Opportunities and Challenges of U.S.-Taiwan Relations for the Newly Elected R.O.C. President

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Content

1. The 2016 Elections in Taiwan
2. Tsai’s Evolving Views on Cross-Strait Relations
3. Mainland China’s Insistence on “One China Principle”
4. Opportunities of U.S.-Taiwan Relations
5. Challenges of U.S.-Taiwan Relations
6. Scenarios of the Future
## Political Parties in Taiwan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Chinese Nationalist Party" /></td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuo, KMT, the Blue)</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Democratic Progressive Party" /></td>
<td>Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, the Green)</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="People First Party" /></td>
<td>People First Party (PFP, the Orange)</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Taiwan Solidarity Union" /></td>
<td>Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU)</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="New Power Party" /></td>
<td>New Power Party (NPP)</td>
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The Outcome of Presidential Election

2012
- KMT: 51%
- DPP: 46%
- PFP: 3%

2016
- KMT: 31%
- DPP: 56%
- PFP: 13%
The Outcome of Legislative Election

2012

- KMT (Pan Blue Coalition): 64
- People First Party: 3
- Non-Partisan Solidarity Union (Pan Blue Coalition): 2
- Independent (non-aligned): 1
- Taiwan Solidarity Union (Pan Green Coalition): 3
- Democratic Progressive Party (Pan Green Coalition): 40

2016

- Seat composition for the incoming 9th Legislative Yuan:
The Significance of the 2016 Election

• A more robust democracy in Taiwan
• The first female president in Taiwan
• The DPP’s total control of political power for the first time
• A stronger alliance between Taiwan, Japan and the United States vis-à-vis China
• More intense relations across the Taiwan Strait
President elect: Tsai Ing-Wen
DPP’s Position on Cross-Strait Relations

1. Taiwan Independence Party Charter (1996)
   We maintain the necessity of crafting a new constitution and creating an independent Republic of Taiwan through referendum.

2. Resolution on Taiwan’s Future (1999)
   Taiwan is an independent sovereign State. Although it is called the Republic of China under current constitution, it is no part of the People’s Republic of China. Any attempt to change the status quo of Taiwan independence requires a referendum.

Based on our “Taiwan Independence Party Charter” and “Resolution on Taiwan’s Future,” we will further advocate the rectification of our country’s name, the crafting of a new constitution, and joining the UN... so that we can realize the ideal of making Taiwan a normal state.
Tsai’s Evolving Views on Cross-Strait Relations

1. Tsai’s Denial of “the 1992 Consensus” (2000)

The so-called “one China, different interpretations” is merely our phraseology to depict the negotiation process (of 1992). It is a descriptive usage that the new government can accept, but it by no means implies that we have accepted Beijing’s “one China principle.”

2. Tsai’s Support of the “Two-State Theory” (2003)

The Republic of China and the People’s Republic of China do not belong to each other. “One side, one country” is a statement of fact.

The Republic of China is an exile (alien) government, which rules Taiwan at the moment. The Chineseness of the ROC must be relocated from a subjective status to an objective status, and yields to Taiwaneseness.

4. Tsai’s Proposal of Taiwan Consensus (2011)

There is no 1992 consensus. What I propose is to create a Taiwan consensus to replace the 1992 consensus, which would be ratified by legislation and a referendum. This new consensus should then form the basis for negotiations with the PRC.
5. Tsai’s Attitude towards the PRC (2014)

Whoever has power, different parties will shift their direction toward those with power. The DPP’s biggest challenge is to do well in this year’s local elections. If we do well, even China will shift in the direction of the DPP. If they feel that the DPP has the best chance of winning in 2016, they will automatically create the conditions for that.
6. Tsai’s Speech at the CSIS (2015)

I have articulated and reiterated my position of maintaining the status quo in the previous months, as I believe this serves the best interest of all parties concerned. Therefore, if elected President, I will push for the peaceful and stable development of cross-Strait relations in accordance with the will of the Taiwanese people and the existing ROC constitutional order.

7. Tsai’s Statement after the Election (2016)

There was a bilateral summit in 1992 as a matter of historical fact and there was a mutual cognizance of “seeking common ground while shelving differences.”
Mainland China’s Insistence on “One China Principle”

• There is only one China. Both Sides of the Taiwan Strait belong to one China.
• The core of the 1992 Consensus is one China principle.
• To deny the 1992 Consensus (or one China principle) will undermine the political foundation of cross-Strait relations, and there will be no possibility of peace or development.
• The CCP is determined to maintain China’s territorial and sovereign integrity at all costs.
Beijing’s Response to Tsai’s Position

1. Xi Jinping (3/5/2016)

We will resolutely contain “Taiwan independence” secessionist activities in any form... We will adhere to the 1992 Consensus as a political foundation, and continuously advance the peaceful development of cross-Strait ties. Only by accepting the 1992 Consensus and recognizing its core implications can the two sides have a common political foundation and maintain good interactions.
2. Li Keqiang (3/5/2016)

China would oppose separatist activities for the independence of Taiwan, safeguard China’s territorial integrity, maintain the peaceful growth of cross-strait relations, and safeguard peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits.

3. Chen Deming (3/6/2016)

The Chinese Communist Party would not make any direct contact with the DPP for party-to-party talks unless the DPP renounces Taiwanese independence.
Opportunities of U.S.-Taiwan Relations

- Taiwan has always been the most faithful and collaborative friend of the US in the East Asia.
- Taiwanese democracy is a good example for the US to promote democracy in other regions.
- Taiwan needs US support to counter the pressure from Mainland China.
- Taiwan is eager to enhance its trade with the US and join the TPP led by the US.
- Taiwan plays a crucial role in US’s “rebalancing” to Asia and the Pacific, such as the issue on the East China Sea and the South China Sea.
Challenges of U.S.-Taiwan Relations

• How to maintain the peace and stability of the Taiwan Strait if Tsai Ing-wen rejects the 1992 Consensus?
• How to maintain Taiwan’s economic growth if the PRC punishes Tsai’s administration for not confirming to its “one China principle”?
• How to deal with the ractopamine pork issue so that Taiwan can join TPP or sign FTA with the US?
• How to balance Taiwan’s sovereignty on the South China Sea and its strategic cooperation with the US?
Scenarios of the Future

• Scenario One:
  Tsai recognizes “one China principle” under the ROC constitution framework, which presupposes the unification with the Mainland in the future and describes the current situation as “one country, two areas.” Taiwan tilts toward the US strategically without irritating the PRC or giving the latter any excuse to punish Taiwan.
• Scenario Two

Tsai does not recognize the 1992 consensus or “one China principle” at her inauguration speech, which triggers the PRC’s punitive action in gradual escalation. Tsai’s administration responds with nationalist mobilization and appeals to the international community. The US has no choice but to engage in the dispute until regional tension is cooled down with Tsai’s concession or with some new formula acceptable to both sides.
• Scenario Three

Tsai declines the 1992 consensus and “one China principle” all the way through, which triggers the PRC’s punitive action in gradual escalation until it reaches the point of military confrontation. The US faces the difficult choice between “defending Taiwan with large-scale military deployment” and “abandoning Taiwan and damaging its allies’ trust in the US’s promise worldwide.”
Concluding Remarks

• The 2016 elections in Taiwan marks the beginning of a new era in cross-Strait relations and US-Taiwan relations.

• How the new Taiwanese government and the CCP handle “one China principle” will have a great impact upon the triangular relations between Taipei, Beijing and Washington.

• The first scenario (continuing stability) is the most desirable, but the second scenario (escalating tension) is the most likely.