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Taiwan's National Identity and Relations with China:
A Longitudinal Analysis of Survey Data

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When Chiang Kai-shek and, later, his son Chiang Ching-kuo ruled an authoritarian Taiwan, the principle of “one China” was taken for granted. To build the island as the base for their ambitious attempt of “recovering the Chinese mainland,” Taipei’s ruling elites imposed intense propaganda efforts to “re-Sinicize” local residents. A variety of measures were enforced to foster the “greater China identity” attempting to make local residents accept the view that both Taiwan and the Chinese mainland were parts of China and that China was their motherland.

Despite these intensive efforts of re-Sinicization in the previous decades, the rapid democratization since the late 1980s seemed to have changed how Taiwan citizens view themselves. As an increasing number of the island residents now accept Taiwanese as a part of their identity, this development has alarmed Beijing leaders and officials in Washington. They believe that Taipei’s recent drive to reassert its separate and independent status from China in the international community is a reflection of the growing Taiwanese identity on the island. Since this identity rejects the idea that Taiwan and China are one nation and that all ethnic Chinese must be ruled by a single government within the same state, it clashes with Beijing’s determination to unify the island with the “motherland” under the “one country, two systems” unification plan. Thus, with the re-election of the pro-independence Chen Shui-bian as the island’s president in the 2004 election, his policy of asserting Taiwan’s independent and separate status from China worries many in Washington that it would invite Beijing’s violent responses.¹

This study attempts to examine the island residents’ changing national identity and to explore the possible alternatives to cross-Strait conflicts. As the island has evolved into a full-fledged democracy, gaining and keeping support of Taiwan’s citizens is now, more than ever, a necessity for any proposed solution to the so-called “Taiwan question” to be successful. Utilizing survey data collected in Taiwan over the last decade, the following research questions will be explored: How has the islanders’ national identity changed during the past ten years? What are their views on Taiwan’s future relations with China? How do they perceive Beijing’s “one country, two systems” unification plan and the recently proposed idea of “double renunciation”?

A note on the survey data used in this study is in order. During the past decade, a series of surveys were conducted by the Election Study Center (ESC) of National Chengchi University in Taiwan through telephone as well as personal interviews. While the research interests of all of these surveys were not the same, some questions have been repeatedly included in the surveys in an identical format. Because this research aims to

¹ A good example of such worries was President Bush’s harsh criticism at Taiwan’s President Chen in December 2003. With Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao sitting by his side in the White House, Bush commented that “the comments and actions made by the leader of Taiwan indicate that he may be willing to make decisions unilaterally to change the status quo, which we oppose” (Federal Document Clearing House, 2003).

provide a holistic review of the changes of Taiwanese identity and the island residents' policy preferences, data on these issues will be collected from various surveys conducted by the ESC. Survey data of the last ten years will be presented only when survey questions are compatible.²

Democratization and the Emergence of Taiwanese Identity

Taiwan has gone through substantial political and social changes during past decade. When Lee Tenghui became the first native-born president in 1988, he rejected Beijing's "one country, two systems" plan but was careful of not challenging the long-held principle of "one China" upheld by the then ruling Nationalist Party (Kuomintang or KMT). The "one China" principle holds that Taiwan is a part of China and the island's unification with the Chinese mainland has been considered an enshrined mission for the party old guards. Presiding over the newly established National Unification Council, Lee promulgated *the National Unification Guidelines* in March of 1991, symbolizing the commitment of his administration to Taiwan's unification with the Chinese mainland.

Nevertheless, the political reforms set into motion by former President Chiang Ching-kuo in the mid-1980s had made ideas previously banned and suppressed during the years of authoritarian rule into constitutional rights protected by law. After the martial law was lifted in 1987, the ban on political parties was removed. So were restrictions on public assembly and freedom of speech. Many exiled advocates of Taiwanese independence were now allowed to safely return. In an effort of "Taiwanization," research on the island's literature, languages and history, including the infamous "228 incident," (Lai, Myers and Wou, 1991) were encouraged and widely researched. School curricula deviated from the previously China-centered programs to make room for lessons on Taiwan's history. The constitutional changes that occurred during Lee's tenure as the president further diluted the heritage and the mission brought by the Chiang family from the Chinese mainland.

Externally, Lee employed a foreign policy known as "pragmatic diplomacy" (*wu-shi waijiao*) in the early 1990s to challenge the "one China" principle as it previously had been understood. The essence of "pragmatic diplomacy" was to seek a new framework in which the island can be treated as a distinct and separate state from China. In addition to enhancing formal and/or substantive ties with other countries, active participation in international organizations and activities, including the UN, became important parts of this foreign policy.³ By 1999, Lee openly characterized cross-strait relations as "special state-to-state relations" (*te-shu de guo-yu-guo de guan-xi*) (Mainland Affairs Council, 1999), commonly labeled as the "two states theory" (*liang-guo-lun*), which has been seen as a clear manifestation of his efforts of asserting the island's separate and independent status from China.

² Readers should know that some of the findings in this study were reported in my previous analysis. See, Wang and Liu (2004).

³ For an analysis of Taiwan's "pragmatic diplomacy," see T.Y. Wang (2002).

After Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was elected as Taiwan's president in 2000, he has continued his predecessor's "Taiwan First" approach and taken active steps to dismantle the "one China" principle. His administration instituted a number of seemingly small but significant policies to arouse Taiwanese consciousness on the island. These included adding the words "Issued in Taiwan" to the island country's green passport cover and dropping the national emblem as the official logo of Taiwan's overseas missions (*New York Times*, 2002; *Taipei Times*, 2004a). Insisting that Taiwan and China are two independent and sovereign states, Chen also characterized the Taiwan Strait as having "one country on each side" (*yi-bian yi-guo*) (Chen, 2002). After Beijing successfully blocked Taipei's attempt to join the World Health Organization (WHO) for the seventh time in the aftermath of the outbreak of SARS, or severe acute respiratory syndrome, the Chen administration on the one hand blamed Beijing for the spread of epidemic and on the other called for a referendum on Taiwan's possible participation in WHO (*World Journal*, 2003). During the 2004 presidential election, Chen held two controversial "defensive referenda" and characterized them as means against China's authoritarian regime.⁴ Observers generally believe that Chen employed the two referenda to help his re-election bid, while at the same time laying in the ground work for future action on the island's independence (e.g., Kao, 2004). Indeed, since its inception, the official position of the DPP favors the establishment of a sovereign "Taiwan Republic," which, along with the draft of a new constitution, shall be decided by all citizens on the island through a national referendum.

Meanwhile, as a part of the "de-Sinicization" plan, the Chen administration has revised the high school history curriculum by treating China as a foreign country. This led to Beijing leaders' condemnation of what they called "creeping independence" (*People's Daily Online*, 2004). In his recent statements, Chen emphasized the island's *de facto* independence by claiming that "[t]he Republic of China is Taiwan, and Taiwan is the Republic of China" (Chen, 2004a) and declaring that his administration would launch the island's bid for UN membership using the name of "Taiwan," rather than "the Republic of China" (Huang, Jewel, 2004a).⁵ To encourage the growth of the Taiwanese identity and to consolidate his electoral base in the 2004 legislative election, Chen further pledged that his administration would change the names of all relevant government agencies to use "Taiwan" in two years, including those of the island country's overseas missions and state-run enterprises (Huang, Tai-lin, 2004b).

Along with these political changes brought by democratization, the island's residents started to reflect on the identity they held in the past toward China and Taiwan. Among the most important questions being raised are: What is China? Who is Chinese? What are the differences between Chinese and Taiwanese cultures? And, is it possible to be culturally Chinese but politically Taiwanese? In almost identical wording, surveys conducted from 1994 to 2004 asked Taiwanese respondents the following question:

⁴ Article 17 of the newly passed Referendum Law stipulates that the president of the island country may call a referendum on independence if China attacked the island. See, Lin and Chu (2003) and Culpan and Pan (2004).

⁵ For Taipei's 2005 proposal for UN membership, see Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005).

“In our society, some people consider themselves as Taiwanese, and others view themselves as Chinese, while still others see themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese. What is your view on this matter?”

[Table 1 about here]

Table 1 shows that during the last years of KMT rule, a party known for its cultivation of the “greater China” identity, residents on the island have undergone substantial adjustment in their identities. The ratio of Chinese identifiers has declined significantly from 24 percent in 1994 to about 6% in 2004, a decline of almost fourfold from just a decade ago. During the same period, an increasing number of the island residents started to identify themselves as Taiwanese, from 33% in 1994 to 47% in 2004, while those who held the Dual identity, i.e., seeing themselves as both Chinese and Taiwanese, also increased somewhat. The empirical evidence thus suggests that Taiwan residents have undergone significant adjustment in their identities during the past decade as very few of the island’s residents currently subscribe to the Chinese identity alone and more and more of them become indigenized to the point of accepting a part of their identity as being Taiwanese.

Along with this change of Taiwanese/Chinese identity is the changing national identity on the island, which is defined as an individual’s psychological attachment to a political community united by characteristics that differentiate that community from others (Citrin, Haas, Muste and Reingold, 1994; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1991; Smith, 2000). Based on this definition, the investigation of the island residents’ national identity calls for an analysis of both cultural orientations and political identifications (Wang and Liu, 2004). In a survey conducted in 2002, the respondents were asked, in their minds, 1) what territory constitute “my country” (Taiwan only, both the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, and the Chinese mainland only); 2) who “my countrymen” are (the Taiwanese people only, both the mainland and the Taiwanese people, the mainland people only); and 3) whether the Taiwanese culture is a part of the Chinese culture or these two cultures are different. The first two questions aim to assess the political aspect of national identity since for a sense of national identity to exist a respondent must perceive a certain piece of land as his/her own country and perceive a certain group of people as his/her countrymen. The third question attempts to summarize respondents’ views on their cultural/ethnic heritages. As shown in Table 2, about 80% of them view only the island as their country and only the island’s residents as their fellow countrymen. Less than 15 % of them see both Taiwan and the Chinese mainland and the corresponding populations as their country and countrymen. While the data show a substantial number of the respondents demonstrating Taiwan-centered political identities, only one-fourth of them view the Taiwanese culture different from the Chinese culture. Close to two-thirds of the respondents feel that they have roots in the Chinese culture. The differences in distributions suggest that political and cultural identities may not be congruent in the Taiwanese context.

[Table 2 about here]

Contrary to the view that there is no broad consensus on national identity on the island (Hughes, 2000; Wachman, 1994), the empirical evidence shows that Taiwan-centered national identity is clearly dominant on the island. Despite the intensive efforts to re-Sinicize the island's residents in the previous decades, less than 10% of the island's residents currently subscribe to the greater Chinese nationalism. The majority of the populace now sees the island as an independent and separate political entity from the Chinese mainland. More importantly, half of the island's residents now carefully delineate their political identifications from their cultural orientations. Acknowledging their Chinese heritage, they also identify themselves as Taiwanese politically. This evidence suggests that most citizens on the island view Taiwan as an independent and separate country from China.

Independence or Unification?

With a Taiwan-centered national identity being the dominant view on the island, what are Taiwan citizens' policy preferences regarding the island's future relations with China? Using the traditional six-choice survey question, the data in Table 3 shows the island residents' responses to this question. A first glance at the table seems to show that the trends of Taiwan citizens' policy preferences are relatively stable during the past decade. That is, very few Taiwan residents want an immediate political change in either direction of unification or independence. The majority of them prefer maintaining the status quo now even though they differ in their views on the island's long-term status. Some prefer to keep the status quo now but move towards an eventual unification in the future. Others favor an ultimate independence, while still others want to continue the status quo permanently.

That being said, noticeable trends do exist. Specifically, the proportion of unification supporters has declined over the years, while that of supporting independence is increasing. Such trends are more visible if options (1) and (2) are combined and options (4), (5) and (6) are merged, while option (3) – future action undetermined – is left unchanged. Figure 1 shows clear and opposite trends on the island of supporting the unification with the Chinese mainland and backing the independence of the island. It is important to note that throughout the last decade about 40% of respondents are “undetermined” regarding their preference over Taiwan's long-term status. Their final policy preferences apparently are conditional on the future circumstances.

[Table 3 about here]

[Figure 1 about here]

To understand the conditionality of Taiwan residents' policy preferences, surveys were conducted in 2003, 2004 and 2005. Respondents were asked a total of four questions. The first two questions aim to assess respondents' preferences of pursuing independence at high and low costs, while the latter two are to trace their support for unification at high and low costs. Tables 4 and 5 present the responses and collectively

reveal several major findings. First, the evidence shows that Taiwan residents' preferences over the island's future relations with China are conditional on the associated costs. The majority of them express a preference for independence if there would be no war with China but are not willing to pursue independence if that would invite a violent response from Beijing. More than two-thirds of the respondents reject unification if there is great disparity between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait but they are divided on the issue of unification if the social, economic and political conditions between the two sides are relatively compatible. This evidence suggests that Taiwan residents are risk-averse. They are not willing to pursue an outright independence or unification if the associated costs are so high that could incur China's military attacks and/or damage their democratic way of life.

Second, while Taiwan residents' preferences are conditional on the associated costs, the "future action undetermined" respondents appear to be more affected by the future circumstances than others. Supporters for independence and unification continue to back their respective positions in greater proportions even if the preferred positions are associated with high costs. The "undetermined" islanders, however, tend to switch their positions from one preference to the other when favorable conditions are present. These "undetermined" islanders can be seen as swing voters. Indeed, their leaning in either direction could form a majority that will determine Taipei's course of action regarding its future relations with Beijing.

The findings are particularly significant for both Taipei and Beijing. For the former, Chen cannot take his successful re-election bid in 2004 presidential election as an outright endorsement by Taiwan residents for the island's independence. In fact, despite the Taipei government's recent efforts of "de-Sinization," the evidence shows that China's unification with Taiwan continues to be an open bid. When the conditions are considered favorable, the majority of the islanders are as likely to choose unification as independence. For the Beijing government, therefore, the question is what unification plan can it provide that could be acceptable by Taiwan residents?

[Table 4 about here]

[Table 5 about here]

The "One Country, Two Systems" Proposal

Since early 1980s, the Beijing government has promoted the "one country, two systems" proposal as China's unification plan with Taiwan. The proposal prescribes that Taiwan be unified under the principle of "one China" with Beijing being the central government and Taiwan, a local special administrative region (SAR) (hence the "one country"). After unification, the Chinese mainland continues the practices of socialism while Taiwan retains its capitalist system and enjoys a high degree of autonomy (hence the "two systems"). To show their generosity, Chinese leaders further promise that "[o]n the premise of one China, both sides can discuss any subject," (State Council, 1993: v-vi) including the national flag and the name of the country. They also pledge that they are "prepared to apply a looser form of the 'one country, two systems' policy in Taiwan

than in Hong Kong and Macao” (TAO, 2000). This means that Taiwan, as China’s SAR, will not only run its own political and economic affairs and enjoy certain rights in foreign relations but will also be able to retain its own armed forces.

Based on other conditions laid down by the Chinese government and experiences of “one country, two systems” in Hong Kong (HKSAR) and Macao (MSAR), some qualifications need to be added to Beijing’s generous offer. First of all, the “one country, two systems” unification formula promises that Taiwan will “have its own ... independent judiciary and the right of adjudication on the island.” The 1999 *Ng Ka Lin* case and a companion case in Hong Kong have shown that judiciary decisions could be easily struck down by the Central Government in Beijing since the power of interpretation of the Basic Law, the HKSAR’s mini constitution, is vested in the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress. Second, the “one country, two systems” formula also assures that Taiwan “may keep its military forces and the mainland will not dispatch troops or administrative personnel to the island.” (State Council, 1993: v). However, Beijing has made it clear that “[n]o country ... should provide arms to Taiwan or enter into military alliance of any form with Taiwan. ... and refrain from providing arms to Taiwan or helping Taiwan produce arms in any form or under any pretext” (TAO, 2000). That is, should the island accept Beijing’s unification proposal, it will no longer be able to acquire any weaponry from other countries. Third, while Beijing is willing to grant Taipei the authority to engage in foreign affairs after unification, such activities must be “compatible with [Taiwan’s] status” as a local government and therefore are limited to “economic, cultural and social activities” (TAO, 2000). Under the “one China” principle, Chinese leaders continue to insist that Beijing is the sole legal government representing the whole of China and Taiwan therefore has no legal right to establish diplomatic relations with foreign countries or participate in any international organizations. Finally, considering the complex electoral arrangements for selecting the legislative body and the offices of Chief Executive in HKSAR and MSAR,⁶ alternations to Taiwan’s existing system of popularly elected presidency and legislative bodies are not impossible.

To assess the islanders’ evaluations regarding the “one country, two systems” unification plan, the survey asks respondents a total of six questions. The first two questions are intentionally vague about the specific content of Beijing’s offer by asking respondents the extent to which they are willing to accept a “one country, two systems” proposal if 1) the plan permits “Taiwan’s economic system and way of life to remain unchanged for 50 years,” and 2) the plan eliminates the PRC and the ROC but creates a new country called China (*Zhong-guo*). The next four questions list the four specific scenarios discussed above, i.e., limits on rights of adjudication, limits on purchasing arms, limits on conducting foreign affairs, and limits on electing public offices.

⁶ See, the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China, at <<http://www.constitution.org/cons/hongkong.txt>> and the Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China, at <http://www.macao.gov.mo/constitution/constitution_en.phtml> .

Tables 6 and 7 present the data and, collectively, they reveal several major findings. First of all, while close to half of the respondents reject the plan, about 40% of them feel that the “one country, two systems” proposal would be acceptable if the plan keeps Taiwan and the Chinese mainland separate for 50 years or if the plan treats the PRC and the ROC equally and forms a new country called *Zhong-guo*.⁷ This includes more than 60% of those respondents who supported unification, about one-third of those who backed independence and almost half of those who took a “wait and see” positions. When being asked about the limitations that would come along with the proposal, however, very few of Taiwan residents are willing to sacrifice their hard-won political rights under a democratic system and the autonomy of the island. Less than 10% of the respondents find the “one country, two systems” formula appealing if it limits Taiwan’s rights of judicial adjudication, ability of conducting foreign affairs, or their political rights of electing public offices. Although the limitation to Taipei’s ability to acquire arms from foreign countries enjoys a slightly higher acceptance rate than other items, over 70% of the respondents oppose it. Without a meaningful military capability of its own, Taiwan residents understand that they would be vulnerable to Beijing’s constant hostility. With these limitations, about 90% of the “undetermined” respondents opposed the “one country, two systems” unification plan and more than 70% of those who support unification rejected Beijing’s proposal.

The above evidence suggests that Taiwan residents have a common desire for security and dignity. They cherish their democratic way of life and the economic prosperity they now enjoy. China’s claim to the island, in their view, is inconsistent with the political reality that the island has enjoyed *de facto* sovereignty for the past five decades. Beijing’s unification plan of “one country, two systems” therefore is not acceptable to them.

⁷ Note that the percentages in favor of the “one country, two systems” proposal reported here are substantially higher than those given by the Mainland Affairs Council (MAC), which are between 3.5% and 16.1% for the period 1991-2002. The discrepancy is due to different wordings of the survey question. The survey question by the MAC reads “[w]ith regard to future cross-strait development, the Chinese leadership has proposed the ‘one country, two systems’ model, under which Taiwan would be treated as a local government. Henceforth, Taiwan would be ruled by China and the government of the Republic of China would cease to exist. Are you in favor of this ‘one country, two systems’ model or not?” See, Chen (1999: 199). For survey results, see MAC website at <<http://www.mac.gov.tw>>.

The Double-Renunciation Proposal

The lack of enthusiasm of Beijing's unification plan does not imply a strong commitment by Taiwan residents to the island's *de jure* independence. Indeed, as the above evidence has shown, a majority of Taiwan citizens prefer the maintenance of status quo and about 40% of the islanders are undetermined regarding their preferences over Taiwan's long-term status. They are not willing to have an outright bid for independence for fear of Beijing's violent responses which may destroy the democratic way of life and economic prosperity they now enjoy. Neither do they want to be a part of China as it exists today, especially under Beijing's unification plan known as "one country, two systems." Meanwhile, Taipei DPP government's taking steps of asserting the island's separate and independent status in recent years also worried Beijing fearing that these steps of "creeping independence" may one day lead to the island's *de jure* independence. While repeatedly threatening the use of force against Taiwan should it cross the presumed "red line," Chinese leaders fully understand that a war in the Taiwan Strait would be disastrous for Beijing. Acting as a conditional revisionist, Beijing's current strategy on the Taiwan issue is to maintain status quo and prevent the island from declaring *de jure* independence.⁸ It appears that maintaining status quo is presently the common desire by the Taiwanese people and the Beijing government. The so-called "double renunciation" proposals may serve as a solution of easing cross-Strait tension.

The "double renunciation" proposals were first raised by some American scholars and officials in the aftermath of 1995-96 missile crisis during which Beijing leaders launched an eight-month-long series of military exercises and missile tests in the waters close to Taiwan. These proposals include Harding's "modus vivendi" (1999), Nye's "three-part package" (1999) and Lieberthal's "50-year plan" (1998). Although there are variations, these proposals share in common a call for "double renunciation" by both Taipei and Beijing, i.e., Taipei would renounce its intention of seeking Taiwan's *de jure* independence in exchange for Beijing's consent not to use force against the island country.⁹ Presumably, this continuation of Taiwan's legal limbo would last indefinitely as a "kinder, gentler" version of the status quo. Tables 8 and 9 show that such a proposal has been immensely popular in Taiwan as more than 65% of the respondents in 2002, 2004 and 2005 approved the idea of "double renunciation." This includes more than 75% of those respondents who supported unification or took a "wait and see" position. Supporters for a "double renunciation" proposal also include 67% to 78% of those who backed Taiwan's *de jure* independence. Like Beijing leaders who want to maintain the status quo, the majority of Taiwan citizens also welcomes a plan that

⁸ For analysis of the delicate balance of this deterrence diplomacy across the Taiwan Strait, see Wang (2005).

⁹ For instance, Harding's "modus vivendi" proposed that Beijing and Taipei establish "[a] set of mutual reassurances, such that the mainland would commit itself not to use force against Taiwan as long as Taiwan did not declare independence, and that Taiwan would commit itself not to declare independence as long as the mainland did not use force." Lieberthal's "50-year plan" suggested that explicit agreements be established such that "[Taiwan] is a part of China and will not claim *de jure* independence" and that "the PRC [will] not use force against Taiwan." Similarly, Nye's "three-part package" proposed that the US should "work hard to discourage other countries from recognizing Taiwan independence. At the same time, we would repeat that we would not accept the use of force, ...".

would protect their existing way of life while at the same time relieves them from Beijing's constant military threats.

Conclusion

Richard L. Armitage, Deputy Secretary of State of the US, in a recent interview characterized the Taiwan issue being the biggest “landmine” in US-China relations (2004). While Armitage's remark has reportedly upset Taipei's leadership, it is one of the several comments by American officials in recent months that reflected Washington's concern about the explosive nature of China's unification with Taiwan. Utilizing survey data collected in Taiwan during the past decade, this study examines the fundamental aspects of this explosive nature.

Specifically, this research has shown that residents on the island have undergone substantial adjustment in their identities as increasing number of the islanders now adopt the Taiwanese identity. The majority of the island citizens consider Taiwan as an independent and separate country from China even though they still believe in their Chinese cultural heritage. This suggests that many island residents now believe that they can be both Chinese culturally and Taiwanese politically.

That being said, the majority of Taiwan residents are not willing to have an outright bid for independence for fear of Beijing's violent responses which may destroy the democratic way of life and economic prosperity they now enjoy. Neither do they want to be a part of China as it exists today. It is therefore not surprising to see that few people on the island support Beijing's “one country, two systems” proposal. However, a sizable Taiwanese population has not ruled out the possibility of unification or pursuing independence so long if the conditions are considered acceptable. To ease cross-strait tension, the idea of “double renunciation” may serve as a solution. While the details still need to be worked out by leaders of Beijing and Taipei, it is not difficult to recognize the key features of the islanders' political preferences regarding Taiwan's future relations with the Chinese mainland: security, equality, autonomy, and sovereignty.

Finally, the recent landslide victory by the opposition KMT in Taiwan's county and magistrate elections provides an excellent opportunity for Beijing to improve cross-strait relations (Grauwels, 2005). Despite Chen Shui-bian's efforts of labeling the KMT leaders and candidates as the “panda huggers” during the campaign, the electoral results have shown that the tactics of branding his political opponents as “betraying Taiwan” and/or “selling out Taiwan” are no longer effective. The majority of Taiwanese voters apparently are willing to endorse a political party that is determined to advance cross-strait relations. Indeed, the KMT Party Chairman Ma Yingjeou, a front runner in Taiwan 2008 presidential election, has strongly supported former party Chairman Lien Chan's groundbreaking visit to China earlier this year and expressed hope of breaking the long-standing hostility between Beijing and Taipei. Thus, Chinese leaders need to show their sensitivity to the island citizens' political preferences and be creative in their proposals to Taipei if they are truly committed to resolving the cross-strait

conflicts peacefully.

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Table 1
Opinion Distributions of Chinese/Taiwanese Identity:
1994-2004

	Taiwanese Identity	Dual Identity	Chinese Identity	N
1994	33.3	42.5	24.2	1315
1995	28.9	47.0	24.1	1625
1996	35.8	46.6	17.7	1323
1999	42.7	43.1	14.2	1172
2000	43.0	45.6	11.4	1140
2002	37.7	53.5	8.8	1958
2003	45.4	48.3	6.5	1649
2004P	47.0	46.6	6.5	1776
2004L	45.9	49.3	4.8	1221

Note: Row percentages in cells

Data Sources: Data of the following surveys are provided by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan:

1. *Electoral Behavior and Political Democratization in Taiwan: A Study Based on the Magistrate Election in 1993*
2. *Electoral Behavior and Democratization in Taiwan: A Study Based on the Elections for Taiwan Governor, Taipei Mayor, and Kaohsiung Mayor in 1994: An Interdisciplinary Study of Voting Behavior in the Presidential Election*
3. *Constituency Environment and Electoral Behavior: In Interdisciplinary Study on the Legislator Election of 1998*
4. *An Interdisciplinary study of Voting Behavior in the Presidential Election of 2000*
5. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2001 (TEDS 2001)*
6. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2002 (TEDS 2002): Elections of Taipei and Kaohsiung Cities*
7. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2003 (TEDS 2003)*
8. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2002-2004(III): The Presidential Election, 2004 (TEDS 2004P)*
9. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2002-2004(III): The Legislative Election, 2004 (TEDS 2004L)*

Table 2
Distributions of Responses about “My Country,”
“My Countrymen,” and Cultural Orientations: 2002
(N=1115)

My Country		My Countrymen		Cultural Orientations	
Taiwan only	79.8 (890)	Taiwanese People Only	80.6 (899)	Taiwanese Culture a part of Chinese Culture	66.1 (737)
Both Mainland & Taiwan	14.5 (162)	Both Mainland & Taiwanese People	14.1 (157)	Taiwanese Culture different from Chinese Culture	24.8 (277)
Mainland only	0.2 (12)	Mainland People Only	0.2 (2)		9.1 (101)
No responses/ Other	5.5 (61)	No responses/ Other	5.1 (57)	No responses/ Other	

Note: Percentages on top and corresponding frequencies in parentheses. Data Source: *The Study on “National Identity” and “National Security”* (the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan, 2002)

Table 3
Taiwan Citizens' Policy Preferences on Cross-Strait Relations:
1994-2004

Year	(1) Unification as Soon as Possible	(2) Status Quo Now, then Unification	(3) Status Quo Now, Future Action Undetermin ed	(4) Status Quo Indefinitely	(5) Status Quo Now, then Independenc e	(6) Independenc e as Soon as Possible	Total Cases
1994	5.8	27.0	39.0	15.6	8.9	3.7	1113
1995	4.3	27.2	39.4	12.6	12.3	4.1	1448
1996	3.6	22.1	39.8	13.4	16.6	4.5	1167
1999	4.1	23.4	35.8	14.5	16.5	5.5	1088
2000	3.8	24.2	43.2	12.2	13.5	3.0	1019
2002	3.8	23.4	42.5	12.2	12.7	5.3	1823
2004P	2.9	14.7	38.7	17.2	19.1	7.4	1677
2004L	2.4	15.4	41.7	16.9	16.3	7.3	1147

Note: Row percentages in cells

Data Sources: Data of the following survey are provided by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan:

1. *Electoral Behavior and Political Democratization in Taiwan: A Study Based on the Magistrate Election in 1993*
2. *Electoral Behavior and Democratization in Taiwan: A Study Based on the Elections for Taiwan Governor, Taipei Mayor , and Koushiung Mayor in 1994: An Interdisciplinary Study of Voting Behavior in the Presidential Election*
3. *Constituency Environment and Electoral Behavior: In Interdisciplinary Study on the Legislator Election of 1998*
4. *An Interdisciplinary study of Voting Behavior in the Presidential Election of 2000*
5. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2001 (TEDS 2001)*
6. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2002 (TEDS 2002): Elections of Taipei and Kaohsiung Cities*
7. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2003 (TEDS 2003)*
8. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2002-2004(III): The Presidential Election, 2004 (TEDS 2004P)*
9. *Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2002-2004(III): The Legislative Election, 2004 (TEDS 2004L)*

Figure 1
Taiwan Citizens' Policy Preferences on Cross-Strait Relations:
1994-2004

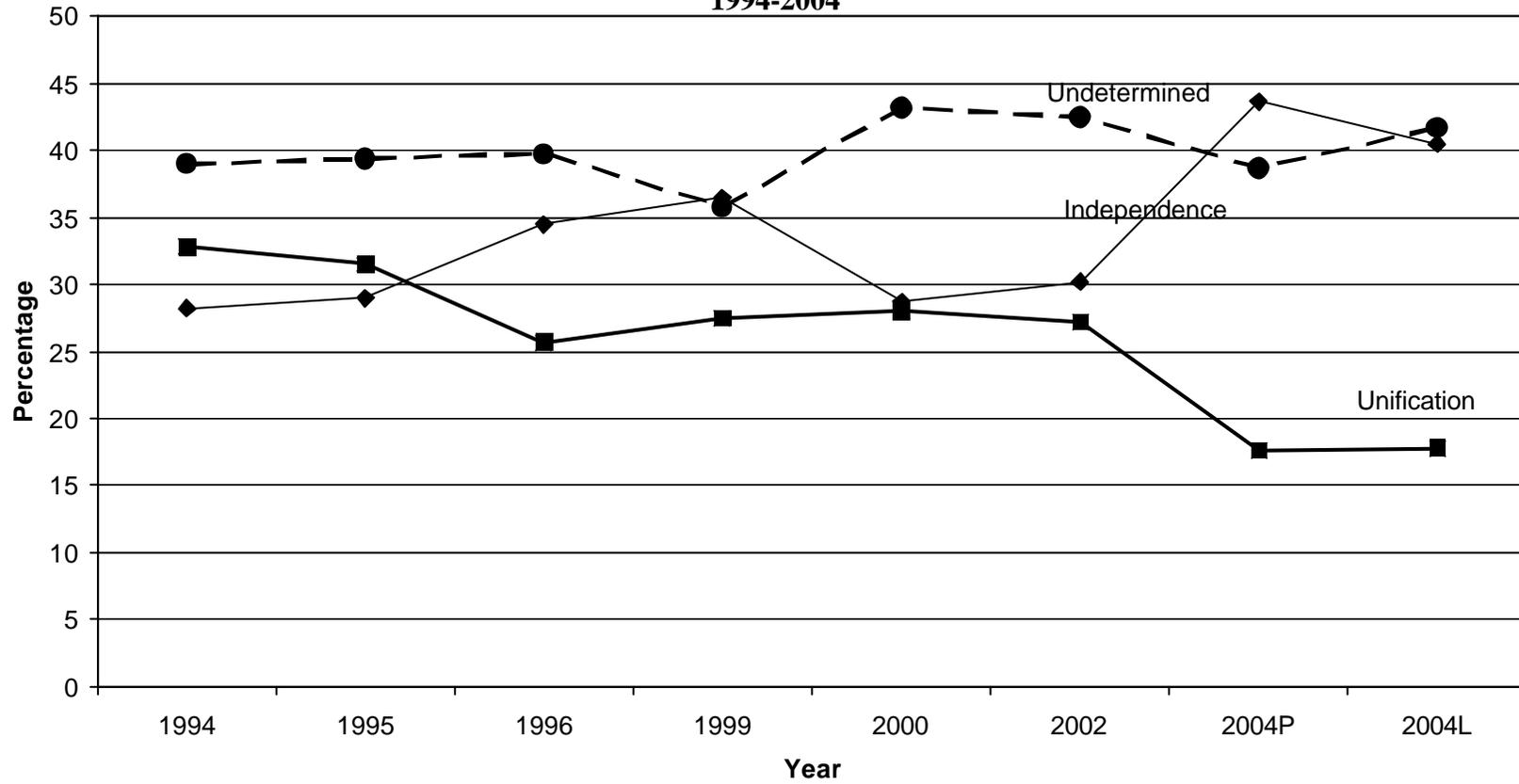


Table 4
Distributions of Responses on
Conditional Policy Preferences
2003-2005

	Prefer Taiwan independence		Prefer Unification	
	Even if War with China	Only if No War with China	Even If Two Sides are Not Compatible	Only if Two Sides are Compatible
	2003 (N=1225)			
Agree	22.8 (279)	64.7 (792)	20.8 (255)	55.5 (680)
Disagree	66.1 (810)	23.8 (292)	66.0 (808)	30.9 (379)
No Responses	11.1 (136)	11.5 (141)	13.2 (162)	13.6 (166)
	2004 (N=1484)			
Agree	23.9 (355)	65.1 (966)	13.3 (198)	44.9 (667)
Disagree	63.9 (949)	22.3 (331)	72.9 (1082)	41.3 (613)
No Responses	12.1 (180)	12.6 (187)	13.7 (204)	13.7 (204)
	2005 (N=1221)			
Agree	24.6 (300)	63.5 (775)	15.2 (186)	49.1 (599)
Disagree	62.6 (764)	23.0 (281)	71.3 (871)	36.5 (446)
No Responses	12.9 (157)	13.5 (165)	13.4 (164)	14.4 (176)

Note: Column percentages on top followed by corresponding frequencies in parentheses.

Data Source:

1. *The 2003 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2003).
2. *The 2004 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2004).
3. *The 2005 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2005).

Table 5
Distributions of Responses on
Conditional Policy Preferences, 2003-2005

Independence with War	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
	2003		
Agree	10.3 (29)	22.0 (97)	44.3 (147)
Disagree	89.7 (253)	78.0 (344)	55.7 (185)
Number of Cases	282	441	332
	2004		
Agree	7.3 (15)	16.6 (84)	44.3 (247)
Disagree	92.7 (190)	83.4 (423)	55.7 (310)
Number of Cases	205	507	557
	2005		
Agree	4.9 (10)	18.9 (74)	47.4 (207)
Disagree	95.1 (194)	81.1 (318)	52.6 (230)
Number of Cases	204	392	437

(Table 5 Continued)

Independence without War	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
	2003		
Agree	51.6 (143)	76.4 (337)	86.1 (291)
Disagree	48.4 (134)	23.6 (104)	13.9 (47)
Number of Cases	277	441	338
	2004		
Agree	46.4 (89)	73.4 (369)	85.7 (481)
Disagree	53.6 (103)	26.6 (134)	14.3 (80)
Number of Cases	192	503	561
	2005		
Agree	40.5 (79)	76.7 (303)	84.7 (372)
Disagree	59.5 (116)	23.3 (92)	15.3 (67)
Number of Cases	195	395	439

(Table 5 Continued)

Unification even if not Compatible	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
	2003		
Agree	41.3 (114)	22.3 (97)	11.7 (38)
Disagree	58.7 (162)	77.7 (338)	88.3 (287)
Number of Cases	276	435	325
	2004		
Agree	37.8 (76)	12.1 (60)	9.8 (54)
Disagree	62.2 (125)	87.9 (436)	90.2 (496)
Number of Cases	201	496	550
	2005		
Agree	41.2 (80)	13.9 (56)	9.7 (42)
Disagree	58.8 (114)	86.1 (346)	90.3 (392)
Number of Cases	194	402	434

(Table 5 Continued)

Unification only if Compatible	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
	2003		
Agree	86.8 (244)	69.8 (301)	39.3 (126)
Disagree	13.2 (37)	30.2 (130)	60.7 (195)
Number of Cases	281	431	321
	2004		
Agree	86.4 (171)	62.2 (310)	30.9 (170)
Disagree	13.6 (27)	37.8 (188)	69.1 (380)
Number of Cases	198	498	550
	2005		
Agree	94.1 (192)	62.6 (241)	35.3 (152)
Disagree	5.9 (12)	37.4 (144)	64.7 (279)
Number of Cases	204	385	431

Note: Column percentages on top followed by corresponding frequencies in parentheses.

Data Source:

1. *The 2003 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2003).
2. *The 2004 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2004).
3. *The 2005 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2005).

Table 6
Distributions of Responses About
the “One Country, Two Systems” Unification Plan, 2002
(N=1115)

	Are you willing to accept the “One Country, Two Systems” unification proposal, if the plan					
	Permits Taiwan Unchanged for 50 Years	Creates a New Country called “ <i>Zhong-guo</i> ”	Limits Taiwan’s Rights of Adjudication	Limits Taiwan’s Ability of Purchasing Arms	Limits Taiwan’s Ability of Conducting Foreign Affairs	Limits Taiwanese Rights of Electing Public Offices
Acceptable	38.6 (430)	39.3 (438)	4.8 (54)	13.6 (152)	7.7 (86)	7.9 (88)
Unacceptable	47.5 (530)	46.1 (514)	81.3 (906)	76.7 (855)	82.6 (921)	85.2 (950)
No Responses	13.9 (155)	14.6 (163)	13.9 (155)	9.7 (108)	9.7 (108)	6.9 (77)

Note: Column percentages on top followed by corresponding frequencies in parentheses.

Data Source: *The Study on “National Identity” and “National Security”* (the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan, 2002).

Table 7
Responses about the “One Country, Two Systems” Plan
And Policy Preferences, 2002

Permitting Taiwan Unchanged for 50 Years (N=886)	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
Acceptable	61.4 (154)	44.5 (151)	33.5 (116)
Unacceptable	38.6 (97)	55.5 (188)	66.5 (230)
Number of Cases	251	339	346
Creating a New Country called “Zhong-guo” (N=919)	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
Acceptable	69.8 (173)	50.2 (165)	25.7 (88)
Unacceptable	30.2 (75)	49.8 (164)	74.3 (254)
Number of Cases	248	329	342
Limits Taiwan’s Rights of Adjudication (N=928)	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
Acceptable	10.0 (24)	4.1 (14)	4.3 (15)
Unacceptable	90.0 (216)	95.9 (328)	95.7 (331)
Number of Cases	240	342	346

(Table 7 Continued)

Limits Taiwan's Ability of Purchasing Arms (N=974)	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
Acceptable	23.8 (60)	14.0 (51)	9.8 (35)
Unacceptable	76.2 (192)	86.0 (313)	90.2 (323)
Number of Cases	252	364	358
Limits Taiwan's Ability of Conducting Foreign Affairs (N=982)	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
Acceptable	16.6 (43)	5.2 (19)	6.1 (22)
Unacceptable	83.4 (216)	94.8 (344)	93.9 (338)
Number of Cases	259	363	360
Limits Taiwanese Rights of Electing Public Offices (N=1001)	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Undetermined	Supporting Independence
Acceptable	16.8 (44)	6.6 (25)	3.9 (14)
Unacceptable	83.2 (218)	93.4 (351)	96.1 (349)
Number of Cases	262	376	363

Note: Column percentages on top followed by corresponding frequencies in parentheses

Data Source: *The Study on "National Identity" and "National Security"* (the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan, 2002).

Table 8
Opinion Distribution on the “Double Renunciation” Proposal,
2002, 2004 and 2005

	2002	2004	2005
Agree	65.1 (726)	75.75 (1123)	75.1 (917)
Disagree	22.9 (255)	14.1 (209)	14.3 (175)
No Responses	12.0 (134)	10.2 (152)	10.6 (129)
Number of Cases	1115	1484	1221

Note: Column percentages on top followed by corresponding frequencies in parentheses.

Data Source:

1. *The Study on “National Identity” and “National Security”* (the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan, 2002).
2. *The 2004 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2004).
3. *The 2005 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2005).

Table 9
Responses on the “Double Renunciation” Proposal
and Policy Preferences, 2002, 2004 and 2005

Double Renunciation Proposal	Policy Preferences		
	Supporting Unification	Future Actions Indetermined	Supporting Independence
2002			
Agree	80.8 (210)	75.4 (266)	67.2 (231)
Disagree	19.2 (50)	24.6 (87)	32.8 (113)
Number of Cases	260	353	344
2004			
Agree	89.1 (180)	89.8 (477)	78.1 (434)
Disagree	10.9 (22)	10.2 (54)	21.9 (122)
Number of Cases	202	531	556
2005			
Agree	93.7 (192)	87.1 (366)	75.9 (333)
Disagree	6.3 (13)	12.9 (54)	24.1 (106)
Number of Cases	205	420	439

Note: Column percentages on top followed by corresponding frequencies in parentheses.

Data Sources:

1. *The Study on “National Identity” and “National Security”* (the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University in Taiwan, 2002).
2. *The 2004 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2004).
3. *The 2005 Taiwan National Security Survey* (the Program in Asian Security Studies at Duke University, 2005).