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Taiwanese Factor In Modern American-Chinese Relations

Abstract. *The article analyzes the historical foundations, current state, and prospects of the development of dialogue between the shores of the Taiwan Strait. The research of US analytical centers on the prospects of the development of US-Chinese relations and the «Taiwan Question» is examined. Over the decades of virtually separate development, with the serious influence of the United States, radical changes have taken place in the political culture of the citizens of the Republic of China. The so-called “Taiwanese mentality” is being formed on the island, and the idea of Taiwan’s sovereignty is becoming more and more popular.*

Keywords: “Taiwan Question”, Taiwan, China, USA, Republic of China, D. Trump, Ma Ying-jeou, “think tanks” of the USA.

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Introduction. Relations between the two shores of the Taiwan Strait for more than half a century have been one of the key geopolitical problems of the Asia-Pacific region. The question of Taiwan’s independence, which Beijing continues to classify as one of its «key interests,» the PRC traditionally considers the main obstacle to the development of relations with the United States. However, with the growing economic interdependence of China and the United States and the advent of the Ma Ying-jeou administration in Taipei in 2008, the Taiwan Question has ceased to be the main annoying factor in Sino-US relations. Its place was taken by the contradictions between Beijing and Washington, connected with the growth of China’s global power and the strategy of «returning the United States to Asia,» since the evolution of the «Taiwan Question» depends primarily on the overall development of Sino-US relations. It should be noted that the status of the Republic of China is different from other partially recognized entities. 17 countries, including the Vatican, have diplomatic relations with Taiwan as the Republic of China [1].

Targets and goals. The purpose of this study is to identify the features of US policy regarding the Taiwan problem at the present stage.

The purpose of this work is to determine the legal foundations of the United States policy towards Taiwan, to identify the interests that guide the United States in pursuing Taiwanese policies while showing their evolution and to identify and characterize possible scenarios for the development of the situation in the Taiwan Strait.

History. The «Taiwan Question» in its history has gone through many events generated by this conflict, from peace negotiations and the conclusion of agreements to increasing confrontation and balancing on the verge of a military conflict with the threat of using weapons of mass destruction. Today, despite active negotiations, relations between China and Taiwan can hardly be called stable, since each side is firmly convinced of the correctness of its current course and reaching a compromise is still very illusive.

The US role in the «Taiwan issue» is considered one of the main at all stages of the China-Taiwan relationship, as this regional conflict has become a kind of example of American interference in the affairs of other states. However, for the United States, such foreign policy behavior is explained by the desire to establish democracy around the

world and help other states to achieve it. That is why the «Taiwan question» does not lose its relevance today, including not only the search for its solution but also an analysis of the activities of its participants.

In recent years, the US think tanks have divided the development of the Taiwan question into two phases: the immediate and long-term prospects [1]. And if in the coming years the main task is to maintain US-Chinese relations at a friendly level, in the long term, researchers emphasize the need for fundamental changes in US foreign policy on the «Taiwan problem.» In particular, leaving as a priority the preservation of US-Chinese relations, the United States, as the main guarantor of democracy in the world, must find other ways to ensure Taiwan's security to prevent possible military action by the PRC.

The «Taiwan Question,» according to experts, has always played a significant role in US-Chinese relations. However, despite the fact that the dynamics of the «Taiwan problem» largely depend on the position of the PRC, American foreign policy towards Taiwan was carried out in accordance with its principles that did not apply to China.

Today, Taiwan is a fully formed independent political entity, which in its structure is in many ways different from its geopolitical neighbor. And if in the near future there will be a military clash between China and Taiwan, then it will be quite difficult to predict US actions in view of the delicate diplomatic relations between the USA-China and the USA-Taiwan. But a generally accepted fact among analysts is that the emergence of such a situation can lead to the deployment of peacekeeping forces, and therefore the main task in the near future should be to prevent a similar outcome in the future [2].

The prerequisites of the Taiwan problem arise during the Civil War in China, which began in 1927 and lasted until 1950. The armed conflict between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese National People's Party (Kuomintang) was ideological. The Communists turned the tide of the war as a result of the successful offensive operations of 1948, as a result of which the Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-

shek was forced to retreat to Taiwan. Owing to the further military successes of the Communists, the entire Kuomintang government moved to Taiwan, and the hostilities finally ended in 1950. It was from this time that the problem of the two Chinas began.

After the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the United States did not immediately recognize the government of Mao Zedong but assumed that the Chiang Kai-shek regime in the Republic of China was doomed. In the US political strategy, the priority was to find a model of relations with the new leadership that came to power in the PRC, and the desire to prevent the establishment of allied relations between the PRC and the USSR. The situation changed dramatically after the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953), as a result of which the United States, fearing to lose an important strategic point - Taiwan, switched to a policy of supporting the island's government.

In December 1954, the United States signed a treaty of mutual defense with the Kuomintang authorities of Taiwan, pledging to provide military assistance in the event of an «armed attack» or «communist subversive actions directed from outside», and received the right to keep their troops on the island. Upon ratification, the US Senate approved a resolution on the use by the US President of the armed forces to fulfill the obligations arising from the treaty. The contract was limited to the defense of the island of Taiwan and the Pescador Islands and did not extend to the Kinmen and Matsu archipelagos, so the United States did not actively participate in the Second Crisis in the Taiwan Strait of 1958.

At the same time, the United States did everything possible to prevent the Kuomintang invasion of the mainland of China, which could provoke a full-fledged Sino-American war. As a result of this US policy, the island government was forced to focus on Taiwan's economic development, putting aside the policy of gaining political dominance throughout China [1].

The main debate was between adherents of two points of view: advocates of maintaining Taiwan as an important element of American strategy in East Asia and advocates of «abandoning» Taiwan.

Representatives from both sides were well-known American politicians, retired generals, former diplomats, Sino experts and international security experts.

Among the supporters of «giving up Taiwan» are the former vice-chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William Bill Owens, the former adviser to the US president for national security Zbigniew Brzezinski, professor of political science and international affairs at Port Washington State University Bruce Jillie Charles Charles Glazer, American diplomat Charles Freeman, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, John Mirsheim RA, Senior Researcher at the Caton Institute, Ted Galen Carpenter, Foreign Policy Editor David Rothkopf, and several other experts.

The logic of the supporters of the «rejection» of Taiwan is that the balance of power between China and the United States is increasingly shifting toward China, which is increasing its military and economic power. After the Kuomintang returned to power and the Ma Ying-jeou administration has shown willingness to begin negotiations with mainland China, the United States should reduce or adjust its security obligations to Taiwan. Since the island is one of the «fundamental interests» of China, then, firstly, the Taiwan issue is the most likely source of «ignition» of the Sino-US military conflict, and secondly, it imposes restrictions on the implementation of comprehensive cooperation and the strengthening of strategic mutual trust between China and the USA. Experts emphasized that time on the Taiwan issue plays into the hands of China, leading to unification on the basis of the mainland, and the possible costs and risks of conflict in the Taiwan Strait are growing for the United States: Taiwan is no longer strategically advantageous due to the development of military technologies and the build-up of military power in China object of warfare, as it is within reach of attacks by missile systems of the PRC. As David Rothkopf, editor of Foreign Policy magazine put it, the island is simply one of the «vestigial positions that the United States can no longer afford to maintain.» He argued that America actually entered its so-called era of limits, when

its involvement in the affairs of any region should be determined by the presence of vital interests. Taiwan is not like that. «He offers us very few true strategic advantages ... and, of course, it's not worth it to get involved in a war because of him, no matter what the United States has said for decades.» Proponents of this view expressed suggestions for amending or repealing the United States Relations Act with Taiwan, if China, as a prerequisite, commits itself not to deploy missiles aimed at Taiwan in the mainland. Thus, China and the United States can not only avoid the outbreak of conflict but also remove the obstacle to the development of bilateral relations, strengthen bilateral cooperation in solving major regional and global problems, for example, on the nuclear issue of the Korean Peninsula, climate change, financial stability, nuclear non-proliferation, etc. Another group of researchers emphasizes that the «preservation» of Taiwan is in line with the strategic interests of the United States. First, the important role of Taiwan as a natural obstacle to the projection by China of military power in the western part of the Pacific Ocean is noted. Researchers cast doubt on the conclusion of the supporters of «giving up Taiwan» that resolving the Taiwan issue in favor of the PRC will resolve most of the contradictions between the US and China and contribute to the development of cooperation between them. On the contrary, they emphasize, the differences between the two powers are structural in nature and are largely contradictions that usually arise between the existing hegemon and the ascending great power. Therefore, America's refusal from Taiwan will shake the confidence of the allies of the United States, especially Japan and South Korea, in the commitments they have given and weaken the system of American alliances. It may not have a stabilizing effect, but, on the contrary, will push Beijing to take further, more aggressive steps. Thus, if America abandons Taiwan, the security of the United States and its East Asian allies will be in jeopardy. According to the logic of experts, the accession of Taiwan will mark China's breakthrough through the «first chain of islands», the acquisition by the Navy and the air forces of China of an extremely

advantageous strategic position for projecting its power into East China, South China Sea and beyond, which will throw ultimately, a challenge to US control over the Pacific. Proponents of this point of view also emphasize that Taiwan should be supported as a model of freedom, democracy and a market economy in the region. Democratic Taiwan represents the successful embodiment of these American values and can play a role in their promotion in mainland China [3].

Once again, relations between Washington and Beijing were brought to the brink of crisis in 2016, in connection with a call received or made by the newly elected President of the United States, Donald Trump. Initially, the leader of the USA on Twitter indicated that he had called CaiInwen, later information appeared that the call initiative came from her. This was the first since 1979 direct contact between the leaders of the United States and Taiwan. Later, D. Trump wrote a «tweet» in his microblog, which he called Tsai Inwen the president of Taiwan. In Beijing, Trump's behavior was taken extremely painfully. The situation was complicated by the fact that a message on Twitter about the conversation between the two presidents on strengthening ties in the field of economy, politics, and security appeared shortly after Xi Jinping met with Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State, who in 1972 made a lot of efforts in order to improve relations between the United States and China, and was the initiator of the «policy of detente.» The Global Times released an editorial column that said China would have to fight decisively with D. Trump. Only when Trump makes a few mistakes will he realize that «you can't lift up China and the rest of the world.» The article claimed that Trump believes that he can use the policy of «One China» as a trump card in order to obtain economic benefits from the PRC. Officially, Foreign Ministry spokesman Geng Shuang expressed «serious concern» about what is happening, saying that everything that happened will affect Sino-US relations. Despite the reaction of the PRC, D, Trump did not delete his message on the microblog but wrote another tweet about the sale of American weapons to the Republic of China.

In an interview with Fox News, he emphasized that China has no right to dictate its terms to the United States, and also recalled existing issues to Beijing: the territorial claims of the PRC in the South China Sea, support for the DPRK and so on. It is difficult to predict further developments in Sino-US relations. On the one hand, D. Trump can use the «Taiwan Question» as a means of pressure on the PRC by analogy with the Cold War period, when the US 7th Fleet could demonstrate its strength in the Taiwan Strait and when friendly relations with the USA were strategically important for China. On the other hand, the PRC, currently aspiring to the role of not only a regional but also a world power, has serious military potential, constantly increasing allocations for the development of aviation, navy, new missile weapons and marines. Which makes any attempt by the United States to use it is Navy and Air Force to pressure China more and more futile [1].

The peculiarity of the American policy of «one China» is that it is designed to take into account not only the «indigenous interests» of China but also the interests of the people of Taiwan, the vast majority of whom do not want to unite with undemocratic China. Being interested in maintaining the status quo in the Taiwan Strait as fully meeting US national interests, Washington, on the one hand, does not support Taiwan's efforts to achieve independence and even counteracted them repeatedly, and on the other hand, still renders assistance to the island in ensuring its defense against the background of the strengthening of the military power of China and in preventing the complete international isolation of Taiwan as a result of pressure exerted by Beijing on countries of the world and international organizations.

For many decades, the United States has remained the sole guarantor of the security of Taiwan and its autonomy from Beijing. All American administrations, regardless of their political priorities, approaches to developing relations with China, the international context in which they acted, invariably remained committed to securing Taiwan's security, although they brought in their own nuances into Taiwanese politics. It seems that Washington will continue

to be guided by this basic installation, despite the pressure from Beijing.

Conclusion. Forecasts and scenarios for the development of the situation in the region and proposals for overcoming crises.

Based on the foregoing, it can be suggested that the chances of China recognizing Taiwan as a sovereign state are extremely small. Moreover, the largest world powers will not risk compromising their ties with China and will also not recognize Taiwan as an independent country, but will continue to confine themselves to economic and cultural contacts with the island. Taiwan regularly submits applications for joining the UN, but always receives a refusal, presumably due to the fact that China is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and blocks the island from being accepted into the organization. Some warming in relations between the mainland and the island was outlined in 2008, when Ma Ying-jeou came to power in Taiwan, who pursued a policy of economic rapprochement with the PRC, without changing the political status quo. For this, Ma was regularly criticized not only by the Taiwanese opposition but also by his citizens, calling him a traitor to Taiwanese interests, claiming that he was selling the island to China. Despite all the skepticism expressed about the meeting of the leaders of China and Taiwan, one cannot but admit that this was a serious step for both of them, and the wording «historical meeting» is applied here appropriately. Beijing is worried about the next election of the head of the Taiwan administration, because if the Kuomintang cannot win, then it will be extremely difficult to implement the reunification plan, but rather impossible. On the other hand, opponents

of rapprochement with the PRC can regard the meeting of the two leaders as an attempt to interfere with the PRC in Taiwan's internal affairs and use this threat as a trump card in their political game.

At the same time, experts predict the victory of the Democratic Progressive Party in both the presidential and parliamentary elections, which is extremely undesirable for the leadership of the PRC. Cai Inwen, the candidate for this party, is known for her negative attitude towards the policy of rapprochement with the mainland, which the current head of Taiwan adheres to. However, at the same time, during her election campaign, she repeatedly stated that in case of victory she was ready to hold high-level meetings with the President of the PRC and maintain economic and cultural ties with the mainland (however, in such a statement one can see not only the desire for dialogue but also insisting on recognizing one's own status as the head of a sovereign state).

Also, if Cai Inwei becomes the next head of the Taiwan administration, she will take a course towards removing the diplomatic isolation of Taipei. However, we emphasize again: this will be extremely difficult to achieve. Maintaining the status quo also seems unrealistic, because for this it is necessary, if not the same understanding of options for resolving the conflict, then at least the desire to avoid its escalation. But a concession in this matter is fundamentally impossible for either side. Thus, the most favorable option for the entire Asia-Pacific region will be to maintain the current positions of the parties or freeze the conflict [4]. The desire to fully resolve it or change the status of participants will be fraught with serious risks.

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С. Махаммадулы

Казахский университет международных отношений и мировых языков им.Абылай хана, Алматы, Казахстан

Тайваньский фактор в современных американо-китайских отношениях

Аннотация. В статье анализируются исторические основания, современное состояние и перспективы развития диалога между берегами Тайваньского пролива. Рассматриваются исследования аналитических центров США по вопросам дальнейших перспектив развития американо-китайских отношений и «Тайваньского вопроса». За десятилетия фактически сепаратного развития при серьезном влиянии США произошли коренные изменения в политической культуре граждан Китайской Республики. На острове формируется так называемый «тайваньский менталитет», и все более популярной становится идея о суверенитете Тайваня.

Ключевые слова: «Тайваньский вопрос», Тайвань, КНР, США, Китайская Республика, Д. Трамп, Ма-Инцзю, «мозговые центры» США.

С. Махаммадулы

Абылай хан атындағы Қазақ халықаралық қатынастар және әлем тілдер университеті, Алматы, Қазақстан

Қазіргі АҚШ пен ҚХР қатынастарындағы Тайвань факторы

Аңдатпа. Бұл мақалада Тайвань бұғазы жағалауы арасындағы келісім-шарттың тарихи негіздері, қазіргі жағдайы және болашақтағы дамуы зерттеледі. АҚШ аналитикалық орталықтарының Америка-Қытай қатынастарының және «Тайвань мәселесінің» одан әрі даму перспективалары туралы зерттеу-

лері қарастырылады. Іс жүзінде сепараттық дамудың ондаған жылдарында АҚШ-тың елеулі ықпалымен Қытай Республикасы азаматтарының саяси мәдениетінде түбегейлі өзгерістер болды. Аралда «тайвань менталитеті» қалыптасып, Тайвань елінің тәуелсіздігі жайлы ұғым кеңінен тарала бастады.

Түйін сөздер: «Тайвань мәселесі», Тайвань, ҚХР, АҚШ, Қытай Республикасы, Д. Трамп, Ма Инцзю, АҚШ «сараптама орталығы».

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