

Mobile Horizons

Dynamics across the Taiwan Strait



Edited by Wen-hsin Yeh

CHINA RESEARCH MONOGRAPH 69

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Wen-hsin Yeh, editor

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Mobile Horizons

Dynamics across the Taiwan Strait

Edited by Wen-hsin Yeh



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Acknowledgments

WEN-HSIN YEH

This volume is the result of a three-year writing project that aims to explore the non-state dimensions of cross-Strait interactions over the course of the past sixty years. The essays are also written with a general audience in mind. Earlier drafts were presented at several workshops at the Institute of East Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley and at the Institute of Political Studies at the Academia Sinica. All participants in the “Mobile Horizons” programs join me in extending special and warm thanks to my counterpart in Taipei, Dr. Wu Yu-shan, along with Academia Sinica President Dr. Wong Chi-huey, Vice President Dr. Liu Chao-han, and Vice President Dr. Wang Fan-sen.

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of the Berkeley chapter of Strait Talk, a non-partisan and student-run dialogue program that seeks to transform international conflict by connecting young people from both sides of the Taiwan Strait and the United States.

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Introduction

Of War and Peace: History and Perspectives

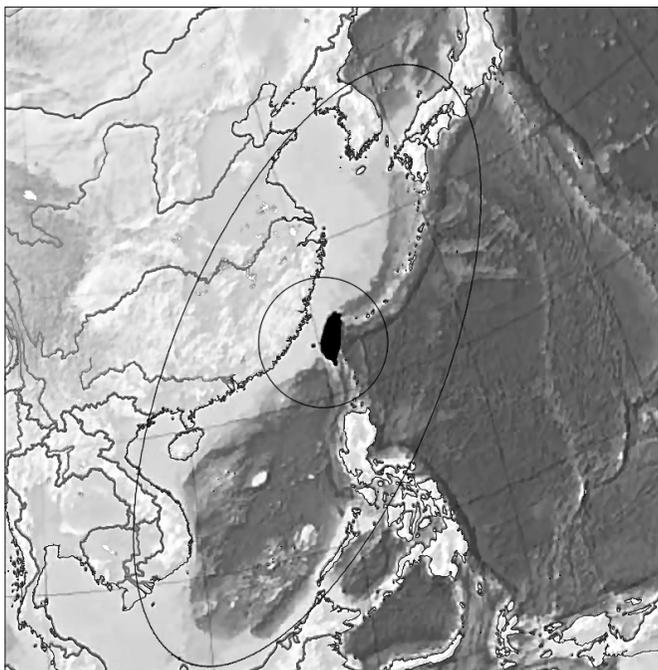
WEN-HSIN YEH

What is the Taiwan Strait and why does it matter? As a starting point for this volume, it is useful to recognize the Strait as a strategic maritime channel linking a chain of ports from the Strait of Malacca to the Sea of Japan, connecting vast bodies of water flowing between the Indian and the Pacific oceans (map 0.1).

We do not know how these connections might have functioned in ancient times, but it is evident that they mattered. The genetic code of Taiwan's "indigenous people" of today, for instance, gives evidence that Taiwan was a navigational link when ancient people made passages along the western Pacific archipelago. In the sixteenth century, European sailors found their way to Japan by way of Taiwan.¹ Today, oil tankers sail through this region to deliver the energy supply of East Asian economies. The Taiwan Strait commands a strategic importance in a globalized economy.

Well before the Europeans arrived, the Chinese, Japanese, and other traders crisscrossed the East China Sea to call on ports stretching from Nagasaki 長崎 to the Philippines. The first decades of the seventeenth century witnessed much maritime activity in these waters, thanks to the momentous convergence of East Asian and Indian Ocean trade routes spearheaded by the Europeans. The fall of the Ming in 1644 and the ensuing Qing (1644–1911) conquest of coastal China further spurred Ming loyalists

¹ For the earlier history of Taiwan, see Michael Stainton, "The Politics of Taiwan Aboriginal Origins," 27–44; and Eduard B. Vermeer, "Up the Mountains and Out to Sea: The Expansion of the Fukienese in the Late Ming Period," 45–83, both in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1994). See also John E. Wills, "Zheng Chenggong," in *Mountain of Fame: Portraits in Chinese History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 216–230; and Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).



Map 0.1 Taiwan and Maritime East Asia. *Source:* Wikipedia Commons/Public Domain.



Map 0.2 Taiwan in the Chinese World. *Source:* Wikipedia Commons/Public Domain.

to sea in search of a maritime base of resistance.² Against this backdrop Taiwan became a naval base for Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (Koxinga 鄭成功), who sailed from the southern Fujian 金門 port of Jinmen 金門 at the head of a large fleet and forced the Dutch to surrender their fort in Zeelandia.³

In the following centuries cross-Strait connections strengthened. Taiwan fell under Qing administration. Buoyed by a steady flow of trade and migration with the mainland, the island prospered, and even the hills came under cultivation.⁴ Camphor, tea, and sugar were large items on the export list.⁵ Han immigrants brought their mainland dialects, temples, kinship networks, ancestral shrines, and market towns.⁶ The trading of the island's natural resources, from fish to coal and timber, transformed its coastal villages into the most commercialized settlements in the Qing empire toward the end of the nineteenth century.⁷ On the eve of the Qing concession of Taiwan, the island was no longer a maritime frontier but a well-integrated part of the Chinese world (map 0.2).

Qing governance of Taiwan ended in 1895. Up to that point and within the framework of the Chinese-speaking world, there were two patterns of interactions across the Strait. The Strait had functioned as a natural barrier, and the island as an unsinkable base for hostile forces warring against mainland political authorities. Hidden in its mountains were the untamed forces of aborigine tribes that did not speak the language of the civilized people. Yet, once pacified, the Strait could also function as a thoroughfare of multiple waterways and the island as a maritime trading post, a

² For an early modern vision of the maritime nexus of Fujian-Taiwan and the region's orientations, see John E. Wills, "Contingent Connections: Fujian, the Empire and the Early Modern World," in *The Qing Formation in World Historical Time*, ed. Lynn Struve (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 167–241.

³ For the various bibliographical sources in Chinese scholarship for the preceding paragraphs, see, in this volume, Wen-hsin Yeh, "A Quiet Revolution: Oppositional Politics and the Writing of Taiwanese History."

⁴ Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004). See also Liu Ts'ui-jung, "Han Migration and the Settlement of Taiwan: The Onset of Environmental Change," in *Sediments of Time: Environment and Society in Chinese History*, ed. Mark Elvin and Ts'ui-jung Liu (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 165–202; and John Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993).

⁵ Lin Manhoung, *Cha, tang, zhangnao ye yu wan Qing Taiwan* [Tea, sugar, and camphor in late Qing Taiwan] (Taipei: Lianjing chuban she, 1997).

⁶ Chen Qinan, *Taiwan de chuantong Zhongguo shehui* [The traditional Chinese society in Taiwan] (Taipei: Yunchen chuban she, 1991).

⁷ Stevan Harrell, *Ploughshare Village: Culture and Context in Taiwan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982).

ONE

What Drives the Cross-Strait Rapprochement?

*Political Competition, Globalization,
and the Strategic Triangle*

YU-SHAN WU AND LOWELL DITTMER

The rapprochement between Taiwan and mainland China since the inauguration of President Ma Ying-jeou has its roots in three driving forces: domestic political competition in the three countries most directly affected by the cross-Strait relationship, globalization and economic imperatives, and the strategic triangle. These forces have converged to push Taipei and Beijing to moderate their cross-Strait policies. However, the three forces also impose constraints on further improvement of ties. The following discussion will deal with these three forces sequentially.

Domestic Politics

China

Beijing's Taiwan policy under Jiang Zemin veered sharply from the early period of optimism and faith in the political efficacy of mutually profitable economic exchanges and political dialogue in the early 1990s to a coercive strategy after the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1995–1996. This strategy was marked by the withdrawal of the "1992 consensus" in favor of an uncompromising "one China principle" as a prerequisite for further negotiation, a vigorous (and often successful) campaign to solicit recognition from the nearly thirty states that then recognized Taipei rather than Beijing diplomatically, the strengthening of offensive forces along the Fujian coast (notably a continuing buildup of short-range missiles targeting the island), and the periodic public announcement of threats to use force if Taiwan did not enter into negotiations by some vaguely defined deadline.

TWO

Redefining “China”

From the China Inside to the China Outside

SHELLEY RIGGER

In early 2011, Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeou hosted a tea party for officials of his government. At the party Ma made a perplexing request: he asked the officials not to refer to the People’s Republic of China as “China” (Zhongguo 中國). Instead, he said, they should call it “the other side” (*dui’an* 對岸), “the mainland” (*dalu* 大陸), or “mainland China” (Zhongguo *dalu* 中國大陸). Even more surprising was the reaction to his remark. Ma’s political opponents lambasted his lexical nit-picking as an attack on Taiwan’s sovereignty. A *Liberty Times* editorial claimed the president’s words exposed him as a closet extremist: “Ma Ying-jeou catered to mainstream voters before the election, but he’s now revealed his true colors!”¹ And the head of Taiwan’s main opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), scolded Ma for neglecting his duty to “protect our sovereignty, not engage in self-diminishment.”²

Taiwan has no shortage of teapots or tempests, but this particular tempest at a tea party is singularly difficult for outsiders to fathom. Why in the world would President Ma ask his subordinates not to call China, China? And how is “Please say ‘mainland China’” a violation of Taiwan’s national sovereignty? People not steeped in the minutiae of Taiwanese politics can be forgiven for wondering what the fuss was all about.

For those who *are* schooled in the island’s esoteric political debates, it is hard not to see Ma’s tea party gaffe as a case of too little, too late. If anything, the effort to differentiate between “the PRC” and “China”

¹ “Ma Ying-jeou Gives Away Taiwan’s Sovereignty to China!” [Taiwan zhuquan yi bei Ma Yingjiu fengsong Zhongguo le!], *Liberty Times online*, February 9, 2011, available at <http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2011/new/feb/9/today-s1.htm>.

² “Calling the Other Side ‘Mainland’: Tsai Ying-wen Says the President’s Not the MAC Chair” [Cheng duian wei dalu: Cai Yingwen: Zongtong fei luweihu zhuxi], *Newtalk.tw*, February 8, 2011, available at http://newtalk.tw/news_read.php?oid=11875.

THREE

Shifting Frontiers

Cross-Strait Relations in the Context of Local Society

MICHAEL SZONYI

The phrase “mobile horizons” in the title of this book is intended to convey the sense that the very limits or frontiers of what is possible in cross-Strait relations are changing. “Mobile horizons” also suggests one consequence of this shifting of frontiers: places that were once enormously distant from one another, far away over the horizon, suddenly seem very close. Nowhere is this more true than in the small island archipelago of Kinmen (also known as Jinmen or Quemoy 金門).¹ Although at present the island is governed by the Republic of China (ROC), Kinmen is geographically much closer to the mainland than to Taiwan (map 3.1). From the beaches of Kinmen one can easily see the skyscrapers of the mainland city of Xiamen; Taiwan is more than a hundred miles distant. But for much of the last sixty years, despite the physical proximity of Kinmen and Xiamen, the two places were for all intents and purposes worlds apart, impossibly distant in political, ideological, and practical terms. To give just one example, on October 17, 1949, a young Kinmen man named Wu Caisang was sent by his mother to Xiamen on what should have been a routine errand to buy cooking oil. By the time he had completed his task that afternoon, ferry service had been cut off. Stranded in Xiamen, he was unable to communicate with Kinmen even by letter or phone for decades. It was more than forty years before he was able to return home from his errand, and then only via a roundabout route through Hong Kong and Taipei.² Of course,

For comments on earlier drafts of this paper, I am grateful to Jiang Bowei, Nathan Batto, and the participants in the Mobile Horizons workshops. I thank Wang Xiaoxuan for providing research assistance for this paper.

¹In keeping with current usage by the county government, I use “Kinmen” when referring to the island. I use the proper pinyin romanization, “Jinmen,” when transliterating the name from Chinese sources.

² Yang Shuqing, *Jinmen daoyu bianyuan* [Kinmen island margins] (Taipei: Daotian, 2001), 5.

FOUR

Underground at Sea

Fishing and Smuggling across the Taiwan Strait, 1970s–1990s

MICAH S. MUSCOLINO

Introduction

Following Ma Ying-jeou's 馬英九 election as the Republic of China's (ROC) president in March 2008 on a platform of improving ties with the People's Republic of China (PRC), an array of direct links between Taiwan and China came into existence. After nearly six decades without legal travel and trade across the Strait, the opening of these connections marked a historic breakthrough in cross-Strait relations.¹ Yet direct maritime links existed between Taiwan and mainland China long before these recent agreements, as goods and people flowed across the Strait on an underground basis. Even before martial law ended and tourists from Taiwan could visit the mainland in 1987, people from Taiwan and China engaged in economic exchanges through a complex web of smuggling networks.

Since ancient times, Taiwan and coastal southeast China have made up parts of Maritime China, a dynamic system of maritime commerce composed of fishers, merchants, and other seafarers.² The fundamental features of this world form a bond between Taiwan and China's southeast coast, particularly Fujian Province. Ecologically, coastal residents inhabit

¹ Weekend flights across the Taiwan Strait got underway in July 2008, followed in December by daily charter flights, direct postal and shipping links, and chartered cargo flights (Mark McDonald, "China and Taiwan Restore Direct Air Links," *The New York Times*, December 15, 2008, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/16/world/asia/16taiwan.html>).

² On the premodern history of Maritime China, see John K. Fairbank, "Introduction: Maritime and Continental in China's History," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, *Republican China, 1912–1949*, part 1, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–27.

The Religious Dynamics of Region and Nation across the Strait

ROBERT P. WELLER

The twentieth century brought massive changes in the ways that people in China and Taiwan thought about the nature of religion and of the state, and of the relation between the two. Taiwan and the mainland (especially the southeast coastal regions) began with similar cultural and social resources, and both were drawn into the whirlpool of global modernity and its assumptions of separated church and state. Yet a vast political gulf divided the two places for all but four years of the century, and this also had a powerful effect on religious possibilities. In this essay I examine the relative importance of these various influences in shaping religious situations that seemed remarkably different in the 1970s but seem just as remarkably similar today. In particular, I will discuss how the political differences apparently had enormous short-term consequences but have been far less significant in the long term than the combination of a shared regional cultural legacy and shared global influences.

Given the enormous political and policy differences between mainland China and Taiwan—a totalitarian China and a corporatist Taiwan until the late 1970s, and a corporatist China and democratic Taiwan after the late 1980s—how has the religious situation in both places ended up so similar? To understand this, I will turn to three kinds of relationship that worked across the Taiwan Strait. First, enormous global pressures affected both sides of the Strait even under very different political regimes. Perhaps the most important of these for religion was the globally hegemonic idea in the first half of the twentieth century that religion should be separated from both the state and the rest of society, that is, that modernity required secularity. More recently, as I will discuss, globalization has influenced religious development indirectly in both Taiwan and mainland China through the shared pressures of a market-based economy and an idea that social organizations should take over significant amounts of responsibility for social welfare. Second, direct contacts across the Strait were reopened

Mobilizing Gender in Cross-Strait Marriages

*Patrilineal Tensions, Care Work Expectations,
and a Dependency Model of Marital Immigration*

SARA L. FRIEDMAN

Histories of family formation across the Taiwan Strait date to the seventeenth century when large-scale permanent Chinese migrations to Taiwan began. Movement across the Strait, especially between Fujian and Taiwan, created opportunities to migrate for work and study, to find spouses from different communities, and to adopt children from afar. These flows of people continued until the late nineteenth century when Taiwan came under Japanese rule (1895–1945) and the colonial government cut off immigration from the mainland. Cross-Strait mobility resumed with Nationalist control over the island in 1945, only to be blocked once again when the Nationalist government fled to Taiwan in 1949 after its defeat by the Communists. Cross-Strait ties remained frozen for nearly forty years until official relations were reinstated in 1987, and only then did people gradually begin to travel again across the Strait. Until recently, the vast majority of that movement was unidirectional—from Taiwan to China—for tourism, business investment, and, increasingly, education and professional

I am grateful to Wen-hsin Yeh for inviting me to participate in the Mobile Horizons project, and I thank the project participants for their helpful comments on previous drafts. Antonia Chao, Brenda Weber, and Li Zhang also provided valuable feedback that has made this a much stronger piece. This chapter is based on nearly two years of nonconsecutive ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Taiwan and China between 2003 and 2011. Support for the project came from the National Science Foundation (#BCS-0612679), the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation. My greatest thanks go to the many people in Taiwan and China—immigrants, citizens, bureaucrats, officials, NGO workers, and activists—who gave generously of their time and energy to educate me about their experiences, concerns, and aspirations.

Global Business across the Taiwan Strait

The Case of the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company Limited

WILLIAM C. KIRBY

One early morning in December 2008, Morris Chang, the founder and chairman of Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company Limited (TSMC), was preparing his monthly management team meeting at company headquarters in the Hsinchu Science Park near Taipei. Chang had led the firm to become the world's largest dedicated semiconductor manufacturer ("foundry"), a truly global company based in Taiwan. Chang now had to ponder the future of TSMC's development in China, the world's second-largest market for semiconductors. Chang and his colleagues had spent more than four years evaluating China before building a fabrication plant in Shanghai in 2004. Their business on the mainland, however, had not grown quite as they had expected. Chinese semiconductor design companies, the major clients for a foundry like TSMC, were yet to be substantially competitive in the global market. Political constraints from Taiwan and elsewhere limited the company's capacity to apply leading-edge technologies there. Talent was more than abundant in China—with hundreds of thousands of engineers graduating every year—but hiring, training, and retaining them had become a challenge to TSMC managers, and they were not allowed to work in the firm's main facilities in Taiwan.

Meanwhile, Chang was facing a very different industry landscape from the one to which he had become accustomed. The semiconductor industry was projected to grow only slightly over the next few years, down from the double-digit growth of the previous four decades. Competitors from Taiwan, Singapore, and, most recently, China, added further downward pressure on pricing as they struggled to fill idle capacity. Might China still be the missing link in TSMC's strategic road map that would help sustain the company's future growth? Would the election earlier in 2008 of a new president of the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan, Ma Ying-jeou,

Taiwanese Newspapers and Politics in China's Shadow

TIMOTHY B. WESTON

At the conclusion of the hot phase of the civil war between the Nationalist Party (or Guomindang; GMD) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949, the governments of the Republic of China (ROC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) each established thoroughgoing control over the news media in their respective zone. These they transformed into propaganda apparatuses that, in combination with schools, party organizations, and other institutions through which official messages were communicated to the population, bolstered the power of the two regimes. It naturally follows that the news media has been a primary shaper of the understandings that people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait have had of one another and of cross-Strait relations across time.

This chapter focuses on the Taiwanese newspaper industry since 1949. Though newspapers are in decline in Taiwan today, as they are the world over, historically they were a highly influential cultural form that, in the Taiwanese case, may be fruitfully studied to gain insight into the ways that the creation of knowledge about and the dissemination of information on the PRC have been shaped by the ongoing existential threat it has posed to the ROC. Newspapers have been front and center in post-1949 domestic Taiwanese politics, with regard to the questions during the martial law era of who controlled them for what purpose and who had the legitimate right to control them, and, since the lifting of martial law in 1987, the ways they have been implicated in partisan politics by their almost uniform tendency to stake out hard-line positions in support of either the GMD or the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).

In the pages that follow I explore the place where these two points have intersected, that is, the way Taiwan's most important newspapers' coverage of China and cross-Strait relations has consistently been politicized within a historically shifting domestic Taiwanese political context. In each of four chronologically organized sections—the martial law period; the

NINE

Complex Characters

Relearning Taiwan

THOMAS B. GOLD

In late June 2011, the first free independent tourists from mainland China arrived in Taiwan.¹ Although package tours, which began in 2008, had already brought some 2.3 million mainland tourists to the island in groups, the opportunity to travel on one's own signaled yet another shift in the mobile horizon of cross-Strait relations. Taiwanese had been visiting the mainland for tourism and business for more than two decades, with an estimated more than one million residing there full time, but very few mainland Chinese had had a comparable opportunity to unpack their bags and absorb the daily rhythms of life on the island, make friends, learn firsthand about the assumptions and aspirations of the people of Taiwan, or experience the functioning of its institutions.² Extended and extensive travels on Taiwan are likely to challenge many of the things mainland Chinese take for granted about its society as well as about their own system, verities learned from their formal education as well as official propaganda. These include oversimplified generalizations about the people of Taiwan yearning for political unification with the mainland, and the denigration of claims of a unique "Taiwan consciousness" and "Taiwan identity" as fabrications by separatist elements on the island aimed at sabotaging the inevitable movement to unification. The impressions that these visitors carry back with them might, over the medium and long term, have a significant impact on the future evolution of relations between the two sides at the societal and governmental levels.

¹ This paragraph draws on Jens Kastner, "Taiwan Shocks China's Independent Tourists," *Asia Times*, July 6, 2011, available at www.atimes.com/atimes/China/MG06Ad01.html [accessed July 29, 2011]. See also Andrew Jacobs, "As Chinese Visit Taiwan, the Cultural Influence Is Subdued," *The New York Times*, August 11, 2011, A4.

² Sara Friedman's chapter in this volume examines a unique group, mainland brides.

TEN

A Quiet Revolution

Oppositional Politics and the Writing of Taiwanese History

WEN-HSIN YEH

Among the many arguments that have been advanced concerning the democratization of Taiwan, one point stands out as being of particular interest to historians. Democracy on Taiwan, referred to sometimes as a “quiet revolution” (*ningjing geming* 寧靜革命), has much to do with Taiwan’s separateness from China—so goes the argument—and Taiwan cannot be part of China because the island has a history separate and distinct from that of the Chinese mainland. This separate history endows the people of Taiwan with an identity, which in turn provides the foundation for an awakening to their subjectivity. Once this occurs, their preferences cannot but lead naturally to a demand for autonomy from Chinese dominance, either in the form of Nationalist Chinese governance by the mainlanders or a prospective unification with China under the Communists. This demand is imperative and necessary, because it redeems the island from the disgrace of colonization, to which it was subjected for more than a generation. Democracy on Taiwan is not just about politics but also about the dignity of the people and their assertion of a denied sense of self and identity. Democracy is the intellectual awakening that marks Taiwan’s modernity—its people coming to awareness of their hitherto suppressed true destiny.

It is remarkable, within this line of reasoning, how the writing of a *real* history is bound up with the construction of an *authentic* identity in the effort to assert Taiwan’s *right* place in the world. For the advancement of democracy, books on history about Taiwan would have to be written anew. The new writings would need to be centered on the real experiences of the people of Taiwan, that is, the experiences of those Taiwanese who have been colonized, not their colonizers from the mainland. A new history of Taiwan in that regard would draw distinctions between a Taiwan that is *in here* and a Chinese mainland that is *out there*. It would also

Glossary

ai wode jia cai keyi ai wode Zhongguo	愛我的家才可以愛我的中國
Baiquan	白犬
bangongshi	辦公室
baojin	報禁
baozheng ren	保證人
bashi niandai	八十年代
beibei	伯伯
benshengren	本省人
bentu hua	本土化
buyong	不用
Cai Huiru	蔡惠如
cai you dao guowai lai	才有到國外來
Chang Kuo-ying	張國英
Changle	長樂
Chen Baoshen	陳寶琛
Chen Changwen	陳長文
Chen Shui-bian	陳水扁
Chiang Ching-kuo	蔣經國
Chiang Kai-shek	蔣介石
Chou Hsien-kuang	周憲光
Chuang Heng-tai	莊亨岱
chubanfa	出版法
Chunfeng	春風
Ciji	慈濟
dagong mei	打工妹
dalü	大陸
dalü ban	大陸版
dalü xinniàng	大陸新娘
dalü xinwen baodao de rechao	大陸新聞報導的熱潮

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What is the Taiwan Strait and why does it matter? The contributors to this volume argue that cross-Strait issues are both pressing subjects in contemporary politics and opportunities to reveal new vistas of scholarship covering China-Taiwan studies. Their research examines the dynamics of cross-Strait exchanges in national, regional, local, and transnational contexts, engaging with the arenas of culture, society, economy, and politics. The actors in these essays range from coastal fishermen, mainland brides, local councilmen, religious pilgrims, revisionist historians, political activists, newspaper professionals, and American students to policy makers and billionaire executives.

Without marginalizing the role of the state, this volume argues that cross-Strait relationships involve non-state actors who act on norms and expectations of the past and the present—remembered as well as reconstructed—and on local as well as international levels. These relations are, further, concerned with issues of identity and interest. Only by taking into full account the shifting alignment of these interactions can one place the actions of the states in context.

Mobile Horizons offers a valuable snapshot of what established experts and younger scholars are thinking about Taiwan and cross-Strait relations today.

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