

## **EA626 CHINA-TAIWAN CROSS STRAIT RELATIONS**

CEAS Winter 2022

Course: China - Taiwan Cross-Strait Relations EA626 Ph.D

Academic Level: Ph.D

Credits: 3

Lecture hours: 1.5 hours twice a week or 1 hour thrice a week

Grading: 100 marks for Grade to be given after evaluation

- End semester examination **50 marks**
- Term paper **25 marks**
- Book review **15 marks**
- Attendance **10 marks**

### Course description

Cross Strait relations between China and Taiwan are a powerful feature of international relations/strategic affairs in East Asia. Since Cold war decades and the post-Cold war phase, Taiwan Strait has been considered to be a flashpoint in security and geo-political terms, The strategic centrality of the Taiwan Strait for international shipping from and to northeast Asia makes the 'locale' witness to political and economic exuberances. A 'managed stability' prevails with episodic illustrations of extreme animus in bilateral relations under construction between Beijing and Taipei. The management of relations not slipping into conflict in the Taiwan Strait is owing to domestic political aspects and deep economic linkages benefiting both. The proposed course will examine comprehensively Cross Strait relations, its history, politics, economy, contemporaneous reality, each with embedded variables and determinants.

The course is designed to encourage research, academic discipline by weaving theoretical approaches – Functionalists / Neo-Functionalists / Realists / Neo-Realists / Transactional-ists / Nationalists / Federalists / Constructivists with contemporaneous developments in Cross Strait relations.

### Weekly schedule

#### **I & II - Introduction and theories**

- State as a categorical prism to examine Cross Strait relations. Scholars from China and Taiwan have contributed to episteme by looking at the 'State' as a determinant.
- Sovereignty is a very emotive aspect of Cross Strait relations inherent in polemics largely influenced by political leanings on either side of the Taiwan Strait.

- Territory continues to be an unfathomable aspect with 'radicals' on either side demanding re-unification.

These three foundational aspects establish legitimacy of a state in a Westphalian perspective. How these aspects motivate Cross Strait relations with a *mélange* of views, will be explained in the first two weeks of the course.

### Readings:

Jie Dalei, 'Is the Taiwan Strait Heading Toward Another Crisis?' Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, 30 October 2018.

*Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century*, compiled by William Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufano, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

### **III - History**

Holland, Portugal and Japan were three countries who coveted Formosa (Taiwan) and lent colonial *extremis* to the South China Sea in the middle ages. Macau in China (Portugal), Fort Zeelandia (Holland) now Tainan, and Tamsui (Portugal), now Tamsui were transit points for commercial ships. The Japanese influence was at its peak in Formosa after the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) between the then Empire of Japan and a declining Qing Dynasty after the First Sino- Japanese War. This treaty, after being negotiated for a couple of months, made Taiwan a 'responsibility' of Japan. The island/s of Taiwan were administered by a colonial framework in Taiwan until 1945.

The Kuomintang / Guomindang was founded in 1911 after the Xinhai revolution. The decline and eclipse of the Qing dynasty, intermittent students movements, return and increased influence of western educated students to China paved the way for ideological formulations to find a fecund political environment in China.

### Readings:

J. Bruce Jacobs, 'Taiwan's Colonial Experiences and the Development of Ethnic Identities: Some Hypotheses' *Taiwan in Comparative Perspective* (London), Vol.5, July 2014, pp. 47-59. ISSN 1752-7732

Lin-Chin Tsai, 'Mapping Formosa: Settler Colonial Cartography in Taiwan Cinema in the 1950s', *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies* (Taipei), Vol.44, No.2, pp.19-50. 1729-6897

### **IV and V - KMT and CCP**

Decline of Qing, Student movements, Return of western educated, Founding of KMT, Founding of CCP, played decisive historical roles in creating, moulding expressions in politics of China. The Chinese Communist Party founded in 1921 contrasted with the nationalist spiel of the KMT with a communist orientation speaking the language of equality. The KMT was known to be partial to big business interests. The end of the Second World War witnessed the end of Japan's colonial empire and initiated the Cold War. The tussle between the United States and the Soviet Union did cast its influence on Cross Strait affairs. A Communist China was wary of a Kuomintang Taiwan although the latter was defeated in the several decades

long civil war on China. During the Cold War years Taiwan was called the Republic of China and was a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council until 1971.

### Readings:

Cheng Li (2001) *China's Leaders: The New Generation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Fairbank, John K., and Albert Feuerwerker, eds.(1986) *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 13, Republican China, 1912–1949, Part 2. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

### **VI – China's Open Door Policy (1979) and Cross Strait relations**

What is/was China's 'Open Door' policy? How did this epochal process influence Cross Strait relations and what were the motivational factors? The period since 1979 has been a strenuous effort by both sides to jettison ideological shibboleths and favour economic complementarities. This theme for lecture will extrapolate decisive features and the opposite that have led to tensions.

### Readings:

Hameiri, Shahar and Lee Jones (2016) Rising powers and state transformation: The case of China, *European Journal of International Relations*, Issue 3, pp.1–27.

Huters, Theodore R., Bin Wong and Pauline Yu. eds. (1997) *Culture & State in Chinese History – Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*, Taipei: SMC Publishing.

### **VII and VIII- Politics**

Personalities and politics have played important roles in domestic political culture. Cross Strait relations are not immune from the role of individuals listed and the political schema they represented and represent. A few personalities and their policy pronouncements to be explained are:

Sun Yat Sen (KMY), Chiang Kai Shek (KMT), Mao Zedong (CCP), Deng Xiaoping (CCP), Chiang Ching Kuo (KMT), Jiang Zemin (CCP), Lee Teng Hui (KMT and TSU), Wu Der Yuan (DPP), Hu Jintao (CCP), Ma Ying Jiou (KMT), Xi Jinping (CCP), Tsai Ing Wen (DPP) will be individuals whose policy pronouncements and impact on Cross Strait relations will be explained.

### Readings:

Breslin, Shaun (1996) 'China: Developmental State or Dysfunctional Development', *Third World Quarterly* 17(4): 689–706.

Dingxin Zhao (2015) *The Confucian-Legalist State: A New Theory of Chinese History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Duckett, Jane (1998) *The Entrepreneurial State in China*. Series: Routledge studies on China in transition, 5. Routledge: London.

Hsu, Immanuel C.Y. (1975) *The Rise of Modern China*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lieberthal, Kenneth (1995) *Governing China. From Revolution through Reform*. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc

### **IX - Ideological differences - One China?**

Cross Strait relations are to be seen as a domain where ideological differences have created different political expressions. These are acknowledged and contested by episteme yielding to a realised grounding of differences largely considered to be an irritant with embedded characteristics of deepening economic engagements, as the glue for a 'unified' future. Within these laudable objectives are deep ideological moorings on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. This lecture will explain ideological divergences and surprising convergences.

#### **Readings:**

Poulantzas, Nicos (1976) *State, Power, Socialism*, London: New Left Books.

Rana Mitter (2004) *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shambaugh, David (2001) 'The Dynamics of Elite Politics During the Jiang Era', *The China Quarterly* 45: 101–12.

Shaun Breslin (2009) *State Led Development in Historical Perspective: From Friedrich List to A Chinese Mode of Governance?*

Shue, Vivienne (1988) *The Reach of the State: Sketches of the Chinese Body Politic*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

### **X - Cold War & ROC exits UN**

The United States and Republic of China (ROC) have had a long standing relationship where political ideologies of a similar nature created institutional links that remain strong despite the Nixon visit to China in 1972, paving the way for the People's Republic of China (PRC) into the United Nations with permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

#### **Readings:**

Woo-Cumings, Meredith (ed.) (1999) *The Developmental State*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press.

Yan Xuetong (2013) *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power* {The Princeton China Series} New York: Princeton University Press.

Joseph Y.K. Hsu, "On Taiwan's United Nations Membership" *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* (Bratislava), Vol.16, No.3, 2007, pp.39-43.

### **XI - Open Door policy and Cross Strait relations**

The Open Door Policy of China in a post-Mao Zedong political milieu impacted Cross Strait relations positively and negatively. The positive aspect was Deng Xiaoping's assertion of Taiwan to become an intrinsic part of China through a process of 'peaceful re-unification.' The negative aspects are to with excited political rhetoric on both sides of the Taiwan Strait with every leadership since 1949 posturing and re-posturing on unfinished historical legacies.

### Readings:

Weiss, Linda (2000) 'Developmental States in Transition: Adapting, Dismantling, Innovating, not "Normalising"', *The Pacific Review* 13(1): 21–55.

White, Gordon (1984) 'Developmental States and Socialist Industrialisation in the Third World', *Journal of Development Studies* 21(1): 97–120.

Unger, Jonathan and Anita Chan (1996) 'Corporatism in China: A Developmental State in an East Asian Context', in P. F. Bowles, B. L. McCormick and J. Unger (eds) *China After Socialism. In the Footsteps of Eastern Europe or East Asia?*, pp. 95–129. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

## **XII - *Authoritarianism to Democracy – Taiwan***

A miracle. Taiwan was represented by Chiang Kai Shek and his KMT that made the island country reflecting a political culture symbolised by an authoritarian/totalitarian construct where freedom of expression and existence of other political parties were not issues. The transition made to a democracy since mid 1980s by Taiwan is a stellar instance of a political transformation with institutions taking place alongside economic growth and rise in all indicators – economic and social especially. Societal aspects to Taiwan's democracy will be elaborated upon.

### Readings:

Dafydd Fell, *Government and Politics in Taiwan* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018).

Shelley Rigger, *From Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2001).

Chu Yun-han and Lin Jih-wen, "Political Development in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity" *China Quarterly* (London), No. 165, March 2001, pp. 103-129.

## **XIII – *ECFA and Cross Straits Economic Relations***

The Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement between the two 'sides' signed in 2010, recognises the need to intensify cooperation in commercial matters between the two sides. The success of the ECFA can be illustrated by the more than USD 150 billion trade amongst two signatories to an agreement who do not politically recognise each other. Intricacies involved in ECFA include bilateral investment protocol, legal redressal mechanisms, work permits and other protocols exhibiting bilateral arrangements.

The depth and intensity of economic relations had increased year after year until the democratic temperament in Taiwan chose the opposition Democratic People's Party (DPP)

once again in 2016 with Madame Tsai Ing Wen as the President, and who is known for her anti-China position.

### Readings:

Chih Cheng Lo & Tien Wang Tsaur, *Deconstructing ECFA: Challenges and Opportunities for Taiwan*, Taipei: Taiwan Brain Trust, 2010.

Seanon S. Wong, "Economic Statecraft Across the Strait: Business influence in Taiwan's Mainland policy," *Asian Perspective* (Kyungnam/Johns Hopkins) Vol. 29, No.2, 2005, pp. 41- 72.

Tsai, Tung-chieh and Tony Tai-ting Liu (2017), "Cross-Strait Relations and Regional Integration: A Review of the Ma Ying-jeou Era (2008–2016)," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (Hamburg: GIGA), 46, (1), 11–35.

### **XIV & XV – Geopolitics and South China Sea**

Cross-Strait relations are a strategic issue with a salience not just for East Asia. The geographical location of Taiwan makes it important for China to covet the island for its eastern seaboard on the Pacific Ocean and western seaboard on the South China Sea known as a maritime seaway for commerce to sail from northeast Asia (South Korea/Japan and Eastern China). The maritime centrality of South China Sea to East Asia is undoubtedly highlighted by the contestations / illegal occupation / international law transgressions / bilateral and multilateral initiatives and domestic political calculations of the littoral states. The role of the United States and Japan will be explained in the light of Asia Reassurance Initiative Act (ARIA) signed into law on 31 December 2018 by Donald Trump. The Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement signed between Taiwan and Japan will be explained.

### Readings:

Peng Min-min, *A Taste of Freedom – Memoirs of a Formosan Independence Leader*, Upland, CA: Taiwan Publishing Co., 2005.

Chen Ming-tong (trans. Kiel Downey), *The China Threat Crosses the Strait – Challenges and Strategies for Taiwan's National Security*, Taipei: Taiwan Security Research Group, 2006.

### **XVI – Concluding lecture – India/Taiwan relations**

India – Taiwan relations will be explained taking into view a bilateral with strictly 'unofficial characteristics.' A thorough review of the course / contents / research aspects / methodologies will be undertaken to impress upon course participants the importance of Cross Strait relations to international security / strategic calculations / behaviour of actors and the deep interlinkages of interests (commercial / political / strategic) determining China-Taiwan relations, or the stunted manner in which it has evolved.

### Readings:

Ministry of External Affairs, India

[www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan)

<https://en.mofa.gov.tw>

World Trade Organization

[www.wto.org](http://www.wto.org)

## **XVII – Term paper presentations**

### **Course readings**

#### **Articles** (Selected reading)

Alexander C. Tan, Karl Ho & Cal Clark (2020) “The political economy of Taiwan’s regional relations,” *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, pp.1-24.

Chung Li Wu, “Local factions and the Kuomintang in Taiwan’s electoral politics” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* (Oxford), Volume 3 (2003) 89–111.

Emma J. Teng, “Taiwan and Modern China,” *Asian History*, Oxford Research Encyclopedia (Oxford), 2005.

Jean-Pierre Cabestan, “A European Role in Cross-Strait Relations?”, *GIGA* (Hamburg) 2005.

Samia Ferhat, “China-Taiwan: Young People Confront Their History,” *China Perspectives* (Hong Kong), 66, July- August 2006

Scott L. Kastner, “Does Economic Integration Across the Taiwan Strait Make Military Conflict Less Likely?” *Journal of East Asian Studies* (Cambridge), Vol. 6, Issue 3, December 2006, pp. 319-346.

Seanon S. Wong, “Economic Statecraft Across the Strait: Business influence in Taiwan’s Mainland policy,” *Asian Perspective* (Kyungnam/Johns Hopkins) Vol. 29, No.2, 2005, pp. 41-72.

Tsai, Tung-chieh and Tony Tai-ting Liu (2017), “Cross-Strait Relations and Regional Integration: A Review of the Ma Ying-jeou Era (2008–2016),” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (Hamburg: GIGA), 46, (1), 11–35.

Winberg Chai, “Relations between the Chinese Mainland and Taiwan,” *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, Vol.26, No.2, Summer 1999, pp. 59-76.

Yasuhiro Matsuda, "Cross-Strait Relations under the Ma Ying-jeou administration: From Economic to Political Dependence?," *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, 4:2, 2005, pp. 3-35.

### **Books** (Selected reading)

Christopher Hughes, *Taiwan and Chinese Nationalism – National identity and status in international society* (London: Routledge, 1997) ISBN 0-415-15768-4

Chun Yi Lee, *Taiwanese Business or Chinese Business Asset? A changing pattern of interaction between Taiwanese businesses and Chinese governments* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

Dafydd Fell, *Party Politics in Taiwan – Party change and the democratic evolution of Taiwan, 1991-2004* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005) ISBN 0-415-35973-2

Jonathan Manthorpe, *Forbidden Nation – A History of Taiwan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) ISBN 1-4039-6981-7

John Minns, *The Politics of Developmentalism – The Midas States of Mexico, South Korea and Taiwan* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Kevin G. Cai (ed.), *Cross-Taiwan Straits Relations Since 1979 – Policy Adjustment and Institutional Change Across the Straits* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2011) ISBN-13 978- 981-4282-60-4

Mikael Mattlin, *Politicized Society – The Long Shadow of Taiwan's One-Party Legacy* (Denmark: NIAS Press, 2011) ISBN: 9788776940614

Peter C.Y. Chow (ed.), *The US Strategic Pivot to Asia and Cross-Strait Relations – Economic and Security Dynamics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) ISBN 978-1- 349-47344-1

Shiping Hua (ed.), *Reflections on the Triangular Relations of Beijing-Taipei-Washington since 1995 – Status Quo at the Taiwan Straits?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) ISBN 978-1-349-53226-1

Tianjin Shi, *The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) ISBN 978-1-107-01176-2

Wu Shicun, *Solving Disputes for Regional Cooperation and Development in the South China Sea – A Chinese Perspective* (Oxford: Chandos Publishing, 2013), ISBN: 978-1- 84334-685-2.

### **Online resources**

Cross Strait Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan  
[https://www.taiwan.gov.tw/content\\_6.php](https://www.taiwan.gov.tw/content_6.php)

Ministry of Commerce, People's Republic of China



[www.english.mofcom.gov.cn](http://www.english.mofcom.gov.cn)

The German-Southeast Asian Center of Excellence for Good Governance and Public Policy (CPG)

<https://www.cpg-online.de>

American Association for Chinese Studies

<https://aacs.cuny.cuny.edu/journal1.htm>

China Leadership Monitor

[www.hoover.org](http://www.hoover.org)

Course offered by:

Raviprasad Narayanan, Ph.D

Associate Professor

Centre for East Asian Studies

School of International Studies

Jawaharlal Nehru University