

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the author will discuss about the background , the formulation of the problem, writing purpose, theoretical framework, arguments, scope of research, research methodology, and writing systematic.

### **A. Background**

Cross-Strait relations (sometimes called Mainland Taiwan relations or Taiwan-China relations) refer to the relationship between the following two political entities, which are separated by the Taiwan Strait in the west Pacific Ocean namely the People's Republic of China (PRC), commonly known as "China" and the Republic of China (ROC), commonly known as "Taiwan". Their relationship is complex and controversial due to the dispute on the political status of Taiwan after the administration of Taiwan was transferred from Japan at the end of World War II in 1945 and the subsequent split of China in 1949 as a result of civil war (Gold, 1987).

In 1945, after the end of World War II, the Republic of China, led by the Kuomintang (KMT), took over Taiwan. The Kuomintang or Chinese Nationalist Party is the oldest political party in China's modern history. The party was founded by Sun Yat-sen with the aim of revolutionizing against the Qing Empire and establishing the Republic of China for renewal in China. At this time, the Kuomintang was more supportive of reunification with the People's Republic of China (Lu, 2014).

In 1949, after losing control of mainland China in the Chinese Civil War, the Republic of China government under the KMT withdrew to the Island of Taiwan and Chiang Kaishek declared martial law. During the Kuomintang government, the Kuomintang had thought that it was necessary to maintain good cooperative relations with China regarding cross-strait relations. from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s was sometimes described as the honeymoon period in a cross-strait relationship. Although no formal peace agreement was signed, conscious steps were taken to increase cross-border stability and facilitate the exchange of people and businesses. During this period, the ROC's cross-strait trade and investment in the Mainland grew substantially and also triangular trade through Hong Kong was included, the figures indicated that the ROC

was the largest investor in the PRC. In reaction to the changing reality of increased cross-Strait exchange between people, the ROC lifted the ban on Mainland visits in 1987 so that relations could be very good and smooth.

In 1986 a party called the Progressive Democratic Party (DPP) was founded, the DPP is a Taiwanese nationalist and a center-left political party in Taiwan (News, 2016). Controlling the presidency of the Republic of China and the unique Legislative Yuan, it is the ruling, majority and dominant party in the Pan-Green coalition in 2020. This party has emerged as an alternative to the Kuomintang party which is considered such a powerful party in Taiwan. The point of view of the DPP party on cross-strait relations is to minimize dependence on China, reduce interaction with China until it can be seen if it deserves to be a truly independent country and is not always assumed to be part of mainland China. From the mid-1990s to the present, cross-Strait relations began to deteriorate. In the mid-1990s, Taiwan began to step in efforts to break its diplomatic isolation. Beijing, in turn, interprets anything moving towards international recognition on Taiwan's behalf as a step towards de jure independence and separation of motherland (Chiu, 2017)..

From the explanation above, it can be seen that there are two major parties that have different goals where the Kuomintang prefers to be pro China in order to build friendly relations on cross-strait relations and also called as Pan-Blue. Meanwhile, the DPP party has traditionally been associated with strong human rights, and a different Taiwanese identity, and also they tend to struggle if Taiwan does not want dependence on China (Halloran, 2003).

In 2016 Since Tsai Ing-wen's landslide victory and the Democratic Progressive Party. Tsai won in the presidential and parliamentary elections of Taiwan. China warns Taiwan not to seek independence. China emphasized that it would defend the country's sovereignty. The democratic party of the Taiwan state has provided new enlightenment for political development (Yan, 2017). At least this was predicted by Tsai's appointment as a presidential who eliminated the Chinese-friendly Kuomintang (KMT) ruling party representative, Eric Chu with 32.5% of the vote. In Taiwan, support for the DPP itself has grown since 2014 because many nationalist movements want Taiwan to have its own identity as an independent country, but hundreds of students have occupied Taiwan's parliament for weeks to protest against China's trade law (Yi, 2015).

During the administration of Ma Ying-jeou as a previous president of Taiwan (2008-2016) and he came from the Kuomintang Party which referred to be pro-China, Ma has been very close to the president of China and often held meetings to discuss cross-strait relations, one of which is the policy to increase economic activity and to keep Taiwan under China's auspices. Ma's cross-Strait policies have transformed the temperature, while did not resolve the underlying knot of relations with China. Numerous agreements in trade, transportation, tourism, education and many other sectors have been signed, bringing a veneer of cooperation and conciliation to a relationship that is still underpinned by Chinese cruise missiles based in Fujian Province across the Strait.

However, Tsai Ing-wen's government which comes from the DPP party, she should follow the narrative of the DPP in order to further enhance Taiwan's independence and not try to maintain relations with China on cross-strait relations, but in fact Tsai Ing-wen wants to maintain a friendly relationship with China on cross-strait relations. Cross-strait relations is the most important instrument for Tsai Ing-wen, she said "peaceful but acknowledges differences, peace and seeks commonalities" Tsai Ing-wen's new policy direction emerged as an attempt to take stronger action on cross-strait relations. One of political action from Tsai Ing-wen in September 2016 met with President Xin Jinping to discuss Tsai Ing-wen's China policy by focusing on cross-strait relations and also talking about the trade agreement.

Futhermore, Taiwan under Tsai Ing-wen's administration takes friendly relations with China and one of them creating the Tsai Ing-wen's China policy with an emphasis in maintaining the status quo rather than establishing independence with China. This is actually odd because DPP Party orientation is to have more independence from China. Having friendly relations with China will weaken Taiwan identity in struggling as an Independent country in International Relations.

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background which already elaborated above, I can formulate a research question, which is: **“Why did Tsai Ing-wen’s administration take a friendly cross-strait relations with China despite of DPP Political Narrative to be more independent?”**

### **C. Research Purposes**

This research has the following objectives:

1. To know about The Taiwan's strategy in maintaining cross-strait relations with China during the Tsai Ing-wen administration (2016-2020) ;
2. Investigating Tsai Ing wen's motivation in having more friendly relations from China;
3. To enrich the study of International Relations, particularly in the scope of International Relations in East Asia.

### **D. Theoretical Framework**

A theory is a tool of analysis which explains why something can occur and when something predicted can happen. Using a theory is not only for explaining somethings, but it is also for predicting something. Moreover, the concept is also used for organizing and identify the phenomenon which attracts attention. Theory combines several concepts or sets of concepts into one explanation which shows how those concepts logically systematic.

#### **Constructivism**

Constructivism is one way of approaching the point of view that is used as an analysis tool, originating from the dissatisfaction of International Relations scientists in accepting the results of thoughts, interpretations and theoretical approaches in the study of pre-existing International Relations. (Purwono, 2010) The results of pre-existing thoughts and interpretations such as liberalism, realism, structuralism are considered by constructivists to overuse the power variable as a basic tool of analysis in solving a problem. Power does not at all have a very important role in creating world peace, but instead makes actors in international relations more aggressive in making conflicts.

In these situations and conditions, international relations analysts and scientists share three basic assumptions from the point of view of constructivism interpretation. The first point of view is that every action and behavior of an agent is based on the idea, identity and result of its relationship with the social environment. Ideas can be understood as fundamental to the agent how the agent perceives and views other agents. An idea of an agent reflects the characteristics or identity and becomes a variable differentiating it from other agents. Constructivism considers that the actions

taken by agents (president, state, central government and local governments) will have a very real influence in the international system. And also vice versa, an international system will also influence the behavior of agents (president, state, central government and local governments).

The second point of view is to see the international system as an anarchic system. In an anarchic system, there is a relationship between agents. The relationship between agents is a process of influencing each other between agents to form an international system. This contradicts the notion of realism which explains that in reality international relations are anarchy, anarchy which is given. The third point of view is to provide the main focus of the study of problems related to how to form identities and ideas. (Sorensen R. J., 1999)

The theory of constructivism in the social structure described by Alexander Wendt (1992) consists of three basic elements, namely practice, shared science and material resources. Collective science is a very important aspect in giving influence to actors who are interconnected, being the basic variable in regulating related actors or agents, which are intersubjective and dynamic. Constructiveism is built on idealistic assumptions that place norms, ideas, values and culture as the main things that shape the identity, interests and behavior of actors (the state). This is consistent with Jennifer Sterling in his writing "*constructivism shows that even our most enduring institutions are based on collective understandings*". (Folker, 2014)

In the point of view of constructivism, the behavior of an agent or actor is intersubjective, motivated by different norms, values, ideologies, language, culture and religion. This difference creates social phenomena that shape the personality between agents and guide actions between agents. Intersubjective is not static, because it changes from time to time based on changing context. (Adler-Nissen, 2015) The interaction between agents will form a new structure, such as an example of international cooperation and diplomatic practice. The structure in international relations is considered as a way for agents to convey ideas, ideas and thoughts to create a mutually agreed upon norm that applies in that structure. (Adler-Nissen, 2015) Wendt's constructivism emphasizes whether the interactions between agents or between actors are mutually cooperative or otherwise conflicting. (Sorensen R. J., 2013) And interest is a result of deliberation of various kinds of ideas, ideas and

thoughts that form the identity of an agent or state. In the viewpoint of constructivism understands a practice as a form of state policy, agent actions and actor behavior that comes from interests. Constructivism theory is considered as a dynamic theory and assumes that the source of this theory is the thought and knowledge that humans possess to transform social phenomena and phenomena into social science.

The essence of constructivism theory is the social world that comes from the construction of human thought. Wendt stated that: "*The way international politics is conducted is made, not given, because identities and interests are constructed and supported by intersubjective practice*". (Wendt, Levels of Analysis vs. Agents and Structures: Part III, 1992) Wendt's statement explains that the social world is not something given, not a scientifically derived structure. Human nature is free, respectable because it can accept and reject the international system, and can form a mutually beneficial relationship based on mutual agreement. Constructivism focuses on the problems of how these ideas and ideas are formed, how these ideas and ideas develop, and how these ideas and ideas are used by actors in international relations to solve some of the problems they face.

From the explanation above regarding with th constructivism, it can be understood that the phenomena occurring in International Relations are the result of human construction in seeing the international world and are not given. The policy-making process carried out by international relations actors according to a constructivist approach, is precisely due to national interests which are motivated by their respective identities. For example, when Tsai Ing-wen's administration decided to maintain the status quo instead of increasing independence with Taiwan, it can be traced that the Tsai ing-wen's administration constructed the situation and facts that occurred in China and this was not a threat to the Taiwanese. Everyone knows that China nowadays has mastered in the international world both in terms of the economy with a market that is widespread in various countries and militaries.

Tsai Ing-wen's administration constructs the situation that has occurred in China in recent years which is considered not a threat but could make a way for Taiwan to advance. Based on one of the 3 main concepts of social constructivism, namely Norm and Principle, Tsai Ing-wen's administration wants to act based on norms, so that it can use the logic of appropriateness but not the logic of cost and benefit, in other

words, Tsai Ing-wen's administration will try its best to become perceived actors as actors who follow the common norm or order. Because the theory of constructivism assumes that the relationship between structure and agent is mutually constitutive, where social constructivism considers that structure provides limits to what agents can do. But if the agents have the correct understanding and the correct consciousness then the agents can influence the structure. Moreover, this issues a statement from a social constructive theory by Alexander Wendt, namely "*Anarchy is what states make of it*" (Wendt, Level of Analysis vs Agents and Structures, 1992). In other words, the anarchy system is not created just like that, but is created by the agents in it.

The author chooses this theory because he wants to analyze why Tsai Ing-wen's administration prefers to maintain the status quo rather than implement Taiwanese independence with the narrative of the DPP party which prioritizes Taiwan's independence as part of proud being Taiwanese, but Tsai Ing-wen's administrations see that China is not threat because Tsai Ing-wen wants to construct the image from China in order to prove if China is not a threat to Taiwan. This can be done as an effort to maintain the cooperation that has been done previously.

#### **E. Hypothesis**

Based on the Constructivism theory: Tsai ing-wen's administration maintains friendly cross-strait relations to construct, adapt the norms and create an image that China (PRC) is not a threat to Taiwan.

#### **F. Scope of Research**

The scope of research of this undergraduate thesis is limited since Tsai Ing-Wen's administration began in 2016-2020. The scope of this research is started in 2016 since Tsai Ing-Wen elected to become the president of Taiwan. Tsai Ing-Wen is from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) , which is a Taiwanese democratic and liberal political party in Taiwan or called as Pan-Green Coalition.

#### **G. Research Methodology**

The research method is needed as a type of thought that is systematically used in the research and evaluation of this thesis, which ultimately aims to achieve scientifics from the writing of this thesis. In writing this thesis, the methods used are as follows:

##### *1. Type of Research*

In this thesis, the type of research is qualitative research. According to Poerwandari, in qualitative research, it is substantial to emphasize the importance of adjacency to people and research situations, until researchers obtain a clear idea of the reality (Poerwandari, 1998).

The research method used to examine the reason behind Tsai Ing wen's administration in maintaining cross-strait relations with china is a qualitative research method that emphasizes more on the process of occurrence of a phenomena.

## 2. *Type of Data*

Secondary material, in the form of books relating to the title of the thesis, articles, newspapers, magazines, discourse presented by the opinions of legal scholars, research results, reports and so on obtained both through print media and electronic media.

## 3. *Method of Collecting Data*

Method of Collecting Data conducted for this research are:

- a. Library Research, this research was conducted by obtaining references from various books, journals, reports and related material with research objectives (Zed, 2004).
- b. Field Research, this research was carried out by obtaining information directly from officials and authorities in the company to provide information regarding the purpose of the study (Bailey, 1982).

## 4. *Method of data analysis*

The research of this undergraduate thesis uses analysis technique by gaining data as much as possible and classifying the data which is coherent with this topic namely by contextualizing the theory on the data to prove that the hypothesis is true or false. Later, the data are systematically presented based on the relation between one and another subtopic. In this study the authors examine secondary data.

## **H. Organizing of Writing**

CHAPTER I discusses about the background , the formulation of the problem, writing purpose , theoretical framework, hypothesis, scope of research, research methodology, and writing systematic;

CHAPTER II discusses about the content of this study, it is about Tsai Ing-wen's administration policy with China, The Reason based on the constructivism theory, how the image that is built can be constructed ;



CHAPTER III explains about the conclusion of this paper.