

Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies

Number 1 – 2007 (188)



NATIONAL IDENTITY, ETHNIC
IDENTITY, AND PARTY IDENTITY
IN TAIWAN

Chang-Yen TSAI

SCHOOL OF LAW
UNIVERSITY
OF
MARYLAND

Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies

General Editor: Hungdah CHIU
Executive Editor: Chih-Yu T. WU
Associate Executive Editor: Yufan LI
Associate Editor: Matthew Lyon
Managing Editor: Chih-Yu T. WU
Assistant Editor: Timothy A. Costello

Editorial Advisory Board

Professor Robert A. Scalapino, University of California
at Berkeley

Professor Bih-jaw LIN, National Chengchi University
Dr. Ying-jeou MA, Chinese Society of International Law
Professor Toshio Sawada, Sophia University, Japan
Professor Choon-ho Park, International Legal Studies,
Korea University, Republic of Korea

All contributions (in English only) and communications should be sent to:

Professor Hungdah CHIU/or Chih-Yu T. WU
University of Maryland School of Law
500 West Baltimore Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201-1786, USA

All publications in this series reflect only the views of the authors.

While the editor accepts responsibility for the selection of materials to be published, the individual author is responsible for statements of facts and expressions of opinion contained therein.

Subscription is US \$40.00 per year for 4 issues (regardless of the price of individual issues) in the United States and \$45.00 for Canada or overseas. Checks should be addressed to MSCAS.

Tel.: (410) 706-3870
Fax: (410) 706-1516

Price for single copy of this issue: US \$8.00

ISSN 0730-0107
ISBN 1-932330-18-6

© Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, Inc.

NATIONAL IDENTITY, ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND PARTY IDENTITY IN TAIWAN

Chang-Yen TSAI*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
I. Taiwan Identity and Identity Transition	3
II. National Identity	4
III. Ethnic Identity	9
IV. Party Identity	22
V. Conclusion	28
References	30
Glossary	33

* Dr. Chang-Yen Tsai is an assistant professor in both the Department of East Asian Culture and Development and the Graduate Institute of Political Science at National Taiwan Normal University in Taiwan. He received a Ph.D. in Political Science from the State University of New York at Binghamton. His main research focuses on democratization trends, the international political economy in East Asia, mainland China studies, cross Taiwan strait relations, and labor rights and politics.

The author acknowledges the support of the Republic of China (Taiwan) Government's National Science Council for this study. (NSC94-2414-H-194-004) (NSC95-2414-H-194-017)

ABSTRACT

Taiwanese identity developed out of a culture and history shared with mainland China, but has been transformed through the experience of the island's inhabitants under different political systems, changes in the environment, and the influence of strong leadership. This paper discusses Taiwan's national, ethnic, and party identities, during different historical stages in Taiwan. Most importantly, this paper analyzes government transitions in political development to assess the significant impact these events had on Taiwanese identity. The author argues that political, cultural, and social factors are the three forces that most strongly affect Taiwanese identity. Among these three forces, political factors have played the most important role in the formation of Taiwan's national, ethnic, and party identities on the island, whereas cultural and social factors have played a secondary role of reinforcing the changes brought by political development. In the future, the direction of Taiwan's democratization and the ensuing political development are likely to determine how the Taiwanese identity will continue to evolve.

Identity is a phenomenon that encompasses recognition, classification, acceptance and belonging. It reflects how people's reasoning, emotions and actions are influenced by their surroundings. To be more specific, in a given country or area, the geography, common history, spoken languages, socio-cultural differences among ethnic groups, and stated values and positions of political parties together dictate how people identify themselves.¹ Along these lines, Taiwanese identity can be defined as a collective awareness that Taiwanese people are bound by their past history and life experiences and are devoted to guarding their community at all costs. Under this premise, Taiwanese identity is a multi-dimensional and multi-layered collective identity; its defining factors differ from time to time and from space to space, and its components do not necessarily complement or reinforce one another. Since the identity we see at a given time is partial and fragmented, different people thus have diverse interpretations of this subjective term.²

1. Dai, Bao-Tsun, "Yushan Landscape and the Development of Taiwanese Identity," *Collection of Theses on National Identity*, Institute of Taiwan History, Taipei: Dao Hsiang Press, 2001, pp. 123-144.

2. Shih, Cheng-Feng, "The Exploration of Taiwan Consciousness," *The Construct of Taiwanese Politics*, Taipei: Avangarde, 1999, pp. 1-39.

In Taiwan, the importance of identity politics rose gradually concomitant with the process of democratization. After the Chinese civil war, the emergence of a separate Taiwanese identity was restricted for a long time by the island's authoritarian political system, but since martial law was lifted in 1987, the Taiwanese people have begun to find an anchorage for their identity. What it means to be "Taiwanese," and who is included in (and excluded from) "the Taiwanese people," remains hotly contested and the most salient and polarizing issue in contemporary Taiwanese politics, forcefully shaping people's perspectives toward their nation's international status and foreign policy. Through its strong influence over voting behavior, the identity issue also ultimately affects the prospects for democratic consolidation in Taiwan.³ As a consequence, "Taiwanese identity" has become an important battlefield as Taiwan's ruling and opposition parties try to shape and define its boundaries for political advantage.

"Taiwanese identity" can be divided into three types: national, ethnic, and party identities. Democratization, the "Taiwanization" movement, and heightened political tensions across the Taiwan Straits have combined to throw all of these identities into flux for many people living in Taiwan; in such periods of transition, political clashes over identities are inevitable.

Generally speaking, Taiwanese identity developed out of shared cultural and historical ties with mainland China, but was transformed through the experience of the island's inhabitants under different political systems, changes in environment, and the influence of strong leadership. In the following sections, the author will first define "Taiwanese identity," and then discuss the changes of Taiwan's national identity, ethnic identity, and party identity during different historical stages in Taiwan.

I. TAIWAN IDENTITY AND IDENTITY TRANSITION

"Identity" is a subjective and individual issue; it is shaped through continuous self-reflection, and is at heart an answer to the questions "Who am I?" and "Who is he?" and then moving on to "Who are we?" and "Who are they?"⁴ The answers to these questions are rooted in differences in ancestry, ethnicity, language, relig-

3. Shih, Cheng-Feng, "National Identity of Taiwanese People," *Collected Works of the Symposium on National Identity*, Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, 2001, pp. 145-180.

4. Ge, Yong-guang, *Cultural Pluralism and State Integration: The Formation and Challenges of Chinese Identity*, Taipei: Zheng Zhong, 1993, pp. 45-6.

ion, region, history, culture, and customs. These are the distinctions that draw the line between “us” and “them.”

Identity is heavily shaped by the social and cultural environment in which it develops, but it can also be both malleable and context-specific. Thus, when certain factors in the environment change—for instance, the learning of a new language and culture, expansion or migration into new regions, or even dramatic changes such as the alteration of the political or economic form of the state—changes in identity are likely to occur. There are two types of identity change: assimilation and differentiation. Assimilation involves observing, learning from, and adopting the social behaviors of specific groups in order to diminish cultural differences and the salience of social cleavages. It can also be divided into “combination,” “imitation,” or a blend of both. Differentiation involves the formation of new and distinct groups through fission or proliferation, and at the same time, the weakening or transformation of the original group identification and the creation of new salient social cleavages. Identity crises or conflicts can occur during the process of these changes.⁵

The development of a distinct “Taiwanese identity” occurred as part of the process of democratization on the island, and as a consequence the question of identity has become entangled with issues involving ethnic relations and partisan preferences. Not only does identity affect voting behavior, it also plays a decisive role in state ideology, foreign policies, and the consolidation of democracy.⁶

II. NATIONAL IDENTITY

Identity-related issues often become politicized when the subjective conception of “us” versus “them” — of “in” versus “out-groups” — influences decision-making in public affairs.⁷ Such “political community identification” lies within the collective and pub-

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-100.

6. Shi, Zheng-feng, “Taiwan People’s National Identity”, *Collected Works of the Symposium on National Identity*, Taipei: Dao Xiang, 2001, pp. 146-7.

7. This is Carl Schmitt’s concept of “the political” (*das Politischen*) as the line “delimiting foes and friends.” Schmitt’s focus is primarily on international relations; the politics of constitutional reform, in his view, are under normal circumstances domestic issues and do not raise fundamental issues of identity. Sometimes, however, domestic political disputes can lead to the breakdown of the implicit trust and understanding between groups within the national polity, leading to more fundamental conflict over who is included and who is excluded in the nation. Please refer to Carl Schmitt and Yao Chao Sen (trans.), *Political Concepts* (Taiwan: 2005), p. 22.

lic sharing of symbols or events of a community's members, and at the same time invokes other constructed identities, the most important being "national identification."⁸ National identity can be interpreted as the identification with the state itself or with the political regime, or as the approval of one set of values reflected in a particular political, economic, and cultural system.⁹ Therefore, an important task for a state is to set formal boundaries on the "national identity," as people must know how far the reach of these values and systems extends.

Externally, Taiwanese national identity has mainly been shaped by cross-Straits relations. From 1945 to present, four different periods can be distinguished:¹⁰

(i) Militant Confrontation (1945~1970)

This period was essentially an extension of the Chinese civil war: while the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) attempted to liberate Taiwan by force, the Kuomintang (KMT) — the ruling party at the time — also endeavored to reclaim Mainland China by force. The 1950s marked the time when the divide across the Taiwan Straits was most severe, as the numerous military engagements during this period attest. At this time in history, Taiwanese national identity was rooted in the concept of "One China," and the ruling regimes on both sides of the Taiwan Straits regarded themselves as the only legal representative of "China," labeling the other as a rebel group or as an "illegitimate" regime. Although Taiwan did face intermittent domestic unrest related to the identity question during this period, including the February 28 Incident in 1947, the Free China Journal Incident in the 1960s, and PENG Ming-min's "A Declaration of Formosan Self-Salvation," most Taiwanese did not dare to challenge the "One China" concept.

8. Jiang, Yi-hua, *Liberalism, Nationalism and National Identity*, Taipei: Yang Jyh, 2000, pp. 12-14.

9. Shi, Zheng-feng, "Taiwan People's National Identity", *Collected Works of the Symposium on National Identity*, Taipei: Dao Xiang, 2001, p. 151.

10. Ding, Yu-zhou, recounted in Wang, Shyh-chwen (ed.), *Ding Yu-jou Memoirs*, Taipei: Commonwealth Global View, 2004, pp. 465-466; Liu, Wen-bin, *Cross-Straits Relations and Taiwan's Changing National Identity*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, pp. 352-8; Shao, Zong-hai, "An Investigation on Cross-Straits Political Positioning," *National Chengchi University Journal*, Volume 68, pp. 46-50; Qi, Jia-lin, *Lee Teng-hui's Political Cross-straits Policy and Mainland China's Reaction*, Taipei: Nung Hsueh, 2005, pp. 165-78; Zhang, Zan-ge, *The History of Cross-Straits Relations*, Taipei: Jou Zi Culture, 1996.

(ii) Competing for Constitutional Legitimacy (1971~1986)

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was formally admitted to the United Nations (UN) in 1971 and replaced the Republic of China (ROC) as a permanent member of the Security Council and the only official representative of "China" in that body. When the United States of America (USA) established formal diplomatic ties with the PRC, the mainland government officially began to refer to Taiwan as a local government of China. At around the same time, from the mid-1970 onwards, the democratic opposition movement in Taiwan started to gather strength; political forces outside the KMT began to coalesce and compete in officially sanctioned elections. Although the Zhongli Incident¹¹ and the Formosa Incident¹²

11. The Zhongli Incident refers to Taiwan's county and city mayor elections in 1977, and in particular, the riot that erupted after vote manipulation was revealed in Taoyuan County's executive elections. The candidates running in the election were HSU Hsin-liang, a former Kuomintang (KMT) assemblyman who was kicked out of the party after he lost the party's nomination to run in the Taoyuan election and so decided to run as an independent, and KMT nominee c The voting fraud occurred in Voting Precinct 213 where precinct supervisor was caught by witnesses engaging in vote fraud. After the incident was exposed to the public, around ten thousand disgruntled citizens surrounded the Zhongli City Police Station and set fire to the building as well as the motor vehicles within its vicinity. At the report of this incident the police responded with relative restraint and decided to only detain the leaders of the group to keep the issue from reaching the public. The military was called in to restore order and impose stability but was unsuccessful as they were affected by the public's call for the military not to open fire upon their own father, mother, brothers and sisters: the military retreated from Zhongli. Unfortunately, during the incident police — allegedly in self defense — open fired into the crowd and fatally wounded two youths. The aftermath of the incident had political implications not only for the KMT party in terms of a shift in power but for Taiwanese society as a whole. The incident increased public awareness of KMT's underhanded tactics and consequently generated support for and contributed to the strength of the Dangwai movement. The incident also gave momentum to a group of politicians aspiring for public office outside the KMT party. Chou, Yangsun, Nathan, Andrew J., "Democratizing Transition in Taiwan," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (March 1987), pp. 277-299.

12. The Formosa Incident, also known as the Kaohsiung Incident, refers to the KMT government crackdown on protestors against the shutting down of Formosa Magazine on International Human Rights Day in 1979. The Formosa Magazine was a publication that was very critical of the government which the KMT government felt challenged their control over public opinion. The rally-turned-protest became violent when protestors and undercover agents clashed. Like the Zhongli Incident, the conflict exposed to the public the heavy handed tactics of the KMT government which brought charges against the accused conspirators of the protest in public trials. These trials gave rise to a group of defense lawyers that were able to publicly question and bring to light the KMT's use of torture in interrogation and spearhead the call for reform. These lawyers later became the future leaders of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP): CHEN Shui-bian (President of the ROC), SU Tseng-chang (Premier of the Republic of

slightly hindered the growth of democratic opposition movements, these events also brought to the fore a new generation of political leaders, such as future President CHEN Shui-bian and Premier SU Tseng-chang, and formed a solid foundation for later political opposition movements.

In the 1970s, tension across the Taiwan Straits increased and again led to greater confrontation as a result of these major developments in international diplomacy. During this period, the ruling KMT not only actively fought the CCP's claim to be the legitimate representative of "China" in the international arena, but also contested the CCP's claim that Taiwan was a "local government" of China. The KMT managed to form a general internal consensus on the "One China" identity, to which the public generally acquiesced; at the same time, by exploiting the power that its control of national institutions gave it, the KMT was able to prevent the nascent opposition groups from strengthening too rapidly. However, because the KMT repeatedly failed to win recognition as the rightful representative of "China" in international organizations, a problem exacerbated by the increasing disadvantages Taiwan was facing in its foreign affairs, the legitimacy of the KMT became increasingly questioned. A number of activists and intellectuals started to express public dissatisfaction with the identification of Taiwan as part of "One China," and the independence of Taiwan was for the first time raised in public discussion. Although the tension across the Taiwan Straits seemed to ease somewhat in the 1980s, both sides of the Straits still held a great deal of hostility toward each other and had few if any political contacts with one another. After the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was established in 1986, diverse interpretations of "national identity" began to appear in public discourse in Taiwan, as well.

(iii) Cross-Strait Interaction (1987~1999)

This is the period during which cross-strait relations made the most substantial progress since 1945. In 1987, the Taiwan government adopted a policy to allow mainlanders in Taiwan to visit their

China) and Frank Hsieh (Former Premier of the Republic of China). Among the accused were Annette Lu (Vice President of the ROC), SHI Ming-teh (future DPP chairman), and LIN Yi-hsiung (environmental activist and future DPP chairman), whose family was brutally murdered when he was detained by the KMT authorities. The murders were widely believed to be politically motivated. Hsiao, Hsin-Huang Michael, "Emerging Social Movements and the Rise of a Demanding Civil Society in Taiwan," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, No. 24 (July 1990), pp. 163-180.

relatives in Mainland China, and then further extended it to trade and educational exchanges. In 1991, the Executive Yuan in Taiwan adopted the Guidelines for National Unification, aimed at establishing a framework for the gradual unification of Mainland China and Taiwan.¹³ Based on the three-step process laid out in these Guidelines, both sides of the Taiwan Straits established corresponding political foundations, laying the groundwork for the “1992 Consensus” of the Koo-Wang talks (KOO Chen-fu and WANG Daohan) in 1992.¹⁴ These developments all reflected a substantial deepening of cross-Strait ties. Even the mainland’s threats to use military force against Taiwan in 1995 and 1996 during the run-up to the island’s presidential election did not seriously damage the continuing development of economic and cultural relations across the Taiwan Straits.

One can observe a clear shift in Taiwanese identity during this period. In 1987, the Taiwan government lifted martial law and officially ceased referring to the PRC as a rebel group. Also, under the influence of President LEE Teng-hui, Taiwan adopted a new pragmatism in its diplomacy in order to counter China’s ever-tightening squeeze on Taiwan in foreign relations. In 1991, the “Period of National Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion” ended, and several constitutional reforms were made to further reflect the voices of the people in Taiwan, leading the ROC down the road toward becoming a fully sovereign, representative state. In 1993, the Koo-Wang talks further developed the consensus of “One China, with each side making its own interpretations.” Consequently, national identity on the island shifted from that of “One China” to “One China, Two regions, Two Political Entities.”

(iv) Fighting for Sovereignty (1999~Present)

KOO Chen-fu visited Mainland China and met with JIANG Zemin in 1998, at the high point of cross-Strait political dialogue. WANG Daohan, on China’s behalf, also planned to visit Taiwan during the following year. However, after former President LEE Teng-hui referred to Taiwan-China relations as “Special State-To-State” relations in July of 1999, his statement strained cross-Strait relations. Consequently, all political, diplomatic, and military rela-

13. Please refer to: <http://www.mac.gov.tw/english/english/macpolicy/gnueng.htm> (May 6, 2007).

14. Please refer to: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-10/13/content_382076.htm (May 7, 2007).

tions were discontinued at once. In 2000, after DPP candidate CHEN Shui-bian was elected the President of Taiwan, cross-Strait relations became even tenser because the core objective of the DPP was to achieve Taiwan's independence from China. In 2002, President Chen proposed a new position titled "One Country on Each Side (of the Taiwan Straits)," which asserted that cross-Strait relations were an international issue and not an internal, domestic one. Furthermore, Chen won passage of a referendum law and then called the island's first-ever national referendum, on whether to condemn the PRC's missile buildup, to coincide with the 2004 Presidential election, thereby linking other issues in the campaign to the question of national identity.

Under the influence of various government policies that promoted "Taiwanization" (*bentuhua*), the newfound openness ushered in by democratization, and the guidance of political leaders, Taiwan's national identity shifted gradually from that of belonging to the country ruled by the legitimate government of "One China," to a concept of to "One China" as a part of "Two regions, Two Political Entities", and then finally to today's widespread recognition of Taiwan as an independent political regime separate from China.

III. ETHNIC IDENTITY

Ethnic identity and ethnic relations have been important issues and sources of conflict throughout Taiwan's political history, and together they are also one of the major elements leading to different interpretations of who is "Taiwanese." To understand ethnic conflicts in Taiwan, we have to trace back through Taiwan's political history. Shortly after Taiwan's sovereignty was restored from Japan to the Republic of China in 1945, the first ethnic divide appeared between "mainlanders" — those who came to the island from various parts of the mainland after the end of WWII, including almost all members of the KMT and the military — and "native Taiwanese" — those who had lived on the island while it was still a Japanese colony, and who usually could trace their ancestry on the island back two hundred years or more. Differences in their life experiences, backgrounds and spoken languages made communication so difficult that misunderstanding inevitably occurred. These "provincial issues" originated from both sides: "native Taiwanese" felt that "mainlanders" came as intruders but played the dominant role in Taiwan's politics and economy; "mainlanders" felt that "na-

tive Taiwanese” were so deeply influenced by Japanese culture that they were too detached from their motherland.

In Taiwan, “provincial issues” have multi-faceted meanings. They include conflicts over political power and political restructuring, and sometimes they are also relevant to the economic and ethno-cultural spheres. However, when Taiwanese people talk about provincial issues, the political meaning usually is of primary importance. Taiwan was ruled by an authoritarian party-state system, which effectively shaped the way the island’s cultural and economic cleavages mapped onto political issues. That is, inequalities in economic and educational opportunities were in many cases a result of the concentration of political power among mainlanders under this system. Thus, even though the “native” Taiwanese made up a majority of the population, mainlanders enjoyed many privileges that effectively relegated most native Taiwanese to a marginal role in the island’s economics and, most significantly, in politics.

Those in the “Dangwai” (“outside the party”) movement gradually changed their appeals during the 1980s and 1990s from seeking equal participation in politics to redefining self identity and national identity. This shift increasingly linked together provincial and national identity issues and helped to strengthen ethnic identity in Taiwan. Generally speaking, ethnic groups in Taiwan today fall into four major groups: 13% Mainland Chinese (or “Mainlanders”), 70% Hoklo, 15% Hakka and 2% Aborigine.¹⁵ Taiwan’s ethnic identity is implied by one’s mother tongue, such as Mandarin, Taiwanese (*minnanyu* or *Taiyu*) and Hakka (*kejiahua*). The so-called Mainlanders are the descendents of post-1945 immigrants whose mother tongue is Mandarin (or another mainland Chinese dialect); the Hoklo are those who speak Taiwanese and mostly came from Fujian, and whose history in Taiwan can be traced back to the 18th Century; and the Hakka are those whose ancestors came mostly from the southern part of Guangdong, and who speak Hakka. The ancestors of these three ethnic groups all migrated to Taiwan from mainland China and thus share a common historical background, culture, religion, etc. Hence, they initially tended to regard themselves as Chinese. Historical accounts indicate that the earliest ancestors of today’s Aborigines immigrated to Taiwan prior to the 10th Century, and thus they tended to regard themselves as

15. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Taiwan

Taiwanese.¹⁶ Such a composition and distribution of ethnicity helped to create the characteristics of a migratory society in Taiwan, including an unbalanced proportion of men to women and also common inter-ethnic marriages; at the very same time, hostilities and open clashes between different ethnic groups were also common.¹⁷

In contemporary Taiwan, these historic ethnic cleavages based on linguistic differences or different patterns of immigration have for the most part been superseded by the question of whether one identifies oneself as either Taiwanese or Chinese. This new version of “ethnic identity” is often measured through self-identification, such as in telephone surveys or face-to-face interviews, and can be divided into three categories: “Chinese,” “Taiwanese,” and “both Taiwanese and Chinese.”¹⁸ The divergent political development of ethnic groups in Taiwan has always been an important issue and point of conflict, and is one of the most important elements that has sustained different ethnic identities on the island. But the *evolution* of ethnic identities in Taiwan has mainly been influenced by the ideology of the leader, by national policies, and by cross-Strait issues. Four periods in this evolution can be identified as follows:

(i) Pre-1945

During this period, Taiwan’s population was mainly composed of the Aborigines and Chinese immigrants who had lived in Taiwan prior to the Japanese colonization in 1895. Ethnic identification can be divided into two phases due to the two different ruling regimes (Chinese and Japanese) that Taiwan experienced during this period.¹⁹

16. Ge, Yong-guang, *Cultural Pluralism and State Integration: The Formation and Challenges of Chinese Identity*, Taipei, Zheng Zhong, 1993, pp. 122-124.

17. Chen, Yi-shen Ed., *Taiwan Society: From an Immigrant Society, Pluralism to Local Identity*, Taipei, Qun Ce Hui, 2004, pp. 8-25.

18. Yu, Ying-long, *Public Opinion and Taiwan’s Political Change*, Taipei: Yue Dan, 1996, pp. 105-8.

19. Ge, Yong-guang, *Cultural Pluralism and State Integration: The Formation and Challenges of Chinese Identity*, Taipei: Zheng Zhong, 1993, pp. 125-8; Qi, Jia-lin, *Lee Teng-hui’s Political Cross-straits Policy and Mainland China’s Reaction*, Taipei: Nung Hsueh, 2005, pp. 147-65; Liu, Wen-bin, *Cross-Strait Relations and Taiwan’s Changing National Identity*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, pp. 66-7; Chen, Yi-shen Ed., *Taiwan Society: From an Immigrant Society, Pluralism to Local Identity*, Taipei: Qun Ce Hui, 2004, pp. 8-25; Wang, Fu-chang, *Ethnic Imagination in Contemporary Taiwan*, Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2002, pp. 97-100.

1) During the Qing Dynasty (1644–1912), not only did Han settlers (that is, those who emigrated from mainland China) have conflicts with the Aborigines, but intra-Han ethnic conflicts were also legion. Settlers who had emigrated from different areas in Fujian and Guangdong typically identified most strongly as members of their ancestral hometowns rather than as “Han Chinese.” As a consequence, place of origin on the mainland developed early on into a highly salient ethnic cleavage and served to differentiate settlers into mutually hostile clans. The two most prominent of these were the Zhangzhou and Quanzhou clans, which engaged in terrible and nearly continuous violence against one another. Conflicts between these and other groups were so severe at times that Qing Dynasty magistrates resorted to physically separating members of the two clans and building barriers between their neighborhoods and agricultural holdings in order to ensure some semblance of stability and order. Such a policy served initially only to sharpen the cleavages among different ethnic groups; however, over time the Qing Dynasty succeeded in consolidating a broader “Chinese identity” across ethnic groups through the use of difficult but impartial imperial examinations to determine eligibility for government service, and through increased trade and other economic interaction.

Generally speaking, the Han Chinese who immigrated to Taiwan during this period, despite their ethnic differences, still had a strong emotional attachment to China. But because they and their ancestors had lived in Taiwan over a long period and had interacted and intermarried with the Aborigines, they tended to form a “native” consciousness as well, making them more conscious of their Taiwanese ties, which nevertheless did not generally conflict with their Chinese identity.

2) When Japan assumed control of Taiwan in 1895, strict measures were taken to restrict contacts and interaction between mainland China and Taiwan, effectively transforming Taiwanese society from a “migratory society” into a “static society.” The Japanese attempted to transform the Taiwanese population’s “Chinese identity” to “Japanese identity,” but these were at first half-hearted and focused mainly on the educational system. During the later period of colonization, however, the Japanese colonial government introduced the so-called “Kominka” policy (*huangminhua zhengce*) — its overriding objective was to make Taiwanese view themselves as Japanese through the enforced conversion to Japanese religion and the use of Japanese names and language in everyday discourse. However, many of the island’s inhabitants still had an intense emo-

tional attachment to their Chinese origins and thus expressed their strong resistance to the Japanese assimilation force through various anti-Japanese movements. In the end, Japan largely failed to instill in most Taiwanese a strong Japanese identity during this period.

(ii) 1945-1987²⁰

Upon losing the Chinese Civil War to the CCP in 1949, the KMT government retreated to Taiwan along with some 1.3 million refugees. When facing the people who had been under Japanese rule for fifty years, the ROC government was eager to implement a “de-Japanization” policy and strengthen “Chinese identity” among the island’s inhabitants, which in turn engendered widespread resentment among the “native Taiwanese” population. This discontent with ROC policies that in practice advantaged mainlanders, and with endemic corruption in the new administration, culminated in the February 28th Incident in 1947, in which a riot in Taipei grew into a full-scale armed revolt against KMT rule; it was eventually put down by force at the cost of some 30,000 lives, including many prominent Taiwanese intellectuals, activists, landlords, and business leaders.²¹ In the aftermath, many ethnic Hoklo, Hakka, and Ab-

20. Wang, Fu-chang, *Ethnic Imagination in Contemporary Taiwan*, Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2002, pp. 100-36; Liu, Wen-bin, *Cross-Strait Relations and Taiwan's Changing National Identity*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, p. 179; Qi, Jia-lin, *Lee Teng-hui's Political Cross-strait Policy and Mainland China's Reaction*, Taipei: Nung Hsueh, 2005, pp. 172-6.

21. The 228 Incident is considered by many Taiwan observers as one of the most critical flashpoints in Taiwan’s political history. The incident directly refers to the massive uprising that erupted after a minor altercation between a local contraband cigarette seller and an officer from the Monopoly Bureau ended with the officer beating the contraband seller and sparking a riot among the crowd gathered to watch. The uprising initiated on February 28, 1947, was quickly followed by rebel groups taking administrative control over towns and military bases; and martial law was declared by the Governor-General. After securing control over administrative posts, the leaders of the uprising organized a Settlement Committee which formulated the famous “32 demands” that demanded reform of the provincial administration, and called for greater autonomy, free elections, surrender of ROC Army to Settlement Committee and an end to governmental corruption. However, ROC troop reinforcements arrived on March 8 and quickly crushed the rebel forces. The incident became a watershed event that brought mutual distrust and suspicion to a boiling point between the two dominant ethnic groups: namely, the Taiwanese (Hoklo, Hakka, and Aborigines in Taiwan prior to 1949) and the Mainlanders (migrants who fled China after the KMT lost the Chinese Civil War and repatriated to Taiwan after 1949). The Taiwanese felt disenfranchised and unfairly chastised by the corrupt KMT government that took over Japanese occupation, while the government was suspicious that the Taiwanese subjects were communist sympathizers and/or Japan loyalists. The incident is remembered differently by different

origines became intensely hostile toward the newly immigrated mainlanders, most of whom were associated in some way with the KMT regime that had carried out the crackdown. This incident was also a critical moment in the evolution of ethnic identity in Taiwan — a portion of the island's inhabitants for the first time began to think of themselves as "Taiwanese" first, rather than Japanese or Chinese. Consequently, statements supporting Taiwan independence began to surface and "Chinese identity" was challenged.²²

During their long reigns, CHIANG Kai-shek (1949-1975) and his son CHIANG Ching-kuo (1975-1988) promoted the "Sinicization" of Taiwanese and suppressed expressions of "Taiwanese identity." Strict policies were introduced to encourage the Hoklo and the Hakka to "revert" to a "Chinese" identity, mostly through education and other government policies that promoted traditional Chinese cultural practices and traditions and enforced the use of Mandarin in all official state business. The ROC's policy toward the Aborigines under the Chiangs was one of promoting assimilation with the Han majority, including the use of government aid to make the Aborigines regard themselves as "Chinese."²³ During this period, most of the members in the ruling class were mainlanders, who by virtue of the official "Sinicization" policy were generally given political and economic privileges unavailable to the "locals" (Hoklo, Hakka, and Aborigines). In order to avoid conflicts between the mainlanders and the rest of the ethnic groups,

ethnic groups in Taiwan, and acts a linear disconnect in the collective memory in the nation's history. This disconnect has fueled the ethnic conflict between Chinese and Taiwanese identity within Taiwan's domestic political debate. The political significance of the incident was that it led to the period of the "White Terror", characterized by politically motivated assassinations and suppression of free speech, assembly and other civil liberties of the Taiwanese. The incident was later used as a potent symbol for progressive movements for social and political reform during the KMT instituted martial law (1949–1986). How the nation should come to terms with the disputed facts of this incident continues to be a source of conflict between the Democratic Progressive Party (former opposition party) and the Kuomintang (former ruling party). The official estimate puts the number killed at around 10,000 to 30,000. Kerr, George H., *Formosa Betrayed*. London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1996.

22. Phillips, Steven E., *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945-1950*, Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2003, pp. 87-8.

23. 23 Because most inhabitants of Han origin lived in the flat plains of western, northern, and northeastern Taiwan, while most Aborigines lived in mountainous areas, this policy of assimilation, (officially termed "*shandi pingdihua zhengce*" in Chinese) in practice sought both cultural and geographic assimilation of the Aborigines with the Han majority. In Ge, Yong-guang, *Cultural Pluralism and State Integration: The Formation and Challenges of Chinese Identity*, Taipei: Zheng Zhong, 1993, p. 135.

many mainlanders were thus gathered together to live in "Military Dependents' Villages." Such a policy created a greater barrier between the mainlanders and the rest of the ethnic groups and reinforced the salience of the "Mainlander-Taiwanese" ethnic cleavage. However, between the 1950s and 1970s, conflict between the different ethnic groups was gradually mitigated through social integration, interaction and intermarriage.

In the 1970s, opposition movements began to rise and flourish due to international and domestic circumstances. A number of prominent political activists outside the KMT started to appeal to the so-called "native Taiwanese" (i.e. non-Mainlanders) to develop "Taiwanese consciousness;" the Zhongli Incident in 1978 and the Formosan Incident further stimulated and accelerated the formation of such consciousness. Later in the 1980s, the KMT faced difficulties in maintaining the justice system, mitigating the negative effects of economic development and the increasing differentiation of the social structure, and in responding to the rise of Aboriginal movements and the establishment of the DPP, which all contributed to the development of a "Taiwanese consciousness" that in its strength and intensity rivaled the "Chinese consciousness" the government had intentionally promoted over the years.

(iii) 1988-2000

During this period, ethnic identity in Taiwan changed in subtle ways due to the opposition party's efforts to promote "Taiwanization" in the political power structure and in the island's culture, and also as a consequence of the PRC's responses in the 1990s to Taiwan's democratization through military threats and diplomatic intimidation. Upon the death of CHIANG Ching-kuo, LEE Teng-hui succeeded to the ROC presidency in 1988, and in the following years, he enthusiastically pushed both greater democratization and "localization" (*bentuhua*), or greater incorporation of ethnic Taiwanese into the island's political and economic elite.²⁴ First, he re-organized the power structure of the Executive Yuan, the Party (KMT) and the Legislature and National Assembly. Many native Taiwanese were put in important positions in government offices and were able to redress the oppression that non-mainlanders had

24. LEE Teng-hui once indicated that Taiwan's democratization did not have to be built on the basis of "Taiwan identity" or "Taiwan localization." In Qi, Jia-lin, *Lee Teng-hui's Political Cross-straits Policy and Mainland China's Reaction*, Taipei: Nung Hsueh, 2005, p. 176.

suffered over the past years and decades. Second, new amendments to the Constitution redefined the criteria used to determine who was a citizen of the ROC, downsized or eliminated provincial organizations to match the reality that the national and provincial governments in practice ruled the same territory; and re-defined cross-Straits relations as “Special State-To-State Relations” in an attempt to make a clear cut with China in his latter term. Third, with the cooperation of mainland and native Taiwanese legislators, LEE Teng-hui pushed a number of policies and actions to emphasize Taiwanese culture and “Taiwanese consciousness” in order to distinguish the “Taiwanese Nation” from the “Chinese Nation.” One major indicator of these broader changes was the increasing use of the Taiwanese dialect (*minnanhua* or *taiyu*) rather than Mandarin as a medium of communication in public life. Lee himself began to speak more and more frequently in Taiwanese during public appearances, especially during election campaigns. Another initiative of Lee’s was to promote Taiwan as a new “cultural center” vis-à-vis the mainland²⁵. Other policies included encouraging greater citizen involvement in community cultural activities, attempting to revamp local education to place greater emphasis on Taiwanese history and culture (at the expense of the traditional emphasis on the China-centric ROC state ideology of the “Three Principles of the People” developed by SUN Yat-sen), and so forth²⁶. Last but not least, old political terms were modified and new slogans introduced which emphasized Taiwan’s distinctness from the mainland; these included “ROC on Taiwan,” “Sorrow of Taiwanese,” “Taiwan First” “New Taiwan” and “New Taiwanese”.²⁷

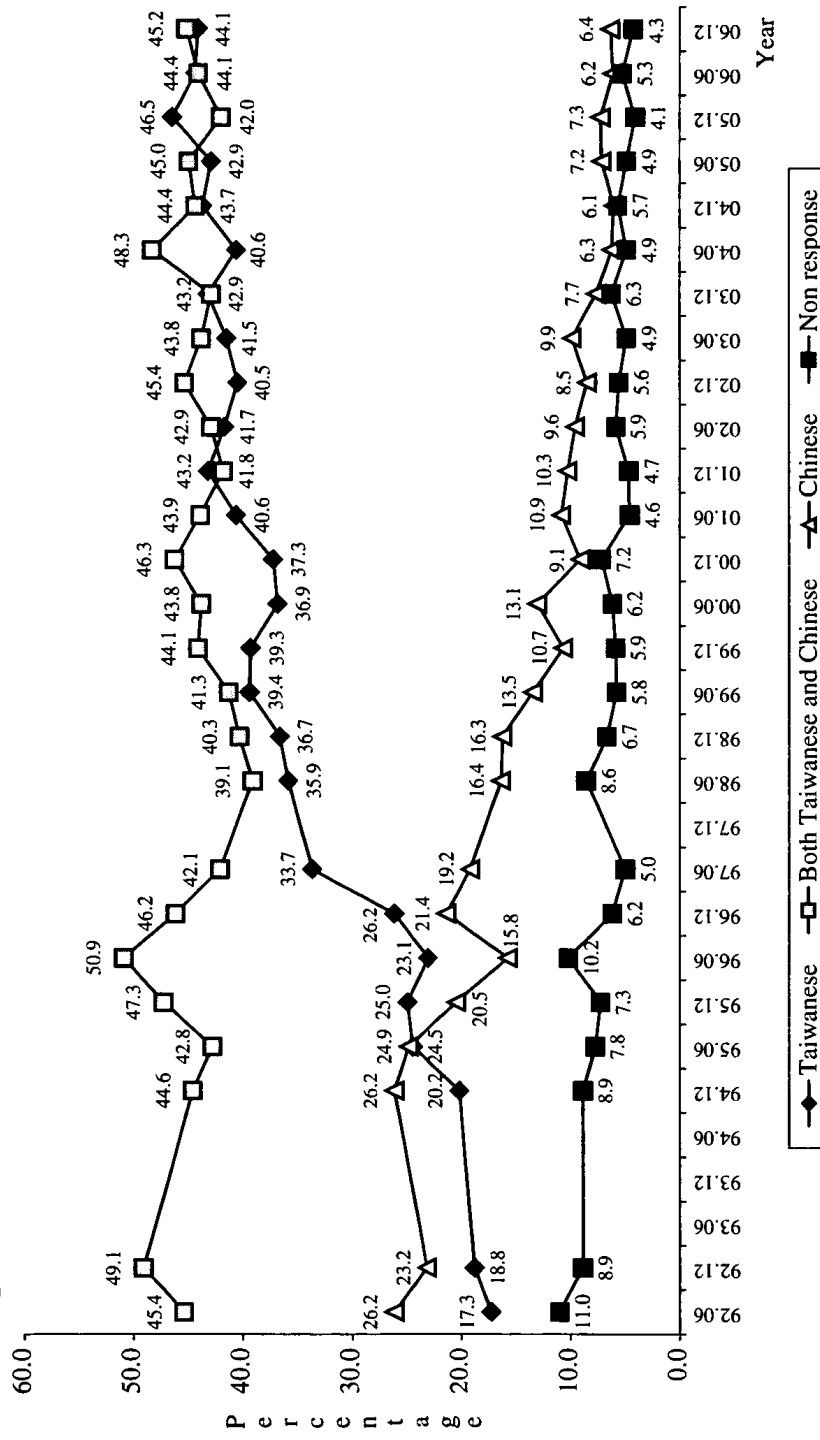
In part as a consequence of these policies, ethnic identity changed dramatically during Lee’s terms as President (Figure 1). In 1992, 26.2% of the general public regarded themselves as Chinese, 45.4% considered themselves to be both Chinese and Taiwanese,

25. See LEE Teng-hui, *Governing a Better Taiwan (Jingying Da Taiwan)*, Taipei: Yuanliou, 1995.

26. In November 1995, the College Recruitment Commission reduced the weight given the Three Principles of the People on the island-wide university entrance exam to half that of other subjects for the 1996 exam, and changed the format to multiple choice from the previous essay format; in 2000, the Three Principles were completely eliminated from the exam. See, e.g., “Three Principles of the People to be Eliminated from University Entrance Exam,” *Liberty Times*, March 27, 1999.

27. Taiwan History Organization (ed), *Research Papers on National Identity*, Taipei: 2001, pp. 155-6. Qi, Jia-lin, *Lee Teng-hui’s Political Cross-strait Policy and Mainland China’s Reaction*, Taipei: Nung Hsueh, 2005, p. 177. Liu, Wen-bin, *Cross-Straits Relations and Taiwan’s Changing National Identity*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, pp. 137-77.

Figure 1. Taiwanese/Chinese Identification Trend Distribution in Taiwan, 1992-2006.



and only 17.3% would see themselves as only Taiwanese. In 1994, the percentage of those who regarded themselves as Chinese remained at 26.2%, those who saw themselves as Taiwanese rose to 20.2%, and those who considered themselves to be both Taiwanese and Chinese decreased to 44.6%. However, in June 2000, shortly after Lee left office, those who saw themselves as Taiwanese had risen to 36.9%, those who regarded themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese remained approximately the same at 43.8%, and those who regarded themselves as Chinese had dropped to 13.1%. It is not difficult to see that Lee's 12-year presidency coincided with a strong increase in Taiwanese consciousness, as the ethnic identity of the majority of people living in Taiwan shifted dramatically from "Chinese" to "Taiwanese."

Developments in cross-Strait relations, to the extent that these were independent of initiatives by LEE Teng-hui, clearly also helped to alter identities in Taiwan during this period. As can be seen from the data presented in Figure 1, the percentage of those who identified themselves as Taiwanese surpassed that of those who identified themselves as Chinese in late 1995, in the midst of a series of live-fire military exercises that the PRC conducted within a few dozen miles of Taiwan. These exercises coincided with the run-up to the 1996 presidential election (the first in which the ROC president would be directly elected) and constituted a transparent attempt by the PRC to intimidate voters on the island and warn against supporting pro-independence candidates (implicitly including President Lee himself.) The saber-rattling backfired, however, when Lee remained defiant and won re-election with a clear majority of the popular vote. The PRC's demonstration of military might and hostile rhetoric not only boosted Lee's margin of victory but, as shown in Figure 1, also managed to drive down sharply the number of people who considered themselves to be "Chinese." This and other developments in cross-Strait relations have played an important role in the transformation of ethnic, national, and partisan identities among Taiwan's inhabitants.

At the same time, dramatic changes were also taking place within each ethnic group's ethnic identity (Table 1). In 1994, most of the Hoklo and the Hakka regarded themselves as Taiwanese, but 1/4 to 1/5 of either ethnic group saw themselves as Chinese; almost half of the Mainlanders considered themselves to be Chinese, while only 14.1% thought they were Taiwanese. In 1999, over half of the Hoklo and the Hakka regarded themselves as Taiwanese, and for the Hoklo, the percentage reached as high as 75%. Although there

Table 1. Ethnic identity with each ethnic group (1994 & 1999).

(N)%

Ethnic	Year	Ethnic Identity			
		Taiwanese	Both Taiwanese & Chinese*	Chinese	Total
Hoklo	1994	46.3%	39.4%	14.3%	100%
	1999	74.6%	19.1%	6.3%	100%
Hakka	1994	38.6%	36.2%	25.2%	100%
	1999	58.3%	33.0%	8.7%	100%
Mainlander	1994	14.1%	36.2%	49.7%	100%
	1999	32.1%	40.2%	27.6%	100%
Total	1994	35.0%	37.5%	27.4%	100%
	1999	67.2%	23.4%	9.5%	100%

* Includes "Taiwanese and also Chinese" and "Chinese and also Taiwanese."
 Source: National Science Council (1994), 'Taiwan Social Attitude Survey, July 1994,' questionnaire no. 1437; and National Science Council (1999), 'The Social Bases of Ethnic Relations in Taiwan: A Survey Research,' questionnaire no. 3496; both in Wu, Nai-teh, 'Identity Conflicts and Political Trust: Core Issues of Ethnic Politics in Contemporary Taiwan,' *Taiwanese Sociology*, 4, p. 89.

are differences among these three ethnic groups, attitudes among the Hoklo and the Hakka are more similar overall; notwithstanding, even Mainlanders have as a whole gradually narrowed the difference in identity compared to other ethnic groups and have increasingly identified themselves as "Taiwanese" over the years.

Although the policies promoting "localization" seemed to aggravate confrontations and conflicts among different ethnic groups, they actually narrowed the gap between each ethnic group regarding its "Taiwanese identity."

(iv) 2000-Present

Since the DPP's CHEN Shui-bian assumed office in 2000, he has continued many of former President Lee's identity-related policies, such as developing Taiwan local culture,²⁸ enhancing local edu-

28. During President CHEN Shui-bian's 2000 inaugural speech, he emphasized that, "Grassroots community organizations have now been developing around the country, working to explore and preserve the history, culture, geography and ecology of their localities. These are all part of Taiwan culture, whether they are local cultures,

cation to make people identify themselves with Taiwanese culture,²⁹ and the “Name-Rectification Movement” to promote “Taiwan Consciousness.”³⁰ All these measures have been geared toward one goal, which is to distinguish Taiwan from mainland China. Compared with the enforcement of the “Sinicization” policy under the reign of CHIANG Kai-shek and CHIANG Ching-kuo, CHEN Shui-bian’s “de-Sinicization” policy has appeared more moderate,³¹ but nevertheless has contributed to a steady shift in ethnic identity on the island from “Chinese” to “Taiwanese” (Figure 1).

During this most recent period, the percentage of people who identify themselves as Taiwanese has increased year after year, and it has continued to exceed the percentage of people who see themselves as Chinese. In 2005, 46.5% of survey respondents identified themselves as Taiwanese and those who saw themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese remained at around 45%, which together accounted for about 90% of the entire population. Therefore, the “de-Sinicization” policy during this period not only dovetailed with the prior “localization” policy, it also intensified the overall population’s identification with Taiwan.

From the four periods mentioned above, one can observe an obvious shift in Taiwan’s ethnic identity. During the first and the second periods, most of those who identified themselves as “Chinese” gradually came to identify themselves as “Taiwanese,” and

mass cultures or high cultures. Due to special historical and geographical factors, Taiwan possesses a wealth of diversified cultural elements. But cultural development is not something that can bring immediate success. Rather, it has to be accumulated bit by bit. We must open our hearts with tolerance and respect, so that our diverse ethnic groups and different regional cultures communicate with each other, and so that Taiwan’s local cultures connect with the cultures of Chinese-speaking communities and other world cultures, and create a new milieu of “a cultural Taiwan in a modern century.” Please refer to: http://www.president.gov.tw/1_president/subject-043.html (February 19, 2007).

29. For instance, adopting the “Taiwan Tongyong Romanization,” system rather than the Hanyu Pinyin system used by the mainland, modifying curricula to emphasize local history in each elementary school, establishing art and cultural centers based on the theme of Taiwan, etc. Liu, Wen-bin, “Changes in Taiwan’s National Identity and Cross-Strait Relations”, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, pp. 225-9.

30. For instance, adding “Taiwan” to passports, and renaming government organizations and businesses, such as changing CHIANG Kai-shek International Airport to Taoyuan International Airport. T. Y. Wang, “Explaining Taiwan Citizens’ Preferences on Cross-Strait Relations,” Taiwan’s Public Opinion and Cross-Strait Relations Conference (Sep 24th, 2005), p. 4.

31. Liu, Wen-bin, *Cross-Strait Relations and Taiwan’s Changing National Identity*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, p. 245.

Table 2. Different ethnic groups' position on whether Taiwan should be independent or unify with Mainland China (1994~2003).

	1994**	1995*	1995**	1996*	1996**	1997*	1998*	1998**	1999*	1999**	2000*	2000**	2001*	2001**	2002*	2002**	2003*	Average
Lean Reunification	20.9	18.8	25.4	22.4	29.0	20.8	19.5	19.3	17.3	15.7	22.6	27.3	22.1	25.1	21.7	17.4	19.3	21.4
Maintain Status Quo	48.2	44.4	40.6	50.2	47.1	45.6	48.2	51.9	52.7	57.0	52.8	47.6	54.2	47.3	52.6	54.4	52.2	49.8
Hakka																		
Lean Independence	12.9	11.3	9.8	10.1	13.9	16.8	14.5	17.7	14.2	16.3	11.8	11.9	9.8	14.6	14.4	15.7	17.2	13.7
No Response	18.0	25.6	24.2	17.3	10.0	16.8	17.8	11.1	15.8	11.0	12.8	13.3	14.0	13.0	11.4	12.5	11.3	15.0
Sample Size	139	133	2132	562	259	149	517	424	330	344	650	143	530	315	801	344	344	389
Lean Reunification	16.7	14.5	17.2	17.0	20.6	16.7	15.0	14.7	12.6	9.5	15.7	18.1	17.1	16.3	15.1	16.4	12.7	15.7
Maintain Status Quo	50.1	46.4	40.5	45.1	46.6	49.1	46.1	46.1	50.0	52.7	49.5	47.5	53.8	52.0	51.9	49.3	54.5	49.0
Hoklo																		
Lean Independence	12.5	11.1	13.5	14.8	17.3	19.4	17.8	21.2	20.2	19.9	17.6	11.0	15.2	18.0	20.4	20.5	21.0	17.1
No Response	20.6	27.9	28.9	23.1	15.5	14.8	21.1	18.0	17.2	16.9	17.2	23.3	13.9	13.8	12.6	13.7	11.7	18.3
Sample Size	862	866	13714	3463	1742	872	3459	2450	2477	2227	4631	878	3489	2038	4787	2493	2378	
Lean Reunification	43.7	41.5	45.1	39.5	49.4	43.8	38.4	31.9	37.4	24.3	35.9	35.6	35.0	40.3	32.4	31.5	31.5	37.5
Maintain Status Quo	47.7	39.2	39.1	47.7	40.5	47.5	44.0	47.9	49.6	56.5	47.1	45.2	49.9	50.6	50.4	53.5	52.8	47.6
Mainlanders																		
Lean Independence	4.0	7.0	4.6	5.6	6.5	4.4	7.3	9.6	7.2	8.4	7.2	2.2	6.7	5.5	9.4	8.0	8.7	6.6
No Response	4.6	12.3	11.2	7.1	3.6	4.4	10.3	10.5	5.8	10.7	9.9	17.0	8.4	3.5	7.7	7.0	6.9	8.3
Sample Size	151	171	2616	532	338	160	602	457	446	428	781	135	631	397	817	473	473	477

Source: Election Study Center, National Chengchi University, Chen, Lu-huei & Chou, Ying-lung, 'Change and Continuity of People's Preference on the Taiwan Independence Issue', *East Asian Studies*, 35 (2), p. 165.

Note: * survey conducted during January to June; ** survey conducted during July to December.

such a transformation had an impact on people's attitudes toward the cross-strait relations and whether Taiwan should pursue independence or unify with Mainland China. When the Chiangs were in power, the promotion of "Chinese consciousness" and the suppression of "Taiwanese identity", which made the advocacy of "independence" a criminal act. However, with Lee's democratization policies, "Taiwanese consciousness" began to be reflected in the diversity of opinions about whether Taiwan should unify with China or pursue independence. As a result of "localization" and "de-Sinicization," each ethnic group has changed its attitude toward unification and independence. (Table 2)

As Table 2 indicates, the percentage of Hakkas who support unification with the mainland has gradually decreased each year, yet the percentage of those expressing support for independence has increased. In 1999, those supporting unification exceeded those inclined toward independence. In 2000, the percentage of those supporting unification once again rose, making the gap in support for the two positions smaller. The number of Hoklos expressing support for Taiwan's independence outnumbered those supporting unification in 1997; in 2000, the number of Hoklos supporting unification surpassed those supporting Taiwan's independence, but this increase was only temporary. The number of mainlanders expressing support for unification had outnumbered those who wished to maintain the status quo prior to 1997; however, since 1997, the number of those expressing support for unification has gradually decreased but remains higher than that of those favoring Taiwan's independence. In 2000, support for unification in each ethnic group increased a little, which could be the result of dissatisfaction with the new DPP administration's cross-strait policies.

IV. PARTY IDENTITY

When the ROC government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the catastrophic defeat at the hands of the communists was still fresh and had impressed upon the KMT leadership the need to remake the party organization.³² Upon the promulgation of the "Temporary Provisions," the ROC government declared Martial Law in order to prevent the establishment of other political parties that could

32. Hsu, Fu-Ming, *The Kuomintang's Reform (1950-1952) – Impact on the ROC's Political Development*, Taipei: Zhong Zheng, 1986, pp. 60-6.

threaten the KMT's hold on power.³³ As the ROC suffered repeated failures in international diplomatic arenas in the early 1970s, a number of activists and intellectuals started openly to advocate for political reforms mainly through influential journals such as *Intellectuals (daxue zazhi)* and *Taiwan Political Review (Taiwan zhen-glun)*. In addition, when KUO Yu-hsin, one of the most prominent non-KMT figures in Taiwan at the time, failed to win re-election as a legislator, he turned his focus abroad and coordinated efforts by overseas Chinese to keep on pushing for Taiwan's democratic movements³⁴. After 1977, opposition forces outside the KMT integrated as well into the "Taiwan Dangwai Election Campaign." Although the following "Zhongli Incident" and "Formosa Incident" mitigated the power of opposition movements, they gave greater visibility and recognition to activists outside the KMT.³⁵ The establishment of the DPP in 1986 opened a brand new page in the island's history of democracy; since then, Taiwan has officially been in an era of free and competitive party politics.³⁶

In 1988, when LEE Teng-hui succeeded to the presidency after the death of CHIANG Ching-kuo, he initiated a series of democratic reforms to further promote social stability and prosperity. Not only was the direction of national identity confirmed, it also

33. According to the 11th Regulation, Clause 1 of the Martial Law, the Kuomintang Government "has to prevent assembly and request for protest, . . . the above-mentioned assembly and request for protest must be immediately dissolved." The adoption of this regulation prevented any future establishment of new political parties.

34. A prominent political figure, Kuo is considered to be one of the founding fathers of Taiwan's Dang-wai (outside party) movement. From 1951 to 1971, Kuo served four consecutive terms as an assemblyman in the Taiwan Provincial Consultative Council. In the 1975 provincial assembly elections, due to Kuomintang's tactic of intimidation and vote manipulation, no one dared to publicly support Kuo's re-election campaign. The election results revealed 30,000 invalid votes in Kuo's district and Kuo lost the election. Kuo was a strong supporter of the Taiwan independence movement, and advocated for a U.S. two party systems opposing CHIANG Ching-kuo's political rule, and tried to organize a political party to compete with the Kuomintang. Due to his political stance and the tense social environment, Kuo left for the United States in 1977 and immediately established the Taiwan Democracy Movement Overseas Alliance.

35. Jou, Xiu-huan, Chen Shi-hong Ed., *Documentary Collection on Democratization Movement of Post War Taiwan Vol 2*, Academia Historica, Taipei: National History Museum, 2000, pp. 119-23; Li, Gong-qin, *The History of the Republic of China Development*, Taipei: You Shi, 2004, Part 2, pp. 328-31; Chen, Chu, "Guo Yu-xin and Post War Democratic Movement in Taiwan," http://www.twcenter.org.tw/a01/a01_04.htm#3.

36. Jou, Xiu-huan, Chen, Shi-hong Ed., *Documentary Collection on Democratization Movement of Post War Taiwan Vol. 2*, Academia Historica, 2000, p. 146; Liu, Wen-bin, *Cross-Strait Relations and Taiwan's Changing National Identity*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, pp. 117-9.

intensified the transformation of ethnic identity, which in turn intensified partisan identity. For example, most knowledgeable observers conclude that the establishment of the New Party (NP), which broke away from the KMT in 1993, was due to Lee's "Taiwanization" policies, which made people within the KMT dissatisfied as many of the locals (non-Mainlanders) were put in important positions in government offices. However, over the years, the NP struggled to dispel the impression that they were a collection of mainlander politicians who were "Anti-Lee" and "close to China." Constant disagreements within the NP made it virtually impossible to make a clear break from the KMT, and the party thus had to be dependent on the KMT.³⁷ Furthermore, when James Soong decided to leave the KMT and formed the People's First Party (PFP), he assigned a considerable number of Hoklos and Hakkas to important positions in running the PFP in an attempt to establish a reputation as more than a "Mainlander's party."³⁸ These two brand new political parties not only split the votes of the KMT but also challenged the KMT to redefine its political platform.³⁹

The DPP, too, suffered defections because of disputes over Taiwan's relationship with mainland China. In the mid-1990s, then-DPP chairman HSU Hsin-liang began to lead efforts to promote a more moderate image for the party in order to win swing votes from the KMT — these policies included openly advocating the development of a better relationship with mainland China, seeking a "grand coalition" between the DPP and the KMT that would govern in tandem, and supporting a "grand reconciliation" that in effect would forgive past KMT offenses. A number of pro-independence radicals became discontented with this more moderate approach and in 1996, they left the DPP and formed the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP), with the ultimate goal of seeking Taiwan's independence. Another pro-independence party, the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), was established in 2001, and LEE Teng-hui served as the party's spiritual figure. The TSU was initiated by local personalities and representatives of the KMT, the DPP and the

37. Lin, Yao-song, *The Split between Lee Teng-hui and the KMT*, Taipei: Taiwan Strait Research Foundation, 2004.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-73. Liu, Wen-bin, *Cross-Strait Relations and Taiwan's Changing National Identity*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005, p. 239.

39. Zhuang, Fu-yuan, 'Taiwan's Ethnic Group Yesterday, Today and the Future – A Recollection on Taiwan's Political Development Experience', *Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 6, Issue 26, p. 88.

TAIP, appealing to voters with a slogan of "Taiwan First and Local Consciousness." Since the TSU shares similar ideologies with the DPP, it has assisted the DPP in developing policies regarding "Taiwanese Identity." Although the TSU has not taken positions as extreme as the TAIP, its political appeal is more radical than the DPP's.⁴⁰

Therefore, through changing political party preferences of the people in Taiwan, one can observe the relationship between Taiwan's political parties and political development in recent years (Figure 2).

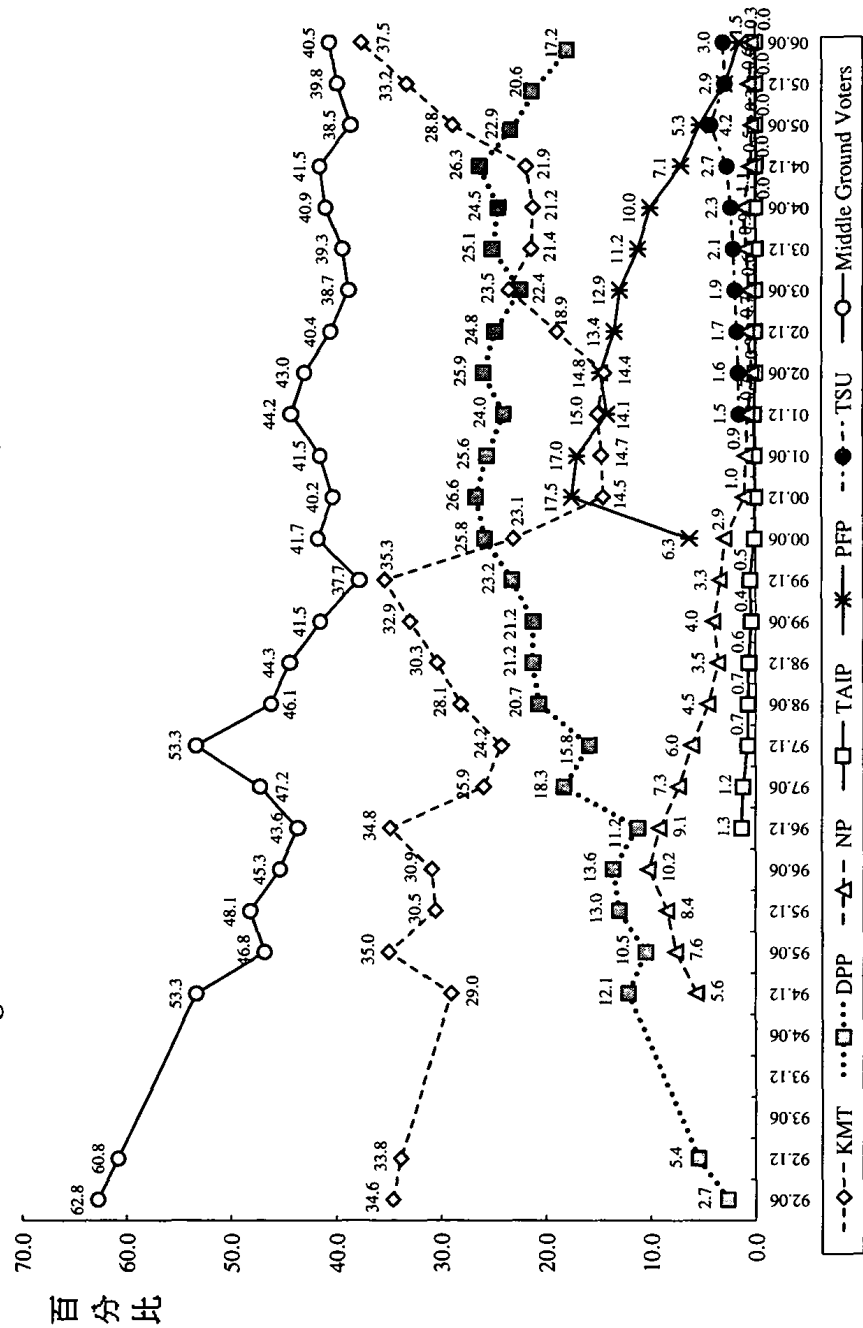
Political party identity is a "psychological identification, its continuance does not require judicial identification or being an official party member; it does not even require records of persistent party support."⁴¹ In Taiwan, party identity is mainly influenced by region, birthplace, and ethnic identity; and it influences people's attitudes toward Taiwan's unification or independence from Mainland China as well as their voting behavior. For instance, the majority of the so-called "pan-blue" (KMT, NP, PFP) supporters are the descendents of Mainlanders, and most of them reside in the northern part of Taiwan. The pan-blue supporters tend to see themselves as Chinese, and a considerable number of pan-blue supporters are more inclined to support unification with Mainland China. On the other hand, the so-called "pan-green" (DPP, TSU, TAIP) supporters are mainly the descendents of Hoklos, and most of them live in the southern part of Taiwan. The pan-green supporters tend to regard themselves as Taiwanese and prefer Taiwanese independence from Mainland China.⁴² Table 3 indicates different ethnic groups' partisan preferences. From Table 3, it is apparent that the KMT's party identification among the Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlander groups declined more than 10% from 1994 to 1999. By contrast, the percentage of party identification with the DPP among the Hoklo and Hakka groups almost doubled during the same period. In other words, Table 3 helps explain Taiwan's first party rota-

40. Please refer to Taiwan Independence Party website: <http://www.taip.org/> and Taiwan Solidarity Union website: <http://www.tsu.org.tw/>.

41. Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Mill, W. E., & Stokes, D. E., *The American Voter*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960, p. 121. Cited in Chen, Lu-huei, "Continuation and Change in Taiwan Voters' Political Identity," *Journal of Electoral Studies*, Vol. 7, Issue 2, p. 111.

42. Chen, Lu-huei, "Continuation and Change in Taiwan Voters' Political Identity," *Journal of Electoral Studies*, Vol. 7, Issue 2, p. 121; Wu, Zhong-li, Hsu, Wen-bin, "Who are the Members of Political Parties and Independent Voters?" *Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, 2003, pp. 112-5.

Figure 2. Partisan Preferences in Taiwan, 1992-2006.



Source: Election Study Center, National Chengchi University: Important Political Attitude Trend Distribution.

Table 3. Different Ethnic Groups' Party Identification (1994 and 1999).

(N)%

Ethnic Groups	Year	Party Identity				
		KMT	DPP	NP	Independent Voters	Total
Holo	1994	21.2%	9.3%	1.8%	67.7%	100%
	1999	15.3%	12.4%	0.6%	71.7%	100%
Hakka	1994	30.0%	4.6%	3.9%	61.6%	100%
	1999	20.8%	9.2%	1.2%	68.8%	100%
Mainlander	1994	37.4%	2.4%	13.6%	46.5%	100%
	1999	27.9%	2.6%	6.7%	62.8%	100%
Total	1994	28.5%	5.9%	5.7%	59.9%	100%
	1999	17.6%	10.7%	1.5%	70.2%	100%

Source: National Science Council (1994), 'Taiwan Area Social Attitudes Survey, July 1994', number of questionnaire: 1437 & National Science Council (1999), 'Survey of the Social Foundations of Taiwan's Ethnic Relations', number of questionnaire: 3496; both in Wu, Nai-Teh, 'Identity Clash and Political Responsibilities: Core Issues Concerning Taiwan's Present Ethnic Politics,' *Taiwanese Sociology*, Volume 4, p. 90.

Table 4. How the general public feels toward different political parties' stands regarding unification or independence, 1994-2000.

Year	General Public	KMT	DPP	NP	PFP
1994	5.9	6.8(7.1)	3.0(2.7)	6.5(7.0)	
1996	5.1	6.1(6.5)	2.0(1.8)	6.5(7.0)	
1998	5.0	6.5(7.2)	2.3(2.0)	7.2(7.7)	
2000	5.3	6.4(6.8)	3.2(2.7)	7.2(7.6)	7.0(7.3)

Note: The numbers in each column are average scores for all those interviewed, and are scaled from 0 to 10, with 0 representing support for immediate declaration of independence and 10 indicating support for immediate unification. The numbers in the third through the sixth columns not in brackets indicate the subjective understanding of the person being interviewed regarding each political party; the number in brackets is according to each political party's stance on reunification and independence.

Source: Sheng, Shing-yuan, 'The Issue of Taiwan Independence vs. Unification with the Mainland and Voting Behavior in Taiwan: An Analysis in the 1990s', *Journal of Electoral Studies*, 9, 1 (2002), p. 49.

tion in presidential election in 2000. Although the overall percentage of KMT's party identification in 1999 was higher than that of DPP's party identification, the split of Lien Chan and James

Soong in KMT laid the groundwork for DPP's victory in 2000 presidential election.

Table 4 shows how the general public felt towards the different political parties' stances regarding unification or independence in 1994 and 2000. From Figure 4 one can see that most Taiwanese people basically supported maintaining the status quo, which is neither unification nor independence. In addition, the data show that the KMT is generally considered to be pro-unification while the DPP is viewed as pro-independence. As for the PFP, it is generally considered as the most pro-unification party due to James Soong's Mainlander background.

V. CONCLUSION

Taiwanese identity developed out of a culture and history shared with mainland China, but has been transformed through the experience of the island's inhabitants under different political systems, changes in the environment, and the influence of strong leadership. This paper has discussed Taiwan's national identity, ethnic identity, and party identity during different historical stages in Taiwan. Most importantly, this paper analyzes government transitions and stages in political development to assess the significant changes in Taiwanese identity. The author argues that political, cultural, and social factors are the three forces that have shaped Taiwanese identity. Among these three forces, political factors have played the most important role in the formation of national, ethnic, and party identities, whereas cultural and social factors have played a secondary role of reinforcing the changes brought by political development. The conclusions drawn from these three important factors are as follows:

(i) Political Factors

The shift of Taiwan identity is mostly influenced by politics, including the ideology of political leaders, localization, and policies promoting democracy. Under the ideology of political leaders, "Taiwanese identity" shifted from that of "One China" to "One China, Two Region, Two Political Entities", and finally to "One Country on Each Side (of the Taiwan Straits)." Ethnic identity and partisan identity have mostly been affected by localization and democratization policies, and have changed from "Chinese" to "Taiwanese" and from "One Party" to "Multi-Party Politics." Put differently, latent social cleavages are necessary but not sufficient conditions for changes in identity — the major shift in identity in

Taiwan that can be observed in the data presented in this chapter is instead due to the changes in political systems (from an autocratic, single party state to a democratic, multi-party one) and to the rise of an opposition that deliberately centered its electoral appeals around the latent mainlander-“native Taiwanese” cleavage. That is, these cleavages have always existed in the ROC era in Taiwan, but only under democratization and the rise of an opposition party have they become salient enough to reshape ethnic, national, and partisan identities. In sum, then, political factors have undoubtedly been the strongest and the most important drivers of changes in Taiwanese identity.

(ii) Cultural Factors

Taiwanese identity has its origins in a mixture of the Chinese history the island shared with the mainland during the Qing Dynasty and the consciousness bred from living in Taiwan. In past years, intermarriages among different ethnic groups, cultural assimilation, and the emphasis of the localization strategy on developing local consciousness contributed to changes in “Taiwanese identity.” Recently, there has been an increase in new immigrants to Taiwan (e.g. foreign nationality and Chinese brides), possibly setting up a new clash over culture and language. Whether this trend will further reshape “Taiwanese identity” or not is worth exploring further.

(iii) Social Factors

Since the 1970s, the economic environment of Taiwan has become more open and more liberal as a consequence of industrialization, leading to more opportunities for individuals to advocate for social rights and to fight for a greater share of the country’s resources. The increasing salience of ethnic cleavages led an increasing number of Taiwanese to seek improvements in their collective social welfare through group mobilization and social movements. This, too, has contributed to the shift in “Taiwanese identity.”

Based on the three aforementioned factors, national identity, generally speaking, developed the earliest, when the ROC viewed the PRC as an armed rebellious group, whereas the PRC viewed the ROC as an illegitimate regime. National identity in Taiwan shifted at several critical points, including changing when China proposed the concept of “One Country, Two Systems” formula and began treating Taiwan in official interactions as a local government, when former President Lee Teng-hui announced “Special State-to-State Relations,” and when President Chen Shui-bian declared

“One Country on Each Side (of the Taiwan Straits),” transforming the official ROC view of cross-strait relations from what was originally an intra-state relationship to an inter-state relationship.

Ethnic identity became salient starting in the two-Chiang period, during which the KMT promoted “Chinese consciousness”; ethnic identity shifted toward a greater “Taiwanese consciousness,” facilitated by former President Lee Teng-hui’s “democratization” and “localization” policies. This “Taiwanese consciousness” is currently at its peak due to President Chen Shui-bian’s emphasis on “Taiwan Sovereignty” and “de-Sinicization” policies.

As for the impact of these three forces on party identity, the split between the Kuomintang (KMT) and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) over relations with the mainland, in particular, has created a difference in the public’s opinions on political parties and contributed to a greater partisan divide. Pan blue and pan green supporters not only differ on issues of national identity but also issues of ethnic identity. This difference is especially obvious when it comes to unification or independence. Overall, the future direction of Taiwan’s democratization and the ensuing political development will determine how Taiwanese identity changes.

REFERENCES

- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Mill, W. E., & Stokes, D. E., *The American Voter*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960.
- Chang, Zan-ge, *The History of Changes in Cross-Strait Relations*, Taipei: Jou Zi Culture, 1996.
- Chen, Lu-huei, “Continuation and Change in Taiwan Voters’ Political Identity,” *Journal of Electoral Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 109-141.
- Chen, Liu-hui, Jou, Ying-long, “Taiwan Public’s Continuing and Changing Positions towards Reunification and Independence,” *East Asia Research*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 143-186.
- Chen, Yi-shen Ed., *Taiwan Society: From an Immigrant Society, Pluralism to Local Identity*, Taipei, Qun Ce Hui, 2004.
- Ding, Yu-zhou. recounted in Wang Shyh-chwen, *Memoirs of Ding Yu-zhou*, Taipei: Commonwealth Global View, 2004.
- Ge, Yong-guang, *Cultural Pluralism and State Integration: The Formation and Challenges of Chinese Identity*, Taipei: Zheng Zhong, 1993.
- Hsieh, John Fu-shen, “The Uneasy Status Quo in the Cross-Strait Relation.” Paper presented at the conference “Taiwanese Public Opinion and Cross-Strait Relations.” September 24, 2005.

- Hsu, Fu-Ming, *Kuomintang's Reform (1950-1952) – Impact on the ROC's Political Development*, Taipei: Zhong Zheng, 1986.
- Jiang, Yi-hua, *Liberalism, Nationalism and National Identity*, Taipei, Yang Jyh, 2000
- Jou, Xiu-huan, Chen Shi-hong, eds., *Documentary Collection on Democratization Movement of Post War Taiwan, Vol 2*. Taipei: Academia Historica, 2000.
- Li, Gong-qin, *The History of the Development of the Republic of China*, Vol. 2, Taipei: You Shi, 2004,.
- Lin, Yao-song, *The Split between Lee Teng-hui and the KMT*, Taipei: Taiwan Strait Research Foundation, 2004.
- Liu, Wen-bin, *Changes in Taiwan's National Identity and Cross-Strait Relations*, Taipei: Wen Jin Tang, 2005.
- Niou, Ming-shi, speech delivered at the Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica on November 20, 2006.
- Niou, Ming-shi, 2005, "Cross-Strait Relations and National Security Public Opinion Survey," National Cheng-chi University, Elections Research Center.
- Phillips, Steven E., *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945-1950*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Schmitt, Carl, Yao Chao, Sen Yi, *The Political Concept*, Taipei: Lian Jing, 2005.
- Shao, Zong-hai, "An Investigation of Cross-Strait Political Positioning," *The National Chengchi University Journal*, Vol. 68, pp. 45-66.
- Sheng, Shing-yuan, 'The Issue of Taiwan Independence vs. Unification with the Mainland and Voting Behavior in Taiwan: An Analysis in the 1990s', *Journal of Electoral Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2002), pp. 49-71.
- Shi, Zheng-feng, "Taiwan People's National Identity," *Collected Works of the Symposium on National Identity*, Taipei: Dao Xi-ang, 2001, pp. 145-180
- Wang, David De-yu, "Explaining Taiwan Citizens' Preferences on Cross-Strait Relations." Paper presented at the conference "Taiwanese Public Opinion and Cross-Strait Relations." September 24, 2005.
- Wang, Fu-chang, *Ethnic Imagination in Contemporary Taiwan*, Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2002.
- Wu, Nai-teh, "Identity Conflicts and Political Trust: Core Issues of Ethnic Politics in Current Taiwan," *Taiwan Sociology*, Vol. 4, pp. 75-118.

- Wu, Zhong-li, Hsu, Wen-bin, "Who are the Members of Political Parties and Independent Voters?" *Political Science Review*, Vol. 18 (2003), pp. 101-140.
- Yu, Ying-long, *Public Opinion and Taiwan's Political Change*, Taipei: Yue Dan, 1996.
- Zhuang, Fu-yuan, 'Taiwan's Ethnic Groups Yesterday, Today and the Future – A Reflection on Taiwan's Political Development Experience,' *Journal of Humanities*, Volume 6, No. 26, pp. 69-101

Internet

- Chen Chu, "Guo Yu-xin and Post War Democratic Movement in Taiwan," http://www.twcenter.org.tw/a01/a01_04.htm#3.
- General Analysis of People's Views on the Government's Mainland Policy and Cross-strait Relations*, retrieved on February 19th 2007, <http://www.mac.gov.tw/big5/mlpolicy/pos/9403/13.pdf> & <http://www.mac.gov.tw/big5/mlpolicy/pos/9403/14.pdf>.
- Mainland Affairs Council*, retrieved on February 1st 2007, <http://www.mac.gov.tw/>
- Taiwan Presidential Office*, retrieved on February 1st 2007, http://www.president.gov.tw/1_president/subject-043.html.
- Taiwan Independence Party*, retrieved on February 1st 2007, <http://www.taip.org/>.
- Taiwan Solidarity Union*, retrieved on February 1st 2007, <http://www.tsu.org.tw/>.

GLOSSARY

Selected Names and Terms

A Declaration of Formosan Self-Salvation 台灣人民自救宣言	Guangdong 廣東
Chen, Shui-bian 陳水扁	Guidelines for National Unification 國家統一綱領 (國統綱領)
Chiang, Ching-kuo 蔣經國	Hoklo 河洛人
Chiang, Kai-shek 蔣介石	Hakka 客家人
Chinese Civil War 國共內戰	Han Chinese 漢人
Cross-Strait Relations 兩岸關係	Hsieh, Frank 謝長廷
Dangwai movement 黨外運動	<i>Intellectuals (daxue zazhi)</i> 《大學》雜誌
De-Sinicization Policies 去中國化政策	Jiang, Zemin 江澤民
Democratic Progress Party (DDP) 民主進步黨 (民進黨)	Kominka Policay (<i>huangminhua zhengce</i>) 皇民化政策
Fan Jiang, Shin-lin 范姜新林	Koo, Chen-fu 辜振甫
February 28 Incident in 1947 二二八事件	Koo-Wang Talks 辜汪會談
Formosa Incident 美麗島事件	Kuo, Yu-hsin 郭雨新
Free China Journal Incident 自由中國事件 / 雷震事件	Kuomintang (KMT) 中國國民黨 (國民黨)
Fujian 福建	Lee, Teng-hui 李登輝
	Lien, Chan 連戰
	Lin, Yi-hsiung 林義雄

Lu, Annette 呂秀蓮	Quanzhou 泉州
Mainland Chinese (mainlanders) 外省人	Shi Ming-teh 施明德
Military Dependents' Villages 眷村	Sinicization Policy 中國化政策
Name-Rectification Movement 正名化運動	Soong, James 宋楚瑜
New Party (NP) 新黨	Speical State-To-State Relations 特殊國與國關係
One Country, Two System 一國兩制	Su, Tsen-chang 蘇貞昌
One Country on Each Side 一邊一國	Sun, Yet-sen 孫中山
Ou, Hsien-yu 歐憲瑜	Taiwan Political Review (Taiwan <i>zhenglun</i>) 《臺灣政論》雜誌
Pan-blue 泛藍	Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP) 建國黨
Pan-green 泛綠	Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) 臺灣團結聯盟 (臺聯)
Peng, Ming-min 彭明敏	Taiwanization (localization, <i>bentuhua</i>) 本土化
People's First Party (PFP) 親民黨	Three Principles of the People 三民主義
Period of National Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion 動員戡亂時期	Wang, Daohan 汪道涵
Provincial issues 省籍問題	Zhangzhou 漳州
Qing Dynasty 清朝	Zhongli Incident 中壢事件

Maryland Series
in Contemporary Asian Studies
(Formerly Occasional Papers/Reprints Series
in Contemporary Asian Studies, 1977-1999)

500 West Baltimore Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201-1786
U.S.A.

Tel: (410) 706-3870

Fax: (410) 706-1516

(For back issues, new prices effective from October 1, 1991)

1977 Series

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| No. 1 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-00-6 |
| Chinese Attitude Toward Continental Shelf and Its Implication on De-limiting Seabed in Southeast Asia (Hungdah CHIU), 32 pp. | | \$3.00 |
| No. 2 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-01-4 |
| Income Distribution in the Process of Economic Growth of the Republic of China (Yuan-Li WU), 45 pp. | | \$3.00 |
| No. 3 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-02-2 |
| The Indonesian Maoists: Doctrines and Perspectives (Justus M. van der Kroef), 31 pp. | | \$3.00 |
| No. 4 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-03-0 |
| Taiwan's Foreign Policy in the 1970s: A Case Study Adaptation and Viability (Thomas J. Bellows), 22 pp. | | \$3.00 |
| No. 5 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-04-9 |
| Asian Political Scientists in North America: Professional and Ethnic Problems (Edited by Chun-tu HSUEH), 148 pp. Index | | \$6.00 |
| No. 6 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-05-7 |
| The Sino-Japanese Fisheries Agreement of 1975: A Comparison with Other North Pacific Fisheries Agreements (SONG Yook Hong), 80 pp. | | \$5.00 |

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| No. 7 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-06-5 |
| Foreign Trade Contracts Between West German Companies and the People's Republic of China: A Case Study (Robert Heuser), 22 pp. | | |
| | | \$3.00 |
| No. 8 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-07-3 |
| Reflections on Crime and Punishment in China, with Appended Sentencing Documents (Randle Edwards, Translation of Documents by Randle Edwards and Hungdah CHIU), 67 pp. | | |
| | | \$3.00 |
| No. 9 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-08-1 |
| Chinese Arts and Literature: A Survey of Recent Trends (Edited by Wai-lim YIP), 126 pp. | | |
| | | \$5.00 |
| No. 10 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-09-X |
| Legal Aspects of U.S.-Republic of China Trade and Investment — Proceedings of a Regional Conference of the American Society of International Law (Edited by Hungdah CHIU and David Simon), 217 pp. Index | | |
| | | \$8.00 |
| No. 11 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-10-3 |
| Asian American Assembly Position Paper: I. A Review of U.S. China Relations, 62 pp. | | |
| | | \$3.00 |
| No. 12 - 1977 | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-11-1 |
| Asian American Assembly Position Paper: II. A Review of U.S. Employment Policy, 24 pp. | | |
| | | \$3.00 |

1978 Series

- | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| No. 1 - 1978 (13) | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-12-X |
| Indian Ocean Politics: An Asian-African Perspective (K.P. Misra), 31 pp. \$3.00 | | |
| No. 2 - 1978 (14) | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-13-8 |
| Normalizing Relations with the People's Republic of China: Problems, Analysis, and Documents (Edited by Hungdah CHIU, with contribution by G. J. Sigur, Robert A. Scalapino, King C. Chen, Eugene A. Theroux, Michael Y.M. Kau, James C. Hsiung and James W. Morley), 207 pp. Index \$5.00 | | |
| No. 3 - 1978 (15) | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-14-6 |
| Growth, Distribution, and Social Change: Essays on the Economy of the Republic of China (Edited by Yuan-li WU and Kung-chia YEH), 227 pp. Index \$5.00 | | |
| No. 4 - 1978 (16) | ISSN 0730-0107 | ISBN 0-942182-15-4 |
| The Societal Objectives of Wealth, Growth, Stability, and Equity in Taiwan (Jan S. Prybyla), 31 pp. \$3.00 | | |

- No. 5 - 1978 (17) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-16-2**
The Role of Law in the People's Republic of China as Reflecting Mao
Tse-Tung's Influence (Shao-chuan LENG), 18 pp. \$3.00
- No. 6 - 1978 (18) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-17-0**
Criminal Punishment in Mainland China: A Study of Some Yunnan
Province Documents (Hungdah CHIU), 35 pp. \$3.00
- No. 7 - 1978 (19) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-18-9**
A Guide to the Study of Japanese Law (Lawrence W. Beer and Hide-
nori Tomatsu), 45 pp. \$4.00
- No. 8 - 1978 (20) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-19-7**
The Pueblo, EC-121, and Mayaguez Incidents: Some Continuities and
Changes (Robert Simmons), 40 pp. \$4.00
- No. 9 - 1978 (21) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-20-0**
Two Korea's Unification Policy and Strategy (Yong Soon YIM), 82 pp.
Index \$4.00

1979 Series

- No. 1 - 1979 (22) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-21-9**
Asian Immigrants and Their Status in the U.S. (Edited by Hungdah
CHIU), 54 pp. \$4.00
- No. 2 - 1979 (23) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-22-7**
Social Disorder in Peking After the 1976 Earthquake Revealed by a
Chinese Legal Documents (Hungdah CHIU), 20 pp. \$4.00
- No. 3 - 1979 (24) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-23-5**
The Dragon and the Eagle — A Study of U.S.-People's Republic of
China Relations in Civil Air Transport (Jack C. Young), 65 pp. \$5.00
- No. 4 - 1979 (25) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-24-3**
Chinese Women Writers Today (Edited by Wai-lim YIP and William
Tay), 108 pp. \$5.00
- No. 5 - 1979 (26) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-25-1**
Certain Legal Aspects of Recognizing the People's Republic of China
(Hungdah CHIU), 49 pp. \$4.00
- No. 6 - 1979 (27) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-942182-26-X**
China's Nationalization of Foreign Firms: The Politics of Hostage Capi-
talism, 1949-1957 (Thomas N. Thompson), 80 pp. Index \$5.00

- No. 7 - 1979 (28)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-27-8**
U.S. Status of Force Agreement with Asian Countries: Selected Studies
(Charles Cochran and Hungdah CHIU), 130 pp. Index \$4.00
- No. 8 - 1979 (29)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-28-6**
China's Foreign Aid in 1978 (John F. Copper), 45 pp. \$4.00

1980 Series

- No. 1 - 1980 (30)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-29-4**
The Chinese Connection and Normalization (Edited by Hungdah
CHIU and Karen Murphy), 200 pp. Index \$7.00
- No. 2 - 1980 (31)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-30-8**
The Conceptual Foundations of U.S. China Policy: A Critical Review
(James C. Hsiung), 17 pp. \$3.00
- No. 3 - 1980 (32)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-31-6**
Policy, Proliferation and the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty: U.S. Strate-
gies and South Asian Prospects (Joanne Finegan), 61 pp. \$4.00
- No. 4 - 1980 (33)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-32-4**
A Comparative Study of Judicial Review Under Nationalist Chinese
and American Constitutional Law (Jyh-pin FA), 200 pp. Index \$6.00
- No. 5 - 1980 (34)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-33-2**
Certain Problems in Recent Law Reform in the People's Republic of
China (Hungdah CHIU), 34 pp. \$4.00
- No. 6 - 1980 (35)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-34-0**
China's New Criminal & Criminal Procedure Codes (Hungdah CHIU),
16 pp. \$3.00
- No. 7 - 1980 (36)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-35-9**
China's Foreign Relations: Selected Studies (Edited by F. Gilbert Chan
& Ka-che YIP), 115 pp. \$5.00
- No. 8 - 1980 (37)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-36-7**
Annual Review of Selected Books on Contemporary Asian Studies
(1979-1980) (Edited by John F. Copper), 45 pp. \$4.00

1981 Series

- No. 1 - 1981 (38)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-37-5**
Structural Changes in the Organization and Operation of China's Crim-
inal Justice System (Hungdah CHIU), 31 pp. \$3.00

- No. 2 - 1981 (39)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-38-3**
Readjustment and Reform in the Chinese Economy (Jan S. Prybyla), 58 pp. \$3.00
- No. 3 - 1981 (40)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-39-1**
Symposium on the Trial of Gang of Four and Its Implication in China (Edited by James C. Hsiung), 118 pp. \$5.00
- No. 4 - 1981 (41)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-40-5**
China and the Law of the Sea Conference (Hungdah CHIU), 30 pp. \$4.00
- No. 5 - 1981 (42)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-41-3**
China's Foreign Aid in 1979-80 (John Franklin Copper), 54 pp. \$4.00
- No. 6 - 1981 (43)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-42-1**
Chinese Regionalism: Yesterday and Today (Franz Michael), 35 pp. \$4.00
- No. 7 - 1981 (44)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-43-X**
Elite Conflict in the Post-Mao China (Parris H. Chang), 40 pp. \$4.00
(Please order No. 2 - 1983 (55) for a revised version of this issue.)
- No. 8 - 1981 (45)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-44-8**
Proceedings of Conference on Multi-system Nations and International Law: International Status of Germany, Korea, and China (Edited by Hungdah CHIU and Robert Downen), 203 pp. Index \$8.00

1982 Series

- No. 1 - 1982 (46)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-45-6**
Socialist Legalism: Reform and Continuity in Post-Mao People's Republic of China (Hungdah CHIU), 35 pp. \$4.00
- No. 2 - 1982 (47)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-46-4**
Kampuchea: The Endless Tug of War (Justus M. Van der Kroef), 51 pp. \$4.00
- No. 3 - 1982 (48)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-47-2**
Social Change on Mainland China and Taiwan, 1949-1980 (Alan P.L. Liu), 55 pp. \$5.00
- No. 4 - 1982 (49)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-48-0**
Taiwan's Security and United States Policy: Executive and Congressional Strategies in 1978-1979 (Michael S. Frost), 39 pp. \$4.00

- No. 5 - 1982 (50)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-49-9**
 Constitutional Revolution in Japanese Law, Society and Politics
 (Lawrence W. Beer), 35 pp. \$4.00
- No. 6 - 1982 (51)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-50-2**
 Review of Selected Books on Contemporary Asian Studies, 1981-1982
 (Edited by David Salem, Roy Werner and Lyushen Shen), 67 pp. \$4.00
- No. 7 - 1982 (52)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-51-0**
 Chinese Law and Justice: Trends Over Three Decades (Hungdah
 CHIU), 39 pp. \$4.00
- No. 8 - 1982 (53)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-52-9**
 Disarmament and Civilian Control in Japan: A Constitutional Dilemma
 (Theodore McNelly), 16 pp. \$4.00

1983 Series

- No. 1 - 1983 (54)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-53-7**
 Essays on Sun Yat-sen and the Economic Development of Taiwan (Ma-
 ria Hsia Chang and A. James Gregor), 60 pp. \$3.00
- No. 2 - 1983 (55)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-54-5**
 Elite Conflict in the Post-Mao China (Revised version of No. 7-1981
 (44)) (Parris H. Chang), 48 pp. \$3.00
- No. 3 - 1983 (56)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-55-3**
 Media-Coverage on Taiwan in The People's Republic of China (Jörg-M.
 Rudolph), 77 pp. \$4.00
- No. 4 - 1983 (57)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-56-1**
 Transit Problems of Three Asian Land-locked Countries: Afghanistan,
 Nepal and Laos (Martin Ira Glassner), 55 pp. \$3.00
- No. 5 - 1983 (58)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-57-X**
 China's War Against Vietnam: A Military Analysis (King C. Chen),
 33 pp. \$3.00
- No. 6 - 1983 (59)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-58-8**
 The People's Republic of China, International Law and Arms Control
 (David Salem), 325 pp. Index \$7.00
 (Hardcover edition published in *Maryland Studies in East Asian Law and
 Politics Series*, No. 3, ISBN 0-942182-59-6) \$15.00

1984 Series

- No. 1 - 1984 (60)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-60-X**
 China's Nuclear Policy: An Overall View (Shao-chuan LENG), 18 pp. \$3.00
- No. 2 - 1984 (61)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-61-8**
 The Communist Party of China: Party Powers and Group Politics from the Third Plenum to the Twelfth Party Congress (Hung-mao TIEN), 30 pp. \$3.00
- No. 3 - 1984 (62)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-62-6**
 Legal Problems of Seabed Boundary Delimitation in the East China Sea (Ying-jeou MA), 308 pp. Index \$10.00
 (Hardcover edition published in *Maryland Studies in East Asian Law and Politics Series*, No. 4, ISBN 0-942182-63-4) \$15.00
- No. 4 - 1984 (63)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-64-2**
 A New Direction in Japanese Defense Policy: Views from the Liberal Democratic Party Diet Members (Steven Kent Vogel), 63 pp. \$3.00
- No. 5 - 1984 (64)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-65-0**
 Taiwan's Elections: Political Development and Democratization in the Republic of China (John F. Copper with George P. Chen), 180 pp. Index \$5.00
 (Hardcover edition: ISBN 0-942182-66-9) \$10.00
- No. 6 - 1984 (65)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-67-7**
 Cankao Xiaoxi: Foreign News in the Propaganda System of the People's Republic of China (Jörg-Meinhard Rudolph), 174 pp. Index \$5.00

1985 Series

- No. 1 - 1985 (66)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-68-5**
 The Political Basis of the Economic and Social Development in the Republic of China (Alan P. L. Liu), 22 pp. \$3.00
- No. 2 - 1985 (67)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-69-3**
 The Legal System and Criminal Responsibility of Intellectuals in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1982 (Carlos Wing-hung Lo), 125 pp. Index \$5.00
- No. 3 - 1985 (68)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-70-7**
 Symposium on Hong Kong: 1997 (Edited by Hungdah CHIU), 100 pp. Index \$4.00

No. 4 - 1985 (69) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-71-5**
The 1982 Chinese Constitution and the Rule of Law (Hungdah CHIU),
18 pp. (out of print) \$3.00

No. 5 - 1985 (70) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-72-3**
Peking's Negotiating Style: A Case study of U.S.-PRC Normalization
(Jaw-Ling Joanne CHANG), 22 pp. \$3.00

No. 6 - 1985 (71) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-73-1**
China's Marine Environmental Protection Law: The Dragon Creeping
in Murky Waters (Mitchell A. Silk), 32 pp. \$3.00

1986 Series

No. 1 - 1986 (72) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-74-X**
From Tradition to Modernity: A Socio-Historical Interpretation on
China's Struggle toward Modernization Since the Mid-19th Cen-
tury (Wen-hui TSAI), 76 pp. \$4.00

No. 2 - 1986 (73) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-75-8**
Peace and Unification in Korea and International Law (Byung-Hwa
LYOU), 205 pp. Index. \$8.00

No. 3 - 1986 (74) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-76-6**
The Hong Kong Agreement and American Foreign Policy (Hungdah
CHIU), 18 pp. \$3.00

No. 4 - 1986 (75) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-77-4**
United States-China Normalization: An Evaluation of Foreign Policy
Decision Making (Jaw-ling Joanne CHANG), copublished with
Monograph Series in World Affairs, University of Denver, 246 pp.
Index. (out of print) \$8.00
(Hardcover edition published in Maryland Studies in East Asian Law and Politics
Series, No. 7. ISBN 0-942182-78-2) \$12.00

No. 5 - 1986 (76) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-79-0**
Communications and China's National Integration: An Analysis of
People's Daily and *Central Daily* on the China Reunification Issue
(Shuhua CHANG), 205 pp. \$8.00

No. 6 - 1986 (77) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-80-4**
Since Aquino: The Philippine Tangle and the United States (Justus M.
van der Kroef), 73 pp. \$3.00

1987 Series

- No. 1 - 1987 (78)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-81-2**
An Analysis of the U.S.-China Nuclear Energy Cooperation Agreement
(Benjamin Chin), 40 pp. \$3.00
- No. 2 - 1987 (79)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-82-0**
Survey of Recent Developments in China (Mainland and Taiwan), 1985-
1986 (edited by Hungdah CHIU, with the assistance of Jaw-ling Jo-
anne CHANG), 222 pp. Index \$8.00
- No. 3 - 1987 (80)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-83-9**
Democratizing Transition in Taiwan (Yangsun CHOU and Andrew J.
Nathan), 24 pp. \$3.00
- No. 4 - 1987 (81)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-84-7**
The Legal Status of the Chinese Communist Party (Robert Heuser),
25 pp. \$3.00
- No. 5 - 1987 (82)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-85-5**
The Joint Venture and Related Contract Laws of Mainland China and
Taiwan: A Comparative Analysis (Clyde D. Stoltenberg and David
W. McClure), 54 pp. (out of print) \$4.00
- No. 6 - 1987 (83)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-86-3**
Reform in Reverse: Human Rights in the People's Republic of China,
1986/1987 (Ta-Ling LEE and John F. Copper), 150 pp. \$8.00

1988 Series

- No. 1 - 1988 (84)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-87-1**
Chinese Attitudes toward International Law in the Post-Mao Era, 1978-
1987 (Hungdah CHIU), 41 pp. \$3.00
- No. 2 - 1988 (85)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-88-X**
Chinese Views on the Sources of International Law (Hungdah CHIU),
20 pp. \$3.00
- No. 3 - 1988 (86)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-89-8**
People's Republic of China: The Human Rights Exception (Roberta
Cohen), 103 pp. (out of print) \$5.00
- No. 4 - 1988 (87)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-90-1**
Settlement of the Macau Issue: Distinctive Features of Beijing's Negoti-
ating Behavior (with text of 1887 Protocol and 1987 Declaration)
(Jaw-ling Joanne CHANG), 37 pp. \$3.00

No. 5 - 1988 (88) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-91-X**
The Draft Basic Law of Hong Kong: Analysis and Documents (edited
by Hungdah CHIU), 153 pp. \$5.00

No. 6 - 1988 (89) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-942182-92-8**
Constitutionalism in Asia: Asian Views of the American Influence
(edited by Lawrence W. Beer), 210 pp. \$10.00

1989 Series

No. 1 - 1989 (90) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-00-1**
The Right to a Criminal Appeal in the People's Republic of China.
(Margaret Y.K. Woo), 43 pp. \$3.00

No. 2 - 1989 (91) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-01-X**
The Status of Customary International Law, Treaties, Agreements and
Semi-Official or Unofficial Agreements in Chinese Law (Hungdah
CHIU), 22 pp. \$3.00

No. 3 - 1989 (92) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-02-8**
One Step Forward, One Step Back, Human Rights in the People's Re-
public of China in 1987/88 (John F. Cooper and Ta-ling LEE), 140
pp. \$6.00

No. 4 - 1989 (93) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-03-6**
Tibet: Past and Present (Hungdah CHIU and June Teufel Dreyer), 25
pp. \$3.00

No. 5 - 1989 (94) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-04-4**
Chinese Attitude toward International Law of Human Rights in the
Post-Mao Era (Hungdah CHIU), 38 pp. \$4.00

No. 6 - 1989 (95) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-05-2**
Tibet to Tiananmen: Chinese Human Rights and United States Foreign
Policy (W. Gary Vause), 47 pp. \$4.00

1990 Series

No. 1 - 1990 (96) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-06-0**
The International Legal Status of the Republic of China (Hungdah
CHIU), 20 pp. (Please order No. 5-1992 (112) for a revised version
of this issue) \$3.00

- No. 2 - 1990 (97) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-07-9**
 Tiananmen: China's Struggle for Democracy—Its Prelude, Development, Aftermath, and Impact (Winston L. Y. Yang and Marsha L. Wagner), 314 pp. Index (paperback out of print) \$8.00
 (Hardcover edition published in *Maryland Studies in East Asian Law and Politics Series*, No. 11, ISBN 0-925153-08-7) \$14.00
- No. 3 - 1990 (98) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-09-5**
 Nationality and International Law in Chinese Perspective (Hungdah CHIU), 37 pp. \$4.00
- No. 4 - 1990 (99) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-10-9**
 The Taiwan Relations Act after Ten Years (Lori Fisler Damrosch), 27 pp. \$3.00
- No. 5 - 1990 (100) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-11-7**
 The Taiwan Relations Act and Sino-American Relations (Hungdah CHIU), 34 pp. (out of print) \$4.00
- No. 6 - 1990 (101) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-12-5**
 Taiwan's Recent Elections: Fulfilling the Democratic Promise (John F. Copper), 174 pp. Index (out of print) \$8.00

1991 Series

- No. 1 - 1991 (102) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-13-3**
 Legal Aspects of Investment and Trade with the Republic of China (Edited by John T. McDermott, with contributions by Linda F. Powers, Ronald A. Case, Chung-Teh LEE, Jeffrey H. Chen, Cheryl M. Friedman, Hungdah CHIU, K.C. Fan and Douglas T. Hung), 94 pp. \$6.00
- No. 2 - 1991 (103) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-14-1**
 Failure of Democracy Movement: Human Rights in the People's Republic of China, 1988/89 (Ta-ling Lee and John F. Copper), 150 pp. Index \$10.00
- No. 3 - 1991 (104) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-15-X**
 Freedom of Expression: The Continuing Revolution in Japan's Legal Culture (Lawrence W. Beer), 31 pp. \$5.00
- No. 4 - 1991 (105) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-16-8**
 The 1989 US-Republic of China (Taiwan) Fisheries Negotiations (Mark Mon-Chang Hsieh), 84 pp. \$6.00
- No. 5 - 1991 (106) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-17-6**
 Politics of Divided Nations: China, Korea, Germany and Vietnam — Unification, Conflict Resolution and Political Development (Edited by Quansheng ZHAO and Robert Sutter), 198 pp. Index \$12.00

No. 6 - 1991 (107)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-18-4
Lawyers in China: The Past Decade and Beyond (Timothy A. Gelatt), 49 pp.		\$5.00

1992 Series

No. 1 - 1992 (108)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-19-2
Judicial Review of Administration in the People's Republic of China (Jyh-pin FA & Shao-chuan LENG), 37 pp.		\$5.00

No. 2 - 1992 (109)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-20-6
China's Ministry of State Security: Coming of Age in the International Arena (Nicholas Eftimiades), 24 pp.		\$4.00

No. 3 - 1992 (110)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-21-4
Libel Law and the Press in South Korea: An Update (KYU Ho Youm), 23 pp.		
		\$5.00

No. 4 - 1992 (111) **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-22-2**
Tiananmen Aftermath: Human Rights in the People's Republic of
China, 1990 (John F. Copper and Ta-ling LEE), 133 pp. Index \$15.00

No. 5 - 1992 (112)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-23-0
The International Legal Status of the Republic of China (Revised version of No. 1-1990 (96)) (Hungdah CHIU), 37 pp.		\$4.00

No. 6 - 1992 (113)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-24-9
China's Criminal Justice System and the Trial of Pro-Democracy Dissidents (Hungdah CHIU), 21 pp.		\$3.00

1993 Series

No. 1 - 1993 (114)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-25-7
Can One Unscramble an Omelet? China's Economic Reform in Theory and Practice (Yuan-li WU and Richard Y. C. Yin), 34 pp. \$4.00		

No. 2 - 1993 (115)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-26-5
Constitutional Development and Reform in the Republic of China on Taiwan (With Documents) (Hungdah CHIU), 61 pp.		\$6.00

No. 3 - 1993 (116)	ISSN 0730-0107	ISBN 0-925153-27-3
Sheltering for Examination (<i>Shourong Shencha</i>) in the Legal System of the People's Republic of China (Tao-tai HSIA and Wendy I. Zeldin), 32 pp.		
		\$4.00

No. 4 - 1993 (117) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-28-1

In Making China Modernized: Comparative Modernization between
Mainland China and Taiwan (Wen-hui TSAI), 281 pp. Index (out
of print, please order No. 5 - 1996 for 2nd ed.) \$18.00

No. 5 - 1993 (118) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-30-3

Hong Kong's Transition to 1997: Background, Problems and Prospects
(with Documents) (Hungdah CHIU), 106 pp. \$7.00

No. 6 - 1993 (119) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-31-1

Koo-Wang Talks and the Prospect of Building Constructive and Stable
Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (with Documents) (Hungdah
CHIU), 69 pp. (out of print) \$5.00

1994 Series

No. 1 - 1994 (120) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-32-X

Statutory Encouragement of Investment and Economic Development in
the Republic of China on Taiwan (Neil L. Meyers), 72 pp. \$7.00

No. 2 - 1994 (121) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-33-8

Don't Force Us to Lie: The Struggle of Chinese Journalists in the Re-
form Era (Allison Liu Jernow), 99 pp. \$7.00

No. 3 - 1994 (122) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-34-6

Institutionalizing a New Legal System in Deng's China (Hungdah
CHIU), 44 pp. \$5.00

No. 4 - 1994 (123) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-35-4

The Bamboo Gulag: Human Rights in the People's Republic of China,
1991-1992 (Ta-ling LEE & John F. Copper), 281 pp. Index \$20.00

No. 5 - 1994 (124) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-36-2

Taiwan's Legal System and Legal Profession (Hungdah CHIU and
Jyh-pin FA), 22 pp. \$3.00

No. 6 - 1994 (125) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-37-0

Toward Greater Democracy: An Analysis of the Republic of China on
Taiwan's Major Elections in the 1990s (Wen-hui TSAI), 40 pp. \$6.00

1995 Series

No. 1 - 1995 (126) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-38-9

Relations between the Republic of China and the Republic of Chile
(Herman Gutierrez B. and Lin CHOU), 31 pp. \$5.00

- No. 2 - 1995 (127) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-39-7**
The Tibet Question and the Hong Kong Experience (Barry Sautman
and Shiu-hing LO), 82 pp. \$10.00
- No. 3 - 1995 (128) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-40-0**
Mass Rape, Enforced Prostitution, and the Japanese Imperial
Army: Japan Eschews International Legal Responsibility?
(David Boling), 56 pp. \$5.00
- No. 4 - 1995 (129) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-41-9**
The Role of the Republic of China in the World Economy (Chu-yuan
CHENG), 25 pp. \$3.00
- No. 5 - 1995 (130) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-42-7**
China's Economy after Deng: A Long-Term Perspective (Peter C.Y.
Chow), 43 pp. \$5.00
- No. 6 - 1995 (131) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-43-5**
An Entrepreneurial Analysis of Opposition Movements (Ching-chane
HWANG), 179 pp. Index \$18.00

1996 Series

- No. 1 - 1996 (132) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-44-3**
Taiwan's 1995 Legislative Yuan Election (John F. Copper), 39 pp. \$6.00
- No. 2 - 1996 (133) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-45-1**
Russian-Taiwanese Relations: Current State, Problems, and Prospects
of Development (Peter M. Ivanov), 76 pp. \$10.00
- No. 3 - 1996 (134) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-46-X**
Recent Relations between China and Taiwan and Taiwan's Defense Ca-
pabilities (Hungdah CHIU & June Teufel Dreyer), 28 pp. \$4.00
- No. 4 - 1996 (135) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-47-8**
Intellectual Property Protection in the Asian-Pacific Region: A Com-
parative Study (Paul C. B. Liu & Andy Y. Sun), 183 pp. Index. \$25.00
(Hardcover edition: ISBN 0-925153-48-6) \$32.00
- No. 5 - 1996 (136) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-49-4**
In Making China Modernized: Comparative Modernization between
Mainland China and Taiwan (2nd ed.) (Wen-hui TSAI), 297 pp.
Index. \$30.00
(Hardcover edition: ISBN 0-925153-50-8) \$37.00

- No. 6 - 1996 (137) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-51-6**
 A Study of the Consular Convention between the United States of
 America and the People's Republic of China (Stephen Kho), 68 pp. \$6.00

1997 Series

- No. 1 - 1997 (138) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-52-4**
 Tiananmen to Tiananmen, China under Communism 1947-1996
 (Yuan-Li WU), 348 pp. Index \$35.00
 (Hardcover edition: ISBN 0-925153-53-2) \$45.00
- No. 2 - 1997 (139) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-54-0**
 The External Relations and International Status of Hong Kong (Ting
 Wai), 72 pp. \$8.00
- No. 3 - 1997 (140) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-55-9**
 Sheltering for Examination (*Shoushen*) in the People's Republic of
 China: Law, Policy, and Practices (Kam C. WONG), 53 pp. \$6.00
- No. 4 - 1997 (141) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-56-7**
 Legal Aid Practices in the PRC in the 1990s — Dynamics, Contents and
 Implications, (LUO Qizhi) 68 pp. \$8.00
- No. 5 - 1997 (142) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-57-5**
 The KMT's 15th Party Congress: The Ruling Party at a Crossroads
 (John F. Copper), 38 pp. \$5.00
- No. 6 - 1997 (143) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-58-3**
 From Pirate King to Jungle King: Transformation of Taiwan's Intellec-
 tual Property Protection (Andy Y. Sun), 138 pp. \$18.00

1998 Series

- No. 1 - 1998 (144) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-59-1**
 From "Multi-System Nations" to "Linkage Communities": A New
 Conceptual Scheme for the Integration of Divided Nations
 (Yung WEI), 20 pp. \$4.00
- No. 2 - 1998 (145) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-60-5**
 The Impact of the World Trade Organization on the Lack of Trans-
 parency in the People's Republic of China (Stephen Kho), 63 pp. \$7.00
- No. 3 - 1998 (146) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-61-3**
 The Nationalist Ideology of the Chinese Military (Xiaoyu CHEN), 45
 pp. \$6.00

- No. 4 - 1998 (147) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-62-1**
 Convergence and the Future of Reunification between Mainland China
 and Taiwan: A Developmental View (Wen-hui TSAI), 33 pp. \$5.00
- No. 5 - 1998 (148) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-63-X**
 Chinese Patent Law and Patent Litigation in China (Xiang WANG),
 61 pp. \$8.00
- No. 6 - 1998 (149) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-64-8**
 The Development of Banking in Taiwan: The Historical Impact on Fu-
 ture Challenges (Lawrence L.C. Lee), 39 pp. \$6.00

1999 Series

- No. 1 - 1999 (150) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-65-6**
 An Analysis of the Sino-Japanese Dispute over the T'iaoyutai Islets
 (Senkaku Gunto) (Hungdah CHIU), 27 pp. \$6.00
- No. 2 - 1999 (151) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-66-4**
 Taiwan's 1998 Legislative Yuan, Metropolitan Mayoral and City Coun-
 cil Elections: Confirming and Consolidating Democracy in the Re-
 public of China (John F. Copper), 53 pp. \$7.00
- No. 3 - 1999 (152) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-67-2**
 The Diaoyutai/Senkaku Islands Dispute: Its History and an Analysis of
 the Ownership Claims of the P.R.C., R.O.C., and Japan
 (Han-yi SHAW), 148 pp. \$20.00
- No. 4 - 1999 (153) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-68-0**
 Election and Democracy in Hong Kong: The 1998 Legislative Council
 Election (Shiu-hing LO & Wing-yat YU), 68 pp. \$9.00
- No. 5 - 1999 (154) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-69-9**
 The ROC on the Threshold of the 21st Century: A Paradigm Reexam-
 ined (Edited by Chien-min CHAO & Cal Clark), 189 pp. \$24.00
- No. 6 - 1999 (155) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-70-2**
 Party Primaries in Taiwan: Trends, Conditions, and Projections in Can-
 didate Selection (Julian Baum and James A. Robinson), 39 pp. \$6.00

2000 Series

- No. 1 - 2000 (156) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-71-0**
 United States-Taiwan Relations: Twenty Years after the Taiwan Rela-
 tions Act (Edited by Jaw-Ling Joanne Chang & William W. Boyer),
 309 pp. Index. \$28.00
 (Hardcover edition: ISBN 0-925153-72-9) \$42.00

- No. 2 - 2000 (157) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-73-7**
 Taiwan's 2000 Presidential and Vice Presidential Election: Consoli-
 dating Democracy and Creating a New Era of Politics
 (John F. Copper), 66 pp. \$9.00
- No. 3 - 2000 (158) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-74-5**
 Legal Eligibility of Taiwan's Accession to GATT/WTO (CHO Hui-
 Wan), 22 pp. \$6.00
- No. 4 - 2000 (159) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-75-3**
 Russia's Northeast Asia Policy: Challenges and Choices for the 21st
 Century (Sharif M. Shuja), 22 pp. \$6.00
- No. 5 - 2000 (160) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-76-1**
 East Asia and the Principle of Non-Intervention: Policies and Practices
 (Linjun WU), 39 pp. \$7.00
- No. 6 - 2000 (161) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-77-X**
 The Association of South East Asian Nations' Confidence and Security
 Building with the People's Republic of China: Internal Constraints
 and Policy Implications (Kwei-Bo HUANG), 61 pp. \$9.00

2001 Series

- No. 1 - 2001 (162) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-78-8**
 Socio-economic Changes and Modernization in an Age of Uncertainty:
 Taiwan in the 1990s and Its Future Challenge (Wen-hui TSAI),
 35 pp. \$7.00
- No. 2 - 2001 (163) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-79-6**
 Implementation of Taiwan Relations Act: An Examination after
 Twenty Years (Edited by Hungdah CHIU, Hsing-wei LEE and
 Chih-Yu T. WU), 267 pp. \$27.00
- No. 3 - 2001 (164) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-80-X**
 The Diplomatic War between Beijing and Taipei in Chile (Lin CHOU),
 61 pp. \$9.00
- No. 4 - 2001 (165) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-81-8**
 Reforming the Protection of Intellectual Property: The Case
 of China and Taiwan in Light of WTO Accession
 (Andy Y. SUN), 46 pp. \$8.00
- No. 5 - 2001 (166) ISSN 0730-0107 ISBN 0-925153-82-6**
 Arbitration of Commercial Disputes in China (Vai Io LO), 26 pp. \$6.00

- No. 6 - 2001 (167)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-83-4**
 Building a Democratic State in Modernizing Taiwan: The 2001 Legislative Election and the Push for Pluralism (Wen-hui TSAI and George P. Chen), 24 pp. \$6.00

2002 Series

- No. 1 - 2002 (168)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-84-2**
 United States and Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea: A Study of Ocean Law and Politics (Yann-huei SONG), 321 pp. \$35.00
- No. 2 - 2002 (169)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 0-925153-85-0**
 The Politics of Racial Discrimination in Hong Kong (Barry Sautman and Ellen Kneehans), 83 pp. (out of print) \$10.00
- No. 3 - 2002 (170)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-00-3**
 The Social and Political Bases for Women's Growing Political Power in Taiwan (Cal Clark and Janet Clark), 40 pp. \$7.00
- No. 4 - 2002 (171)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-01-1**
 The U.S.-Taiwan Free Trade Agreement: A Bridge for Economic Integration in the Asia-Pacific Region (Peter C.Y. Chow), 62 pp. \$9.00

2003 Series

- No. 1 - 2003 (172)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-02-X**
 Bringing People Back In: Collected Essays on Major Elections in Taiwan at the Turn of the 21st Century (Wen-hui TSAI), 125 pp. \$18.00
- No. 2 - 2003 (173)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-03-8**
 Taiwan: The Commercial State (Arthur I. Cyr), 81 pp. (out of print, please order No. 1 - 2005 (180) for a revised version of this issue) \$10.00
- No. 3 - 2003 (174)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-04-6**
 New Rules to the Old Great Game: An Assessment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's Proposed Free Trade Zone (Leland Rhett Miller), 25 pp. \$6.00
- No. 4 - 2003 (175)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-05-4**
 The Republic of China Legislative Yuan: A Study of Institutional Evolution (Thomas J. Bellows), 35 pp. \$7.00

2004 Series

- No. 1 - 2004 (176)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-06-2**
Taiwan's 2004 Presidential and Vice Presidential Election: Democracy's
Consolidation or Devolution? (John F. Cooper), 80 pp. \$10.00
- No. 2 - 2004 (177)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-07-0**
Peace, Reunification, Democracy and Cross-Strait Relations (Zhaohui
HONG and Yi SUN), 16 pp. \$5.00
- No. 3 - 2004 (178)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-08-9**
Judicial Discretion in Dispensing with the Service of Process Require-
ment in Hong Kong under Order 45, Rule 7(7): Moving towards a
Doctrine? (Simon Teng), 27 pp. \$7.00
- No. 4 - 2004 (179)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-09-7**
Taiwan's 2004 Legislative Election: Putting it in Perspective (John F.
Copper), 75 pp. \$13.00

2005 Series

- No. 1 - 2005 (180)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-10-0**
Taiwan: The Commercial State (revised version of No. 2-2003 (173))
(Arthur I. Cyr), 81 pp. \$13.00
- No. 2 - 2005 (181)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-11-9**
Retracing the Triangle: China's Strategic Perceptions of Japan in the
Post-Cold War Era (Danielle F. S. Cohen), 74 pp. \$13.00
- No. 3 - 2005 (182)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-12-7**
Putting Things into Perspective: The Reality of Accountability in East
Timor, Indonesia and Cambodia (Suzannah Linton), 90 pp. \$13.00
- No. 4 - 2005 (183)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-13-5**
Taiwan and the Soviet Bloc, 1949-1991 (Czeslaw Tubilewicz), 85 pp. \$13.00

2006 Series

- No. 1 - 2006 (184)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-14-3**
Japan's Changing Security Policy: An Overall View (Sharif Shuja),
32 pp. \$7.00
- No. 2 - 2006 (185)** **ISSN 0730-0107** **ISBN 1-932330-15-1**
China in ASEAN-LED Multilateral Forums (Serene Hung),
102 pp. \$14.00

ISBN 1-932330-16-X

\$13.00

ISBN 1-932330-17-8

\$12.00

2007 Series

ISBN 1-932330-18-6

\$8.00

MARYLAND STUDIES IN EAST ASIAN LAW AND POLITICS SERIES

(The following books are published under the auspices or co-auspices of the East Asian Legal Studies Program of the University of Maryland School of Law. The views expressed in each book reflect only those of the author. All books published in hard cover edition, unless otherwise indicated.)

1. Hungdah CHIU, *China and the Taiwan Issue*. New York: Praeger Publishers, A Division of Holt, Rinehart and Winston/CBS, Inc., 1979. 295 pp. (Now distributed by the Greenwood Press)
ISBN 0-03-048911-3 \$49.95
2. Hungdah CHIU, *Agreements of the People's Republic of China, 1966-1980: A Calendar*. New York: Praeger Publishers, A Division of Holt, Rinehart and Winston/CBS, Inc., 1981. 329 pp. (Now distributed by the Greenwood Press)
ISBN 0-03-059443-X \$49.95
3. David Salem, *The People's Republic of China, International Law and Arms Control*. Baltimore, Maryland: University of Maryland School of Law OPRSCAS*, 1983. 325 pp.
ISBN 0-942182-59-6 \$15.00
4. Ying-jeou MA, *Legal Problems of Seabed Boundary Delimitation in the East China Sea*. Baltimore, Maryland: University of Maryland School of Law OPRSCAS, 1984. 308 pp.
ISBN 0-942182-63-4 \$15.00
5. Hungdah CHIU and Shao-chuan LENG, editors, *China: 70 Years After the 1911 Hsin-hai Revolution*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1984. 600 pp.
(Published under the co-auspices of the Committee on Asian Studies, University of Virginia.)
ISBN 0-8138-1027-7 \$35.00
6. Shao-chuan LENG and Hungdah CHIU, *Criminal Justice in Post-Mao China*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1985. 325 pp.
(Published under the co-auspices of Committee on Asian Studies, University of Virginia.)
ISBN 0-87395-950-7 (hardcover) \$74.50
ISBN 0-87395-948-5 (paperback) \$24.95

* Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, Inc. (It has been changed to Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, MSCAS), 500 West Baltimore St., Baltimore, Maryland 21201-1786. (Tel. 410-706-3870)

7. Jaw-ling Joanne CHANG, *United States-China Normalization: An Evaluation of Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Baltimore, Maryland: University of Maryland School of Law OPRSCAS, 1986. 246 pp. (Copublished with Monograph Series in World Affairs, University of Denver)
ISBN 0-942182-78-2 \$12.00
8. Lester Ross and Mitchell A. Silk, *Environmental Law and Policy in China*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press (Quorum Books), 1987. 449 pp.
ISBN 0-89930-204-1 \$75.00
9. Hungdah CHIU, Y.C. JAO and Yuan-li WU, editors, *The Future of Hong Kong: Toward 1997 and Beyond*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press (Quorum Books), 1987. 262 pp.
ISBN 0-89930-241-6 \$55.00
10. Ray S. Cline and Hungdah CHIU, eds., *The United States Constitution and Constitutionalism in China*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Global Strategy Council, 1988. Distributed by OPRSCAS, 166 pp. Paper. \$8.00
11. Winston L.Y. YANG and Marsha L. Wagner, eds., *Tiananmen: China's Struggle for Democracy—Its Prelude, Development, Aftermath, and Impact*. Baltimore, Maryland: University of Maryland School of Law OPRSCAS, 1990. 314 pp. Index
ISBN 0-925153-08-7 \$14.00
12. Mitchell A. Silk, ed., *Taiwan Trade and Investment Law*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994. 693 pages.
ISBN 0-19-585289-3 \$59.00

ORDER FORM

Mail this order form to Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies,
University of Maryland School of Law, 500 West Baltimore Street,
Baltimore, Maryland 21201-1786, U.S.A. Or e-mail to eastasia@law.
umaryland.edu or fax to (410)706-1516

Check One:

☐ Please Send:

ISBN

Title

No. of Copies

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

☐ Please start my subscription of the MSCAS: Starting year _____

Subscription price is U.S. \$40.00 per year for 4 issues in the U.S. and
\$45.00 for Canada, Mexico or overseas (regardless of the price of
individual issues).

My check of U.S. \$ _____ is enclosed.
_____ copy(s) of invoice/receipt required. (Institution/
library may request billing before making payment)
Please add postage/handling of \$6.00 for one copy and \$1.00 for each
additional copy. Make checks payable to MSCAS.

Please send books to:

Contact Name

Corporation/Library/Institution

Address (Please include zip code)

Country

