

Chapter I

Introduction

In this research, I would like to explain the importance of strategic security alignment between Taiwan and United States cooperation to face China policy of Reunification. Taiwan as known up until now yet debatable status whether it is a state or part of China by its status of “One China” policy. It is a historical result of political competition between two major political party Guomintang and People’s Republic of China (PRC) which scramble the legitimate ruler of China during the past time. Crisis in Taiwan Strait is still fragile since China proposed for Reunification with Taiwan. Taiwan has not directly accepted Chinese offer since 1981 until now. In that context, United States still maintains cooperation with Taiwan. Moreover, the security partnership which is also supported by arm sales to Taiwan. The asymmetrical relations between China-Taiwan-United States makes Taiwan has to consider the importance of their foreign policy management. Besides that, United States seems maintaining its hegemony over Asia through one of its “chain” in the East Asia Region.

A. Background

In 1949, Chiang Kai Shek had been defeated by Mao Zedong and fled into Formosa Island. Guomintang party which was led by Chiang Kai Shek moved with its around 1.5 million people to the offshore of Taiwan and they hoped to counterattack

the power of mainland China. Taiwanese people had to accept the political ideology of Nationalist Guomintang party because there were no other option. Even though the system which was built in the mainland by Nationalist Party before the clash of civil war consisted of corruption and incompetent official. Besides, the people disliked the idea of communism philosophically or the other thing about it. Moreover, Mao didn't have power over mainland China. Thus, Mao made legal claim as legitimate ruler of mainland China based on the successor of government of the Republic of China. He believed that Nationalist was pushed away from mainland and only ruled the Formosa Island which made Mao wanted to invade it by force.

A new home for Guomintang party as a leader of Republic of China. Chiang Kai Shek and Guomintang still believed that they will reconquer the mainland of China. It is a sign that Guomintang built political system in Taipei as permanent home. In 1950, Mao launched his strategy of small boat to invade Taiwan, but it was failed. During this time, Korean War also broke and dragged United States and China involved in Korean Peninsula. United States gave assistance in Taiwan Strait as a shield for Taiwan. Moreover, United States gave economic support which was used by Chiang to build economic development in Taiwan. Slowly in 1964, aid from United States were decreasing and Taiwan was ready to take off. The simultaneous taking of economic progress brought Taiwan into industrial and become dependent on the prosperity of economic export.¹

¹ John F. Copper, 2009, Taiwan: nation-state or province 5th edition, pp. 46-49.

While rebuilding its power in Taiwan, Chiang also tried to return its power in China. His attitude towards Taiwan Strait triggered two times crises on the strait. The First Strait Crises was Chiang's idea to interrupt China after the loss of cost in Korean War. Second, the crises were triggered by Mao by shelling the front gate of Taiwan in Jinmen, Mazu, and Fujian island. It automatically dragged United States to appear in both parties and eventually defend Taiwan as its allies. But United States unwillingly to fight against China or Russia.

During 1954-1955, Taiwan and China had their first strait Crisis. After North Korea gave up in 1953 Korean War, China sent its Envoy in Geneva and Bandung to resolve the war that they faced by peaceful means. China has to rebuild its internal economic development and to modernize its military. Mao had no interest to take over Taiwan with force. But, the problem laid on the China Coast which was blocked by Chiang Kai Shek. China and United States had similar interest not to trigger War in Taiwan Strait. But, Chiang insisted to maintain the legitimacy of civil war because he wanted to take over the mainland of China back in Nationalist power.

Crisis was on going in 1958. During this time, Mao wanted to show the world that he was the biggest anti-imperialist in the world, not Moscow. He built the countryside by pressuring the villagers to make statist farm. It was his way to show the system of communism which is worked for the party. In August 1958, PRC began to shell on the island of Jinmen, Mazu, and Fujian. He wanted to trigger Russia and United States into war. Then, it got reaction from United States by sending military supply to Jinmen and Mazu. Those area was actually the chain supply for Taiwan. Mao thought

that he could institutionalize the civil war by shelling those area. But, Taiwan was restrained by United States not to involve in it and focused to build up internal military in Taiwan.²

In 1971, Taiwan had lost its ties with most important nations on the world at that time. Taiwan had lost his seat in United Nations when China was visited by Henry Kissinger, National Security Adviser of United States. Moreover, the political ties between Taiwan and United States slowly loosen, but not disconnected. The power of Taipei to China is not a merely a threat because China already got legitimation of international community as a state. Beijing also blocked the membership of Taiwan in international stages which require statehood as a member of the organization. The effort of Chiang Kai Shek to snatch legitimation from United States and International community had to diminish. Thus, Taipei adopted “three no’s” (no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise) to show that they not gave up with China.

Later, China had to turn a new approach to deal with the closed stance of Taipei to reunify with China. Taipei leadership continued with Chiang Kai Shek Successor, he was Chiang Ching Kuo. During Chiang Ching Kuo administration in 1979, United States cut its diplomatic relations with Taipei and moved to Beijing. It became the worst situation where the legitimation of Guomintang to return Republic of China to mainland faded away. Moreover, the defense treaty between Republic of China and

² Edward Friedman, 2014, America’s Pivots to Asia and the Taiwan Strait Crises, In P. C. Chow, *The US Strategic Pivot to Asia and Cross-Strait Relations* (pp. 56-59). New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.

U.S were terminated. Thus, China wanted to open with Taiwan by “three links” as a soft policy to get closer. Three links of China policy were mail, trade, and transportation ties.³

China dare to propose reunification with Taiwan. As the power of China was already legitimated by International Community, China changed its strategy to hold its military power over Taiwan. United States had made “Join Communique” between China and United States which was represented by President Nixon not to support Taiwan independence. Position of Taiwan was fragile after United States had turned into Beijing. Thus, China dare to propose in 1981 by delivering 9 points of reunification by Ye Jianying.⁴ This kind of approach indirectly wanted Taiwan to give their sovereignty to China.

Taipei didn’t receive it directly. Reunification process is not easy because people in Taiwan have been divided into several group. There are three kinds of group of people which divided in terms of reunification. Those people are either supporting reunification, rejecting the reunification, or status quo. Most people are choosing status quo, but these status can’t be held longer. The process of cross strait relations has been tried to be built since 1981. Then, for the first time it was opened in 1987 by Chiang Ching Kuo for Taiwanese to visit mainland.⁵

³ Copper, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁴ Shirley A. Kan, 2008, *China/Taiwan: Evolution of the “One China” Policy—Key Statements from Washington, Beijing, and Taipei*. Congressional Research Service.

⁵ Copper, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

In 1954, the situation in western pacific remain unstable. These situation brought bad impact for several states such as South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. However, Taiwan remain its ties with United States under mutual defense treaty. Thus, by having a cooperation with U.S, Taiwan has defense power to maintain its political stability on the region. Although, the Taiwan has been included in the broader interest of United States on the western pacific. Mao Ze Tung became a threat for Taiwan stability and United States saw that Taiwan Strait was fragile to be invaded by Mao. Soon, U.S sent Seventh Fleet to patrol in Taiwan Strait.⁶ This was the first time of Taiwan as Republic of China building its security relations with the U.S on Taiwan.

Later, since the treaty was terminated, Taiwan and U.S rebuild its unofficial relations by Taiwan Relations ACT (TRA) to maintain the security in western pacific. Since the diplomatic ties with Republic of China was over, United States has been moved into Beijing. China proposed One China policy for all states to legitimate its appearance. Taiwan didn't lose hope because U.S return itself by TRA. At that time China had recognized as legitimate ruler and become the challenge of Taiwan political stability. The policy proposal has been securing Taiwan from "future threat"; to provide Taiwan with defensive character; and challenge any forms of coercion in Taiwan. So, Taiwan can maintain its self-defense character and it has been supported by United States since 1982 as President Reagan offered "Six Assurances" to continue the arms

⁶ Nicole Jentzen, 2006, China and U.S Policy, In R. J. Samuel, *Encyclopedia of United States National Security*, pp. 119-121.

sales.⁷ Later, in the research the TRA will be explained more related with Taiwan and United States in terms of security cooperation.

However, the reunification process isn't work easily as Chinese hope. Taiwan hasn't been approved directly and still maintain its sovereign democratic system without interfere from Chinese central government. Thus, it becomes interesting to see the strategy of Taiwan secure their territory from any coercion of China cooperate itself with United States in reunification policy.

B. Research Question

After the problem in the background, then the research question will be:
How does the strategy of Taiwan-U.S security cooperation facing China in reunification policy during 1981-2007?

C. Research Period

In this research I would like to limit my research period from 1981-2007. In 1981, it was the publication of China unification policy offered by Marhsal Ye Jianying, he was the highest sit in position in People's Liberation Army. The proposal was proposed to Taiwan during Chiang Ching Kuo administration concerning to return into Motherland by peaceful way.⁸ The peaceful period (1981-1994) will become a

⁷ Kan, 2008, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁸ Kan, 2008, *op. cit.*, p. 42-43.

comparison with the conflict period and post period of conflict, started from 1995-2007 that influence the security cooperation of Taiwan with United States of America. It passes through several administration of Taiwanese political experience such as Chiang Ching Kuo as the first leader who had been proposed by unification policy from China. Then, it was continued by Lee Teng Hui and the last is Chen Shui Bian. So, I would like to upraise how is the transformation of cooperation between Taiwan and United States of America during the period of 1981-2007.

D. Purpose of the Research

Research has been doing to simplifying a phenomenon or some kinds of phenomena. The purpose of research hopefully will shows the aim of the writer to deliver its research for the reader. More than that, hopefully it can explain to the reader the complexity of certain phenomenon and or phenomena which is happening. Meanwhile, I give some purposes which is hopefully be achieved by finishing this research, those are:

1. Reveals the strategy of Taiwan-U.S that has been done during the process of China reunification policy towards Taiwan along 1981-2007.

E. Theoretical Framework

In explaining my hypothesis, I will use one concept and one theory in International relations study. First, is the Common Enemy concept and second is the

Strategic Realism theory. I use these theories to explain the act of Taiwan and United States of America in maintaining its security cooperation to face china reunification policy.

D.1. Common Enemy Concept

Kenneth Waltz (1979) was a famous scholar who wrote about the alliance between states in political sciences.⁹ The structure of the states nowadays is the same as the past time when there was the absence of power or state to govern the community-state of nature. At the presence, this status is called as anarchy which is no above law that can enforce the state to force them. Kenneth Waltz put states as an acting unit that is assumed as a result of people's will to conduct the external activities. As a big community, states is acting to pursue their national interest and to secure their status and security. However, the state needs other supports to fulfill or secure their national interest in the realm of anarchy by building cooperation among them.

The alliance system occur when they meet their common enemy. As what Kris De Jaegher and Britta Hoyer wrote in their literature *Cooperation and the common enemy effect*.¹⁰ Common enemy can be found in every part of science such as Social Psychology, Economy, Political Sciences, even in Evolutionary Biology. One in political science which is wrote by Kenneth Waltz as a result of the state found their

⁹ De Jaegher, K. J. M., & Hoyer, B, 2012, Cooperation and the common enemy effect. *Discussion Paper Series/Tjalling C. Koopmans Research Institute*, 12 (24).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

selves to be a part of alliance because of common enemy. Common enemy could be resulted from different kinds of background. It is a theoretical game which is assuming some parties might found the other party is threatening them, based on their perspective. Even both party who are hating each other could be friends when they have similar interest towards another state. Another example, theoretic game of common enemy is also interesting. There is a party who wants to disrupt a relation between two sides. For example, there is a cooperation between two parties (A and B) which is doing information sharing. Then, their information is unintentionally disrupted by outside party (C). C party, as I mention for disruptor, they could have interest to steal the information or break the information sharing between them. Thus, A and B see this as an enemy for this party.

This research is trying to show that both Taiwan and United States act based on this concept. The alignment of Taiwan and United States will be examined by the context of reunification. In this research, I try to show that the alignment only based on the context of China's reunification process with Taiwan. The security alignment between both parties is not merely securing the area or geopolitical interest of United States, but also the interest of Taiwan geopolitics in Taiwan Strait. It could be great explanation since the cooperation between Taiwan and United States is basically built by similar interest in security alignment. Those kinds of interests will be explained in another chapter to support the concept of Common Enemy.

D.2. Strategic Realism Theory

One of the classical theories in international relations is Realism where by the time goes by it has developed itself and one of them is Strategic Realism. This idea is proposed by Thomas Schelling in 1980, 1996 which is similar to the idea of Machiavelli. I take Strategic Realism from the book of *Introduction to International Relations_ Theories and Approaches* which is written by George Sorensen and Robert Jackson. The idea is directly asking “What should we do to achieve our goal or national interest?” which emphasizes on ‘threat’. There is no place whether this decision is good or bad, as long as it achieves its national interest(s). Here is the idea of Schelling taken from the *Introduction to International Relations_ Theories and Approaches* book:

*“Diplomacy is bargaining: it seeks outcomes that, though not ideal for either party, are better for both than some of the alternatives . . . The bargaining can be polite or rude, entail threats as well as offers, assume a status quo or ignore all rights and privileges, and assume mistrust rather than trust. But . . . there must be some common interest, if only in the avoidance of mutual damage, and an awareness of the need to make the other party prefer an outcome acceptable to oneself. With enough military force a country may not need to bargain”.*¹¹

The Schelling’s idea shows that diplomacy can be done in polite way otherwise rude to achieve national interest(s) of a state as the ultimate goal. Within this research this theory also emphasize the importance of force power which can be used as bargaining power. Like what he said “...*With enough military force a country may not*

¹¹ Robert Jackson, Georg Sørensen, 2013, *Introduction to International Relations_ Theories and Approaches-Oxford University Press*, p. 75.

need to bargain".¹² In this case, this theory emphasize the needs of security strategy to improve the bargaining power of Taiwan towards Chinese policy of reunification.

This approach will be used to understand the strategy of a State to decide their foreign policy. As what George Sorensen said, "*When state leaders confront basic diplomatic and military issues, they are obliged to think strategically—i.e., instrumentally—if they hope to be successful.*"¹³ In relation with the reunification proposal from China, Taiwan has to think its security strategically. They are facing the dilemma whether they would enjoy independence in the future, back to the Chinese authority, or peacefully would have similar status of China without statehood legitimation. This approach is going to explain whether the strategic cooperation between Taiwan and U.S-i.e. instrumentally-will influence the bargaining of Chinese reunification policy.

F. Hypothesis

After offering research question, strategic realism theory, common enemy concept, I would like to deliver some hypothesis to answer that question. First hypothesis will answer the common enemy concept. The second hypothesis will answer the strategic realism theory:

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

- a. Taiwan has no other choice to maintain security alignment with U.S to determine its political interest from China policy of reunification since Taiwan has historical agreement with U.S.
- b. As the pressure of China reunification policy, Taiwan and U.S transform the security cooperation to face the possibility of military pressure from China as a form of bargaining position, in the period of 1981-2007.

G. Research Methodology

I will use qualitative method by doing library research. The source of the research will be collected from book, articles, journal, magazines, and online articles. The source will become a reading material to collect the data for the research. Besides that, the writer will use inductive method by collecting the facts by doing library research and adding the conclusion by verifying the theories applied in this research.