

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter would help to give a glance on what it is going to be discussed under this research writing. This chapter includes the brief explanation on the reason behind the choose of the topic, brief highlight of what the problem that would be discussed, the introduction of the concept used to analyze the topic problem and also gives a temporary answer for the result of this research. This chapter also will show how the result would be done, and also clearly defines set of period in which would be analyzed in the research. This chapter also gives a brief explanation on the chapter segmentation on what each chapter would discuss subsequently.

A. Background

Sovereignty is one of the important terms in international relation; the study of international relation always puts sovereignty as one important point of study. To reach a status as a sovereign state, nation-state has to fulfill the requirement. The requirement itself has been clearly defined in Montevideo convention¹. In the convention Article 1, it is explained that once should be called a sovereign state if it already has permanent population, definite territory, government, and capacity to enter into relationship with other state and international entities.

¹ Council on Foureign Relation ;“ *Montevideo Convention On The Rights an duties of The States*”<http://www.cfr.org/sovereignty/montevideo-convention-rights-duties-states/p15897>,Accesss on October 15 , 2015

Not every nation-state that exists in this world has an easy way in completing the requirement to be called a sovereign state. Some of them have not powered enough to do so. The term sovereignty has become very crucial and one of the hardest parts in the forming of nation state. Not being recognized by another state would create a quite struggle for one state to enter into relations and it would impact into the welfare of that particular nation state. One of the state that have been struggle a lot in achieving the title as a sovereign state is Taiwan or also known as The Republic of China.

Taiwan until nowadays has been positioned in the uncertain condition about its international status. One called it is a complete sovereign state while others claimed that Taiwan should not be called as a sovereign state. Both sides have their own opinion regarding the status of Taiwan. Meanwhile based on general characteristics of a nation-state, Taiwan has shown as a nation state through its characteristic in de facto while it is not so clearly in de jure. It is also looking to the nowadays fact that Taiwan has positioned itself as one of the samples of a developed country in Asia Pacific along with China, Japan and South Korea.

It is proven by the success of Taiwan government to develop its economic and advances the technology. As a state, Taiwan is more success than those third world states in development despite the ironic fact that Taiwan status is still uncertain. This is why the status of Taiwan is one of a very unique case in the International Relations studies. It does not mean Taiwan has not had any recognition from other state. Only a small number of states recognize the existence of Taiwan as independent state. Therefore, it is very interesting to

discuss about Taiwan ways of diplomacy to gain recognition from other states and China in particular.

In September 2002, the president of the Republic of China (Taiwan) had a plan to visit Indonesia². The plan was rejected by the government of Indonesia. This plan also triggered a demonstration among people in Beijing China.

Such a case like what happened in Indonesia was most likely caused by the ambiguity of Taiwan status. Not many states recognize Taiwan as a state, making Taiwan entitled as a phantom state³. This status has created a complex situation between Taiwan and China.

Taiwan as refers to the Montevideo Convention has fulfilled all the requirements to be called as state. In Taiwan case, there are only a small number of countries that recognize Taiwan as an independent state. If we look back to the fact, ROC administration once represented China territory as the member of the Security Council, a position which should put ROC as one of the countries which is quite significant in the eye of the United Nation⁴. At the time Taiwan became the member of United Nation, it can be seen that ROC was once a great country which has fulfilled *de facto* and *de jure*. But after it was expelled from the UN in 1971, the ROC was replaced by the PRC and its mark as the beginning of the

² Tempo , *Kunjungan President Taiwan keindonesiaDibatalkan* “
<http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2002/12/15/05934609/Kunjungan-Presiden-Taiwan-ke-Indonesia-Dibatalkan> , accesss on October,20 2015

³ Brookings Edu, “ *The mystery of The phantom States* “<http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2012/07/phantom-states-byman>,accesss on October, 15, 2015.

⁴ Sigrid Winkler,” *Taiwan UN Dillema; To be or Not To be.*”<http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/06/20-Taiwan-un-winkler>, accesss on October,17,2015.

ambiguity of Taiwan status which become the beginning of Taiwan struggle to gain position in international.

The thesis seeks to know how Taiwan struggle to gain an international position that is also wanted to discuss about the Taiwan–China relation under this policy, and the important point is how Taiwan diplomacy in order to maintain its existence as a sole legitimate government of the Republic of China as a state not as a part of province in which PRC (People Republic of China) has claimed it.

B. Problem Background

To talk and to understand deeper about Taiwan case and its relation to One China Policy what we should do is to look back at the history. Because One China Policy is commonly interpreted as the common agreement done by states around the world to only acknowledge one state as China, which is referred to the mainland China presented by the PRC (People Republic of China). There are several events which led to this these statements.

Looking back to the history, after the revolution of China in 1911 AD⁵ that was led by Sun Yat-Sen, the momentum had marked as the end of the monarch system in China and the transformation of a Governmental system that change into republic in which Sun Yat-Sen had been recognized as the president. Because the Qing dynasty believed to be coped from its power, apparently it still existed and still possessed power in some part of China. Derive from the need to completely end the power of Qing dynasty and to prevent the threat that might

⁵ Kompasmania, “ *DuluCinaAdalah Taiwan* “<http://sejarah.kompasiana.com/2012/02/18/dulu-China-adalah-Taiwan-436573.html>, Accesss on October 10,2015

occur because of it, Sun Yat-Sen gave up his position as the president of China to Yuan Shikai who was the former minister of the Qing dynasty.

During the administration of Yuan Shikai, there emerged a lot of rebellion in some part of China. In order to avoid the rebellion, he gave up his position. During the space time none led the regime which further resulting the vacuum of power during the period of time in 1916. During the vacuum of power, some part of China was controlled by some chief (local land lord). Two big power parties had control over the main part of prior-Qing dynasty territory. Those two different parties were Komintang⁶ party which at that time was still in power and governed China as ROC (Republic of China) and CPC ⁷(Chinese Communist Party) which also had a big influence with its communist ideology.

In 1927 the proletarian government of Chin Kaisek, the second leader of Komintang party after the death of Sun-Yat sen, forced the communist party to go to the eastern part of China especially in the country side. The policies of Sun Yat-Sen made communist party to do a long March as a result of the expulsion. But during the time communist party secretly built its power and new rising leader appeared, Mao Zedong⁸.

⁶ Princeton, “KOMINTANG”
<http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Kuomintang.html>, Accesss on October 20 2015.

⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica,” *Chinese Communist Party (CCP)*”
<http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/112450/Chinese-Communist-Party-CCP> , Access on October,20,2015.

⁸ BBC, “*Mao Zedong (1893-1976)*”http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/mao_zedong.shtml, accesss on October, 20,2015.

In 1945-1949 the civil war⁹ period where the communist party already gained much power, had successfully defeated the Komintang party. They then changed the administration that used to be led by Komintang party with its nationalist ideology based on the communist ideology.

While then, the Komintang party that lost to the war fled to the Formosa Island which is now commonly known as Taiwan, former occupied land of Japanese military after the Sino-Japanese war. The status of China which used to be ROC had to be replaced after the loss of Komintang party. The beginning of the switching of administration marked by the declaration done by Mao Zedong who was the leader of the winning party declared that China territory (the mainland China) had been changed into the People Republic of China (PRC). Mao Zedong appointed himself as the new leader who would lead and governs the country based on the communist ideology.

The civil war did not only result the coup of Komintang party from its power, but also created the problem of two different legitimate governments. Komintang party that settled in Taiwan still recognized itself and proclaimed as the legitimated government of China.

In the making of United Nation at that time the ROC (Republic of China) still acted as the legitimate government of China and become the representative member of the security council that was replaced by the PRC (People Republic of China) .

⁹ Global Security Organization, “ *Chinese Civil War*”
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/chinese-civil-war.htm>, Access on October 20,2015

To clear up the confusion and to solve the Taiwan problem, the PRC governments declared that the legitimate government was the PRC itself. Taiwan was claimed to be the part of China the mainland under the control of PRC. With this statement, the term of One China Policy began. The existence of this term happened because of the of US intervention.

The PRC proposed the One China Policy which states that there should be no China beside the mainland that the world should acknowledge. Along with the policy, the PRC central administration called upon the United Nation and claimed that ROC was no longer the legitimate state as the representative as China. PRC finally managed to take the position and replace ROC as United Nation representative.

In 1992, a consensus¹⁰ between China and Taiwan was held. The content of the consensus was the agreement between two parties to acknowledge the One China Policy. Also featured in the consensus was the statement that Taiwan is still part of mainland China and under the control of PRC.

The One China Policy establishment was also not far from the US double standard intervention. In the case of the One China Policy, US said that it recognized the ROC as the sole legitimate government or representative of China. And also it goes the same to the PRC which made PRC angry. But as the rise of the PRC, the US agreed about the One China Policy. As the one of the hegemonic power, US recognized PRC as the sole legitimate power.

¹⁰Komintang Official Website, “*Hung; Only Komintang Party to assure ROC prosperity*” <http://www.kmt.org.tw/english/page.aspx?type=article&mnum=113&anum=12234>, accesss on October 17,2015.

In the international system, it creates a common belief that China is only one, and that “one” is referring to the mainland China under the PRC administration.

This action of US had set the policy to the greater power and it is likely happened to have an impact to Taiwan in the negative way. It began with the expulsion of Taiwan from the UN. Taiwan had to lose relationship with other countries. Only 22 countries left that recognized Taiwan which, frankly to say, almost none of them really have a significant position in international. Taiwan was forced to give up its membership from 29¹¹ major intergovernmental organizations. Taiwan was made into a pariah¹² state in international community.

Up until now it is really hard for Taiwan to enter into relation with other states and or international entities. Taiwan’s request for membership to UN is repeatedly declined and so is the request to World Health Organization (WHO). Taiwan’s international activity is very limited, controlled and watched by Beijing. It is not only straightly impacted to the Taiwan government but also its citizen. When Taiwan citizen wanted to travel outside the country and or join some international activity representing Taiwan, in response China would put pressure to the host to correct the name or simply add China as they believe Taiwan is part of China. It resulted in the question of identity for Taiwan citizen.

The condition lately has become more interesting. Regardless the status of Taiwan, there is only small number of countries willing to co-opt and become its

¹¹ Bonie S gleaser, *Taiwan Quest For Greater Participation International in International Community*. Center for Startegic and international Studies. 2013.

¹² <http://pariah.askdefine.com/>

allies. Taiwan still has its grip and positioned to be one of the most rapid developing powers among countries in the Pacific.

Because of the One-China policy, Taiwan–China relations have been in several ups and downs. One of the very first event of China-Taiwan relation occurred in 1979. The president of Republic of China at that time, Deng Xiaoping, offered Taiwan the concept of “One Country, Two System” and “Unification”¹³. The proposal was not very well accepted by Taiwan side. This resulted in a high tension toward their already strained relation. Moreover, the military sentiment toward Taiwan emerged at that time.

In the same year, in response to the offers made by Deng Xiaoping, the President of Taiwan proposing the “Three No’s” policy¹⁴ which are No Compromise, Contract or Negotiation. This suffocating tension between Taiwan and China remained for years until the late 1987¹⁵ when finally Taiwan offered the soft spot over the long tension between two states. Taiwan government started to allow their citizen to visit China Mainland. In 1992 the breakthrough toward Taiwan-China relation finally happened when both states agreed to hold a talk and agree on the term of One China, but both state have the right to interpret the “China” on “One China”¹⁶ as their own please.

After a settlement after the Consensus 1992, Taiwan-China tension slowly decreased. But years later, when the general election came up, one of the famous

¹³ Timeline of China-Taiwan relations leading to historic meet, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3306493/Timeline-China-Taiwan-relations-leading-historic-meet.html#ixzz48wWISHuw> 17-05-2016

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

candidates which was also the former vice president of Taiwan Lee-Teng Hui declared the idea of separation from China. This idea made China very upset. In March 1996¹⁷, PRC government conducted missile exercise offshore with the aim to intimidate Taiwan to not voting for Lee-Teng Hui. Even so, Lee- TengHui still came up as the winning candidate for president. As the president of Taiwan, he offered China the “state to state” relations which make Beijing enraged. The high Tension for Taiwan-China relation lasted long until the election of next president.

The election was won for the first time by the opposite party which is the Democratic Party. Apparently the change in the government did not bring any change toward Taiwan–China tension. It even became the fuel to the fire as President Chen Shui Bian latter attempted to advocate Taiwan independence.

Despite the enmity between both country, Taiwan and China managed to establish a transportation and trade links between Taiwan and Southeastern China in January 2001. Five years after the cooperation in 2005, a talk was organized¹⁸ between both chairman of Taiwan Nationalist Party and Chinese Communist Party. This event was marked as their very first talk after 60 years of rivalry which the aim to suppress the opposite party of Taiwan of their pro-independent movement.

The fresh air came up for the strained relation when President Ma Ying-Jeou came to position in 2008. For the first time Taiwan and China sided their

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid

dispute and build relation in tourism and commercial flight¹⁹. It can be said that during Ma Ying-Jeou's administration the relation is in the state of peace.

The Ma Ying-Jeou's administration, though received many criticism saying that Ma's administration was too close to China but indeed Ma's has successfully decreased the Tension in Taiwan Strait. During his presidency Taiwan and China has establish Economic Cooperation Agreement in 2010²⁰ which has benefited Taiwan's entrepreneurs in exporting their product to China as the tariffs were agreed to be cut. In 2014 Beijing-Taipei held the first government to government talk since their separated in 1949²¹.

Ma Ying-Jeou has gained so much respect from others countries. His successful ambiguous diplomacy has resulted in a fruitful success. This is why it is interesting to know how Ma managed the relation with China while also tried to gain more recognition from international society without causing anger from Beijing.

C. The Purpose of the Writing

1. To have a better understanding about what is soft power, diplomacy and public diplomacy in particular.
2. To understand about the Taiwan–China relation under the One-China policy and how Taiwan reacts to it.

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Ibid

3. To complete the undergraduate thesis that is an obligatory requirement needed to finish the undergraduate studies of international relation in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

D. Research Question

Based on the background of the problem, it can be summed up to a question **“What is Taiwan Strategy and diplomacy dealing with the One-China policy during Ma Ying-Jeou’s Administration”?**

E. Theoretical Framework

Realism theory believes that the world is in the state of anarchy (Waltz). Hence in order to survive, defend them and achieve their objectives. As of that a state should use their power as the only key and variable of interest²². Realist perspective believes in a power state possesses is in a variety way such as military, economically and also diplomacy.

As quoted from Joseph Grieco, *“The world is anarchy, power is important. But the state is rational, hence, it selects strategy that will maximize its benefit and minimize the losses”*.

Stephen Walt in 1999 also stated *“...when confronted by a significant external threat, state will seek for alliance either balancing or bandwagoning.”*

This theory of realist helps in describing Taiwan position in the anarchical world that realist believes. The world is in the state of anarchy and Taiwan needs power in order to survive the condition as a strategy. So the concept of power is

²²International Relation, Principal Theories. Anne Marrie Slaughter, Oxford University. 2011

needed to understand Taiwan as in case of Taiwan which does not possess military power (hard power). It is also needed to look deeper into the concept of soft power in particular which lead to the analyzing through concept of Public Diplomacy to analyze Taiwan strategy and diplomacy. The concept of Power and Public Diplomacy will be explained as follows:

1. Power

Power is coined to the explanation of one of the classical realist Hans J. Morgenthau about power. He define power as “man control over the minds and action of other men“ and political power as “apsychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter through the influence which the former exert over the latter’s minds”²³. Power is divided into two kinds, hard power and Soft power.

a. Hard Power

Hard power is defined as the capacity to get what you want through the use of economic power or through the use of military force, by threatening others that you will use to against them, your economic superiority or your coercive capabilities. Therefore, hard power is heavily resource-based. In this sense it is a long way from soft power since it is viewed in classical terms, as a form of power that rests on the capacity of an actor to accumulate as many resources as are necessary to impose its will.

²³MORGENTHAU, J. H., 1954, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 3rd ed.(Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

b. Soft Power

According to the explanation of Joseph Nye²⁴, soft power is the ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction. A determining characteristic of soft power is that it is non-coercive. The currencies of soft power are culture, political values, and foreign policies. Lately, the term has also been applied in changing and influencing social and public opinion through relatively less transparent channels and lobbying through powerful political and non-political formations.

Trevor N Dupuy has come to a likely similar definition. He defined the soft power as a way of action to achieve the interest in persuasive and diplomatic way.²⁵

As in the case of Taiwan which is still lacking of the recognition, it needs to use its power in order to survive as a state and to be able to connect with international community. Aside from that, Taiwan also needs to survive from China rising power which in anyway can give a threat to Taiwan's sovereignty. Related to the fact that Taiwan itself has not enough hard power in the form of military capability, it is also quite impossible to compete with China in term of economic to pursue its objective. Therefore Taiwan chooses to use its soft power in form of diplomacy which is done in public diplomacy in particular.

²⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power : The means to Success in World politic " 2004.

²⁵ Trevor N Dupuy, "*International Military and Defense Encyclopedia*" vol 6 1992

2. Public Diplomacy

“Public diplomacy May be defined, simply, as the conduct of international relations by governments through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of nongovernmental entities (political parties, corporations, trade associations, labor unions, educational institutions, religious organizations, ethnic groups, and so on including influential individuals) for the purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments.“ (Alan K. Henrikson Professor of Diplomatic History April 2005)²⁶

Nicholas J. Cull in his writing on public diplomacy, learning from the past, divides the method of public diplomacy into forms which are; cultural diplomacy, advocacy, listening, exchange diplomacy and international broadcast.in this case it will use 4 out of 6 which are as follows.

The first one is Cultural diplomacy that May be defined as an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad.

Second is advocacy. Advocacy in Public Diplomacy May be defined as an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea or that actor’s general interests in the mind of a foreign public.

Third is exchange diplomacy. Exchange diplomacy in public diplomacy May be defined as an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and also accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation.

²⁶ The Flethcher School, Graduate School of International Affaris website. “ Definition of Public Diplomacy”, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy/Definitios>, access on December 8 2015

The last is International broadcast. International broadcasting (IB) is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television and the Internet to engage with foreign publics.

This concept of public diplomacy helps in analyzing and showing about Taiwan series of action or tactics as a form of its soft power practice as a strategy. In the case of Taiwan, the power exercised to achieve the means is in the form of soft power because the condition of Taiwan which does not possess strong military power. Taiwan exercised its power through diplomacy and with the aim and main objective to influence international public sympathy through public diplomacy.

The action that has done is in the form of International Broadcast (IB) creating a TV and Radio program aiming to explore Taiwan in particular side to make people have a better understanding about Taiwan like Radio Taiwan or what people known as The Voice of Taiwan. This program has gradually airing internationally and voicing out Taiwan perspective and citizen opinion on current issues.

The cultural diplomacy is done by holding some food and cultural festival in foreign countries. The famous Taiwan bubble tea has stolen people heart lately. Taiwan developed a Gourmet Taiwan plan and has since heavily invested in cuisine diplomacy (Booth, 2010), fashion and film festival.

Advocacy is done by giving health assistance and disaster relief activity like sending the humanitarian troops that have done by Taiwan after the Japan earthquake. Taiwan also support to the AIDS project ran by CARE-France in

Chad. Taiwan's medical assistance and humanitarian aid ranged US 20 million to US 20 million per year since 1998²⁷.

The exchange diplomacy is done by providing scholarship to study and visit Taiwan to study the culture, or language. The government of the Republic of China actively encourages such cultural exchanges, and has established the Bureau of International Cultural Relations under the Ministry of Education to institute the program on a comprehensive basis.²⁸ Five sections have been established to expand activities on a continuing basis.

The first supervises the bureau's offices abroad taking care of students and scholars from Taiwan, the second organizes international conferences and related activities, the third deals with local students and professors going abroad, the fourth provides similar services for those coming Taiwan, and the fifth handles all kinds of cultural exchanges.²⁹

F. Hypothesis

Based on the concept and the problem which is Taiwan strategy and diplomacy dealing with One-China Policy are:

1. Balancing by making alliance with US and the World
2. Bandwagoning to China

²⁷ Staff Writer with CNA. Report Lauds, Taiwan Humanitarian Efforts. Taipei Times, August 20, 2013. <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2013/08/20/2003570140> Acces 11,11,2015 05:15 AM

²⁸Taiwaaninfo :*Two ways student Exchange Play Role on Diplomacy*,<http://Taiwaaninfo.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=126896&ctNode=103>. Access on January 5 2016. 06:00 PM

²⁹Taiwaaninfo :*Two ways student Exchange Play Role on Diplomacy*,<http://Taiwaaninfo.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=126896&ctNode=103>. Access on January 5 2016. 12:00 AM

G. Method of Research

To complete the writing it mainly used the secondary data which would be mainly collected from books, journal, news, Websites. This research would tend to be a literature research. The collected data would be analyzed using the theoretical approach that makes this research most likely to the descriptive analytical research.

H. Scope of Research

In order to make the writing not to be a too wide explanation and become complex and hard to understand, this writing would mainly focused on the period of Ma Ying-Jeou Administration 2008-2015. Yet it is not close to the information laid earlier from the set of time in case it needed to understand deeper into the history of the object.

I. Writing Segmentation

In order to create an easy way to understand this research writing, this writing would be done systematically that the explanation would begin from chapter I to IV. Here are the brief glances of what's going to be discussed on each chapter;

CHAPTER I: This chapter is an introduction of the research writing which consist of the explanation of the reason of title selecting, background of the problem, research question, theoretical approach, hypothesis, scope of the research, research method, writing segmentation.

CHAPTER II: This chapter would mainly consist of an elaboration of case problem. Systematically this chapter would begin with the explanation of the definition and explanation about One-China Policy, China and Taiwan perspective to the case, how the policy is done would be the next explanation and would end with the explanation on Taiwan response to One-China Policy before Ma Ying-Jeou era.

CHAPTER III: this chapter would mainly consist of an explanation of power of both countries which begin with the countries basic data and continue with the comparison of both power capabilities.

CHAPTER IV: this chapter consists of the analysis of the case the implication of the theory and the correlation between theory and data found.

CHAPTER V : Conclusion