

## Chapter II

### Proposal of China Reunification

Within this chapter, I will explain the effort of reunification which proposed by China. Mainland China has been conquered by PRC's power and the next step is occupy Taiwan which is overpowered by Guomintang since 1949. In the beginning of separation, both sides were trying to dominate each other by force. It can be seen on their efforts of using force by Taiwan Strait conflict. Thus, when PRC realized that it is useless, new approached by peaceful way was used in the process of reunification. So, this chapter will explain the option which China's took to choose reunification, the context of reunification, and the ongoing process of cross strait talk to pursue reunification by China.

#### A. Switching Policy from Coercion into Peaceful Approach

In 1949, Guomintang brought its idealism into Taiwan under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek and 1.5 million people with him. Then, this party was growing and led Taiwan by holding dr. Sun's ideology on nationalism, democracy, and people livelihood which will influence the Taiwanese democracy. At the very beginning, when Guomintang came to Taiwan, the local people did not like it because they the infamous corruption government of the Republic of China which led by Guomintang. In the other

side, they can't reject it because Taiwanese also disagree with the ideology of Communism philosophically and the other thing related with it. Even the possibility of CCP to use force will brought more cost and property destruction. In 1950, Taipei became the base of Guomintang and Republic of China to reform its governmental form.<sup>1</sup> Because of the oppression from red army, Guomintang hadn't choice to turn over the political condition in a short time. Then he tried to rebuilt Guomintang power in Taipei and develop the existence of democracy with Taiwanese.

After Guomintang built its center of government in Taipei, confrontation in the Taiwan Strait can't be avoided. The confrontation happened during 1952-1962. During this period, there are three times of conflicts which the first time in 1954-1955, second in 1958, and third in 1962.<sup>2</sup> However, the effort of both parties to dominate each other by force was useless. The means of Mao to take over Taiwan was failed although he shielded Fujian by military base. In 1962, Chiang also failed to take over mainland China was failed. Then, United States pursue peace talk between both parties in 1969. But later, The United States approach was also used by China to get legitimation of the Chinese authority.

The means of Confrontation was failed, then China urged its position in International community to be recognized as legitimate ruler. In the book of S.L Roy, he mentioned that "*diplomacy, which is very close to nation-state relations, is an art*

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<sup>1</sup> Copper, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> I Gede Candra Prayogi, 2014, Upaya Reunifikasi Taiwan Ditinjau Dari Perkembangan Konflik Selat Taiwan Periode 1981-1991, *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional Universitas Udayana*, [\*Vol 1, No 2\*](#).

*to set out state's national interests by negotiation through peaceful way if it's possible, in interaction with another state. If the tranquility approach fail to achieve the interest(s), diplomacy allows the use of coercion or force as a means".*<sup>3</sup> This style of politics which was used by China to gain International attraction in terms of peaceful approach. By building diplomatic ties with United States, It symbolically moved the diplomatic office from Taipei to Beijing to get attention and support from other nations. Moreover, Chinese strategy was aiming to reduce Taiwan participation in international activities and organization. In the next step, China will be recognized as one Chinese legitimate ruler by international community.

One of factor that China dare to propose peaceful means was also influenced by support of United States. During 70s, there was cold war between Soviet Union and United States which creates two blocs. United States was pursuing its interest in East Asia by approaching China to apply its Containment policy. After diplomatic ties between China and United States were opened, President Nixon made a policy regarded China-Taiwan relations. Those policy were poured in Nixon five Point. There are some points which is very important that could change the behavior of China towards Taiwan by Nixon five points. China and Taiwan has a middle party (United States of America) neither to support Taiwan independence nor the attempt by military return into the Mainland. The presence of United States on Japan will also discourage towards Taiwan independence.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the recognition and support of United States to bring

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<sup>3</sup> S.L Roy, 1995, *Diplomacy*, Translated by Harwanto and Mirsawati in Indonesian version, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Kan, 2008, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

normalization for Taiwan and China tends to reduce the conflict between Taiwan and China. It gave more chance to China to apply new approach to return Taiwan into Mainland territory.

By Nixon Five Point policy, it showed that United States by *de jure* and *de facto* admitted the legitimate of Chinese Communist Party as Chinese ruler over mainland China. It was supported by assignation of China in United Nations by People's Republic of China and stepped down Republic of China from its seat in 1971. Thus, periodically by declaring One China policy, China got 111 states and only left 23 states that support Taiwan.<sup>5</sup> By doing so, indirectly the legitimation power of Republic of China pressured by the decreasing support from other states. Thus, it's weaken the power of Republic of China in international community and isolated by China.

#### B. Proposal for Reunification

To rebuild CCP and Guomintang relations, China avoid to use force like what ever happened in strait Conflict by creating trade link. In 1979, China through peoples of Congress sent a letter to establish direct trade link between two nations. This letter represent the openness of relations from Chinese Communist Party to Guomintang (Nationalist Party) after the isolation of relations between both parties. Then in 1980, Ministry of Commerce uphold the issue to buy product from Taiwan by releasing "supplementary measures on the purchase of Taiwanese products".<sup>6</sup> This was one of

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<sup>5</sup> Copper, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 56-57.

beginning step of Beijing strategy to attract Taiwanese as to achieve Beijing's political objectives. Opening trade as a modal to rebuilt the loosen bond.

In September 1981, China through Ye Jianying proposed peaceful unification. It had spread through newspaper which was written by *Xinhua* (*New China News Agency*). Ye Jianying was the highest sit in People's Liberation Army. Then he got a position as a Chairman of Standing Committee of the National Peoples of Congress. So, he could declared the 9 points of reunification to Taiwan which be included in attachment 1.<sup>7</sup> These nine points become the attempt of Chinese to offer the unification by emphasizing three kind of aspects. Those aspects are politics, economics, and socio-cultural relation which Chinese hope that could attract Taiwan. In political sides, China offered peace talk between Communist Party of China and Guomintang as nationalist party who led Taiwan at that time. China also gave the special autonomy for Taiwan to control over the Taiwan affairs without any interfere from central government. In economic side, China pursue the trade relations and industrial investment option for Taiwanese. Since China had diplomatic ties with U.S, Taiwan had closed the relations with China. So, the communication between relatives from China and Taiwan were disconnected. It also closed the direct trade relations between China and Taiwan. Thus, China pursue to open postal communication and relatives visits. In socio-cultural side, China offered the option of the exchange between academic and sport exchange to

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<sup>7</sup> Ye Jianying's Unification Proposal for Taiwan, The proposal was taken from Kan, 2008, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

recover the untied bond. Chinese central government would also not interfere the property rights over Taiwan.<sup>8</sup>

The proposal which Ye Jianying offered to Taiwan was indirectly tried to take over the sovereignty of Taiwan by unification. At the beginning, it was not easy step for Taiwan to accept this proposal. Then China made further step by offering three policy to increase the relations for both sides. China offered to open direct postal, transport, and trade links. This process was emphasized to build trade links and created peaceful area around Chinese territory, especially cross Taiwan Strait relations.<sup>9</sup> However, this proposal is still debatable within the Taiwanese to choose reunification, but status quo has been chosen by Taiwanese as a response not to give their sovereignty over this proposal. Although they agree to open relation with mainland in economic, and social activities like the proposal offered.

### C. Ongoing Process for Reunification

Chinese efforts to maintain Taiwan as a part of China keeps going on. China believe that Taiwan geographically, ethnically, culturally, historically is part of China. Its effort to attract Taiwan by political strategy and economic attraction such as leniency of investment has been done. The process is not easy, because Taiwan has divided into groups who support independence and reunification. Moreover, the most

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

famous stand point for Taiwanese is to choose status quo. It makes PRC has to do something to embrace Taiwan to unify with mainland China.

After Ye Jianying proposed the proposal, it is not directly opened the relations between PRC and KMT which led by Chiang Ching Kuo. 1982, Deng Xiaoping released a new constitution up to status of by special administrative region Taiwan with different economic and political system. PRC keep pursuing their effort to bind Taiwan by the idea of “One Country, Two System”. But Taiwan was still closed it relations with Taiwan three no’s (no contact, no negotiation, no compromise) after China admitted by United States in 1979. The first step up which is done by Taiwan to open up in 1987. It was the first step of China by reforming its economic to attract Taiwanese to invest and trade in mainland by third party, Hong Kong.

Since economic reform brought positive impact for Taiwan and PRC, they begun to open up cross strait relations. Both parties were enjoying growth of trade and economic relations though unofficial way. After China reforms its economic policy, Taiwan begun to invest, trade in mainland and enjoyed \$459 million in 1981 to \$1.1 billion in 1985. In 16 December 1991, CCP established Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS). This is the continuance of China in political way to establish the terms for both side. While China has ARATS, Taiwan has built Strait Exchange Foundation (SEF). National Unification Council was set up by Lee Teng Hui in 1990 and set up the cabinet to handle cross strait relations by Mainland Affairs Commission. Then, this commission set up the SEF by guideline which is proposed by National Unification Council. ARATS and SEF had met up in Hong Kong in 1992 to

define the term “One China” but it hasn’t gave satisfaction for both side.<sup>10</sup> The key of communication has been opened between Taiwan and mainland through third party to discuss the economic and “One China” term. However, it is still get many rejection about the meaning of “One China” whether represent one nation or one state of China in international stage.

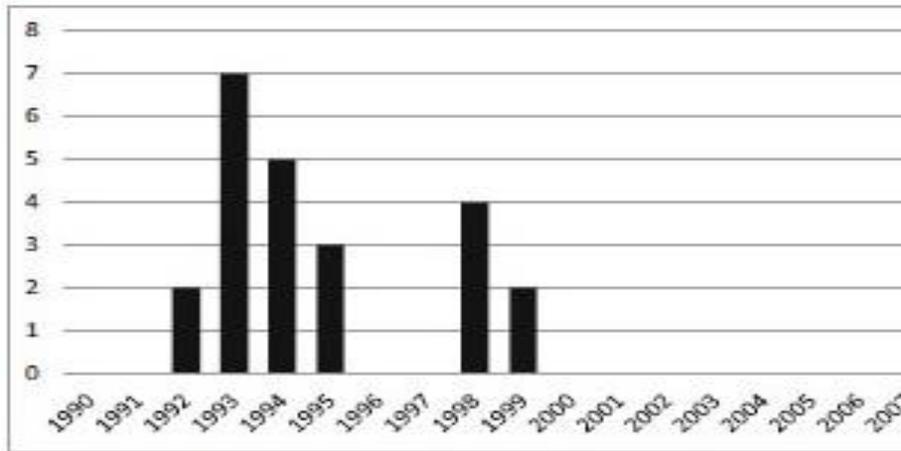
There has been the upsides down of relations in cross strait affairs. After both parties build cross strait talk, the tension is still heat up. In 1995, when Lee Teng Hui visited United States it made the Chinese extremist dare to threaten Taiwan. During July-August 1995 China sent its missile 100km from north of Taiwan. In the other side, it also made Taiwan prepare for military exercises in October. But, this tension can be reduced when China had got support from United States not to support Taiwan independence in 1998 after President Jiang visited President Clinton.<sup>11</sup> It has been proved that United States of America fulfill its intention to cover its ally-in this case is Taiwan-in western pacific if they get a threat. Although China and Taiwan had created mutual organization to conduct direct relation, the tension is possibly occur. China had to play its role to restrain Taiwan from separating or the possibility of declaring independence by getting support from international community such as peoples in United States.

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<sup>10</sup> Zhengyuan Fu, 2006, Taiwan Issue and Sino-US Relations, The. *Transnat'l L. & Contemp. Probs.*, 16, 253.

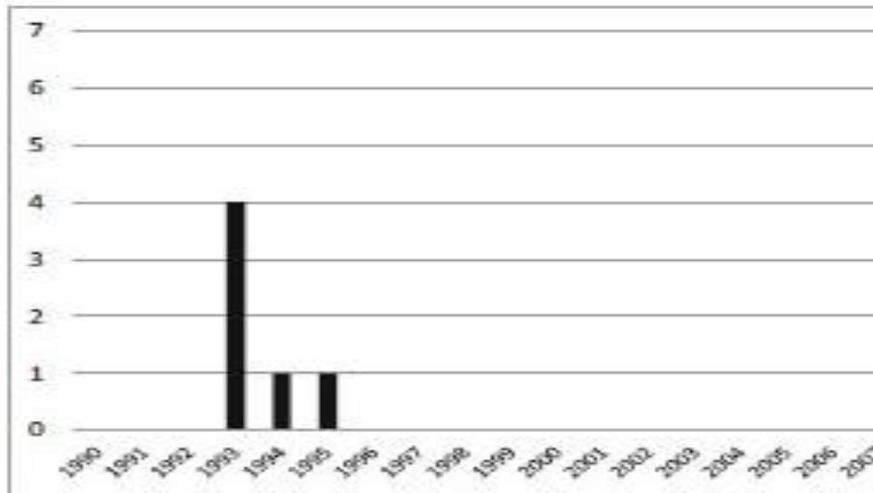
<sup>11</sup> Albert Chang, *Managing Peace across the Strait: The Impact of United States and Chinese Actions on Contemporary Taiwanese Nationalism, 1995–2005.*

Graphic 2.1 Number of ARATS-SEF meetings



Source: Provided by Strait Exchange Foundation ([www.sef.org.tw](http://www.sef.org.tw))<sup>12</sup>

Graphic 2.2 Number of ARATS-SEF Agreements and Documents<sup>13</sup>



Source: Provided by Strait Exchange Foundation ([www.sef.org.tw](http://www.sef.org.tw))

The relation between ARATS-SEF meetings after 21<sup>st</sup> century was not too significant. President Hu Jintao has proposed four points related cross strait relations

<sup>12</sup> This table had been proceed by Zhengyuan Fu, The author of The Taiwan issue and Sino-U.S. Relations, *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

in 2005. The for points are persuade the insistence of One China principle; no compromise to fight the action of separation Taiwan from China; not giving up on the effort of peaceful unification; and never giving up hope on the Taiwan people.<sup>14</sup> After that, the level of meeting doesn't grow significantly in the side of political relations. Mostly, the relations talks about the management of economic and trade relations from China.

However, China and Taiwan have yet to find an agreement on the political relationship between the two. It has been more than 35 years of cross-strait relations have not to find common ground. Despite in practice between mainland China and Taiwan have established economic and social relations. The relationship was not fully prepared, as seen from the development of the meeting between ARATS-SEF. The intensity of communication did not go well for formulating the legality of the existence of Taiwan. Taiwan still maintains its status at the time of the early 21st century, namely the status quo. In addition, there has been a surprising phenomenon, namely the meeting between the two heads of state met for the first time. Although the meeting did not directly produce a consensus regarding the position of Taiwan into China. Thus, the process is referred to as the context of China's reunification efforts within the above time period 1981 to persuade Taiwan's unification with China.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*