Louis Snyder—

—Nationalism was (in 1965) "broadly, a consciousness of belonging to a nation or a nationality, and a desire, as manifest in sentiment and activity, to secure or maintain its welfare, prosperity, and integrity, and to maximize its political autonomy."

—James Coleman, student of
Africannationalism—

—Nationalism was (in 1964) characterized as in national linguistic usage the vehement and fanatical devotion to a national community (nation, state, Volk...).

—Eugen Lemberg, German sociologist,
reflecting the German experience
under the Nazis.—

(in 1966)

—The primary concern of nationalism was to "keep independence, maintain the integrity of sovereignty and to affirm the grandeur of the nation-state."

—Raoul Girardet, French historian,
reflecting the Gaullist sentiment—

From the above definitions of which none is either scientific or satisfying, we know that nationalism, as a force of operation, is singularly elusive and complex. If the principle of nationality was conspicuously considered as an integrating and centripetal force in Germany and Italy in the 1860s, it worked as a force of dismemberment and centrifugalization in the Ottoman Empire and Austria Empire ever since the Napoleonic Wars. However, this mystical force gives an immense impulse to the creation or recreation of nation-state which, like the mystical bird, phoenix, "after living 5 or 6 centuries in the Arabian desert burnt itself on a funeral pile and rose from the ashes with renewed youth to live through another cycle."²⁾

Leon P. Baradat considers: nationalism as the most powerful ideology of nation-state.³⁾ Because nation is the highest affiliation and obligation of the individual, it is this very "curious and compelling identification with one group tends to produce conflicts with others." So nationalism and nationalist movement usually become a cause of war between or among nations.⁴⁾ Steven J. Rosen and Walter S. Jones define war as "the organized conduct of major armed hostilities between social groups and nations." This simple definition enables us to distinguish civil war from international war.⁵⁾

II. Problem of War or Peace:

We, modern men, as our ancestors did, experience war peace, witness

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- 2) See definition of "Phoenix", *The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, Volume Two, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962) p. 663.
 - 3) Leon P. Baradat, *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., c. 1984) p. 10.
 - 4) Steven J. Rosen and Walter S. Jones, *The Logic of International Relations*, Third Edition, (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1980) pp. 309~10.
 - 5) *Ibid.*, p. 308.

the rise and demise of territorial states and the emerging of new nation-states from the ruins of those collapsed absolute states. Moreover, we, the modern men, like our forfathers, live under the shadow of a gigantic question mark: can we make a durable peace for this world in general and for each of our three countries in particular. My job here and now, I think, is to quest out the right answer for my own country, the Republic of China. This effort, needless to say, is a too large order for me; yet my purpose is not to offer solutions, but to ask your advices and suggestions from your perspectives.

In terms of ethnicity, nation-states can be divided into two categories, homogeneous or heterogeneous. Korea and Japan fall into the former category, and China, the latter. According to a study of Walker Connor, out of 132 nation-states in 1972, only 12 nation-states could have been considered as being ethnically homogeneous. In China, the majority ethnic group accounts 88% of the whole population. In other words, 12 percent of the population are minorities living in the vast border areas. Korea and Japan rank first and second respectively according to cultural homogeneity.

Table I. Ranking of 135 World Countries by Ethnic Homogeneity

country	percent homo- geneity	country	percent homo- geneity
1. North Korea	100	14. Burundi	96
2. South Korea	100	15. Cuba	96
3. South Yemen	99	16. Dominican Republic	96
4. Portugal	99	17. Ireland	96
5. Japan	99	18. Italy	96
6. Haiti	99	19. Norway	96
7. Puerto Rico	98	20. Denmark	95
8. Hong Kong	98	21. Iceland	95
9. East Germany	98	22. Jamaica	95
10. West Germany	97	23. Jordan	95
11. Poland	97	24. Colombia	94
12. Yemen Arab Republic	96	25. Madagascar	94
13. Egypt	96	26. Saudi Arabia	94

27. Brazil	93	68. Mauritania	67
28. Costa Rica	93	69. Cyprus	65
29. Malta	92	70. Iraq	64
30. Somalia	92	71. New Zealand	63
31. Sweden	92	72. Mongolia	62
32. Albania	91	73. Papua New Guinea	58
33. Greece	90	74. Singapore	58
34. Hungary	90	75. Taiwan	58
35. Netherlands	90	76. Algeria	57
36. Venezuela	89	77. Spain	56
37. China	88	78. Burma	53
38. Austria	87	79. Sri Lanka	53
39. Lebanon	87	80. Czechoslovakia	51
40. Chile	86	81. Switzerland	50
41. Paraguay	86	82. United States	50
42. Rwanda	86	83. Botswana	49
43. Luxembourg	85	84. Ecuador	47
44. Finland	84	85. Morocco	47
45. Honduras	84	86. Zimbabwe(Rhodesia)	46
46. Tunisia	84	87. Belgium	45
47. El Salvador	83	88. Trinidad & Tobago	44
48. Nicaragua	82	89. Guyana	42
49. Kuwait	82	90. Mauritius	42
50. Maldives	82	91. Peru	41
51. Vietnam	81	92. Laos	40
52. Israel	80	93. Benin	38
53. Uruguay	80	94. Malawi	38
54. Barbados	78	95. Guatemala	36
55. Bulgaria	78	96. Pakistan	36
56. Lesotho	78	97. Mozambique	35
57. Syria	78	98. Afghanistan	34
58. Libya	77	99. Congo	34
59. Rumania	75	100. Thailand	34
60. Turkey	75	101. Soviet Union	33
61. France	74	102. Bolivia	32
62. Panama	72	103. Upper Volta	32
63. Kampuchea(Cambodia)	70	104. Central African Empire	31
64. Mexico	70	105. Ethiopia	31
65. Argentina	69	106. Gabon	31
66. United Kingdom	68	107. Nepal	30
67. Australia	68	108. Ghana	29

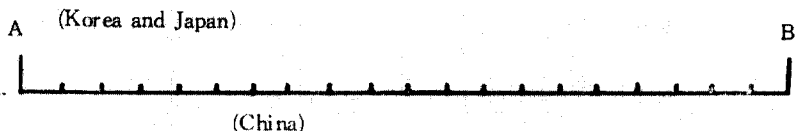
109. Togo	29	123. Mali	22
110. Malaysia	28	124. Zambia	18
111. Senegal	28	125. Liberia	17
112. Niger	27	126. Chad	17
113. Sudan	27	127. Kenya	17
114. Gambia	27	128. Ivory Coast	14
115. Philippines	26	129. Nigeria	13
116. Canada	25	130. South Africa	12
117. Guinea	25	131. India	11
118. Yugoslavia	25	132. Cameroon	11
119. Indonesia	24	133. Zaire	10
120. Iran	24	134. Uganda	10
121. Sierra Leone	23	135. Tanzania	7
122. Angola	22		

Source: George Thomas Kurian, *The Book of World Rankings* (New York: Facts on File 1979), pp.44~46. Reprinted with permission of Facts on File, Inc. © 1979 by Facts on File, Inc.

NOTE: Period covered: 1960~1965. The index was devised by the Department of Geodesy and Cartography of the State Geological Committee of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow, and published in *Atlas Narodov Mira*.

Theodore A. Couloubis and James H. Wolfe, *Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice*, Second Edition (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., c. 1982) pp.45~46.

Ethnically, the states in the present world is not a simple dichotomy, as nation-states and non-nation-states. We may use a scale to clarify the reality of our contemporary world family. In the following figure, the position A represents a nation-state as Korea or Japan, whereas the opposite polar type B represents those African countries as Tanzania. We may also use this scale to measure China at position C.



China mainland incorporates substantial social groups, minority population. Both China and the United States of America are, in a sense, belonging to the plural societies, but unfortunately, China is at the same-time frozen or premobilized society; while the United States of America, being a heterogeneous nation, is a mobilized society. Max Lerner, in his book, "America as a Civilization," raised the question: why was America a success? America nationalists see America as a "Chosen People." This theory of "exceptionalism" is the argument from pluralism—that "American greatness derives from its special blend of ethnic, religious and linguistic strains." Walt Whitman pointed out: America is not a nation, but "a nation of nations".⁶⁾ Israel Zangwill, another American nationalist, said in 1908: "America is God's crucible, the great melting-pot." America, the new nation on the new continent, serves as a great furnace in which people from almost all the world has been fusing into great nation. The process of Nature tended "to enrich the whole by this electrical and enlivening relation between the parts."⁷⁾

In China, this process goes slowly—extraordinarily slowly and almost inches its way forward and along the slippery ridge, so that many minorities continue to think of themselves as separate and distinct, especially under the illiberal administration of the Chinese Communists. This feeling of distinctness usually leads to minority move, ents ending in conflicts and even in civil wars. Such movements take on added significance when outside powers try their hands of intervention. The problem of Tibet serves as an example. Peking perceived India to have encouraged separatist movement in Tibet by giving covert aid to Tibetans. The Chinese Communists then entered into the Korean War on the one hand almost simultaneously sent the People's Liberation Army into Tibet for the repossession of the lost territory on October 7, 1950. It was a rather unusual action to fight a two-side war as its first act

6) Max Lerner, *American as a Civilization*, Volume One (New York: Simon and Schuster, C. 1933) pp. 38~39.

7) Ibid., p. 29.

after the taking over of the mainland.

Sinkiang offers another example. The Soviet Union, being a close ally, disturbed Peking by giving covert support to Uigur separatists in this border area. When Moscow and Peking relations deteriorated from bad to worse during the 1970s, the Soviets did try to dismember China mainland by establishing various "liberation movements" of the minorities along the vast boundaries. This was one of the options taken by the Soviets against the Chinese Communists.

III. Problem of Self-Determination:

For the time being, some native dissenters of Taiwan advocate "independent movement" upon the basis of the so-called self-determination of the inhabitants in Taiwan. The theory of national self-determination or self-determination is rather simple, centering around the concept of sovereignty. In view of frequent civil wars and social conflicts in France, Jean Bodin(1530~1596) defined sovereignty as the "supreme power" of the monarch "over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law," in order to strengthen the position of monarch as the source of domestic order and the unity of France. However, the famous British philosopher, Thomas Hobbes(1585~1679) shifted sovereignty from the person of the king to the legal and political state. With the French Revolution in 1789 and the advent of Napoleon in 1804, sovereignty shifted to its third and modern phase, Ultimate authority was transferred symbolically from the government to the people within the country.⁸⁾

The French Revolution was a big step forward in the depersonalization of the state. The French theorists took over one version of the patrimonial state and replaced the king by the nation. The country was no longer the patrimony of the king but the patrimony of the nation, and the state was the machinery which the nation set up for its own govern-

8) Couloubi

ment and to organize its public services."

This idea is both important and interesting; important, because it is the theory of national self-determination; interesting, because under this theory, cultural nation identifies with political state. Hence each sovereign nation, becoming truly a nation-state, would be emancipated from the dynastic bonds. This theory, this principle, this idea ushered mankind into a new era, the era of modern nationalism.

Self-determination is the process by which a cultural nation becomes a political state, and also that by which a political state becomes a cultural nation. However, as the result of this theory, we encounter two different and contradictory lines of approach to the nation-state. The problem has been summarized by Alfred Cobban as follows:

Once the ideal identification of nation and state has been accepted, the state in its own defence tends to act as though it were a single and united nation from the cultural point of view, and if in fact it is not this, it must endeavour to make the facts correspond to the ideal, regardless of the rights or liberties of those among its citizens who do not belong to the majority nation, which is not a national state must seek to become one.¹⁰⁾

National self-determination is a natural corollary alike to the doctrine of nationalism and to that of democracy. Both involve the recognition of the right of individuals in any region to determine not only under what government they would like but also to what state they should belong. The wishes of people such a region can easily be ascertained by letting them vote.

World War I ended on the theme of "national self-determination" and the world was dazzled by the array of new nations emerged in

9) "The Historical Background of Publics in West Europe," in *Government* (Author and Facts of Publication unknown).

10) Alfred Cobban, *National Self-Determination* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944) p. 5.

Eastern Europe and out of the breakup of the Hapsburg and Turkish Empires. World War II ended with the breaching up of far great empires, and the world has suddenly discovered it has more new states than old one.

During the First World War, statesmen used the appeal to self-determination as instrument of war. President Wilson, however, was serious in purpose. National self-determination as a moral principle was rather very simple. But turning from theory to practice, it led Wilson into a long series of inconsistencies and contradictions. As first, he himself hardly realized the practical issues involved. He confessed later, in weariness of heart, to the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, that "when I gave utterance to those words (that all nations had a right to self-determination), I said them without the knowledge that nationalities existed..."¹¹⁾ But if we read the Fourteen Points enumerated by President Wilson in his speech delivered to the Congress in January, 1918, we can find that he mentioned the term "nationality" many times.¹²⁾ The following issues are the practical difficulties in the application of the principle of self-determination.

- (a) The boundaries of nationalities are sometimes very vague and artificial. It proves impossible, in altering frontiers or setting up new states, to

11) Ibid., p. 25.

12) See Articles X and XI of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson.

X. A readjustment of the Frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of *nationality*.

XI. Romaniz, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia a accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and *nationality*; and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

Lewis Copland and Lawrence W. Lamm (eds.) *The World's, Great Speeches*, Third Enlarged Edition (Facts of Publication unknown) pp. 363~64.

- avoid creating new minorities. For instance, the boundary of Nigeria is considered to be the most artificial one in Africa.¹³
- (b) Self-determination as a moral principle was being enforced upon the defeated states which the victors refused to apply to themselves. In other words, the Allies at Paris Conference had no intention of applying self-determination at the expense of their own interests.¹⁴
 - (c) The assumption that the viewpoint of the nationalist leaders was identical with that of the whole nationality was in some cases a grave mistake.¹⁵
 - (d) After World War I, the failure to rearrange Europe into tidy nation-states was in part due to considerations of economics and defense. These two criteria—embodied in the conception of “viability”—had led to the stipulation that Poland Serbia should be given access to the sea. To give Poland access to the sea meant depriving Germany of some part of her former territory inhabited by Germans.¹⁶
 - (e) Another difficulty is: to what kind of community should it apply. It is true that the disintegrating process of selfdetermination has to be stopped at some point or other. But on what principle can that point be fixed? In the past, there was a general tendency to believe that language was an adequate test of nationality. Unfortunately, the exceptions were sufficient enough to role this criterior. For instance, Poland claimed territory from German on the basis of the language spoken by its inhabitants, but refused to follow the same principle in East Calicia, where non-Polish tongues were spoken.¹⁷
 - (f) Since language is not a safe guide, it seems logical to let the people vote wherever the issue is in doubt. After World War I, the French claimed Alsace-Lorraine on historic grounds and some doubt was felt “whether self-determination in the shape of a plebiscite would give a

13) James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Natia: Background to Nationalism* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963) pp. 16~17.

14) Cobban, op. cit., p. 22.

15) Ibid.

16) David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, 2nd ed., (New York: Alfred A.

17) Cobban, op. cit., pp. 23~24.

clear majority for reunion with France." It has been estimated that about half a million French had left the conquered provinces between 1870 and 1910, and some 300,000 Germans had come in to take their place. So R. Johnnet, a French writer, put the difficulty bluntly at that time: "At this moment in Alsace-Lorraine, any referendum would be meaningless."¹⁸

In 1916, when the United States negotiated with Denmark for the cession of the virgin islands to the United States of America, the Danish government intended to hold a popular referendum in these islands; Robert Lansing, then Secretary of State to Mr. Egan, Danish Minister to Washington, on June 9, 1916: "This government regrets that it can not favor submitting the question of transfer of the Islands to a vote of the inhabitants." Consequently, the Danish government dropped her demand for a popular referendum¹⁹ From American experience, we arrived a conclusion that those who claim such right of national self-determination can achieve this purpose only in a feasible way of life.²⁰

At this juncture, not only the feasibility of Taiwan independence is non-existent, but such an attempt will surely lead to armed conflict once again between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. For the interaction between separatism and Irredentism and Irredentism will inevitably give effect to war. Simply because separatists demand political independence from the existing political order, the incumbent authorities usually resist such demand and even appeal to arms, for separatism threatens the very legitimacy and the territorial integrity of the state. In our point of view, Peking is an illegal regime, yet in Peking's perspective, Taiwan is a part of China. So far, Peking does not rule out the

18) Coleman, op. cit., pp.15~16.

19) Oscar Svarlien *An Introduction to the Law of Nations*(1955) (Other Facts of Publication Unknown) p.179.

20) David Cushman Coyle, *The United Nations and How It Works*(New York: New American Library, 1965) pp.113~14.

possibility to use force for the "liberation" of Taiwan whenever there is chance.

IV. Problem of Reunification

National reunification is indeed the highest expectation of the Chinese people as a whole. We, people in Taiwan, interpret the present in the light of the past. In the process of decision-making, we remember Price Metternich's maxim that "policy is based not on novels, but on history; not on faith, but on knowledge."²¹ History teaches us that peaceful cooperation with the Chinese Communist is not only impossible, but also dangerous. We tried that before and during the World War II and lost mainland. Since the normalization of US-PRC relations in 1979, Peking has adopted "peaceful reunification" as its fundamental policy. On September 30, 1981, Ye Jianying, then Chairman of the Standing Committee of National People's Congress, outlined a nine-point program for the reunification Taiwan with the mainland. The statement included:

- (a) In order to bring an end to the unfortunate separation of the Chinese nation as early as possible, we propose that talks be held between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang of China on a reciprocal basis so that the two parties will cooperate for the third time to accomplish the great cause of national reunification. The two sides may first send people to meet for an exhaustive exchange of views.
- (b) It is the urgent desire of the people of all nationalities on both sides of the Straits to communicate with each other, reunite with their relatives, develop trade and increase mutual understanding. We propose that the two sides make arrangements to facilitate the exchange of mails, trade, air and shipping services, and visits by relatives and tourists as well as academic, cultural and sports exchange, and reach an agreement there

21) Henry A. Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973) p. 10.

upon.

- (c) After the country is reunited, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and it can retain its armed forces. The Central Government will not interfere with local affairs on Taiwan.
- (d) Taiwan's current socio-economic system will remain unchanged, so will its way of life and its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries. There will be no encroachment on the proprietary rights and lawful right of inheritance over private property, houses, land and enterprises, or on foreign investments
- (e) People in authority and representative personages of various circles in Taiwan may take up posts of leadership in national political bodies and participate in running the state.
- (f) When Taiwan's local finance is in difficulty, the Central Government may subsidize it as is fit for the circumstances.
- (g) For people of all nationalities and public figures of various circles in Taiwan who wish to come and settle on the mainland, it is guaranteed that proper arrangements will be made for them, that there will be no discrimination against them, and that they will have the freedom of entry and exit.
- (h) Industrialists and businessmen in Taiwan are welcome to invest and engage in various economic undertakings on the mainland, and their legal rights, interests and profits are guaranteed.
- (i) The reunification of the motherland is the responsibility of all Chinese. We sincerely welcome people of all nationalities, public figures of all circles and mass organizations in Taiwan to make proposals and suggestions regarding affairs of state through various channels and in various ways. Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of national reunification is a great and glorious mission history has bequeathed on our generation. China's reunification and prosperity is in the vital interest of the Chinese people of all nationalities—not only those on the mainland, but those in Taiwan as well. It is also in the interests of peace in the Far East and the world. We hope that our compatriots in Taiwan will give full play to

their patriotism and work energetically for the early realization of the great unity of our nation and share the honor of it. We hope that our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad will continue to act in the role of a bridge and contribute their share to the reunification of the motherland. We hope that the Kuomintang authorities will stick to their one-China position and their opposition to "two Chinas" and that they will put national interests above everything else, forget previous ill will and join hands with us in accomplish the great cause of national reunification and the great goal of making China prosperous and strong, so as to win glory for our ancestors, bring benefit to our posterity and write a new and glorious page in the history of the Chinese nation.²²⁾

Superficially, the Nine-Point Proposal sounded like a farley, but in essence, it was a real challenge to the legitimacy of the Republic of China on Taiwan. We considered this "peaceful" program more than a Trojan Horse, designed by Peking for the purpose of taking Taiwan even without a war. In 1984, Peking adopted the "one country, two system" formula designed to enable Taiwan to preserve "Capitalist stems with Socialist China". This formula simply treated Taiwan as local government. No government in the world will negotiate about what it considers the conditions of its existence. Our government firmly refuses to negotiate with the Chines Communists and at the same time sets forth our proposal for reunification. Since both sides do agree that there is but one China and Taiwan is a part of China. The matter really at issue is whether China should be communist or non-communist. Our counter proposal has been in effect set forth in the "three no policy": "no contact," "no negotiations," and "nocompromise" with the Chinese Communists. Taipei rejected the Peking's proposal simply bec-

22) Xiuhua, September 30, 1981, in FBIS-China, September 30, 1981, p. UI. Quoted from Martin L. Lasater, "U.S. Policy Toward China's Reunification," *Asian Studies* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, c. 1988) pp. 65~67.

ause the Republic of China wants China to be united under a system which is free, democratic and in the interests of the people.

Despite the condemnation of some of Mao Tse-tung's policies, the Chinese Communist remain the sense die-hard communist; despite their proclaimed "pragmatism" and attempt at reforms, mainland China remains a communist totalitarian regime. Moreover, Peking holds fast that which is bad—the Maoist legacy by reiterating the insistence on the "four basic principles" namely, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism proletarian dictatorship, communist leadership and socialism line. Red China's desire for the reunification of this island with the mainland has stemmed from nationalist sentiment. But communist ideology does not stop at nationalism, Peking will not tolerate our free enterprise which they label as "capitalist" economic system. In typical communist jargon, they identify Taiwan as a "pre-liberalized" area, destined to be ruled by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The Republic of China on Taiwan has been viewed as dam against communism. To dismantle the dam means to let the communist tide rise in the Pacific Basin.

China is a nation, but this nation-state is unfortunately divided for the time being. It is divided not because of religious, linguistic or ethnical issue cut because of ideological disparity between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People provides the guidelines for the nation-building and state-building of the Republic of China. The Three Principles of the People is right not because we say so. It is right because the three principles work and have already performed an economic miracle and political stability here in Taiwan; whereas communist, or state socialism, does not work on China mainland as elsewhere in the world. The Three Principles of the People is a new synthesis made wisely by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. This synthesis is the combination of the merits of our traditional culture and that of the Western culture. Communist totalitarianism is not sigh of progress, but the "aberration of life". The present reform and liberal

movement in Eastern Europe symbolize the triumph of liberalism and nationalism.

V. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Principle of Nationalism

Dr. Sun Yat-sen did not adopt the extreme view about nationalism. In his lectures on the "Principle of Nationalism", he stressed that in order to restore the dignity of Chinese nation, it is necessary first of all to revive the Chinese virtues, wisdom and strength. The Chinese people must not only promote the excellent features of our own cultural heritage, but also endeavour to adopt the merits of the Western civilization. Evident it is that Dr. Sun Yat-sen's approach is the grand way of the Golden Mean, or moderation, or simply the Chinese way of doing things.

The nationalism set forth in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's writings is both political and cultural: on the one hand, it demands that each nation should possess a national government pursuing national goals; on the other, it insists that each nation should prize its national culture—its language, literature, and tradition—which would strengthen national character.

The nationalism clear or implied in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's writings is primarily traditional and humanitarian. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, like Edmund Burke, also advanced idea of a "hierarchy of loyalties," because all are "tradition."²³⁾ He stressed that man is and should be loyal to his family, his clan, and therefore the state should exalt the family. For family, clan, and region are traditional and hence natural, and the nation should respect and foster it as a necessary preliminary to love of an extensive nation-state. Then, above nation, man is and should be loyal the man-

23) Edmund Burke advanced and pressed the idea of a hierarchy of loyalties, each supreme in its won sphere and all perfectly "ntural," because all are "tradition." See Carlton J.H. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*(New York: The Macmillam Company, c. 1931, p. 93.

kind as a whole and should loyally seek to assure peace among the nations of the world.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen sought no aggrandizement of any nation at the expense of others. He devoted himself to the abolishment of class distinctions and special privileges. All Chinese people are equally to be endowed with individual liberty and with national obligations. Government is to be of the people, by the people and for the people.

Furthermore, Dr. Sun Yat-sen believed in the liberty and equality of all nations. In his *Will*, he firmly taught us, "For forty years, I have devoted myself to the cause of the National Revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of a position of freedom and equality among the nations." In order to attain this goal, he urged us "to bring about a thorough awaking of own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with these peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality."²⁴⁾

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was also an internationalist. But he was not a wishful thinker, who negates the existence of territorial states and dreams of an instant "Family of Man." He was absolutely not an internationalist as the communists pretend to be. For the communists try to create a hierarchical structure which means the subjection of all nations to the claims of a world empire. The principle of nationalism he formulated was designed not only to attain the independence of the Chinese people but also to promote freedom and equality among the nations of the world, which would gradually pave the way for a Great World Commonwealth.²⁵⁾

In short, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principle of nationalism originated from the traditional Chinese culture. To him, the essence of nationalism is ethics. As the process of the evolution of nation starts from family, so ethics begins at home. In order to illustrate the nationalistic character

24) See Dr. Sun-Yat-sen's *Will*.

25) See Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Lecture Four on "The Principle of Nationalism".

of Chinese philosophy, let us turn now to some of the ideas of the Great Learning, which was attributed by the Neo-Confucianists to Tsen Tzu, one of the chief disciples of Confucius. Its opening section reads:

The teaching of the Great Learning is to manifest one's illustrious virtue, love the people, and rest in the highest good....The ancients who wished to manifest illustrious virtue throughout the world, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their own states, they first regulated their own families. Wishing to regulate their own families, they first cultivated their own selves. Wishing to cultivate their own selves, they first rectified their own minds. Wishing to rectify their own minds, they first sought for absolute sincerity in their thoughts. Wishing for absolute sincerity in their thoughts, Wishing for absolute sincerity in their thoughts, they first extended their knowledge. This extension of knowledge consists in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, only then did their knowledge become extended. Their knowledge being extended, only then did their thought become sincere. Their thought being sincere, only then did their mind become rectified. Their mind being rectified, only then did their selves become cultivated. Their selves being cultivated, only then did their families become regulated. Their families being regulated, only then did their states become rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, only then could the world be at peace.

In conclusion, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principle of nationalism is based on the above ideas. It is a state of mind, and also a gradual progression from individual, family, clan, tribe to nation, as "half-way house" and finally moving towards the Great World Commonwealth which consists of all the nations of the world on equal basis. And eternal peace prevails.