

# NEW SOUTHBOUND POLICY AS TAIWAN STRATEGY TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

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## **Abstract**

*Recently, the Republic of China (Taiwan) as a small developed country is debated lots in International Relations studies. This kind of debate occurs because of some aspects like politics, economy, social – culture, development, and some other things and issues that Taiwan have. One of the best debate is about the difficulties that Taiwan faced to be recognized by the other states. Moreover, after the People's Republic of China established the One China Policy which made all of the states had to choose the diplomatic relations with Taiwan or Mainland China even some states change their direction to Mainland China. However, the existence of "New Southbound Policy" which established by Tsai Ing-Wen saw can help them to attract the other states especially Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Australasia countries. Thus, this thesis aims to find out and analyze the strategy and the effectivity of "New Southbound Policy" which ran by Taiwan in the administration of Tsai Ing-Wen to gain the international recognition from any other states. As a hypothesis, the writer believes in this kind of situation Taiwan use the economic interdependence to get the attention and maintain the relations with the other states. Then, in this thesis, the methods that the writer will use are the paper or journal analysis and also some scientific experiment which makes this thesis becoming more evident.*

## Introduction

The Republic of China (ROC) or usually called as Taiwan is a state located on the East China Sea in East Asia. It is neighboring with the People's Republic of China in the west, Japan in the northeast, and the Philippines in the south side of Taiwan. Taiwan has a very rapid growth in term of economy. The nominal of GDP per capita that Taiwan has is \$50,300 which positioning its economy in 28th place from 229 countries around the world. However, on the other hand, Taiwan has its difficulties and still struggling to gain and maintain international recognition by the other states.

International recognition which means here is the acknowledgment of act or status of a state by other existing states. Recently, international recognition is becoming one of the main issues that always become a great debate in the Republic of China (Taiwan). The total amount of states that recognize Taiwan as independent states and have diplomatic relations with them are only 17 countries around the world, and it is seen always decreasing from time to time.<sup>1</sup> On June 2017 there was a very shocking and disappointing action that did by the Republic of Panama. It was the cut of their official diplomatic relations with Taiwan and switch it with the diplomatic relations for mainland China. Moreover, in 2018 there are already three countries cut their diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Dominican Republic, Burkina Faso, and El Salvador are those three countries that cut their diplomatic relations with Taiwan in favor of establishing formal diplomatic ties with mainland China. However, on the other hand, Taiwan still has a considerable number of cooperations and partnerships with other states.

It is a fascinating topic to discuss because there are lots of unique things behind the strategy that Taiwan had especially under the administration of Tsai Ing-Wen. Even if there are lots of countries that recognize the mainland China and not with Taiwan, they still maintain good relations with Taiwan by any partnerships and cooperations that they have, and it is seen as a very significant strategy that runs by Taiwan to always attract and in relations with their alliance. One of the most

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan). (2018, March 19). *Policies and Issues*. Retrieved from Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of China (Taiwan): <https://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/AlliesIndex.aspx?n=DF6F8F246049F8D6&sms=A76B7230ADF29736>

significant strategies that Tsai Ing-Wen have nowadays to attract and maintain their relations with the other states is with the establishment of "New Southbound Policy." Because of that, in this thesis, I would like to elaborate on the "New Southbound Policy" as a strategy that Taiwan pursue in order to gain international recognition from the other states. In this thesis, I also would like to explain the reason for Taiwan conducting "New Southbound Policy" as their strategy to gain international recognition from the other states.

### **Research Question**

How the Republic of China (Taiwan) run the "New Southbound Policy" as a strategy to gain international recognition in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Australasia countries?

### **Theoretical Frameworks**

In order to answer the research question above and as the guide of writing, this undergraduate thesis will use one theory and one concept. It is the theory of interdependence and the concept of multilateral cooperation. Theory of interdependence will be the primary tool to analyze and elaborate on the effectivity of "New Southbound Policy" as a strategy to gain international recognition in 18 NSP countries. Then, the concept of cooperation will support the theory of interdependence in case of the establishment of "New Southbound Policy."

#### **A. Economic Interdependence Theory**

Interdependence theory is a theory which born from the liberalist perspectives. Interdependence between states occurs because of the cooperations that two or more states do. The cooperations that both states or more do establish an interdependence situation between both states where they need each other.

According to Baldwin, the economic interdependence separated into two. The first one is the situations where one country's economic condition influence other countries economic condition in the same group or on the same continent.

Moreover, it is known as the sensitivity interdependence. The second one is the interdependence or usually known as vulnerability interdependence. It is a condition where one country is hard to be separated from other countries and make them becoming dependent on each other.

## **B. The Concept of Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation**

Cooperation is one of the most critical aspects of international relations. It is becoming essential because states need to cooperate in order to achieve their national interest. A state will not be able to develop their state if they work alone without any cooperation. A state will always need another state for working together because one state has different potencies with another state and it can be helpful for another state to develop their country.

Bilateral cooperation is cooperation between the two states. Bilateral cooperation also defined as cooperation that did by a state with another specific state. In the other way to say, bilateral cooperation is cooperation that held by only two states. Bilateral cooperation can be run in many aspects, for example economic, politics, socio-culture, and others. Except for doing bilateral cooperation between states, it is also critical for them to have bilateral agreement to rule the cooperation between both states which involved.

Multilateral cooperation is cooperation between two states or more which not be limited by a particular region or area. Multilateral cooperation will create a multilateral agreement between member countries. The agreement usually rule something related with the general interests, which means it is not only ruling the interest of a country who held that but also ruling the other countries.

## **Hypothesis**

Taiwan runs the "New Southbound Policy" as a strategy to gain international recognition in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Australasia countries by:

1. Expand mutual exchanges in the fields of trade, investment, talent, and culture.
2. Develop more human resources to support the NSP.
3. Encourage Taiwan's industry to adopt New Southbound Policy approach to develop their business.
4. Expand bilateral and multilateral negotiations to develop economic cooperation and resolve problems.

### **Research Methodology**

The research methodology that used for conducting this research is qualitative methodology. One of the techniques is by doing library research. The data of analysis can be gained from books, journals, articles, and news. Then, the collected data will be used to analyze the issue. Then, this research will also use content analysis as a second method of research for analyzing secondary data. It is used by analyzing the content of a political leader statement, text, and speech. It will also use the comparative case studies to analyze the effectivity and the success of New Southbound Policy compared with the other strategy that has been done by Taiwan.

### **Taiwan History and The Cause of Taiwan's Struggle in Issue of International Recognition**

#### **A. Dutch Colonialization**

The island of Formosa was already colonialized in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by the Dutch. After they conquer Taiwan, the Dutch develop the agricultural condition and latent potential for improving their economic growth. To exploit that potential, Dutch placed 600 officials on Formosa which backed by 2,000 troops. They built forts of Zeelandia and Provintia in Southern part of Formosa which nowadays called as Tainan. The Dutch utilized Fort Provintia to expand their territorial and created other farms on Southern Formosa.

Responding to the action of the Dutch in Formosa island, the original people of Formosa which are Aborigines sometimes did fight back to the Dutch to hold

their lands. However, it was never successful because the advance forces and guns that the Dutch had was not equal compared with Aborigines forces which only used bows and arrows to fight the Dutch. Because of that, lots of Aborigines forced to moved and found another place that did not occupy yet by the Dutch.

### **B. Zheng Family Administration**

In the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a person from Ming Dynasty named Zheng Chenggong and usually called as Koxinga, a son of Zheng Zhilong's who lost his power in Mainland China came to Formosa. Zheng Chenggong had a purpose of controlling Formosa because it was an adequate place for re-establishing his power.

To take control over Formosa Zheng Chenggong, and his followers did a very great plan. They made it very patiently. Firstly, Zheng Chenggong tried to strengthen the relations with the Dutch in order to decrease the suspicion of the Dutch. He also waited for the Dutch patiently to think if their navel is more important to be placed in the other places and decrease the number of naval forces which protected the island. After he thinks if it is the time for them to attack, in April 1661, he led and commanded 25.000 forces to attack the Dutch in Penghu.<sup>2</sup> Then, they took over Fort Provintia and Fort Zeelandia. On February 1662 Zheng Chenggong and his followers successfully defeated the Dutch and formally control Formosa. He built an operation base in Formosa. However, in 1683 Zheng family and his army defeated by Qing Dynasty.

### **C. Qing Dynasty Administration**

The defeat of the Zheng family with Qing dynasty made several regions in Formosa, or Taiwan became more integrated with Qing dynasty. Taiwan and Penghu were the parts of Fujian province. Taiwan became a strategic island for Qing dynasty to secure and protect Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Jiangsu. However, the conflict between Aborigines and Han Chinese in Formosa still become a complicated issue for Qing dynasty.

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<sup>2</sup> Davison, G. M. (2003). *A Short History of Taiwan: The Case for Independence*. Westport: Praeger.

#### **D. Japanese Colonialization**

After the end of Sino-Japanese war in 1895 Qing dynasty hand over Formosa and Penghu Islands to the Japanese Empire. Taiwan once again moved to the hand of another entity which is Japan. The control of Liaodong peninsula of Manchuria will be taken by the Meiji empire (Japan), as did the island of Taiwan and Penghu. Japan saw Taiwan as a place where it can serve lots of raw materials for Japan's industries. Taiwan also seen can be a market for Japanese goods. It was also seen as a strategic island for Japan to secure the Southern part of Japan. Taiwan which at that time was a place for produced rice and sugar utilized by the Japanese empire.

However, after the Cairo Conference in 1943 and the surrender of Japan in the Asia-Pacific War, the Allies power agreed that Taiwan would be governed by Kuomintang which representing the Republic of China. In 1945, after the end of world war II, the Republic of China which at that time ruled by the Kuomintang Party took control over Taiwan.

#### **E. Kuomintang Party Administration**

The gave up of Japan in World War II was also seen as the success of Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Kuomintang Party which ruled the Republic of China since 1936. Chiang Kai-shek thought if the defeat of Japan should also be followed by the defeat of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which lead by Mao Zedong who targeted to take control over China and replaced Kuomintang Party and they would destroy the one who opposed them.<sup>3</sup>

In the middle of 1947, the Chinese Communist Party made a massive attack to central, east, and north China. The year passed, and the Kuomintang tried to have internal reformation to stabilize the condition. However, it was failed because there were lots of corrupt cases in officials and the worst condition of their military in Manchuria and north China. The crisis that happened with Kuomintang utilized by CCP very well. At the beginning of 1949, the Chinese Communist Party

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<sup>3</sup> Lynch, M. (2010). *The Chinese Civil War 1945-49*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing.

successfully conquered Beijing and in the following months, the city of Nanking also conquered by the CCP.

Moreover, after all of their success in conquered lots of important region, Mao Zedong, the leader of Chinese Communist Party proclaimed the establishment of People's Republic of China on October 1949 with Beijing as the capital city. The Kuomintang Party forced to moved to Formosa Island or Taiwan.

Started from that point, the political instability of Taiwan happened. In 1979, the United States made a very memorable moved toward Taiwan by the cut off the formal diplomatic ties with the Republic of China (Taiwan) and recognized People's Republic of China. Domino effect indeed happened with the other major countries around the world because the actions that did by the United States, Japan, and the United Nations. Lots of major countries around the world cut their diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan) and switched it with diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Thus, since at that time, Taiwan faced a massive problem regarding international recognition and legitimacy.

### **Taiwan's Effort to Gain The International Recognition**

#### **A. Dollar Diplomacy**

Dollar Diplomacy is a strategy used by Taiwan to maintain its relations and international recognition from other countries. Dollar diplomacy is a strategy that usually did by lots of countries to financial aid or helps another country in order to make that country becoming dependent on the country that gave the aid. Then, by making them dependent it means if that country will be challenging to walk alone without any aid or help from another country. Dollar diplomacy usually targeted for economically fragile countries that need helps to develop their countries.

Until recent years, there are several amounts of countries that still give mutual international recognition because of Taiwan's dollar diplomacy. For example, it is what happened with Saint Lucia and Nicaragua that gave their official international recognition to Taiwan because of the dollar diplomacy that Taiwan's did.

## **B. Convert Diplomacy**

Convert diplomacy is a strategy which has a purpose of maintaining the relations with the other countries by converting the official diplomatic relations that they had before into unofficial diplomatic relations after the cut of diplomatic ties happened. It is targeted to the countries which cut their diplomatic relation with Taiwan and switched it with the diplomatic relation with the People's Republic of China in order to be still in touch and relations with those countries.

The real example of convert diplomacy that Taiwan's do is the existence of Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Offices and Taipei Economic and Trade Offices around the world. Recently, there are more than 100 representatives of Taiwan in other countries around the world. For example is what exist in Indonesia. There are two Taiwan Economic and Trade Offices. The existence of that two offices are not only for conducting the partnership between Indonesia and Taiwan, but that also replaces the embassy that they do not have because Indonesia recognizes the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China rather than the sovereignty of Taiwan.

## **C. Soft Power Diplomacy**

One of their most significant achievement that could be the real example of their soft power diplomacy was the establishment of "Chinese Taipei" in 1979. The Kuomintang party was successfully negotiating to be involved and participated in International Olympic Committee activities with the name "Chinese Taipei."

Another soft power diplomacy that was still becoming the Taiwan strategy to gain international attention is the existence of any representative offices of Taiwan that spread around the world. The representative offices that exist until now are coming from the various aspect, but mostly from economic, trade, and cultural partnerships. All of those representative offices help Taiwan to be known by lots of people. By those offices, the information about Taiwan can be spread around the world. People around the world will understand the differences between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China so that they can differentiate both Taiwan and

the People's Republic of China. From that representative offices, the society that spread in lots of countries will know Taiwan better in lots of aspect such as economically, historically, and culturally.

#### **D. Public Diplomacy**

Public diplomacy itself can be defined as a process of communication between the government of a state toward the public all over the world. That kind of communication has purposes of giving the understanding about that country, their characteristics, institutions, culture, national interest, and any policy that takes by that country. Public diplomacy also is seen as an effort to improve the quality of communication between a state with people around the world.

In the case of Taiwan, public diplomacy was also becoming an essential and excellent tool for them to attract other people in worldwide attention. In 2011, the Council of Cultural Affairs of the Republic of China designed and promoted the "Say Taiwan!" tagline. It was created to encourage and increase the amount of inbound traffic of visitors to Taiwan.<sup>4</sup> The tagline of "Say Taiwan!" encouraged all of Taiwan foreign visitors to live with local families and then make their stories based on their experiences and impressions toward Taiwan on social media sites. Thus, the tagline of "Say Taiwan!" has become a very great tool for Taiwan to promoted their island and attracted other people to come to Taiwan. It also became a good way for Taiwan to made other people from many different countries understand more about Taiwan in various aspect.

#### **E. Go South Policy**

Go South policy established in 1994 under the administration of Lee Teng-hui. Lee Teng-hui officially launched and introduced the Go South policy to encourage enterprises further to go south under enhanced policy coordination and resources.<sup>5</sup> The target of that policy was Southeast Asian countries and mainly

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<sup>4</sup> Rawnsley, G. D. (2014). Taiwan's Soft Power and Public Diplomacy. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 169.

<sup>5</sup> Hsu, T.-t. K. (n.d.). A Review of Taiwan's Old and New Go South Policy: An Economic Perspective. *Chung Hua Institution for Economic Research*, 65.

Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand that already became the home of many overseas operations for many of Taiwan's small private businesses.

Go South policy under the administration of Lee Teng-hui also became a policy that improves the awareness of the Southeast Asian community in Taiwan. It also helped the Taiwanese enterprises to build their business network toward Southeast Asian countries. Through cross border trade that Go South policy pursue, Go South policy contributed lots in fostering Taiwan's economic growth in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Taiwan's Go South policy also intended to redirect Taiwanese enterprises investment movement in China by encouraging and strengthening trade and investment ties with Southeast Asian countries. In the political aspect, it also enhanced their trade diplomacy and fostered their official bilateral relations with Southeast Asian countries, Australia, and New Zealand.

## **New Southbound Policy and Taiwan Cooperations and Partnerships with the “New Southbound Policy” Countries**

### **A. New Southbound Policy**

The New Southbound Policy was launched formally by Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen in the middle of 2016. After the Democratic Progressive Party which represented by Tsai Ing-wen won the presidential election, on 20th May 2016, she officially established the New Southbound Policy which already proposed by them before in September 2015. The New Southbound Policy is created as a renewal and continuation of the previous Go South policy in Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian administration.

As the continuation of the previous Go South policy, the New Southbound Policy also has several significant differences with the previous Go South policy. In term of the geographic scope of the countries that involved, the New Southbound Policy has a broader scope than the previous Go South policy. The target countries of the New Southbound Policy involving Southeast Asian countries, five South Asian countries, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Buthan.

Moreover, in the New Southbound Policy, it also includes India, Australia, and New Zealand as the NSP countries.

The New Southbound policy which initiated by President Tsai Ing-wen from the Democratic Progressive Party still purposed to diversifying the outbound investment of Taiwan away from the Mainland China into 18 New Southbound Policy countries which spread in Southeast Asian, several South Asian Countries, Australia, and New Zealand. It is also seen as an effort from Taiwan to balance the One Belt One Road Initiatives established by Mainland China.

The New Southbound Policy has several goals which can be divided into two terms. The first one is the short to mid-term goals and the second one is the long term goals of the New Southbound Policy. The short to mid-term goals of the New Southbound Policy are to cultivate the New Southbound Policy into a policy that can combines the national will matters, policy incentives, and business opportunities to foster and widen the "two-way" exchanges in the field of economic and trade relations, investment, tourism, culture, and talent which will support the New Model for Economic Development.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, on the other hand, the New Southbound Policy is also targeted to has several long term goals. The New Southbound Policy is purposed to integrate and foster links with 18 New Southbound Policy countries in the areas of economic and trade relations, technology, science, and culture to share resources, talent, and markets. Another long term goal of the New Southbound Policy is to create and established a new cooperation mode that looking for mutual benefits and win-win situations between two sides of cooperation. The New Southbound Policy also created to improving the mutual trust between states and enhancing a sense of economic community between Taiwan and other countries involved in the New Southbound Policy.

Compare with the previous Go South policy. The New Southbound Policy has four links that added in order to reflect with the global changing, sectional

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<sup>6</sup> Hsu, T.-t. K. (n.d.). A Review of Taiwan's Old and New Go South Policy: An Economic Perspective. *Chung Hua Institution for Economic Research*, 65.

economic views, and recent Taiwan's social and economic interest within 18 New Southbound Policy countries. That four links are soft power links, supply chain links, regional markets links, and people-to-people links. The idea that comes from the New Southbound Policy and the previous Go South policy always been welcome very well by non-profit organizations and educational institutions like universities.

Since the New Southbound Policy had been fully implemented in January 2017, there is a significant improvement in the past months. The number of universities and student exchanges increases and the data of tourist that come to visit Taiwan from the New Southbound Policy countries also increase. All of that shows the improvement progress of that policy.

#### **B. Taiwan Cooperations and Partnerships with New Southbound Policy Countries**

Recently, overall the New Southbound Policy already has its progress. Taiwan put their priority on export, investment, and partnership toward New Southbound Policy countries. Most of the exports and investments that Taiwan prioritize are with the ASEAN countries. During the beginning of 2016 until the middle of 2018, ASEAN countries have around 86 percent from Taiwan's export toward the New Southbound Policy countries. Thus, we can conclude, even if the scope of the New Southbound Policy is broader than the previous Go South policy, the priority of the New Southbound Policy from the administration of Tsai Ing-wen still in the hand of ASEAN. In 2017, the total of export that Taiwan sent to ASEAN countries was totaled around \$58.57 billion which means the export was increased 14.2 percent from the previous 2016. The export toward Laos alone saw an astonishing grew which is 74.5 percent from the previous year in 2016.

Moreover, the export toward Malaysia also increases 32.7 percent from the year of 2016. Even the top ten New Southbound Policy countries which become the destination of Taiwan's export, seven countries are coming from ASEAN countries. The other three countries are India which in the sixth place with 5 percent of Taiwan export, Australia in the eighth place, and Bangladesh in the ninth place.

In the case of investment, the advanced skills and techniques of Taiwanese in maritime route management and shipbuilding make several countries interested to work together with Taiwan. For example is Indonesia, some of the Indonesian officials said if Indonesia needs Taiwan's shipbuilders and want Taiwan to consider investing in Indonesia. The maritime power that Indonesia pursue need lots of help from Taiwan. Indonesia not only need the raw materials of Taiwan to establish the better maritime power of Indonesia, but Indonesia also needs the fishery equipment and techniques from Taiwan.

In another aspect besides the economy, ASEAN was also becoming the second most abundant sources of Taiwan's international students inbound after Mainland China in the first place. Most of them are 52.4 percents coming from Malaysia, around 15.4 percents coming from Indonesia, 14.2 percents are the students from Vietnam, 5.2 percents of Thai, four percents are Indian, 2.6 percents are coming from Singapore, and 6.3 percents are coming from the other New Southbound Policy target countries.<sup>7</sup> There are around 90% of all of the students who come from the New Southbound Policy countries are coming from ASEAN countries in 2016. The other 10% are mostly the inbound students that come from India. In 2017, there are more than 31.000 students from the New Southbound Policy countries that studying in Taiwan. The government also stated that the number of inbound students of Taiwan is targeted to increase 20 percent per years which means if this goal is achieved, in 2019, there will be around 58.000 students that come from the New Southbound Policy countries. Toward this target, the government of Taiwan by the Ministry of Education (MOE) increase the amount of scholarship for the New Southbound Policy countries students.

### **Conclusion**

This research has presented the history of Taiwan. It is elaborated since the Dutch colonializations in the 17<sup>th</sup> century which start the agricultural activities and trade activities between Formosa Island which conquered by the Dutch and the

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<sup>7</sup> Bonnie S. Glaser, S. K. (2018). *The New Southbound Policy Deepening Taiwan's Regional Integration*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies.

other entities. Then, Zheng Chenggong who usually called Koxinga who lost his power in Mainland China came to Formosa with his forces and conquered Formosa. At that time, he built an operation base in Formosa before the Qing Dynasty defeated them in 1683. The defeat of Zheng family administration made several regions in Formosa, or Taiwan became more integrated with Qing dynasty.

Went through the next era, there is a Meiji empire from Japan that conquer Taiwan after the end of the Sino- Japanese war in 1895. Japan saw Taiwan as a potential market place for their goods. It was also seen as a strategic place to secure the Southern part of Japan. Then, in 1943, after the surrender of Japan in the Asia-Pacific War, the Allies power agreed that Taiwan would be governed by the Kuomintang party which representing the Republic of China.

In the administration of Kuomintang party Taiwan faced lots of events. The conflict with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) became the central issue of this era. The development of the Chinese Communist Party triggered the outbreak of the Chinese Civil War in 1946 which won by the CCP. Since that event, the Republic of China which ruled by Kuomintang party expelled to Formosa or Taiwan because the CCP conquered Mainland China and created a new government called the People's Republic of China.

Then, in 1971, there was a very crucial issue regarding the cut of diplomatic ties of the United States of America with the Republic of China (Taiwan) and switched it with the diplomatic ties with People's Republic of China. Following that action, lots of other countries also decided to cut their diplomatic ties with Taiwan and switched it with the diplomatic relations with Mainland China because of the One China Policy that forces them to choose the diplomatic relations with Taiwan or Mainland China. Thus, it is becoming the main reason why Taiwan struggle lots in gaining international recognition until recent years.

This research also elaborates the effort that Taiwan ever did in order to gain international recognition. Recently, Taiwan only has 17 official diplomatic relations with other countries around the world. Thus, the kind of strategies that Taiwan did to gain international recognition is becoming a significant thing for Taiwan to attract other countries to see the existence of Taiwan. There are several strategies

that Taiwan ever did in order to attract the other countries attention and gain the international recognition, such as Dollar Diplomacy, Convert Diplomacy, Soft Power Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy, and Go South Policy in the administration of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian.

All of those strategies except Go South policy that did by Taiwan in order to build the cooperations and partnerships with the other countries and in final goals it is aimed to gain the international recognitions continue until the recent years. However, the Go South policy which stopped in Ma Ying-jeou administration also continued again in the administration of Tsai Ing-wen with a name New Southbound Policy.

As the continuation of the previous Go South policy, the New Southbound Policy also has several significant differences with the previous policy. New Southbound Policy has a broader scope of target compare with the previous policy. Membered by Southeast Asian countries, Australia, New Zealand, and several South Asian countries make NSP become one of the essential integrated regions for every member states especially Taiwan.

The New Southbound Policy has several goals which divided into the short to mid-term goals and the long term goals. The short to mid-term goals of the New Southbound Policy are to cultivate the New Southbound Policy into a policy that can combines the national will matters, policy incentives, and business opportunities to foster and widen the "two-way" exchanges in the field of economic and trade relations, investment, tourism, culture, and talent which will support the New Model for Economic Development. Then, the long term goals are purposed to integrate and foster links with 18 NSP countries in areas of economic and trade relations, technology, science, and culture to share resources, talent, and markets. It is also purposed for the countries to have cooperation with win-win situations between two or more entities. The New Southbound Policy also has four links, such as soft power links, supply chain links, regional markets links, and people-to-people links.

The cooperations and partnerships of Taiwan with the other NSP countries also seen always develop. The export toward ASEAN countries which become the

priority cooperation of Taiwan in the New Southbound Policy seen always increasing. The export growth to Malaysia and Laos also seen always increase during the beginning of the New Southbound Policy established until 2017. Moreover, the trade and export toward India also developed and increased in recent years.

Similar things happen with the investment of Taiwan toward the New Southbound Policy countries. The Investment toward ASEAN makes Taiwan become the seventh most significant source for ASEAN foreign direct investment. Moreover, in 2017, Taiwan's investment in ASEAN countries especially six ASEAN countries, such as Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, and Vietnam was growing over 25 percent from the previous year, and it is seen always increasing. The same thing also happens with the investment to India and Australia.

In term of education and people-to-people exchange, ASEAN was also becoming the second most significant sources of Taiwan's international students inbound after Mainland China in the first place. There are around 90% of all of the students who come from the New Southbound Policy countries are coming from ASEAN countries in 2016. The other 10% are mostly the inbound students that come from India. Moreover, the government of Taiwan still targeting to increase the inbound into 20 percent per years which means if the goal is achieved, in 2019, there will be around 58.000 students that come from the NSP countries.

New Southbound Policy also saw as a better policy compares with the previous Go South policy in the administration of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian. In term of the scope of the target, the New Southbound Policy brings a broader scope of the target which involving 18 countries inside. Moreover, this policy also becomes more strategic compare with the previous Go South policy.

Thus, the existence of the New Southbound Policy is really helpful for fostering Taiwan's investment and export to the other New Southbound Policy countries. This policy also provides mutual benefits and cooperation for Taiwan and other NSP countries. It is also proven if the New Southbound Policy can be a tool for Taiwan to gain international recognition especially in term of economic.

Even if it is still in the field of economic recognition, this policy can be the stepping stone for Taiwan to gain real political international recognition.

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