

Part 2 The Cross-Strait Problem and Japan-China Relation

Keio's Paper

Japan's Position: Peaceful Resolution of the Cross-Strait Problem

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This year, People's Liberation Army staged its largest-ever military exercises near the province of Fujian. At the 74th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Peoples Republic of China Defense Minister Chi Haotian declared "The PRC would never renounce the use of force, specifically against the Taiwan independence movement, movement to split the motherland, and intervention by foreign forces."

Ever since the Taiwan Strait missile crisis in 1995 and 1996, Japan has showed a great concern toward the Cross-Strait relation. Although China considers the Cross-Strait problem as an internal affair, Japan considers the problem to reflect peace, security, and the stabilization for both Japan and the whole East Asian countries. After the March 1996 missile exercise, Japan's former Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto announced that he was "concerned of the Cross-Strait relation to worsen." This statement comes from the ideology that cross-Strait problem directly affects the security of Japan. In the 1996 Decision on Taiwan Issue, it indicates Japan's position on Cross-Strait relation, stressing that "Taiwan problem should be solved under peaceful confrontation by the will of both China and Taiwan."

Japan has and always will consider the establishment of Japan-China amity in 1972 to be important. The issuing of "Joint Announcement on "Building a Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development" in 1998 by Japan and China portrays the contribution to keep the peace and prosperity of both countries, as well as East Asian countries as a whole. For this agreement, China cannot create or cause any situation that will threaten the security of East Asia. This agreement also shows that Japan has the right to demand China to keep its responsibility for the stabilization of

East Asia.

If a war occurs between the Strait, there would be a great possibility for the U.S. military to intervene. Furthermore, to abide by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, Japan would most likely to be in the position to stand against China and assist the U.S. Military. If this situation arises, it will dismantle the Japan-China amity. Japan certainly does not wish this to happen.

Through this presentation, we would like to emphasize that, as long as the Cross-Strait military war menaces the security of Japan and East Asia, any possibility of war should be avoided. We would like to also note that we have no intention of commenting on Taiwan's independence. We believe that it should be resolved peacefully by the leaders and the citizens of Taiwan and China. Our aim of this presentation is to stress two factors. One is to remark that China has and should keep the responsibility to solve "Taiwan problem" through peaceful means. The second factor is to accentuate the importance of avoiding military crisis in the Taiwan Strait.

Chapter 1 Conflicts Concerning the "one-China" Principle

For China run by a Communist party, establishing sovereignty over Taiwan and unifying Taiwan has been the biggest political task for many years. Complying to Mao Ze-dong and Deng Xiao-Ping reign, Jiang Ze-Min took over the responsibility to force similar policy toward Taiwan. In Taiwan, during the administration of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, both were members of Kuo Ming Tang, the leaders declared to recover the mainland under the ideology of the "one-China" principle. However, The administration of Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party, brought a new wave of ideology in Taiwan. Ever since their administration, Taiwan began to dwell on the status quo, in which China and Taiwan is ruled under a separate jurisdiction. Furthermore, Taiwan began to pursue for international recognition. There have been tremendous conflicts between China and Taiwan over the "one-China" principle. By reviewing these conflicting ideology and actions made by China and Taiwan, differences and problems between the two regions becomes evident.

Section 1 China's Ideology and Actions

Jiang Zemin's policy toward Taiwan is based on "peaceful unification" and "one country, two systems" appeared in the "Message to Compatriots on Taiwan" in 1979. Compared to the former policy, China softened its policy toward Taiwan and began pursuing resolution through peaceful confrontations. However, China still remains obstinate concerning Taiwan's acceptance of the "one-China" principle. China continuously emphasizes that the acceptance of the "one-China" principle is a precondition of any bilateral talk between the two sides.

China has been taking diplomatic actions in the international arena to permeate the "one-China" principle. China had been forcing the "one-China" principle and the "Anti-support for the Taiwan independence" to countries that have diplomatic relation

with China.

In February 2000, a new “White Paper on Taiwan” is issued, stating that China would agree to have a talk only if Taiwan adopts the “one-China” principle. Since Taiwan shows no signs of obeying, bilateral talk between the Strait has remained suspended since the 1993 Koo-Wang Talks held in Singapore.

Section 2 Taiwan's Ideology and Actions

Taiwan demands that China should note the reality that the two regions belong to separate jurisdictions. Taiwan explains that the two sides should face how to end the hostile situation and insists on the process toward unification to be peaceful and based on equal footing. Taiwan had ruled out the use of force toward China.

In 1991, during the Lee Teng-Hui administration, amendments in the Constitution were created and shifted its policy toward democracy. In 1993, Taiwan made actions to win back international recognition as a sovereign state. In 1995, Lee Ten-Hui also issued its six point policy, opposing to “Jiang's Eight Points”, implying unification based on reality, dialogue based on equal footing, renouncement of military intervention. Therefore, Taiwan did not accept the “one-China” principle as a status quo, but a goal to be resolved peacefully in the future.

Taiwan's president Chen Shui-Bian emphasizes the agreement made in Singapore 1992, “ to set aside the “one-China” dispute with each side maintaining its own interpretation of the term” and demands bilateral talk on equal footing. According to a survey taken in Taiwan, over 70 percent of the people of Taiwan opposes the China's interpretation of “one-China” and “one country, two systems”. Taiwan has no intentions of compromising with China as long as China uses military power to enforce “one China” principle as a precondition of bilateral talk.

Section 3 Summary

By looking at both sides of the conflicts of “one China” principle, it is clear that China had been stressing the same obstinate policy from the reign of Mao Zedong. On the other hand, Taiwan has continuously changed its Cross-Strait policy from the late Chiang Ching-Kuo reign, and drastically converted its policy during Lee Teng-Hui administration. These changes in Taiwan portrays the effort to keep its prosperity more than to unify China. For many years, Taiwan had remained sovereign, creating its own political and economical policy, prospering in social economical aspects and creating democracy. Taiwan is trying to maintain what they had long achieved. Shown in surveys conducted in Taiwan, most of the people are willing to keep the status quo.

Ruled under democracy, Taiwan's leaders do not have the power to make policy that does not reflect the will and hope of the people of Taiwan. China has to reconsider the reality and understand that there will never be any talk between the Strait if it keeps its obstinate measures toward Taiwan.

Chapter 2 Tensions of Military Intervention

Since the Deng Xiao-Ping reign, China had converted its policy towards Taiwan from “unification by force” to “unification by peace”. However, China refused to renounce military intervention as a last resort. This same ideology was passed on to Jiang Zemin. Ironic to the “peaceful unification” ideology, tensions of military intervention have been growing in the Taiwan Strait. In this chapter, we will review the military situation between the Strait.

Section1 China's Ideology and Actions

In 1993, Jiang Zemin issued the “White Paper on Taiwan Unification” and began taking serious measures to solve the “Taiwan issue”. In 1994, China made repeated ballistic missile exercises to pressurize the leaders and the people of Taiwan. This was the cause of Taiwan's import on arms, Lee Teng-Hui's visit to the U.S., and Taiwan's presidential election. The military exercise by China comes from a fear of separatism by Taiwan, under the rule of Lee Teng-Hui.

The 1995 “Jiang's Eight Points” does not state to Taiwan Compatriot, but to any conspiracies toward “Taiwan independence”, implying that the reasons why China refuses to renounce military intervention is for a peaceful unification. The “White Paper on Taiwan” published in the year 2000, states “indefinite refusal for dialogue” that China will exercise military intervention if this problem arises.

Although China refuses to renounce its military force, it demands against the U.S. arms sales toward Taiwan. The U.S. exclaims that their arms sale to Taiwan is based on the 1979 “Taiwan Relations Act”. However, China repeatedly declared that the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan violated the “August 17 Communiqué” established in 1982, which made limitations on arms sales.

Section 2 Taiwan's Ideology and Actions

Taiwan has given up the slogan that aims to recover mainland for many years but because of the increasing military threat by China, Taiwan has put an effort to strengthen their military defense.

After the “Taiwan Strait Crisis” in 1995 and 1996, Taiwan's pursuit to strengthen military defense has increased. Taiwan has bought arms from the U.S. and propelled to modernize its military force.

The military pressure by the PLA does not always affect the opinions of the people of Taiwan. Lee Ten-Hui won its presidential election in 1996 although China fired missiles across the Taiwan Strait. Likewise, Chen Shui-Bian of the Democratic Progressive Party won its presidential election in the year 2000, although China warned military intervention.

Recently, The PRC Department of Defense warned Taiwan of its military intervention, and staged its largest military exercises in the Taiwan Strait. In this present situation, Taiwan turned its attention toward improving military defense and

information technology. Aware of this situation, the U.S. held the “resolution concerning Taiwan Defense” in the year 2000, and enforced arms sales to Taiwan, even this year.

Section 3 Summary

The standstill of the Cross-Strait talk is creating military competition and distrust between China and Taiwan. Considering this situation, any accident can bring about the worst military collision. To ease these military tensions, opening up bilateral talk is important. However, Taiwan will most likely refuse to talk with China, as long as it uses military force to pressurize Taiwan into unification

Conclusion

Although “Taiwan issue” should be resolved peacefully between China and Taiwan, the establishment of Japan-China amity gives Japan a certain right to give opinions toward China. Considering the Japan-China amity in prospect, we would like to introduce couple of factors from the Japan’s stance toward the Taiwan issue.

Concerning the Taiwan issue, Japan has kept the position based on the agreement made by the “Japan-China Joint Communiqué” in 1972. Through this Communiqué, Japan agreed to understand and respect China’s ideology that PRC is the only legitimate Government of China. Furthermore, Japan agreed to recognize Taiwan as an inalienable part of the territory of the PRC. Therefore, Japan has never made a formal diplomatic relation with Taiwan after Japan recovered diplomatic relation with China. In “Japan-China Joint declaration” in 1998, Japan kept the same stance towards China, and rejected the recognition of “Taiwan’s Independence”. However, Japan and China also agreed upon “a Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development”. Through this partnership, Japan and China both have responsibilities to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the whole Asian region.

China considers the “Taiwan issue” to be an internal affair, and shows no sign of negotiating with other countries. China has been creating Cross-Strait tensions by improving military equipment and exercising missile attack in the Strait. China has also repeatedly refused to renounce military intervention as a last resort. These actions made by China, ignores its responsibility to keep the peace and security of East Asia. Considering the fact that crisis in the Taiwan Strait directly affects Japan’s security, Japan has the right to demand China to make peaceful resolutions.

Japan’s economy is deeply related to the security of the sea-lane. If ever the South China Sea is blocked from a military collision in the Strait, Japan will have to face serious damage in its economy. Therefore, Japan cannot be indifferent to the situation in the Taiwan Strait, and shows deep concern to any situations that will bring up military tensions.

If a military war arises in the Taiwan Strait and the U.S. Military intervenes, Japan will most likely be in the position to assist the U.S. military as a means of protecting the sea-lane. For this reason, conflict in the Japan-China relation can be interpreted as

inevitable. Japan and China had been building close economic relationships for many years. Japan hopes this to continue and strongly urge China's understanding that, any conflicting situation in the Taiwan Strait should be avoided.

There is a strong doubt towards the effectiveness of the Chinese policy. Taiwan refuses China's enforcement of the "one-China" principle. As long as China holds the "one-China" principle as a pre-condition of any bilateral talk, any future confrontation cannot be expected. In addition, China's refusal to renounce military intervention is hindering the Cross-Strait talk. According to a survey taken toward the people of Taiwan, about 50 percent of the people of Taiwan believes that "China feels hostility against Taiwan citizens." Acknowledging the military expansionism and the distrust grown between China and Taiwan, it is hard to believe that there will be a solution from confrontations.

Japan does not support Taiwan from hindering bilateral talk, declaring independence, or expanding international recognition. At the same time, Japan shows concern toward growing military tensions from the continuous refusal of the bilateral talk.

For the stability of Japan-China relation, and the whole East Asian region, Japan requests China to make an effort to compromise with Taiwan accepting the reality of the Taiwan issue. As seen during the reign of Deng Xiao-Ping, Japan hopes and believes that in the near future, China would convert its Taiwan policy and prevail to end the rigorous status quo of the present Cross-Strait situation.